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Dental Disease at Ancient Mendes (Tell er-Rubᶜa), Egypt

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Abstract: Extensive excavations at Tell er-Rubᶜa (ancient Mendes) have documented aspects of the city's political and cultic significance and its development over several millennia, but much less is known about the inhabitants of the city themselves. This paper presents an analysis of dental health as exhibited by human remains recovered from the site by the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University and the University of Alberta. Permanent teeth from 69 individuals were examined for evidence of infectious dental disease (caries and periapical abscesses), calculus, antemortem tooth loss, and the severity of occlusal tooth wear.

One-third of the individuals displayed evidence of carious lesions (cavities), although most affected individuals had only one affected tooth. More females had carious lesions than did males, a difference that is not statistically significant. Seventeen per cent of those individuals with associated jawbone fragments show evidence of periapical abscess formation (a not uncommon sequel to a carious lesion), although no sex difference was observed. The frequencies of caries and abscesses in this sample are consistent with the consumption of a high carbohydrate diet. More than two-thirds of the adults are affected by supra-gingival calculus, which is sometimes referred to as tartar. In this sample, calculus is correlated with alveolar resorption, the latter condition a bony response to periodontitis. Both abscessing and alveolar resorption are implicated in the antemortem loss of teeth. Tooth wear is pronounced, with sex differences between middle-aged males and females identified.

Despite difficulties of interpretation caused by small sample sizes and preservation issues, the results of this analysis are consistent with other published reports of dental palaeopathology among ancient Egyptians. In essence, molar crown wear, particularly among older individuals, tends to be pronounced and the pattern of dental disease is consistent with a diet high in carbohydrates that likely included bread and naturally sweet and sticky foods such as dried fruits and honey.

Résumé: Les fouilles menées à Tell er-Rubca (mieux connue sous le nom de Mendes) ont déjà jeté une lumière sur l'importance politique et culturelle de la ville et son développement à travers plusieurs millénaires, mais nous sommes généralement moins bien renseignés sur la vie quotidienne des habitants de la ville. Cet article vise en partie à combler cette lacune, en proposant une étude sur la santé dentaire de personnes dont les restes humains ont été retrouvés sur le site et analysés par l'Institut des beaux-arts de l'Université de New York University et l'Université d'Alberta. Les dents de 69 personnes ont été examinées pour des signes de maladies infectieuses (caries et les abcès périapicaux), de calcul dentaire, de pertes de dents ante mortem, et de malocclusion dentaire.

Un tiers des personnes montraient des signes de lésions carieuses, bien que la plupart des personnes touchées avaient seulement une dent affectée. Plus de femmes présentaient des lésions carieuses que d'hommes, une différence qui n'est pas statistiquement significative. Dix-sept pour cent des fragments d'os de la mâchoire montrent des signes de formation d'abcès périapical (une maladie souvent associée

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aux lésions carieuses), mais aucune différence liée au sexe n'a été observée. La fréquence des caries et des abcès dans cet échantillonnage peut être mise sur le compte d'une consommation d'une alimentation riche en glucides. Plus du deux tiers des adultes sont touchés par le calcul supragingival (tartre). Le calcul est alors lié à la résorption alvéolaire, cette dernière étant une réponse osseuse à la parodontite. Les abcès et la résorption alvéolaire sont à l'origine de la perte de dents ante mortem. On constate une usure fréquente des dents, avec des différences de genre, selon qu'il s'agit d'hommes ou de femmes d'âge moyen.

En dépit des difficultés d'interprétation liées au petit échantillonnage de cette étude et aux problèmes de conservation des spécimens, les résultats de cette analyse sont cohérents avec ceux d'autres rapports publiés en matière de paléopathologie dentaire chez les anciens Egyptiens. On constate que l'usure de la couronne molaire est prononcée, en particulier chez les personnes âgées. L'apparition de ces maladies dentaires s'explique par un régime riche en glucides, à base de pain et d'aliments naturellement sucrés et collants comme les fruits secs et le miel.

Keywords/Mots-clefs: Dental anthropology/anthropologie dentaire, caries, calculus, abscess/abcès, periodontal disease/maladie parodontale, antemortem tooth loss/perte des dents ante-mortem, ancient Egyptians/égyptiens anciens, Mendes.

Introduction

Located in the eastern central delta (Fig. 1), ancient Mendes was occupied continuously for roughly 5,000 years. Mendes functioned variously as a regional capital, hub of trade links throughout the Mediterranean, and religious cult centre associated with the ram god and the fish goddess.[1] Occupation originated in the Predynastic period, but the site eventually fell into disuse and appears to have been largely abandoned by the 1st century BC. The reasons for this are not known precisely, although the city, which relied largely upon irrigation agriculture, may have had difficulty sustaining itself in the face of pronounced variation in the location and flow of the Nile branches. In addition, social strife, indicated by the apparent massacre of inhabitants and the destruction of sacred animal cemeteries, may have caused residents to abandon the city.[2]

Today, the site stretches approximately three kilometres (km) north-south, and somewhat less than one km east-west. Although it has been estimated that the preserved mound constitutes about 80% of the size of the city at the peak of its prosperity,[3] the

[1] Herman De Meulenaere, "Cults and Priesthoods of the Mendesian Nome," in *Mendes II*, ed. Herman De Meulenaere and Pierre MacKay (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1976), 178-181; Donald B. Redford, "Mendes," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford. (Oxford University Press, 2001, e-reference edition: http://www.oxford-ancientegypt.com); Susan Redford and Donald B. Redford, "The Cult and Necropolis of the Sacred Ram at Mendes," in *Divine Creatures*, ed. Salima Ikram (American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 164-198.

[2] Donald B. Redford, *City of the Ram-Man* (Princeton: University Press, 2010), 46-50; M. J. Magee, M. L. Wayman, and N. C. Lovell, "Chemical and Archaeological Evidence for the Destruction of a Sacred animal Necropolis at Ancient Mendes, Egypt," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 23 (1996): 484-492.

[3] Redford, City of the Ram-Man, xix.

degree of encroachment by cultivation and the amount of destruction by *sebakheen*[4] suggest that this may be an optimistic estimate. While not necessarily reducing further the scale of the site, looting also has been a problem. Habachi (unpublished) found in 1947 that most tombs were disturbed and the fabric wrappings over the chests of many individuals had been destroyed, almost certainly during searches for amulets and jewelry.[5]

Since the 1960s, extensive excavations have uncovered parts of a Naqada III period settlement, a necropolis for the sacred rams, a temple precinct, residential and industrial areas,[6] and the remains of a satellite mound that may have functioned as a harbour facility and later used as a burial ground and a sacred animal necropolis.[7] Excavation of Predynastic levels at the site have revealed no skeletal remains,[8] but burials that date from the Old Kingdom to Graeco-Roman periods have been found.[9] Further damage to the site, particularly to burials, has been caused by alkaline soils and a fluctuating water table that is influenced by the irrigation of neighbouring fields. As a result of both taphonomic factors and looting, preservation of the human remains often is poor. For example, in one field season only six of 17 skeletons had greater than 90% preservation of elements,[10] with the majority of individuals represented by between 50% and 90% of the 206 bones in the adult skeleton.

Hansen found human burials at the satellite mound of Tell el-Izam[11] (also known and hereafter referred to as Kom el-Adhem)[12] from 1977 to 1978. This mound is composed of sand and sandy soil and there is evidence of an ancient harbour adjacent. The majority of burials at Kom el-Adhem consist of simple sand pits, some topped with mud-brick rectangular outlines, with individuals lying supine. Some bodies appear to have had their internal organs removed and the abdominal cavities filled with rags and molten resin, while others display evidence of wrapping in intricate patterns consistent

[4] Robert K. Holz, "Man-made Landforms in the Nile Delta," *Geographical Review* 59 (1969): 253-269.

[5] Nancy C. Lovell, "The 1992 Excavations at Kom el-Adhem, Mendes," *JSSEA* 21/22 (1992): 20-36.

[6] Donald P. Hansen, "Mendes 1965 and 1966," *JARCE* 6 (1967): 5-51; Redford, "Mendes"; Karen L. Wilson, *Mendes: Preliminary Report on the 1979 and 1980* Seasons (Malibu CA, 1982); Douglas Brewer and Robert Wenke, "Transitional Late Predynastic - Early Dynastic Occupations at Mendes: A Preliminary Report," in *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th - 3rd Millennium B.C.*, ed. Edwin C. M. van den Brink (Tel Aviv, 1992), 191-197; Redford, City of the Ram-Man.

[7] Lovell, "The 1992 Excavations at Kom el-Adhem, Mendes," *JSSEA* 21/22: 20-36.

[8] Brewer and Wenke, "Transitional Late Predynastic - Early Dynastic Occupations at Mendes: A Preliminary Report."

[9] Hansen, "Mendes 1965 and 1966," *JARCE* 6: 5-51; Lovell, "The 1992 Excavations at Kom el-Adhem, Mendes," *JSSEA* 21/22: 20-36.

[10] Lovell, "The 1992 Excavations at Kom el-Adhem, Mendes," *JSSEA* 21/22: 20-36.

[11] Hansen, "Mendes 1965 and 1966," *JARCE* 6: 5-51.

[12] Lovell, "The 1992 Excavations at Kom el-Adhem, Mendes," *JSSEA* 21/22: 20-36.

with those seen in the Graeco-Roman Period, by which time the art of mummification itself was in decline.

Although several elite tombs have been discovered at the site,[13] the individuals that are the subject of this paper appear to be middle- or working-class, based on burial style, burial location, and the nature of recovered grave goods. Some of these individuals were buried in wooden coffins or reed mats, now largely decayed, but most were not, and none were recovered from tomb structures. A previous study found that these inhabitants of Mendes were in generally good health throughout childhood, although evidence for physiological stress (i.e., development defects in tooth enamel) during the Old Kingdom[14] is consistent with geological, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence for droughts and famines in Egypt during this time.[15] Although important archaeological surveys and excavations have been undertaken in recent decades, the skeletal record for the Egyptian delta is scant, and pathological conditions expressed in the skeleton have been little studied. This report, then, provides additional information on the dental health of the past inhabitants of ancient Mendes, and sheds some light on past dietary behaviours, through the description and analysis of pathological conditions of the dentition, including carious lesions, abscesses, dental calculus, severity of tooth wear, and antemortem tooth loss.

Materials and Methods

Eighty-nine individuals, including infants and children, were recovered during excavations, although the study sample is restricted to the permanent teeth from 69 adults.[16] All of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period remains and some skeletons dating to the Graeco-Roman Period were recovered by the New York University-Institute of Fine Arts Expedition in 1976-78, led by Donald Hanson; Nancy Lovell from the University of Alberta excavated additional material dating to the Graeco-Roman Period between 1991 and 1997. The skeletal material from the NYU excavations was housed at CUNY-Brooklyn until most of it was sent to the University of Alberta in the early 1990s; some additional remains were transferred in 2009. Dental

[13] Redford, City of the Ram-Man, 28-29.

[14] Nancy C. Lovell and Ira Whyte, "Patterns of Dental Enamel Defects at Ancient Mendes, Egypt," *AJPA* 110 (1999): 69-80.

[15] For example, Christopher E. Bernhardt, Benjamin P. Horton, and Jean-Daniel Stanley, "Nile Delta Vegetation Response to Holocene Climate Variability," *Geology* 40(2012): 615-618; and reviewed in Lovell and Whyte, "Patterns of Dental Enamel Defects at Ancient Mendes, Egypt," *AJPA* 110: 69-80.

[16] Although some skeletal remains of children have been recovered from the site, their dental health is very closely tied to a discussion of childhood diet, health, and mortality, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

data collected from those remains by both authors were combined with data collected by Lovell in the field.[17]

Estimation of the age at death for each individual followed standard bioarchaeological protocols[18] and individuals were then categorized as Young Adult (18 to 25 years), Middle Adult (25 to 40 years), Older Adult (>40 years), or Adult-unknown (clearly adult, but of uncertain age in years) in order to facilitate further analysis. Sex was determined on the basis of secondary sex characteristics as exhibited in the adult skeleton and the individuals were then characterized as Female, Male, or Indeterminate. The particulars of age and sex for each pathological condition vary according to the number of teeth that can be observed for analysis, and therefore are presented in tabular detail only for the conditions reported. Overall, however, males and females were fairly equally represented and individuals of indeterminate sex made up 20% of the sample. Middle-aged adults comprised over half of the sample when it was partitioned by age; this is probably due to a combination of the difficulty in obtaining precise age estimates for adult skeletons and the typical life expectancy in antiquity, and so is not thought to cause problems for this analysis.

A total of 714 teeth were preserved and observable for pathological conditions. Thus, the total observable sample is only 32% of the size of the dental sample that would be expected if all individuals had possessed a full set of teeth (expected N=2208).[19] This can be attributed to problems of preservation (which is not uncommon when dealing with archaeological human remains in many parts of the world, particularly those remains that have not been protected in burial shafts or containers) and to the postmortem loss of teeth during excavation and subsequent handling.

Identifiable teeth and fragments of the maxillae and mandibles were examined, inventoried, and their pathological lesions scored according to accepted disciplinary standards.[20] Severity of tooth wear and calculus; the presence, severity, and location of

[17] Nancy Lovell thanks Douglas Brewer, Donald Redford, Susan Redford, and Robert Wenke for their assistance with the University of Alberta's excavations at Mendes; and Bonnie Gustav Golub, Christine Lilyquist, and the late Donald Hansen for providing access to burial records and the skeletal remains recovered by the NYU-IFA Expedition. Nancy Lovell's excavations at Mendes from 1991-1997 and associated skeletal analyses were generously funded by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Alberta.

[18] Age-at-death estimation and determination of sex followed the procedures outlined by Jane E. Buikstra and Douglas H. Ubelaker eds., *Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains* (Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey, 1994).

[19] The normal complement of permanent teeth in the adult dentition is 32; hence, the expected sample size of teeth for 69 individuals with permanent dentitions is 2208.

[20] Dental inventory followed Buikstra and Ubelaker, Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains. Occlusal wear was scored following the method described by B. Holly Smith, "Patterns of Molar Wear in Hunter-gatherers and Agriculturalists," *AJPA* 63 (1984): 39-56. The initiation sites and recording of carious lesions followed Simon Hillson, *Dental Anthropology* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), Table 12.3. Calculus

carious lesions; and the presence of periapical abscesses were recorded for all observable teeth and alveoli. Antemortem tooth loss was recorded in cases of missing teeth when the alveolus exhibited a reactive process of bone resorption and/or deposition (i.e., healing); in cases of missing teeth where the alveolus was un-remodeled the tooth was assumed to have been lost postmortem. Teeth that were too fragmentary to identify were not included in the study, and those that were unobservable for particular features were omitted from certain analyses. Inter- and intra-observer error in the assessment of pathological lesions was assessed through re-scoring of 10% of the sample and found to be negligible.

Results and Discussion

Tooth Wear

Mean tooth wear scores for selected teeth in this sample are presented in Tables 1 and 2, for males and females respectively. The patterns conform to what would be expected given the tendency among agriculturalists to show heavier wear on the posterior teeth compared to the anterior teeth, and for the first permanent molar to exhibit greater wear because of its use in mastication from the age of about six years. Although the degree of wear in both males and females during the First Intermediate Period is greater than in other time periods, this could easily be an artifact of small sample sizes and the number of missing values in some categories; at present there are no social-cultural data for this period at Mendes to indicate that the differences represent different diets, for example.

Tooth wear is generally divided into two categories, based on the material causing the wear: dental attrition is the loss of enamel due to tooth-on-tooth contact while dental abrasion is caused by foreign substances. Archaeological and historical records can provide clues to causes of abrasion through information about the ancient Egyptian diet. According to one review, tooth wear was more severe in Upper Egypt than in Lower Egypt, and decreased in severity from the Predynastic to the Dynastic time periods; these trends likely reflect differences in food preparation among cultural groups, as well as changes in processing techniques over time.[21] Querns and other stone grinding implements appear in the archaeological record of ancient Egypt, as well as in ancient artistic depictions,[22] and may have introduced abrasives to food. One study

was scored for each tooth using a three-point system described by Don R. Brothwell, *Digging Up Bones*, 3rd ed. (London/Oxford: British Museum and Oxford University Press, 1981).

[21] Jerome C. Rose, George J. Armelagos, and L. Stephen Perry. "Dental Anthropology of the Nile Valley," in *Biological Anthropology and the Study of Ancient Egypt*, ed. W. Vivian Davies and Roxie Walker (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 61-74.

[22] Frank Filce Leek, "Teeth and Bread in Ancient Egypt," *JEA* 8 (1972): 126-132; Delwen Samuel, "Ancient Egyptian Bread and Beer: An Interdisciplinary Approach," in *Biological Anthropology and the Study of Ancient*

found a high amount of inorganic material in samples of ancient Egyptian bread as compared to breads from other geographic and temporal periods.[23] Although limited in scope, microwear studies on ancient Egyptian teeth have found, however, a lack of the striations that are normally associated with large abrasive particles, which suggests that finer particles are responsible for wear in at least some individuals.[24] Tough, fibrous foods have been associated in the Nile Valley with this particular "polishing" pattern of wear and reflect a potential dietary cause outside of grain processing and consumption.[25] Fine abrasives could have come from other dietary staples, such as chickpeas or beans, depending upon the preparation and cooking methods. In addition, the chewing of masticatories, such as wads of papyrus, to stimulate saliva flow could cause dental polishing.

Sex differences in tooth wear have been documented in different populations and attributed to specialized gender roles and activities.[26] Because of sample sizes, mean tooth wear scores for females in this sample can be compared only to male scores within the Middle Adult age category in the First Intermediate Period and within the Young Adult age category of the Greco-Roman period, but results indicate that females have more severe wear than males. This may reflect higher consumption of abrasive food by females, although gendered activities that involved the use of teeth as tools also may be implicated. Women were responsible for household weaving and the processing of flax into linen throughout most of ancient Egyptian history, for example, although such habitual activities, if they involved the teeth, might have caused more localized wear. The evidence for sex differences in tooth wear at Mendes is not conclusive and may, in fact, be due to age differences, given the broad age ranges to which we were able to assign individuals.

Caries

Tables 3 and 4 show the tooth count and individual count frequencies of dental caries in permanent teeth at Mendes. Dental caries is an infectious disease that causes the destruction of dental tissues by acid that is produced by oral bacteria. Carious lesions characteristically first appear as brownish discolourations or pits on the enamel covering the tooth crown, and may progressively destroy the underlying dentin. The

Egypt, ed. W. Vivian Davies and Roxie Walker (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 156-164; Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 172.

[23] Leek, "Teeth and Bread in Ancient Egypt," *JSSEA* 8: 126-132.

[24] Rose et al., "Dental Anthropology of the Nile Valley," 61-74.

[25] Rose et al., "Dental Anthropology of the Nile Valley," 61-74; Bob Brier and Hoyt Hobbs, *Daily Life of the Ancient Egyptians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008).

[26] Stephen Molnar, "Sex, Age and Tooth Position as Factors in the Production of Tooth Wear," *Am Antiquity* 36 (1971): 182-188.

cementum that covers the tooth root is softer than enamel and thus is more susceptible to caries; the root can be affected by caries if it is exposed through the development of periodontal disease, a condition that may cause retraction of gum tissue.

A number of factors influence the frequency and prevalence of caries in a given population. Diets high in carbohydrates, starches, and refined sugars tend to increase caries frequency and severity. The morphological characteristics of certain teeth also can promote caries formation, with pits, grooves, and fissures being potential sites for the accumulation of food particles on which oral bacteria feed. Because of their complex crown morphology, molars and premolars therefore tend to be more affected than incisors and canines. In addition, spaces between adjacent teeth, typically below their contact points near the gum line, trap food particles leading to the development of interproximal lesions. Consistent with these factors, teeth with complex morphology have the highest frequencies of lesions (Table 3), and interproximal and occlusal lesions in this sample are more common than are lesions appearing on smooth surfaces of the crown or on the root.

Factors specific to individuals (e.g., thickness of dental enamel, the presence of enamel defects, and the amount of oral bacteria that are responsible for plaque formation) also influence the development of carious lesions. These factors must be considered when the pattern of lesions shows an individual to be an outlier compared to the rest of the sample, but no unusual patterns were observed.

Tooth wear can affect both the manifestation of carious lesions and their scoring. Abrasion of the occlusal tooth surface can remove early stage lesions before they progress to further destruction of the enamel, and the substances that cause abrasion may serve to cleanse the teeth of plaque and food particles, reducing the risk of caries development. Most noticeably, however, severe occlusal wear can lead to the antemortem loss of teeth. Although caries correction factors have been developed to address this problem[27] the small sample size and the fragmentary nature of the teeth led us to conclude that correction calculations would not be helpful. However, as seen in Figure 2, occlusal wear seems to have proceeded slowly enough to allow secondary dentin to the pulp chamber, protecting it from exposure that eventually leads to pulp necrosis and loss of the tooth. Regardless, the prevalence of carious lesions reported for this sample should be considered a minimum estimate.

Individual count frequencies of dental caries (Table 4) show a higher percentage of males affected than females (35% and 30% respectively), although this result is not statistically significant and shouldn't be considered meaningful due to the small and unequal samples sizes and the fact that four individuals with caries could not be sexed.

[27] John R. Lukacs, "The 'Caries Correction Factor': A New Method of Calibrating Dental Caries Rates to Compensate for Antemortem Loss of Teeth," *Intl J Osteoarchaeol* 5 (1995): 151-156; Yilmaz S. Erdal and Izzet Duyar, "A New Correction Procedure for Calibrating Dental Caries Frequency," *AJPA* 108 (1999): 237-240.

Upon examination of the individual count prevalence of caries across time periods (Table 4), the Greco-Roman period shows the greatest number of affected individuals, at 46% of the sample. This is followed by the First Intermediate (30%) and Old Kingdom periods (10%). However, the numbers of observable individuals from each period are unequal, with the number of individuals recovered from the First Intermediate Period contexts being especially low. Thus, again, these differences cannot be shown to be statistically significant.

Much attention has been paid to temporal changes in frequencies of caries and the role of the Egyptian diet in mediating these changes.[28] In general, the ancient Egyptian diet for middle class individuals is thought to have consisted mainly of bread, beer, fruit, and vegetables, with fish and poultry the main protein sources. Honey was used as a sweetener, but actual refined sugars were not introduced into Egypt until the Islamic era. Soft, sticky fruits such as figs and dates, as well as dried fruits, tend to adhere to the surfaces of teeth and facilitate the development of carious lesions. Although these fruits might be considered luxury goods more common to the diets of elite members of Egyptian society, alternatively they may have served as a compact and easily portable source of energy that has no special storage requirements, and thus may have supplemented the daily food rations among labourers and household workers alike.

At 6%, the tooth count frequency of caries in this study is only slightly greater than the maximum (ranges of 0.4% to 4.65%) reported for other Egyptian samples (Table 3). The individual prevalence of 33% also falls within the range of 10 to 42% for ancient Nubian and Egyptian sites. Differences between male and female individual prevalence are evident in all time periods represented in this study, but are inconclusive due to the small sample size and the effect of individuals of unknown sex. However, caries prevalence appears to be higher in females in most populations. Sex differences in caries prevalence have been explained as the effect of dietary differences between sexes or due to a gendered division of labour, such as food processing and cooking activities that increase the risk of caries for females.[29] But biological differences also play a role in the higher caries prevalence in females. These differences include the earlier eruption of teeth in females (with a slightly longer tooth exposure to cariogenic conditions); differences in bacterial and salivary components related to mineralization and oral pH; and the female life history. Aspects of a woman's reproductive biology, including

[28] For discussions of diet and dental disease, see Simon Hillson, "Diet and Dental Disease," *World Archaeology* 11 (1979): 147-162; Simon Hillson, *Dental Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Rose et al. "Dental Anthropology of the Nile Valley," 61-74; Judith Miller, *An Appraisal of the Skulls and Dentition of Ancient Egyptians, Highlighting the Pathology and Speculating on the Influence of Diet and Environment* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008).

[29] Molnar, "Sex, Age and Tooth Position as Factors in the Production of Tooth Wear," *Am Antiquity* 36 (1971): 182-188; Hillson, *Dental Anthropology.*

puberty, menses, and pregnancy, may predispose her for dental caries.[30] For example, women who experience "morning sickness" during pregnancy may develop weakening of their tooth enamel due to exposure to corrosive stomach acids. In addition, dietary choices that are influenced by the increased caloric requirements of pregnancy and nursing also may increase the likelihood of caries in women.

In the absence of epigraphic or other evidence for preferential feeding of male over female infants[31] and the relative equality of the economic features of the Mendes burials discussed here, any sex difference in caries frequencies in this sample likely reflect biological factors rather than cultural practices.

Abscesses

The main cause of abscess formation is the invasion of the tooth pulp cavity by infectious bacteria, which occurs either through occlusal wear or carious destruction of the tooth crown. If the infection persists, the body attempts to isolate the infected area by forming a pus drainage channel to prevent the spread of the bacteria. Loss of the tooth, or teeth, is a common sequel to abscesses because of the loss of bony support for the tooth.

Periapical abscessing is found in a great number of skeletal collections from Egypt and Nubia[32] and in this study was observed in 12 individuals of the 40 that had sufficiently well-preserved maxillae and mandibles for examination. The abscesses took the form of drainage channels for pus either between teeth or on the buccal side of the alveolar bone (Fig. 3). Females were more affected than were males, overall (Table 5), but the impact of unknown sex on the accurate determination of sex differences in abscess prevalence or in differences between the time periods, below, cannot be determined.

As shown in Table 5, 8% of observable individuals from the Old Kingdom period, 22% from the First Intermediate period, and 36% of individuals from the Greco-Roman period exhibited abscesses, a trend that mimics caries prevalence. This trend is unsurprising since the two conditions are causally linked. With past historical and

[30] John R. Lukacs and L. Largaespada, "Explaining Sex Differences in Dental Caries Rates: Saliva, Hormones and "Life History" Etiologies," *Am J Hum Biol* 18 (2006): 540-555; John R. Lukacs and Linda M. Thompson, "Dental Caries Prevalence by Sex in Prehistory: Magnitude and Meaning," in *Technique and Application in Dental Anthropology*, ed. Joel D. Irish and Greg C. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 136-177.

[31] Lovell and Whyte, "Patterns of Dental Enamel Defects at Ancient Mendes, Egypt," *AJPA* 110: 69-80.

[32] Tammy R. Greene, *Diet and Dental Health in Predynastic Egypt: A Comparison of Hierakonpolis and Naqada* (PhD thesis, University of Alaska Fairbanks, 2006); Moustafa A. Ibrahim, *A Study of Dental Attrition and Diet in Some Ancient Egyptian Populations* (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 1987); Leek, "Observations on the Dental Pathology Seen in Ancient Egyptian Skulls," *JEA* 52: 59-64; Patricia V. Podzorski, *Their Bones Shall Not Perish* (New Malden, Surrey: SIA Publishing, 1990), 55-56; Eugen Strouhal, *Life of the Ancient Egyptians* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), 249-250.

epigraphic evidence of famines and droughts during the Old Kingdom, it is possible that shortages prevented the consumption of grains as well as dried fruits and other dietary sugars. This in turn may have lessened the cariogenic impact of the Egyptian diet in this time period, resulting in fewer carious lesions, and hence fewer abscesses. As with caries prevalence, however, the small sample sizes prevent any confident inferences about temporal trends in abscess prevalence.

Calculus

Calculus forms from the mineralization (largely by calcium carbonate, apatite, and brushite) of the invisible plaque that covers tooth surfaces. The mineral component derives from the saliva and, thus, the tooth surfaces closest to the salivary glands, i.e., those on the tongue side of the lower incisors, tend to be the most affected.[33] Although the identification of the primary dietary component that favours calculus formation is the subject of some debate,[34] calculus distribution is linked to the accumulation of plaque, which is increased by carbohydrate consumption and poor oral hygiene. Some individuals exhibited no calculus on their teeth, while others displayed large supra-gingival accumulations (Fig. 4). Forty-eight of the 67 individuals (72%) showed calculus deposits of varying severity (Table 6), with males more often affected than females.

Previous studies of dental disease in ancient Egyptian and Nubian populations found that calculus was more prevalent in females (90%) than males (70%), and increased as age increased.[35] (Although it is possible to scrape calculus from the tooth after its formation, in the living individual it continues to accumulate over time unless intentionally removed and remains on the teeth after death.) The observation in this study of higher male prevalence may be due to geographic and temporal differences (i.e., between the large numbers of individuals from Upper Egypt and Nubia that were examined in other studies and the small number of individuals from Mendes in Lower Egypt), to the lack of precision in age at death estimates, or to the obscuring of gendered differences in prevalence by the number of individuals of unknown sex. As is commonly noted in bioarchaeological studies, larger sample sizes and improved methods of adult age-at-death estimations will be needed before issues such as these can be satisfactorily resolved.

Calculus prevalence appears to be stable, at 80%, from the Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period, but decreases to 65% in the Greco-Roman period (Table 6). Due to the unequal number of individuals in each time period, however, the decrease in

[33] Hillson, Dental Anthropology, 255.

[34] For a review, see Angela R. Lieverse, "Diet and the Etiology of Dental Calculus," *Int J Osteoarchaeol* 9 (1999): 219-232.

[35] Hillson, "Diet and Dental Disease," *World Archaeology* 11: 147-162.

calculus prevalence over time does not provide conclusive evidence of temporal changes in diet or hygiene habits.[36] Furthermore, calculus deposits can be dislodged from the tooth before or after death, and therefore may be underrepresented in one or another of the sub-samples investigated here.

It is possible that the formation of calculus among individuals living at Mendes was influenced by the alkaline nature of the soils, a problem that can arise from irrigation with water that is high in soluble salts. Although relationships between dental health and some mineral components of water are well known (e.g., fluoride), the link between soil pH and calculus formation is not satisfactorily documented.

Antemortem Tooth Loss

The impact of dental disease and tooth wear on antemortem tooth loss for this particular sample cannot be fully appreciated due to the lack of preserved alveolar bone. Tooth wear may act to remove the carious lesions before they penetrate into the pulp cavity of the tooth, but additionally it may create new sites for lesions to develop.[37] However, even with the high tooth wear scores found in this sample, no exposed pulp cavities were observed, other than those caused by carious lesions. A possible explanation for antemortem tooth loss in this sample may, therefore, involve both the presence of calculus (causing gingival recession) and the forces involved in tooth abrasion. Both of these can cause alveolar resorption and loss of bone support for the tooth. Abrasive exposure of the pulp cavity and subsequent infection may actually be a less common consequence of a carbohydrate-based diet than originally thought.[38]

Conclusions

The frequencies of dental disease at Mendes are similar to those reported for other parts of ancient Egypt. When considering the middle-class status of the individuals represented in this study, the dental disease and tooth wear frequencies and prevalence are consistent with a habitually abrasive carbohydrate-based diet. Sex differences in caries prevalence and abscess formation at Mendes are not especially clear, although

[36] Although a variety of cosmetic implements have been depicted in, and recovered from, ancient Egyptian tombs, nothing resembling a "toothbrush" has ever been identified. Ancient Egyptians may have used the frayed end of a freshly harvested twig as a toothbrush; chewing twigs taken from the arak tree are known historically and ethnographically in regions of the Sahara, as are twigs from the neem tree in South and Southeast Asia. These are easily disposed of after use and are unlikely to be identified in archaeological context even if preserved. Their use, however, does not seem to be recorded in any of the Egyptian medical papyri, even though the use of masticatories to sweeten the breath is recorded.

[37] Simon Hillson, "The Current State of Dental Decay," in *Technique and Application in Dental Anthropology*, ed. Joel D. Irish and Greg C. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2008), 111-135.

[38] Richard T. Koritzer, "An Analysis of the Cause of Tooth Loss in an Ancient Egyptian Population," *Am Anthropol* 70 (1968): 550-553; Leek, "Observations on the Dental Pathology Seen in Ancient Egyptian Skulls," *JEA* 52: 59-64.

males tended to be affected more by calculus and caries and females by abscesses. This last finding suggests that tooth wear, which is more severe among females than males, is a significant contributor to tooth infection and, hence, subsequent abscessing. Unsurprisingly, the degree of tooth wear was found to increase with age.

Although the sample size in this study is small and there are significant limitations to any inferences about the larger population, there are only a small number of publications that examine dental disease and tooth wear in skeletal remains from this part of Egypt. Thus, the data presented here may be useful to other researchers who are interested in reconstructing dental health and dietary behaviours of the ancient Egyptians. Certainly, it will be of interest to compare these results to larger datasets, particularly those stemming from controlled bioarchaeological excavations. Further dental material from Mendes needs to be examined in order to increase the sample size and ensure more equal representation of the various time periods and age categories. This would allow within-sample comparisons and stimulate further discussion about dental disease and tooth wear at Mendes, and could lead to a more nuanced assessment of possible dietary and masticatory activities among communities in different geographic regions of ancient Egypt.

Table 1: Mean tooth wear score per selected tooth class for males
(OK – Old Kingdom, FIP – First Intermediate Period, GR – Graeco-Roman Period)
* indicates that no teeth were observable in this category)

	Young Adult			Middle Adult			Older Adult			# of observable teeth
	OK	FIP	GR	OK	FIP	GR	OK	FIP	GR	
Central Incisor	5	*	2.7	3.6	4.7	4.1	*	*	*	38
Canine	3	*	2.5	3.4	4.1	3.3	*	*	4	35
1st Premolar	3.6	*	2.1	4	4.4	3.7	*	*	3.3	34
1st Molar	4.5	*	3.3	5.3	5.8	4.9	*	*	4	43

Table 2: Mean tooth wear score per selected tooth class for females.
(OK – Old Kingdom, FIP – First Intermediate Period, GR – Graeco-Roman Period;
* indicates that no teeth were observable in this category)

	Young Adult			Middle Adult			Older Adult			# of observable teeth
	OK	FIP	GR	OK	FIP	GR	OK	FIP	GR	
Central Incisor	*	3	3.1	4.2	3.6	4	*	*	5	44
Canine	*	1.3	3.4	3.7	4.7	4	*	*	4.7	39
1st Premolar	*	1	3.8	4.5	5.4	3.4	*	*	3.5	36
1st Molar	3	2.5	4.8	5.7	7	3.6	*	*	6	33

Table 3: Tooth count frequencies of carious lesions at Mendes.
(n = number of affected teeth; N = number of observable teeth.)

Tooth Type	n	N	%
Upper Incisors	2	79	3
Upper Canines	2	49	4
Upper Premolars	3	83	4
Upper Molars	16	143	11
Lower Incisors	1	77	1
Lower Canines	0	49	0
Lower Premolars	1	87	1
Lower Molars	17	145	12
Total	42	714	6

Table 4: Individual count prevalence of caries at Mendes, by sex, for the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate, and Graeco-Roman Periods. (n = number of affected individuals; N = number of observable individuals.)

Time Period	Sex								
	Male		Female		Unknown		Total		
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	N	%
Old Kingdom	1	10	1	11	0	0	2	20	10
First Intermediate	6	17	2	67	0	0	8	10	30
Graeco-Roman	9	60	4	36	4	46	17	37	46
Total	11	35	7	30	4	31	22	67	33

Table 5: Individual count prevalence of abscesses at Mendes, by sex, for the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate and Greco-Roman periods.
(n = number of affected individuals; N = number of observable individuals.)

Time Period	Sex								
	Male		Female		Unknown		Total		
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	N	%
Old Kingdom	0	0	1	14	0	0	1	12	8
First Intermediate	1	20	1	33	0	0	2	9	22
Graeco-Roman	3	27	4	44	2	40	9	25	36
Total	4	9	6	13	2	4	12	46	26

Table 6: Individual count prevalence of calculus at Mendes, by sex, for the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate and Greco-Roman Periods.
(n = number of affected individuals; N = number of observable individuals.)

Time Period	Sex								
	Male		Female		Unknown		Total		
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	N	%
Old Kingdom	9	90	7	78	0	0	16	20	80
First Intermediate	5	83	3	100	0	0	8	10	80
Graeco-Roman	11	73	8	73	5	45	24	37	65
Total	25	37	18	27	5	7	48	67	72

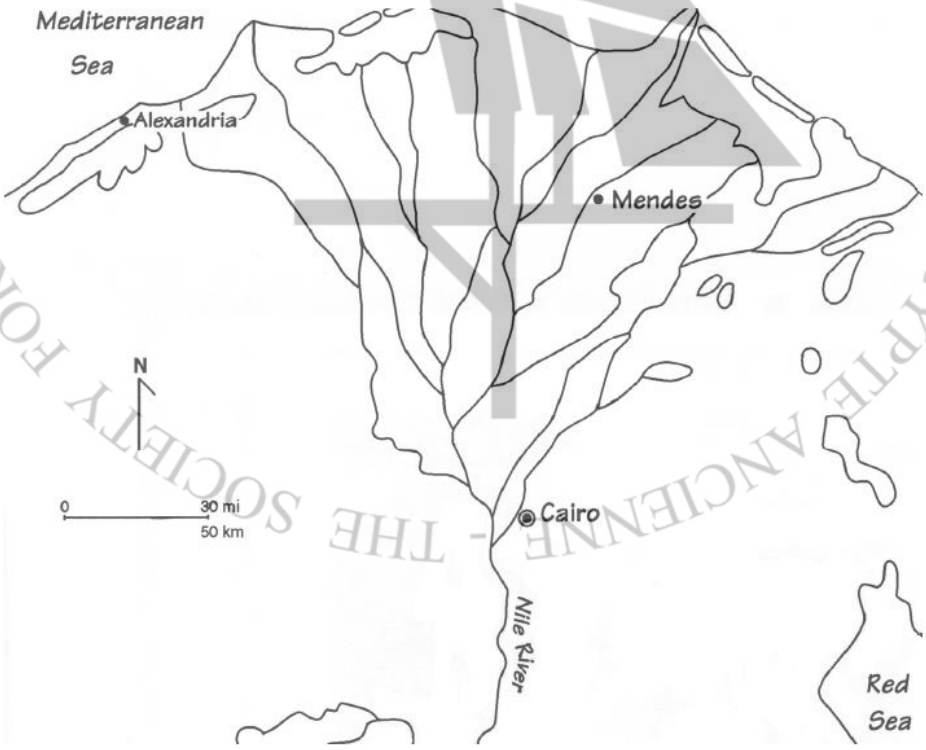

Fig.1: Map of the Egyptian delta showing the location of ancient Mendes.

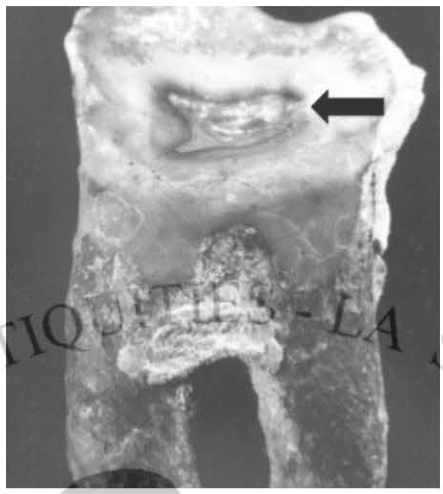

Fig. 2: Severe occlusal wear of a mandibular molar, showing obliteration of the crown but in-fill of the pulp cavity by secondary dentin (arrow).

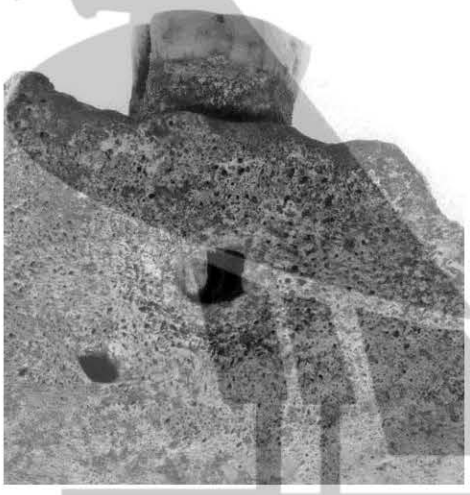

Fig. 3: Portion of a mandible showing a periapical abscess. The root apex is visible in the opening in the bone.

Fig. 4: Lower canine tooth illustrating a severe grade of calculus (arrow).

Le projet américano-canadien de relevé des colonnes de la Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak : objectifs globaux et méthodologie

Peter Brand,* Emmanuel Laroze** et Jean Revez***

Résumé: Le but du présent article est de présenter les objectifs principaux d'une mission américano-canadienne visant à faire le relevé épigraphique des colonnes de la Grande Salle Hypostyle du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak, dans le cadre plus large du Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project. Après une brève description de la salle, un survol historique sera fait de l'histoire de la construction et de la décoration de la salle. La seconde partie de l'article sera consacrée à l'emploi de l'orthophotographie dans le relevé des surfaces non planes et comment le projet compte bénéficier des déroulés photogrammétriques des colonnes pour mener à bien sa mission.

Abstract: The aim of the present paper is to present the general objectives of a joint American-Canadian project to carry out the epigraphic survey of the columns of the Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Amen-Ra at Karnak, under the auspices of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project. After a brief description of the Hall, an account will be given of the history of its construction and decorative program. The second part of the paper will deal with the role of orthophotography in helping surveying columns, and how the project will benefit from the use of pictures of unrolled columns in order to meet its aims.

Mots-clefs/Keywords: Karnak, Hypostyle Hall/salle hypostyle, Epigraphy/épigraphie, Ramesside Period/période ramesside, palimpsest/palimpseste, orthophotography/orthophotographie

Présentation de la Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak

Considérée comme un «temple de millions d'années» d'après les textes inscrits sur les architraves de la salle[1] et délimitée à l'ouest et à l'est par deux grands pylônes eux-

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[1] Un bon résumé des diverses fonctions associées à la Salle est fourni dans Vincent Rondot, *La Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak. Les architraves* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1997), 135-144; Hosam Refai, "Notes on the Function of the Great Hypostyle Hall in the Egyptian Temple: A Theban Approach" in *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000.* Volume 1, Archaeology, ed. Zahi Hawass (Cairo/New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2003), 393-399; Elizabeth Blyth, *Karnak. Evolution of a Temple* (London/New York: Routledge, 2006), 148-151. Pour des études plus fouillées sur la question, cf. Gerhard Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches*, (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1970); Gerhard Haeny, "Zur Funktion der "Häuser für Millionen Jahre" in

mêmes reliés par de hauts murs, la Grande Salle Hypostyle du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak est le premier espace couvert du temple depuis son accès principal, à l'ouest. Ses dimensions sont impressionnantes : 103 m de large et 53 m de profondeur, Pour soutenir la gigantesque couverture d'un demi-hectare, il a été nécessaire de bâtir une forêt de 134 colonnes. Plus vulnérables, les dalles de pierre qui constituaient la toiture ont aujourd'hui disparu; l'atmosphère lumineuse actuelle ne correspond donc en rien à celle qui y régnait alors. L'éclairage y était assuré par quelques petites fenêtres zénithales, la majorité de la salle restant plongée dans la pénombre, tandis que de grands claustras aménagés dans le décrochement de la toiture baignaient l'allée centrale de soleil (fig. 1).[2]

Si l'état général de conservation est exceptionnel, la salle n'en demeure pas moins fragilisée, comme le rappelle le terrible accident du 3 octobre 1899, au cours duquel s'effondrèrent une douzaine de colonnes dans la partie nord de la salle. Celles-ci furent immédiatement remontées par Georges Legrain au prix d'efforts colossaux.[3]

Histoire de la construction et de la décoration des colonnes de la salle

Si au premier abord la salle hypostyle apparaît dans son ensemble relativement homogène, elle n'a pourtant pas été pensée comme un projet global, mais semble être le résultat d'une suite d'interventions. Les douze colonnes de l'axe central et les autres colonnes, plus petites, disposées au nord et au sud de cette nef, auraient été élevées par Séthi I^{er} (-1291 à -1279), entre le III^{ème} pylône construit auparavant par Amenhotep III (-1391 à -1353) et le II^{ème} pylône érigé par Horemheb (-1323 à -1295) pour marquer la nouvelle entrée du temple.[4]

Ägyptische Tempel - Struktur, Funktion und Programm, ed. Rolf Gundlach (Gerstenberg Verlag, 1994), 101-106; Ali El Sharkawy, *Der Amun-Tempel von Karnak. Die Funktion der Großen Säulenhalle, erschlossen aus der Analyse der Dekoration ihrer Innenwände* (Berlin: Dr. Koster, 1997); Hosam Refai, "Untersuchungen zum Bildprogramm der großen Säulensäle in den thebanischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches" *BeitrÄg* 18 (2000): 77-150; Martina Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit - Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren: Eine Untersurchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Kommission, 2002).

[2] Sur l'organisation spatiale du temple en général et ses éléments constitutifs, Jean-Claude Golvin, Jean-Claude Goyon, *Les bâtisseurs de Karnak* (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1987), 53-85.

[3] Michel Azim et Gérard Réveillac, Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain. Catalogue raisonné des archives photographiques du premier directeur des travaux de Karnak de 1895 à 1917 (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2004), I:123-178 (texte); II: 39-88 (planches).

[4] Peter J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I. Epigraphic, Historical & Art Historical Analysis* (Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2000), 197-201. L'auteur dresse un bilan historiographique des études portant sur la date de construction de la salle et notamment de l'érection des colonnes des travées centrales, traditionnellement attribuée à Amenhotep III ou Horemheb. Nous ne tiendrons pas compte dans la présente étude des conclusions tirées de l'article de Jean-François Carlotti et Philippe Martinez intitulé, "Un 'château de millions d'années' d'époque ramesside: la Grande Salle Hypostyle du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Nouvelles observations architecturales et épigraphiques, essai d'interprétation," in *Les temples de millions d'années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, ed. Christian Leblanc (Le Caire: Dar el-Kutub, 2011), 119-146. Nous attendrons la parution d'un article plus développé sur la question que les auteurs prévoient publier dans le numéro 14 des Cahiers de Karnak.

Peu de temps avant sa mort, Séthi Ier commença par orner de bas-reliefs finement gravés les colonnes de la partie septentrionale de la salle. Son successeur, le célèbre pharaon Ramsès II (-1279 à -1213), décora les travées de la moitié sud de la salle, ainsi que les grandes colonnes de la travée centrale. Tel que conçu à l'origine par ces deux rois, le programme décoratif de ces colonnes devait être plus modeste que ce qu'il en advint ultérieurement. Sur la plupart des 122 colonnes latérales, Séthi Ier et Ramsès II firent graver une scène rituelle unique à mi-hauteur de chacune d'entre elles, le reste de leur surface restant vierge de tout décor. À la base des fûts et sur les chapiteaux, ils firent inscrire des textes stéréotypés et des motifs héraldiques, tandis que la partie supérieure des fûts fut ornée de simples motifs géométriques. La décoration de l'ensemble n'était pas sans rappeler celle de colonnes élevées ailleurs, notamment au Ramesseum construit par Ramsès II sur la rive occidentale de Thèbes. Plus tard dans son règne, Ramsès II fit graver de larges et profondes bandes d'inscriptions dans la partie inférieure des fûts des colonnes latérales de la salle, vraisemblablement dans le but de marquer l'un de ses jubilés.[5] Ce n'est que par la suite que Ramsès II et certains de ses successeurs, faisant abstraction de l'équilibre spatial qui avaient prévalu auparavant entre parties décorées et non décorées des colonnes, parèrent non seulement les sections précédemment vierges, mais retouchèrent également les registres de décor et de textes déjà en place (fig. 2).

Au cours de la XXe dynastie, Ramsès IV (-1156 à -1150) ordonna ainsi à ses lapicides d'enrichir la décoration des colonnes, afin d'associer son nom à ceux des illustres pharaons qui avaient érigé et embelli la Grande Salle Hypostyle avant lui. C'est ainsi qu'il fit graver deux scènes rituelles supplémentaires par colonne et ajouta des frises d'inscriptions par-dessus les motifs géométriques de la majorité des 122 petites colonnes.[6] Seule la mort prématurée du souverain l'empêcha de mener à terme son entreprise; la partie sud-ouest de la salle ne put malheureusement être achevée. Ramsès IV avait pris soin cependant de faire graver d'immenses cartouches par-dessus les motifs floraux qui ornaient la base des larges colonnes de l'axe processionnel de la salle. Le pharaon modifia ensuite l'orthographe de son nom, avant que Ramsès VI (-1145 à -1139) ne remplace les cartouches royaux de Ramsès IV par les siens propres.[7] Dans tous les cas, les sculpteurs effacèrent les inscriptions palimpsestes en badigeonnant de plâtre les inscriptions les plus anciennes, puis en se servant du nouvel enduit comme support à de nouveaux textes. Le plâtre s'étant depuis délité, les cartouches se présentent aujourd'hui sous la forme d'une superposition de noms enchevêtrés difficilement lisibles (fig. 3). Finalement, le Grand Prêtre d'Amon et «roi» Hérihor (ca. -1080 à -1074) mit

[5] Brand, Monuments of Seti I, 201-219.

[6] Louis A. Christophe, *Les divinités des colonnes de la Grande Salle Hypostyle et leurs épithètes* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1955), 61-63.

[7] William J. Murnane, Peter J. Brand, Janusz Karkowski, and Richard Jaeschke, "The Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project: (1992-2002)," *ASAE* 78 (2004): 107.

la dernière main à la décoration des colonnes, en apposant ses cartouches aux seuls endroits encore disponibles, à savoir la base des colonnes (fig. 4).[8]

Mis bout à bout, on compte plus de 350 scènes rituelles sur les colonnes de la salle hypostyle, oeuvres principalement de Séthi I[er], Ramsès II et Ramsès IV. Louis Christophe fit le recensement exhaustif des divinités représentées sur les bas-reliefs, ainsi que de leurs épithètes; il ne put cependant étudier en détail l'iconographie très riche de ces scènes, une tâche qui s'avère aujourd'hui essentielle afin de bien saisir la fonction de la Grande Salle Hypostyle. À titre d'exemple, une représentation unique du dieu Amon-*Ouserhat*, ou «Amon-puissant-de-proue,» un avatar criocéphale du dieu Amon figurant de manière emblématique sur la barque sacrée du dieu, est visible dans un registre de scène.

Pour ce qui concerne l'état de conservation des colonnes de la Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak, il est satisfaisant dans l'ensemble, bien que certaines d'entre elles ne soient plus en place, suite à divers cataclysmes naturels. À l'aide de critères épigraphiques et iconographiques, il sera possible de replacer dans leur contexte originel des fragments de colonnes disséminés à l'heure actuelle à l'extérieur de la grande salle, à différents endroits dans le domaine de Karnak (fig. 5).

La préservation des inscriptions dans la partie inférieure des colonnes, exposée de longue date aux inondations et à l'action destructrice du salpêtre, est toutefois inégale. Certaines sont pratiquement intactes, tandis que d'autres, notamment dans la moitié nord de la salle, ont vu leur décor disparaître sur pratiquement une hauteur de deux mètres à partir du niveau du sol. Malgré ces pertes irréversibles, nous sommes en mesure aujourd'hui de reconstituer virtuellement la totalité de ces scènes et textes, en se fiant aux quelques parallèles bien conservés.

Le relevé informatisé des colonnes

Antoine Chéné, ingénieur d'étude au Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) et responsable du service de photographie du Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (CFEETK), s'était déjà penché sur la question du relevé des colonnes de la salle hypostyle, avant même le développement de la photographique numérique. Il proposait d'adapter à l'échelle de la salle, un ingénieux procédé de photographie «en développé,» mis au point et breveté par lui-même pour les décors de vases: la périphotographie.[9] Le système consistait à faire tourner un appareil photographique autour de la colonne, obturateur ouvert, en laissant le film se dérouler simultanément. Cette technique qui permettait effectivement d'envisager la

[8] Ann Macy Roth, "Some New Texts of Herihor and Ramesses IV in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak," *JNES* 42 (1983), 43-53.

[9] Antoine Chéné, Philippe Foliot et Gérard Réveillac, *La pratique de la photographie en archéologie* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1999), 119-122.

photographie des colonnes, ne fut jamais mise en œuvre. Plus récemment, à l'initiative du Groupe de recherche en conception assistée par ordinateur (GRCAO) de l'Université de Montréal et de l'Institut national des sciences appliquées (INSA) de Strasbourg, le développement à plat de colonnes égyptiennes de modules imposants, dont une colonne de la salle hypostyle de Karnak, a pu être réalisé avec succès à partir d'orthophotos.[10]

En 2006, grâce à une technique numérique fondée sur la lasergrammétrie et en collaboration avec la société ATM-3D, un autre test fut mené sur une colonne de l'allée centrale dans le but de produire une représentation texturée des colonnes déroulées. La nouvelle méthode nécessitait des données topographiques permettant d'enregistrer la géométrie du support et des images photogrammétriques des décors capables d'en restituer les teintes et les couleurs. Les deux types de données étant enregistrés par deux capteurs différents - un scanneur 3D et un appareil photographique - la difficulté résidait dans le traitement de leur réassociation (fig. 6). L'essai fut concluant puisque pour la première fois, une représentation complète du décor d'une colonne put être produite à partir d'un modèle tridimensionnel (fig. 7).[11] Dans le sillage de cette expérimentation et grâce à un mécénat de la fondation Simone et Cino del Duca, de l'Institut de France, le projet du relevé complet des 134 colonnes de la salle hypostyle put alors démarrer. Pour mener à bien cette ambitieuse opération, une association entre plusieurs institutions publiques - le Conseil Supérieur des Antiquités d'Egypte (CSA), le CNRS, l'Ecole Nationale des Sciences Géographiques (ENSG-IGN) - et la société ATM-3D fut indispensable. Si l'ensemble de la salle est aujourd'hui numérisé, il reste désormais à traiter l'immense quantité de données topographiques et photogrammétriques afin de produire un atlas complet des 134 colonnes (fig.8).

Les contraintes associées au relevé épigraphique des colonnes de la salle hypostyle de Karnak

Bien que faisant partie du complexe religieux le plus important du Nouvel Empire (1580-1069 avant J.-C.) et représentant aujourd'hui sans aucun doute l'un des fleurons du tourisme égyptien, la Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak n'a paradoxalement pas encore fait l'objet d'une campagne systématique de relevé épigraphique, iconographique

[10] Elise Meyer, "La photogrammétrie pour le relevé épigraphique des colonnes de la salle hypostyle du temple de Karnak," *Revue XYZ* n°102 (1er trimestre 2005): 33-38; Elise Meyer, Claude Parisel, Pierre Grussenmeyer, Jean Revez et Temy Tifadi, "A computerized solution for the epigraphic survey in Egyptian Temples," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33 : 11 (November 2006): 1605-1616.

[11] Laure Chandelier, Bertrand Chazaly, Yves Egels, Emmanuel Laroze et Daniel Schelstraete, "Numérisation 3D et déroulé photographique des 134 colonnes de la Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak," *Revue XYZ* n°120 (Sept. 2009): 33-39.

et architectural, et de ce fait, son étude exhaustive reste à faire.[12] Trois obstacles majeurs contribuent à expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles un relevé complet des colonnes de la salle hypostyle n'a pas encore été tenté :

- contrainte de hauteur: de par leur gigantisme, les colonnes (dont les plus hautes s'élèvent à plus de 20 mètres) ne se prêtent pas à un relevé traditionnel, les parties supérieures (fûts, chapiteaux, abaques) étant très difficilement atteignables par les modes traditionnels de relevés qui nécessitent échelles et échafaudages, dans une salle par surcroît très fréquentée par les touristes.
- contrainte de surface: le relevé traditionnel par application de support plastique contre la surface à relever ou par décalquage sur fond photographique s'applique très difficilement à des surfaces non planes comme les colonnes dont la forme cylindrique est sujette à distorsion.[13]
- contrainte de redondance: vu que la majeure partie des colonnes est recouverte de textes et de motifs décoratifs répétitifs, reproduire ces scènes en 134 exemplaires constitue un travail fastidieux. Pourtant, des nuances dans le style des gravures des colonnes peuvent être lourdes de sens pour l'histoire architecturale du temple. On citera pour seul exemple les cartouches du pharaon Ramsès II, taillés au même endroit sur toutes les grandes colonnes centrales de la salle. Des différences de traitement dans certaines d'entre elles indiquent qu'il s'agit d'inscriptions non originales, regravées au cours d'opérations de restauration à l'époque gréco-romaine.[14]

Heureusement, grâce aux récentes avancées technologiques dont il a été question dans la section précédente, nous sommes en mesure aujourd'hui de faire des relevés épigraphiques et architecturaux dans des conditions qui n'ont jamais été aussi favorables, aussi bien sur le plan pratique que technique.

[12] Seuls le décor pariétal ornant la face nord du mur septentrional de la salle (The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, Vol. IV: The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*), d'une part, et les architraves surplombant la salle (Rondot, *La Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak*), de l'autre, ont fait jusqu'à présent l'objet de publications scientifiques complètes. C'est pour combler cette lacune que l'Université de Memphis (dans un premier temps, William Murnane, puis maintenant Peter J. Brand) a mis sur pied un projet (le Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project) qui vise, en accord avec le Conseil suprême des antiquités égyptiennes (CSA) et le Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (CFEETK), à publier l'ensemble des scènes gravées sur les murs et les colonnes de la salle hypostyle. L'objectif des dernières années a été de relever les scènes de guerre de Ramsès II ornant la face sud du mur méridional de la salle, missions achevées qui se solderont concrètement par une publication.

[13] Sur les techniques de relevé épigraphique en général, Claude Traunecker, "Les techniques d'épigraphie de terrain: principes et pratique," in *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology. Studies in Egyptology,* ed. Jan Assmann (London: Kegan Paul International, 1987), 261-298; Peter Der Manuelian, "Digital Epigraphy: An Approach to Streamlining Egyptological Epigraphic Method," *JARCE* 35 (1998): 97-113.

[14] Vincent Rondot, Jean-Claude Golvin, "Restauration antiques à l'entrée de la salle hypostyle ramesside du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak," *MDAIK* 45 (1989): 249-259; Peter J. Brand, "Repairs Ancient and Modern in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak," *Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt* 180 (summer 2001): 3.

Dans le cadre d'un projet multidisciplinaire associant - outre les institutions citées plus haut - le Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project (KHHP) de l'Université de Memphis et l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), les objectifs principaux de la recherche, financée en autres par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada (CRSH) et l'Université de Memphis, sont double.

Étude architecturale d'un ensemble monumental altéré au fil des siècles

La Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak a connu de nombreuses vicissitudes au cours de sa longue histoire, comme cela a déjà été précisé. Bien que Georges Legrain, premier directeur de travaux du temple de Karnak entre 1895 et 1917 fit un travail remarquable, au regard des moyens de l'époque, pour remonter les colonnes effondrées, force est néanmoins de constater que la réédification de plusieurs d'entre elles n'a pas été couronnée de succès. Certaines colonnes sont aujourd'hui mal orientées relativement à la voie axiale vis-à-vis de laquelle elles devraient s'aligner; d'autres ne sont vraisemblablement pas à leur place originale; enfin des tambours de colonne sont parfois inversés.[15] Dans la mesure où l'emplacement et l'orientation des colonnes remaniées par Legrain ne sont pas assurés, une étude sur la position exacte des colonnes et le degré de décalage par rapport à leur axe d'origine s'avère donc nécessaire. Pour ce faire, la réalisation de coupes transversales orthophotographiques sera très précieuse.

Méthodologie pour l'étude du décor des colonnes

Dans un premier temps, on étudiera le décor dit «conventionnel» des colonnes qui, derrière une apparente redondance, cache des indices significatifs sur l'histoire architecturale et religieuse du temple. La seconde phase du projet se penchera sur le décor dit «non conventionnel» des colonnes, c'est-à-dire les scènes qui présentent un traitement iconographique plus complexe.

Considérés comme faisant partie du décor «conventionnel» sont les éléments suivants:

- les motifs végétaux: pour des raisons essentiellement religieuses, l'architecture de pierre de la Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak renvoie symboliquement aux paysages marécageux du Delta et à la nature telle qu'elle était apparue à l'origine mythique des temps.[16] La forme des colonnes évoque la plante de papyrus (on parle en l'occurrence de colonne de type «papyriforme») à corolle fermée (pour les petites colonnes des travées latérales) ou à corolle ouverte (dans le cas des douze colonnes de la travée centrale, plus élevées et donc symboliquement plus exposées à la lumière). On retrouve sur la base, le fût et

[15] Anomalies déjà décelées par Christophe, Les divinités, 4-5.

[16] Jean Lauffray, *Karnak d'Égypte. Domaine du divin* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1987), 67-75.

le chapiteau des colonnes, des motifs floraux de forme et de style divers, matérialisant feuilles, nervures, épis et fleurs (fig. 9). L'examen minutieux de ce décor, qui présente d'infinies variantes sur un même thème, permettra de mieux cerner la signification religieuse de ce type de colonne égyptienne, notamment en le comparant avec d'autres recensés à Karnak et ailleurs (colonnes *ouadj*, *ioun*, *aa*, cannelées, etc.).[17]

- les cartouches royaux: renfermant les noms de Séthi Ier, Ramsès II, Ramsès IV, Ramsès VI et Hérihor, ils sont gravés tantôt verticalement, tantôt horizontalement, sur la base, la partie supérieure du fût et le chapiteau des colonnes. L'analyse des variantes orthographiques des noms propres des pharaons permettra de dater précisément les phases de décoration des colonnes;[18] les cartouches palimpsestes sont en outre riches de renseignements sur la volonté de certains souverains de s'approprier les monuments de leurs prédécesseurs.
- les oiseaux *rehkyt*, figures représentées par un vanneau huppé, utilisés également comme le signe hiéroglyphique désignant communément le peuple d'Égypte. Gravés sur les bases de certaines colonnes dans une attitude d'adoration face aux cartouches royaux, les oiseaux *rekhyt* peuvent indiquer le degré d'accessibilité de zones particulières du temple à certaines couches de l'élite (fig.10).[19]

Considérées comme faisant partie du décor «non conventionnel» sont les scènes gravées dans la partie centrale des fûts où le pharaon et les dieux se font mutuellement des offrandes. Ces bas-reliefs sont très instructifs sur:

- la fonction religieuse de la salle, notamment la nature du rapport qui liait la sphère royale au monde divin. La diversité considérable que l'on observe d'une colonne à l'autre, aussi bien dans la nature des dons présentés que dans les attributs et les titres associés au souverain et aux dieux, s'explique

[17] Pour la diversité des colonnes sur le plan architectural, J. Peter Phillips, *The Columns of Egypt* (Manchester: Peartree Publishing, 2002), 5-26; Jean-Claude Goyon, Jean-Claude Golvin, Claire Simon-Boidot et Gilles Martinet, *La construction pharaonique du Moyen Empire à l'époque gréco-romaine. Contextes et principes technologiques* (Paris: Picard, 2004), 38-41. Pour la terminologie des colonnes, Patricia Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: a Lexicographical Study* (London, Kegan Paul International, 1984).

[18] Sur l'évolution orthographique des noms contenus dans les deux cartouches de Ramsès II, William J. Murnane, "The earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975): 170-183; Brand, "Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project," *ASAE* 78: 106; Anthony Spalinger, "Early Writings of Ramesses II's Names," *CdE* 83 (2008), 75-89.

[19] Pour une étude récente de la question, Kenneth Griffin, "A Reinterpretation of the Use and Function of the Rekhyt Rebus in New Kingdom Temples," in *Current Research in Egyptology 7. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Symposium which took place at the University of Oxford, April 2006*, ed. Maria Cannata (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 66-84.

assurément par des facteurs théologiques qu'il convient de déterminer plus précisément.[20]

- la fonction liturgique de la salle qui était en autres le théâtre de la plus importante célébration religieuse de l'Égypte ancienne. La fête en question, appelée Opet, visait à exalter les dieux primordiaux en l'honneur de qui le temple de Karnak avait été élevé, d'une part, et les rois dont ils étaient les fils sur le plan sacré et grâce auxquels la construction et l'agrandissement du plus grand complexe monumental d'Égypte avaient été rendus possibles, de l'autre. L'étude des scènes gravées sur les colonnes, et surtout l'examen de leur orientation par rapport aux grands axes de la salle et des scènes gravées sur les murs qui les bordent, devrait déboucher sur une meilleure compréhension des autres rites qui se déroulaient dans la salle hypostyle de Karnak.

Parallèlement à l'analyse du décor (conventionnel ou non) des colonnes, une étude sera faite sur l'emploi des couleurs (dont il reste encore des traces visibles à de nombreux endroits) et le phénomène de mutilation volontaire des figures humaines et divines, dont plusieurs représentations sur les colonnes ont été victimes, vraisemblablement après la fermeture définitive du temple au cours de l'Antiquité tardive.

En conclusion, ce projet devrait mener à la publication d'un ouvrage rassemblant sous forme de planches les déroulés photogrammétriques de toutes les colonnes de la Grande Salle Hypostyle et des relevés dessins qui en seront tirés, d'une part, puis la description des scènes, la transcription, translittération et traduction des textes, de l'autre. Une version tridimensionnelle des colonnes sous forme de maquette numérique est également envisagée. Sur le plan des retombées scientifiques et de l'avancement des connaissances, il est évident que le projet proposé permettra à plus long terme d'apporter des éléments concrets de réponse à des questions aussi fondamentales que variées. Comment évaluer les facteurs socio-culturels qui définissent l'aspect général et la destination d'un ensemble monumental? En quoi le programme décoratif d'un monument est-il tributaire de son mode d'utilisation et de l'évolution des mentalités? Sur le plan plus méthodologique, il s'agira aussi de saisir l'incidence de l'usage d'un

[20] Sur quelques approches méthodologiques en matière de recensement et d'enregistrement des scènes d'offrande ornant les murs des temples égyptiens, Wolfgang Helck, "Die Systematik der Ausschmückung der hypostylen Halle von Karnak," *MDAIK* 32 (1976), 57-65; Amy Calvert, "Quantifying Regalia: A Contextual Study into the Variations and Significance of Egyptian Royal Costume using Relational Databases and Advanced Statistical Analyses," in *Causing His Name to Live. Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*, ed. Peter J. Brand and Louise Cooper (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2009), 49-64; Benoît Lurson, *Lire l'image égyptienne. Les "Salles du Trésor" du Grand Temple d'Abou Simbel* (Paris: Geuthner, 2001); en rapport plus directement avec la Salle Hypostyle de Karnak, Benoît Lurson, "La Conception du décor d'un temple au début du règne de Ramsès II: Analyse du deuxième régistre de la moitié sud du mur ouest de la Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak," *JEA* 91 (2005): 107-124.

bâtiment patrimonial sur son état actuel de conservation et de montrer comment la modélisation informatique sert d'outil de réflexion efficace en archéologie de l'environnement bâti.

Fig. 1: Vue aérienne de l'entrée du grand temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Au premier plan, on distingue le premier pylône qui précède aujourd'hui la grande cour et la salle hypostyle (photo A. Chéné/Cfeetk).

Fig. 2: Le mode de gravure change au fil des règnes. Ici, un exemple de relief en champlevé de Séthi I^{er} (photo P. Brand).

Fig. 3: Cartouche palimpseste de Ramsès IV. Les multiples regravures de noms royaux rendent très difficile la lecture de certains noms propres de pharaons (photo P. Brand)

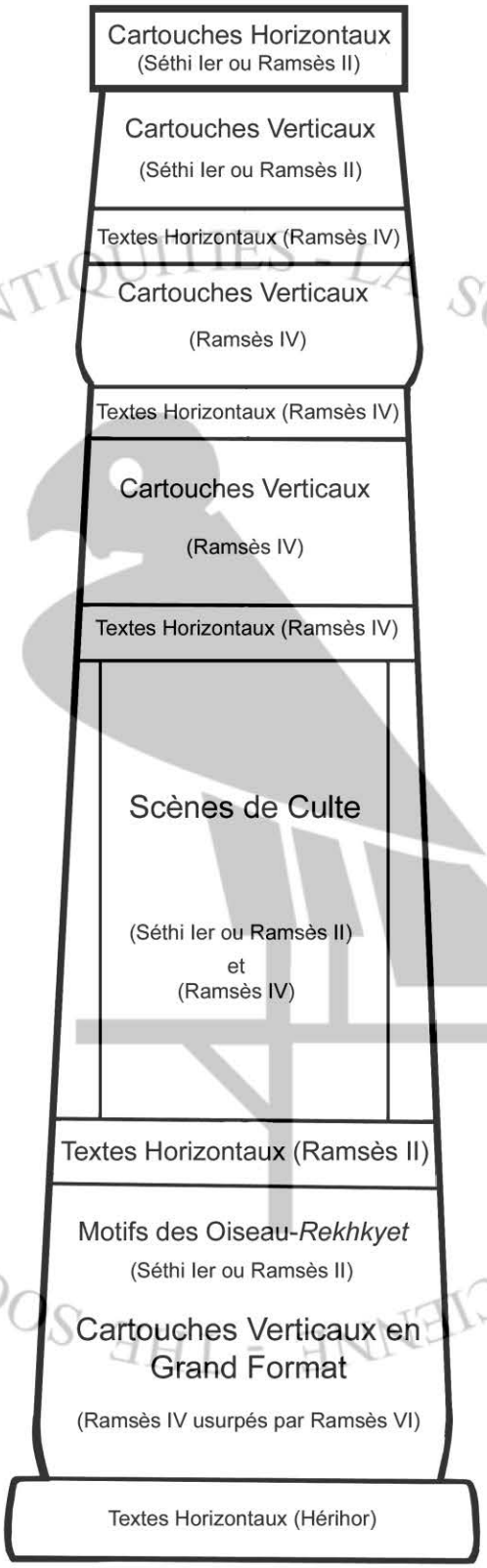

Fig. 4: Diagramme d'une colonne latérale permettant de localiser les décorations des différents souverains (P. Brand).

Fig. 5: Tambours épars provenant de colonnes effondrées. Il conviendra de restituer virtuellement ces blocs à leur emplacement d'origine dans la Grande Salle Hypostyle (photo J. Revez).

Fig. 6: Superposition d'un cliché photogrammétrique avec une vue du modèle 3D d'une colonne. Cet exemple montre comment il est possible de faire correspondre les informations issues d'une photographie avec un modèle numérique réalisé avec un scanneur 3d. (B. Chazaly).

Fig. 7: Modèle numérique coloré d'une colonne et son développé orthophotographique correspondant. (Atm3d/Cfcctk).

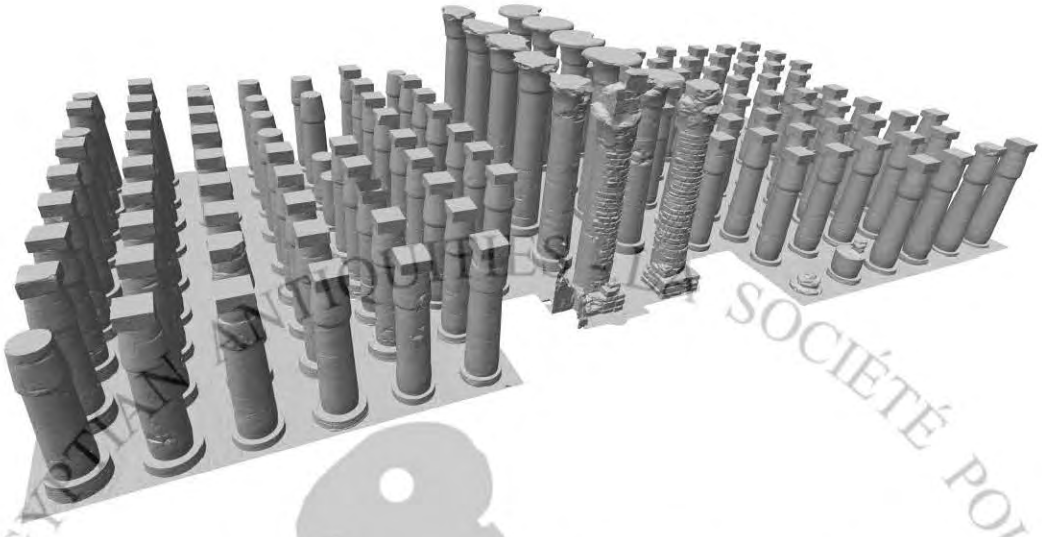

Fig. 8: Vue en perspective du modèle numérique de la salle hypostyle (X. Coucurou, A. Franco, B. Chazaly/Atm3d)

Fig. 9: Motifs végétaux à la base des colonnes. Les variantes stylistiques sont riches d'enseignement sur le travail des lapicides; elles permettent entre autres de faire la distinction entre divers états de composition d'une même scène (photo J. Revez).

Fig. 10: Les oiseaux rekhyt gravés à la base des colonnes peuvent indiquer le degré d'accessibilité de certaines zones du temple à des couches de la population (photo P. Brand).

Un hypogée gréco-romain à Oxyrhynchos

Núria Castellano i Solé*

Résumé: Le site archéologique d'Oxyrhynchos, bien connu des papyrologues, abrite une nécropole qui a été occupée pendant plus de mille ans. Les tombes les plus anciennes sont de l'époque saïte et la nécropole a été en usage jusqu'à la période islamique. Dans cet article, nous décrirons la fouille d'un hypogée gréco-romain avec des sarcophages en pierre ainsi que des cercueils en bois décorés.

Abstract: At ancient Oxyrhynchus, well-known among the papyrologists, an ancient necropolis can be found, which was in use for over a thousand years. The first tombs date back to the Saite period with occupation continuing into the Islamic period. In this article, we focus on one of the most simple types of tombs: an hypogeum dating to the Graeco-Roman period with stone sarcophagi and also some decorated wooden coffins.

Mots-clefs/Keywords: Oxyrhynchos, Nécropole Haute/Upper necropolis, hypogées gréco-romains/Greco-Roman tombs, sarcophages/sarcophagi, cercueil/coffin, *ousekh*/*wesekh*.

Le site archéologique de la ville gréco-romaine d'Oxyrhynchos, qui a succédé à la ville pharaonique de Per-Medjed, se trouve à proximité de la ville moderne d'El-Bahnasa, dans la province de Minièh, à environ 190 km au sud du Caire, sur la rive gauche du Bahr Youssef. Per-Medjed, qui signifie «la maison de la rencontre», est connue des registres géographiques depuis l'antiquité pharaonique mais ce n'est que récemment que l'on y a découvert des restes archéologiques de ces époques.[1]

L'importance d'Oxyrhynchos, capitale du XIXe nome de la Haute Égypte, est due principalement à son emplacement géographique, tirant les avantages d'un port fluvial sur le Bahr Youssef. Sa position en plein réseau routier vers les oasis du désert occidental a fait que les pharaons Apriès et Amasis ont offert une concession d'exploitation du commerce des oasis du nord à Oxyrhynchos, qui s'est convertie en véritable centre du trafic caravanier, où s'échangeaient des produits d'Afrique Centrale, des oasis, de la Libye et de la Méditerranée. L'importance stratégique de son emplacement sur cette route vers le désert occidental a été à l'origine de son développement à partir de la XXVIe dynastie et de la présence de grandes tombes de fonctionnaires.[2]

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[1] Je remercie Anders Bettum, Ruth Brech, Juan José Castillos et Maite Mascort pour leurs suggestions ainsi que Maribel Pantebre, Maite Parrilla et Dolors Codina pour la révision en français.

[2] Núria Castellano, *L'arquitectura funerària al període saïta* (Barcelone: Université de Barcelone, 2007), 323.

À partir de la conquête d'Alexandre le Grand, la ville a gagné en importance pendant l'occupation gréco-romaine quand une importante colonie étrangère, majoritairement grecque, s'y est installée et a provoqué l'agrandissement urbain et sa refondation comme ville grecque sous le nom d'Oxyrhynkhos.

À l'époque chrétienne, Oxyrhynchos était le siège d'un évêché et devint célèbre pour sa grande quantité d'églises et de monastères. Selon diverses sources,[3] au début du Ve s. apr. J.-C. Oxyrhynchos comprenait 12 églises et de nombreux monastères situés aussi bien à l'intérieur que hors de la ville. Plus de 5 000 moines vivaient dans des édifices qui auparavant avaient été des temples païens.[4]

La ville est aussi connue pour la bataille qui s'y est déroulée en 641 apr. J.-C., au cours de laquelle les forces arabes, après la conquête de la Basse Égypte, mirent en déroute la garnison byzantine de la Haute Égypte. Après la conquête arabe, le système de canaux dont dépendait la ville est tombé en désuétude et la ville a été abandonnée.

Histoire des fouilles archéologiques

Les premières informations d'époque moderne se référant à Oxyrhynchos nous parviennent de l'expédition de Napoléon. Vivant Denon a visité la zone et a publié des gravures constituant les premiers dessins connus de l'architecture antique d'Oxyrhynchos, à savoir une colonne dont seule la partie basse est encore visible de nos jours. Cette colonne faisait probablement partie d'un tétrapyle, typique de l'architecture romane, au carrefour des grandes avenues.[5]

L'étude archéologique du site a débuté entre 1897 et 1907 avec les fouilles des papyrologues Bernard P. Grenfell et Arthur S. Hunt, à la recherche de papyrus. Ces travaux ont mis au jour un énorme corpus de papyrus écrits principalement en grec, latin et copte (d'époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine) qui ont fait la célébrité d'Oxyrhynchos dans les milieux universitaires du monde entier. Cette découverte a permis de connaître en détail la vie dans une ville gréco-romaine et a mis au jour une grande quantité de documents administratifs, religieux et littéraires. Ils ont également dressé un plan topographique du site, qui a été publié par Bernard V. Darbishire. Sur ce plan sont signalées des tombes de différentes époques. Par la suite, les italiens ont réalisé plusieurs campagnes de fouilles, entre 1909 et 1914, sous la direction de Hermenegildo Pistelli. Plus tard, le site s'est vu affecté par la construction d'une ligne de chemin de fer pendant la guerre de 1914-1918, qui a eu comme conséquence le sac accéléré du site,

[3] Rufinus, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto: Edition critique du texte grec* (Paris: Festugière, 1961), V: 41-43.

[4] Sara Clackson, "Coptic Oxyrhynchus," in *Oxyrhynchus: a city and its texts*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Revel A. Coles et Nikolaos Gonis (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2008), 336.

[5] Jane Rowlandson, "Middle Egypt," in *Egypt. From Alexander to the Copts. An Archaeological and Historical Guide*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall and Dominic Rathbone (London: British Museum Press, 2004), 159.

avec l'extraction de grandes quantités de *sebakh* — terre organique — pour fertiliser les champs.

En 1922, Flinders Petrie réalisa une campagne de fouilles à Oxyrhynchos. Il situa sur le plan certains des éléments dispersés de la cité gréco-romaine, comme une base de colonne où Petrie avait trouvé une dédicace tardive à l'empereur Phokas,[6] les ruines d'un théâtre (probablement le plus grand du nord de l'Afrique, avec une capacité d'accueil pour 11 200 spectateurs)[7] et il découvrit quelques tombes et chapelles funéraires.[8] Le musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie a aussi réalisé diverses campagnes archéologiques sous la direction d'Evaristo Breccia entre 1927 et 1932. Elles ont mis au jour un grand nombre d'édifices en pierre de l'époque chrétienne et localisé des sculptures en marbre et en pierre calcaire de l'époque romaine.[9] Postérieurement, il faut souligner certaines interventions d'urgence du Service des Antiquités. En 1982, le Service des Antiquités d'Égypte se chargea du travail archéologique à Oxyrhynchos, ayant constaté qu'une nécropole pharaonique était en train d'être saccagée. Entre 1985 et 1987, une Mission koweitienne dirigée par le Prof. Fehérvári a fait divers sondages dans des niveaux d'époque musulmane[10] et en 1993, une Mission de la section d'antiquités islamiques du Service des Antiquités a fouillé au sud du site des maisons en pierre d'époque romaine.[11] Les fouilles du Service des Antiquités dirigées par Mahmud Hamzah ont continué jusqu'en 1992, quand une Mission Mixte dirigée par le Dr Josep Padró[12] entreprit des fouilles régulières jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

La Mission archéologique espagnole a repris l'étude des ruines d'Oxyrhynchos, aussi bien dans la nécropole, qui avait commencé à être fouillée, que dans les restes urbains de l'ancienne ville. Concernant l'urbanisme de la ville,[13] on a exhumé et situé sur une nouvelle carte archéologique quelques éléments architecturaux et urbanistiques de l'ancienne ville, comme la porte orientale,[14] un angle de péristyle dorique au sud de la

[6] Possiblement la même base de colonne que dessina V. Denon.

[7] Rowlandson, "Middle Egypt," 159.

[8] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos* (London: British School of Archaeology, 1925), 12-18.

[9] Castellano, L'arquitectura, 325.

[10] Josep Padró, "Recent archaeological work," in *Oxyrhynchus: a city and its texts*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Revel A. Coles and Nikolaos Gonis (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2008), 129.

[11] Josep Padró, "Le site d'Oxyrhynchos: rapport sur les travaux menés depuis 1992," *Cadmo* 13 (2003): 9-10.

[12] La Mission archéologique espagnole est composée des membres suivants: Dr J. Padró, Dr H. I. Amer, Dr M. Erroux-Morfin, Dr E. Pons, Dr E. Subías, M.T. Mascort, Dr N. Castellano, Dr Mª. L. Mangado, J. J. Martínez, Dr J. Campillo, D. Codina, A. Perraud, R. Xarrié, B. Burgaya, T. López, J. Segarra, E. Algorri.

[13] Padró, "Le site d'Oxyrhynchos," 13-14.

[14] Josep Padró, Mahmud Hamza, Margueritte Erroux-Morfin, Eva Subias, Hassan Amer, Luis Gonzálvez et Maite Mascort, "Fouilles archéologiques à Oxyrhynchos, 1992-1994," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists Cambridge 3-9 September 1995*, ed. Christopher J. Eyre (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 823-828.

porte (peut-être un gymnase), la base de la colonne où Petrie avait trouvé une dédicace tardive à l'empereur Phokas, la colonnade et le théâtre que Petrie documentait ainsi que les nécropoles. Mentionnons le fait que la base de la colonne se trouve dans le même axe que la porte monumentale orientale. Elle avait fait partie d'un tétrapylon[15] plus ancien et signalait l'emplacement d'un carrefour. Les ruines urbaines de la ville[16] n'ont pas été localisées, probablement parce qu'elles se trouvent sous le village actuel d'El-Bahnasa, près du Bahr Youssef. Pour ce qui est des fouilles entamées par le Service des Antiquités Egyptiennes et l'étude de la nécropole, dans cet ordre, le site est constitué de trois secteurs importants où nous fouillons actuellement: l'Osireion, la forteresse paléo-byzantine et la Nécropole Haute (fig. 1).

L'Osireion

L'Osireion d'Oxyrhynchos a été découvert en 2000 quand des voleurs essayèrent d'extraire une statue du dieu Osiris. Il s'agit d'un temple-nécropole souterrain consacré au culte de cette divinité. Le site fut largement réaménagé pendant les règnes d'Alexandre II Aegos, fils d'Alexandre le Grand, de Ptolomée I Sôter et de Ptolomée II Philadelphe. Le téménos de l'Osireion s'étend sur plus de 17 ha et nous avons exhumé un autel et des foyers rituels.

L'accès principal au temple souterrain se fait par un escalier monumental qui aboutit dans une sorte de petit vestibule ouvrant sur deux salles, la salle nº 1, de 10,70 m sur 2,68 m, étant la plus intéressante. Elle contient une statue colossale en pierre calcaire du dieu Osiris de 3,30 m de haut allongée sur le sol. La salle permet d'accéder à deux galeries avec des niches de chaque côté, qui présentent des inscriptions hiératiques sur le linteau. Ces inscriptions font allusion au nom d'Osiris et aux années de règne de Ptolomée VIII Evèrgete et de Cléopâtre II.[17]

Forteresse paléo-byzantine

À 1 700 m de la Nécropole Haute, hors des murailles de la ville gréco-romaine, se trouve un grand domaine paléo-byzantin avec plusieurs niveaux d'occupation et constitué de nombreuses salles à caractère religieux. On citera en particulier une salle avec des colonnes en cercle ainsi qu'un possible réfectoire et une église de plan basilical avec une chambre en relation avec la sépulture et un culte de type martyrial. À proximité de ce domaine se trouvait une maison-tour de deux étages avec une parcelle rustique, qui a été transformée en forteresse au début de l'invasion arabe.

[15] Rowlandson, "Middle Egypt," 161.

[16] Eva Subias, *La corona immarcescible. Pintures de l'antiguitat tardana de la Necròpolis Alta d'Oxirrinc* (Mínia, Egipte) (Tarragone: ICAC, 2003), 9-10.

[17] Maite Mascort, "L'Osireion d'Oxyrhynchos," in *Oxyrhynchos, un site de fouilles en devenir, Colloque de Cabestany*, ed. Margueritte Erroux-Morfin et Josep Padró (Barcelona: 2008), 77-81.

La Nécropole Haute

La Nécropole Haute était construite au nord-ouest de l'ancienne ville, sur un emplacement élevé qui la rend visible encore aujourd'hui.[18] Elle a été utilisée, sans solution apparente de continuité, depuis l'époque pharaonique jusqu'à l'époque islamique, pendant plus de mille ans. Nous avons procédé au total à l'excavation de 31 tombes en pierre qui datent de la période saïte et de l'époque gréco-romaine.

Les résultats les plus significatifs proviennent des fouilles dans le secteur saïte de la Nécropole Haute. Au moins six des tombes découvertes jusqu'à présent correspondent à cette période et présentent diverses structures souterraines et monumentales aux formes très variées. Les tombes saïtes d'Oxyrhynchos présentent une structure radiale et complexe pour certaines d'entres elles (tombe 13), très simples pour d'autres, avec un puits et une seule chambre (tombe 6) ou avec des chambres adossées (tombe 9). Certaines sont des tombes familiales (tombe 1 et tombe 14), pour lesquelles nous ne pouvons toujours pas établir de lien de parenté entre les diverses personnes enterrées. Sans doute ces tombes ont-elles été de véritables modèles pour la construction des tombes postérieures qui se construisaient par-dessus les tombes plus anciennes.

Après la période saïte, la nécropole ne reçoit plus de sépultures pendant quelques siècles, jusqu'à l'époque gréco-romaine. C'est la phase la plus largement représentée et ces structures funéraires constituent un autre ensemble important de tombes. Il s'agit d'une série de structures complexes, avec des puits articulant des chambres tout autour de cours. À cette époque, les tombes étaient aménagées à côté de celles d'époque saïte et imitaient leurs caractéristiques architecturales: monuments construits en pierre calcaire de taille blanche, couverts d'une voûte en berceau et avec des peintures murales. La tombe la plus intéressante est la numéro 3, avec deux cuves maçonnées en calcaire, adossées au mur est et recouvertes de peintures funéraires.[19]

Sur les strates supérieures des tombes saïtes et gréco-romaines, de nombreuses tombes en brique ont été trouvées d'époque paléo-byzantine,[20] sous forme de puits étroit, d'environ 3 m de profondeur et à l'intérieur duquel on trouve pratiquement toujours un seul corps. De cette même époque, il faut mentionner une structure très intéressante, la dénommée Maison funéraire paléo-byzantine, dont la fonction était d'officier les derniers rites et d'enterrer les défunts. Outre les cryptes et leurs nombreuses

[18] La nécropole saïte se situe hors des limites de la ville tandis qu'à l'époque gréco-romaine elle était déjà une nécropole urbaine: la ville l'avait englobée dans le réseau urbain.

[19] Padró, Hamza, Erroux-Morfin, Subias, Amer, Gonzálvez et Mascort, "Fouilles archéologiques," 826.

[20] Josep Padró, *Oxyrhynchos I. Fouilles archéologiques à El-Bahnasa (1982-2005)* (Barcelone: Université de Barcelone, 2006), 15-16.

inhumations, il convient de remarquer les peintures qui recouvraient les murs en grande partie avec des conceptions clairement religieuses.[21]

La tombe 17 (fig. 2)

La tombe 17 est située dans la zone nord de la Nécropole Haute et limitée au nord et à l'ouest par les tombes gréco-romaines qui imitaient les tombes saïtes; à l'est, par la Maison funéraire, une tombe hellénistique avec une superstructure pyramidale en briques crues et la grande chambre de la tombe 11 gréco-romaine, et au sud, par un hypogée qui a été fouillé en 1992.

Ce secteur a été utilisé comme lieu d'enterrement depuis l'époque saïte jusqu'à la période byzantine, ce que nous avons pu vérifier au moment de la fouille.[22] Il s'agissait initialement d'une tombe-hypogée à laquelle on accédait par un puits de 2,08 m de profondeur. La bouche d'entrée était formée par des dalles de pierre calcaire blanche unies entre elles par du mortier rosé[23] au nord (1,37 m de long) et au sud (1,23 m de long) et à l'ouest le puits se fermait avec des briques crues (fig. 3). À 97 cm de l'entrée du puits et en direction ouest, la paroi du puits était obstruée par un petit mur construit en brique crue de 80 cm de haut. Il constituait l'entrée à une enceinte qui a été excavée. Une dalle est apparue à deux mètres de profondeur. C'était le linteau de la porte ouvrant sur une tombe très simple en pierre calcaire blanche, formée d'une salle rectangulaire de 2,25 m de long sur 1,41 m de haut et 80 cm de large, avec un cercueil en bois et une momie à l'intérieur. Le défunt n'avait pas de trousseau, et rien n'indique que celui-ci ait été volé. Nous avons trouvé un parallèle à la nécropole de Beni Hassan, en bas du précipice où ont été enterrés les nomarques du Moyen Empire. Il y a une tombe en pierre avec un puits qui mène à une chambre en pierre couverte de six dalles en pierre calcaire. Elle contenait deux inhumations masculines avec des cartonnages et des cercueils anthropomorphes en bois.[24]

La tombe 17 d'Oxyrhynchos était orientée en direction est-ouest. Toutefois, l'enceinte a été excavée en direction nord-sud, avec des dimensions de 6,1 m. Une fois le défunt déposé, l'entrée à partir du puits a dû être scellée avec le mur en briques (fig. 4) et ce n'est qu'à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque que le puits a été rouvert et l'enceinte

[21] Quelques-unes des thématiques sont un cavalier dont l'origine remonte au monde héroïque hellénistique, une grande couronne avec à l'intérieur une croix et le signe *alpha* et *oméga* faisant allusion à la résurrection, l'évocation du *martyrium* du Christ, ou encore l'histoire de Jonas.

[22] Nous avons constaté que ce secteur avait été prospecté par Monsieur Mahmud Hamza, parce que les premières couches étaient remuées et que le peu de matériel trouvé ne pouvait pas permettre une datation fiable.

[23] Castellano, L'arquitectura, 338.

[24] Castellano, L'arquitectura, 321.

ouest réutilisée pour accueillir 13 inhumations avec des cercueils en bois décorés.[25] Ces enterrements se sont faits les uns par-dessus les autres sur trois niveaux, à l'exception d'une inhumation située dans une découpe en direction nord, plus haute que le reste. L'orientation des défunts ne suivait aucun ordre: on a trouvé des corps est-ouest avec la tête dans une direction ou dans l'autre et d'autres corps nord-sud avec la tête également dans un sens ou dans l'autre. La position des mains ne suivait aucun ordre précis. On a trouvé des inhumations avec les mains sur les jambes, à côté des jambes, sur le bassin ou les bras à côté des jambes et les mains croisées sur le bassin. On peut donc en conclure que toutes les orientations ont été utilisées, et ce en fonction de l'occupation de la nécropole.[26]

Lorsqu'il n'y eut plus de place pour les inhumations,[27] une autre entrée a été faite depuis le puits en direction est, à plus d'un mètre de profondeur, et obstruée avec des briques crues. Ce mur de 70 cm de haut se terminait à 1,83 m de profondeur du puits. L'enceinte présentait une découpe ovale sur le djebel[28] de 1,60 m de long et 1,30 m de large. À 2,48 m de profondeur se trouvait un autre cercueil en bois, malheureusement très détérioré. L'espace a été réutilisé peu après: en effet, à 1,74 m de profondeur de cette découpe on a mis au jour quatre cercueils en bois. L'orientation des cercueils était est-ouest, avec la tête disposée à l'ouest. Cette orientation correspond aux croyances funéraires égyptiennes depuis l'époque pharaonique.[29] En définitive, nous nous trouvons face à un hypogée avec l'entrée par un puits avec une enceinte à l'est et à l'ouest. Les dimensions totales de l'hypogée sont de 5,9 m d'est-ouest et de 6,1 m du nord au sud. Ces tombes avec puits sont très courantes à l'époque ptolémaïque. Elles s'adaptent à l'orographie du terrain. Il y a des parallèles à Douch,[30] avec des structures plus ou moins complexes, avec accès par un puits.

Une fois l'entrée de nouveau scellée, l'hypogée a été abandonné. Preuve en est que l'intérieur du puits était rempli de sable jaune très fin, apporté par le vent. On a supposé que c'était peut-être une structure non saccagée.[31] Mais l'espace n'a pas été abandonné, car une couche de sable de couleur jaune et orange avec des galets de silex s'est formée

[25] Le toit creusé dans le djebel était bien conservé. Malheureusement, la fouille de cette partie était très dangereuse dû à l'effondrement du toit et on a décidé de continuer les travaux en surface.

[26] Annie Perraud, "Étude des momies de la nécropole d'Oxyrhynchos," in *Oxyrhynchos, un site de fouilles en devenir, Colloque de Cabestany*, ed. Margueritte Erroux-Morfin and Josep Padró (Barcelone: 2008), 55.

[27] L'entrée depuis le puits fut rendue inutilisable de par la présence de cercueils qui en bloquaient l'accès.

[28] À la différence de l'autre enceinte, le toit de cette enceinte n'est pas conservé.

[29] L'ouest ou l'Occident était le royaume des morts, et d'habitude le crâne était mis dans cette direction.

[30] François Dunand, Jean-Louis Heim, Nessim Henein et Roger Lichtenberg, *La nécropole de Douch (Oasis de Kkarga)* (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1992), 2-3.

[31] Il faut remarquer que nous avons récupéré une perle en faïence bleue, provenant peut-être d'un collier ou d'un filet de momie, deux morceaux d'*ouchebtis*, des petits morceaux de poterie et deux fragments en bronze d'une figurine du dieu Osiris.

sur le puits. On a pu déterrer quatre sarcophages anthropomorphes en pierre calcaire blanche. Ils sont tous déposés dans le sable sans structure et sans trousseau funéraire. On ne peut affirmer s'ils étaient *in situ*. À la limite nord de la fouille, au niveau de la grande brèche pratiquée dans la strate géologique pour construire une tombe, est apparu un sarcophage qui mesurait 1,80 m de long en direction est-ouest, avec la tête à l'ouest et qui était anthropomorphe. Malgré le bon état de conservation du sarcophage (il était entier, néanmoins avec des petites fissures), on a décidé de transporter le sarcophage avec la momie au magasin de la Mission, afin de pouvoir en faire l'étude en profondeur. Au nord-ouest, un autre sarcophage de pierre calcaire est apparu, disposé en diagonal par rapport à la position du premier, avec la tête au sud-est. Seule la moitié du couvercle était conservée. Du corps, il ne restait que la tête entourée de bandages. L'état de destruction du sarcophage laisse supposer que les voleurs ont pris le corps, laissant la tête, qui a été recueillie pour étude. Un peu plus au sud on a mis au jour un sarcophage orienté nord-ouest sud-est avec la tête située au sud. Le couvercle, grossièrement travaillé et sans décoration, était fragmenté et le pied du sarcophage était cassé. Le sarcophage présentant le meilleur état de conservation a été localisé à l'extrême sud-est. Il était fermé, mais le couvercle présentait des fissures. Nous avons dû procéder à son ouverture pour vérifier son contenu et, aux vues des petites dimensions la momie encore présente dans le sarcophage était celle d'un enfant, en bon état de conservation. L'orientation du corps était nord-sud, avec la tête au sud; la momie a été transportée pour étude au magasin de la Mission (fig. 5).

Tous les sarcophages trouvés ne diffèrent pas de ceux dégagés les années antérieures. Ils sont probablement d'époque gréco-romaine, mais n'oublions pas que les différences typologiques entre les sarcophages peuvent être mises en rapport avec les différents ateliers localisés dans la même zone et qui travaillaient au même moment. On sait qu'à l'époque ptolémaïque beaucoup de momies étaient placées directement dans un grossier sarcophage en pierre calcaire avec l'intérieur anthropomorphe.[32] Tous les sarcophages en pierre découverts dans cet endroit lors de la fouille d'Oxyrhynchos ont l'intérieur anthropomorphe. L'un avait un couvercle grossièrement travaillé, simplement dégrossi et sans décoration. Mais d'autres étaient très bien finis et travaillés. Dans d'autres sites proches d'Oxyrhynchos, comme Beni Hasan, on a retrouvé des sarcophages semblables à cette époque.[33]

[32] Klaus Parlaska, "Mummy Portraits: Old and New Problems," in *Portraits and Mask: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, ed. Morris L. Bierbrier (London: British Museum, 1997), 126.

[33] Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 273.

La phase finale de la tombe

La dernière phase d'utilisation de cet espace était elle aussi funéraire. En effet, du dessus de cette strate qui recouvrait les sarcophages en pierre ont été dégagés quatre cercueils en bois, très mal conservés, orientés nord-sud. Les cercueils étaient tous déposés dans la terre et le bois était décomposé à cause de l'humidité ambiante. Nous avons pu observer, malgré tout, qu'ils étaient recouverts à l'origine de stuc blanc, qu'ils devaient comporter des inscriptions et des décorations de couleur rouge, bleue et noire, sans pouvoir être plus précis. Les cercueils étaient rectangulaires et anthropomorphes, même si pour l'un d'eux il a été impossible de savoir si le cercueil était rectangulaire ou anthropomorphe à cause des planches brisées et de son mauvais état de conservation. L'orientation de tous les défunts était nord-sud, même si, tout comme à l'intérieur de la tombe, la tête pouvait être placée en direction septentrionale ou méridionale. L'étude *in situ* par Annie Perraud[34] corrobora qu'il s'agissait d'adultes, grâce aux squelettes et aux dimensions des cercueils.

Finalement, la couche supérieure est composée de constructions en briques paléo-byzantines (IV-VIIe s. apr. J.-C.), et la décomposition de ces structures est encore visible dans des endroits non fouillés de la Nécropole Haute. Au sud-est du site, on a découvert l'une de ces structures: une petite salle de briques crues avec un plan rectangulaire dont il ne reste qu'une ou deux rangées (fig. 6). Malheureusement, le matériel archéologique récupéré ne nous a pas permis de préciser la date de la strate. À l'intérieur on a dégagé deux inhumations: un adulte et un enfant. Il s'agit d'un dépôt secondaire puisque ces inhumations venaient sûrement d'un autre emplacement. Ce sont des inhumations effectuées en pleine terre, sans structure et non momifiées. Les ossements sont bouleversés et il semble que les squelettes ne soient pas complets. À côté d'un des corps on a trouvé un petit œil *oudjat* bleu, le seul objet du trousseau funéraire.

Comme nous avons pu l'observer, la tombe 17 est un exemple de réutilisation de l'espace funéraire. Une tombe-hypogée en puits très simple d'époque saïte a servi à l'inhumation de 13 individus dans des cercueils en bois. Le trait le plus caractéristique de ces enterrements était la décoration, à peine visible pour certains d'entre eux.

La décoration des cercueils de l'hypogée

Comme nous l'avons dit précédemment, l'augmentation du niveau de la nappe phréatique et le poids de tout le sable accumulé a rendu impossible la récupération des fragments des cercueils, malgré la présence des restaurateurs. Cela a empêché de déterminer avec exactitude les motifs décoratifs de chaque cercueil. Cependant, sur l'un des cercueils de l'enceinte est, on a pu déterminer avec plus de précision la façon dont il était décoré.

[34] Perraud, "Étude des momies," 51-68.

Le cercueil, de 1,70 m de long, appartenait à un individu adulte, orienté est-ouest, avec la tête appuyée sur le mur de briques crues du puits. La tête du cercueil présentait un visage de couleur rosée, avec les yeux et la coiffure. La couleur rose est très utilisée entre la fin de la période ptolémaïque et le début de l'époque romaine impériale. À cette époque s'effectue un changement dans la palette de couleur et on utilise beaucoup le rose, le jaune, le vert et les couleurs crème et or.[35] Le visage commence à être représenté avec des couleurs plus pâles, comme le rose, même si pour le reste du corps on utilise le jaune, le vert et le doré. Il présentait également une coiffure tripartite avec des bandeaux de couleur bleue et rouge, comme un *nemes*. L'idée sous-jacente est l'identification du défunt avec Osiris, roi de l'au-delà, et la représentation avec les attributs royaux, en particulier avec une coiffure imitant le *nemes*. Les coiffures tripartites sont très habituelles pendant la fin du Ier s. av. J.-C. et le début du Ier s. apr. J.-C. La couleur la plus représentée est le bleu car le défunt était divinisé et ses cheveux assimilés au lapis-lazuli. Entre les deux bandeaux, au niveau de la poitrine, figure un collier formé de gouttes, de fleurs ou d'étoiles, avec des traces de décoration de couleur bleue et rouge. Par comparaison avec des cercueils en bois de la même époque, cela correspond à des colliers *ousekh.*[36] Ce collier de plusieurs rangées est composé de perles de matériaux différents représentant des motifs végétaux (floraux) et géométriques. Généralement le fermoir est une tête de faucon représentée sur la partie du cou ou sous les pans du *nemes*. Le défunt, identifié comme Osiris, avait tout le droit de recevoir un collier *ousekh* en or pour décorer et protéger la momie. Au chapitre 158 du *Livre des Morts* apparaît cette formule.[37] L'*ousekh* apporte au défunt la revitalisation et la protection contre toute désintégration corporelle. À Akhmîm il y a deux séries (numéro 1 et 2) où tous les cercueils ont des représentations du collier *ousekh*. Cette représentation correspond à un besoin qui apparaît à la scène LIV du *Rituel de l'ouverture de la bouche.*[38] En dessous du collier se trouve une figurine féminine à genoux avec les ailes déployées, qui porte le disque solaire sur la tête. Il est très probable que ce soit la déesse Nout, divinité présente sur plusieurs des momies du début de l'époque ptolémaïque sur des séries de cercueils d'Akhmîm ou Dakhla. En tant que déesse du ciel, c'est la mère du défunt qui l'aide à participer à la vie de l'au-delà. En dessous apparaît généralement la représentation des quatre fils d'Horus (Douamoutef, Amset, Hapy et Qébehsenouf). Ils sont représentés par le corps humain et la tête de l'animal qui correspond, avec le défunt face à eux (fig. 7). Ils jouent un rôle protecteur auprès du mort en participant à la revitalisation du

[35] Judith A. Corbelli, *The Art of Death in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (London: Shire Publications, 2006), 51.

[36] Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 88.

[37] Christina Riggs, "Forms of the *wesekh* Collar in Funerary Art of the Graeco-Roman Period," *CdE* 76 (2001): 63.

[38] Annie Schweitzer, "L'évolution stylistique et iconographique des parures de cartonnage d'Akhmîm," *BIFAO* 98 (1998): 337.

défunt. On peut également distinguer une divinité avec tête de chacal peinte en bleu. Parmi tous ces motifs on trouve des fragments de hiéroglyphes en noir, qui sont illisibles. La décoration participe à la protection de la momie et à la revitalisation postérieure à l'embaumement.

La partie des pieds a disparu et on ne peut pas dire ce qu'il y avait, mais le reste de la décoration a permis de découvrir des éléments parallèles sur les séries de cercueils en bois d'Akhmîm, Thebes, Sharuna ou Dakhla[39] datés de la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque ou du début de l'époque romaine. Tous sont des cercueils anthropomorphes faits à partir de planches en bois, avec des couches épaisses de plâtre et peints pour représenter un masque, un *ousekh* sur la poitrine,[40] la déesse Nout avec les ailes déployées en dessous et la représentation du défunt avec Anubis.

Pour le reste des cercueils dégagés de l'hypogée, nous pouvons constater que le fond du cercueil était en stuc blanc mais s'il y a des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques; le fond est jaune-orangé et les textes en colonnes. Les couleurs utilisées pour la décoration sont le bleu, le rouge, le noir, le jaune et le rose. On voit que les couleurs utilisées pendant l'époque ptolémaïque sont les rouges foncés, les bleus, les verts clairs ou foncés, les beiges, les jaunes et les dorés.[41] Le rose, le vert-amande et le jaune sont particulièrement utilisés à l'époque romaine.[42] L'utilisation abondante de la couleur rose ou rouge foncé à l'époque ptolémaïque tardive et romaine rappelle d'anciens motifs solaires.[43] Les motifs décoratifs sont semblables à ceux de l'enceinte est: des colliers *ousekh* avec des rosettes, des *nemes*. Mais d'autres motifs apparaissent, tous en rapport avec le monde funéraire. On trouve la présence de fleurs de lotus ou de chacals au niveau des pieds. La fleur de lotus est associée au dieu Nefertoum, dieu primitif et divinité qui donne la vie dans l'autre monde. Ainsi, la fleur du lotus bleu s'ouvre pendant le jour et se ferme pendant la nuit. Cette relation avec le soleil était, chez les Égyptiens, la comparaison entre la mort et la vie.[44] Alors que la fleur de lotus est un symbole de la renaissance dans l'au-delà, les chacals sont les animaux qui ouvrent le chemin et mènent le défunt à l'entrée du monde souterrain.

[39] Schweitzer, "L'évolution stylistique et iconographique," 340-341.

[40] Corbelli, The Art of Death, 49.

[41] Corbelli, The Art of Death, 51.

[42] Schweitzer, "L'évolution stylistique et iconographique," 344.

[43] Christina Riggs, "Tradition and Innovation in the Burial Practices of Roman Egypt," in Tradition and Transformation; Egypt under Roman Rule. Proceedings of the International Conference, Hildesheim, Roemer- and Pelizaeus-Museum, 3-6 July 2008, ed. Katia Lembke, Martina Minas-Nerpel et Stefan Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 349.

[44] Lorelei Corcoran, "Mysticism and the Mummy Portraits," in *Portraits and Masks. Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, ed. Morris L. Bierbrier (London: British Museum, 1997), 47.

Conclusions

La tombe 17 est un exemple clair de réutilisation de l'espace funéraire dans la Nécropole Haute d'Oxyrhynchos. Le fait qu'elle se situe à proximité de tombes plus anciennes est un phénomène global. Selon la géographie locale, les nécropoles peuvent s'étendre ou être nouvellement créés à proximité d'espaces sacrés plus anciens.[45] Ce n'est pas un cas isolé: en effet, une grande partie des tombes ont par la suite été occupées pour remplir des fonctions funéraires à des époques postérieures. Citons en exemple la tombe saïte nº 13, dont la chambre a servi à inhumer un individu à l'époque byzantine: on y a en effet trouvé une pièce de monnaie datant d'entre les VIe et VIIe s. apr. J.-C. Une simple tombe en briques de la nécropole byzantine chrétienne a été localisée dans les strates supérieures. Dans le cas qui nous concerne, l'hypogée construit pour la simple tombe en pierre saïte a été réoccupé avec les inhumations dans des cercueils en bois décorés et, par la suite, la partie supérieure a servi d'emplacement à quatre sarcophages en pierre et autant d'autres en bois.

L'étude de la thématique décorative des cercueils de l'intérieur de l'hypogée a permis d'observer que certains motifs se répètent sur d'autres cercueils contemporains, tels le masque idéalisé du défunt, avec le collier *ousekh*, des scènes funéraires traditionnelles et la présence des quatre fils d'Horus ou du dieu Anubis. En général, on peut dire que l'iconographie présente sur les cercueils de cet hypogée témoigne de l'ancrage des anciennes croyances égyptiennes: le rituel de la momification, les diverses divinités protectrices. De fait, dans un testament grec du IIe s. av. J.-C. d'Oxyrhynchos,[46] l'enterrement est requis selon la mode native ou égyptienne, ce qui met en évidence le fait que, malgré l'arrivée de populations d'origine grecque, les pratiques funéraires autochtones ne furent pas abandonnées. Cette thématique, ainsi que la typologie des cercueils, a permis de dater cette phase entre la fin de la période ptolémaïque et le début de l'époque impériale romaine.

L'absence de trousseau funéraire et d'inscriptions de la plupart des décorations a empêché d'identifier les défunts. Cependant, la pratique d'un enterrement collectif dans une tombe déjà utilisée et l'absence de trousseau funéraire permettent de déduire que nous nous trouvons face aux inhumations d'une classe sociale moyenne. Cette pratique nous révèle le statut social de ceux qui, ne pouvant se permettre le luxe d'une tombe individuelle, profitent de la présence proche d'un complexe funéraire plus ancien.[47]

L'étude de la totalité de cet hypogée nous permettra d'élargir la connaissance des structures funéraires gréco-romaines sur le site d'Oxyrhynchos.

[45] Riggs, "Tradition and Innovation," 347.

[46] Riggs, "Tradition and Innovation," 346.

[47] Corbelli, The Art of Death, 49.

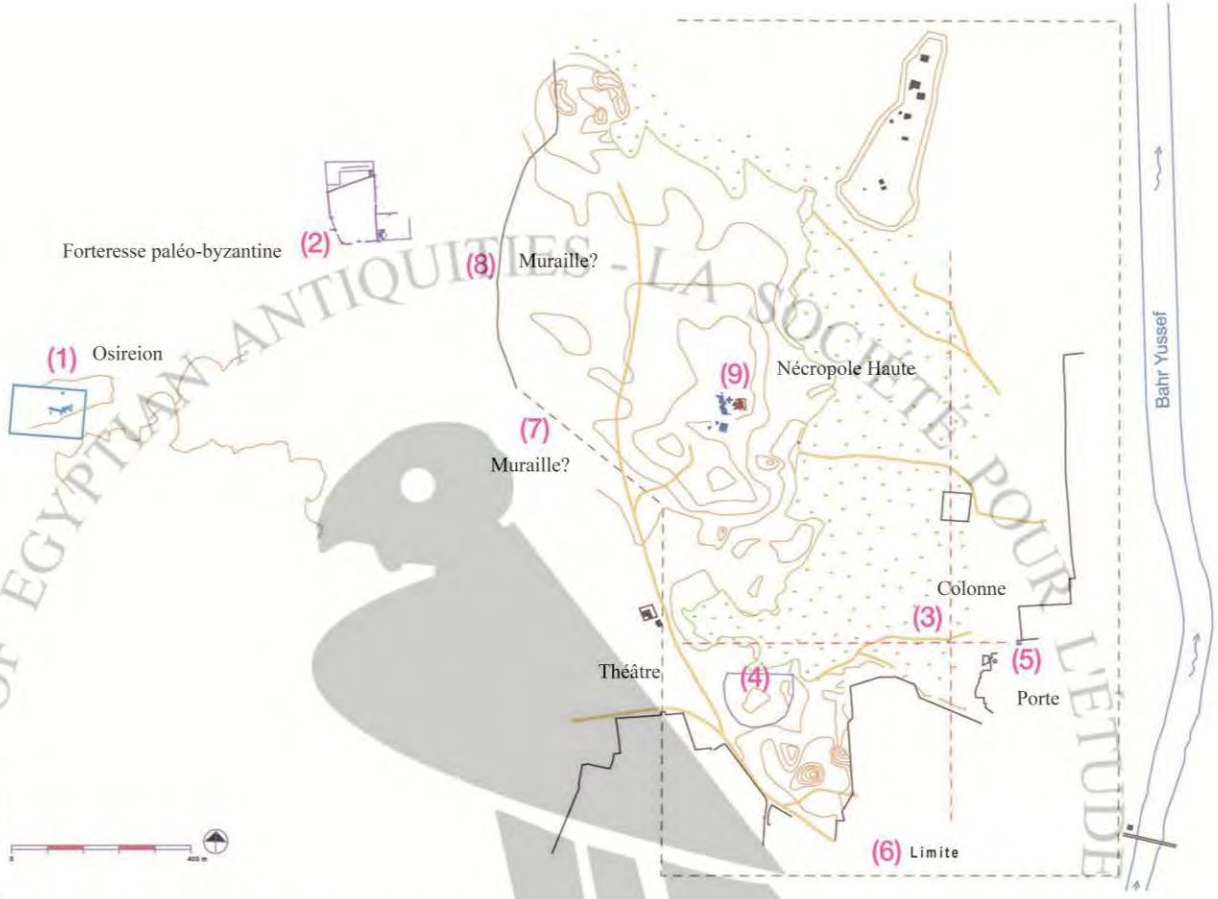

Fig. 1: Plan topographique du site avec l'emplacement de la Nécropole Haute (9). (Antonio López. Mission Archéologique d'Oxyrhynchos).

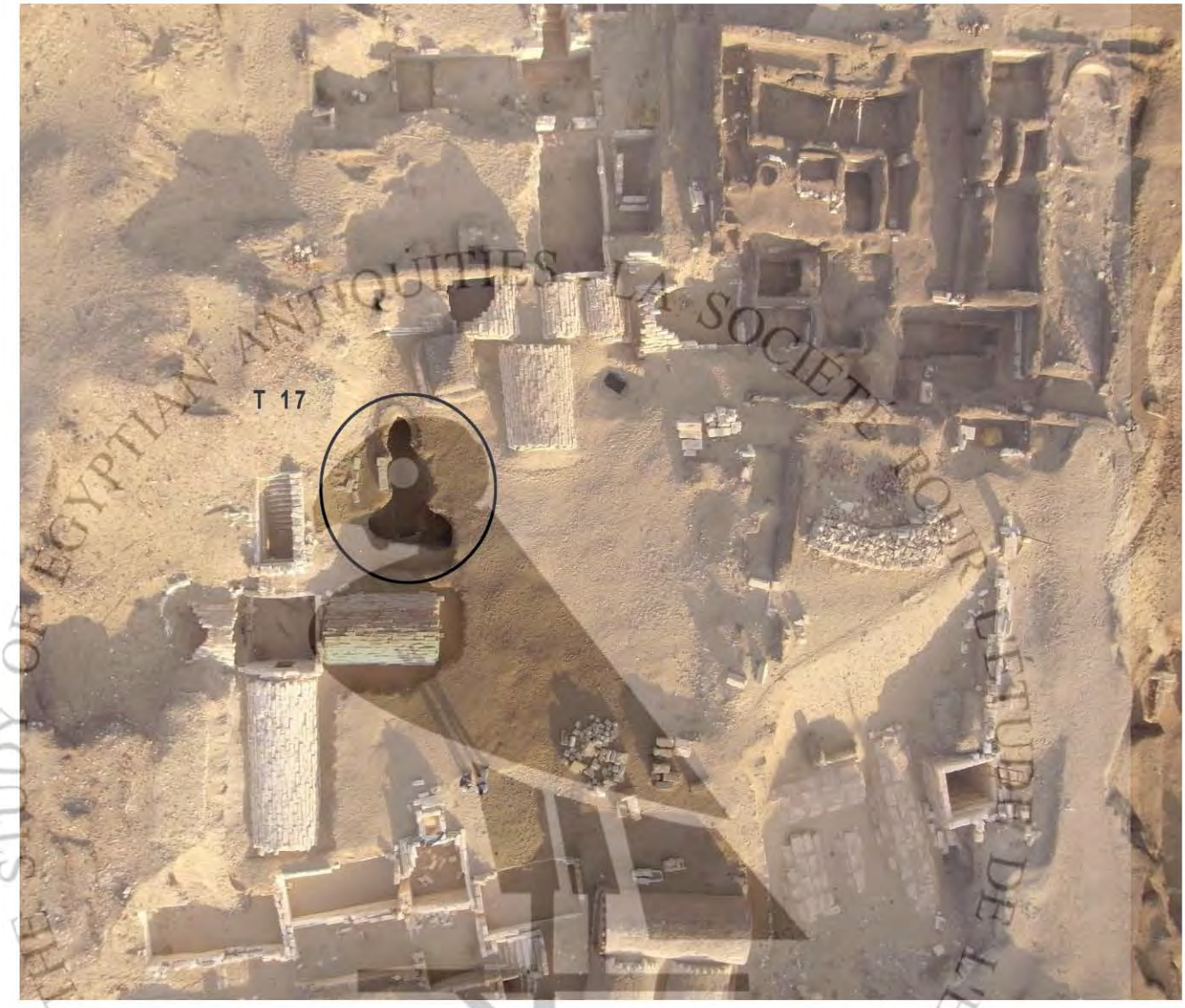

Fig. 2: Vue aérienne de la Nécropole Haute, avec la localisation de la tombe 17. (Thomas Sagory. Mission Archéologique d'Oxyrhynchos).

Fig. 3 : Bouche d'entrée du puits de l'hypogée, formée par des dalles de pierre calcaire blanche et des briques crues (Núria Castellano. Mission Archéologique d'Oxyrhynchos)

Fig. 4: Entrée scellée avec un mur en briques à la fin du puits en direction est (Núria Castellano. Mission Archéologique d'Oxyrhynchos)

Fig. 5 : Étude d'une momie d'un sarcophage anthropomorphe en pierre calcaire blanche. (Joscp Lluís Banus. Mission Archéologique d'Oxyrhynchos).

Fig. 6: Salle de briques crues paléo-byzantine avec un plan rectangulaire au sud-est du site (Núria Castellano. Mission Archéologique d'Oxyrhynchos)

Fig. 7: Décoration d'un cercueil qui nous montre la représentation des Quatre Fils d'Horus. (Núria Castellano. Mission Archéologique d'Oxyrhynchos)

THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES - LA SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE - THE SOCIETY FOR THE

Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt: Reconsidering the Second Stela of Kamose (K2)

Roxana Flammini*

Abstract: The Second Stela of Kamose (K2) has received a wide spectrum of analyses from different points of view. This paper presents a discussion on the use of the title *ḥq3* and on the conception of the social bonds sustained by the Hyksos ruler as preserved in the text.

Résumé: La deuxième stèle de Kamosis (K2) a fait l'objet de nombreuses études aux points de vue différents. Cet article fait le point sur l'utilisation du titre *ḥq3* et sur l'établissement des liens sociaux avec le souverain Hyksos, tels qu'évoqués dans le texte.

Keywords/Mots-clefs: Kamose, Apophis, Second Intermediate Period/Deuxième Période Intermédiaire, Hyksos, rulership/souveraineté, patronage

Introduction

Of the so-called Kamose texts (the First Stela of Kamose –K1; the Carnarvon Tablet –CT;[1] the Second Stela of Kamose – K2[2]– and the recently identified Third Stela of Kamose – K3),[3] K2 is the most representative Egyptian text linked to the final phase of

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[1] Two fragments of K1 were found in 1932 and 1935 by Henri Chevrier. These fragments were reused in the building of the Third Pylon of Karnak. Cf. Pierre Lacau, "Un stèle du roi 'Kamosis,'" *ASAE* 39 (1939): 245-271; Labib Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital,* Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts Kairo (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1972), 45. CT was found in 1908 by Carnarvon and Carter in a tomb located at Dra Abu El-Naga. This scribal board was first published by Alan H. Gardiner, "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I," *JEA* 3 (1916): 95-110. Cf. also Hans Goedicke, *Studies about Kamose and Ahmose* (Baltimore: Halgo, 1995), 31.

[2] On K2, cf. Habachi, Second Stela of Kamose; Harry S. Smith and Alexandrina Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," *ZÄS* 103 (1976): 48-76; Wolfgang Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983); William Kelly Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2003). On the Kamose Texts, including K2, cf. Goedicke, Studies about Kamose and Ahmose, 31-120.

[3] On K3, two independent papers were published almost at the same time: cf. Luc Gabolde, "Une trosième Stèle de Kamosis?," *Khyphi* 4 (2005): 35-42; and Charles C. Van Siclen III, "Conservation of the Third Kamose Stela at Karnak (Phase 1)," in *Bulletin ARCE* 188 (Fall 2005): 21-23. Cf. a recent translation of the fragments and a general evaluation of the source in: Charles C. Van Siclen III, "The Third Stela of Kamose," in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Prospects,* ed. Marcel Marée (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 355-65, and bibliography cited there. Despite the damaged state of the source, Van Siclen III considers that probably K3 was the beginning of K2 – although the later was found under the Second Pylon, probably reused as a foundation for a colossus of Ramesses II – but in this scenario, K1 would not be

the Second Intermediate Period (c. 1560-1530 BC, phase D/2 at Tell el Dab^{c}a).[4] Unfortunately, it is not possible to obtain a whole picture of the situation because the only contemporary texts to reconstruct this specific period came from the Egyptian core located in the Theban area. There is no textual evidence of the Hyksos or the Nubians that enables us to reconstruct the relationships between them and the Egyptian ruler from their perspective.

From the point of view of the literary analysis, K2 is usually categorized as an example of *Königsnovelle*, where the king is presented "as the hero of a (real or fictional) historical episode in which a state of uncertainty or deficiency is overcome by his word or his decision."[5] Besides, K2 is usually described as a piece of Egyptian propaganda depicting the *topos* of the "always triumphant" Egyptian king, the one who must destroy the enemies of the land. Commonly, "propaganda" is defined as "a message, communication, or statement addressed by its author on behalf of an individual or group (a god, king, official, class) or ideology (cult, kingship, personal ambition, special interest group) to a specific or general audience" with "an overt or implicit attempt to persuade an audience to follow the author's desire, to promote or publicize a cause, or to influence its attitude."[6] I prefer not to define the text in that way, but as an expression of the complex way Egyptians understood the world and their relationships. In fact, "propaganda" is a concept strongly biased by modern and western conceptions, while the ancient Egyptians beliefs were connected to the idea that it was possible to obtain a certain result by putting action into words (i.e. the Execration Texts). Hans Goedicke considered that the stela of Kamose "instead of narrating accomplishments, it consist for the majority of episodes in statements or intentions and it is never certain what was achieved and what remained intention."[7] As a matter of fact, it is difficult to

related neither to K2 nor K3. Cf. Van Siclen III,"Third Stela of Kamose," 358. "The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre" is another text which refers to the relationships between the Hyksos and the Egyptians. It is dated to the reign of Merenptah (Nineteenth Dynasty) and recent approaches consider the influences that the Hyksos and Amarna traumas had on its narrative (cf. Anthony Spalinger, "Two Screen Plays: 'Kamose' and 'Apophis and Seqenenre,'" *JEH* 3 (2010): 115-135).

[4] Manfred Bietak, "Houses, Palaces and Development of Social Structures in Avaris," in *Cities and Urbanism in Ancient Egypt. Papers from a Workshop in November 2006 at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (AAS),* eds. Manfred Bietak, Ernst Czerny and Irene Forstner-Müller (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 33, fig. 7.

[5] Antonio Loprieno, "The 'King's Novel'," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History & Forms,* ed. Antonio Loprieno (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 280; Hans Goedicke, Studies about Kamose and Ahmose, 33; see also Anthony Spalinger, "Chauvinism in the First Intermediate Period," in *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millennium BC),* eds. Hana Vymazalovà and Miroslav Barta (New Haven/London: MMA & Yale University Press, 2008), 240-241.

[6] William Kelly Simpson, "*Belles lettres* and Propaganda," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History & Forms,* ed. Antonio Loprieno (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 436.

[7] Goedicke, Studies about Kamose and Ahmose, 185.

establish conclusive differences between those actions which respond to historical facts and those which can be understood as linked to ideological practices.

Despite these particularities, in the saga of Kamose the Hyksos and the Nubian rulers are presented as foreigners and enemies who deserved to be defeated by the strong arm of the legitimate Egyptian ruler.

This paper is centered on the use and particularities of the title *ḥq3* in K2, and includes a discussion on the conception of the social bonds sustained by the Hyksos ruler as reflected in the source.

The Title *ḥq3* in K2

Commonly, the noun *ḥq3* designs a person who rules over a territory, an independent ruler (*Wb.* III, 170: *"Herrscher, Herrscher von…;"* and *CD*, 178: "*ruler*").[8] The common classifiers for the noun are  (A1); (A40) and  (G7). The verb (*Wb.* III, 172: "*herrschen, beherrschen, in Besitz nehmen;"* and *CD*, 178: "*to rule, to govern*") is classified by (Y1), "papyrus roll."

The word *ḥq3* appears six times in K2; twice, it is classified with (Y1) "papyrus roll" and the other four times is followed by an unusual classifier for this word,  (A43) "ruler wearing the crown of Upper Egypt," the White Crown (*ḥḏt*).[9] It is revealing that in the fragments of the First Stela (K1, line 11) the title – addressed to Kamose – also has as classifier. In K2 the word appears as a noun followed by an indirect genitive when classified by ; and as a noun without any kind of complement when classified by . Then, the use of *ḥq3* in K2 is rather original.

[8]Aminata Sackho, "Le pouvoir politique des pays nubiens. Analyse du terme *ḥq3* et ses applications archéologiques," *CRIPEL* 17/3 (1998): 206; Goedicke, Studies about Kamose and Ahmose, 62. *Wb.*= Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow (hrsg.), *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1926–1961); *CD*= Raymond Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962).

[9] Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Grammar,* 3rd ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1982), 446. In the Stela of Emhab from Tell Edfu (Cairo JE 49566) the title *ḥq3* also appears with an unusual classifier. The sentence in question is "*I (Emhab) emulated my lord in every affair of his. He is a god while I am a ruler (ḥq3); when he kills I keep alive.*" (cf. John Baines, "The Stela of Emhab: Innovation, Tradition, Hierarchy," *JEA* 72 (1986): 42; also Jaroslav Černý, "The Stela of Emhab from Tell Edfu," *MDAIK* 24 (1969): 87–92). The classifier is not very clear, it should be (A47); which should give a sense of "guard" or "protect" to the word (Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 447). Goedicke translates it as *"while he is a henchsman, I am a ruler,"* sustaining that the sign commonly read as *nṯr* is a different one with the sense of "henchman," cf. Goedicke, Studies about Kamose and Ahmose, 19. In a recent translation David Klotz's rendering of the passage keeps the sense of the statement: "*He is as a god, while I am a ruler*" (David Klotz, "Emhab versus the *tmrhtn*: Monomachy and the Expulsion of the Hyksos," *SAK* 39 (2010): 211-241, plates 20-22). Klotz (p. 234) also states that "the use of *ḥq3* to describe a private citizen is unexpected by the Second Intermediate Period" and "it appears that Emhab used the word *ḥq3* in its basic sense of 'administrator of an agricultural district.'"

Recently, Thomas Schneider emphasized the difficulties of translating Egyptian and gave crucial importance "to making semantic information provided at the level of the script (but not linguistically!) explicit in the translation."[10] In a similar way, Orly Goldwasser considered the Egyptian hieroglyphic system as the most detailed system of classification known, where "determinatives never stand in arbitrary relation to the word they classify."[11]

For that reason, I would prefer to make the semantic meaning of the classifier explicit in the translation of  by adding to the term "*ruler*" the expression "*of Upper Egypt.*" I consider that the classifier contains the locative by the depiction of a ruler wearing the White Crown, in the same sense that *nswt* ("king of Upper Egypt") is classified by  while *biti* ("king of Lower Egypt") by  (A45). Following these statements, I highlight the semantic differences of the title *ḥq3* in K2 by writing *Ḥq3* when it appears with  and *ḥq3* with  , as follows:

a) Lines 1-2

← LINE 1

 (…)

← LINE 2

(…) 

Transliteration: (1) (…) *r.k ḥns m*[12] *ir.k wi m wr iw.k m* ***Ḥq3*** *r dbḥ* (2) *n.k t3 nmt ḫrt.k n.s* (…)

Translation: *(…) your mouth is narrowed*[13] *when you make me a chief and yourself a ruler of Upper Egypt; in order to demand for yourself the robbery because of which you shall fall (…)*[14]

[10] Thomas Schneider, "Three Histories of Translation: Translating in Egypt, Translating Egypt, Translating Egyptian," in *Complicating the History of Western Translation: The Ancient Mediterranean in Perspective,* eds. Siobhán McElduff and Enrica Sciarrino (Manchester: St. Jerome Publ., 2011), 187.

[11] Orly Goldwasser, "A Comparison between Classifier Languages and Classifier Script: The Case of Ancient Egyptian," in *A Festschrift for Hans Jakob Polotsky,* ed. Gideon Goldenberg (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2006), 17.

[12] Habachi and Helck read  (Aa13), cf. Habachi, Second Stela of Kamose, 32; Helck, Historisch-biographische Texte, 91. Anyway, the sign is dubious and can be read as  (D21).

[13] I translated *ḥns* as "is narrowed" in the sense of diminishing in size (a physical condition), which would impede a correct pronunciation of the words (also expressed as "speaking nonsense") by taking into account the meaning of the classifier  (G36). This classifier possesses "the meanings of "inferior," "socially inferior" and at the end of

b) Lines 19-21

← LINE 19

 (…)

← LINE 20

← LINE 21

(...) 

Transliteration: (19) (…) *m-ᶜ **ḥqꜣ** n Ḥwt-Wᶜrt* (*20*) *ᶜꜣ-wsr-Rᶜ zꜣ Rᶜ Ỉppỉ ḥr nḏ-ḫrt nt zꜣ.ỉ **ḥqꜣ** n Kšỉ ḥr-m ᶜḥᶜ.k m **Ḥqꜣ** nn rdit rḫ.ỉ ỉn ỉw* (*21*) *gmḥ.k ỉrt.n Kmt r.ỉ **Ḥqꜣ** nty m ḫnw.s <Kꜣ-Msw> dỉ ᶜnḫ ḥr thm.ỉ ḥr ỉ*(w)*ṯn.ỉ* (...)

Translation: *(…) by (the hand of) the ruler of Avaris: Auserre, son of Re, Apophis, greets my son, the ruler of Kush. Why did you raise yourself as ruler of Upper Egypt without letting me know? Have you seen what Egypt has done against me? The ruler of Upper Egypt who is there, <Kamose, the victorious> given life, is attacking me in my territory (…)*

c) Lines 30-31

← LINE 30

 (…)

← LINE 31

(…) 

Transliteration: (30) (…) *ḥy pꜣ ḫnt nfr n pꜣ* (*31*) ***Ḥqꜣ*** (ᶜ.w.s) *ḫr mšᶜ.f r-ḥꜣt.f* (…)

Translation: *(…) what a happy sailing upstream for the ruler of Upper Egypt (l.p.h.) with his army ahead of him (…)*

the Old Kingdom finally clearly maturing into the category [INFERIOR-EVIL] or [EVIL]." Cf. Goldwasser, "A Comparison between Classifier Languages," 31. Cf. also *Wb.* III, 251, especially 13-14.

[14] Basically, I follow the translation provided by James P. Allen for lines 1-2 (pers. comm., Nov 4th, 2010), "*your mouth is constricted in that you made me a chief and yourself a ruler in order to demand for yourself the robbery because of which you shall fall.*"

Discussion

a) This sentence has received several different translations proving the difficulty of the passage.[15] Anyway, there is a consensus among the scholars regarding the general sense of the sentence: it sustains the rejection of Kamose to the intention of Apophis of subduing him, implicit in the Apophis' claim of being recognized as a ruler of higher status.

I propose the following translation for the passage keeping the comparative statement of the sentence and providing the word *Ḥq3* with the explicit meaning suggested by the classifier: *"(…) your mouth is narrowed when you make me a chief and yourself a ruler of Upper Egypt; in order to demand for yourself the robbery because of which you shall fall (…)"*

Naturally, the particular use of the words *wr* and *ḥq3* in K2 called the attention of the scholars. Harry and Alexandrina Smith sustained that "Apophis and Kamose use the word *ḥq3* of themselves as being in their own eyes the legitimate Pharaoh, while Apophis uses the word *wr* of Kamose and Kamose uses it of both Apophis and the Ruler of Kush. It is evident then at this time *ḥq3* meant 'legitimate ruler,' while *wr* was used of foreign princes or subordinate rulers."[16] Despite the translation of *ḥq3* in K2 as "legitimate ruler" is acceptable, if the semantic meaning of the classifiers becomes

[15] "*Dein Mund war zu eng, als Du mich zum Fürsten machtest, während Du Herrscher sein willst, nur um Dir die Richtstelle auszubitten, auf welcher Du fallen wirst*" cf. Rainer Stadelmann, "Ein Beitrag zum Brief des Hyksos Apophis," *MDAIK* 20 (1965): 69; "*your speech is mean, when you make me as 'a chieftain', while you are a 'ruler'; so as to want for yourself what is wrongly seized, through which you shall fall,*" cf. Habachi, Second Stela of Kamose, 32; "*your boast, making me out a vassal while you are the sovereign, is so mean as to demand for you the chopping block to which you will (surely) fall*" cf. Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," *ZÄS* 103: 60; "*Deine törichte Rede, mich `Häuptling´ zu nennen, und du selbst seist Herrscher, wird für dich den Richtblock erfordern, durch den du fällst*" cf. Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, "Ägyptische historische Texte," in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, I. Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden, Historisch-chronologische Texte,* ed. Otto Kaiser, (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 1984), 530; "*your miserable proposal that you make me a chief, while you a Ruler, will ask for yourself the slaughtering block to which you will fall"* cf. Goedicke, Studies about Kamose and Ahmose, 60; "*your authority is restricted inasmuch as you, in your capacity as suzerain, have made me a chief – so that (now) you must (even) beg for the block where you shall fall*" cf. Donald B. Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period," in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Eliezer Oren (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1997), 14; "*your mouth is narrow when you make me a chieftain, while you are a ruler, in order to request for yourself that which is stolen (nmt) on account of which you shall fall*" cf. Kim Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c.1800–1550 B.C.* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1997), 325; "*your speech is despicable in making me out to be (only) an official while you are a ruler, only to beg for yourself the chopping block by which you will fall*" cf. Kelly Simpson, Literature of Ancient Egypt, 348. The different translations of the second part of the sentence are related to the fact that ***nmt*** could be the perfective passive participle (fem) of ***nm*** ("go wrong," "rob," "steal," cf. *CD,* 133; "vergreifen," *Wb.* II, 264) or a noun ("slaughter-house," *CD*, 132; "Schlachtbank," "Richtstätte," *Wb.* II, 264). I opted for the first option because I consider ***nmt*** as a participle of "to steal," "to rob." Besides it lacks the classifier  to be considered the noun ***nmt***.

[16] Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," *ZÄS* 103: 68-9.

explicit the translation would be more accurate because the differences between *Ḥqꜣ* and *ḥqꜣ* could be distinguished.

The other title mentioned in these lines is *wr* ("chief"). It appears twice, firstly, in the aforementioned sentence and secondly in line 4, referring to Apophis as *wr* ( , A19) *n Rṯnw*, "chief of Retjenu."[17] The title also appears in CT (line 3) related to the two foreign rulers who disputed the rulership with Kamose: *wr m Ḥwt-Wʿrt ky m Kši*, "a chief (who) is in Avaris and another (who) is in Kush." It seems the term *wr* possesses a quite contemptuous bias in the Kamose texts: the comparative statement in lines 1-2 of K2 is clear in this sense. Kamose rejects the claim of Apophis, who considers Kamose a chief (*wr*) while claiming for himself the legitimate rulership over Upper Egypt (as *Ḥqꜣ*).

b) *Ḥqꜣ* appears again in K2 in the lines 19 to 21, once addressed to the ruler of Kush by Apophis and the other to Kamose, while *ḥqꜣ* also appears twice, in relation to the *ḥqꜣ n Kši* and the *ḥqꜣ n Ḥwt-Wʿrt*. It is the relevant excerpt which relates the interception of the message sent by Apophis to the ruler of Kush in the oasis. Kamose declares he intercepted the letter written "by (the hand of) the ruler (*ḥqꜣ*) of Avaris." The passage reads as follows: *"Auserre, son of Re, Apophis, greets my son, the ruler of Kush. Why did you raise yourself as ruler of Upper Egypt without letting me know? Have you seen what Egypt has done against me? The ruler of Upper Egypt who is there, <Kamose, the victorious> given life, is attacking me in my territory (…)"*

Here another difficult passage of K2 is revealed. Instead of *zꜣ.i ḥqꜣ n Kši*, "*my son, the ruler* of Kush," Harry and Alexandrina Smith, Kim Ryholt and William Kelly Simpson among others, read "*the son of the ruler* of Kush;"[18] while others, like Labib Habachi, Hans Goedicke, Donald Redford and James P. Allen translated *"my son, the ruler of Kush."*[19] Allen clearly stated that the stroke on the sign for *zꜣ* denotes it as a noun followed by the possessive suffix for the first person of the singular.[20] This passage allows making two observations. Firstly, the ruler of Avaris called the ruler of Kush his

[17] The Amada Stela of Amenhotep II refers to the *ḥqꜣw ḫꜣswt* (foreign rulers, "Hyksos") and to the *wrw nw Rṯnw* (chiefs of Retjenu) making a clear differentiation between those titles. Anyway, since this stela is posterior to the one of Kamose, the term *ḥqꜣw ḫꜣswt* could be used to differentiate the Hyksos rulers from the rest of the rulers of the Northern Levant (the *wrw nw Rṯnw*). See Ryholt, Political Situation in Egypt, 131; Carl Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842-1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition.* Ab. III Band V, (Berlin, 1849-1859), plate 65, 66; Peter der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim: Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 26, 1987), 47-51.

[18] Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," *ZÄS* 103: 66; Ryholt, Political Situation in Egypt, 326-27; Kelly Simpson, Literature of Ancient Egypt, 349.

[19] Habachi, Second Stela of Kamose, 39; Goedicke, Studies about Kamose and Ahmose, 79; Redford, "Textual Sources," 14; James P. Allen in Daphna Ben-Tor, Susan J. Allen and James P. Allen, "Review: Seals and Kings," *BASOR* 315 (1999): 68 n. 16.

[20] James P. Allen in Ben-Tor, Allen and Allen, "Seals and Kings," *BASOR* 315: 68 n.16.

"son." Naturally, it deserves further explanation about the possible sense of the expression "*my son*" in this context. I shall return on this specific point below.

Secondly, it is possible that in the context of this source, the Egyptian rendering of the letter of the Hyksos ruler had inserted the expression  as well as the classifier  (A14*) "enemy" in the name of Apophis,[21] which it is not encircled in the cartouche despite the fact the title of *z3 Rˁ* addressed to him is maintained. It seems unlikely that a statement referring to Kamose as a victorious ruler with his name encircled in the royal cartouche would have been written in the original message sent by Apophis.[22] Furthermore, the preceding title (*Ḥq3*) used to qualify Kamose's status in Apophis' message seems to have also been a concession to the Egyptian ideology. It seems unlikely that Apophis called Kamose with a title he claimed for himself.

Thus, it should mean that rulership was disputed in Upper Egypt and the competitors defied the local ruler – stressing the fact that rulership over Lower Egypt was not under discussion. Other evidence helps to shed light on this matter. In discussing the stela of Antef (BM 1645), probably erected by one of the Seventeenth Dynasty kings with that name, Pascal Vernus pointed out that an essential fact was that the power of the Egyptian ruler was explicitly limited to Upper Egypt.[23]

The use of the  "papyrus roll" to classify the word *ḥq3* when it is addressed to the ruler of Kush and the ruler of Avaris is intriguing. In fact, this classifier stands in a very low position on the information scale during the Second Intermediate Period, hardly giving any semantic information, and becomes a "default classifier" in the New Kingdom and certainly in the Ramesside Period.[24] Taking into account that such classifier has a meaning related to "something written in papers, but not in reality,"[25] and that the stela was the Egyptian rendering of the facts, the scribe explicitly reinforced the idea – to the eyes of the readers of the text – that those "rulers" were *illegitimate* occupiers of the Egyptian territory. The process by which the usual classifiers of a word (in this case A1, A40, G7) are substituted because of discourse-pragmatic reasons by a

[21] On negative classifiers cf. Goldwasser, "A Comparison between Classifier Languages," 30.

[22] Cf. Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," *ZÄS* 103: 68, n. 51.

[23] Pascal Vernus, "Réfections et adaptations de l´idéologie monarchique à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire: La stèle d´Antef-le-victorieux," in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson,* eds. Peter der Manuelian and Rita Freed (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 840.

[24] Orly Golwasser, *pers. comm.,* Dec 31st, 2011.

[25] "The "papyrus roll," which originally encompassed the category "belonging to papyrus" or "belonging to writing" (Wiesmann *Determinative*) has acquired an extended meaning like "what is written on papyrus" or "in words, not in reality," to the modern mind a definition of ["ABSTRACT"] or the like." Cf. Goldwasser, "A Comparison between Classifier Languages," 32.

different classifier was described by Orly Goldwasser as a process of *reference tracking*.[26] Following this idea, it is probable that the expression "ruler of Kush" *ḥqꜣ n Kš*, with the "papyrus roll" classifier, could also be an intervention of the scribe in the Egyptian version of the letter.

To sum up, several points of view are intertwined in this famous passage of K2: it is the Egyptian rendering of a letter sent by one ruler to another, both "enemies" of the one who intercepted the message. The motif of the dispute was the rulership of Upper Egypt, the land where the only legitimate ruler (to the Egyptian eyes) inhabited. The translation of the letter received several adjustments to make it fit the ideological parameters of an Egyptian monument to be displayed in a local temple.

c) The title appears again addressed to Kamose in lines 30-31:

(30) (…) *ḫy pꜣ ḫnt nfr n pꜣ* (31) *Ḥqꜣ ꜥnḫ*(.*w*) (*w*)*dꜣ*(.*w*) *s*(*nb.w*) *ḫr mšꜥ.f r ḥꜣt.f* (…)
"(…) What a happy sailing upstream for the ruler of Upper Egypt (l.p.h.) with his army ahead of him! (…)"

In this passage, it is Kamose who is granted with the title "ruler of Upper Egypt." And, despite the fact it is a triumphal acclamation, it confirms that rulership was limited to Upper Egypt.

Furthermore, the word *ḥqꜣ* "ruler," which was employed not only to name the ruler of Upper Egypt (*Ḥqꜣ*), and the rulers of Avaris (*ḥqꜣ n Ḥwt-Wꜥrt*), and Kush (*ḥqꜣ n Kš*) in K2, but to name the Hyksos (*ḥqꜣ ḫꜣswt*) as well, acquired a particular significance during the Second Intermediate Period. Undoubtedly, it influenced its utilization during later times. In other words, the use of *ḥqꜣ* exceeded the Second Intermediate Period, and it is possible that a change in royal ideology had taken place during that period and had impacted on the earlier reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Following the statement of Herbert Winlock, who sustained that Kamose changed his birth name for epithets like *pꜣ ḥqꜣ ꜥꜣ*, "this great ruler," in royal cartouches, Stephen Harvey considers that Ahmose could have also altered his names introducing the title *ḥqꜣ*. The unusual royal name found in the Ahmose monuments at Abydos, *Ḥqꜣtꜣwy* "ruler of the Two Lands" appears in the construction *Ḥqꜣtꜣwy mry Wsir* "the ruler of the Two Lands, beloved of Osiris." The conclusion of Harvey is sustained by other evidence in the same line: a scarab in Turin with the inscription *zꜣ Rꜥ Ḥqꜣtꜣwy Ỉꜥḥms*, "the son of Re, *Heqatawy* Ahmose" and another one in the Grenfell collection which bears the

[26] Orly Goldwasser and Colette Grinevald, "What are "Determinatives" good for?" *LingAeg-StudMon* 9 (2012): 25-26.

inscription *Nbpḥtyrʿ Ḥqɜtɜwy*, "Nebpehtyre Heqatawy."[27] In the same way, epithets of other kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Tuthmose III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Tutankhamen and Ay, among others) included "Ruler of Heliopolis," "Ruler of Thebes" and "Ruler of Ma´at."[28] Thus, the use of *ḥqɜ* in early New Kingdom Egyptian royal names reveals the importance the title acquired, probably as opposite to the use of *ḥqɜ ḫɜswt* by the Hyksos rulers.[29]

Naturally, the intentional use of different classifiers in the text raises the question of who were the addressees of the text. As the stelae of king Kamose (K1, K2 and K3) were set up in the temple of Amun at Karnak,[30] Goedicke suggested that the prime addressee could have been the god himself. However, the clear distinction between the meaning of *ḥqɜ* and *Ḥqɜ* was such, that the readers of the stela could not have overlooked it. Thus, it is probable that the stela was addressed not only to the god, but to the direct followers of the ruler, the priesthood of Amun and his closest officials. They should be convinced that the legitimate ruler of Upper Egypt was Kamose, the Theban ruler, and not another one.[31]

In general terms, the stela and its message – as well as those contained in K1 and K3 – were an expression of the legitimation practices held by the Theban ruler Kamose during the final phase of the Second Intermediate Period.

Disputed Rulership: A Consideration of the Inter-elite Relationships as Reflected in K2

While the diverse terms related to rulership appearing in K2 are relevant for the understanding of the socio-historical context of Upper Egypt in the final phase of the Second Intermediate Period, the discourse implicit in the text can also shed light on the way inter-elite relationships were established. The Second Intermediate Period was characterized by the emergence of three polities located along the Nile – the Hyksos in the Eastern Delta, the Egyptians in Upper Egypt and the Kushites in Nubia – which interacted in political, social, economic and ideological levels, sharing as well as

[27] Stephen 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,* eds. Zahi Hawass and Janet Richards (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l´Egypte, 2007), 343 ff.

[28] Harvey, "King Heqatawy," 353 n. 5.

[29] Harvey, "King Heqatawy," 345.

[30] K3 was found to the south of the Eighth Pylon in the Temple of Amun at Karnak, as the photographs taken by Georges Legrain in 1900 revealed. Cf. Van Siclen III, "Third Stela of Kamose," 355.

[31] On the concept of "victorious Thebes," and the link between the city and the rulers, cf. Spalinger, "Chauvinism in the First Intermediate Period," 240-260.

disputing among them the control over the former territory of the unified Egyptian state. This is the socio-political frame in which K2 should be contextualized.[32]

K2 begins by recognizing the interest of the Hyksos ruler in subduing Kamose, who rejected being considered a lower status ruler in relation to Apophis, when he states "*your mouth is narrowed when you make me a chief and yourself a ruler of Upper Egypt.*" The entire text maintains the idea of Apophis claiming the rulership over a land he does not deserve, because he is a usurper, an enemy, considered a "chief of Retjenu" (*wr n Rṯnw*, K2, line 4), a "ruler of Avaris" (*ḥqꜣ n Ḥwt-Wꜥrt*, K2, line 19) or a "chief (who) is in Avaris" (*wr m Ḥwt-Wꜥrt*, K1, line 3).

These titles addressed to the Hyksos ruler relate him to the commonly named "Canaanite" inhabitants of Tell el Dabᶜa, installed there from the late Middle Kingdom onwards.[33] In fact, these people were bearers of a Levantine Middle Bronze material culture, and were probably linked to different economic activities that were accomplished with the permission and even supervision of the Egyptian state, at least during the late Middle Kingdom. These activities could be related to several and different spheres of interaction: maritime and exchange activities with the Northern Levantine coastal cities as well as participation in the expeditions carried out by the Egyptians to the mines of turquoise and copper located at Serabit el-Khadim.[34] The acculturated elite of Tell el Dabᶜa constituted a political entity able to challenge the Egyptians mainly after the collapse of the Thirteenth Dynasty centralized authority.[35]

Unfortunately, only scanty epigraphic evidence coming from a doorjamb and several fragmentary reliefs provide information about the rulers of this new polity emerged in the Eastern Delta.[36] In fact, Tell el Dabᶜa has not provided longer narrative inscriptions

[32] An analysis of the changes in the administrative structures from the Middle Kingdom to the Second Intermediate Period, through a comparative study of the titles held by the officials in Avaris and Thebes, in Stephen Quirke, "Identifying the Officials of the Fifteenth Dynasty," in *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications. Papers of a Symposium, Vienna 10th-13th January 2002,* eds. Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), 171-193.

[33] They are also named "Asiatic," a term "used in Egyptology for non-Egyptian people of Near-Eastern origin," commonly as a rendering of the Egyptian word *ꜣmw* (Robert Schiestl, "Tomb Types and Layout of a Middle Bronze IIA Cemetery at Tell el-Dabᶜa, Area F/I. Egyptian and Non-Egyptian Features," in *The Bronze Age in the Lebanon. Studies on the Archaeology and Chronology of Lebanon, Syria and Egypt,* eds. Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), 243 n. 1.

[34] Ezra Marcus, "The Southern Levant and Maritime Trade during the Middle Bronze IIA Period," in *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume. Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines,* eds. Eliezer Oren and Shmuel Ahituv (Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2002), 243.

[35] Thomas Schneider, "Foreigners in Egypt: Archaeological Evidence and Cultural Context," in *Egyptian Archaeology*. ed. Willeke Wendrich (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), 158.

[36] Manfred Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dabᶜa* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 65-67 and figs. 52-54.

to analyze the way the Hyksos understood inter-elite relationships, and in some way K2 mirrors their conception and helps to have a more complete picture of the situation, at least for the final phase of the Second Intermediate Period.

Other evidence should be brought into the discussion. The impressive amount of scarabs with royal names bearing Egyptian epithets and titles ("good god," "son of Re") as well as the title *ḥqꜣ ḫꜣswt*, were generally associated with foreign dynasties ruling northern Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period. However, this evidence remains problematic: the number of kings exceeds the six Hyksos rulers mentioned in Manetho (III century BC) and in the Turin king-list. Nevertheless, they were considered as evidence for the existence not only of the Hyksos dynasty (the Fifteenth Dynasty) but of their vassal rulers,[37] commonly defined as the "lesser Hyksos rulers" of the Sixteenth Dynasty. This idea was dismissed by Kim Ryholt, who attributed these scarabs to the kings of the Fourteenth or of the Fifteenth Dynasties.[38] In fact, Ryholt considered that the Sixteenth Dynasty resided at Thebes and was related to – and possibly predated – the Seventeenth Dynasty.[39] Another interpretation on the significance of the scarabs, sustained by Janine Bourriau, attributes them to "officials with a purely local authority abrogating to themselves royal epithets on their seals at a time and place where normally rigid protocols were no longer enforceable."[40] In short, this evidence remains too controversial to obtain a clear picture of the socio-political ordering of the period.

However, while evaluating "the impact of new rulers on old administrations and vice-versa," Stephen Quirke analyzed the way the Hyksos rule influenced the ancient Egyptian administrative sphere. By comparing the titles in seal-amulets held by the Hyksos and the Egyptian officials during the Second Intermediate Period, he concluded that the Egyptians followed the traditional administration headed by a vizier, a "king´s son" (*zꜣ-nsw*) and officials in the commodity, labour and palace administration, while the Hyksos had no vizier attested nor officials in the administration, except for an "overseer of what is sealed." The only well-attested title is "king´s son." Quirke suggested that "perhaps the recurrence of the title "king´s son" indicates the use of

[37] "It would appear to me that the persons named here carry us back to the very generation of the conquest, and quite likely reflect the federated chiefs attending Shesy/Salitis on the morrow of his victory." Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 111.

[38] Ryholt, Political Situation in Egypt, 40-52 (*contra* Ryholt cf. Daphna Ben-Tor, "Sequence and Chronology of Second Intermediate Period Royal-Name Scarabs," in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Prospects,* ed. Marcel Marée, (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 91-108; cf. also Kim Ryholt, "The Date of Kings Sheshi and Yakubhar and the Rise of the Fourteenth Dynasty," in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Prospects,* ed. Marcel Marée (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 109-126.

[39] Ryholt, Political Situation in Egypt, 151-159 and 167-171.

[40] Janine Bourriau, "The Second Intermediate Period," in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt,* ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 180.

kinship structure to cover areas of authority, notably military control."[41] I consider this possibility a positive approximation to the description of the administration held by the Hyksos. However, other variables should be taken into account.

Some features that appeared in Tell el Dabᶜa are closely related to the northern Levantine Middle Bronze cultural background. Not only pottery and weapons but also religious and funerary beliefs were related to that cultural tradition. Some religious buildings, like the sacred precinct found in Area A/II (Fourteenth Dynasty, Tell el Dabᶜa phases F-E2) were also of northern Levantine character.[42] The introduction of the god Baal during the reign of Nehesy and its later assimilation to the Egyptian god Seth also reveals the foreign origin of the inhabitants of the settlement and the process of cultural interaction which took place at Avaris.[43] Manfred Bietak considered Byblos a strong candidate to be their possible homeland, and the close bonds established between the Egyptian and the Byblian elite from the reign of Amenemhet III onwards, make this hypothesis reliable.[44]

Thus, it is plausible that these foreigners located at Tell el Dabᶜa not only maintained several cultural features of the northern Levantine Middle Bronze – which were reflected in the material culture – but could have also carried with them specific traits of socio-political interaction originated in their homeland.[45]

[41] Stephen Quirke, "The Hyksos in Egypt 1600 BCE. New Rulers without an Administration," in *The Ancient Near East and Egypt. From Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein*, ed. Harriet Crawford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 133. See also the discussion on the evidences for the title during the final phase of the Second Intermediate Period in the Theban area in Marcel Marée, "Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw," *BMSAES* 12 (2009): 31-92, esp. 57-66 when analyzing the stela Warsaw 141281.

[42] Manfred Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule: Avaris (Tell el-Dabᶜa)," in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Eliezer Oren (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1997), 108.

[43] Niv Allon states that "evidently, Baal was known in Egypt as early as the 13th Dynasty, although possibly by his "former" name as Hadad. Moreover, the Seth-Baal cult in Avaris continued to exist throughout the Hyksos Period into the New Kingdom, as the temple of Seth of Avaris was functioning continuously until the Ramesside period. According to the 400 Year Stela, it began to function already some 70 years before the Hyksos Period." Niv Allon, "Seth is Baal – Evidence from the Egyptian Script," *Ä&L* 17 (2007): 19.

[44] Manfred Bietak, "From where came the Hyksos and where did they go?" in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Prospects,* ed. Marcel Marée (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 163; Roxana Flammini, "Elite Emulation and Patronage Relationships in the Middle Bronze: The Egyptianized Dynasty of Byblos," *Tel Aviv* 37/2 (2010): 154-168.

[45] In a recent paper, Bietak sustained that some features of the settlement allow perceiving the existence of patronage relationships: "*as big and small houses can be found side-by-side, it seems that there was not one district for the rich and another for the poor, but that both parts of society lived side-by-side – which could be explained by a provider–client relationship leading to the formation of discrete groups within the settlement*". Cf. Bietak, "Houses, Palaces and Development of Social Structures in Avaris," 19. The relationship between the spatial distribution of tombs as well as houses is also a way to understand ancient social relationships. In this way, the appearance of collective tombs in Egyptian cemeteries between the Old and the Middle Kingdom, with a main burial and several subsidiary tombs was explained as mirroring patronage relationships (cf. Stephan Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem*

The categorization of the Hyksos as foreign rulers is sustained by the Turin king-list. It preserves six entries but only one name of a foreign ruler, Khamudi. This name is not encircled in the royal cartouche. It is the ruler's *nomen* (*z3 Rᶜ*, "Son of Re" name) and not the usual *prenomen* (*nswt biti*, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" or "Dual King" name) that is used to enlist the rulers. Probably, the scribe avoided writing the name of the god Re (which appears in the *nswt biti* name) in the name of a foreign ruler. The entry following the name states: *"six foreign [rulers] ruling for 108 years."*[46] Manetho also preserved the name of six Hyksos kings.[47]

In sum, this society established in Tell el Dabᶜa adopted several Egyptian cultural features but maintained funerary and religious beliefs which were clearly related to a Levantine Middle Bronze cultural background. The Hyksos were enlisted like foreign rulers in the Turin king-list and remembered as such by the Manethonian tradition. As Bietak stated, Tell el Dabᶜa "was occupied by a Near Eastern population which to some extent acculturated but, on the other hand, kept its distinctive cultural identity in their burial customs, in the construction of their temples and at the outset of their settlement also in the introduction of their own types of house."[48] Is it possible, then, that they also maintained a different conception of inter-elite bonds?

Following several of Joan Munn-Rankin´s core ideas on the structure of diplomacy in Western Asia based on information provided by the Royal Archive of Mari, John Van Seters has yielded penetrating insights in his seminal study on the Hyksos published in 1966.[49] He clearly stated that the Hyksos shared a common culture with the Levant (Syria-Palestine) which extended from the Old Babylonian period to the Egyptian conquest during the New Kingdom. He also sustained that the Hyksos "could be expected to reflect the political structure and international diplomacy which is now so fully documented from the Mari Age," while the language of this diplomacy was

Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich (Heidelberg, 1990); Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt. History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 91). In a similar way, the spatial distribution of houses in Amarna was assimilated to "symbiotic relationships of service in return from patronage" (cf. Kate Spence, "Settlement Structure and Social Interaction at Amarna," in *Cities and Urbanism in Ancient Egypt. Papers from a Workshop in November 2006 at the Austrian Academy of Sciences,* eds. Manfred Bietak, Ernst Czerny and Irene Förstner-Müller (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 297).

[46] Ryholt, Political Situation in Egypt, 118. Cf. also Jaromir Málek, "The Original Version of the Royal Canon of Turin," *JEA* 68 (1982): 101.

[47] William G. Waddell, *Manetho* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1964), 83.

[48] Bietak, "Houses, Palaces and Development," 24. For an anthropological approach to foreigners in Egypt and a discussion on the concepts of ethnicity, acculturation, assimilation, borders and identities, cf. Schneider, "Foreigners in Egypt," 143-63.

[49] Joan Munn-Rankin, "Diplomacy in Western Asia in the Early Second Millennium BC" *Iraq* 18/1 (1956): 68-110; John Van Seters, *The Hyksos. A New Investigation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 164.

expressed in terms of kinship ("brother," "father," "son") and explained as *vassalage*. In his own words, the "Amurrite world."[50]

In fact, Munn-Rankin´s conclusions rested in conceiving the relationships expressed in the Mari letters as a submissive bond between an "overlord" and his "vassals," probably through the establishment of treaties – as in the case of the Hittites and their subordinates. But, as she herself recognized, no treaty was found in the Mari archive. She found it difficult to explain the inexistence of political submission between a "vassal" and his "overlord" in another two cases.[51] She solved the apparent contradiction by considering the relationship as one between an "older" ruler and a "younger" one, without any kind of political implications. Van Seters, on his side, used the same concept to explain the expression "my son" addressed to the ruler of Kush by Apophis in K2.[52]

The terminology of *vassalage*, applied by Munn-Rankin and followed by Van Seters has been used until recent times to describe the relationships sustained by the Hyksos with the supposedly kinglets of the Sixteenth Dynasty (the "lesser Hyksos rulers"), the Seventeenth Dynasty rulers, and the ruler of Kush, without any critical approach.[53]

Egyptian texts from the late Second Intermediate Period possess an undeniable bias related to socio-political relationships established among the different rulers who were disputing the same territory. However, *vassalage*, the main concept chosen to describe those bonds, seems inadequate since it is usually understood as an asymmetrical relationship of domination evidenced through a contractual form.[54] Thus, a revision of the concepts used to describe those relationships becomes necessary.

In a recent article, the late Robert Westbrook called attention to *patronage* in the Ancient Near East: he described it as a topic which deserved serious investigation and

[50] Van Seters, The Hyksos, 162.

[51] Cf. Munn-Rankin, "Diplomacy," *Iraq* 18/1: 89, 81.

[52] Van Seters, The Hyksos, 168.

[53] I.e. Jürgen von Beckerath, review of "John Van Seters, *The Hyksos. A New Investigation* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1966), *JAOS* 90/2 (1970): 309-310; Janine Bourriau, "Second Intermediate Period," 183. Kim Ryholt went a step further in denying the existence of vassals of the Hyksos rulers during the Second Intermediate Period but he did not discuss the concept; cf. Appendix III "The Supposed Existence of Vassal Kings during the Second Intermediate Period," in Ryholt, Political Situation in Egypt, 323-327.

[54] This inadequacy was perceived by Munn-Rankin when she stated: "The nature of the political relationship between the leading power and the other members of a confederation is illustrated by the correspondence of Zimri-lim with the kingdoms forming his coalition. While some may have been independent states allied to him by parity treaty, the majority were vassal kingdoms acknowledging him as suzerain. In the treaties concluded by the Hittite kings with their vassals the principal obligations imposed on subject princes were the subordination of their foreign policy to that of the overlord, military cooperation in his defensive and offensive wars and the annual rendering of homage and payment of tribute. *There can be little doubt that similar duties were imposed in the eighteenth century B.C., though it is possible that they were less rigid."* Munn-Rankin, "Diplomacy," *Iraq* 18/1: 75. My emphasis.

proposed a close review of it.[55] He summarized the main attributes of this kind of social bond in a narrow definition of the concept, differentiating it from vassalage – generally distinguishable from patronage by its formality, permanence and the existence of formal treaties[56] – in the following terms: it is an asymmetrical but personal relationship, often referred to as a "friendship" based on the mutual exchange of goods and services; the relationship must be of some duration and; the relationship must be voluntary, or at least purport to be voluntary.[57] It is a highly personal link rather than a collective one. Usually, texts displayed the language of kinship or household ("son," "father," "brother," "servant," "lord") to establish the place an individual possessed in the network of relationships. Patronage can be a system and not only act on an individual level due to its symbiotic capacity, which result "in parallel formal and informal systems of governance within the same state."[58] In other words, it operates as "a set of relationships which are 'interstitial' between the main institutions of any society."[59] Patrons can be "primary" – a sovereign who benefits certain of his subordinates – or "intermediary" – "a noble or official who has access to higher levels of government and can act as a broker to give clients the benefit of his influence. Depending on which function he is exercising, the same patron could be primary and intermediary."[60]

Patronage linkages are attested in a society – among different social strata – where legal-coercive institutions are weak. But they also are attested in the relationships among rulers of different political entities, as it seems to be our case. Nevertheless, there is no *explicit* discourse related to patronage – the texts only reflect its existence. It is the hypercritical work of the researcher which reveals it through a careful reading of the sources.

Therefore, the discourse of the local rulers in the Alalakh and Mari letters reveals the fluctuation in the political links, conflicts over hegemony, disputes about the status of allies and the use of the language of kinship during the first half of the Second Millennium BC, all of which can be explained through the concept of patronage. These features are present in the letter AT/39/83 from Alalakh level VII. It mentions that a rebellion of the allies ("brothers") of the "lord" Abbael, ruler of Aleppo, was suffocated

[55] Raymond Westbrook, "Patronage in the Ancient Near East," *JESHO* 48/2 (2005): 210-233.

[56] Westbrook, "Patronage," *JESHO* 48/2: 223-224; Jacques Vauchez, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Moyen Age* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1997), 1570-1571.

[57] Westbrook, "Patronage," *JESHO* 48/2: 211-212.

[58] Westbrook, "Patronage," *JESHO* 48/2: 212.

[59] Nicholas Abercrombie and Stephen Hill, "Paternalism and Patronage," *BJS* 27/4 (1976): 415.

[60] Westbrook, "Patronage," *JESHO* 48/2: 212.

and that his "servant" Yarim-lim was rewarded for his loyalty to Abbael with the city of Alalakh.[61]

A letter (ARM 26-384) of the Royal Archive of Mari is the one which most clearly shows the practice of patronage. The messengers of Ishme-Dagan, the ruler of Ekallatum, and of Zimri-lim of Mari, went to an audience with Hammurabi of Babylon. The text reveals the hierarchical order of the rulers, the competition to gain the favour of the most prestigious one and the reproaches the partners made to each other. Ishme-Dagan tells Hammurabi: "*You made me write Zimri-lim as* son*. Is not [that man] my* servant*? He is not seated on a throne of his [own] majesty"*. Hammurabi's answer to the messengers of Ishme-Dagan reveals his upset mood to a minor status ruler: *"The kings of the land of Šubartum have pointed their finger at your lord, and I wrote him as follows: I [said], 'To those kings that write me as* sons *you [write] as* brother*. To Zimri-lim who writes me as* brother*, you write as* son*'. Is what I wrote to him wrong?*"[62] Translated into the language of patronage, his answer can be understood as a solution found by a higher status ruler (the 'patron') to the competitive fights among his lower-level allies (the 'clients') in the search for upgrades in the pyramidal scale of relationships. The remainder of the text provides additional evidence in the same sense: Ishme-Dagan continued recriminating Hammurabi for his preferential treatment of Zimri-lim.[63]

A passage of an Egyptian text also sheds light on this kind of social bond.[64] In the Tale of Sinuhe, the Egyptian official exiliated in the Retjenu was adopted and protected by the local ruler Aamunenshi.[65] Sinuhe states: "I won his heart and he loved me, for he recognized my valor."[66] The asymmetry in the relationship between Sinuhe and Aamunenshi is revealed in the passage where a local "champion" defies Sinuhe, who

[61] "*When his brothers rebelled against Abbael, their lord, king Abbael, with the help of the gods Hadad, Hebat and the spear [of Ishtar] went to Irride, conquered Irride and captured his enemy. (5) At that time Abbael, in exchange for Irride which his father granted, gave Alalakh of his free will. (8) And at that time, Yarimlim s[on of Hammu]rapi and servant of Abbael, brought up [his statue to the temple] of Ishtar. (11) [If(?) the off-spring(?) of Ab]bael shall take what he (Abbael) gave to Yarim-lim – he will give him city for city. (13) Whoever shall change the settlement that Abbael has made and will do evil against Yarim-lim and his descendants – may the god Hadad dash him into pieces with the weapon which is in his hand; may Hebat-Ishtar shatter his spear; may Ishtar deliver him into the hands of those who pursue him; may Ishtar…impress feminine parts into his male parts.*" Nadav Na´aman, "The Ishtar Temple at Alalakh," *JNES* 39 (1980): 210.

[62] Wolfgang Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari: A New Translation with Historical Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 333. My emphasis.

[63] Flammini, "Elite Emulation," *Tel Aviv* 37/2: 164.

[64] I shall not analyze here the possible existence of patronage in Egypt during the First Intermediate Period, but Jan Assmann clearly considers the possibility that patronage could have emerged in Upper Egypt during that time. Cf. Assmann, Mind of Egypt, 91.

[65] A brief discussion on the probable location on the Retjenu during the Middle Kingdom, in Bietak, "From where came the Hyksos," 147.

[66] Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings. Vol I. The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 227.

expresses his concerns to his "protector," Aamunenshi, in these terms: "… *[T]he ruler [Aamunenshi] conferred with me and I said: "I do not know him; I am not his* ally, (15) *that I could walk about in his camp. Have I ever opened his back rooms or climbed over his fence? It is* envy, because he sees me doing your commissions.… [I]s an inferior beloved when he becomes a superior?"[67] Probably, these lines exemplify the competition among lower-status rulers in the Retjenu, which can be understood as rivalry among 'clients' for the favour of a patron.

With regard to K2, two passages elucidate the kind of bond that the Hyksos ruler tried to impose over the other two rulers. As I stated above, these passages were usually understood as reflecting *vassallatic* bonds. Nevertheless, I consider they should reflect the way the Hyksos ruler understood inter-elite relationships, probably based on patronage. The first passage contains the claim Apophis made to Kamose to become his subordinate followed by the rejection of Kamose. In fact, Apophis *claimed* his right to rule over Upper Egypt, as the higher status ruler he considered he was. Probably in earlier times Thebans rulers recognized the superiority of the Hyksos, while Kamose rejected to be subdued by Apophis.[68]

The second one refers to the relationship between Apophis and the ruler of Kush. Both statements show Apophis considering himself as a higher status ruler, while Kamose and the ruler of Kush tried to defend their own positions, not recognizing the supposed authority of the Hyksos ruler.

As I mentioned above, the second passage has received different renderings. The problem is to determine whether Apophis addressed the letter to "*the son of the ruler of Kush*" or if he called the ruler of Kush "*my son.*" Van Seters explained his rendering as "my son" through the idea of an "older" ruler addressing a "younger" one because there is no proof of the political submission of Kush to the ruler of Avaris. However, the implicit idea of the inexistence of political implications in this relationship should be revised.

[67] Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature, 227. My emphasis.

[68] It is probable that during the early Second Intermediate Period contacts were maintained between Upper Egypt and Avaris, as the sealings of the Hyksos Khayan and of the Thirteenth Dynasty King Sobekhotep IV found at Tell Edfu revealed, cf. Nadine Moeller and Gregory Marouard (with a contribution by N. Ayers), "Discussion of Late Middle Kingdom and Early Second Intermediate Period History and Chronology in Relation to the Khayan Sealings from Tell Edfu," *Ä&L* 21 (2011): 87-121. For a discussion on chronological issues related to the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties (among others), cf. Thomas Schneider, "Das Ende der kurzen Chronologie: Eine kritische Bilanz der Debatte zur absoluten Datierung des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit," *Ä&L* 18 (2008): 275-313; Ryholt, "The Date of Kings Sheshi and Yaqubhar," 109-126 (on the importance of the archaeological contexts of Uronarti and Shiqmona for attributing kings Sheshi and Yaqubhar to the Fourteenth Dynasty); Irene Forstner-Müller, Manfred Bietak, Manuela Lehmann and Chiara Reali, "Report on the Excavations at Tell el-Dabᶜa 2011," *ASAE Reports* (2012): 1-19 and Irene Forstner-Müller and Pamela Rose, "Grabungen des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo in Tell el-Dab'a/Avaris, Das Areal R/III," *Ä&L* 22 (in press), on the recent findings at Tell el-Dabᶜa area R/III related to the Hyksos Khayan.

In the explanation for their rendering as "*the son of the ruler of Kush*," Harry and Alexandrina Smith had some interesting insights on the subject although they finally dismissed them in the end. They stated that if the translation of Habachi of the passage *z3.i ḥq3 n Kši*, "my son, the ruler of Kush" is correct, it "conveys that Apophis regarded the Ruler of Kush as a prince of lower rank than himself, for in the diplomatic protocol of the Near Eastern states at this time the term "brother" was used to express the relationship of rulers of equal status, while the terms "father/son" described the relationship of great kings to client kings."[69] But they dismissed this possible interpretation based on the claim that Apophis made to the ruler of Kush: *ḥr-m ꜥḥꜥ.k m ḥq3 nn rdit rḫ.i*, which they translated "Why do you ascend as Ruler (*ḥq3*) without letting me know?" In fact, they considered that Apophis called himself *and* the ruler of Kush "rulers" (*ḥq3*), without taking into account the semantic meaning given by the different classifiers. Therefore, they concluded that Apophis "is flatteringly treating him as an equal in order to cajole him into attacking Kamose's rear. If so Apophis is unlikely to have addressed him as "my son," implying inferior rank; in addressing him as "the son of the Ruler" Apophis is stating his formal ignorance of his accession."[70]

A closer look to the classifiers of the word "ruler" in the passage can shed light on this matter, showing a subtle difference to the meaning of the whole paragraph. Apophis' claim was directed to the *position* the ruler of Kush granted himself: *"Auserre, son of Re, Apophis, greets my son, the ruler of Kush. Why did you raise yourself as ruler of Upper Egypt without letting me know?"* As a matter of fact, Apophis neither considered the ruler of Kush nor Kamose as equals. He considered himself of superior rank, and that he deserved to rule not only over Lower Egypt but to make the rulers of Kush and Upper Egypt his subordinates.

The right to reproach the actions of those the "patron" considered his subordinates ("clients") is also reflected in the passage under discussion, as exemplified in the aforementioned letter of the Royal Archive of Mari, where Hammurabi reproached Ishme-Dagan and clarified his position in the hierarchy of "clients." In fact, Apophis' claim to the ruler of Kush probably reveals that an "alliance" between them was broken, and that the ruler of Kush was able to grant himself the rulership over Upper Egypt, challenging Apophis' self-proclaimed rights.

I consider it relevant to mention the absence of treaties or legal references with regard to this situation. Thus, the "independent" action of the ruler of Kush, the subsequent reproach of Apophis and the specific language of kinship he used can be brought as proof of the existence of a probable previous patronage linkage between them.

[69] Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," *ZÄS* 103: 68.

[70] Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," *ZÄS* 103: 66.

An additional statement made by Kamose on Apophis' political status can be brought in to support our argument. In the line 16 of K2, Kamose states: *ꜥ3m ḫz wn ḥr ḏd ink nb nn snnw.i …* "*vile Asiatic, who used to say: "I am a* lord *without equal…*" A dagger (Cairo JE 32735 [CG 52768])[71] found in Saqqara inside the coffin of a certain Abed seems to confirm Kamose´s statement. The dagger was undoubtedly a prestige good. On one side it reads: "*Good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebkhepeshre, Son of Re, Apophis, given life*"; on the other, there is a hunting scene and another inscription which identifies the owner of the weapon as "*the follower of his lord, Nehemen.*" This last statement could be related to Kamose´s expression mentioned above. In her analysis of the imagery of the object, Dorothea Arnold pointed out that "judging from the deposition of Nehemen´s dagger – surely a gift from the Hyksos ruler named upon it – in the coffin of another Hyksos follower, called Abed, and from the gift of a scribal palette by the same king to a man called Atju, *a picture of mutual loyalty emerges that bound members of the Hyksos ruling class together."*[72] Thus, expressions like "my son," "his lord" and "follower" in the sources and the probable exchange of gifts for loyalty reinforce the description of these relationships as patronage.

To conclude, the words of the late Raymond Westbrook clearly show the essence of patronage in the Ancient Near East: "patronage is bound to remain a shadowy phenomenon, reflected in the sources rather than displayed by them."[73] Therefore, the ancient texts just mirror different socio-political practices without analyzing or explaining them. That is our task.

Conclusions

K2 is an Egyptian text which reveals the disputes over the rulership of Upper Egypt among the rulers located in the Eastern Delta (Hyksos), the Theban area (Egyptians) and Nubia (Kushites). Naturally, it contains the Egyptian point of view on the final phase of the Second Intermediate Period, and taking into account that it was erected in the Temple of Amun in Karnak, together with K1 and K3, it should be considered an expression of the legitimation practices held by king Kamose. A closer look at the classifiers attributed to the title *ḥqꜣ*, "ruler," clearly show this feature. On the one side, the three rulers disputed the rulership over Upper Egypt by claiming to be the *Ḥqꜣ*

[71] Georges Daressy, "Un poignard du temps des rois pasteurs" *ASAE* 7 (1906): 115-120; Thomas Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten. Während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit*. Teil 2, "Die ausländische Bevölkerung" (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003): 148-149; Joan Aruz, Kim Benzel and Jean Evans, eds. *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium BC* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), 116-117; Dorothea Arnold, "Image and Identity: Egypt's Eastern Neighbours, East Delta People and the Hyksos," in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Prospects*, ed. Marcel Marée (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 210.

[72] Arnold, "Image and Identity," 213. My emphasis.

[73] Westbrook, "Patronage," *JESHO* 48/2: 231.

("ruler of Upper Egypt"); Lower Egypt was out of discussion at the time. On the other, by calling Kamose as *Ḥqꜣ*, the scribe legitimized him as ruler while at the same time delegitimized the rulers of Avaris and Kush by using the 𓏛 "papyrus roll" to classify the word *ḥqꜣ* ("ruler") when addressed to them. In addition, the text clarifies the different ways in which at least the Egyptian and the Hyksos rulers conceived rulership and inter-elite bonds. Kamose claimed the rulership over Upper Egypt from the Egyptian point of view, while Apophis claimed it by considering Kamose and the ruler of Kush lower status rulers, probably acting as a result of the existence of previous patronage-based inter-elite bonds.

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THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES - LA SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE - THE SOCIETY FOR THE

Still Laughing After All These Years: An Ancient Egyptian "Joke" Survives the Millennia

Nicole B. Hansen

Abstract: A Late Ramesside letter contains the earliest example of a humorous urban legend/parable about a one-eyed spouse that reappears in variations in a number of Middle Eastern cultures up until the present day.

Résumé: Une lettre de la fin de l'époque ramesside contient la plus ancienne attestation d'une légende urbaine humoristique au sujet d'un conjoint borgne. Plusieurs variantes de cette légende moyen-orientale sont connues, dont certaines, toujours d'actualité, adoptent la forme d'une parabole.

Keywords/Mots-clefs: humour/humeur, joke/blague, parable, urban legend/légende urbaine, survivals/survivances, blindness/cécité

In a Late Ramesside letter, the letter writer relates an anecdote about a half-blind woman who was divorced by her husband after realizing her blindness after many years:

> You are the case of the wife blind in one eye who had been living in the house of a man for 20 years; and when he found another woman, he said to her, 'I shall divorce you because you are blind in one eye, so it is said.' And she answered him, 'Is this what you have just discovered during these twenty years that I've spent in your house?'[1]

A news story making the rounds a few years back branded this one of the world's ten oldest jokes. Sweeney has called this joke an allegory comparing the recipient of the letter to the husband and the sender to the wife.[2] The moralistic judgment the letter writer was trying to convey suggests though that it would be more appropriate to classify it more specifically as a parable in the usage here.

A version told by Copts in Upper Egypt was recorded in the 1960s:

> A woman was married to a man who was rich but blind. She respected him, always boasting of being the wife of Abou Badri. 20 years later, the husband lost

[1] Jaroslav Černy, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Brussels: La Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1939), 46. Translation after Edward Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 173.

[2] Deborah Sweeney, "Offence and Reconciliation in Ancient Egypt: A Study in Late Ramesside Letter No. 46," *GM* 158 (1997): 76.

> his fortune. Little by little, she came to despise him, and looked down on him. This no longer was her lord and master; at most her mount.
>
> One day, she said scathingly: 'What, are you blind?'
>
> 'But wife! I have been your husband for 20 years. I have lived with you continuously and you never noticed if I was blind or not?'
>
> 'Your fortune hid your eye before. Now you stay in the house like a woman and you don't bring anything home anymore.'
>
> The husband killed her and went out, murmuring the refrain of a song: 'Oh you women, the devil lights your fire and you want a man whose pockets are full.'[3] It is striking that in the modern version, the period after which the defect is noticed is 20 years.

The same theme is also found, in variations, in other Middle Eastern cultures. The work of a 13th century Persian mystic, Farid ad-Din 'Attar, contained an anecdote that read:

> A man who was brave and impetuous like a lion was in love with a woman for five years. However, there was a little cloudy spot in the eye of this beautiful woman, but this man did not notice it, no matter how frequently he looked at his mistress. How, in effect, could this man, having fallen in love so violently, see this defect? Eventually, his love came to an end by diminishing; a medicine cured this disease.[4] When the love for this woman changed in the heart of the one who had loved her, he was easily able to regain power over himself. He now saw the deformity in the eye of his beloved, and he asked her how she got that white spot. She responded, 'From the moment that your love became less, my eye permitted you to see its default.'[5]

The theme seems so well known that it is sometimes invoked without the necessity of relating it in its entirety. In the early part of the twentieth century, an anthropologist

[3] Guindi Abdel-Chahid, "Coutumes de mariage chez les fellahs chrétiens de Haute-Egypte," *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne* (1969), 149–50.

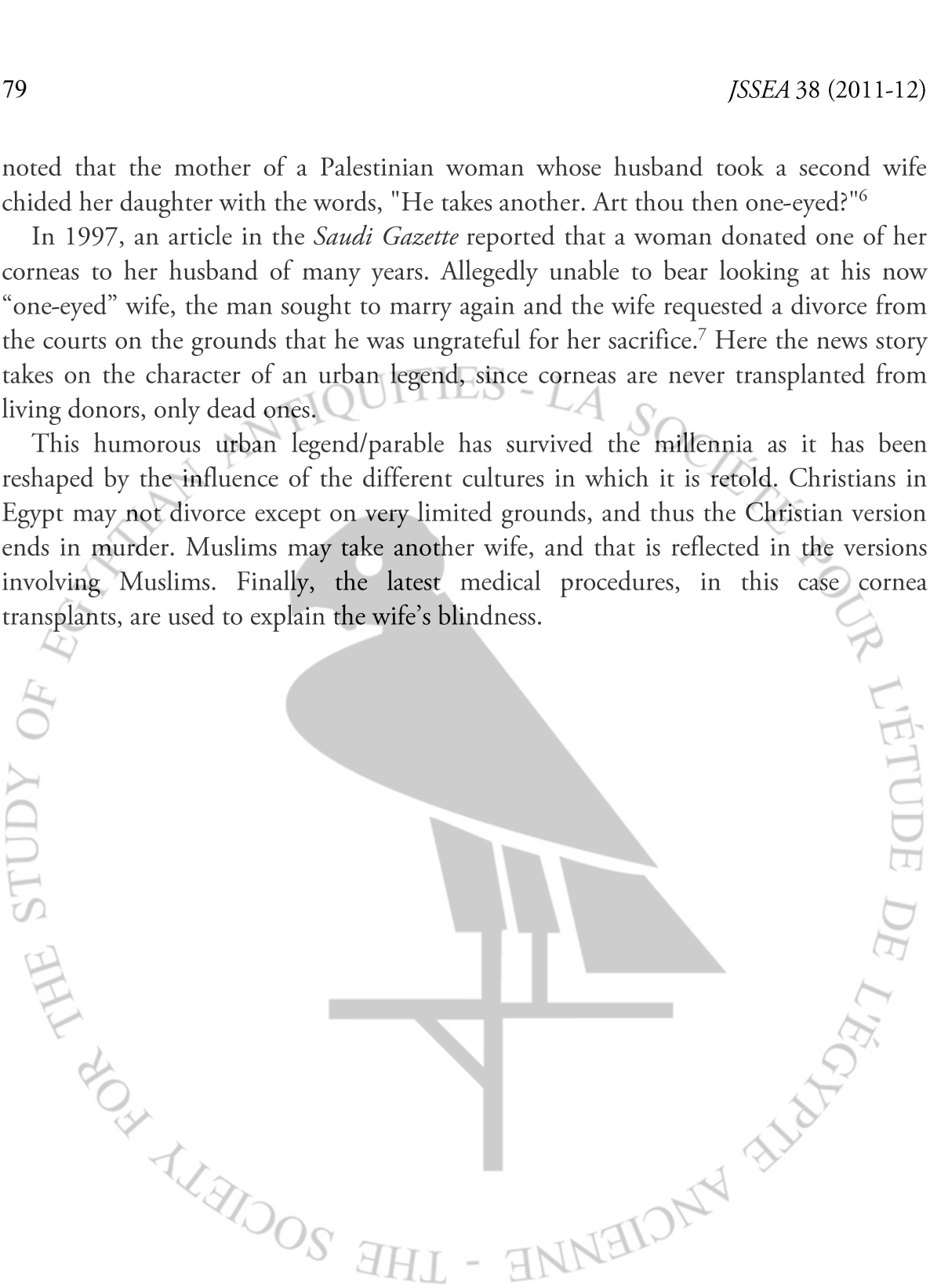
[4] Medical texts of the period considered love to be a mental illness that could be treated with medicaments, see Hans Hinrich Biesterfeldt and Dimitri Gutas, "The Malady of Love," *JAOS* 104 (1984): 22–23.

[5] Malek Chebel, *Encyclopédie de l'amour en Islam* (Paris: Payot, 1995), 214.

noted that the mother of a Palestinian woman whose husband took a second wife chided her daughter with the words, "He takes another. Art thou then one-eyed?"[6]

In 1997, an article in the *Saudi Gazette* reported that a woman donated one of her corneas to her husband of many years. Allegedly unable to bear looking at his now "one-eyed" wife, the man sought to marry again and the wife requested a divorce from the courts on the grounds that he was ungrateful for her sacrifice.[7] Here the news story takes on the character of an urban legend, since corneas are never transplanted from living donors, only dead ones.

This humorous urban legend/parable has survived the millennia as it has been reshaped by the influence of the different cultures in which it is retold. Christians in Egypt may not divorce except on very limited grounds, and thus the Christian version ends in murder. Muslims may take another wife, and that is reflected in the versions involving Muslims. Finally, the latest medical procedures, in this case cornea transplants, are used to explain the wife's blindness.



[6] Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* (Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1935), 2, 183.

[7] "Husband Turns a Blind Eye after Regaining Sight with Wife's Eye," *Saudi Gazette*, June 16, 1997.

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Reliefs from the Tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34) in the Museo Archeologico, Florence

Sarah L. Ketchley*

Abstract: The Museo Archeologico, Florence has in its collection a number of relief fragments, originally from the tomb of Montuemhat (TT34) in Thebes, which were acquired by E. Schiaparelli at Qurneh between 1891 and 1892. This article discusses ten of these fragments, not hitherto fully published: series 7634 a and b and series 7635 a, b, c, d, e, f, g and h. The original location of these fragments of relief work can be ascertained with reference to V. Scheil's 1894 publication of Chapel C, which opens off the first sunken court. At the time, Scheil believed that this chapel represented the tomb in its entirety. A traditional offering scene fills both the east and west walls, with mirror-image large scale depictions of the tomb owner on each, facing outwards towards three registers of offering bearers and a register of butchery scenes. Comparison of this source and Florence Series 7634 (offering bearers) and 7635 (offering bearers and butchers) indicates that these pieces originally came from registers on the West Wall of the Chapel.

Résumé: Le musée archéologique de Florence possède dans sa collection un certain nombre de fragments pariétaux provenant de la tombe de Montuemhat (TT34) à Thèbes, acquis par E. Schiaparelli à Gournah entre 1891 et 1892. Cet article étudie dix de ces fragments, inadéquatement publiés jusqu'à présent. Il s'agit des séries 7634 a et b et 7635 a, b, c, d, e, f, g et h. L'emplacement originel de ces pièces peut être établi grâce à la publication de V. Scheil (1894) de la chapelle C, qui donne sur la première cour. À l'époque, Scheil croyait que cette chapelle représentait le tombeau dans son intégralité, dans lequel on pouvait voir une scène d'offrande traditionnelle sur les murs est et ouest, avec des représentations symétriques à grande échelle sur chacun d'eux du propriétaire de la tombe, faisant face à trois registres de porteurs d'offrandes et un registre de scènes de boucherie. La comparaison de la publication de Scheil avec les séries 7634 (scènes de porteurs d'offrandes) et 7635 (représentations de porteurs d'offrandes et de bouchers) du musée de Florence indique que ces pièces proviennent des registres figurant sur le mur ouest de la chapelle.

Keywords/mots-clefs: Montuemhat, Thebes, Asasif, Reliefs, Museo Archeologico Florence

The practice of constructing large individual tombs with complex schemes of decoration underwent a remarkable revival at Thebes during the Kushite Twenty-fifth and Saite Twenty-sixth Dynasties, after a hiatus of nearly four hundred years. These monuments, found predominantly in the Asasif region on the West Bank, were partly rock-cut and partly built structures, a tradition long established for private tombs in the area. They were built for high-ranking staff of the God's Wives of Amun and other

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members of the Theban priestly aristocracy who governed much of Upper Egypt, and they offer important insights into the culture of the period.

Montuemhat was the most influential administrator in this region during the period which straddled the reign of Taharqa at the end of the Kushite Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the sack of Thebes by the Assyrians and the reign of Psammetichus I of the Saite Twenty-sixth Dynasty. His titles included Fourth Prophet of Amun, Mayor of the City and Governor of Upper Egypt. A number of statues of him are preserved but his tomb (TT34) is without doubt his most impressive legacy. One of the largest tombs from the period, its mud brick pylons remain a distinctive landmark even today and the extensive substructure includes two sunken courts, one (the First Court) with a series of ten chapels leading off of it, and a large number of underground rock-cut rooms, almost all of which have carved decoration and texts. Although it was described in the last century, the tomb had, until recently, never been fully and formally excavated.[1] Many blocks of relief work from the tomb are scattered over the world's museums and private collections, and this study examines a group of these reliefs in the collection of the Museo Archeologico, Florence.[2]

Twelve fragments of relief with the accession numbers 7612 a-i, 7612 k and l and 2604 were acquired by E. Schiaparelli at Qurneh in 1891-2[3] and have been published and discussed by Cooney, Russmann and Gamer-Wallert.[4] Work on the wall decoration still *in situ* by Gamer-Wallert confirms that the original position of series 7612 was the north wall of the second court, which originally comprised raised-relief

[1] For instance, Robert Hay, British Library Manuscripts 29821, (1824-1838), 110, recorded a view of the tomb during his visits to Egypt and Nubia between 1824 and 1838. August Eisenlohr appears to have been the first to have conducted a 'small excavation' in the tomb, although he doesn't record the exact location of his work and reports 'no particular findings'. A. Eisenlohr, "Aus einem Briefe des Professor Aug. Eisenlohr an Dr. Ludw. Stern", *ZÄS* XXIII (1885): 55. J. Krall conducted a more extensive exploration three years later in 1888, describing what he thought to be three separate tombs. These appear in fact to be three chapels opening off of the sunken court, including Chapel C which he ascribes to 'der Fürsten von Theben, Montomes'. He records the inscriptions around the doorway and in the niche opposite the entrance door, which implies that the room was not choked with debris at this time. He does not, however, mention the reliefwork on the walls. J. Krall, *Studien zur Geschichte des alten Aegypten III Tyros und Sidon* (Wein, 1888), 76 - 82. More recently, since 2006, the tomb has been excavated by Dr Farouk Gomaà from the University of Tübingen, Germany.

[2] I am grateful to M. Christina Guidotti of the Museo Archeologico, Florence, for permission to publish these fragments. Photographs of 7635g and h courtesy of the Egyptian Museum of Florence. Photographs of all other fragments courtesy of H. W. Müller Archive (Heidelberg/Germany).

[3] Jean Leclant, *Montouemhat, Quatrième Prophête d'Amon* (Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961), 182. He also notes fragment 7614 depicting a herd of goats but does not include series 7634 or 7635 in his listing.

[4] John D. Cooney, "Fragments of a Great Saite Monument," *JARCE* 3 (1964): 79-87. Edna R. Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT34)," *JARCE* 31(1994):1-19. Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, "I Frammenti della Tomba di Montuemhat (TT 34) nel Museo Egizio di Firenze," in *Rinascimento Faraonico. La XXV Dinastia nel Museo Egizio di Firenze*, ed. M. Christina Guidotti and Francesco Tiradritti (Montepulciano: 2009), 31-40.

scenes of offering bearers, agricultural work (herding and harvesting) and activities in the swamp (fishing and hunting). Series 7634 and 7635 were also acquired by Schiaparelli from Qurneh in 1891-2 and comprise 10 fragments which are hitherto not fully published.[5]

Russmann[6] reported that she had succeeded in identifying the original positions of eight sunk relief fragments on the east wall of the tomb's so-called Chapel C, which opens off of the south wall of the First Court. This chapel had been recorded by V. Scheil[7] at the end of the nineteenth century when the chapel was in a more complete state of preservation. Scheil believed that Chapel C represented the tomb in its entirety, which seems to indicate that the rest of the tomb was inaccessible at that time. He published line drawings (by Georges Legrain) and a discussion of the sunk reliefs on the long east and west walls, each showing a large-scale figure of Montuemhat, facing out of the chapel, seated before an offering table with an offering list and offerings. Three subregisters of smaller male bearers walk towards him with offerings. The lowest register, running the full length of each wall, depicts various butchery scenes. The eastern wall was almost complete and free from salt encrustation in Scheil's time. Russmann notes that at the time of writing, the figure of Montuemhat at the southern end of the wall was largely preserved,[8] but the subregisters have suffered considerable damage over the past century.

The west wall, by contrast, was already noted to be in a poor condition by Scheil, and Russmann confirms the heavy salt encrustation.[9] Consequently Scheil's record is not as complete for this wall – a large central section from the first two and top of the third registers of offering bearers is not recorded, and sections of the butchery scenes in the fourth register. However, again by using Scheil's illustration and discussion, the original positions of a further ten fragments of sunk relief in the Museo Archeologico, Florence can be identified on this west wall of Chapel C (see figure 11 a/b).[10]

[5] Acquisition details from Egyptian Museum of Florence *Journal d'Entrées.*

[6] Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat," *JARCE* 31: 3-7. These fragments are: Boston Museum of Fine Arts 65.1685, 65.1686, 65.1687; St. Louis Art Museum I:1958 (3 panels); Private Collection, Japan (Sotheby's New York [auction catalog], 28 November 1990, lot 41); Private Collection, Japan (Sotheby's, New York [auction catalog], 28 November 1990, lot 42).

[7] Jean Vincent Scheil, "Tombeaux thébains de Mâi, des Graveurs, Rat'eserkesenb, Pâri, Djanni, Apoui, Montou-m-hat, Aba," *Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 5* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale,1894), 541-656, pls. 1-2.

[8] Scheil, "Tombeaux thébains," *Mem. Miss.* V: pl. 1; Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat," *JARCE* 31: 4.

[9] Scheil, "Tombeaux thébains," *Mem. Miss.* V: 620-3, pl. 2. Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat," *JARCE* 31: 4, note 25.

[10] All are recorded *in situ* by Scheil, "Tombeaux thébains," *Mem. Miss.* V: 623, pl. 2; the publication dates to 1894 but presumably Scheil visited the tomb before 1891-2 when Schiaparelli acquired the pieces of reliefwork. (Leclant, Montouemhat, 172, and Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat," *JARCE* 31,

Series 7634 and 7635 are limestone pieces carved in sunk relief.[11] The offering bearers, all male, face left towards the large-scale seated figure of the tomb owner. The fragments illustrate some of the distinctive stylistic features of the reliefs in this chapel.[12] The sharp, decisive carving of the lines is noteworthy and the average depth of relief is 2-3mm. The fragments with scenes of offering bearers are executed in a similar fashion to those on the east wall. Facial features are characteristic – the eye seems large compared to the nose and mouth; cheeks are fairly fleshy and the bridge of the nose begins from a point below the canthus giving the face an elongated appearance. The valanced wigs worn by the bearers jut out slightly from the forehead with carefully detailed curls.[13] Shoulders are broad and waists trim, and buttocks small and high. Hands have long fingers and thumbs, in the typical 'Saite manner'.[14] The bearers wear plain short kilts with a front flap and belt. Modeling is notable around the knee and calf areas[15] and typical are the crisp contour outlining slightly bulging muscles in the arms. Offering goods are boldly cut, with little incised interior detailing apart from on the petals of the lotuses and wings of the fowl.

The bodies of the butchers are carved in a similar fashion to the bearers. The main difference lies in the execution of the heads – the butchers' have high shaven domes often falling to a shallow curve at the back of the head. The well-defined execution of the ear, in slightly higher relief than other facial features, is notable on these figures from both walls of this chapel. The butchers have thin raised brows over long eyes and

footnote 20, both incorrectly cite the date of Scheil's publication as 1891). Scheil does not record whether it was necessary to further clear Chapel C in order to record the decoration, thus exposing the walls for looters. The fragments listed here are mentioned in Cooney, "Fragments of a Great Saite Monument," *JARCE* 3: 86 as 'series 7634 and 7635'. Peter Der Manuelian, "An Essay in Reconstruction – Two Registers from the Tomb of Montuemhat at Thebes," *MDAIK* 39 (1983): 147, briefly notes series 7635 in the appendix (no. 45) as containing 'men slaughtering animals, bearing ducks and flowers'. One of the fragments is noted in Antonio Minto, *Il Regio Museo Archeologico di Firenze (no 4 della serie degli itinerari dei musei e monumenti d'Italia)* (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1931), 31, lower right.

[11] The original positions are indicated on Figure 11b.

[12] Also commented on by Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat," *JARCE* 31, 6.

[13] Fragments 7634a, b and 7635g which preserve the full wig each have 22 rows of small curls, with a 23rd unsculpted row on the crown of the head. The lowest, thinnest row has a series of a small vertical lines to indicate fringing. The bearers/herders preserved on fragments 7612d, g and j, discussed by John D. Cooney, "Fragments of a Great Saite Monument," *JARCE* 3 (1964): 79 - 87, have very similar wigs although in these cases they are in raised relief.

[14] On this 'Saite feature' and other new and adapted elements of style see John D. Cooney, "Three early Saite tomb reliefs," *JNES* 9 (1950): 197; Peter Der Manuelian, "Two Fragments of Relief and a New Model for the Tomb of Montuemhet at Thebes," *JEA* 71 (1985): 101.

[15] Fragments 7634a and 7635b and c. Such defined musculature is also noted by Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat," *JARCE* 31, 14 who comments that there appear to be two main types of body style in Montuemhat's tomb – the rather stocky, modeled figures of bearers and some figures of the tomb owner, and the more slender, longer figures of female offering bearers in particular.

small, straight noses. There are no traces of paint on any of the fragments from this wall.

Florence 7634a (h. 31.5cm x w. 17.5cm) – Figure 1

Original location: west wall of Chapel C, first subregister from top, second bearer from right and hand of first bearer.

This bearer's facial features are strongly defined with a pointed chin that thrusts forward. The fragment has sustained a certain amount of damage: a crack in the limestone runs from in front of the forehead down his cheek, following the line of his wig into the left shoulder. There is also slight damage to the lower front of the kilt and the lower legs and feet are lost. Reaching back from broad shoulders, the upper left arm is slender with well-defined muscles, while the lower arm appears cumbersome and somewhat foreshortened. He supports a tray carrying a vessel and two loaves of bread. The right arm is lost. In the lower right corner is an incised lotus bloom and the remains of the hand grasping it, belonging to the bearer behind. Between the two figures at the bottom of the fragment are the tops of a *ḥm* and a *k3* sign, referring to the lost bearer to the right. Running along the top of the fragment are the remains of a row of incised hieroglyphs giving part of the scene title ...[*nf*]*rt m ḫrt hrw* [*rˁ*] *nb m* [*3wt ḏtt*], '[all go]od [things] in the course of each day consisting of [eternal offerings]'.[16]

Florence 7634b (h. 5.6cm x w.15.6cm) – Figure 2

Original location: west wall of Chapel C, second subregister from top, second bearer from right.

The head and top of the shoulder of a left-facing man. Behind his head is the central section of a long vessel with a rounded base. Reference to Scheil confirms that the hand supporting this vessel is his – albeit twisted backwards at an awkward angle, rather than the hand of the bearer following.[17] To the left of the fragment are the remains of two hieroglyphs *'r'* and '*YI*' belonging to the title of the bearer.[18]

Florence 7635h (h. 13cm x 2. 15.1cm) – Figure 3

Original location: west wall of Chapel C, third subregister from top, first and second bearers from left.

The fragment preserves part of the right arm of the seventh bearer. He supports a goose's head in his palm, with three fingers on one side of its head and his forefinger

[16] See Scheil, "Tombeaux thébains," *Mem. Miss.* V, pl. 2 for the full record of this scene title.

[17] As is the case, for instance, in the third subregister from the top, seventh and eighth bearers from the left (see figure 11 a/b).

[18] Scheil's record of the text is somewhat unclear: *s3 h*[…][*sp*]*r* and *ḥm k3* 'priest'.

and thumb on the other side. Most of the bird's body is lost; but eye detailing is notable. The lower part of the wig, left shoulder and a part of the upper left arm of the bearer in front is preserved, with no trace of the goods he originally carried (in this case, reference to Scheil indicates that he held a goose in the same manner as the man behind him).

Florence 7635g (h. 10.1cm x w. 15.1cm) – Figure 4

Original location: west wall of Chapel C, third subregister from top, third bearer from left.

Most of the head and face of a bearer. His right shoulder and part of the upper arm are preserved together with part of his right wrist and fist grasping a bird by the neck. Only the bird's head remains, pointing upwards. Much of the body and head of a second bird rests across the bearer's chest, where it was originally supported from below by the man's left arm. A slight bulge over the inner elbow is all that remains of three long-stemmed lotuses slung over his arm. The eye of the left bird is well executed – it has an authentic shape surrounded by a raised rim while the eye of the right bird is merely an incised circle.

Florence 7635c (h. 20cm x w. 20.8cm) – Figure 5

Original location: west wall of Chapel C, third subregister from top, fourth man from left.

An offering bearer holds his right arm up in front of his body to hold a bunch of long-stemmed lotus plants, whose flowers are now lost. The fingers are not as long as typical Saite examples but are very naturalistically rendered, with incised finger nails. The left arm reaches down to grasp the wings of a live goose. The belt of the bearer's kilt is partly concealed by the stems and wings of his offerings. The goose has a long body with wings, tail and clawed feet well executed and eyes defined by a relief rim. The bent left elbow of the bearer in front (shown in 7635g) is visible at the edge of the fragment.

Fragment attached to Florence 7635c (h. 5cm x w. 10.4cm)

The face and part of the right shoulder of a male. This piece has been attached to 7635c by the museum, but close examination of it shows that this is a false join: the lobe of an ear is just visible at the right of the piece and it is clear that the wigs worn by the offering bearers on this wall covered their ears. The head is too big, and its angle on the joined fragments is also suspect – the man looks slightly upwards while other offering bearers look straight forward. This difference in head position is confirmed when the fragment is placed beside 7635g and 7635h, which preserve the heads of the two bearers ahead of 7635c. The similar style and execution of this fragment indicates

that it does have a place on the wall, but as one of the left facing butchers rather than an offering bearer. The ear lobe and angle of the head confirm this.

Florence 7635b (h. 15.2cm x w. 11cm) – Figure 6

Original location: west wall of Chapel C, third subregister from top, seventh bearer from left.

The upper right leg and part of the kilt and lower right arm of an offering bearer are preserved. His hand is clenched around a bunch of onions.

Florence 7635e (h. 12.7cm x w. 8.3cm) – Figure 7

Original location: west wall of Chapel C, lowest register, third group from right.

The front of a right-facing butcher's head. He was originally leaning in to hold the hoof and lower foreleg of the slaughtered bull in front of him. At the top of the fragment are the remains of two hieroglyphs in sunk relief *'n'* and *'T30(?)'*, part of the horizontal text recorded in full by Scheil.[19]

Florence 7635f (h. 13.7cm x w. 10.3cm) – Figure 8

Original location: west wall of Chapel C, lowest register, second group from right.

The head and small section of the upper body of a right-facing butcher. Although the tip is slightly damaged, the nose as a whole is quite small and straight. The lips are fleshy, ending in a dimple at the outer edge. The back of the skull forms almost a straight line from crown to shoulders, giving the man a thick-necked appearance. The fragment breaks off just below the shoulder blades. His right shoulder is in profile and both arms are held out in front, originally to support a bull's leg. Running down the left side of the fragment is a row of four (or five) hieroglyphs, only the right sides of which are preserved - *...m3ʿ n ḥ3ty*[ʿ]... '...sacrifice for the prince…' Scheil gives the full text and indicates that this inscription belongs to the 3rd group of butchers to the immediate left of the man preserved here.

Florence 7635a (h. 24.5cm x w. 30.7cm) – Figure 9

Original location: west wall of Chapel C, lowest register, rightmost group.

Part of a butchery scene showing a left-facing man grasping the lower right front leg of the bull. He leans his weight into his left hand, to give purchase for his right hand to cut away the joint (Scheil records that he held a knife in his right hand which is now lost). The nose is quite short and pointed, with a drilled nostril and raised wing; his lips are modeled and upturned in the suggestion of a smile. He wears a wraparound belted kilt with a protruding knot, a sharpening implement tucked through the waistband and

[19] *spr ḫnḏ sww*[*t*] 'cut away the shin and leg of beef'.

attached to the kilt by a cord; the lower section of the kilt and legs are lost. The leg of the gazelle is thin with a well defined tibia and double incised line indicating the hoof. To the left of the fragment are the remains of a right-facing butcher with his outstretched arm resting above the animal's hoof as he assists his partner to joint the animal. His long-fingered left hand hovers over the hoof. His right hand is visible grasping the leg in his fist, below the hand of his workmate. Running along the top of the piece are the lower remains of a left-running text, the whole of which is recorded in Scheil. Between the two men are five hieroglyphs, the label of the scene *stp gḥs* 'cutting the gazelle'.

Florence 7635d (h. 7.3cm x w. 4.4cm) – Figure 10

Original location: west wall of Chapel C, lowest register. Reference to Figure 11b (below) indicates that there are three right-facing butchers towards the left of the register not accounted for elsewhere; this fragment therefore originally came from one of these locations.

A small fragment preserving a portion of a man looking right. The forehead runs to quite a low point, just below the tear duct, and the remains of the nose and inner lip are just visible.

The ongoing work in Montuemhat's tomb includes the painstaking reassignment of many thousands of displaced fragments to their original positions within the tomb. Most of these lie on the ground in the tomb itself but a significant number, including those described in this article, are distributed amongst museums and private collections around the world. The majority of such reliefwork depicting scenes of bearers, agriculture, craft and marshes most likely originated from walls in the Second Court and West Portico.[20] There has been less work carried out to date on other Chapels surrounding the First Court; publication is limited thus far to Scheil's record and the fragments described here and by Russmann.[21] Examination of such relief work is particularly important since it gives valuable insights into the development of the Saite 'style' with origins in temple and relief decoration from the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The fragments discussed in this article are examples of this transitional style, bridging the Kushite Twenty-fifth and Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasties. Some bearers are heavy-featured and butchers thick-necked, features found particularly at the end of

[20] Gamer-Wallert, "I Frammenti della Tomba di Montuemhat," 34-35, notes that fragments originally from the walls of the Vestibule are stored separately within the tomb.

[21] Russmann also discusses a fragment of relief from Chapel E, Aakiw (Cleveland 49.496); "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat," *JARCE* 31: 8.

the Twenty-fifth Dynasty often in royal contexts.[22] It is to be hoped that current excavation and reconstruction on other tombs from this period on the Asasif will throw further light on this pivotal period in Egyptian art.

[22] Jean Leclant, Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVe dynastie dite éthiopienne I-II (BdÉ 36) (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1965); Edna R. Russmann, "Kushite Headdresses and 'Kushite' Style," *JEA* 81 (1995): 227-232 ; Edna R. Russmann, "Mentuemhat's Kushite Wife (Further Remarks on the Decoration of the Tomb of Mentuemhat, 2)," *JARCE 34* (1997): 21-39.

Fig. 1: Florence 7634a

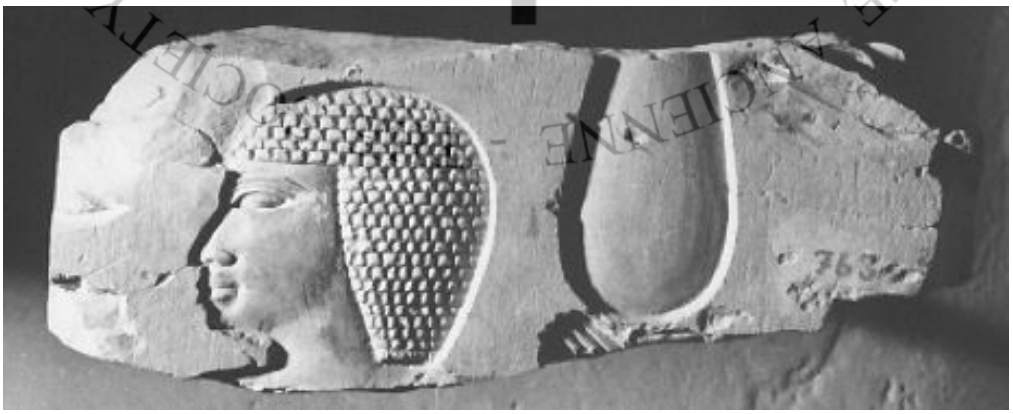

Fig. 2: Florence 7634b

Fig. 3: Florence 7635h

Fig. 4: Florence 7635g

Fig. 5: Florence 7635c

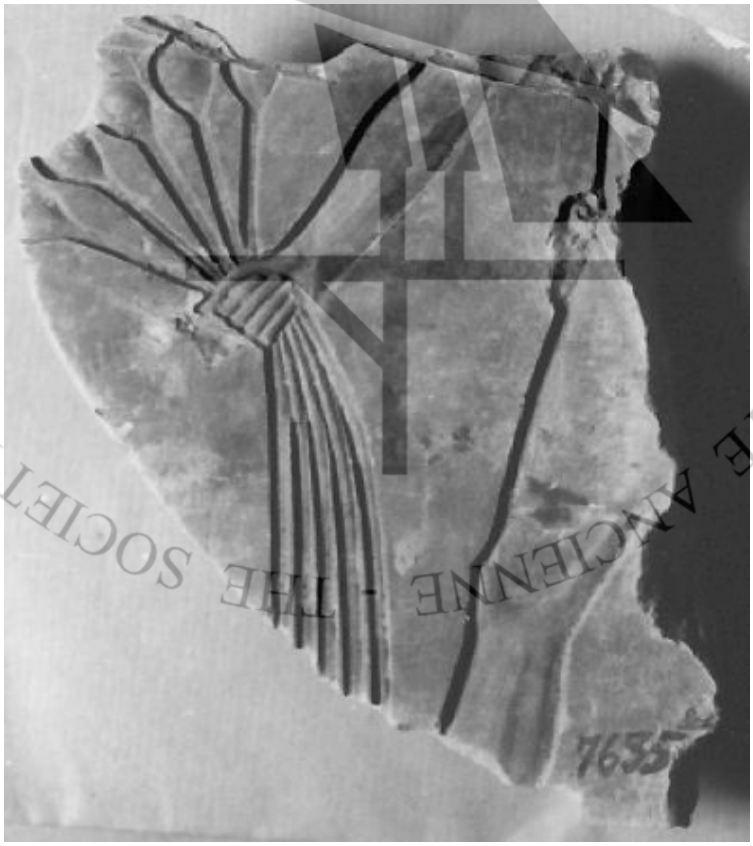

Fig. 6: Florence 7635b

Fig. 7 : Florence 7635e

Fig. 8: Florence 7635f

Fig. 9: Florence 7635a

Fig. 10: Florence 7635d

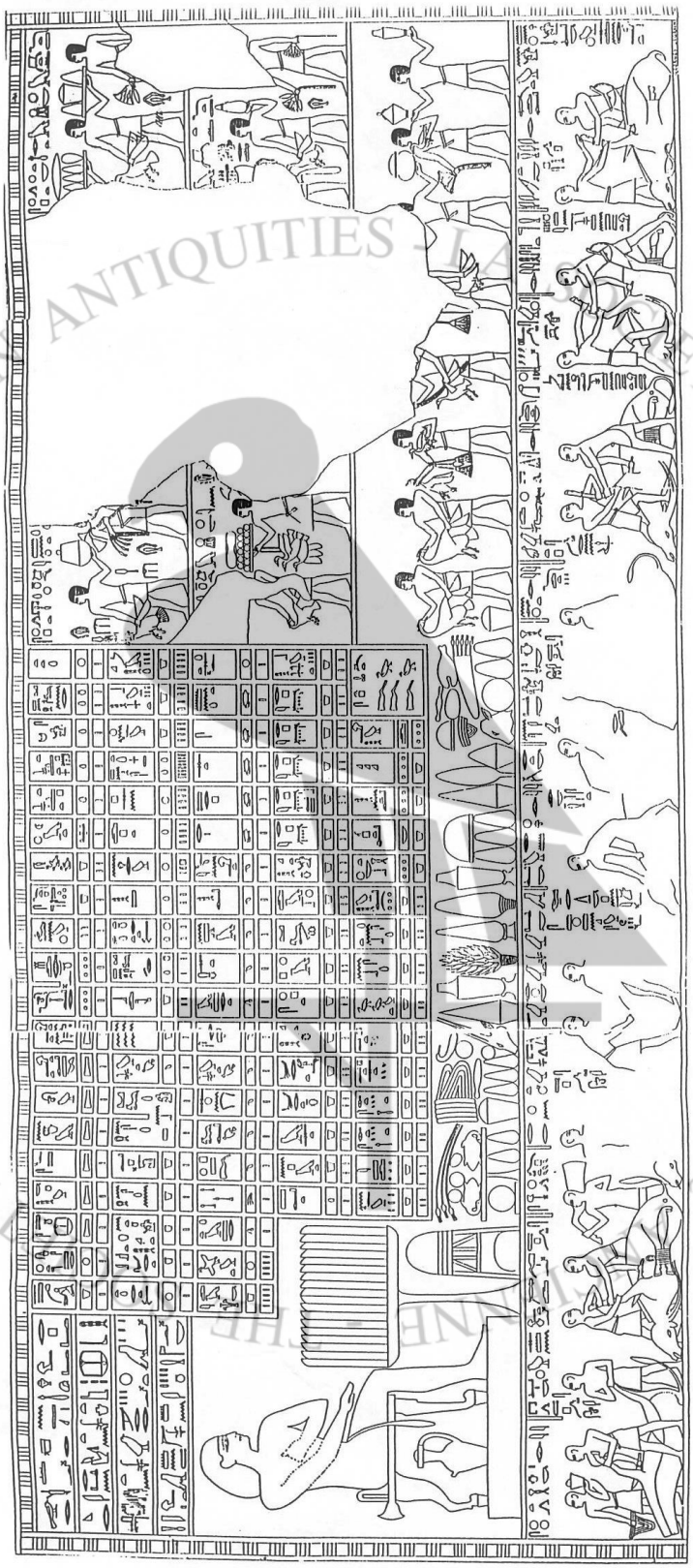

Fig. 11a : reproduced from Jean Vincent Scheil, "Tombeaux thébains de Mâi, des Graveurs, Rat'eserkesenb, Pâri, Djanni, Apoui, Montou-m-hat, Aba," Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire V (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale,1894), pl. 2

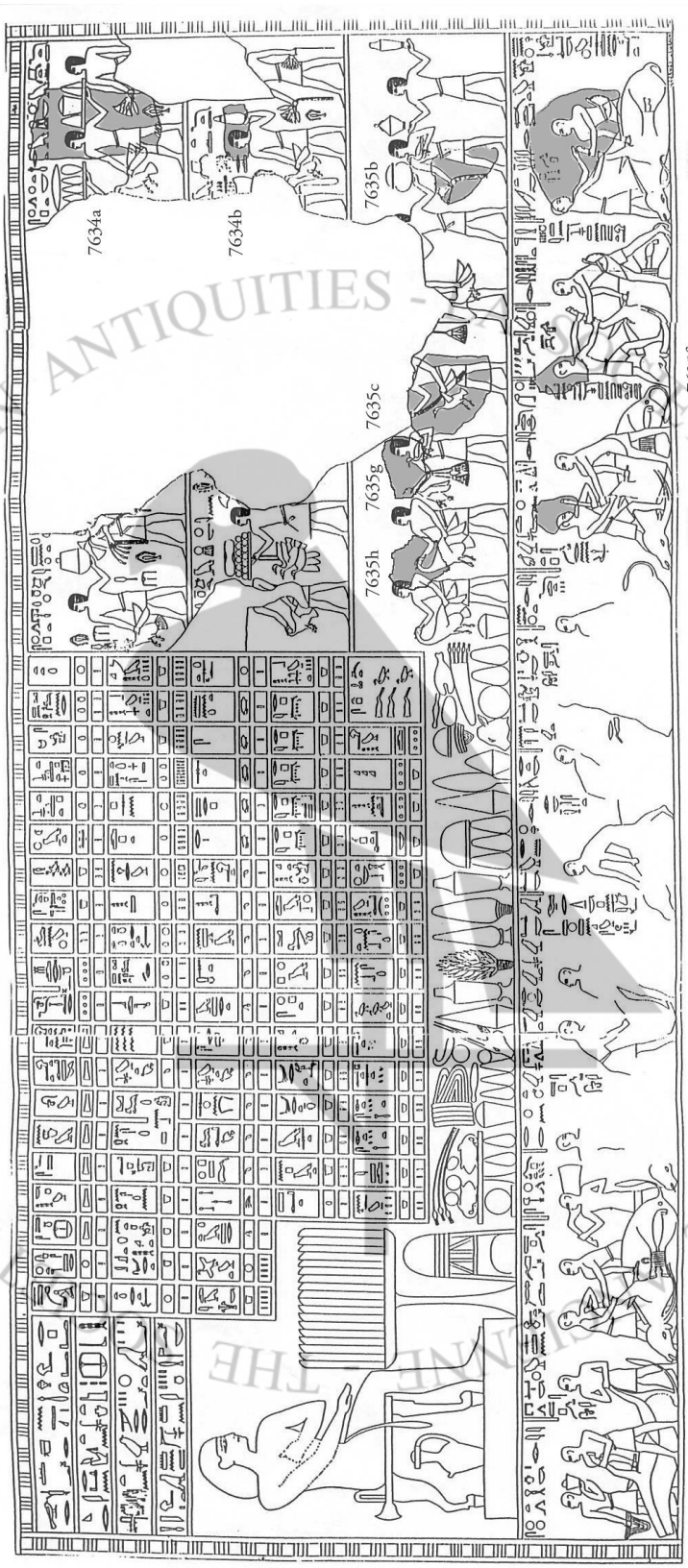

Fig. 11b : Florence series 7634 and 7635 in their original positions. After Scheil, "Tombeaux thébains," Mém. Miss. V : pl. 2

Compléments à la représentation de la « Sortie de Min » du Ramesseum

Benoît Lurson*

Résumé: Le catalogage des blocs dispersés sur l'aire du Ramesseum et un *survey* des blocs du temple remployés dans les structures tardives de Medinet Habou ont permis d'identifier six blocs donnant encore à voir des vestiges de la représentation de la « Sortie de Min » du Ramesseum, dont deux sont inédits. Après une présentation de ces blocs, des raccords entre ceux dispersés sur l'aire du Ramesseum sont proposés, ainsi qu'un repositionnement dans leurs parois d'origine. Quant à celui remployé à Medinet Habou, il montre que la représentation de la « Sortie de Min » du Ramesseum se différenciait sensiblement de celle de Medinet Habou, ce que le repositionnement des blocs dans leur paroi d'origine laissait déjà supposer. Enfin, l'article s'attarde sur un dernier bloc, qui complète la version memnonienne de l'hymne du prêtre lecteur en en livrant une importante section. Une reconstitution de cette version montre que les différences entre les deux relations de la « Sortie de Min » sont aussi d'ordre épigraphique. Surtout, ces différences, auxquelles s'ajoutent celles déjà soulignées, mais aussi d'autres, montrent que Medinet Habou ne peut être considéré comme une simple copie du Ramesseum, que les différences entre les deux monuments sont à repenser en profondeur, et ce, par rapport à un troisième terme: les sources utilisées par les équipes en charge des deux temples.

Abstract: The inventory of the scattered blocks in the area of the Ramesseum and a survey of the blocks of the temple reused in the Graeco-Roman structures at Medinet Habu, has enabled the identification of six blocks preserving remains of the Ramesseum's representation of the Festival of Min, two of them being unpublished. After presenting these blocks, joins between those scattered in the area of the Ramesseum, as well as their original position in the walls, are proposed. As for the block reused at Medinet Habu, it shows that the Ramesseum's depiction of the Festival of Min differed noticeably from that of Medinet Habu, as was already assumed from their original position in the wall. Finally, the paper deals with a last block, which completes the memnonian version of the Hymn of the Lector-Priest, preserving an important section of it. A reconstruction of this version shows that the differences between both representations of the Festival of Min are also epigraphic ones. Above all, based on the differences already underlined, and others discussed herein, Medinet Habu cannot be considered to be a simple copy of the Ramesseum. The differences between both monuments have to be reconsidered with regard to a third element, namely the sources used by the teams in charge of both temples.

Mots-clefs/Keywords: Ramesseum, Medinet Habu/Medinet Habou, Festival of Min/Sortie de Min, hymn/hymne, iconographic and epigraphic sources/sources iconographiques et épigraphiques

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Malgré la surface à laquelle elle est désormais réduite, la « Sortie de Min » reste l'une des compositions iconographiques les plus abouties du Ramesseum et même du Nouvel Empire. Avant que le monument ne soit converti en carrière de pierres, elle y occupait le second registre (qui est aussi le registre supérieur) de la moitié nord du mur est et du mur nord de la seconde cour. Aujourd'hui, on ne la trouve plus que sur la partie centrale de la moitié nord du mur est, dont les extrémités, ainsi que tout le mur nord, n'ont malheureusement pas échappé aux carriers. Cette composition a été publiée en 1940 par l'Oriental Institute, avant de se voir dédier le volume 36 de la Collection Scientifique du *Centre d'Étude et de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Égypte* (*CEDAE*), sorti de presse en 1983, qui consacre aussi plusieurs pages à trois blocs épars en présentant des vestiges.[1]

Depuis cette publication et dans le cadre du catalogage des blocs dispersés sur l'aire du Ramesseum que nous avons entrepris en 1998,[2] trois autres blocs épars présentant des vestiges de cette composition ont été identifiés, en portant ainsi le nombre à six. Le premier des trois, dessiné par Quibell, n'avait pas été retenu pour la publication du *CEDAE*, tandis que le deuxième est inédit, et que le troisième a été repéré parmi les blocs du Ramesseum remployés à Medinet Habou. S'il n'est pas exclu que des prospections ultérieures puissent conduire à l'identification de blocs supplémentaires, ce nouveau matériel permet d'ores et déjà de jeter un regard nouveau sur la « Sortie de Min » du Ramesseum, mais aussi de s'interroger sur les sources utilisées par ceux qui conçurent la décoration de Medinet Habou.

[1] The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu–Volume IV, Plates 193-249. Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940) (désormais abrégé en *MH* IV), pl. 213-215, A; Mahmoud Maher-Taha et Anne-Marie Loyrette, avec la collaboration de Sabri Sayed, *Le Ramesseum XI. Les fêtes du dieu Min* (Le Caire: Organisation Égyptienne des Antiquités, 1979 [1983]) (désormais abrégé en Le Ramesseum XI). Voir aussi *PM* II², 434, (10), I, ainsi que *KRI* V, 200-202 et 204-212. Cette fête a été étudiée par Henri Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1931) et, plus récemment, par Catherine Graindorge, "Vom weißen Stier des Min zu Amenemope: Metamorphosen eines Ritus," in *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart. Studien zur Vorderasiatischen, Prähistorischen und Klassischen Archäologie, Ägyptologie, Alten Geschichte, Theologie und Religionswissenschaft. Interdisziplinäre Tagung vom 1.-2. Februar 2002 an der Freien Universität Berlin*, ed. Carola Metzner-Nebelsick (Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, 2003), 37-45; Catherine Graindorge, "Le taureau blanc du dieu Min et l'offrande de la gerbe de blé," in *La cuisine et l'autel. Les sacrifices en questions dans les sociétés de la Méditerranée ancienne*, sous la direction de Stella Georgoudi, René Koch Piettre et Francis Schmidt (Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2006), 47-76.

[2] Ce catalogage a aussi concerné la statuaire. Quatre publications ont été consacrées à ces blocs; cf. Benoît Lurson, "Les Sekhmet retrouvées au Ramesseum," *Memnonia* XV–2004 (2005): 103-122; Benoît Lurson,"Note complémentaire sur la statuaire d'Amenhotep III retrouvée au Ramesseum," *Memnonia* XVII–2006 (2007): 91-93; Benoît Lurson, "Eine übersehene Titulatur Ramses' II. in änigmatischer Schrift im Ramesseum," *GM* 220 (2009): 43-49; Benoît Lurson,"Nouveaux éléments sur la décoration et l'architecture du temple contigu au Ramesseum," *SAK* 39 (2010): 243-270.

Présentation des blocs.

Le premier des cinq blocs du Ramesseum porte le numéro RGs 784, qui lui a été attribué lors de son inventaire (pl. 1, A). Il est connu par un dessin de Quibell, mais n'a pas été repris dans le volume du *CEDAE*.[3] Sa surface décorée se divise en deux parties. Dans la partie inférieure, on reconnaît les têtes et les torses de trois guerriers hittites debout dans un char se dirigeant vers la gauche[4], le troisième guerrier tournant la tête vers l'arrière, ainsi que la lance et le bouclier tenu par l'un d'eux. La tête, mais aussi le garrot, l'encolure et le haut du poitrail des chevaux sont encore visibles devant eux. Une surface vierge de 31 cm de large sépare les naseaux des chevaux de l'extrémité gauche du bloc. Ce groupe appartenait à la représentation de la bataille de Qadesh, qui se trouve en effet sous celle de la « Sortie de Min, » sur la moitié nord de la paroi est de la seconde cour du temple, mais aussi, à l'origine, sur la paroi nord.

Dans la partie supérieure du bloc se trouvent les représentations de personnages s'avançant vers la droite sur une ligne de sol. On voit encore les pieds et les longs pagnes à retombées, conservés à des degrés divers, de trois d'entre eux. Recouvrant partiellement le talon du troisième, on distingue ce qui pourrait bien être la pointe du pied d'un quatrième personnage. Du reste, les 41 cm séparant le talon arrière du troisième personnage de la bordure gauche restituée du bloc invitent à replacer en cet endroit un quatrième protagoniste, 35 cm seulement séparant en effet le talon arrière du deuxième personnage du talon arrière du premier. Lorsque Quibell le dessine, le bloc est mieux conservé qu'aujourd'hui. Dans l'angle supérieur droit de sa surface décorée se trouve encore un morceau, depuis détaché, qui montre les mains, les avant-bras et une bonne partie au moins du bras gauche du premier personnage. Il fermait les mains, les baissait et y tenait quelque chose, que Quibell semble avoir confondu avec l'une des retombées de son pagne, mais dont les autres représentations de la « Sortie de Min » montrent qu'il s'agissait de la hampe d'une enseigne.[5]

Le bloc suivant porte le numéro RGs 792. Il a été publié dans le volume de la Collection Scientifique du *CEDAE*.[6] Comme celle de RGs 784, sa surface décorée est

[3] James. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898), pl. IV. La hauteur maximale de ce bloc est de 115 cm, sa largeur maximale de 139 cm. Sa face supérieure est un lit d'attente, sa face inférieure un lit de pose et sa face latérale droite (pour l'observateur) un joint. Son état de conservation ne permet pas de se prononcer sur sa face gauche. Sa surface décorée présente de nombreuses traces de couleur rouge et de bleu ou de vert.

[4] Même s'il s'agit de souligner le nombre incroyable d'ennemis que Ramsès eut à affronter, la présence de trois guerriers dans les chars hittites semble avoir été une caractéristique suffisamment remarquable pour être mentionnée dans le Poème de Pentaour; cf. *KRI* II, 25, § 68 et 32, § 87.

[5] Comparez ainsi avec les porteurs de l'enseigne d'Oupouaout au Ramesseum (cf. *MH* IV, pl. 213, A et notre planche 2, A).

[6] Le Ramesseum XI, 20, Bloc II et pl. XXXII-XXXIII. Sa hauteur maximale est de 98 cm, sa largeur maximale de 99 cm. Les dimensions indiquées par Le Ramesseum XI, 20, diffèrent légèrement de celles que nous donnons. Il s'agit de 110 cm pour la hauteur et de 100 cm pour la largeur. Sa face supérieure est un lit d'attente, sa face

divisée en deux parties. Sa partie inférieure montre les éléments d'un char hittite et de ses occupants, en l'occurrence les têtes des chevaux et un bouclier.[7] Sur sa moitié supérieure, debout sur une ligne de sol, trois personnages vêtus d'un costume enveloppant se dirigent vers la droite. Ils sont conservés des pieds au bassin. En bordure droite du bloc, on reconnaît le talon et le contour du mollet d'un quatrième personnage, tandis que derrière le talon arrière du troisième se trouve peut-être la pointe d'un pied ou, plus exactement, un orteil, mais rien n'est moins sûr.

Le troisième bloc a été numéroté RGs 793. Comme le précédent, il a été publié dans le volume du *CEDAE*.[8] Sa surface décorée est très usée. Dans la moitié gauche de sa partie inférieure sont encore visibles un bouclier, le bras du guerrier qui le tenait, une lance et les têtes de trois soldats hittites, toutes tournées vers la gauche. La moitié droite de cette surface ne semble pas avoir été gravée. Dans sa partie supérieure se trouvent deux personnages s'avançant vers la droite sur une ligne de sol, dont la partie gauche est toutefois presque complètement usée sur une longueur de 58 cm. Le deuxième personnage est conservé des pieds au bassin et porte un long pagne à retombées. Du personnage de tête ne sont plus conservés que le pied droit, une partie du vêtement, ainsi que le contour du talon et du mollet gauche. La partie gauche de la surface n'a pas été décorée, mais le manche et une partie de la tête d'un signe *ḥḏ* sont encore lisibles dans son angle supérieur gauche (pl. 1, B).[9]

Le bloc suivant est inédit. Il porte le numéro RGs 797 (pl. 1, C).[10] Un texte y est gravé et, en bas à droite, se trouvent les vestiges d'un motif arrondi. Nous reviendrons plus bas sur ces éléments.

inférieure un lit de pose et sa face latérale gauche un joint. Le lit d'attente n'est pas parfaitement horizontal, mais présente un léger pendage vers la droite.

[7] Des traces d'une version antérieure du char ou d'un autre char par la suite effacé semblent discernables sur la surface.

[8] Le Ramesseum XI, 20, Bloc III et pl. XXXIV-XXXV. Quibell, The Ramesseum, pl. IV, en donne un dessin. Sa hauteur maximale est de 109 cm et sa largeur maximale de 150 cm. Si Le Ramesseum XI, 20, indique 110 cm pour sa hauteur, soit une dimension très proche de celle que nous donnons, il lui attribue en revanche une largeur de 80 cm, qui correspond en fait à celle de sa seule surface décorée. Sa face supérieure est un lit d'attente qui, toutefois, n'est pas parfaitement plat, mais en cuvette. Des traces d'outils situées sur la surface de cette cuvette pourraient indiquer qu'il s'agit de son aspect d'origine. Sa face inférieure est un lit de pose et ses faces latérales des joints. À l'extrémité gauche du lit d'attente et à 14 cm au plus près de la surface décorée se trouve la moitié d'une mortaise en forme de queue d'aronde.

[9] Le Ramesseum XI, 20, ne l'indique pas. Il n'est pas non plus reporté sur le facsimilé du bloc, pl. XXXV. On notera aussi la présence de graffiti.

[10] Sa hauteur maximale est de 95 cm et sa largeur maximale de 66 cm. Sa face supérieure est un lit d'attente, sa face inférieure un lit de pose, qui présente encore des restes de mortier, et sa face latérale gauche un joint. La différence de niveau entre la partie gauche et la partie droite de son lit de pose est de 12 cm. À l'extrémité gauche de son lit d'attente se trouve une demi mortaise en forme de queue d'aronde, située à 9 cm au plus près de sa surface décorée. Des restes de couleur jaune et des traces de couleur verte sont encore visibles sur sa surface décorée.

Le dernier bloc du Ramesseum, numéroté RGs 798, a été publié par l'Oriental Institute et repris dans *Le Ramesseum* XI.[11] Il conserve la partie supérieure droite de la représentation du Taureau Blanc, dont les cornes, martelées comme la tête, enserrent un disque solaire surmonté de deux plumes. Au-dessus du taureau se trouvent quatre colonnes de hiéroglyphes et, devant sa tête, le godet d'un encensoir, en l'occurrence un bras d'Horus. Cet encensoir, la main droite du prêtre qui le tenait, ainsi que son avant-bras droit et son bras droit, se trouvent sur un fragment aujourd'hui détaché, mais connu par le facsimilé de l'Epigraphic Survey et la photographie publiée par *Le Ramesseum* XI.[12] Sur le dessin de l'Epigraphic Survey, on reconnaît aussi, sous l'encensoir, les vestiges de deux hiéroglyphes: l'un des bras d'un signe *k3* et la tête d'un taureau, soit le mot *k3* « taureau. » Sur la photographie publiée par le *CEDAE*, le bras est toujours bien visible, mais il ne reste du taureau que les cornes.

Le bloc de Medinet Habou, inédit, est remployé dans le parement extérieur sud de la porte du pylône ptolémaïque (pl. 3, B).[13] On y reconnaît, de droite à gauche, un motif vertical, trois soldats tournés vers la droite, armés chacun d'un bouclier et d'une lance puis, tournant le dos à ces derniers, deux hommes aux profils superposés, coiffés d'une perruque dans laquelle sont fichées des plumes. Une ligne de hiéroglyphes, dont seule la moitié inférieure est conservée, couronne ces représentations.

Isolés, ces blocs ne présenteraient qu'un intérêt limité. Or, il est possible de proposer des raccords entre les blocs du Ramesseum, mais aussi de les repositionner dans les parois de la seconde cour du temple. Quant aux hiéroglyphes gravés sur le bloc RGs 797, ils permettent de compléter la version memnonienne de l'hymne du prêtre lecteur, tandis que le bloc de Medinet Habou invite à reconsidérer la composition de la « Sortie de Min » au Ramesseum.

[11] *PM* II², 434, (10), I; *MH* IV, pl. 215, A; Le Ramesseum XI, 19, Bloc I et pl. XXX-XXI. Sa hauteur maximale est de 70 cm, sa largeur maximale de 158 cm. Comme pour le bloc RGs 793, les dimensions indiquées par *Le Ramesseum* XI, 20, diffèrent de celles que nous donnons. Il s'agit de 65 cm pour la hauteur et de 140 cm pour la largeur. Et comme pour le bloc RGs 793, cette dernière dimension correspond à peu près à la seule largeur de la surface décorée. Sa face supérieure est un lit d'attente, sa face inférieure un lit de pose et ses faces latérales des joints. Dans la partie droite de son lit d'attente se trouve une demi mortaise en forme de queue d'aronde, située à 34 cm au plus près de la surface décorée.

[12] Une comparaison entre les deux pourrait laisser penser que le fragment s'est détaché entre les années 40 et les années 70. Quibell, The Ramesseum, pl. IV, en publie bien un dessin en 1898, mais ce dessin ne permet pas de dire si le fragment est déjà détaché, ou si cette partie du bloc est la seule à être visible. Sur notre planche 2, A, nous avons ajouté à la photographie du bloc le facsimilé de ce fragment publié par l'Oriental Institute.

[13] L'auteur remercie vivement Raymond W. Johnson, Directeur de l'Epigraphic Survey (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago) pour l'autorisation de publier le bloc, et Hélène Guichard pour l'autorisation de reproduire le cliché de la planche 3, B. Pour une vue de ce bloc, cf. Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu—Volume II. The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), pl. 40, A. Le bloc est remployé à l'envers. Sur la photographie de la planche 3, B, il a été remis à l'endroit. Il est assez vraisemblable qu'il présentait un lit d'attente et/ou un lit de pose, et que ses faces latérales étaient des joints.

Raccords entre les blocs du Ramesseum

La mise en évidence de raccords entre les blocs du Ramesseum conduit à les répartir en deux groupes. Le premier comprend les blocs RGs 793, RGs 797 et RGs 798, le second les blocs RGs 784 et RGs 792.

Les raccords entre les blocs du premier groupe s'imposent presque d'eux-mêmes (pl. 2, A). Ainsi l'appartenance au même texte des hiéroglyphes gravés sur RGs 797 et RGs 798 assure-t-elle le raccord entre les deux blocs et permet-elle de les repositionner très précisément l'un par rapport à l'autre. On reconnaîtra alors dans le motif arrondi situé en bas et à droite du bloc RGs 797 la partie supérieure de la plume gauche fichée sur la tête du taureau (voir aussi ci-dessous, fig. 1). Entre RGs 793 et RGs 798, ce sont aussi quelques hiéroglyphes qui permettent d'établir un raccord très précis, en l'occurrence le mot « taureau, » gravé sur le fragment détaché de RGs 798, et le signe *ḥḏ* gravé en haut et à gauche de RGs 793 (pl. 1, B), qui se complètent en effet pour désigner l'animal encensé: « le Taureau Blanc. »[14] Une fois ces raccords effectués, il apparaît que le prêtre encensant le taureau n'est autre que celui vêtu du long pagne à retombées gravé sur RGs 793 qui, comme à Medinet Habou, devait sans doute tourner le torse et la tête vers l'animal (pl. 2, B). Le texte, le taureau, son nom et le prêtre l'encensant, tous ces éléments se retrouvent sous Ramsès III. Ce parallèle presque parfait permet aussi d'identifier le personnage qui, toujours sur RGs 793, précède le prêtre à l'encensoir et dont la représentation se caractérise par l'arrondi du pagne. À Medinet Habou, il porte en effet ce même pagne si caractéristique, précède aussi le prêtre à l'encensoir et frappe dans ses mains levées. Quelques hiéroglyphes le désignent: il s'agit du « chef des chanteurs (*imy-r ḥsw.w*). »

Pour les blocs RGs 784 et RGS 792, un raccord direct et sûr est plus délicat à établir. Voyons d'abord qui sont les personnages représentés sur les blocs. En ce qui concerne RGs 792, l'habit caractéristique des trois personnages ne permet pas seulement de reconnaître trois des participants à la procession des enseignes et emblèmes précédant le Taureau Blanc, mais aussi d'identifier avec précision les porteurs en charge du babouin et des deux faucons. À Medinet Habou, ils sont en effet vêtus de ce même vêtement (pl. 2, B).[15] On ajoutera encore que les contours d'un talon et d'un mollet en bordure

[14] *KRI* V, 205, l. 1, complète aussi par un signe *ḥḏ* les signes visibles sur le fragment aujourd'hui détaché de RGs 798.

[15] Il est vrai que, dans la procession de Louxor et dans celle de la salle hypostyle de Karnak, les porteurs du babouin et des faucons ne sont pas systématiquement vêtus de cet habit caractéristique. Toutefois, à Medinet Habou comme dans les autres processions, les prêtres ainsi vêtus ne portent jamais rien d'autre qu'un taureau, un babouin, ou un faucon. Le porteur de taureau étant toujours *in situ* au Ramesseum, les identifier aux porteurs du babouin et des deux faucons se justifie donc. Pour la procession de Louxor, cf. Charles Kuentz, *La face sud du massif est du pylône de Ramsès II à Louxor* (Le Caire: Centre de Documentation et d'Études sur l'Ancienne Égypte, 1971), pl. XVIII; pour celle de Karnak, cf. Harold H. Nelson, *The Great Hypotyle Hall at Karnak, Volume 1, Part 1. The Wall Reliefs* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1981), pl. 159 (du groupe

droite du bloc indiquent que ce groupe de trois prêtres était immédiatement précédé par (au moins) un autre porteur.[16] Sur le bloc RGs 784, on identifiera aussi trois participants à la même procession, mais vêtus cette fois du long pagne (pl. 1, A). Comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, un quatrième porteur, dont la pointe du pied gauche serait l'ultime vestige, est sans doute à restituer sur la partie désormais manquante du bloc.

Ces prêtres étant vêtus du long pagne comme le sont presque tous les autres participants à cette procession, identifier l'enseigne qu'ils portaient, afin de pouvoir les repositionner précisément dans la procession, pourrait passer pour une gageure. C'est sans compter, toutefois, avec le fragment aujourd'hui détaché mais dessiné par Quibell, allié à une particularité du deuxième prêtre figuré sur le bloc. Rappelons que ce fragment montrait le premier des porteurs une enseigne dans les mains. À cela, du reste, rien d'étonnant. Ce qui est en revanche bien plus surprenant, c'est de ne trouver ni mains, ni hampe en avant-plan du pagne du deuxième prêtre ni, à la rigueur, sa main baissée entre lui et le premier prêtre (pl. 1, A). Même en tenant compte des diverses manières dont les prêtres tiennent les enseignes dans les différentes processions, l'un ou l'autre de ces éléments devrait en effet être visible. Ce deuxième porteur doit donc avoir tenu autre chose qu'une enseigne. C'est là qu'une comparaison avec la procession de Medinet Habou s'avère fort instructive (pl. 2, B).[17]

Il n'y a en effet que dans ce temple qu'un des porteurs participant à la procession tient un emblème sans hampe dans les mains repliées contre la poitrine, de sorte que ni

des trois prêtres, seul le porteur du babouin est vêtu de cet habit); pour celle de Medinet Habou, voir notre planche 2, B; pour celle du temple de Ramsès III à Karnak, cf. Harold H. Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak–Volume I, Plates 1-78. Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part I* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), pl. 18 (même configuration qu'à Medinet Habou); pour celle du temple de Khonsou (Herihor), The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu—Volume 1, Plates 1–110. Scenes of King Herihor in the Court with Translations of Texts* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1979), pl. 55 (sans doute même configuration qu'à Medinet Habou, mais le deuxième porteur de faucon est presque totalement perdu dans une lacune). Une procession d'Amon-Rê-Kamoutef, encore inédite, occupait le second registre du mur ouest de la colonnade de Louxor, cf. W. Raymond Johnson, "Honorific Figures of Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall," in *For His Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David. P. Silverman (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994), 140-141, tandis qu'une scène gravée dans la salle V du même temple montre, pour reprendre les termes de Lanny Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal *Ka*," *JNES* 44 (1985): 265, Amenhotep III "riding in his ceremonial chair at the time of the Min Procession (this scene anticipating many of the elements of the elaborate Medinet Habu representation of the festival)"; cf. *PM* II², 320, (118), II (et photographies personnelles); Wolfgang Waitkus, *Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels. Teil I* (Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag, 2008), 8-9; Wolfgang Waitkus, *Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels. Teil II* (Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag, 2008), 16. Enfin, la procession représentée dans la salle 46 de Medinet Habou est trop singulière pour pouvoir servir de matériel comparatif; cf. *MH* IV, pl. 209.

[16] Parce qu'elles sont trop ténues, les traces de ce qui pourrait être un orteil sur la bordure gauche du bloc ne permettent pas de tirer de conclusions identiques d'une façon certaine.

[17] Pour une description des porteurs d'enseignes et d'offrandes; Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, 184-188.

la première, ni les secondes ne sont susceptibles de se trouver en avant-plan de son pagne. L'emblème, en l'occurrence, est un sistre. Or, ce prêtre n'est séparé des porteurs du babouin et des faucons qui le précèdent que par un seul porteur, qui tient une enseigne à tête de faucon munie quant à elle, comme il se doit, d'une longue hampe, ce qui s'accorde bien avec le complément apporté par le fragment dessiné par Quibell. Reconnaître dans le deuxième prêtre du bloc RGs 784 le porteur de sistre, c'est donc reconnaître dans le premier le porteur de l'enseigne à tête de faucon, et en déduire que ce dernier suivait directement les porteurs du babouin et des faucons. Ces trois prêtres étant figurés sur le bloc RGs 792, on en tirera la conclusion que RGs 784 se trouvait à gauche de RGs 792, donc que les deux blocs se raccordent. Les chars représentés dans la partie inférieure de ces blocs ne s'opposent pas à ce raccord. Comme sur la moitié nord du mur est, ils se suivraient de près.[18]

Si ce raccord pourtant impeccable ne peut être tenu pour certain, c'est qu'il lui manque un élément, iconographique ou épigraphique qui, à cheval sur les deux blocs, le confirmerait. L'orteil situé à gauche du bloc RGs 792 ne peut pas vraiment remplir cette fonction. Ce raccord repose par ailleurs sur l'idée que la procession des porteurs d'enseignes de Medinet Habou était en tous points identique à celle du Ramesseum. Même si ce qui est encore conservé de cette dernière peut en effet le donner à penser, il n'en reste pas moins que cette identité supposée pour les parties détruites du Ramesseum n'est rien d'autre qu'un postulat. Aucune des processions conservées ne ressemble d'ailleurs à une autre, chacune ayant ses caractères propres.[19] Surtout, on se rappellera que la fondation de Ramsès II est bien plus vaste que celle de Ramsès III.[20] De fait, si la longueur de la moitié nord de la paroi est de la seconde cour du Ramesseum est de 21,40 m, la surface correspondante à Medinet Habou ne serait que de 17,30 m environ.[21] Aussi, comme l'écrit H. Gauthier, « Autant qu'on peut s'en rendre compte en comparant ce qui reste de la représentation du Ramesseum avec l'ensemble de celle de Medinet Habou, la première devait être sensiblement plus

[18] Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur Altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Zweiter Teil* (Leipzig: Verlag der J. C. Hinrichs'schen Buchhandlung, 1935), pl. 102.

[19] À Louxor sous Ramsès II, par exemple, c'est la présence des prêtres-*iounmoutef* qui, fermant la double procession, tiennent des enseignes arborant le cartouche royal; pour la bibliographie, cf. *supra*, note 15.

[20] C'est pourquoi, comme l'a écrit Charles F. Nims, "Ramesseum Sources of Medinet Habu Reliefs," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes. January 12, 1977* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1976), 170, "In seeking to determine what other reliefs at Medinet Habu may have been copied from the Ramesseum, one must remember than the earlier temple was about 20 per cent larger than the later one in its ground dimensions."

[21] La longueur de la moitié nord de la paroi est du Ramesseum a été prise au sol. La longueur que nous indiquons pour Medinet Habou est en fait celle de la section de la fête de Min gravée sur cette paroi, telle qu'on peut l'évaluer à partir de sa reproduction dans *MH* IV, pl. 196, B et de l'échelle correspondante.

étendue en largeur et plus riche en personnages que la seconde. »[22] Du reste, une telle différence n'est pas seulement d'importance pour un raccord potentiel entre RGs 784 et RGs 792, mais aussi pour le repositionnement des blocs du Ramesseum dans leur paroi d'origine.

Repositionnement des blocs du Ramesseum

Comme pour leurs raccords, le repositionnement des blocs RGs 793, RGs 797 et RGs 798 ne pose pas de difficulté, leur paroi d'origine étant clairement la paroi nord de la seconde cour. Entre l'extrémité nord de la paroi est et l'angle nord-est de la cour, il y a environ 3,70 m.[23] La largeur cumulée des blocs RGs 793 et RGs 798 raccordés étant à elle seule d'environ 2,75 m, la largeur du bloc RGs 784 d'environ 1,40 m, et celle de RGs 792 d'environ 1 m, il n'est donc pas possible pour tous ces blocs de s'être trouvés dans la moitié nord de la paroi est. Les porteurs d'enseignes des blocs RGs 784 et RGs 792 précédant le taureau, il faut en conséquence replacer RGs 793, RGs 797 et RGs 798 dans le mur nord.[24] (pl. 2, A). En revanche, on ne peut pas dire à quel niveau de cette paroi ils se trouvaient. Tout dépend, en fait, du nombre de blocs ayant séparé RGs 793 de l'angle nord-est de la cour, ce qu'il n'est pas possible d'établir.[25] De ce fait et dans l'absolu, on pourrait aussi repositionner RGs 784 et RGs 792 dans la paroi nord de la cour, quelque part entre RGs 793 et son angle nord-est.[26] Toutefois, l'espace anépigraphe situé entre les naseaux des chevaux et le bord gauche de RGs 784 ne nous semble pas vraiment plaider en cette faveur.

Lorsque leur composition est comparable à celle de la seconde cour du Ramesseum et qu'elles sont suffisamment bien conservées, les autres représentations de la bataille de Qadesh sont couronnées par une ou plusieurs lignes de chars se suivant à la queue leu leu, comme nous l'avons évoqué ci-dessus.[27] On attend donc, juste devant les naseaux

[22] Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, 42.

[23] Cette longueur a été calculée par projection au sol. Elle correspond à la distance séparant l'angle nord-est de la cour de l'extrémité nord de la ligne de sol sur laquelle s'avance le porteur du taureau. Nous remercions pour leur aide précieuse lors de ces mesures Hélène Guichard, Nicole Richter et Anne Schaaf.

[24] Le Ramesseum XI, 19 et 20. Les blocs RGs 793 et RGs 798 appartenaient aussi au mur nord de la seconde cour.

[25] Sur la planche 2, A, leur repositionnement contre l'angle nord-est de la paroi nord ne préjuge en rien d'autres possibilités.

[26] Le Ramesseum XI, 20, situe le bloc RGs 792 dans la paroi nord et exclut qu'il ait pu "provenir de l'extrémité nord du second pylône," semble-t-il par comparaison avec Medinet Habou. C'est oublier que la moitié est de la paroi nord de la seconde cour du Ramesseum est plus longue que celle de Medinet Habou, et qu'environ 3,70 m séparent le porteur de taureau de l'angle nord-est de la cour. Dans son plan de position des scènes, *KRI* V, 200, situe aussi les porteurs d'enseignes sur la moitié nord de la paroi est. Mais, bizarrement, il en fait de même pour tous ceux de Medinet Habou.

[27] Pour les autres représentations de la bataille, cf. Wreszinksi, Atlas zur Altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Zweiter Teil, pl. 81 et 83 (pylône de Louxor); Wreszinksi, Atlas zur Altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Zweiter Teil, pl. 96

des chevaux de RGs 784, la tête du guerrier situé dans le char précédent, pas un espace vide. En revanche, si le bloc était situé à l'extrémité nord de la paroi, dans son angle nord-est, où aucun autre char ne pouvait donc le précéder, cet espace anépigraphe s'expliquerait très bien.[28] Admettons ce repositionnement à titre d'hypothèse et voyons où RGs 792 aurait alors pu se situer, sachant que cela doit être entre RGs 784 et l'extrémité nord de la paroi est, soit dans un espace d'environ 2,30 m. RGs 792 faisant 1 m de large, les possibilités seraient très nombreuses, si quelques éléments déterminants ne les réduisaient pas simplement à une.

Encore *in situ* à l'extrémité nord de la paroi est, on distingue encore, derrière le porteur du taureau, quelques vestiges de l'officiant qui le suivait. Son visage est conservé, mais, surtout, son épaule est bien reconnaissable, ce qui exclut qu'il se soit agi de l'un des porteurs vêtus de l'habit enveloppant et élimine par voie de conséquence un raccord direct entre RGs 792 et l'extrémité nord de la paroi est. Pour évaluer la distance qui séparait ce dernier de cette extrémité, il convient de faire entrer les chars en lice. Sous le porteur de taureau, toujours à l'extrémité nord de la paroi est, la tête d'un guerrier hittite qui se tenait dans un char est encore visible, dont le visage recouvre partiellement la coiffe de celui qui le précédait.[29] Il ne semble pas qu'un troisième guerrier complétait l'équipage, car dans un tel cas, le troisième larron se trouve toujours en retrait des deux premiers,[30] comme c'est le cas sur le bloc RGs 784 (pl. 1, A). De la représentation, il ne manque donc que le bouclier que l'un des deux guerriers tenait et les têtes des chevaux. Ces éléments se trouvent certes sur le bloc RGs 792, ce qui pourrait plaider en faveur d'un raccord direct entre ce bloc et l'extrémité nord de la paroi est, mais nous venons de voir que l'épaule encore visible de l'officiant qui suivait le porteur de taureau exclut catégoriquement cette possibilité. En d'autres termes, les guerriers dont les têtes sont encore *in situ* à l'extrémité nord de la paroi est ne peuvent avoir pris place dans un char tiré par les chevaux gravés sur le bloc RGS 792, ni tenu le bouclier qui s'y trouve. Voyons donc si nous disposons de l'espace nécessaire pour restituer les différents éléments manquants de ces deux chars entre le bloc RGs 792 et l'extrémité nord de la moitié est de la paroi.

(Ramesseum, premier pylône); Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, Sergio Donadoni et Elmar Edel, *Grand Temple d'Abou Simbel. La bataille de Qadech. Description et inscriptions, dessins et photographies* (Le Caire: Centre de Documentation et d'Études sur l'Ancienne Égypte, 1971), pl. IV.

[28] Le même raisonnement pourrait éventuellement être appliqué à RGs 793 pour le repositionner à l'extrémité est de la paroi nord.

[29] L'auteur remercie Philippe Martinez pour la communication d'une photographie et des relevés épigraphiques préparatoires de cette section de la bataille de Qadesh. On notera que la présence de ces têtes exclut aussi un raccord entre l'extrémité nord de la paroi et RGs 784, un char au complet, avec ses trois occupants, y étant gravé.

[30] Wreszinski, Atlas zur Altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Zweiter Teil, pl. 102.

Du char gravé sur le bloc RGs 792, il manque les combattants. En se fondant sur la représentation du char se trouvant sur RGs 784, remise aux proportions de celui gravé sur RGs 792, on peut évaluer la largeur des têtes manquantes à 45 cm.[31] En considérant maintenant que le module de celui dont les occupants se trouvent encore à l'extrémité nord de la paroi est ait été comparable à celui gravé sur le bloc RGs 784, il manquerait environ 75 cm pour le compléter. En tout, il faut donc trouver 1,20 m. La largeur du bloc RGs 784 étant d'environ 1,40 m, celle de RGs 792 d'environ 1 m, et les deux chars devant nécessairement se suivre, une telle largeur ne peut se dégager que si RGs 792 et RGs 784 sont côte à côte contre l'angle nord-est de la paroi, c'est-à-dire s'ils se raccordent (pl. 2). Ainsi cette hypothèse de repositionnement conduit-elle à soutenir celle d'un raccord entre les deux blocs, dont nous avons vu plus haut qu'il était justement possible.

Il est certain qu'avec les blocs RGs 784 et RGs 792, il est difficile de dépasser le stade de l'hypothèse. On notera néanmoins que l'hypothèse d'un raccord direct entre eux et celle de leur repositionnement, côte à côte, dans la moitié nord de la paroi est, oblige à constater de profondes différences entre la procession des porteurs d'enseignes du Ramesseum et celle de Medinet Habou, qui ne peut donc plus en être considérée comme la copie conforme. La répartition des porteurs, notamment, est remarquable. Au Ramesseum, on compterait ainsi quatre officiants entre le porteur du taureau et le porteur de babouin (pl. 2, A), contre deux à Medinet Habou (pl. 2, B), ainsi qu'au moins sept officiants entre le porteur de faucon et le chef des chanteurs (pl. 2, A), contre six sous Ramsès III (pl. 2, B).[32] Or, le bloc remployé à Medinet Habou montre que d'autres aspects de la « Sortie de Min » du Ramesseum la différenciaient aussi de celle de Medinet Habou.

Le bloc remployé à Medinet Habou

Au vu des personnages qui y sont gravés, on imagine ce bloc provenir plutôt d'une paroi décorée de scènes de guerre que de la « Sortie de Min » (pl. 3, B). On y voit en effet trois soldats tournés vers la droite, armés d'une lance et d'un bouclier, ainsi que deux personnages aux profils superposés et coiffés d'une perruque fichée de plumes, qui leur tournent le dos. Il est vrai qu'à Medinet Habou, trois fantassins ferment le rang

[31] Il faut en effet noter que le char gravé sur le bloc RGs 792 était plus large que celui gravé sur RGs 784. Ainsi, sur RGs 792, la distance séparant les naseaux des chevaux de l'extrémité droite du bloc est-elle à elle seule de 90 cm, alors même que les têtes des guerriers ne sont pas visibles, tandis que sur RGs 784, il y n'a qu'un mètre environ des naseaux des chevaux à l'épaule gauche du troisième guerrier. Quant à la largeur occupée par les têtes des guerriers, elle est sur RGs 784 d'une trentaine de centimètres.

[32] Leur nombre aussi pourrait avoir été différent. Entre le porteur de taureau et le chef des chanteurs, on dénombrerait ainsi 12 porteurs au Ramesseum, contre 11 à Medinet Habou. Ceci étant, sans être sûr qu'un porteur supplémentaire se trouvait bien sur le bloc RGs 793, ni combien d'autres blocs ont pu séparer celui-ci de l'angle nord-est de la cour, on n'insistera pas sur cette différence.

supérieur de la suite du roi en chaise à porteurs, mais des soldats ne sont pas des participants suffisamment typiques pour fonder à eux seuls la provenance de ce bloc de remploi. Les choses se précisent un peu lorsqu'on remarque que deux personnages aux profils superposés et portant la même perruque que sur ce bloc sont aussi présents à Medinet Habou dans le contexte de la translation du souverain. Faisant face au rang inférieur des dignitaires qui ouvrent la procession royale, ils jouent des claquoirs et accompagnent un joueur de flûte.[33] Ceci étant, il leur manque la compagnie de fantassins. Si l'hypothèse d'une appartenance des personnages du bloc de remploi à l'escorte royale du Ramesseum peut être formulée sur la base de leur présence dans celle de Medinet Habou, des éléments bien plus tangibles sont nécessaires pour la démontrer. Or, deux de ces éléments se trouvent sur le bloc lui-même, et un troisième dans le « texte-programme » de la fête.

Le premier élément est de nature iconographique. Il s'agit de ce motif vertical visible à l'extrémité droite du bloc (pl. 3, B). Si on rapporte ce motif à ce qui se trouve à droite des joueurs de claquoirs à Medinet Habou, on y reconnaîtra en effet facilement la section d'une des colonnettes de la chapelle d'Amon-Rê-Kamoutef, auquel le roi fait une offrande dans la scène suivante (pl. 3, A). Le deuxième élément est de nature épigraphique. Il s'agit de l'inscription située au-dessus des personnages, dont seule la moitié inférieure subsiste, mais dont on peut néanmoins reconstituer le début ainsi:  , et lire *rḫ.w-nśw* […].[34] Or, un coup d'œil sur le relief de Medinet Habou suffit pour constater que l'inscription située au-dessus du rang inférieur des dignitaires ouvrant la marche du roi, celui donc auquel les joueurs de claquoirs font face, commence de la même façon.[35] Sur la base de ces éléments et du parallèle de Medinet Habou, on proposera donc de replacer le bloc entre la tête de l'escorte royale et l'offrande à Amon-Rê-Kamoutef (pl. 3, A). Toutefois, même si ces éléments sont tangibles, ils ne règlent pas pour autant le problème de l'absence des fantassins à Medinet Habou. Se fonder sur un parallèle aussi peu parfait pour le repositionnement

[33] Cf. *MH* IV, pl. 197-198 et notre planche 3, A. Pour la description du cortège royal, cf. Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, 114-128, en particulier 121, 123 et 128 pour les joueurs de claquoirs et les trois fantassins. Les profils superposés et la perruque ne sont pas les seuls éléments permettant de reconnaître dans ces musiciens les personnages gravés sur le bloc. Il s'agit seulement des plus flagrants. Il y a aussi la position des bras qui, sur le bloc de remploi, indique en effet que ces personnages tenaient quelque chose dans les mains levées. Une trompette semble devoir être exclue, mais des claquoirs sont un très bon candidat.

[34] Signalons que depuis novembre 2006, date à laquelle la photographie reproduite à la planche 3, B a été prise, l'état de conservation de l'inscription s'est malheureusement détérioré.

[35] Pour ce texte et son commentaire, cf. Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, 115-117; *KRI* V, 202, l. 8-9; *KRITA* V, 170, (a), (i). Sur le bloc de remploi, immédiatement à gauche de *rḫ.w-nśw*, on voit encore la partie inférieure d'un signe vertical. Il est difficile d'y voir celle d'un signe *šmś*, comme à Medinet Habou, la jambe attendue étant manquante. En outre, même si elle est très en lacune, ce qui subsiste de l'inscription du bloc montre qu'elle devait se distinguer grandement de celle de Medinet Habou, en particulier en ce qui concerne la section située à l'extrémité gauche du bloc.

de ce bloc de remploi pourrait ainsi passer pour exagéré. C'est cette fois la relation textuelle de la fête, aussi nommée « texte-programme, » qui permet de lever cet obstacle.

Ce texte, rappelons-le, couronne la paroi nord et la moitié nord de la paroi est de la seconde cour à Medinet Habou. On le trouve aussi au Ramesseum. Il décrit le déroulement de la fête et correspond, dans ses grandes lignes et parfois même dans le détail, à ce que les représentations donnent à voir. Ainsi, « Immédiatement après l'indication de la date à laquelle était célébrée la fête, les premières phrases du texte-programme […] concernent le cortège pharaonique sortant du palais, »[36] qui y est décrit dans les termes suivants: « Déplacement du roi couronné du *kheprech* en chaise à porteurs, les « connus du roi » (*rḫ.w-nśw*) étant devant lui, équipés de (*ḏb3.w m*) boucliers, de lances, de cimeterres (*ḫpš.w*), bref de toutes les armes d'escorte (*ḫꜥ.w nb.w n šmś*), les magistrats-*ḳnbty.w* et un groupe de quatre (*sic*) étant derrière lui, les fils du roi et l'armée fermant la marche. » Cette description n'est pas seulement intéressante pour les points communs qu'elle offre avec la représentation de la fête à Medinet Habou, mais aussi pour ses divergences d'avec cette dernière, l'imagier ayant en effet sollicité tous les degrés de l'articulation[37] du texte à l'image entre les deux.

Au titre de la concordance, on citera la couronne du roi, le *kheprech*, qu'il porte en effet dans la scène. Au titre de la divergence la plus complète, on retiendra la description de l'escorte de tête: Où sont les boucliers, les lances et les cimeterres des compagnons du roi? Est-on même sûr que ces derniers sont présents, puisqu'on ne peut les reconnaître à leurs attributs? Se reporte-t-on maintenant au bloc de remploi, dont la colonnette, les musiciens et l'inscription justifient déjà le repositionnement, que les trois fantassins portant lance et bouclier[38] se trouvent correspondre exactement à la description des *rḫ.w-nśw*. Douterait-on cependant que les *rḫ.w-nśw* puissent se présenter armés, qu'il suffirait de se reporter à la scène de la salle V du temple de Louxor, scène qui montre le roi en procession dans sa chaise à porteurs et qui pourrait bien avoir appartenu aussi à une représentation de la « Sortie de Min. »[39] À la tête de l'avant-garde, situés dans le sous-registre supérieur, se trouvent en effet au moins trois fantassins armés d'une lance, d'un bouclier et d'un cimeterre, qu'une colonne de hiéroglyphes désigne par « les « connus du roi », [équipés] des armes (*rḫ*(*.w*) *nśw* [*ḏb3.w*] *m ḫꜥ.w*), » une désignation non seulement identique à celle du texte-programme de Medinet Habou, mais qui ne laisse aucun doute quant à l'identité de ces personnages.

[36] Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, 110.

[37] Nous empruntons le terme à Gérard Roquet, "Inscriptions d'Ancien Empire articulées à l'image. Le "dit" du savetier au mastaba de Ti," *BSEG* 9-10, *Volume dédié à la mémoire de Monsieur Henri Wild* (1984-1985): 227-243.

[38] Dans la main gauche baissée, ils ont pu tenir un cimeterre ou plutôt, comme les soldats fermant la procession royale, une hache; cf. *MH* IV, pl. 197.

[39] Pour cette scène, cf. *supra*, note 15.

La différence entre l'escorte royale du Ramesseum et celle de Medinet Habou, en tout cas la différence que ce bloc permet de constater, ne tient pas seulement à la présence de trois fantassins, mais aussi au module des joueurs de claquoirs, si on peut les nommer ainsi.[40] Ils n'étaient pas d'une taille inférieure à celle des autres participants, ni « relégués » dans un sous-registre comme sous Ramsès III (pl. 3, A).[41] Au contraire, ils avaient la même taille que les autres personnages du rang inférieur de l'avant-garde de l'escorte royale, laquelle était donc au Ramesseum encore plus riche et plus fournie que ce que la seule présence supplémentaire des fantassins ne laissait imaginer. Cela tient bien sûr à la taille du Ramesseum, plus grand que Medinet Habou, et confirme ce que H. Gauthier pressentait déjà. D'ailleurs, le simple fait que l'imagier en charge de Medinet Habou n'ait pu placer sur la moitié nord de la paroi est de la seconde cour du temple autant de porteurs d'enseignes qu'il y en avait sur la paroi correspondante du Ramesseum, le conduisant à les reporter sur la paroi nord, n'a pu que l'obliger à réduire le faste de la représentation gravée sur cette dernière paroi. En ce sens, il a fait œuvre re-créatrice, si ce n'est créatrice. Aux différences constatées concernant le nombre et la répartition des porteurs d'enseignes, on peut donc ajouter la tête de l'escorte royale. Or, même si elles ne sont pas du même ordre que ces dernières, quelques différences distinguent aussi la version memnonienne de l'hymne du prêtre lecteur de sa version à Medinet Habou.

L'hymne du prêtre lecteur

À Medinet Habou, ce texte occupe sept colonnes situées au-dessus du taureau blanc et du prêtre lecteur qui l'encense,[42] lequel pourrait d'ailleurs être aussi celui supposé réciter ce texte (pl. 2, B).[43] La position de l'hymne, l'orientation des hiéroglyphes, qui sont tournés vers la gauche comme le sont son torse et sa tête, mais aussi le début du texte, qui mentionne un « prêtre lecteur, » plaident en effet en cette faveur. Au Ramesseum, seuls quelques lambeaux de cet hymne étaient connus par le bloc RGs 798. Le bloc RGs 797 en livre désormais un appréciable complément (pl. 1, C). La reconstitution de ce texte montre qu'il a dû occuper sept ou huit colonnes, en tout cas

[40] Pour cette raison, le repositionnement proposé pl. 3, A reste, dans ses détails, indicatif. Notons encore que la hauteur de la "Sortie de Min" est plus haute d'environ 40 cm au Ramesseum qu'elle ne l'est à Medinet Habou.

[41] Ils y occupent en effet la moitié supérieure de l'extrémité de ce rang, en une sorte de sous-registre, le sous-registre inférieur étant occupé par deux chanteurs, eux aussi aux profils superposés, mais tournés vers la droite, comme les autres participants à la procession.

[42] Pour cet hymne, cf. *MH* IV, pl. 201; Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, 86-88, note (29) et 178-184; *KRI* V, 204, (iii) (version synoptique); *KRITA* V, 172, (iii); Graindorge, "Le taureau blanc du dieu Min," 56-57.

[43] Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, 178-179, est de cet avis. L'auteur appelle ce texte "premier hymne dansé" et Le Ramesseum XI, 19, "texte de l'hymne de la danse, l'hymne-*ihb*." *KRI* V, 204, (iii), le nomme simplement "Speech of Lector-Priest." Comme ce dernier, nous avons opté pour une appellation neutre.

au moins six (fig. 1).[44] Une huitième colonne, qui se serait située à droite de x+6, a pu contenir les souhaits suivant habituellement les cartouches royaux, tels que « doué de vie éternellement et à jamais, » pour reprendre ceux qui suivent le nom de naissance de Ramsès III.

Le complément livré par RGs 797 est l'occasion de comparer la version du texte au Ramesseum à celle de Medinet Habou. L'idée étonnera peut-être, eu égard à la section somme toute réduite à laquelle la version du texte se réduit sous Ramsès II. On peut pourtant relever entre les deux versions de cet hymne des différences assez nombreuses et diverses, d'au moins trois sortes (fig. 1). Les premières de ces différences concernent les graphies.

Ainsi, au Ramesseum, si la préposition *m* est écrite avec la chouette dans la colonne x+4, elle l'est avec le signe Aa12 dans la colonne 12 de Medinet Habou. Toujours dans la colonne x+4, le rouleau de papyrus détermine *ꜣḫ*, mais ce n'est pas le cas à Medinet Habou (colonne 12).[45] Et si le déterminatif du pluriel s'ajoute sous Ramsès III aux trois signes *nṯr* (colonne 11), le scribe du Ramesseum s'est contenté de la triple répétition pour écrire *nṯr.w* (colonne x+3). Peut-être la même différence s'observait-elle aussi pour *bꜣ.w* (colonnes x+5 et 14), mais ce n'est pas certain.[46] Si ces différences dans les graphies sont certaines ou quasi-certaines, d'autres peuvent être supposées et même s'imposer, comme la proposition de reconstitution des parties manquantes du texte le montre.

La limite supérieure et donc la hauteur initiale des colonnes du texte du Ramesseum sont facilement restituables. Le bas de la colonne x+3 et une très bonne partie des colonnes x+4 et x+5 étant conservés, il est en effet aisé, en se fondant sur la version de Medinet Habou, de restituer ces deux colonnes dans leur intégralité. Les graphies des mots manquants offrant peu de possibilités de variantes, la tâche ne s'en trouve que simplifiée. En revanche, bien que le bas de la colonne x+2 et un peu plus de la moitié de la colonne x+3 soient conservés, une reconstitution du contenu de cette dernière n'est pas aussi simple. En effet, malgré l'absence des trois traits du pluriel après *nṯr.w* et

[44] La figure 1, b est tirée de *MH* IV, pl. 201. Les deux inscriptions sont à la même échelle. Seuls les hiéroglyphes appartenant à l'hymne du prêtre lecteur et les plumes fichées sur la tête du taureau ont été retenus pour la fig. 1, a. L'arrière-fond gris n'épouse pas les contours des blocs, mais recouvre au plus près les zones conservées des surfaces décorées des blocs RGs 797 et RGs 798 (auquel le fragment aujourd'hui détaché a été réuni). Il a pour but d'indiquer les hiéroglyphes conservés.

[45] Dans la colonne x+2, on notera aussi l'absence du rouleau de papyrus sous *ḫ*ˁ(*i*), mais sa présence à Medinet Habou (colonne 11), à moins que, par manque de place au bas de la colonne x+2, il n'ait été relégué en haut de la colonne x+3, comme nous le proposons à titre purement hypothétique. Ceci étant, comme le montre la graphie du mot dans la colonne 10 de Medinet Habou, ce déterminatif ne semble pas être indispensable.

[46] À Medinet Habou, les trois oiseaux sont en effet suivis du déterminatif du pluriel (colonne 14). Au Ramesseum, la place ne manquerait théoriquement pas pour ce déterminatif, mais aucune trace n'en est visible (colonne x+5). On n'aurait toutefois pas dédaigné trouver la surface du bloc RGs 797 plus largement conservée en cet endroit, de façon à pouvoir établir de façon certaine l'absence de ce déterminatif.

même en supprimant le rouleau de papyrus en haut de la colonne, l'espace disponible reste insuffisant pour y transférer, telle quelle, la version de Medinet Habou. Les graphies ont donc nécessairement dû, en cet endroit du texte, varier d'une version à l'autre. Dans notre reconstitution, bien entendu hypothétique, nous avons modifié la graphie de *ḫnty*. À l'inverse, si on transfère tel quel dans la colonne x+2 le texte correspondant de la version de Medinet Habou, la colonne du Ramesseum s'avère trop haute. Dans ce cas aussi, les graphies ont donc dû varier d'une version à l'autre, mais ici, les possibilités sont trop nombreuses pour autoriser une reconstitution du texte. Enfin, si, dans la colonne x+6, le cartouche du roi était précédé des mêmes titres qu'à Medinet Habou, les graphies se doivent aussi d'avoir été différentes, mais seulement si le scribe a voulu éviter de créer un vide au bas de la colonne. Dans notre reconstitution, nous avons substitué l'œuf au canard et supprimé les deux languettes de terre après *t3.wy*. Là encore, cela reste bien sûr très hypothétique. Du reste, l'important ne réside pas tant dans la reconstitution elle-même que dans ce qu'elle implique: de nombreuses différences de graphies entre les deux versions du texte. On relève par ailleurs une autre différence d'un type bien différent, puisqu'elle relève de l'erreur.

À Medinet Habou, le début de la colonne 12 pose un problème de traduction. Le passage en question est, en l'état, à translitérer *s3w (sic) Ḏḥwty*, ce que H. Gauthier traduit par « Thot est joyeux, » tandis que Kenneth A. Kitchen, qui pense sans doute à *s3w ib Ḏḥwty*, propose « who gladdens(?) Thoth. »[47] Au Ramesseum, ce passage se trouvait dans la colonne x+3. L'extrémité droite du s, celle du bilitère *3w*, et celle du bras (sans doute) armé sont encore bien reconnaissables, autorisant la restitution *s3w*. Par ailleurs, l'extrémité bien visible des plumes rectrices de l'ibis permet de repositionner ce dernier avec précision. Or, même en supposant que le module de l'ibis ait été particulièrement important, un espace demeure vide entre lui et le bras armé. Cet espace vide, on proposera de le combler avec *ib* suivi du trait et on restituera *s3w* [*ib*] *Ḏḥwty*, qu'on peut en effet attendre ici. On aurait bien sûr aimé que le trait qui devait accompagner le signe *ib* fût clairement visible sur le bloc RGs 797 et confirmât la restitution, mais ce n'est pas le cas.[48] C'est pourquoi, si nous avons restitué *ib* accompagné de son trait sur la fig. 1, a, il n'a pas été placé sur l'arrière-fond gris.

Il n'en reste pas moins que la différence entre les deux versions qu'il convient de constater ici ressortit de l'erreur, celle d'un scribe qui, lors de la préparation de

[47] Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, 180 et *KRITA* V, 172. Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, 179, fait suivre d'un point d'interrogation le *s* de *s3w*.

[48] On distingue bien les traces d'un signe vertical et court sous le coude du bras armé, mais la surface du bloc est érodée en cet endroit d'une façon telle, qu'on ne peut être certain qu'il s'agisse bien des vestiges d'un hiéroglyphe.

l'inscription de Medinet Habou, a omis la moitié d'un mot.[49] À la différence des graphies divergentes, ce type de dissimilitude entre les deux versions de l'hymne ne peut en aucun cas s'expliquer par des ajustements nécessaires liés à la mise en pages du texte, mais trouve son origine dans le travail de préparation du texte, avant ou pendant son transfert sur le mur du temple. Il en va d'ailleurs de même de la dernière différence qu'on peut relever entre les deux textes.

On distingue encore, au bas de la colonne x+1, la moitié du corps d'un personnage assis à même le sol, dans lequel le parallèle de Medinet Habou autorise à reconnaître l'une des deux divinités de la colonne 10, la question étant de savoir s'il s'agissait de Rê ou d'Atoum. Le contour de la partie postérieure d'un *pschent*, encore bien conservé, permet de répondre à cette question, puisqu'il identifie Atoum. Mais le plus étonnant est ce que la reconstitution du texte du Ramesseum oblige à constater: l'idéogramme du dieu se tenait au milieu de la colonne de texte, donc seul. À la différence de Medinet Habou, il ne semble donc pas avoir été accompagné par celui de Rê, ce qui pourrait témoigner d'une actualisation du texte par les scribes de Medinet Habou, ou de l'utilisation d'une copie du texte différente de celle utilisée par les scribes en charge du Ramesseum.

La question en arrière-fond de ces différences et en particulier des deux dernières, qui dépasse d'ailleurs le cadre de l'hymne du prêtre lecteur, est bien sûr celle des sources des scribes et imagiers qui décorèrent le Grand Temple de Medinet Habou, dont on admet assez couramment qu'il s'agit du Ramesseum lui-même, dont la fondation de Ramsès III ne serait que la copie, l'adaptation à un monument plus petit.[50] Car à bien y regarder, il n'y a pas que dans cet hymne qu'on peut relever des différences entre les textes associés à la représentation de la « Sortie de Min » du Ramesseum et de Medinet Habou. On n'en fera pas ici un catalogue exhaustif, quelques exemples variés suffiront.

On observera ainsi des différences dues à une mauvaise lecture du hiératique,[51] comme pour le déterminatif de *šmś*, correctement écrit  dans le texte programme du

[49] *Wb* IV, 17 (8-9), enregistre un verbe *ś3wj* qui, bien qu'il se passe de *ib*, signifie "jemanden erfreuen." D'après le dictionnaire, cet emploi ne serait toutefois attesté qu'à partir de l'époque gréco-romaine. L'hypothèse de l'erreur pour expliquer l'absence de *ib* à Medinet Habou reste donc la plus vraisemblable.

[50] Voir ainsi Harold H. Nelson et Uvo Hölscher, *Work in Western Thebes, 1931–33* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), 25-29 et Ben Haring, "Die Opferprozessionsszenen in Medinet Habu und Abydos," in *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Hamburg, 1.-5. Juni 1994. Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration*, ed. Dieter Kurth (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 79-80 à propos du calendrier; Nims, "Ramesseum Sources of Medinet Habu Reliefs," 169-175 et, en ce qui concerne la fête de Min, 170 et 175; William J. Murnane, *United with Eternity. A Concise Guide to the Monuments of Medinet Habu* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1980), 38 (à propos de la fête de Min); Le Ramesseum XI, 1 et 13.

[51] Comme l'a relevé Harold H. Nelson, "Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I," *JNES* 8 (1949): 204, à propos du registre supérieur du mur nord de la première cour de Medinet Habou, "Almost all the texts of these reliefs are very corrupt," tandis que fig. 19 p. 222 et note 75 p. 228, il montre comment une mauvaise lecture du hiératique a pu être responsable, dans certains cas, de cette situation.

Ramesseum, mais dans celui de Medinet Habou. Quelques signes plus loin dans le même texte, on notera la version *pr.t ḫr nśw* au Ramesseum, mais *pr nśw* à Medinet Habou.[52] Du reste, les textes du Ramesseum ne sont pas non plus exempts d'erreurs. Ainsi, dans l'hymne à Min gravé derrière le roi coupant la gerbe de céréales, la version du Ramesseum donne  , ce qui est erroné, alors que Medinet Habou donne bien  .[53] Enfin, différence sans doute la plus significative en ce qu'elle démontre le recours à une source qui ne peut pas être le Ramesseum: la version de l'hymne du *Nḥsy* de Pount de Medinet Habou présente un titre absent de celle de la fondation de Ramsès II.[54]

Il est certain que ce ne sont pas les seules différences entre les versions de l'hymne du prêtre lecteur, même si on y ajoute les quelques exemples que nous venons de mentionner rapidement, qui permettent de tirer des conclusions définitives quant aux sources utilisées par les concepteurs du Ramesseum et par ceux de Medinet Habou. Ces divers éléments sont néanmoins suffisants pour remettre en question l'idée d'une fondation de Ramsès III qui ne serait que la copie de celle de Ramsès II, de scribes bachoteurs, même si l'hypothèse de copies *in situ* ne saurait être écartée par principe.[55] *Topos* ou pas n'oublions pas qu'une plongée dans les archives à la recherche de prototypes iconographiques est attestée par les sources égyptiennes.[56] Enfin, c'est bien parce que des copies de textes religieux et royaux étaient conservées au « Service des archives du Seigneur des Deux Terres (*ḥw.t ỉry.w n(.t) nb t3.wy*) » auxquelles Saroy (TT 233), de part les fonctions qu'il exerçait au sein de cette institution, avait accès,

Voir aussi Harold H. Nelson, "Three Decrees of Ramses III from Karnak," *JAOS* 56/2 (1936): 234, n. 7, pour une autre erreur issue d'une mauvaise lecture du hiératique dans le temple de Ramsès III à Karnak. Pour l'utilisation de sources et de documents préparatoires à une inscription hiéroglyphique rédigés en hiératique, mais aussi en hiéroglyphes cursifs, ainsi que des exemples d'erreurs résultant d'une mauvaise lecture de ces deux types de documents, cf. Jochem Kahl, *Steh auf, gib Horus deine Hand. Die Überlieferungsgeschichte von Altenmüllers Pyramidentext-Spruchfolge D* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996), 69-73. Voir aussi Jochem Kahl, *Siut-Theben. Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 294-298 et 356-365.

[52] Pour ces deux exemples, cf. *MH* IV, pl. 205 (Medinet Habou) et 213 (Ramesseum).

[53] *MH* IV, pl. 205, B, col. 8 (Medinet Habou) et 214, A, col. 27 (Ramesseum).

[54] Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min, 200-201, ainsi que *MH* IV, pl. 203, B, col. 14-16 pour le supplément de Medinet Habou, et pl. 213, A, col. 37-41, pour le texte au Ramesseum.

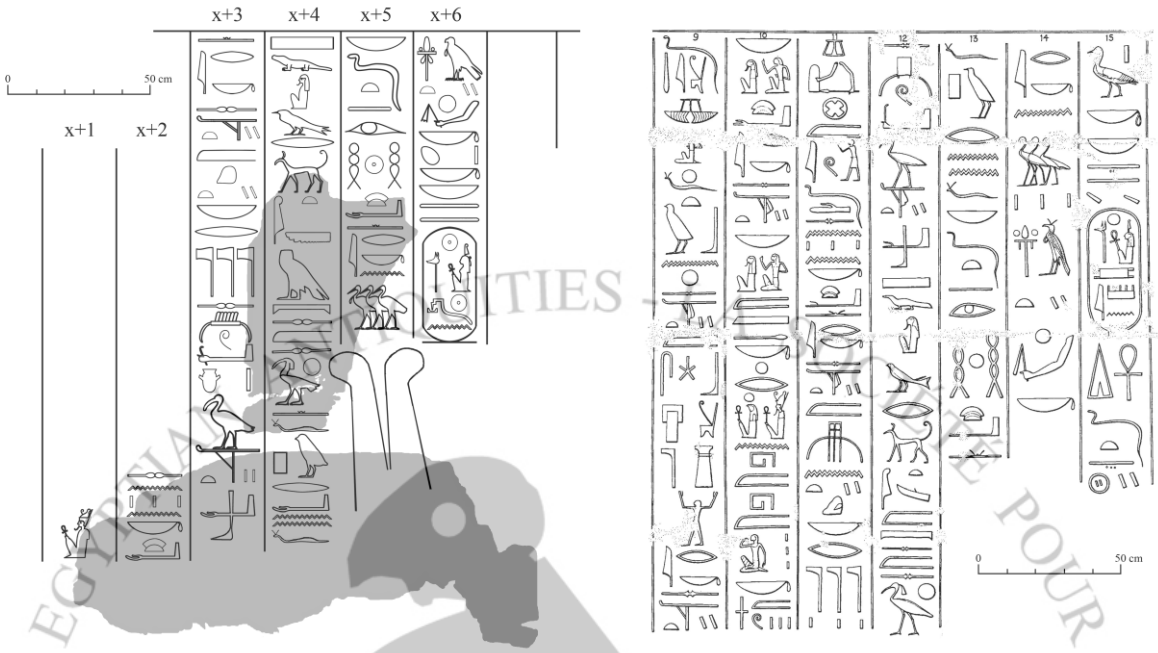
[55] De telles copies sont connues pour l'époque saïte; cf. Kahl, Siut-Theben, 283. Précisons toutefois que, pour autant que j'aie pu en juger, les scènes du Ramesseum ne présentent aucune trace d'une mise aux carreaux qui puisse attester un travail de copie comparable à celui effectué dans le complexe de Djoser, par exemple, cité par Kahl, Siut-Theben, 283, note 1. Pour une présentation très rapide de ce type de graticulation, cf. Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, Tome IV. Bas-reliefs et peintures, scènes de la vie quotidienne* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et C^{ie}, 1964), 12.

[56] On verra ainsi la stèle abydénienne de Neferhotep I^{er}; cf. Max Pieper, *Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos. Ein Beitrag zur ägyptischen Religions- und Literaturgeschichte*, (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1929), 10-11, 14-15 (traduction), pl. I, l. 3-4 et pl. II, l. 8.

qu'il put faire graver dans sa tombe un texte qu'on retrouvera plus tard pour partie sous Ramsès III, incorporé au cycle de la Fête de Sokar.[57]

Aussi les différences entre les deux ensembles gagneraient-elles à être profondément repensées et ce, par rapport à un troisième terme, en l'occurrence les sources utilisées par les équipes en charge des deux temples, qu'il se soit agi des mêmes, ou qu'elles dérivent d'une même source. Au-delà des textes et, en particulier, de l'hymne du prêtre lecteur, ce que les blocs du Ramesseum permettent de reconstituer de la procession des porteurs d'enseignes comme de celle du roi en chaise à porteurs plaident aussi en faveur de deux ensembles iconographiques certes fort semblables l'un à l'autre, mais ayant aussi tous deux leur part d'originalité. Espérons donc que la réévaluation souhaitable de ce que Medinet Habou doit vraiment au Ramesseum ne se focalise entièrement sur les textes, mais s'ouvre aussi à l'image.

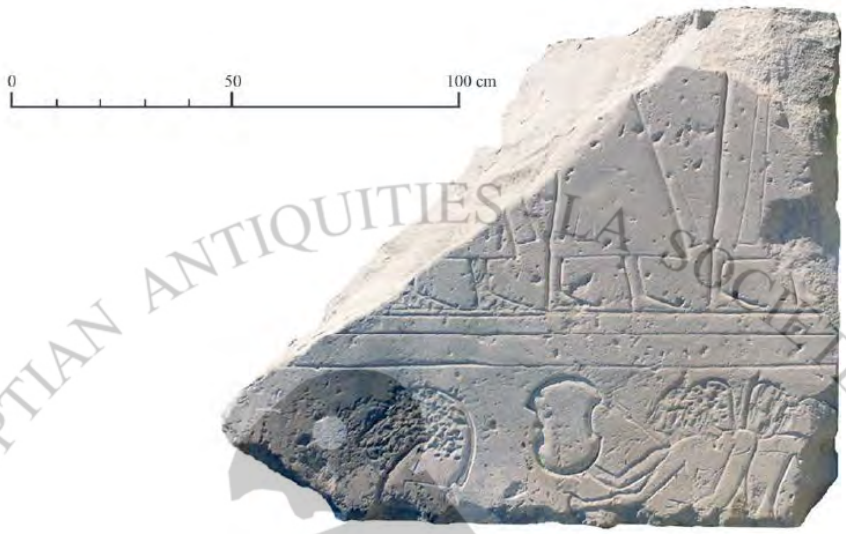
[57] Boyo Ockinga, "A Royal Ritual Text in TT 233," in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, edited by Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford Press Limited, 2011), 356.



a b

Fig. 1: L'hymne du prêtre lecteur au Ramesseum (a) et à Medinet Habou (b).

Planche 1:

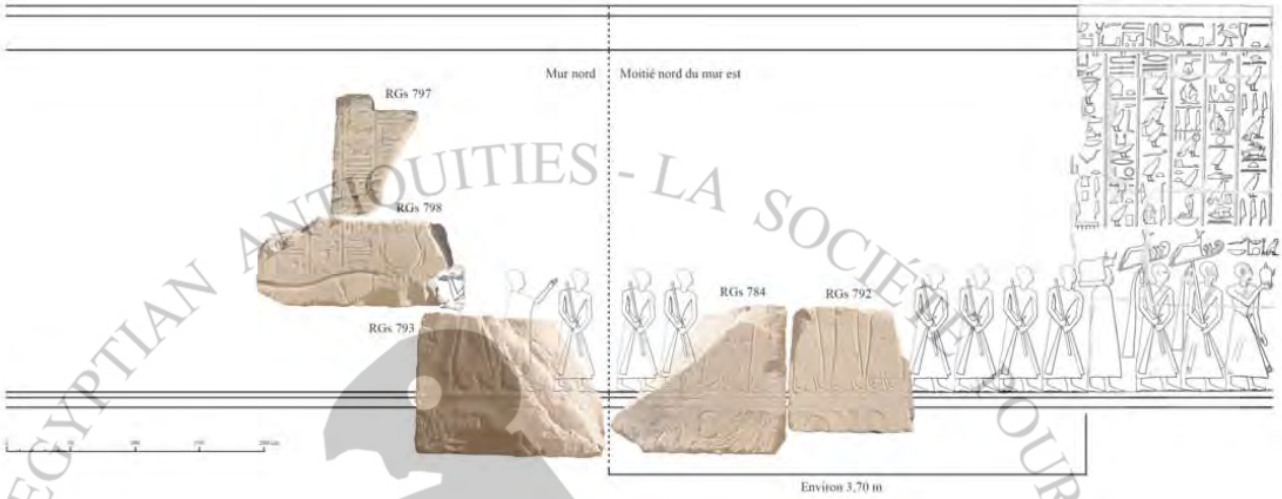


A.— Le bloc RGs 784 [cliché © Benoît Lurson].

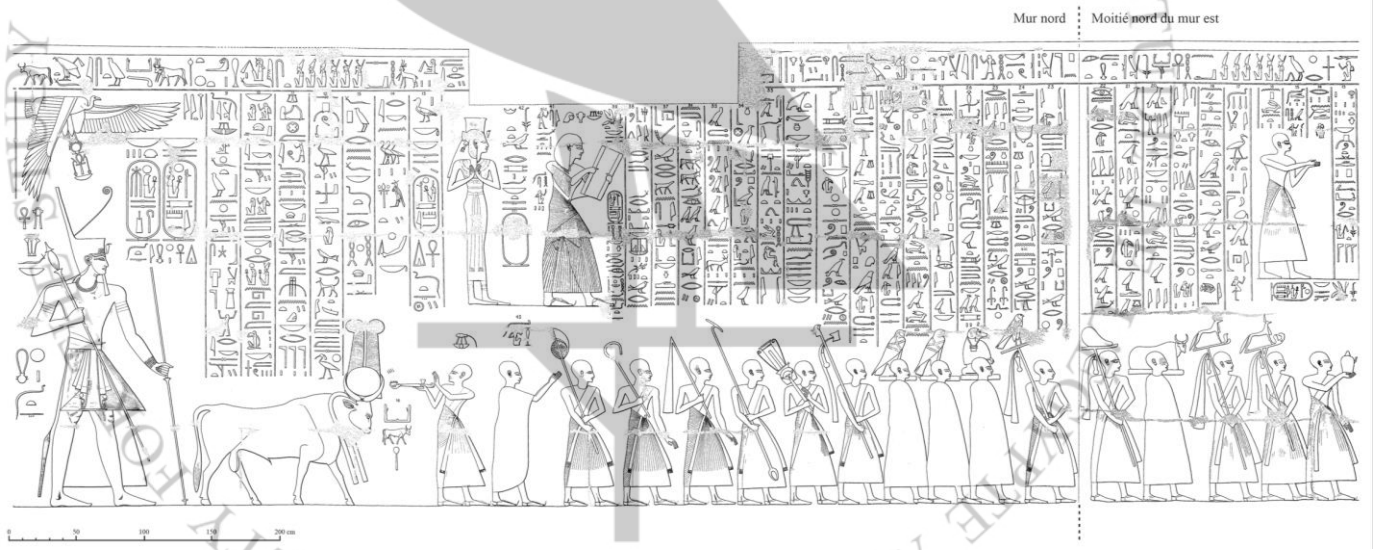
B.--- Signe *ḥḏ* et graffiti sur le bloc RGs 793 [cliché © Benoît Lurson].

C.— Le bloc RGs 797 [cliché © Benoît Lurson].

Planche 2:

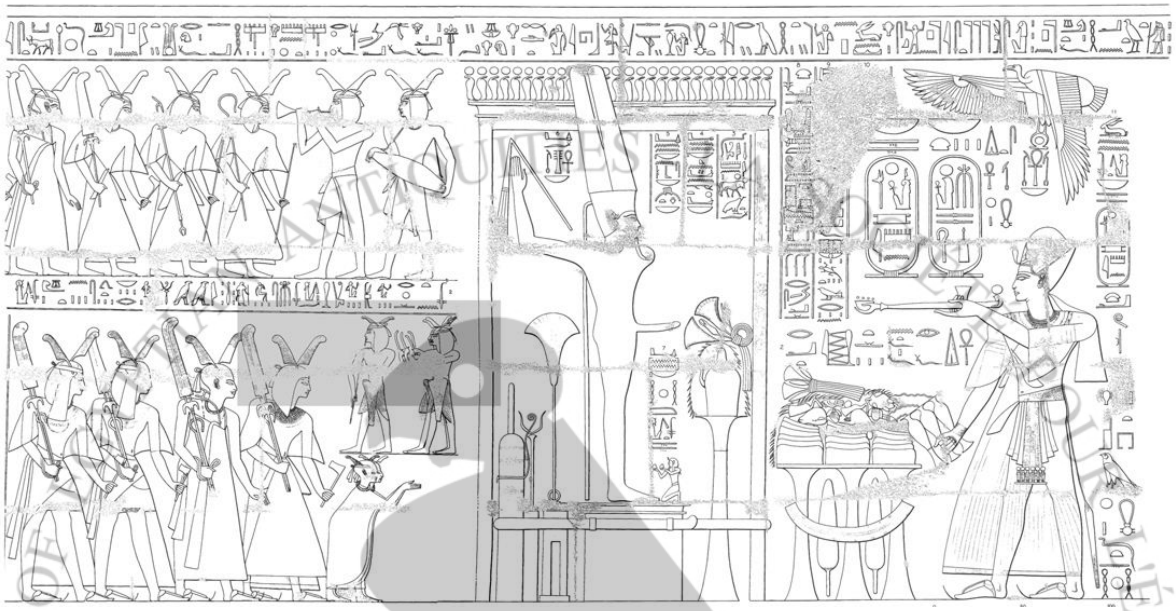


A.— Repositionnement des blocs du Ramesseum dans les parois est et nord de la seconde cour du Ramesseum [fac-similés d'après *MH* IV, pl. 213, A et 215, A; clichés © Benoît Lurson].

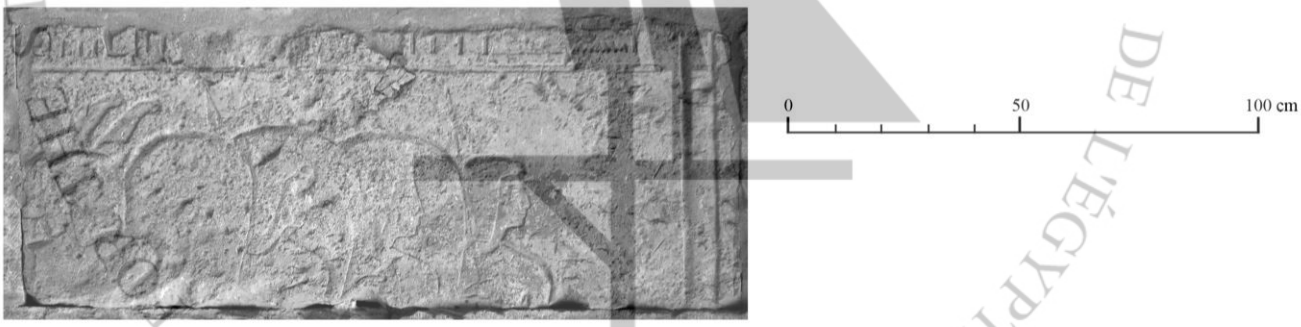


B.— Section de la « Sortie de Min » correspondante dans le temple de Medinet Habou [d'après *MH* IV, pl. 201 et 203].

Planche 3:



A.— Partie antérieure de l'escorte royale et l'encensement/libation devant Amon-Rê-Kamoutef à Medinet Habou [d'après *MH* IV, pl. 197 et 200]. La partie en grisé donne à voir la position des personnages représentés sur le bloc remployé à Medinet Habou dans l'escorte royale du Ramesseum; voir ci-dessous.



B.— Bloc du Ramesseum remployé à Medinet Habou [cliché © Hélène Guichard].
Pour la position des personnages dans l'escorte royale du Ramesseum; voir ci-dessus, la partie en grisé.

THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES - LA SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE - THE SOCIETY FOR THE

La poterie de type C (C-Ware) de Nagada I conservée au Musée des Confluences (Lyon): Étude muséographique, historique et archéologique

Ana I. Navajas*

Résumé: Le Musée des Confluences de Lyon possède une collection de poterie rouge à décor blanc appelée *White Cross-lined* ou *C-ware* d'époque prédynastique égyptienne. Cet ensemble présente un grand intérêt, non seulement sous l'angle muséographique, étant donné l'époque reculée de son acquisition par le musée, mais aussi du point de vue historique, car cette collection provient de sites égyptiens prédynastiques qui ont été en général peu étudiés. Ce travail a pour objectif de replacer ce matériel archéologique dans le cadre de son acquisition, d'effectuer des comparaisons avec d'autres objets trouvés vers la même époque, et d'essayer de découvrir sa provenance réelle. La création et la signification de ces pièces de céramique dans le contexte des productions d'époque prédynastique égyptienne de Nagada I sont brièvement abordées.

Abstract: The Musée des Confluences at Lyon houses an important collection of pre-dynastic Egyptian pottery called *C-Ware* or White Cross-lined, which comes from pre-dynastic sites that have been little studied. This work has the goal of presenting the *C-Ware* material and contextualizing it from the archaeological and historical points of view. Comparisons with other pieces of pottery found in the pre-dynastic collections of several museums will be very useful in determining the likely provenance(s) of the pieces.

Mots-clefs/Keywords: Collections de musées/Museum collections, céramique amratienne/Amratian pottery, céramique de type C/C-ware pottery, Égypte prédynastique/ Predynastic Egypt, Naqada I, iconographie/iconography, décoration égyptienne zoomorphique/zoomorphic Egyptian decoration, décoration égyptienne géométrique/geometric Egyptian decoration

Les pièces qui sont l'objet de cette étude

La collection de céramiques de type *C-Ware* du Musée de Lyon est composée d'un total de 18 pièces provenant de trois donations différentes (Table 1 et l'annexe à la fin du présent article). La première fut l'œuvre de Lortet en 1897 (6 pièces). La deuxième donation fut réalisée par Chantre en 1899 (5 pièces) et la troisième à nouveau par Lortet en 1907. Les donations de Chantre datant de 1899 ainsi que celle de Lortet de 1907 sont composées de pièces qui proviennent de la même localité égyptienne, Khôzam, alors que la donation la plus ancienne, celle de 1897 est composée de pièces qui, d'après les données conservées au musée, sont originaires d'Abydos.

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Pour trois de ces pièces, les numéros 11 et 14 de l'annexe, il n'y a aucune information associée concernant sa possible provenance ou sa donation. Par ailleurs, la pièce n°1 est très intéressante, car on peut lire sur le bord extérieur, une note a demi-effacée : « *[…..] Lortet 1905,* » et sur le bord opposé, la notice complète « *Lortet 1905* ». On trouve en outre une photographie de cette assiette dans la publication de Lortet datant de 1909, p. 60 fig. 49[1] ce qui prouve qu'elle proviendrait de l'expédition de Lortet à Khôzam et non de celle dirigée par Chantre.

Pour attribuer chaque poterie à l'une ou l'autre des donations nous avons pris en compte les archives conservées par le musée et les courtes mentions écrites sur les pièces (qui se révèlent d'une grande importance puisqu'elles permettent de compléter en partie l'information des archives). En combinant ces deux types d'information (sur la pièce même et les données du musée) et en relevant leurs points communs, nous avons pu effectuer des rapprochements intéressants. Ainsi, les numéros écrits de manière non systématique sur les poteries (« *Autre numéro* » dans la Table 1) ont joué un rôle important pour élucider cette question. Toujours est-il que ces numéros coïncident d'une manière ou d'une autre avec une même provenance, une même collection et une même année de donation. Ainsi les poteries portant les nº 1588 et 1589 coïncident toujours avec *Abydos, Lortet, 1897* (et jamais avec *Khôzam, Lortet*, 1907 par exemple), et le numéro 1591 coïncide toujours avec *Khôzam, Chantre, 1899*. Le cas des pots 4, 15, et 17 est différent. Les éléments communs à ces trois jattes consistaient en une numérotation totalement différente des pièces antérieurement analysées. De plus, les numéros y apparaissaient collés sur une étiquette[2], en plus du fait que la Collection Lortet leur est, d'une manière ou d'une autre, associée, nous avons considéré que les trois font probablement partie de la donation de Lortet de 1907. Néanmoins, d'après les informations de l'inventaire du Musée Colonial de 1925-1968, ils n'ont pas une provenance claire Khôzam, Rhoda ou Abydos étant les localités les plus plausibles (à l'exception du pot nº 17 sur lequel la provenance de Khôzam est clairement indiquée).

Cela dit, comme nous le verrons de manière plus approfondie ultérieurement, une grande partie des pièces des différentes collections partagent des aspects iconographiques similaires. Par exemple, dans l'ensemble de la donation de Lortet 1897, les poteries nº 7 et 12 sont pratiquement identiques autant du point de vue de la forme que de la décoration, et les poteries nº 5 et 11 ont des formes totalement identiques. Ensuite, dans la donation de Chantre de 1899, les poteries nº 3 et 6 d'une part, et nº 10 et 13 de l'autre, ont été élaborées tant sur le plan de la forme que de l'iconographie de manière très similaire si ce n'est totalement identique.

[1] Louis Lortet et Claude Gaillard, *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Égypte*. Vol. 3 (Lyon: Henri Georg, 1909).

[2] Ils correspondent aux numéros d'inventaire du Musée Colonial de 1925-1968.

Khôzam et Abydos

Les pièces conservées au Musée des Confluences sont très intéressantes, non seulement en raison de leurs lieux de provenance, mais aussi du fait de la date éloignée de leur acquisition. Lortet fit sa première donation au Musée de Lyon en 1897 à une époque où quelques nécropoles prédynastiques seulement étaient connues. Entre 1880 et 1885, Gaston Maspero mena des fouilles à Gebelein et Khôzam, leurs résultats étant publiés en 1887. Il est possible que quelques nécropoles prédynastiques furent alors fouillées,[3] car dans la description que Maspero propose de la décoration de certaines poteries, les dessins concordent avec ceux présents sur les céramiques de type C et D:

« *La seconde classe contient des vases de formes très variées, souvent bizarres, d'une terre rouge*[4] *ou jaune terne (….). L'ornementation est répandue sur toute la surface et consiste d'ordinaire en raies droites, tirées parallèlement l'une à l'autre ou entre-croisées, en lignes ondées, en rangées de points ou de petites croix combinées avec les lignes, le tout en blanc quand le fond est rouge,*[5] *en rouge brun quand il est jaune ou blanchâtre*[6] ».[7]

À cette époque, on débattait encore de l'existence ou non d'une préhistoire en Égypte. Les traces matérielles de cette préhistoire étaient largement inconnues, et c'est bien la raison pour laquelle Maspero n'était pas conscient d'avoir trouvé des céramiques appartenant à cette période. Par contre, Jacques de Morgan avait, lui, pris conscience de ce phénomène, comme on peut le constater en lisant ses *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* publiées en 1896,[8] où il énuméra une série de sites qui pouvaient appartenir,

[3] À Khôzam il fouilla probablement la nécropole de Sheik Benat el-Beri (Stan Hendrickx, "The Predynastic Cemetries at Khozam," dans *The Followers of Horus. Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman, 1944-1990*, eds. Renée Friedman et Barbara Adams (Oxford : Oxbow Books, 1992), 199-202).

[4] C'est à dire les céramiques de Type C (*White Cross-lined* ou *C-Ware*).

[5] Les céramiques de Type C.

[6] Les céramiques de Type D.

[7] Gaston Maspero, *L'archéologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1887), 244. Certaines des pièces de céramique de type C que Maspero trouva à Gebelein sont conservées actuellement au Musée du Louvre à Paris, et au Musée du Caire (d'après ce que nous savons, ces pièces sont les suivantes: Paris, Musée du Louvre E 25382, E 25383, E 27131; Le Caire CG 2070, CG 2074. On ne connaît pas la localisation actuelle des pièces trouvées à Khôzam).

[8] Un ouvrage contemporain à la publication de Williams M. Flinders Petrie et James E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas* (London, 1896). Alors que Petrie pensait à une arrivée de population provenant de l'extérieur pendant la Première Période Intermédiaire (« New Race ») pour expliquer la présence des artéfacts trouvés dans les nécropoles de Nagada et de Ballas, Jacques de Morgan pensait au même moment qu'il était très clair que ces tombes faisaient partie d'une culture antérieure à la culture historique, donc de nature préhistorique, et c'est pour cette raison que l'on peut porter crédit à J. de Morgan d'avoir découvert la réalité d'une préhistoire dans la culture égyptienne (sur Jacques de Morgan voir le travail de Christine Lorre, "Jacques de Morgan (1857-1924) et son rôle dans la découverte de la préhistoire égyptienne," *Archéo-Nil 17* (2007): 39-56).

selon lui, à la période préhistorique.[9] D'ailleurs, il prit part lui-même aux fouilles de certains de ces sites, comme à Beit Allam, Kawamil, Toukh et à el-Amrah. À pareille date, entre 1894 et 1895, les archéologues W.M.F. Petrie et J.E. Quibell réalisaient des fouilles à Nagada et à Ballas et É. Amélineau dirigea entre 1895 et 1896 sa première campagne de fouilles à Abydos et à el-Amrah, poursuivant les travaux qu'avaient menés récemment J. de Morgan sur ce dernier site. On a connaissance du fait que L. Lortet a visité Le Caire en décembre 1896 et une autre fois l'année suivante en 1887.[10]

D'après ce que nous avons appris dans les archives du Musée de Lyon, les pots du type C que Lortet donna en 1897 proviennent d'Abydos, c'est-à-dire la localité qui était en train d'être fouillée par Amélineau. En effet, Amélineau avait fouillé vers cette époque quelques tombes prédynastiques de la nécropole d'Oum el-Gaab et une partie du cimetière U. D'après Amélineau, la céramique décorée la plus ancienne qu'il trouva à Abydos est celle qui figure sur la planche XIII de sa publication sur les fouilles qu'il conduisit entre 1895 et 1896[11], et qui concorde pour seulement l'une d'entre elles, celle du centre, avec des productions de l'époque de Nagada IIC. Aucune céramique *White Cross-lined* provenant d'Abydos n'a été publiée[12]. D'autre part il consacra un appendice assez exhaustif à la céramique de type C trouvée dans la localité d'El-Amrah[13]. Il est possible que Lortet ait acquis les *C-Ware* de la nécropole d'Abydos au travers d'Amélineau ou de tierces personnes.

Les céramiques de la collection provenant de Khôzam possèdent aussi un intérêt certain. Comme nous l'avons dit auparavant, Gaston Maspero a entrepris quelques fouilles dans cette zone entre 1880 et 1885. L'égyptologue qui succéda à Maspero sur le site de Khôzam est justement Ernest Chantre en 1899. Chantre recensa un total de 140 tombes intactes et inviolées dans le cimetière de Sheik Benat el-Beri et 206 dans un cimetière situé plus au sud. Environ 1200 objets furent découverts et une partie d'entre eux se trouve au Musée des Confluences, ce qui veut dire que les céramiques décorées

[9] Il énumère les localités suivantes: El-Mahasna, El-Ragagnah, Oum el-Gaab, Abydos, El-Amrah, El-Karnak, El-Cheik-Salam, Gebel el-Tarif, Saghel el-Baglieh, Zawaïdah, Toukh, Khattarah, Thèbes, Gebelein (Jacques de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte. L'âge de la pierre et les métaux* (Paris, 1896), 76-88).

[10] Jean Claude Goyon, "Deux pionniers lyonnais de la palaéo-écologie de la vallé du Nil égyptien: Victor Loret (1859-1946) et Louis Lortet (1836-1909). La constitution de la collection égyptienne du muséum d'Histoire naturelle de Lyons," dans *Du Muséum au Musée des Confluences*, vol. 1,*La passion de la collecte: aux origins du Musée des Confluences. XVIIe – XIXe siècles* (Lyon, 2008), 162.

[11] Sur la moitié inférieure de cette page, les trois pièces décorées (Émile Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos (1895-1896). Compte rendu in extenso des fouilles, description des monuments et objets découverts*. Vol. I (Paris, 1899).

[12] Bien qu'il y ait un pot *C-Ware* au Louvre provenant des excavations d'Amélineau à Abydos (Louvre E 21723), si l'on se fie à l'information qui est écrite sur la base du pot ("*Ab 24*"). La pièce est très intéressante parce qu'elle fût transferée au Louvre du Musée Guimet, avant d'aboutir aujourd'hui au Musée des Confluences de Lyon où se trouve la collection que nous sommes en train d'étudier.

[13] Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, xxx (p. 30 de l'introduction).

de type C provenant de Khôzam sont les seules conservées pour le moment dans un musée et témoignant de fouilles archéologiques effectuées dans la zone. Ces pièces ont donc une importance particulière. Plus tard, Khôzam devint l'une des nécropoles étudiées par Charles Lortet et Claude Gaillard entre 1907 et 1908. Nous supposons que les pièces qui ont été données par Lortet en 1907 au musée proviennent des fouilles menées sur ce site.

Le problème principal que posent les pièces des collections de Chantre et de Lortet est que nous ne pouvons nous fier aux rapports de fouilles pour en savoir davantage sur tombes et les circonstances dans lesquelles elles ont été trouvées. Dans la publication de Chantre sur la nécropole de Khôzam publiée en 1907,[14] les céramiques de type C enregistrées n'apparaissent pas, et les dessins qu'il ajouta ne correspondent pas aux céramiques de Khôzam, mais à des types trouvés lors d'autres fouilles.[15] De son côté, Lortet ne mentionna pas non plus dans sa publication de 1909 la découverte de céramiques de type C, et ce pour aucune des tombes. Cependant, il existe une photographie de la poterie nº 1(Table 1) portant la légende: *« Fig. 49.- Crocodilus niloticus dessinés en blanc sur vase de la nécropole de Khôzam».*[16] Les artéfacts que possède le Musée de Lyon provenant de la Nécropole de Khôzam, que ce soit des fouilles menées par Chantre ou Lortet, méritent donc une étude approfondie.

Le type de poterie nommé « *C-Ware* »

Nous constatons que l'un des principaux problèmes posés par l'étude des céramiques prédynastiques connues sous le nom de *C-Ware* découle en grande partie des techniques de fouilles et de publication utilisées à la fin du XIX^{ème} siècle et au début du XX^{ème}. Les pièces n'étaient ni correctement enregistrées ni publiées dans les rapports de fouilles.[17] De plus, un nombre conséquent de pièces était acquis au travers d'achats, raison pour laquelle le lieu de provenance doit toujours être considéré avec les précautions qui s'imposent. L'autre grand problème que l'on ne devrait pas négliger provient de l'existence probable de fausses pièces, tout comme ce fut le cas pour tant d'antiquités égyptiennes ou autres.[18] La prudence est donc de rigueur lorsque l'on choisit des artéfacts afin de les interpréter et étudier.

La céramique prédynastique de type C (*C-Ware* ou *White Cross-lined*) est la plus ancienne portant des décorations peintes que l'on connaisse dans la vallée du Nil, sa

[14] Ernest Chantre, "La nécropole memphite de Khozan (Haute Égypte) et l'origine des Égyptiens," *BSAL 26* (1907): 229-245.

[15] Hendrickx, "The Predynastic Cemetries at Khozam," 199-202.

[16] Lortet et Gaillard, *La faune momifiée*, 60.

[17] C'est précisément le cas pour les céramiques qui sont l'objet d'étude de ce travail.

[18] Vers 1890 il existait un atelier de faussaires de céramique dans la localité égyptienne de Ballas (Jean Jacques Fiechter, *Faussaires d'Égypte* (France, 2009), 36).

chronologie oscillant entre 3800 et 3500 av. J.-C. environ. Sa production s'est limitée à la période dite amratienne qui couvre une chronologie relativement bien définie, entre Nagada I et Nagada IIA.[19] Son importance est exceptionnelle, car sa présence dans les nécropoles et sites archéologiques préhistoriques permet de croire à sa très grande antiquité, tant et si bien que l'archéologue britannique Petrie la catalogua de manière opportune dans la « *Sequence Dating* » la plus ancienne (SD 30-37).[20]

La céramique de type C a été réalisée avec une fine argile alluviale très pure (cataloguée de type Nil A).[21] Elle était façonnée à la main avec le système dit de colombins qui étaient normalement suturés en sens vertical selon la forme de la poterie.[22] Une fois la forme acquise, à l'aide d'un gratteur (qui pouvait être un morceau de céramique), la surface était lissée. Ensuite on protégeait la poterie en y apposant des couches d'engobe dont la couleur pouvait osciller entre le rougeâtre plus ou moins sombre et les marrons foncés. Pour finir, il était poli et peint avec des dessins,[23] puis cuit. Le processus était, du début à la fin, très long et laborieux.

Bien qu'un corpus complet de ce type de céramique n'ait pas encore été réalisé,[24] nous disposons de données suffisantes pour pouvoir établir une série de critères régissant les productions *C-Ware*. En principe les types de formes sont variées, les plus caractéristiques étant les assiettes, les plats ouverts ou fermés (certains à carénage) et les verres et coupes hautes.[25] Des verres géminés furent aussi fabriqués, comme par exemple deux verres unis au niveau de la partie inférieure par un conduit qui pouvait parfois faire communiquer les deux verres entre eux ou, une autre version, deux petits bols unis

[19] Sur les questions de chronologie nous renvoyons aux ouvrages de Stand Hendrickx et particulièrement Stand Hendrickx, "Predynastic –Early Dynastic Chronology," dans *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, eds Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss et David A. Warburton (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55-93. Voir aussi Rita Hartmann, "The Chronology of Naqada I Tombs in the Predynastic Cemetery U at Abydos" dans *Egypt at its origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference « Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt », London, 27th July-1st August*, eds. Renée F. Friedman et Peter N. Fiske (Orientalia Lovaniensia 205) (Leuven, 2011), 917-938.

[20] Williams M. Flinders Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes* (London, 1921).

[21] Dorothea Arnold et Janine Bourriau, *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* (Mainz: Zabern 1993), 170.

[22] D'ailleurs ce processus permet de réaliser diverses formes, parfois asymétriques, comme les *Fancy Forms* (Petrie, *Corpus*, Pl XV-XVIII).

[23] Ce fut précisément à cause de l'un des dessins de ce type de décoration qu'on lui attribua le nom de "*White Cross-lined,*" c'est à dire de lignes blanches croisées, une dénomination qui n'est pas très heureuse par ailleurs, car les motifs décoratifs de ce type de poterie sont en fait plus variés.

[24] Une étude partielle a été faite par Graff (Gwenola Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I-Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologie de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Egyptian Prehistory Monographs VI: Leuven, 2009). L'auteure nomme environ 200 poteries *C-Ware* sur un total d'environ 600 connues.

[25] L'ouvrage traditionnel et de référence sur les typologies de céramiques prédynastiques est celui du Britannique Williams M. Flinders Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes* (London, 1921). Les planches qui montrent les typologies de céramiques de type C sont les Pl. XX-XXV. En ce qui concerne les *C-ware*, Petrie les a surtout classées suivant les motifs de décoration.

entre eux par le même système. Il semble que les typologies étaient relativement communes, sans que cela soit systématique, à différentes localités avec les habituelles variantes locales.[26] Il n'existe pas non plus d'association exclusive entre un type de céramique et un motif décoratif déterminé. Des motifs semblables ou identiques ont été ainsi représentés à l'intérieur d'un bol et à l'extérieur d'une jatte. Et dans un même type de jatte ou de bol, une décoration géométrique dans un cas et zoomorphe dans l'autre a pu être ainsi représentée. Cela veut dire que la forme ne détermine pas la décoration. Nous pensons que le choix d'un motif décoratif était dû essentiellement à l'usage qui dominait à un moment précis dans une localité précise, cela combiné avec des raisons liées aux aspects symboliques ou de pouvoir attachés aux puissantes chefferies égyptiennes qui existaient déjà à l'époque.[27]

Les dessins figurés sur ces objets furent réalisés avec un engobe dont la couleur allait du blanc au crème jaunâtre.[28] Ils sont assez variés et on trouve des motifs purement géométriques ou même floraux parfois complexes où interviennent des figures humaines prenant part à diverses activités, qui vont de la chasse de grands mammifères (le taureau sauvage et l'hippopotame)[29] jusqu'à la présentation de ce qui a été expliqué vraisemblablement comme étant une scène d'ennemis.[30] Cependant, les motifs géométriques, parfois combinés avec les motifs floraux, sont sans aucun doute les plus abondants; leur signification est parfois difficile à comprendre, bien que nous ne contestions pas le fait qu'il y en ait eu.[31] Ce sont en fait les motifs géométriques qui prédominent dans la collection que nous présentons ici.

[26] Sur les variantes locales dans les productions céramiques prédynastiques amratiennes, voir Renée Friedman, "Variations on a Theme: Regional Diversity in the Predynastic Pottery of Upper Egyptian Settlements," dans *Egyptian Pottery. Proceedings of the 1990 Pottery Symposium at the University of California*, eds Carol A. Redmount, Cathleen A. Keller (Berkeley: Regents of the University of California, 2003), 1-21.

[27] Ana I. Navajas, "Jefatura y Parentesco en Nagada I: una aproximación a la dispersión de las cerámicas decoradas del tipo C," dans *Estudios sobre parentesco y Estado en el Antiguo Egipto*, ed. Marcelo Campagno (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Signo, 2006), 75-94.

[28] Joan C. Payne, *Catalogue of the Predynastic Egyptian Collection in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1993), 56-58.

[29] Ana I. Navajas, "Bos primigenius/Loxodonta Africana. Iconographie et symbolisme au travers de la céramique White Cross-lined" *Cd'E* 84 (2009): 50-87; Ana I. Navajas, "The Predynastic Bos primigenius as a Royal Image of Territory, Boundaries and Power in an African Context" dans *Egypt in its African Conyext. Proceedings of the Conference held at The Manchester Museum, University of Manchester, 2-4 October 2009*, ed. Karen Exell (Oxford: BAR International Series 2204, 2011), 30-42.

[30] Stan Hendrickx, "Vase decorated with Victory Scene," dans *Africa, The Art of a Continent*, ed. Tom Phillips (Munich/New York: Prestel, 1996), 60.

[31] Certains chercheurs ont cru voir dans quelques motifs géométriques les premières constructions hydrauliques de l'histoire d'Égypte (Jonathan van Lepp, "Evidence for Artificial Irrigation in Amratian Art," *JARCE* 32 (1995): 197-209). De notre côté, nous pensons qu'il faut prendre ce type d'interprétation avec prudence.

Si on la compare à d'autres artéfacts en céramique présents dans les nécropoles et les habitats ayant pu être fouillés, la céramique de type C apparaît rarement et seulement dans quelques tombes. Ce fut donc un objet que l'on peut qualifier de luxe et dont la réalisation avait probablement lieu pour des raisons très précises. De plus, nous sommes convaincue du fait que ces raisons n'étaient pas exclusivement funéraires, même si ces objets étaient enterrés au côté du défunt et que le lien avec ce dernier ne fait aucun doute. Nous croyons plutôt qu'ils étaient réalisés en raison d'occasions importantes (rituels, commémorations d'évènements, etc.) et que certains d'entre eux furent vraisemblablement en usage jusqu'à ce qu'ils finissent par être utilisés comme objets de dépôt funéraire, précisément parce qu'il s'agissait d'articles de prestige qui étaient liés à une personne et/ou à une famille déterminée. L'on constate que ces céramiques ont eu une vie antérieure à leur présence dans un contexte funéraire, car certaines d'entre elles ont été trouvées dans des lieux où elles n'ont pas été fabriquées.[32] Quoi qu'il en soit, une partie des détériorations visibles sur certaines d'entre elles pourrait s'expliquer davantage par leur utilisation régulière que par les mauvaises conditions de conservation qui auraient pu exister dans les tombes. En outre, la grande partie des trousseaux funéraires de l'époque Nagada I est formé par des éléments que le défunt avait utilisé de son vivant.[33] Les céramiques de type C pourraient aussi entrer dans cette catégorie. Ainsi, les différentes interprétations qui peuvent être faites en ce qui concerne les décorations représentées sur ces céramiques voient leur horizon s'élargir, d'une approche simplement funéraire à des approches plus symboliques, rituelles et sociales.

La collection de Lortet de 1897

Six poteries peuvent être attribuées à la donation que Lortet réalisa en 1897, et bien que la provenance indiquée soit Abydos, il est très probable que quelques-unes d'entre elles proviennent d'autres endroits. La localité de Nagada peut être une origine assurée pour deux d'entre elles. Les poteries nº 7 et 12 ne laissent en effet aucune place au doute à ce sujet. Les formes (PEC 53 ou 54) de jatte avec un léger renflement au milieu du corps sont typiques des productions apparues dans la localité de Nagada. Sur ce type de jattes, la décoration est appliquée sur l'extérieur du pot et autour du bord intérieur de la jatte (Fig. 1). Ainsi, l'extérieur est d'habitude divisé en bandes verticales à l'intérieur desquelles sont peints des chevrons ou bien des lignes en zigzag, ou encore

[32] Navajas, "Jefatura y Parentesco," 75-94.

[33] Nathalie Baduel, "La collection des palettes prédynastiques égyptiennes du Muséum (Lyon). Étude des objets (traces de fabrication et utilisation) et présentation des palettes et du fard prédynastique dans leur contexte historique, archéologique, social et funéraire," *Cahiers scientifiques. Centre de Conservation et d'Étude des Collections. Museum Lyon 9* (2005): 8-9; Nathalie Buchez, "Le mobilier céramique et les offrandes à caractère alimentaire au sein des dépôts funéraires prédynastiques: éléments de réflexion a partir de l'exemple d'Adaïma," *Archéo-Nil 8* (1998): 83-105.

des motifs végétaux très élémentaires consistant en une branche centrale d'où pendent des lignes obliques qui simulent les petites branches. À l'intérieur sont placées des lignes obliques (ou verticales) qui en règle générale parcourent les bords par groupe d'entre trois et six lignes.

Un bon exemple des jattes nº 7 et 12 serait sans aucun doute le pot qui se trouve actuellement à l'Ashmolean Museum et qui provient de la nécropole Nagada B 102 (Fig. 1).

Le bol nº 9 présente une décoration beaucoup plus simple qui consiste en quatre triangles entremêlés situés à l'intérieur et dont la base pend du bord. Bien que ce soit un motif qui se retrouve sur des poteries trouvées dans différentes nécropoles (surtout dans la zone de Badari), il est intéressant de souligner que les fouilles de la nécropole de Nagada par Petrie ont révélé au moins un exemplaire comportant cette même décoration.[34] De son côté, J. de Morgan acquit à la même époque à Toukh un verre très similaire,[35] bien que comportant également plusieurs lignes obliques entre les triangles entremêlés. Par conséquent, avant 1897 (date de la donation de Lortet), des poteries ayant des décorations similaires à celles acquises par Lortet à Abydos avaient été découvertes dans la zone de Nagada.

Le cas du bol nº 16 est très similaire aux précédents. La décoration est de nouveau à l'intérieur du pot. Dans ce cas, elle consiste en deux groupes de triangles remplis de chevrons et de plusieurs groupes de lignes obliques réparties entre ces derniers. Deux lignes concentriques entourent le fond qui ne comporte pas d'engobe. On trouve une décoration très similaire sur une poterie dont il est très possible qu'elle provienne des fouilles de Nagada, et qui se trouve actuellement au Musée Petrie de Londres.[36] Cette dernière jatte est quasi identique à une autre qui se trouve au Musée Pitt Rivers d'Oxford.[37] L'alternance de chevrons avec des lignes obliques, dans des compositions très régulières, a sans doute été utilisée surtout dans la localité de Nagada dans des productions *C-Ware* et *Black-topped*.[38]

[34] Petrie et Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, Pl. XXVIII C26. À l'époque il fut dessiné comme étant déjà fragmenté.

[35] Saint Germain-en-Laye 77.718 a. Acquis très probablement lorsqu'il réalisait ses fouilles dans cette région. (J. J. Cleyet-Merle et F. Vallet, "Égypte" dans Catalogue sommaire illustré des collections du Musée des Antiquités Nationales de Saint Germain-en-Laye : Archéologie comparée : Afrique, Europe occidentale et centrale, éds. F. Beck, J. J. Cleyet–Merle, A. Duval, J. P. Mohen et F.Vallet (Paris, 1989), 144.

[36] Londres, Petrie Museum UC 15285.

[37] Non publié. Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum 1900.38.102. Donation au Musée Pitt Rivers par Randall McIver en 1900 sans provenance connue. Dans ce musée se trouve une autre poterie (Pitt Rivers Museum 1900.38.109) qui fut aussi donnée par McIver en même temps que la précédente. Il s'agit d'une assiette qui possède une décoration identique à celle qui se trouve dans la publication de Petrie sur Nagada et Ballas de l'année 1896, Pl. XXVIII C18.

[38] Manchester, Museum of the University of Manchester 3128. Nagada tombe nº 1599. Fouilles de Petrie. (Petrie, *Corpus*, Pl. XXIV C79B).

Par contre, le bol fermé nº 5 a une décoration totalement unique jusqu'à ce jour. Aucun bol fermé présentant une décoration similaire et ayant une provenance clairement établie n'a été trouvé dans les réserves de musée auxquelles nous avons eu accès. Cependant, dans la publication de Petrie de 1896 apparaissent des dessins de certaines poteries qui présentent une conception similaire, avec des bandes rectangulaires fines remplies de lignes horizontales.[39] Bien que les éléments de comparaisons soient peu nombreux, ce qui est réellement certain est que dans aucune des fouilles, où des artéfacts de ce type ont été découverts, n'ont été trouvés des dessins similaires, à l'exception de ceux que nous avons signalés provenant de Nagada.

Quant à la pièce nº 2, comme la précédente, cette pièce présente un dessin très particulier. Bien que les bandes verticales en zigzags soient très caractéristiques de la région de Nagada, il faut souligner que cette petite jarre est décorée dans un style qui ne concorde pas avec ce que l'on trouve d'habitude dans cette localité, où l'exécution des lignes est généralement régulière et assez droite. Dans le cas de Lyon, les lignes sont beaucoup plus irrégulières. Il existe bien quelques bols, comme cette jarre, qui ont une décoration de bandes remplies avec des lignes en zigzag, mais malheureusement leur provenance est inconnue, comme le bol à carénage du Musée de Cleveland 1920.2008 qui présente à l'extérieur une composition de six bandes remplies avec des zigzags très similaires.[40] Cependant, il y a un pot dont la localité d'origine est connue: el-Mahasna[41] et Abydos. Sur ce bol, la décoration se trouve à l'intérieur et elle est composée de quatre bandes trapézoïdales situées à la verticale, deux d'entre elles étant remplies de lignes en zigzag et les deux autres, de motifs en pointillés. Sur le bol d'Abydos, la décoration se développe aussi à l'intérieur et est composée de quatre bandes remplies de lignes en zigzag.[42] Peut-être ce pot de Lyon pourrait-il provenir d'Abydos, une localité où les motifs en zigzags sont courants.

Il reste à commenter parmi l'ensemble de pièces de la donation de Lortet de l'année 1897: le pot nº 18.[43] Il est un vase à anse où les figures de quatre hippopotames, malgré

[39] Références dans notre annexe, pièce nº 5.

[40] Cleveland Museum of Art 1920.2008. Le pot fût acheté pour le musée à Louxor. Il est dit provenir de Gebelein (Lawrence M. Berman et Kenneth J. Bohac, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art. The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1999), nº 46, Pl. 2). À noter qu'il y a en plus une tortue (à l'extérieur de la base) et un soleil sur le carénage.

[41] Bolton, Bolton Museum 1909.76.14, tombe H 45. (Edward R. Ayrton et William L. Stevenson Loat, *Predynastic Cemetery at El-Mahasna* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1911), 12, Pl. XXIV, 4, H45).

[42] Abydos, U-178 (Rita Hartmann, "Zwei Fragmente der White Cross-lined Ware aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos zu Gefässen aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo," dans *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer,* éds. Eva-Maria Engel, Vera Müller and Ulrich Hartung (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 167, Abb. 3).

[43] Pour des raisons diverses, nous n'avons pas eu connaissance de l'existence de ce vase lors de notre étude de la collection de céramique *White Cross-lined* au Musée des Confluences. On peut voir une photo de la poterie, et

la disparition presque totale de la décoration, sont encore visibles. Ces animaux sont peints autour du pot, suivant une figuration qui eut un grand succès à Abydos et à Naga ed-Dêr. Les hippopotames peints dans ce pot peuvent être rapprochés de ceux peints sur les jarres U-415 et U-380 d'Abydos.[44] Les techniques utilisées autant pour dessiner les corps que pour les remplir les mettent en relation avec les productions abydéniennes. On peut ainsi supposer que ce pot aux quatre hippopotames put vraisemblablement avoir été conçu et réalisé à Abydos d'où il semble provenir.[45]

Les poteries provenant de Khôzam

Nous avons déjà souligné plus haut que les poteries trouvées à Khôzam ont le défaut de ne pas avoir été mentionnés dans les publications que Chantre et Lortet ont consacrées à cette localité. Et pour les pièces qui furent ensuite mises en vente sur le marché des antiquités pour lesquelles cette dernière localité fut mentionnée comme lieu de provenance, il faut, en ce qui concerne les céramiques de type C, accueillir encore cette information avec la plus grande prudence. Car aucune de ces pièces ne coïncide par leur décoration ou par la forme avec celles que le Musée du Muse de Lyon. Cela pose le problème méthodologique de l'impossibilité d'une comparaison avec des poteries provenant d'une autre fouille archéologique menée dans cette zone, puisque les seules poteries avec lesquelles elles peuvent être comparées ne présentent aucune ressemblance. Khôzam est donc un site prédynastique qui continue de poser de gros problèmes lorsqu'il s'agit d'analyser ses artefacts.

Si nous considérons que les poteries de céramique de type C que Chantre a trouvées dans cette nécropole sont celles que nous avons énumérées sous les références nº 3, 6, 10, 13 et 8, il pourrait être dans le domaine du raisonnable de penser qu'elles proviennent réellement de la même nécropole (Khôzam). Il est habituel que des poteries ayant une décoration pratiquement identique se trouvent dans un même cimetière ou dans une même tombe.[46] Il apparaît que les poteries nº 3-6 d'un côté et nº 10-13 d'un autre, entrent dans ce cadre, car, autant du point de vue des formes que de la décoration, elles sont presque similaires.

aussi le dessin de sa décoration dans Hendrickx, Midant-Reynes et Eyckerman, "La collection prédynasque," 57, nº 21.

[44] Abydos U-415 (Günter Dreyer, Rita Hartmann, Ulrich Hartung, Thomas Hikade, Heide Köpp, Claudia Lacher, Vera Müller, Andreas Nerlich et Albert Zink, "Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 13./14./15. Vorbericht," *MDAIK 83* (2003), Abb. 6a, Taf. 15 b); Abydos U-380 (Günter Dreyer, Angela von den Driesch, Eva-Maria Engel, Rita Hartmann, Ulrich Hartung, Thomas Hikade, Vera Müller et Joris Peters, *MDAIK* 67 (2000), Abb. 7, Taf. 6 a).

[45] Pour une interprétation de la scène sur la poterie de Lyon voir: Hendrickx, Midant Reynes et Eyckerman, "La collection prédynastique," 56.

[46] La nécropole de Nagada est exceptionnelle à ce titre (Petrie et Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, Pls XXVIII-XXIX.

Il existe deux autres poteries montrant la même décoration que celles portant les nº 3 et 6 du catalogue et seule l'une d'entre elles a une provenance qui nous est connue. Cette dernière est une poterie découverte à Mamariya et conservée aujourd'hui au Brooklyn Museum,[47] et qui a une forme identique au nº 6 de Lyon. L'autre poterie se trouve à Boston[48] (Cf. Fig. 3). Nous sommes d'avis que les poteries de type C étaient réalisées par groupe et que toutes celles qui partagent une décoration identique, comme c'est le cas pour celles étudiées ici, ont été fabriquées dans une seule localité. Nous ne croyons donc pas que différentes localités aient réalisé des récipients identiques avec des décorations identiques. Si l'on suit cette thèse, les poteries nº 3 et 6 de Lyon, tout comme celles de Boston et de Brooklyn, pourraient avoir été réalisées au même endroit. Comme on n'a pas découvert d'artéfacts qui répondent à cette typologie dans aucune des autres fouilles prédynastiques que nous connaissons, il est donc très possible que l'une des deux localités ait été celle qui avait fabriqué ces poteries (en l'occurrence Khôzam ou Mamariya). Évidemment, les liens entre Khôzam et Mamariya méritent des recherches futures qui dépassent les problèmes évoqués dans notre étude, recherches dans lesquelles il serait souhaitable que les poteries analysées ne se limitent pas aux sites habituellement étudiés (c'est-à-dire Nagada, Abydos, el-Mashasna, etc.), mais couvrant une zone géographique plus large non dépourvue d'intérêt.

Les jattes nº 10-13 posent le même problème : elles sont pratiquement identiques, tant dans la forme que dans la décoration; en outre, la jatte n°13 a un dessin intérieur commun avec la jatte n°15 de la collection de Lortet que nous avons interprétée comme étant une donation de 1907. Nous avons trouvé deux poteries qui correspondent aux types de représentation que nous sommes en train d'étudier, bien qu'aucun d'entre elles n'ait une provenance claire. La première, celle du Petrie Museum UC 15288 à Londres, [49] est surtout en adéquation avec les modèles nº 10-13 alors que la deuxième du Musée Pitt Rivers 1900.38.106 d'Oxford[50] (Cf. Fig. 3) ressemble plus au modèle de la jatte nº 15 du Musée de Lyon.

D'un point de vue théorique, tout au moins, il serait de fait possible de considérer que les artéfacts que nous venons d'étudier pourraient provenir effectivement de la localité de Khôzam.

Il est irréfutable que les poteries de la donation de Lortet de 1907 présentent d'un point de vue iconographique une hétérogénéité qui ne cadre absolument pas avec les pièces de la donation de Chantre de 1899. Il faut donc essayer de comprendre

[47] New York, Brooklyn Museum 09.889.442 (Catalogue nº 26). Winifred Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1984), 95, nº 40, 187, nº 26.

[48] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 04.1812. Non publié.

[49] Petrie, *Corpus*, Pl. XXI C19 B.

[50] D'après les archives du Musée Pitt Rivers d'Oxford, la jatte a été achetée en 1899 quelque part en Égypte et fut donnée ultérieurement au musée en 1900 par McIver.

pourquoi. Comme cela a été déjà dit, il n'existe pas de preuves irréfutables que les pièces qui apparaissent dans la collection de Lortet de la donation de 1905 (nº1) ou 1907 (nº 17) soient le fruit de découvertes archéologiques réalisées dans la région de Khôzam. À l'époque il arrivait souvent que les archéologues obtinssent pendant leurs fouilles des pièces que les travailleurs ou d'autres personnes leur proposaient en argumentant qu'ils les avaient trouvées dans cette nécropole, ce qui permettait en général à ces derniers d'être récompensés. Mais cette pratique comportait de lourds inconvénients puisque les archéologues attribuaient aveuglément ces artefacts au site qu'ils étaient en train de fouiller, même s'ils ne provenaient pas de cet endroit. Par conséquent, le contexte archéologique est loin d'être garanti pour les fouilles de cette période. N'ayant pas de renseignement sur les tombes où ces pièces de Khôzam furent trouvées, on n'écarte pas la possibilité qu'elles fussent acquises plûtot qu'exhumées réellement dans cette nécropole. Nous en venons à cette conclusion parce que les pièces qu'il nous reste à analyser ont des caractéristiques communes à celles d'autres nécropoles.

En premier lieu, la pièce nº 17 qui, tout comme dans le cas de la donation de Lortet de 1897, a toutes les évidentes caractéristiques des productions réalisées et trouvées dans la localité de Nagada.[51] La décoration et la forme ne laissent lieu à aucun doute à ce sujet.

Plus intéressante est la pièce nº 4, une pièce exceptionnelle étant donné qu'elle présente une décoration zoomorphe qui avec le temps s'est effacée mais qui peut encore être aperçue (Fig. 4). Nous pensons que l'animal qui est dessiné est une antilope bubale, *Alcelaphus buselaphus,*[52] dont la crinière et les grandes cornes, similaires à une autre peinte à l'intérieur d'un bol trouvé dans les excavations d'el-Mahasna, ont été particulièrement soulignées.[53] Découvrir une nouvelle poterie de cette époque avec une décoration zoomorphe est en soi exceptionnel, mais ce qui rend cette assiette intéressante est sa forme et la décoration ajoutée, car elle fournit des informations supplémentaires sur sa possible origine. Cette typologie d'assiette a été trouvée dans la localité d'el-Amrah, concrètement sur des productions *Black-topped,*[54] et aussi sur des productions *C-ware*, [55] toutes trouvées durant les fouilles archéologiques que Randall-McIver et Mace menèrent dans cette localité entre 1899 et 1901. Cependant, l'assiette qui ressemble le plus à celle qui se trouve au Musée de Lyon, autant du point de vue de

[51] Pour des comparaisons avec d'autres pièces de Nagada, voir l'annexe du présent article, pièce nº 17.

[52] Dale J. Osborn et Jana Osbornová, *The mammals of ancient Egypt* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1998), 171-173.

[53] Manchester, Museum of the University of Manchester 5095a. (Ayrton et Loat, *Predynastic Cemetery*, Pl. XXIV, 7 H.A.).

[54] Type B5c (David Randall-McIver et Arthur C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902), Pl. XIV B5c).

[55] Randall-MacIver et Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. XV, nº 14 et nº 15.

la forme que de la décoration, est une autre assiette qui fait actuellement partie de la collection du Musée de Saint Germain-en-Laye. Elle provient des fouilles que mena Jacques de Morgan dans la localité de el-Amrah[56] peu avant qu'Amélineau (1895-1896) y fouilla et avant le retour de Randall-McIver et de Mace. Cette assiette fut publiée pour la première fois dans la monographie de Jacques de Morgan de 1896, *Pl. III 4a, 4b*. A part la décoration du fond, qui dans ce dernier cas est formée d'une spirale avec des petits traits, les deux assiettes ont autour du bord une série de triangles dont l'intérieur est rempli de lignes obliques. La ressemblance est étonnante avec notre assiette, et c'est pour cette raison que nous pouvons assurer avec un degré de certitude élevé que les deux sont le fruit d'un lieu d'élaboration commun dont le plus probable est le site d'el-Amrah (Fig.4).

Pour finir, il nous reste à expliquer l'une des jattes les plus problématiques de la collection de Lyon, la nº 1. Il s'agit d'une assiette qui a une décoration zoomorphe composée de deux crocodiles et de quatre éléments végétaux de chaque côté (deux branches qui s'entrecroisent et une autre unique) pour lesquels nous n'avons trouvé aucun parallèle sur aucune autre poterie de la période qui nous concerne ici, ce qui est étrange étant donné que les jattes avec des décorations zoomorphes réalisées sur ce type de céramique sont abondantes. Cependant, la présentation des animaux ne correspond avec aucune autre connue, ni en ce qui concerne le dessin ni la pose qu'ils présentent. Il arrive la même chose avec les éléments végétaux, plus similaires à ceux développés sur des céramiques du type D. En réalité, sans autres éléments de comparaison, nous n'avons pas d'autre option que la plus grande prudence et d'attendre que de nouvelles recherches nous éclairent sur sa véritable genèse.[57]

Les pots sans aucune information

Il y a deux pots dans la collection *C-Ware* de Lyon sans référence à leur provenance ou la collection à laquelle ils appartiennent. La jatte nº 14 a pour unique décoration des

[56] Saint Germain-en-Laye, MAN 77.705 v. (Jacques de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origins de l'Égypte. L'Age de la pierre et les métaux* (Paris, 1896), Pl. III, 4 a, 4b; Cleyet-Merle et Valet, "Égypte," 116).

[57] Il faut prendre en compte que Lortet et Gaillard se sont rendus en Égypte pour faire des recherches sur la faune égyptienne, raison pour laquelle ils s'intéressaient à tous types d'animaux, et particulièrement à leurs momies. Sans aucun doute, ce n'est pas une coïncidence que deux naturalistes trouvent (ou quelqu'un leur offre) un récipient sur lequel ce qui est représenté sont deux crocodiles, de plus, en parfait état de conservation. Nous maintenons nos doutes raisonnables sur la véritable entité de ce récipient, bien que nous le répétons: seule une analyse détaillée de la pigmentation et de futures découvertes de décorations similaires peuvent faire pencher la balance d'un côté ou de l'autre. Les mêmes doutes â propos de l'authenticité de la décoration sur cette jatte, ont été signalés récemment dans une publication du Musée des Confluences (Hendrickx, Midant-Reynes et Eyckerman, "La collection prédynastique," 73, note 3.

points, un élément qui est sans doute caractéristique des productions de Badari[58] mais aussi de Naga ed-Dêr[59] et Hierakonpolis.[60]

Le bol nº 8 a une décoration similaire à un autre bol découvert à Mamariya qui se trouve aujourd'hui à New York[61] (Fig. 3). C'est un pot à trois pieds qui présente sur sa partie extérieure un système quadrillé en bandes rectangulaires qui parcourent la longueur de la poterie avec l'ajout d'une décoration florale.

Le bol à forme fermée nº 11, où figurent sept triangles entremêlés sur la partie supérieure de son carénage, possède de son côté des similitudes avec ceux trouvés dans les fouilles de Petrie,[62] bien que l'on trouve aussi d'autres exemples de provenance incertaine dans divers musées.[63] D'autres exemples ont été trouvés sur le site d'El-Amrah lors des fouilles de McIver et de Mace de 1899.[64] Ce dessin a été aussi utilisé pour décorer la partie intérieure des bols ouverts, dans des productions trouvées dans les nécropoles d'El-Amrah,[65] Nagada[66] et de Mesaid.[67]

Conclusion

Le Musée de Lyon conserve dans ses fonds un total de 18 pièces de céramique prédynastiques du type C inédites. Comme nous avons pu l'observer, ce sont des pièces possédant un fort intérêt, car elles font foi d'un moment historique de l'égyptologie qui correspond aux premières fouilles prédynastiques menées en Égypte.

Dans la donation d'Abydos de Lortet de 1897, à l'exception de la jatte nº 2 et nº 18 qui pourrait avoir une origine peut-être à Abydos, tous les autres artefacts correspondent à des productions qui apparurent principalement dans la localité de Nagada qui avait été fouillée par Petrie entre 1894 et 1895. Cela semble sûr à propos des pièces nº 7, 12, 16, le plus censé est de penser qu'elles furent effectivement acquises à Abydos mais qu'elles proviennent en réalité de la nécropole de Nagada. C'est la même chose vraisemblablement pour la pièce nº 17, acquise à Khôzam mais dont l'origine se trouve clairement à Nagada.

[58] Références dans l'Annexe nº 14.

[59] Albert M. Lythgoe et Dows Dunham, *The Predynstic Cemetery N 7000 Naga-ed-Der* (Berkeley University of California Press, 1965), Figure 2d.

[60] Renée Friedman, "The Peripatetic Pot," *Nekhen News* 21 (2009): 19

[61] New York, Brooklyn Museum 07.447.399 (Winifred Needler, Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the British Museum (Brooklyn, NewYork : The Brooklyn Museum, 1984), 95, nº 38, p. 187, nº 28).

[62] Bruxelles MRAH, E. 1506.

[63] Le Caire CG 11513.

[64] Randall-McIver et Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. XV C66.

[65] Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum 1901.29.80, provenant de la nécropole A d'El-Amrah (tombe inconnue).

[66] Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, Pl XXVIII C30.

[67] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 11.315, tombe 39.

Cette collection donne un premier éclairage, et peut-être même le seul, pour essayer d'évaluer les types de pièces qui auraient pu être réalisées à Khôzam, pièces évaluées au travers des pots de la collection de Chantre de 1899 provenant de cette fouille. Cependant, le nombre réduit de pièces (nº 8, 3, 6, 10, 13 et 15, cette dernière provenant de la donation de Lortet) nous empêche d'établir des modèles iconographiques qui permettraient d'identifier les pièces dans les fonds des différents musées du monde entier comme provenant de Khôzam. Des études futures sont sans doute nécessaires à faire dans ce sens.

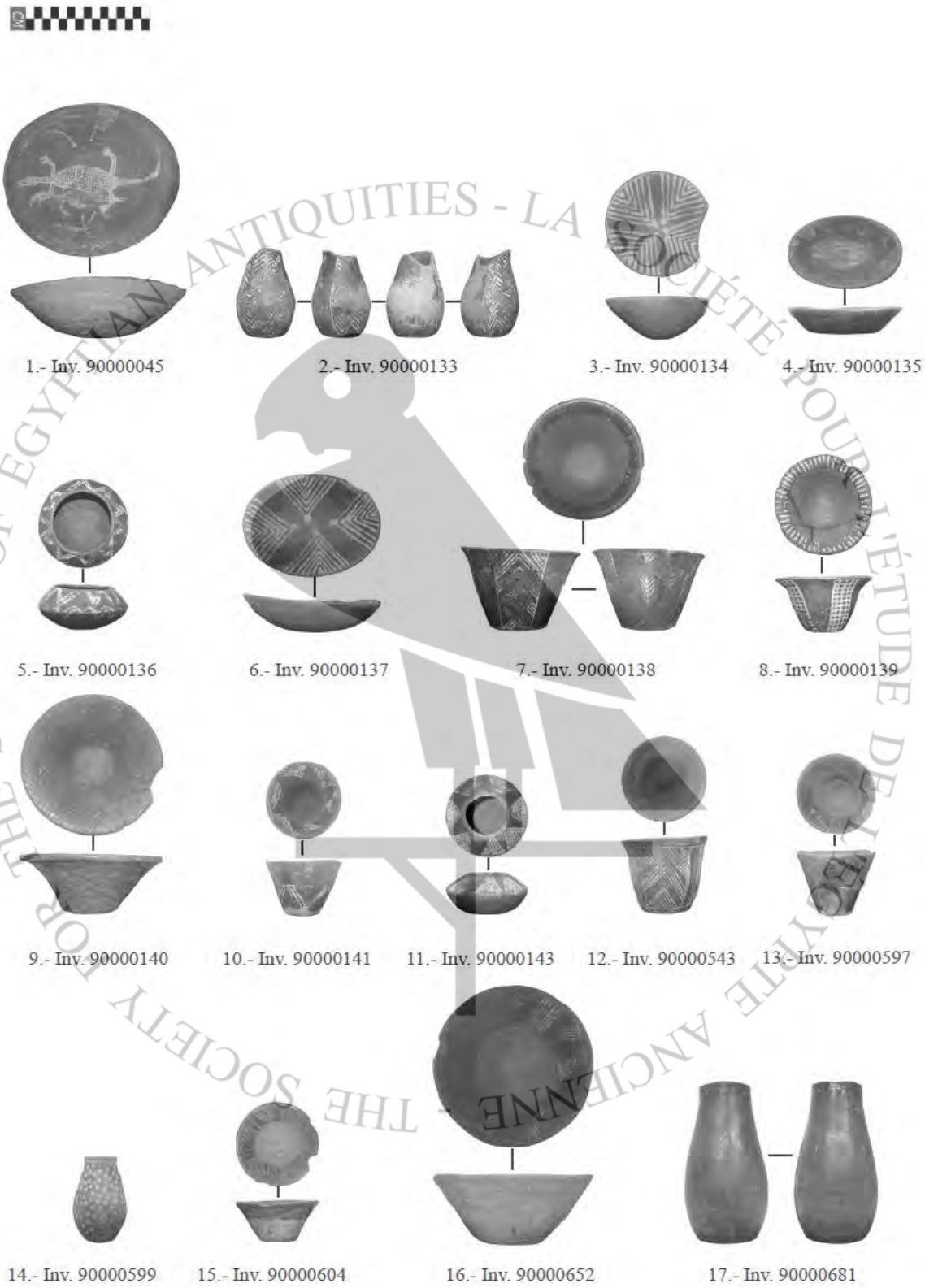
Pour conclure, il est possible d'établir des connexions avec d'autres pièces qui furent auparavant trouvées et qui proviennent d'el-Amrah (nº 4), la magnifique assiette avec décoration zoomorphe de l'antilope bubale. El-Amrah, comme nous l'avons vu, fut aussi un site qui, à l'époque où Lortet se rendit en Égypte, avait déjà été explorée.

Il s'agit donc d'une collection hétérogène intéressante qui nous invite à continuer des recherches en parallèle avec des pièces conservées dans les réserves de divers musées qui ont besoin encore d'être analysées.

Remerciements

L'étude que nous présentons ici n'aurait pas pu être réalisée sans la précieuse aide de Karine Madrigal, assistante conservatrice du Musée de Confluences de Lyon; elle a en effet mis à notre disposition les céramiques que nous venons d'étudier et nous a fait connaître la riche bibliographie qui leur était associée. Je voudrais également remercier les conservateurs des musées pour l'aide et le support qu'ils m'ont offerts dans l'étude des différent pièces montrées dans l'article (Helen Whitehouse, Ashmolean Museum Oxford; Stephen Quirke, Petrie Museum London; Karen Exell, Museum University of Manchester; Christine Lorre MAN Saint Germain-en-Laye). Nous tenons à leur adresser à ce sujet notre sincère reconnaissance. Mes remerciements vont enfin au Département d'antiquités de l'Ashmolean Museum d'Oxford pour l'accès à la pièce montrée dans l'article.

Planche 1:



La collection de poterie prédynastique C-ware du Musée des Confluences. Lyon. Copyright © Musée des Confluences de Lyon. \

Table 1: Inventaire des poteries

Nº pot	Numéro d'inventaire	Autre numéro	Provenance	Collection	Date d'entrée ou collecte
7	90000138	1588	Abydos	Lortet	1897
12	90000543	1588**	Abydos**	Lortet**	1897**
16	90000652	1588*	----	Lortet*	----
2	90000133	1589	----	Lortet	----
9	90000140	1589	Abydos*	Lortet	1897
5	90000136	1598[1]	Abydos	Lortet	1897
18	90000115	1588	Abydos	Lortet	1897
11	90000143	----	----	----	----
1	90000045	----	Khozam	Lortet*	1905*
3	90000134	1591	Khozam	Chantre	1899
6	90000137	1591	Khozam	Chantre	1899
10	90000141	1591*	Khozam	Chantre	1899
13	90000597	1591*	----	----	----
8	90000139	1592*	----	----	----
17	90000681	(MC) 4239**	Khozam,* Roda, Abydos ?	Lortet*	1907*
4	90000135	(MC) 4281	Khozam, Roda, Abydos ?	Lortet	----
15	90000604	(MC) 4284*/**	Khozam, Roda, Abydos ?	Lortet	----
14	90000599	----	----	----	----

Les numéros 1588, 1589, 1591, 1592 correspondent à l'inventaire des vitrines de l'exposition permanente du musée réalisé en 1932 par Mr Lavertu, préparateur au musée.
Les numéros 4239, 4281, 4284 correspondent aux numéros d'inventaire du Musée Colonial de 1925-1968.

** Numéro et/ou note écrit(e) sur une étiquette collée sur le pot

* Numéro ou note écrit(e) sur le récipient.

[1] (probablement 1589)

Fig. 1: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1895.469, Catalogue nº 408 (photographie Ana I. Navajas).

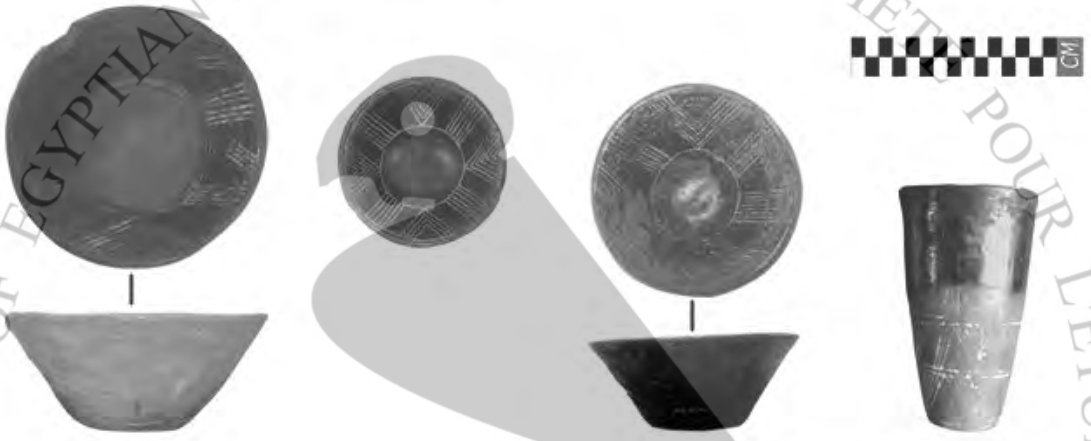


Fig. 2: De gauche à droite Lyon, Confluences 90000652; Londres, Petrie Museum UC15285; Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum 1900.38.102; Manchester, Museum of the University of Manchester 3128 (Copyright © Musée des Confluences de Lyon; Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL; Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum; Museum of the University of Manchester).

Fig. 3: De gauche à droite: New York, Brooklyn Museum 07.447.399 (Winifred Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn New York : The Museum, 1984), 95 nº 28); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 04.1812; New York, Brooklyn Museum 09.889.442 (Winifred Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn New York : The Museum, 1984), 95 nº 26); Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum 1900.38.106 (Copyright © New York Brooklyn Museum; Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum).

Fig. 4: À gauche Saint Germain-en-Laye, MAN 77.705 v. À droite Lyon 90000135 (dessin Ana I. Navajas) (Copyright © Saint Germain-en-Laye MAN).

King and Coward? The Representation of the Foreign Ruler in the Battle of Kadesh Reliefs

Tara C. Prakash*‡

Abstract: The Egyptian understanding of foreign rulers did not simply reflect the reality of Egypt's interactions with its foreign neighbors but also incorporated various aspects of ideological belief. This article examines the way in which the Egyptians depicted the figure of the Hittite king, Muwatallis II, in the battle of Kadesh reliefs in order to elucidate how these complex theoretical issues of truthfulness and ideology concerning foreign rulers were artistically translated. There is a recognizable "vignette" that was repeated in the four reliefs in which the Hittite king remains preserved. Yet in each scene, this "vignette" shows subtle variations in attributes, pictorial context, and associated textual labels. These details demonstrate a need to set the foreign ruler apart from the larger mass of foreign foes, thus reflecting his actual status as a foreign ruler, balanced with devices designed to convey his highly negative and rebellious role within Egyptian ideology.

Résumé: La perception égyptienne des dirigeants étrangers ne reflétait pas simplement la réalité des interactions de l'Égypte avec ses voisins étrangers mais incorporait aussi des préjugés à caractère idéologique. Cet article analyse la manière dont les Égyptiens ont façonné l'image du roi Hittite, Mouwattalli II, à travers les bas-reliefs de la bataille de Qadech. On y retrouve notamment une scène, répétée dans les quatre bas-reliefs où le roi Hittite est représenté: les attributs du roi, le contexte dans lequel il apparaît, et les légendes qui l'accompagnent, révèlent des variations subtiles. Ces détails démontrent un besoin de distinguer le souverain hittite de la masse des autres ennemis étrangers et de souligner son rôle négatif et rebelle tel que véhiculé par l'idéologie égyptienne.

KeyWords/Mots-clefs: Ramesses II, Muwatallis/Mouwattalli II, Battle of Kadesh/bataille de Kadesh, Depiction of foreign rulers/représentations de souverains étrangers, Depiction of foreigners/representations des étrangers.

Introduction

During the Nineteenth Dynasty, Ramesses II fought an epic battle against the Hittite Empire and its allies over control of the city of Kadesh.[1] The pharaoh faced and

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[1] For general overviews of Egypto-Hittite relations, see Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971), 107-223; Elmar Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache,* vol. II (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994); and William J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990). The battle of Kadesh has been the focus of a large number of studies. For a selective bibliography and detailed general discussion, see

defeated the enemy on the battlefield single-handedly, without his army, slaying and massacring all of the foreigners who surrounded him, as the Hittite king, Muwatallis, in complete contrast to Ramesses, fearfully cowered behind his troops far from the battle itself; or so the Egyptian reliefs depicting the battle would have one believe.[2] At the same time, the Hittite king as well as the battle in general is described in the texts that accompany the reliefs in a similar fashion. They refer to Muwatallis specifically as the "despicable, fallen Ruler of Hatti" and repeatedly describe him as shrinking and afraid.[3] Of course, Ramesses' account of the battle has been convincingly argued to be propagandistic, exaggerated and idealized: a deliberately constructed "reinterpretation" designed to highlight the pharaoh's personal valour and ability to maintain Maat.[4] Consequently, one must question and closely examine the factual accuracy of all of the pictorial details and textual descriptions in these portrayals, including those employed in the depiction of Muwatallis.

Yet the questionable historical accuracy of the Kadesh material is not the only reason Ramesses' presentation of the Hittite king should not be blindly trusted. Indeed, all Egyptian representations of foreigners were deeply embedded with ideological and symbolic overtones that affected, sometimes drastically, the way in which reality was depicted. There has been a variety of literature on the Egyptian understanding and conception of the foreign "Other," the general themes of which I briefly describe here.[5]

RITANC II, 3-55. More recent publications include Susanna Constanze Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 126-148 and 222-224; Anthony Spalinger, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative: P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2002); Anthony Spalinger, "The Battle of Kadesh: The Chariot Frieze at Abydos," *AeUL* 12 (2002): 163-199. Additionally, Anthony Spalinger has recently published a new book, *Icons of Power: A Strategy of Reinterpretation* (Prague: Charles University, 2011), in which he reconsiders the New Kingdom war depictions and "battle scenes" and expands upon a number of his previously presented arguments and theories. Unfortunately, this book was released while the present article was in press and I was thus unable to incorporate it here.

[2] See Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, Sergio Donadoni, and Elmar Edel, *Grand temple d'Abou Simbel: La bataille de Qadech: description et inscriptions, dessins et photographies* (Cairo: Centre de documentation et d'études sur l'ancienne Égypte, 1971); Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur Altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1988), taf. 83-89, 96-106, and 169-178; and Spalinger, "The Battle of Kadesh," *AeUL* 12: fig. 1-15.

[3] See *KRI* II, 2-147 and *RITA* II, 2-26.

[4] For example, see Jan Assmann, "Krieg und Frieden im alten Ägypten: Ramses II. und die Schlacht bei Kadesch," *Mannheimer Forum* 83/84 (1983/1984): 175-231; Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003), 171-173; and Peter Brand, "Ideological Imperatives: Irrational Factors in Egyptian-Hittite Relations under Ramesses II," in *Moving Across Borders: Foreign Relations, Religion and Cultural Interactions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Panagiotis Kousoulis and Konstantinos Magliveras (Leuven: Peeters Publishers and Department of Oriental Studies, 2007), 26-28.

[5] Regarding the following discussion, see Antonio Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988); Edda Bresciani, "8. Foreigners," in *The Egyptians*, ed. Sergio Donadoni, trans. Robert Bianchi, Ana Lisa Crone, Charles Lambert, and Thomas Ritter (Chicago: University of

Loprieno has convincingly demonstrated that in Egyptian literature, the Egyptian treatment of foreigners was alternatively informed by an idealized, stereotypical, and negative construction of foreign identity (*topos*) in contrast to a more realistic, individualistic, and positive approach (*mimesis*).[6] One also sees the same dichotomy in Egyptian artistic treatments of the foreigner. Ideologically, the foreigner was a deviant and lower-order being. Although the ideology allowed for the possibility of a "good" foreigner to be assimilated into Egyptian culture and, in this way, become symbolically "disarmed," the rebellious foreigner was equated with chaos and viewed as a reprehensible threat to Maat and the ordered world.

On the other hand, the reality of Egyptian foreign relations was complex. Foreigners constituted an unavoidable population with which the Egyptians had to deal on a regular basis, both at home and abroad. One should not assume that ideology entirely dictated the nature of these interactions.[7] For example, in his study on Egyptian and Nubian ethnic identities and interactions in colonial Lower Nubia, Smith shows that despite the ideology of separation and "otherness," Egyptians and Nubians interacted and even intermarried; in addition, while some Nubians became acculturated to Egyptian society, others remained more Nubian.[8] Reflections of both the Egyptian ideology of foreigners and the reality of Egyptian and foreign interactions can be discerned in all Egyptian literature and art.

Chicago Press, 1997), 221-253; David O'Connor and Stephen Quirke, "Introduction: Mapping the Unknown in Ancient Egypt," in *Mysterious Lands,* ed. David O'Connor and Stephen Quirke (London: UCL Press, 2003), 11; David O'Connor, "Egypt's Views of 'Others'," in *'Never Had the Like Occurred': Egypt's View of its Past*, ed. John Tait (London: UCL Press, 2003), 159-176; John Baines "Contextualizing Egyptian Representations of Society and Ethnicity," in *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Jerrold S. Cooper and Glenn M. Schwartz (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 339-384; Mario Liverani, *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.* (Padua: Sargon, 1990); Assmann, "Krieg und Frieden," *Mannheimer Forum* 83/84: 175-231; Smith, Wretched Kush, 1-29 and 167-206; Donald B. Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 5-18; and Yvan Koenig, "The Image of the Foreigner in the Magical Texts of Ancient Egypt," in *Moving Across Borders: Foreign Relations, Religion and Cultural Interactions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Panagiotis Kousoulis and Konstantinos Magliveras (Leuven: Peeters Publishers and Department of Oriental Studies, 2007), 223-238; Anthony Leahy, "Ethnic Diversity in Ancient Egypt," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 1, ed. Jack Sasson (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000), 225-234.

6 Loprieno, Topos und Mimesis.

7 However, Brand ("Ideological Imperatives," 15-33) and Liverani (*Prestige and Interest*) have convincingly argued that ideology did play a notable role in the way in which the Egyptians approached issues of foreign relations on a national level. Concerning the dichotomy between Egypt's idealistic worldview and their actual diplomatic relations during the New Kingdom, see also William J. Murnane, "Imperial Egypt and the Limits of Power," in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, ed. Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 101-111 and Nadav Na'aman, "The Egyptian-Canaanite Correspondence," in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, ed. Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 125-138.

8 Smith, Wretched Kush.

One can naturally extend this larger theoretical framework to apply specifically to representations of foreign rulers. By the New Kingdom, interacting, both positively and negatively, with foreign rulers was a necessary part of being pharaoh, and documents such as the Amarna Letters attest to the cosmopolitan nature of not only Egypt, but the entire Near East during the Late Bronze Age.[9] However, in terms of Egyptian ideology, although a foreign ruler was theoretically of higher status among other foreigners (principally his subjects), he was still inferior to the Egyptian pharaoh and people. Indeed, Liverani has shown how the Egyptian use of royal titulary reflected this notion: there is only one *ḥḳ3*, i.e., the Egyptian pharaoh, but there can be many *wrw*, or secondary rulers; accordingly, "Egypt considers itself different from any other country to the point that a real parity not only cannot be culturally conceived, but even cannot be linguistically expressed."[10]

A foreign ruler, like all other foreigners, had the potential to be "good," if he understood and accepted his place within the cosmos as a lesser ruler and subject of the Egyptian pharaoh. Conversely, and essentially more importantly, a foreign ruler had the same deviant and chaotic, and thus threatening, nature inherent to all foreigners. Yet, in reality a foreign ruler was not just any foreigner. Unlike other foreigners who individually might be symbolic of chaos and danger, yet were only truly a threat in numbers, a foreign ruler was an individual with the means and power to be an actual threat to the Egyptian state. A powerful foreign ruler, such as Muwatallis, commanded resources and armed forces, as did the Egyptian pharaoh, which could be withheld from or used against his enemies. Indeed, a foreign ruler had the ability to gather dangerous multitudes of foreigners.[11] Consequently, because foreign rulers realistically posed a greater threat than foreigners in general, they also posed a greater symbolic threat to the cosmos and Maat.

One would expect to see this visually reflected and to find particularly negative treatments of "rebellious" foreign rulers in artistic representations.[12] However, in order

[9] For recent translations of the Amarna Letters, see William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). On the international system of the Late Bronze Age apparent in the Amarna Letters, see further Mario Liverani, "The Great Powers' Club," in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, ed. Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 15-27; Rodolfo Ragionieri, "The Amarna Age: An International Society in the Making," in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, ed. Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 42-53; and Carlo Zaccagnini, "The Interdependence of the Great Powers," in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, ed. Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 141-153.

[10] Liverani, Prestige and Interest, 67-68.

[11] According to Liverani (*Prestige and Interest*, 115-125), it is the foreign ruler's ability to summon multitudes of foreigners that the "centralized" ideology highlights as fearsome.

[12] Liverani (*Prestige and Interest*, 126-134) discusses the way in which the Egyptians and other ancient Near Eastern powers conceptualized any enemy as a "rebel" responsible for starting the hostilities.

for such treatments to be effective, the foreign ruler had to be identifiable as a ruler in contrast to other foreigners, which could involve at least some level of "positive" and truthful representation. In other words, Egyptian artists not only needed to depict the foreign ruler with traits that identified him as the most reprehensible and cowardly foreigner, but also with traits that identified him as a ruler, which could entail employing devices, such as a larger scale, a more privileged position, a unique costume, or a caption, that should be interpreted as "positive" or truthful. Here, one should note that these "positive" qualities are only "positive" in relation to other foreigners and are still incomparably "negative" in contrast to the Egyptian ruler.[13]

The question then becomes: how do these larger considerations regarding the representations of foreign rulers manifest themselves in a particular depiction of a foreign ruler, such as that of Muwatallis in the battle of Kadesh reliefs? By challenging Ramesses and attempting to control a region that Egypt considered rightfully its own territory, Muwatallis established himself as a rebellious ruler, one who refused to submit to the inherent Egyptian worldview. How did Egyptian artists reconcile the desire to portray the Hittite king from an ideological perspective that highlighted his highly negative, aberrant nature with the need to convey at least a superficial level of truthfulness?

One should note that the Kadesh scenes fit into the larger pictorial category of "battle scenes" carved on temple walls, specifically exterior walls and interior walls of courts and halls.[14] Perhaps more properly described as slaughter scenes, these scenes highlight the valour and ferocity of the Egyptian pharaoh as he slays and defeats the foreign enemy. Often his troops, who are depicted on a dramatically smaller scale, preparing for and fighting the one-sided battle, accompany him. The outcome of these scenes is always assured: the Egyptian king, and by extension Egypt, will dominate and destroy all who dare to oppose him. The "battle scenes" manifest the Egyptian ideological beliefs relating to war which Liverani describes as "always a one-way activity – be it extermination of rebels, or plunder and destruction. No real battle takes place, no symmetrical encounter is conceivable…In an extreme (and highly symbolic) way, war is similar to hunting and enemies are similar to wild-game."[15] Surviving "battle scenes" are primarily confined to the New Kingdom, and within this period, largely to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

[13] Anthony Spalinger ("Re-Reading Egyptian Military Reliefs," in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, ed. Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford Press, 2011), 484-490) also sees a hierarchy of enemy leader representations, largely based on scale: the stronger and more significant the foe, the more heroically he resists and the higher he is regarded in ideological terms.

[14] Heinz, Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches, 24-29.

[15] Liverani, Prestige and Interest, 132.

Anthony Spalinger has argued that, in regard to the composition of "battle scenes," the enemy king functions as the opposing foe to the triumphant pharaoh within a personalized "duel." Their relationship is specially signaled through scale: both are often of superhuman size, though the foe is never as large as the pharaoh.[16] In the battle of Kadesh reliefs, the composition differs from the more traditional battle scenes that Spalinger has specifically discussed, namely Ramesses II's Asiatic battles carved at Luxor and the Ramesseum.[17] However, in the representations of Muwatallis at Kadesh, and likely also in the depiction of the enemy in other "battle scenes," the Egyptian artists included details beyond just scale and position, which served to heighten the contrast between the protagonists. In this way, the Hittite king's depiction refers back to Spalinger's ideological interpretation: that the foreign foe serves as a symbol of chaos, which the Egyptian pharaoh, as the upholder of Maat, will personally defeat.

At the same time, the details that comprise the depiction of the Hittite king also convey and relate to the ideology of the foreigner on a broader level. For example, as the following will argue, Muwatallis' turned-back posture in the reliefs is a motif that conveys his fear and submission, as well as one that demasculinizes him. Not only does this detail serve to contrast the Hittite king with Ramesses, it reflects larger Egyptian ideological beliefs regarding foreigners. Finally, one must remember that ultimately the battle of Kadesh was a historical event, and, despite Ramesses' clearly prejudiced presentation, one cannot dismiss the depiction of the Hittite king as purely ideological. In fact, devices, such as scale and placement within the larger pictorial composition, that, on the one hand, serve to highlight the ideological contrast between Ramesses and the Hittite king, also reflect a level of truthfulness, in that they attempt to convey Muwatallis' status as a ruler.

The following is specifically concerned with the details that the Egyptian artists employed in the depiction of Muwatallis. One would expect to see the inclusion of ideological, and perhaps to a lesser degree, truthful elements, and indeed, close analysis reveals just this, namely that the artists deliberately manipulated the representation of the Hittite king within the reliefs in order to convey both ideology and truthfulness. Ultimately, the aim of this study is not to show *that* the artists did this, rather it investigates *how* the artists did this.

16 Anthony Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 77-78 and Spalinger, "Re-Reading Egyptian Military Reliefs," 484-490.

17 Spalinger, "Re-Reading Egyptian Military Reliefs," 475-491.

The Kadesh Material and the Hittite King

Ramesses "recorded" the battle of Kadesh in both text and image on the walls of temples throughout Egypt and Nubia.[18] One can divide this material largely into three categories. The first includes the large-scale reliefs, which will be the focus of the following discussion. These were carved on the walls of the temples of Karnak, Luxor, the Great Temple at Abu Simbel, Ramesses II's temple at Abydos, and his mortuary temple known as the Ramesseum.[19] All of the reliefs also have text, usually referred to as captions, included throughout them. The second category of evidence is the so-called "Poem," which is more accurately known as the "Literary Record."[20] Although it contains extensive poetical sections, Spalinger has recently argued that it belonged to the literary corpus and should instead be considered "Egyptian Warfare Literature."[21] It was carved on the walls of the temples of Karnak, Luxor, Ramesses II's temple at Abydos, and the Ramesseum.[22] There are also three preserved papyri that contain hieratic versions of the "Poem" or segments of it.[23] Finally, the third category of evidence is the so-called "Bulletin," which is usually found within the pictorial reliefs, close to the Egyptian camp scene.[24] It is a shorter textual account of the battle that is more closely related to the reliefs, and, unlike the "Poem," it was not a work of literature.[25]

Within most of the battle of Kadesh reliefs, two different scenes, which were visually set apart from one another, can be identified: the Egyptian camp just prior to and at the beginning of the battle (Egyptian camp scene) and the battle itself (battle scene). The

[18] Although the battle of Kadesh is referenced in Hittite records, only Egyptian sources contain actual accounts of the battle (Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 261-262; see also *RITANC* II, 13-15 and Albrecht Götze, "Zur Schlacht von Qades," *OLZ* 32 (1929): 832-838).

[19] Karnak: *PM* II, 57 and 179; Luxor: *PM* II, 304-305 and 333-335; Abu Simbel: *PM* VII, 103-104; Abydos: *PM* VI, 39-41; and Ramesseum: *PM* II, 433-435.

[20] *RITANC* II, 5-7. See further Sir Alan Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1960), 2-3; Thomas von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II. zur Qades-Schlacht: Analyse und Struktur* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1984), 283-285; Patrik Lundh, *Actor and Event: Military Activity in Ancient Egyptian Narrative Texts from Tuthmosis II to Merenptah* (Uppsala: Akademitryck AB, 2002), 135-136; and Spalinger, P. Sallier III, 347-365.

[21] Spalinger, P. Sallier III, 347-365.

[22] Karnak: *PM* II 179; Luxor: *PM* II, 304-305 and 333-335; Abydos: *PM* VI, 41; and Ramesseum: *PM* II, 434. The "Poem" is omitted at Abu Simbel for unknown reasons, although it may be due to the lack of space (Spalinger, P. Sallier III, 357). While it is theoretically possible that it was included on a freestanding stele, there is no evidence to support this speculation.

[23] Spalinger, P. Sallier III.

[24] The exceptions being at Luxor (*PM* II, 334) where it may have been inscribed in isolation and the Ramesseum (*PM* II, 434-435) where it was included within the battle scene.

[25] Spalinger, P. Sallier III, 150-156, 328, and 347-348. See further, Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, 3-4; Lundh, Actor and Event, 164-165; and *RITANC* II, 7-8.

figure of Muwatallis II, the Hittite king and Ramesses' primary foe, remains entirely or largely preserved in four reliefs (figs. 1-4). In the relief at Abu Simbel, located on the north wall of the Great Hall, and that at Luxor, which was carved on the exterior of the pylon, he was included within the battle scene.[26] There are two Kadesh battle scenes inscribed at the Ramesseum. The first is located on the interior (west) wall of the first pylon, while the second is on the interior (west) wall of the second pylon.[27] The figure of Muwatallis is completely preserved on the first pylon, but unfortunately is no longer visible on the second pylon. However, remains of what may be his chariot and possibly his shield-bearer, elements that accompany him in the other four reliefs, as will be described below, are visible in the poorly preserved lower right corner of the scene.[28] This potential position for Muwatallis on the second pylon of the Ramesseum, if correct, would closely replicate his position in the battle scene on the first pylon.[29] Finally, the lower portion of Muwatallis is also preserved in the relief at Abydos.[30] Although the Abydos relief is poorly preserved (only the lowest portions remain), it appears that the surviving representation is that of the battle scene.[31] Given the evidence, it seems likely that the Hittite king was originally included in all relevant scenes, i.e., Kadesh battle scenes.

Although the composition and details of the Kadesh battle scenes vary from relief to relief, the Egyptian artists employed specific elements in each scene, which make each battle scene easily identifiable as such (see fig. 5). Thus, a central feature is the Orontes River, which runs through and divides each scene. Within the river is the fortified city of Kadesh, and to one side of the river is Ramesses II. The figure of Ramesses visually dominates the composition. In each case, he stands fearlessly in his chariot with his bow drawn, prepared to fight the hordes of enemies surrounding him. Dead and defeated foreigners fill the immediate area around the victorious king and flood the river, while enemy chariots containing three men, distinct from the Egyptian ones that only contain two, charge towards the pharaoh and frame the overall scene.[32]

[26] For the relief at Abu Simbel, see Desroches-Noblecourt, Donadoni, and Edel, Grand temple d'Abou Simbel and Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 169-178. For the relief at Luxor, see Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 83-89.

[27] For the scene on the first pylon, see Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 96-99. For the scene on the second pylon, see Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 100-106.

[28] Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 106.

[29] That Muwatallis was depicted in this location on the second pylon is supported by Julien De Vos, "Les représentations egyptiennes de Khattusili III: A propos de l'usage des empreintes de sceaux royaux par la chancellerie Égyptienne," in *Melanges offerts au professeur Rene Lebrun*, vol. 1, ed. Michel Mazoyer and Olivier Casabonne (Paris: Association Kubaba, 2004), 197 n. 24.

[30] Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 16-25 and Spalinger, "The Battle of Kadesh," *AeUL* 12: fig. 1-15.

[31] Spalinger, "The Battle of Kadesh," *AeUL* 12: 163.

[32] For a discussion on the Hittite system of three men per chariot, see Spalinger, War in Ancient Egypt, 195-200. For an opposing view, see Liverani, Prestige and Interest, 118-119.

On the opposite side of the river from Ramesses is the Hittite king, Muwatallis, set behind his own infantry. The representation of the foreign ruler in the four relevant reliefs provides the modern scholar with a particular opportunity to analyze how the Egyptians portrayed foreign rulers in art, knowledge that then furthers Egyptologists' understanding of the Egyptian perspective on foreign rulers. Furthermore, the Kadesh material is especially valuable and illuminating in this regard and serves as a promising case study for two additional reasons. First, the replication of the figure of Muwatallis in four of the Kadesh reliefs provides the opportunity to compare the varying treatments of the *same* figure in each rendition. One is able to better understand which elements the artists manipulated within the depictions and which were accordingly standardized. This helps the viewer to distinguish the ways in which ideology necessarily influenced the artists' representation to an extent that is not possible with a single image.

Second, the Kadesh material consists of both text and image.[33] Consequently, one is able to study the interplay between the ancient Egyptian use of text and art concerning the same individual, i.e., the Hittite king. While the focus of the following analysis is on the artistic representation of Muwatallis, the descriptions of the Hittite king within the textual material provide important opportunities to compare the textual portrayal of a foreign ruler with the artistic portrayal of that same ruler. Thus, an analysis of the details that the Egyptian artists used to depict Muwatallis and the interplay between text and image related to his treatment reveals important aspects of the ancient Egyptian understanding of foreign rulership.

The Depiction of the Hittite King

There is a repetitive "vignette" that distinguishes Muwatallis in the four reliefs (Abu Simbel, the first pylon of the Ramesseum, Luxor, and Abydos, figs. 1-4). While he is the central figure, there are several other components that are repeated in each example and that constitute a recognizable configuration. These elements include Muwatallis, who is depicted inside his chariot. He always turns his back towards Ramesses with one arm lifted in fear and submission. He also wears a tight-fitting, long-sleeved dress, which is identical to the dress the rest of the enemy troops wear, although Muwatallis is differentiated, in some cases, with unique accoutrements, which will be discussed below. The chariot in which the Hittite king rides, together with the two horses pulling the chariot, comprise the second element of the "vignette." There is always one other individual inside this chariot, in contrast to the other enemy chariots, which are all depicted with three men, as mentioned above. The other man in the Hittite king's

[33] On the complementary nature of text and image in the Kadesh material, see Roland Tefnin, "Image, écriture, récit: A propos des representations de la Bataille de Qadesh," *GM* 47 (1981): 55-78.

chariot, the third element of the "Muwatallis vignette," is always driving the chariot. The fourth component of the "vignette" is a third man, who is singled out from the other surrounding figures through his position, although he is closer in size to the other Hittites around the "Muwatallis vignette" than to Muwatallis or the chariot driver (third element). He stands on the ground, behind the Hittite king and, except for the depiction at Abu Simbel, replicates the king's turned-back position. This man may be shield-bearer of Muwatallis.[34] Although he is not mentioned in a caption, in each relief he prominently carries a figure-eight shield in the hand closest to Muwatallis. The fifth and final component of the "vignette" is a caption, written in vertical columns, which is placed above or close to Muwatallis and identifies, but also characterizes him.

This "vignette" is set on the opposite side of the Orontes from Ramesses, behind Kadesh, and further surrounded by Hittite guards, probably because, as is described both in the captions and the "Poem," Muwatallis did not actually fight but instead dispatched his troops (see fig. 5).[35] Except for the relief at Abu Simbel, where instead this is only described in the caption, large groups of infantrymen, identified in the captions as Tuhir-warriors, also always surround the Hittite king.[36] Furthermore, Muwatallis is typically larger than the rest of the figures in any relevant scene, except Ramesses II. This size variance was likely intended to help differentiate and draw attention to Muwatallis as a ruler, albeit on a suitably modest scale as he is much closer in size to all the other figures in the reliefs than he is to the enormous, god-like Ramesses. However, the scale of Muwatallis in relationship to his chariot-driver and his shield-bearer varies in each of the four reliefs.

This "vignette" is repeated in each relief, yet varied in significant and meaningful ways, which, when brought together, reveal a great deal of information about how the Egyptians manipulated images of foreign rulers. I will first describe the similarities and differences in the "Muwatallis vignette" at Abu Simbel, the Ramesseum, Luxor, and Abydos before then considering the implications of these depictions.

Abu Simbel

At Abu Simbel, Muwatallis exhibits an upper chest that is broader than his torso, but his lower back curves inward sharply giving his stomach a slightly distended look and

[34] At least one, and possibly two, of the slaughtered Hittites who are identified with captions were shield-bearers of the Hittite king (*RITA* II, 21-22: R25 and possibly R36). This seems to suggest that shield-bearer of the king was a position in the Hittite military.

[35] *RITA* II, 5: P65-67, 7-8: P143-148, and 22: R42. For Abu Simbel, see Desroches-Noblecourt, Donadoni, and Edel, Grand temple d'Abou Simbel, pl. IV and Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 169 and 170; for the Ramesseum, see Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 96a and 99; for Luxor, see Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 83 and 84; and for Abydos, see Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 21a.

[36] *KRI* II, 125-128 and 139-140: R43-47 and *RITA* II, 22: R43-47.

accenting his rounded buttocks (fig. 1).[37] Both of his arms are extremely long and spindly, and his head is larger than one would expect given the size of his body. The fingers on his right arm, which is raised to Ramesses, are extremely slender and elongated.[38]

Generally in the Kadesh reliefs, some Hittites were depicted wearing helmets, while others were not.[39] Earlier battle scenes, such as those of Seti I at Karnak, attest to the Near Eastern use of helmets during the Late Bronze Age.[40] Timothy Kendall has also argued that a variety of helmets were in use in the Near East during the period contemporary with the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt.[41] Furthermore, helmets can also be listed among the booty or offerings Egyptian pharaohs acquired from Near Eastern territories.[42] Finally, in the reliefs at Abu Simbel, there may be four individual helmets scattered amongst the dead under and behind Ramesses and his horse.[43] The only figures around the helmets, to whom one would expect them to belong, are Hittites.

However, there are different interpretations of the nature of these helmets. For example, Spalinger describes the Hittite helmet in the Kadesh reliefs as a protective leather covering that starts almost on the top of the head and falls down the back to

[37] See also Desroches-Noblecourt, Donadoni, and Edel, Grand temple d'Abou Simbel, pls. III,b, IV, and XXVIII and Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 170 and 172.

[38] One could interpret these features, including the slender waist, arms, and hands, the rounded, spreading buttocks, and the high small of the back, as intentionally "feminizing" (see Gay Robins' description of the female figure in *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 180-181). However, the draftsmanship of the Kadesh relief at Abu Simbel prevents any conclusion in this regard, as all of the figures, including Egyptians, display varying degrees of "feminine" curves and delicate, slender limbs. For example, compare the fallen Hittite ally, Labasalni, the Troop-Commander of Alshe, in the Orontes with Muwatallis (see Desroches-Noblecourt, Donadoni, and Edel, Grand temple d'Abou Simbel, pl. XXXII, in which the name is translated as Robasourou; concerning the identity of this individual, see further *KRI* II, 138: R33; *RITA* II, 21: R33; and *RITANC* II, 51 and 54: R33). While the idea that Muwatallis, or even all or part of the enemy coalition, was, to some degree, intentionally "feminized" would fit with my conclusions (see below), it seems an impossible position to argue in the case of Abu Simbel, given the draftsmanship.

[39] A. R. Schulman, "Hittites, Helmets and Amarna: Akhenaten's First Hittite War," in *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, vol. 2, by Donald Redford (Toronto: The Akhenaten Temple Project, 1988), 54-55; Spalinger, "The Battle of Kadesh," *AeUL* 12: 179 n. 65; and D.B. Redford, "Foreigners (Especially Asiatics) in the Talatat," in *The Akhenaten Temple Project vol. 2: Rwd-mnw, Foreigners and Inscriptions*, by Donald Redford (Toronto: The Akhenaten Temple Project, 1988), 20-21 and 26 n. 112.

[40] Spalinger, War in Ancient Egypt, 198-200. See also the scenes on the chariot of Thutmose IV (Spalinger, War in Ancient Egypt, 118-121).

[41] Timothy Kendall, "*gurpisu sa aweli*: The Helmets of the Warriors at Nuzi," in *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, vol. 3, ed. Ernest René Lacheman, Martha A. Morrison, and David I. Owen (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 215-224. While Kendall's study focuses on the helmets attested in the Nuzi tablets, he convincingly argues that the armour and helmets worn in Nuzi would have been comparable to those worn elsewhere in the Near East (215).

[42] Spalinger, War in Ancient Egypt, 117 and Kendall, "*gurpisu sa aweli*," 216-217.

[43] Desroches-Noblecourt, Donadoni, and Edel, Grand temple d'Abou Simbel, pls. III,a, IV, and XXX.

protect the neck.[44] On the other hand, Schulman sees it as a variation without the crest and plume of the *gurpisu sa siparri suppuru*, a type of conical, bronze helmet that was well-known during the second half of the second millennium B.C. in the ancient Near East.[45]

Yet, not all of the Hittites wear helmets. Redford, in considering a *talatat* block from Karnak, identifies two individuals as Hittites based on their "Hittite hairstyle," which he describes as a partly shaved scalp, and likens them to the Hittites in the Kadesh reliefs.[46] Schulman also comments on various Hittites in the reliefs who exhibit the characteristic Hittite hairstyle.[47] However, it seems most likely that Muwatallis is depicted wearing a helmet (possibly on top of his long hair), regardless of the specific nature of that helmet, for a number of reasons. First, the shape of his head covering in all of the reliefs is more consistent with the shape of a helmet than with the Hittite hairstyle just cited.[48] Second, if enemy helmets were depicted, as was the case in the Kadesh reliefs, it seems logical that the king would be among those who wore them. Finally, the variations of the head covering of Muwatallis in the reliefs of Abu Simbel and the Ramesseum (discussed below) indicate that he is wearing a helmet that clearly distinguishes him from the other Hittites.[49] Thus, at Abu Simbel, Muwatallis wears a helmet that is similar to those of the other Hittites in the reliefs but is broader, sits lower over his forehead, and has either a kind of tassel or possibly a fillet.[50]

In all four reliefs, Muwatallis rides in an arc-shaped chariot. Within the entire corpus of Kadesh reliefs, the Egyptian artists appear to have employed two different shapes for the enemy coalition chariots. One, the more common of the two and thus presumably

[44] Spalinger, "The Battle of Kadesh," *AeUL* 12: 179 ft 65.

[45] Schulman, "Hittites, Helmets, and Amarna," 54-55. Presumably, they would then be *gurpisu siparri*. For further comments on this type of helmet, see Kendall, "*gurpisu sa aweli*," 208-209.

[46] Redford, "Foreigners," 14, 20-21, 26 ft. 112, and pl. 8.

[47] Schulman, "Hittites, Helmets, and Amarna," 55.

[48] For example, compare the head of Muwatallis (figs. 1-3) with two *talatat* from Luxor that, according to Schulman ("Hittites, Helmets, and Amarna," 55 and 64-65), represent ethnic Hittites wearing the characteristic Hittite hairstyle (see Ahmed Fakhry, "Blocs décorés provenant du Temple de Louxor," *ASAE* 35 (1935): 50, pl. II fig. 19, and pl. III fig. 20).

[49] There are other examples outside the Kadesh reliefs of Hittites wearing similar helmets, which Schulman also identifies as *guripsi sa siparri suppuru,* with tassels or plumes ("Hittites, Helmets, and Amarna," 54-55). He postulates that these may be a differentiating mark of higher status.

[50] Again, this could be interpreted as an attempt to "feminize" Muwatallis. A fillet would resemble the linen fillets that New Kingdom women and goddesses were often depicted wearing (Sheila Brown, "Hairstyles and Hair Ornaments" in *Egyptian Art: Principles and Themes in Wall Scenes,* ed. Leonie Donovan and Kim McCorquodale (Guizeh: Prism, 2000), 183). In this case, Muwatallis' large "Hittite helmet" would visually echo a woman's long hair. Unfortunately, given the poor preservation, the portrayal of a tassel rather than a fillet may also be possible. Interestingly, in his line drawing Wreszinski (Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 170) reconstructs Muwatallis with what seems to be a full fillet rather than a tassel, but this is not discernable in his photograph (Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 172).

the traditional Hittite chariot, is arc-shaped with a sharp angle on the side towards the horse, such as the one Muwatallis drives. This type can have a band around its outer edge or may be plain. The banded sub-type is much less common. The only place it appears with relative frequency is at Abu Simbel.[51] Here Muwatallis drives this type of chariot, yet at Abu Simbel the artists also utilized it for seemingly non-royal and non-elite chariots. Thus, it is indeterminate whether this sub-type is indicative of elite status or royalty. The other type of enemy chariot shape is rendered as a square.[52]

Another variation in the relief at Abu Simbel is the positioning of Muwatallis' left hand. While his right arm is raised to Ramesses, in the position standard for the "Muwatallis vignette," his left arm might grasp the reins of the horses, a detail that is not seen in other depictions of Muwatallis and will be discussed further below.[53] The third element of the "vignette," the chariot-driver, who stands behind and to the left of the king, also grasps the reins, as one would expect, but only with his left hand. His right arm is not visible.

Unlike in the other three representations of the "Muwatallis vignette," at Abu Simbel the fourth component of the "vignette," Muwatallis' shield-bearer, does not reproduce the Hittite king's position of turning his back to Ramesses. Instead, he strides forward, facing Muwatallis with his shield, in his left hand, raised and a long spear in his right hand. He is distinctly larger than the three Hittites directly behind him, and he stands in front of and slightly apart from them, which visually distinguishes him.

The caption accompanying Muwatallis varies in each relief, although its basic features remain the same. At Abu Simbel, the text is placed almost symmetrically above his head and shoulders, with column six, the centerline, above his face. In its entirety, this version is the second longest that is preserved, after that at the Ramesseum. Following Kitchen's translation, the text reads: "(Col. 1) The despicable, fallen Ruler (Col. 2) of Hatti, standing in (Col. 3) the midst of his troops and chariotry, (Col. 4) his face averted, (Col. 5) shrinking away, his heart (Col. 6) fainting. (Col. 7) He could not

[51] It is possible that the patterned type of enemy chariot was indicated with paint, which is no longer preserved, at other temples.

[52] Spalinger ("The Battle of Kadesh," *AeUL* 12: 176) identifies the square chariot as only being present when non-Hittites are inside. He is specifically examining the Abydos scene, and he believes that the infrequent examples of Hittites in the square-shaped chariot preserved at Abydos are mistakes made by Egyptian artists (Spalinger, "The Battle of Kadesh," *AeUL* 12: 184). However, in the other reliefs, the square-shaped chariot is represented with relative frequency and contains all three types of foreigners. At present, it seems unlikely that the artists were mistaken at Abydos, but rather it was normative to depict this chariot with any enemy type.

[53] Although I am interpreting this detail as intentional, or at least meaningful, it is possible that this is an artist's mistake. Given that in the other three reliefs the chariot-driver grasps the reins with both hands and considering the awkward missing right arm of the chariot-driver at Abu Simbel, it seems possible that the artist may have originally started to incise Muwatallis' left arm as the chariot-driver's right arm. However, at some point this had to be changed to ensure Muwatallis' primary position in front of the chariot-driver.

come out (Col. 8) to fight, through fear (Col. 9) of His Majesty, when he saw (Col. 10) His Majesty conquering the (force)s of (Col. 11) Hatti, along with the chiefs."[54]

At Abu Simbel, Muwatallis is on the central axis of the composition, turned around, and facing Ramesses, who is in the upper left portion of the battle scene. The Hittite king is on a slightly lower plane than the Egyptian pharaoh, and, as is characteristic of the "vignette," he is on the other side of the city of Kadesh. The scale of Muwatallis to Ramesses is 1: 2.3, and the scale of Muwatallis to the chariot-driver to the shield-bearer is 1: 0.9: 0.7.[55] Furthermore, if one considers all of the Abu Simbel battle scene, there are figures, such as those, both Egyptian and foreign, within the presentation and counting-hands scene in the upper right portion of the relief and drowning Hittites in the Orontes who appear to be extremely close, if not identical in size to Muwatallis.[56]

Ramesseum

In the battle scene on the first pylon at the Ramesseum, the body of the Hittite king closely replicates those of the other Hittites in this relief, with broad shoulders and a tapered waist (fig. 2).[57] As at Abu Simbel, at the Ramesseum Muwatallis drives a banded chariot, but in this scene the chariot also has a bow case. Furthermore, his helmet is distinct, with what appears to be a clear tassel that emerges from its top. The Hittite king's right arm is lifted, while his left arm seems to show a variation: his left hand appears to be grasping something that was presumably directly above or connected to the side of his chariot. Unfortunately, this part of the relief is poorly preserved and falls close to a gap between blocks. However, given the representations at Luxor and Abydos (see below), it seems that he is most likely clutching a kind of hand-loop, or possibly handrail, that is attached near the front of the top frame of his chariot. Such devices are attested in Egypt. Three of the chariots found in the tomb of Tutankhamun had a secondary rail projecting horizontally from the front of the top of the chariot's body.[58] A handrail may also be depicted in certain representations of chariots, including some of those that the attendants drive behind Tutankhamun on his

[54] *RITA* II, 22: R42. See also *KRI* II, 139: R42. Indicated column numbers, some inserted in their approximate location as the words and phrases of certain lines continue between columns, are my own addition.

[55] I have rounded all of my figures to the tenth. My calculations are based on Desroches-Noblecourt, Donadoni, and Edel, Grand temple d'Abou Simbel, pl. IV.

[56] Desroches-Noblecourt, Donadoni, and Edel, Grand temple d'Abou Simbel, pl. IV and Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 169 and 170.

[57] See also Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 96 and 99.

[58] Mary A. Littauer and Joost H. Crouwel, *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985), 72 and pl. VIII-XIX.

Painted Box.[59] Indeed, many of the attendants on Tutankhamun's Painted Box appear to be grasping some part of the side of the chariot, and, in some cases, a small hand-loop is clearly depicted.[60] Likewise, in the procession scene in the tomb of Panehesy at Amarna, royal women and attendants can be seen grasping a small hand-loop that emerges from the side of the chariot.[61] In additon, Nefertiti may be grasping a similar hand-loop in a chariot scene on *talatat* from Karnak.[62] Therefore, the hand-loop and rail had precedents in Egyptian art.

In the Ramesseum relief, the chariot-driver grasps the reins with both hands. The shield-bearer, although the same size as the *Tuhir*-warriors, who completely surround the "vignette," leans in towards the Hittite king with his shield, separating him from the infantry. His turned-back posture, which replicates that of Muwatallis, also makes him visually distinct.

The caption that accompanies Muwatallis at the Ramesseum is the longest preserved version from the four reliefs. It is placed over the head and body of the horses, in front of Muwatallis. The text begins similar to that at Abu Simbel but is longer:

> (Col. 1) The despicable, fallen Ruler of Hatti, (Col. 2) standing in the midst of his troops and chariotry, (Col. 3) his face averted, shrinking away, his heart fainting. (Col. 4) He could not come out to fight, through fear of His Majesty, (Col. 5) when he saw His Majesty conquering the (force)s (Col. 6) of Hatti, along with the chief of every foreign land (Col. 7) who accompanied him; His Majesty (Col. 8) overthrowing them on his own account in a single hour, His Majesty as a divine falcon. He rendered (Col. 9) praise to the Good god, saying: "He is like (Col. 10) Seth, great of strength, in his hour, (even) Baal (Col. 11) in (very) person!"[63]

Although Muwatallis is on a higher ground line than Ramesses, the place where Muwatallis' thighs meet the body of his chariot is almost exactly level with the same place on the figure of Ramesses, thus visually giving the impression that the two figures are parallel. However, the scale of Muwatallis to Ramesses is 1: 2.4. The scale of

[59] See Nina M. Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *Tutankhamun's Painted Box* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962), pl. 1-4. See further Littauer and Crouwel, Chariots and Related Equipment, 72 n. 1.

[60] See especially Davies and Gardiner, Tutankhamun's Painted Box, pl. 1.

[61] Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, part II (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1905), pl. XIII, XV, and XVII.

[62] James K. Hoffmeier, "The Chariot Scenes," in *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, vol. 2, by Donald Redford (Toronto: The Akhenaten Temple Project, 1988), pl. 35.

[63] *RITA* II, 22: R42. See also *KRI* II, 139: R42. Indicated column numbers, some inserted in their approximate location as the words and phrases of certain lines continue between columns, are my own addition.

Muwatallis to the chariot-driver to the shield-bearer is 1: 0.8: 0.5.[64] In addition, unlike the relief at Abu Simbel, at the Ramesseum there are no other figures, aside from Ramesses, that are depicted as the same size or larger than Muwatallis. The figures of Ramesses and Muwatallis are more visually dominant on the first pylon of the Ramesseum than they are at Abu Simbel.

Luxor

In the battle scene on the front of the pylon at Luxor, the treatment of Muwatallis' figure is unique (fig. 3).[65] Unlike the other Hittites and their allies, here the Hittite king seems to be ostensibly and uniquely fat. His large belly extends forward, and both arms are thick and full.[66] However, he appears to wear a plain Hittite helmet, identical to those worn by other Hittites. In this depiction, Muwatallis' chariot is the plain arc-shaped type. His right arm is crossed in front of his body and raised, while, like at the Ramesseum, his left hand appears to grasp a hand-loop. Here, this device is placed at the top of the curving rear frame of the chariot's body. The chariot-driver, the third element of the "vignette," grasps the reins with both hands, but leans forward to a greater degree than at the Ramesseum and Abu Simbel. At Luxor, the shield-bearer is especially prominent. Although he is the same size as the Tuhir-warriors behind him, he is placed on a higher plane and closer to Muwatallis' chariot. As at Abu Simbel, his legs are fairly wide apart. This seems to indicate his forward movement in the direction of Muwatallis. He holds the shield out towards the Hittite king in his right hand and is grasping a long spear, visible above his head, with his left. The caption at Luxor is the shortest preserved version. It covers the area above the body of the horses and the head of the chariot-driver. The text reads: "(Col. 1) The despicable Ruler of (Col. 2) Hatti, standing, (Col. 3) cowering back, afraid (Col. 4) of His Majesty."[67]

At Luxor, Muwatallis is in the far left corner of the battle. He is behind the city of Kadesh with his guards and behind three groups of the Tuhir-warriors. The turned-back posture is not only repeated by the shield-bearer, but also by two of the fleeing Tuhir-warriors and two of the charioteers below the king. The Hittite king is positioned well below Ramesses, and the scale of Muwatallis to Ramesses is 1: 2.25. The scale of Muwatallis to the chariot-driver to the shield-bearer is 1: 0.9: 0.6.[68]

[64] My calculations for scale are based on Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 96a.

[65] See also Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 83, 84 and 88.

[66] Although the line of his back is lost in a vertical gap between blocks, even if one measures the width of his belly from the nearest edge of the gap or from the line of his buttocks, it clearly still is unflatteringly large and swollen (see Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 88).

[67] *RITA* II, 22: R41. See also *KRI* II, 139: R42.

[68] My calculations for scale are based on Wreszinksi, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 84.

Abydos

The remains at Abydos are poorly preserved, but part of the Hittite king is visible (fig. 4).[69] The rearmost figure in the chariot, who is unquestionably the king based on the other three representations, again appears to be grasping a hand-loop, in this case with his right hand, the hand-loop being attached to the side of his chariot. He is clearly turned around, and likely, his other arm was raised to Ramesses. From what remains of his body, Muwatallis appears to be depicted with the same fairly linear figure as the other Hittites in this relief. His chariot is the plain sub-type with a bow case. The chariot-driver grasps the reins with both hands and sharply leans forward. The shield-bearer is separated from the Tuhir-warriors and is positioned quite close to the back of Muwatallis' chariot. As at Luxor, he holds the shield in his right hand and carries a long spear in his left, and he looks back.

Unfortunately, the caption identifying Muwatallis, the fifth element of the "Muwatallis vignette," is not visible at Abydos. In the other three battle scenes, this caption is placed above Muwatallis and his chariot. Therefore, it was likely placed above Muwatallis at Abydos. However, the Kadesh relief at Abydos is only preserved to the chest of the Hittite king; thus, the caption does not survive. Similarly, it is impossible to determine the scale of figures at Abydos, since Muwatallis and the chariot-driver are only partially preserved, and the figure of Ramesses does not remain at all.

Interpretation of the Enemy King's Representation

As I have described above, the treatment of Muwatallis within the Kadesh reliefs reflects the Egyptian perspective on the foreign ruler. In both the reliefs and the texts, Egyptian artists portrayed Muwatallis as an individual distinct from the horde of foreign enemies, i.e., the ruler, in order to convey ideological beliefs. Thus, it is possible that the variation in the helmet Muwatallis wears (i.e., the "tassels" at the Ramesseum and Abu Simbel) is indicative of his status as leader of the Hittites and enemy troops. Consequently, this "truthful" detail helps the viewer recognize the identity of the Hittite king.[70]

On the other hand, one way that the Egyptian artists emphasized the ideologically negative aspects of the Hittite king was through his posture. In all four reliefs, Muwatallis' body faces away from Ramesses while his head is turned back, and his right or left arm is raised to the Egyptian pharaoh. This same posture is also visually reinforced elsewhere within the reliefs: at the Ramesseum, Luxor, and Abydos, Muwatallis' shield-bearer replicates a similar posture, with his body facing away from

[69] See also Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 21a and Spalinger, "The Battle of Kadesh," *AeUL* 12: fig. 12.

[70] However, see n. 50 above regarding the Abu Simbel relief. If the artists did intentionally depict a fillet, this detail would seem to mock and de-masculinize the Hittite king.

Ramesses and his head turned back to the pharaoh, and throughout all of the Kadesh scenes, in many of the enemy chariots, the third or rearmost positioned man is in the turned-back position.

Textually, the Hittite king's turned-back position is also described in all of the accompanying captions with the word *ḫn*, complete with the determinative of the standing man with his arms outstretched behind him (A31).[71] This word and determinative are also used to describe him in the "Poem."[72] Although Kitchen translates this word as "averted" and "cowering back" in the captions, its meaning also includes the notion of turning around or turning back, and indeed, in the "Poem," Kitchen translates it as "turning back."[73] Furthermore, in his translations of the same lines, Gardiner consistently translates *ḫn* as "turning or (looking) back."[74] Thus, the Kadesh texts strongly reinforce the turned-back position of the Hittite king in the reliefs. This observation serves to stress the high degree of intentionality found within the Kadesh material; the complementary nature of the texts and images concerning Muwatallis reinforces the fact that Egyptian artists intentionally employed specific visual and textual details meant to convey and emphasize the same idea, in this particular case, the Hittite king's turned-back position.

On the one hand, there seems to be an attempt at compositionally balancing and repeating the turned-back position within the Hittite coalition, throughout the images, in order to stress this position around the Hittite king. Its repetition could be a deliberate reference to Muwatallis and a way of emphasizing any meaning that could be ascribed to his turned-back position. Yet Spalinger believes, regarding the enemy troops, that the turned-back position is inconsequential and merely a detail of the artist's preference.[75] While it is possible that the Egyptian artists did not intend for this position to be explicitly linked to the same position in the case of Muwatallis, it definitely does not appear to be inconsequential. In either scenario, i.e., whether it is a reference to Muwatallis' posture or not, the turned-back position seems to be an important detail with multiple meanings.

The use of the turned-back position for a foreigner is not unique to the Kadesh reliefs. For example, Hall describes the position of the prisoner/prisoners in smiting scenes as "apt to be turned towards the king and the bodies away" with the right hand

[71] Except at the Ramesseum, where the determinative appears to simply be standing (see *KRI* II, 139: R41 and R42).

[72] *KRI* II, 49: P146.

[73] *RITA* II, 7: P146 and 22: R41 and R42 and *Wb* I, 188.

[74] Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, 10: P146 and 41: R41 and R42.

[75] Spalinger, "The Battle of Kadesh," *AeUL* 12: 183.

often "held out or held up to his head."[76] Sliwa also notes that this position and gesture are particularly common in smiting scenes dating from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasties.[77] Their frequent use in such symbolically loaded, stereotypical scenes, i.e., smiting scenes, supports my suggestion that the turned-back position has important ideological implications. Furthermore, it is also regularly repeated in other New Kingdom battle scenes. Only a brief list of examples would include the scenes on the chariot of Thutmosis IV and Seti I's series of battle scenes at Karnak.[78] One often sees foreigners who are trapped in the melee beneath and in front of the pharaoh's chariot, others who are defending their fortress, and others who are obviously fleeing in the turned-back position.[79]

The primary intention here is not to propose theories that relate to the wider usage of this particular motif in Egyptian art. On the other hand, one could tentatively argue that the use of this position in such similar contexts, namely in representations that depict the Egyptian pharaoh subduing and dominating the rebellious, malevolent foreign enemy, does imply that the ideological meaning of the position was broad and may be similar, if not the same, to that proposed below for the Hittite king. However, in order to support this speculative suggestion, one would need to carefully look at the various ways in which the motif was more widely used throughout Egyptian art, which is beyond the scope of this discussion.

Specifically regarding the depiction of Muwatallis in the Kadesh reliefs, the most obvious interpretation of the turned-back position would be that which is stated in the captions: the Hittite king turned back *in fear*. The orientation of his body away from the battle with his arm raised also indicates his fear of and submission to Ramesses. This interpretation, that the turned-back position signifies the Hittite king's fear, could similarly be applied to all who exhibit it, including the shield-bearer and charioteers. They, like Muwatallis, fear Ramesses and must look over their shoulders at him. Additionally, the turned-back position could also be seen as a sign of the enemy's submission to Ramesses. The Hittites and their allies turn back as they head away from Ramesses, leaving him the battlefield.

However, there may also be a subtly implied additional layer of meaning to the turned-back position of Muwatallis that would serve to denigrate the Hittite king further. In the "Poem," Ramesses says to Menna, his shield-bearer, in reference to the

[76] Emma Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1986), 1 and 9.

[77] Joachim Sliwa, "Some Remarks concerning Victorious Ruler Representations in Egyptian Art," *Forschungen und Berichte* 16 (1974): 100.

[78] See Heinz, Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches, 236, 243, 245, 247, 249, and 250.

[79] For an example of a scene that includes all three of these scenarios, see Heinz, Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches, 247.

surrounding enemy: "What are these effeminate weaklings to you, for millions of whom, I care nothing?"[80] The word *ḥm*, which Kitchen has translated as "effeminate weaklings," is more commonly translated as "coward."[81] This likely derives from the verb *ḥm* meaning "to retreat."[82] To retreat is literally to turn one's back to the enemy.

However, Depauw has noted that from its first attestation onwards, *ḥm* is used in opposition with *ṯȝiw* "male, man."[83] Furthermore, Parkinson has discussed how this word also has a sexual aspect.[84] According to him, "Presumably to 'turn the back' is tantamount to allowing oneself to be buggered."[85] Both Depauw and O'Connor also support this particular reading of *ḥm*.[86] The word *ḥm*, or "back-turner," specifically characterized the passive role in a forced homosexual encounter.[87] Parkinson concludes that to the ancient Egyptians, "The passive role was despised as a sign of physical weakness (either due to immaturity or to general 'vileness') and of abandoning a man's proper gender role for a 'womanly' one."[88] Kitchen also seems to be referencing this interpretation with his translation of *ḥm* in the line mentioned above as "effeminate weaklings."[89] Likewise, in his translation of the Kadesh "Poem," Gardiner translates *ḥm* as "effeminate."[90] In looking back towards the pharaoh, Muwatallis has literally turned his back to Ramesses. Consequently, the turned-back position of Muwatallis may be a reference to the word *ḥm*, and like the accepted sexual connotation of this word, the turned-back position seems to symbolize a highly negative, passive, and demasculinized role, which Egyptian artists have assigned here to the Hittite king.

O'Connor has suggested that demasculinization and feminization was one way in which the Egyptians metaphorically disarmed and subordinated the foreign enemy.[91]

[80] *RITA* II, 10: P218-219. See also *KRI* II, 70: P218-219.

[81] *Wb.* III, 80.

[82] Mark Depauw, "Notes on Transgressing Gender Boundaries in Ancient Egypt," *ZÄS* 130 (2003): 50.

[83] Depauw, "Transgressing Gender Boundaries," *ZÄS* 130: 50.

[84] Richard B. Parkinson, "Homosexual Desire and Middle Kingdom Literature," *JEA* 81 (1995): 66-67. See also Richard B. Parkinson, "'Boasting about Hardness:' Constructions of Middle Kingdom Masculinity," in *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Carolyn Graves-Brown (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2008), 122.

[85] Parkinson, "Homosexual Desire," *JEA* 81: 66.

[86] Depauw, "Transgressing Gender Boundaries," *ZÄS* 130: 50-51 and David O'Connor, "The Eastern High Gate: Sexualized Architecture at Medinet Habu?" in *Structure and Significance: Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, ed. Peter Janosi (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 450-452.

[87] Parkinson, "Homosexual Desire," *JEA* 81: 66-67 and 74.

[88] Parkinson, "Homosexual Desire," *JEA* 81: 74.

[89] *RITA* II, 10: P218.

[90] Gardiner, Kadesh Inscriptions, 12: P218.

[91] O'Connor, "Eastern High Gate," 448-452. Although O'Connor is considering the treatment of Libyans at Medinet Habu, his suggestions and interpretations could be applied to other groups of foreigners.

Conversely, he notes that the adjectives generally used to describe the Egyptian pharaoh in battle tend to strongly enforce his virility and potency, highly masculine qualities.[92] In this way, one could argue that the demasculinization of the enemy king is another device that provides a contrast to the tremendously positive qualities of the Egyptian pharaoh. At the same time, the turned-back position may reflect broader ideological beliefs. Indeed, the use of the turned-back position throughout the Kadesh reliefs, as well as the word *ḥm* in the "Poem," seems to imply a more general impression of the foreign enemy as passive and demasculinized.

The Hittite king's negative nature seems also to be highlighted, though in a different way, in the unique treatment of his body at Luxor (fig. 3). Egyptian artists may have depicted the extra weight that Muwatallis carries at Luxor as an intentional slight.[93] Rolls of fat and pendulant breasts were signs of wisdom, seniority, and status for the Egyptians in some contexts.[94] However, these were not traits that a king would need on the battlefield. Instead, a king at battle should be represented as fit, active, and athletic, as the Egyptian artists depicted Ramesses. Therefore, depicting a king or ruler while at battle with the heavy, overweight features Muwatallis exhibits may have been quite insulting and perhaps humorous.[95] There may also be underlying irony to this representation, as here Muwatallis is *not* displaying wisdom and is naturally, in the eyes of the Egyptians, of an inferior status.

While the Hittite king's turned-back position and raised arm is repeated in all four reliefs, the position of his other arm and hand varies. At Abu Simbel, Muwatallis' left hand might be grasping the reins of his horses (fig. 1).[96] In this way, the Egyptians seem to have imparted a greater sense of urgency to his depiction. There is a tension and a heightened sense of Muwatallis' fear, perhaps to an almost humorous degree, which this detail evokes, and it seems to relate to the overall sense of movement that the "Muwatallis vignette" conveys in each of the reliefs.

In every case, the direction of this movement is away from the battle. For example, in sharp contrast to the inert mass of the Hittite infantry, the wide-legged stance of the

[92] O'Connor, "Eastern High Gate," 451. O'Connor goes so far as to say that the foreign foes experienced symbolic homosexual rape on the pharaoh's part.

[93] It should be noted that it is extremely rare for a figure, including foreigners, to be depicted with this degree of "fatness" in such a context. While one could argue that this is instead an artistic "mistake", given the manipulated details of the Hittite king in the other reliefs, it seems more likely that the artists intentionally portrayed Muwatallis in this manner.

[94] Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 76.

[95] For the issue of humour in Ramesside art, see Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Rameses II and his Dynasty as Traditionalists and Innovators," in *Echoes of Eternity: Studies Presented to Gaballa Aly Gaballa*, ed. Ola El-Aguizy and Mohamed Sherif Ali (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 108-114. Kitchen specifically cites the humoristic example of the Prince of Aleppo being emptied of water with regard to the Kadesh scenes.

[96] See n. 54 above.

Hittite king's shield-bearer seems to indicate that he is running. Similarly, while Muwatallis glances back to Ramesses, the chariot-driver urgently leans forward, grasping the reins of the horses, as if to focus solely on driving away. At Abu Simbel, Muwatallis may be taking an active role in assisting to achieve this objective. However, the stance of the Hittite king's horses differs from the wide- and reared legged gallop, which seems to imply rapid movement, of Ramesses' horses or the enemy horses who drive towards and surround the Egyptian pharaoh. Instead, Muwatallis' horses, most noticeably at the Ramesseum and Abydos (see figs. 2 and 4), appear to be trotting, as they are depicted mid-gait with raised front legs. Yet, in total, one clearly gets the impression that the "Muwatallis vignette," and most importantly Muwatallis himself, are moving away from the battle.

Unlike the reliefs, the texts do not imply that the Hittite king retreated. According to the "Poem" and captions, Muwatallis was never on the battlefield, but remained in his original position behind the city of Kadesh, and thus, he would have had no reason to retreat unless Ramesses succeeded in taking Kadesh, which he never did.[97] In addition, the "Poem" describes Muwatallis' surrender at the end of the second day of fighting.[98] Therefore, he appears to have never left the immediate vicinity of the battle. Consequently, the fleeing of the Hittite king within the reliefs should be seen as another example of the artists' deliberate manipulation of the image to convey ideology. By fleeing from the battle, Muwatallis simultaneously admits his fear, cowardliness, defeat, and submission. Interestingly, there does seem to be a discrepancy between the urgency of Muwatallis, the shield-bearer, and the chariot-driver and the more casual movement of the horses. Perhaps, the Egyptian artists are representing the (notional) initial moment when Muwatallis decided to flee. However, it is also possible that this nuance is another subtle mockery of the Hittite king: he may wish to flee, but his horses are either incapable of or unconcerned with meeting his desire.

At the Ramesseum, Luxor, and Abydos, the Hittite king's other hand instead grasps a type of hand-loop or rail on his chariot (figs. 2-4). Here, it is irrelevant and trivial whether or not the representation of his chariot with such a support is accurate or truthful. Rather, the fact that the artists intentionally chose to include not only a hand-loop on his chariot, but to highlight it by depicting Muwatallis grasping it, is meaningful. Even though, according to Spalinger, it is extremely unlikely that Ramesses would ride into battle with the reins of his own chariot tied around his waist, he is depicted in this fashion to convey his immense capability and prowess.[99] Rendering his chariot accurately was unimportant to the artists. Similarly, the Hittite king grasps the

[97] *RITA* II, 5: P65-67, 7-8: P143-148, and 22: R42.

[98] *RITA* II, 12-13: P295-P320.

[99] Spalinger, War in Ancient Egypt, 18-19.

hand-loop for ideological purposes. Once again, this particular detail serves to juxtapose Ramesses and Muwatallis: unlike Ramesses, the inept Hittite king not only needs a driver, but he also requires a hand-loop to steady himself while riding in his own chariot. Furthermore, this seems to be another detail that has a humorous overtone.

As mentioned above, the "Poem," the "Bulletin," and the fifth element of the "vignette," the caption identifying Muwatallis, complement the reliefs and also textually reinforce the meaningful visual details. As in the reliefs, in the texts the Hittite king's negative aspects are highlighted at the same time as his status as ruler is clear. Throughout the texts, the Hittite king is described as shrinking and afraid. All of the texts also belittle him by never giving his name: he is consistently referred to as "the despicable Ruler of Hatti" or "the Fallen One of Hatti."[100] In this way, he is stripped of a specific identity and only afforded a generic one, yet he is still distinct from the greater mass of foreign enemies. This seems to parallel his lack of kingly insignia within the reliefs; except for the austere accoutrements on his helmet at Abu Simbel and the Ramesseum, his dress is in no way differentiated from that of his subjects even though he is clearly their ruler.

The "Bulletin" recounts how Muwatallis succeeded in tricking both the Egyptian surveillance system and Ramesses.[101] The Hittite king sent two Shasu tribesmen to intercept Ramesses and his troops on their march to Kadesh. These men deliberately misinformed Ramesses that the Hittite troops had fled to the north in fear of the Egyptian pharaoh. Ramesses believed them and fell squarely into Muwatallis' trap. Rather than waiting for his entire army to assemble, Ramesses, along with his division, rushed to Kadesh, leaving his troops vulnerable to the impending Hittite attack. It was only after the pharaoh's division had set up camp by the city and captured two Hittite scouts, who revealed that Muwatallis and the Hittite coalition was hidden on the other side of the Orontes and ready to attack, that the pharaoh realized his mistake. He then turned to his high officers and asked them why they did not know this information. They answered: "(This is) a great crime that the governors of foreign territories and chiefs (of Pharaoh, LPH) have committed, (in) not causing (the location) of the Fallen One of Hatti, wherever he is, to be reported to them, that they might report it to Pharaoh, LPH, daily."[102]

In this way, Muwatallis acquired agency and power over Ramesses and the Egyptians. However, unlike a modern conception of Muwatallis' actions, to the

[100] *RITA* II, 2-26. Compare the similar anonymous and degrading description of the foreign rulers and chiefs in Thutmose III's Annals on the first campaign of the battle of Megiddo (see Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, vol. II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 29-35 and Hans Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo* (Baltimore: Halgo, 2000), 6-118). See also Smith, Wretched Kush, 13.

[101] *RITA* II, 14-16: B7-71.

[102] *RITA* II, 16: B68-71.

Egyptians his method was deceitful, underhanded, and betrayed his distress. According to Liverani, through his actions the Hittite king is portrayed as having broken the established rules of war, with which he would have been familiar, thus unmistakably revealing his fear.[103] Similar to the way in which the Hittite king had to send his troops to fight for him (unlike Ramesses, who did the fighting *for his troops*), Muwatallis also had to resort to lies and trickery to gain an upper hand over the pharaoh. Thus, while the Kadesh material describes Muwatallis achieving a small victory or advantage over the Egyptians, it was one that only further denigrated him in their eyes.

The captions have an important visual dimension to them as well, which both complements their textual content and further serves to reinforce not only that content, but the rest of the "Muwatallis vignette." The Egyptians used determinatives and ideograms that visually stressed the Hittite king's fear and the Egyptians' abhorrence of him, such as the plucked duck (G54), which is especially prominent in the Luxor relief (fig. 3). In addition, for the word *wr* (ruler or chief),[104] the artists employed the bound prisoner (A13) as a determinative in all of the reliefs (figs. 1-3). At Abu Simbel, the verb *bdš* (to grow weak)[105] comprises Column Six, the central column that is above Muwatallis' face (fig. 1). However, the determinative used in this word, which is placed directly above the Hittite king, is suggestive. Instead of the more standard seated man (A1), the man here is splayed out, reminiscent of the dead and drowning enemies depicted in the reliefs. Additionally at Abu Simbel, the determinative for the word *ḫn* (to turn back)[106] is placed at the end of Column Four, directly in front of Muwatallis' raised arm. The raised arms of the determinative replicate Muwatallis' raised arm. Furthermore, this figure seems to be given hair or a headdress that is long and flowing, which evokes Muwatallis' helmet/hair. As I have mentioned, one can also find this repetition of Muwatallis' raised arm to Ramesses within the hieroglyphs in front of the Hittite king at Luxor (fig. 3). Where, in Column Three, the determinative for *ḫn* turns back with its arms raised, closely replicating Muwatallis' position. Moreover, at Abu Simbel, these negative determinatives, featuring bound, submitting, and dying figures, surround Muwatallis, and at Luxor, the standing bound prisoner in Column One is significantly larger than all of the other signs in this inscription, which not only visually draws the viewer's attention towards this negative determinative but also may reflect the higher status and larger size of Muwatallis in the reliefs. Visually, the Egyptians' choice of characters to comprise the text serves to enforce the same humiliating messages present in the images of Muwutallis.

[103] Liverani, Prestige and Interest, 162 and 176-179. See also Smith, Wretched Kush, 172-173.

[104] *Wb.* I, 328.

[105] *Wb.* I, 487.

[106] *Wb.* I, 188.

Egyptian artists also used scale to demarcate and denigrate Muwatallis. Within the Ramesseum and Luxor reliefs, he is larger than all of the other enemy figures and only smaller than Ramesses. When one compares the scale of Muwatallis to Ramesses at Abu Simbel, the Ramesseum, and Luxor, one finds that they are all relatively similar (Abu Simbel – 1:2.3, Ramesseum – 1:2.4, Luxor – 1:2.25). This is another way in which Egyptian artists made Muwatallis stand out. Yet, at the same time, they belittle him through the scale and positioning of his chariot-driver and shield-bearer. It was necessary to make Muwatallis larger than his close associates in order to distinguish him from them, but their closeness to him in scale diminishes his importance. This is especially true for the chariot-driver, who is not only quite close to him in scale in all three examples, but also placed within his chariot, thus physically close to him. Although Ramesses' shield-bearer, Menna, and likely other troops or personal staff as well, remained by his side during the battle, pictorially Ramesses faces the enemy alone, with no one near, and is far larger than all other figures, Egyptian or foreign.[107] This sharply contrasts with Muwatallis, who is not only always depicted with his chariot-driver and shield-bearer, at a size close to his own, but is also depicted with other guards and infantrymen.

Conclusion

The availability of textual and pictorial documents on the battle and the widespread repetition of these documents enable the viewer to discern the Egyptian artists' deliberate manipulation of the details comprising the depiction of the Hittite king. Consequently, one is able to begin to perceive how, in ancient Egyptian art, ideology could shape the representation of reality. Reality was never completely dismissed, as it was essential that the Hittite king, Muwatallis, be identifiable as such, i.e., a foreigner of higher status and power, but the Egyptian artist also needed to make his ideologically rebellious and malignant nature clear. The above is an attempt to analyze how the artists negotiated these requirements and translated the larger, ancient Egyptian ideological concerns into a two-dimensional representation. Thus, through markers such as variations in scale, prominent positioning, and an identifying caption, the viewer recognizes Muwatallis as a special and distinct foreigner. However, the artists also successfully managed to highlight the Hittite king's highly negative and inferior position as a "bad" foreign ruler, according to Egyptian ideological beliefs, with other details, such as the Hittite king's turned-back position, which simultaneously signified him as fearful, submissive, passive, and demasculinized, his unflattering hefty "portrait" at Luxor, the variations in the position of his lowered hand, and the manipulation of determinatives in his accompanying caption. While these visual and textual details

[107] *RITA* II, 9-10: P205-219.

sometimes varied from relief to relief, they were all intended to convey the Hittite king's corrupt, antagonistic, and even derisive nature.

Roland Tefnin has noted that both the text and image, employing different means, clearly juxtapose the strength and heroism of the Egyptian pharaoh with the cowardice and fear of the Hittite king. Concerning the Luxor relief, he draws attention to the posture of Muwatallis, his spatial arrangement in the relief, his scale, and his lack of insignia.[108] Furthermore, one can even identify a "Ramesses vignette," which includes the lone, active Egyptian pharaoh with his drawn bow, his chariot and rearing horses, which he drives himself with the reins tied around his waist, the dead and slaughtered enemies behind, beneath, and in front of him, and the accompanying caption that identifies and exalts him. The Orontes visually serves to separate and demark Ramesses from Muwatallis, while the consistent presence of the Hittite king's various companions, such as his driver, shield-bearer, and Tuhir-warriors, starkly contrasts with Ramesses' solitary pose. Like the "Muwatallis vignette," the "Ramesses vignette" is identifiable within the reliefs that preserve the figure of Ramesses and serves as a foil to the "Muwatallis vignette." Indeed, like the image of Muwatallis, the image of Ramesses has been deliberately constructed to present the pharaoh in a particular fashion, arguably more reflective of ideology than reality.[109] For example, the "Poem" betrays the presence of at least one individual on the battlefield with Ramesses, his shield-bearer Menna, and, as mentioned above, Spalinger has argued that the truthfulness of the common representation of the solitary pharaoh, driving his own chariot with reins tied behind his back and simultaneously taking on the enemy, can be dismissed.[110] Both "vignettes" serve to heighten the ideological distinction between the pharaoh and his foe.

This then relates to Spalinger's interpretation of a personal "duel" between the pharaoh and the enemy king that is discussed above. Their actions are presented in a rigid political-theological framework: the enemy is symbolic of chaos and one who upsets Maat while war is seen as a personal contest of the pharaoh against chaos.[111] Indeed, the varying details that the artists included in the depiction of Muwatallis serve to heighten this larger ideological schema. One finds that beyond simply conveying this "duel" through more overt means, such as through scale or the action of the Egyptian pharaoh slaying the enemy leader, as Spalinger describes,[112] the highly negative

[108] Tefnin, "Image, écriture, récit," *GM* 47: 69 and 74.

[109] On the representation and portrayal of Ramesses, primarily from a textual standpoint, see further Assmann, "Krieg und Frieden," *Mannheimer Forum* 83/84: 175-231.

[110] Spalinger, War in Ancient Egypt, 18-19.

[111] Spalinger, War in Ancient Egypt, 77-78 and Spalinger, "Re-Reading Egyptian Military Reliefs," 484-490.

[112] Spalinger, War in Ancient Egypt, 77-78 and Spalinger, "Re-Reading Egyptian Military Reliefs," 484-490.

ideological character of the foreign foe was also implied in the acute manipulation of his depiction. Consequently, although both "vignettes" are types of identification markers, the "Muwatallis vignette" simultaneously belittles the Hittite king, in contrast to the "Ramesses vignette," which instead emphasizes the pharaoh's bravery, strength, and capabilities.

A comprehensive study of the depiction of the foreign ruler in ancient Egyptian art has yet to be attempted, and this analysis does not aim to be one. However, in considering the representation of one foreign ruler, the potential value and importance of examining foreign rulers as a distinct category of foreigner becomes apparent. While theories concerning the Egyptian conception of foreigners in general, such as Loprieno's *topos* and *mimesis*, certainly relate and apply to foreign rulers, as has been shown, the above also aims to convey the differences in Egyptian treatments of anonymous foreigners and foreign rulers. The depiction of foreign rulers posed particular complications for Egyptian artists, more so than was often the case for lower-status foreigners. Moreover, a rebellious and powerful ruler, such as Muwatallis, was significantly more threatening than other foreigners, and the viewer consequently finds him treated in distinctly negative ways. Further understanding of how the Egyptian artists visually manipulated images of foreign rulers will only lead to a better understanding of how the Egyptians conceived of foreigners in general.

A case study such as this also adds to the knowledge of how Egyptian artists conveyed general ideological beliefs in art and what devices and methods were employed to accomplish this, as well as how the artists mitigated these with elements reflecting reality and truthfulness. Specifically regarding the battle of Kadesh, examining the figure of Muwatallis enforces the argument that the Kadesh scenes depict a deliberately constructed "history."[113] Certain details may reflect reality, but as a whole they do not record the complete reality. Furthermore, this is not their primary purpose. While the scenes incorporate these truthful details, they are tempered with many others that are clearly ideological. Consequently, one can only take the most basic representation as solid fact: Ramesses fought a battle against the Hittite king, Muwatallis, and his allies over the city of Kadesh.

Of course, there are other "facts" embedded in the reliefs and likely included in the depiction of the Hittite king. Perhaps, Muwatallis did not actually do any fighting, and he may have had a chariot-driver and a shield-bearer attend to him. Yet, one must approach these details carefully. Ramesses' priority was not to record the actual events at Kadesh, but to compose his version that necessarily incorporated aspects of Egyptian ideology. The need to include truthful details regarding the Hittite king stemmed from the need to make him recognizably a foreigner of higher status, which was crucial in

[113] See n. 4 above.

order to convey successfully his place in Egyptian ideology. Thus, while a particular detail may have been truthful, it was being employed to serve an overall ideological function.

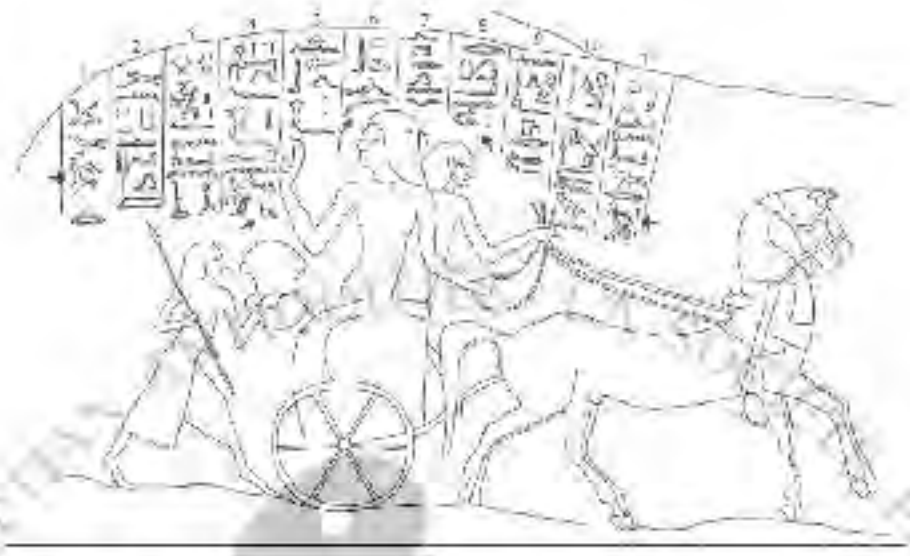


Fig. 1: The "Muwatallis vignette" from the Kadesh battle scene on the north wall of the Great Hall in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel (adapted from Desroches-Noblecourt, Donadoni, and Edel, Grand temple d'Abou Simbel, pl. IV). All surrounding details have been omitted, and I have added column numbers. Notable determinates are indicated with arrows. I have drawn the shield-bearer's spear based on Wreszinski's line drawing and photograph (Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 170 and 172).

Fig. 2: The "Muwatallis vignette" from the Kadesh battle scene on the south side of the interior (west) wall of the first pylon at the Ramesseum (adapted from Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 96a with minor changes based on Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 92). All surrounding details have been omitted, and I have added column numbers. Notable determinates are indicated with arrows. Although Wreszinski entirely omits the Hittite king's left hand in his line drawing (Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 96a), I have drawn his hand based on photographs from Wreszinski (Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 99) and Peter Brand.

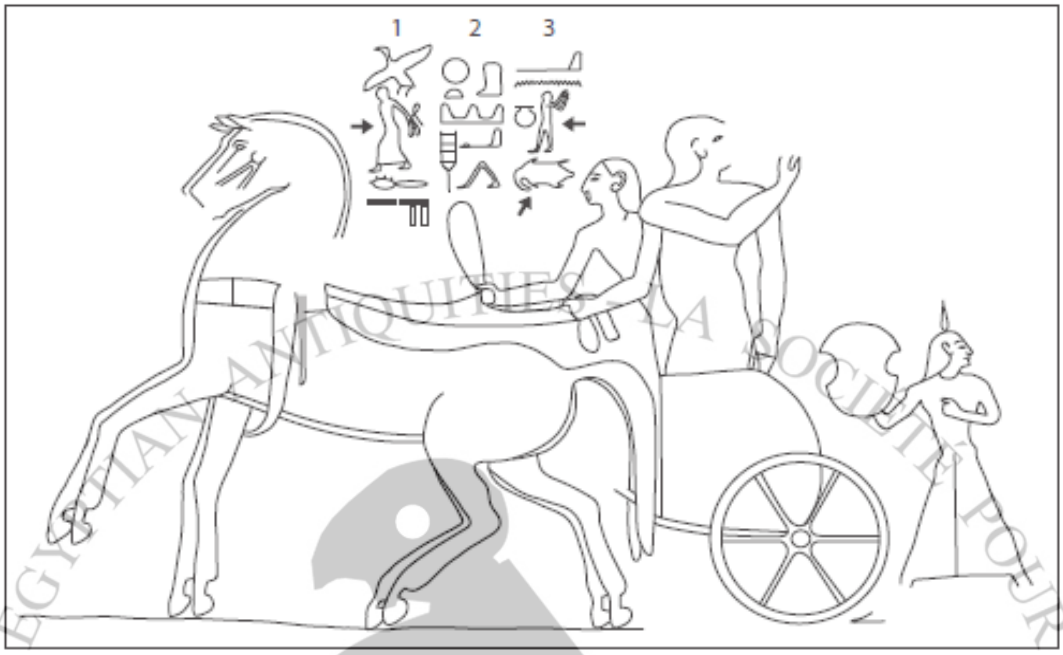


Fig. 3: The "Muwatallis vignette" from the Kadesh battle scene on the east side of the front (north wall) of the pylon at the temple of Luxor (adapted from Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 84 with minor changes based on Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 88). All surrounding details have been omitted, and I have added column numbers. Notable determinates are indicated with arrows. I have drawn the Hittite king's left hand from personal photographs as well as those of Wreszinski (Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 88) and Peter Brand. I am indebted to Peter Brand for first bringing this detail to my attention.

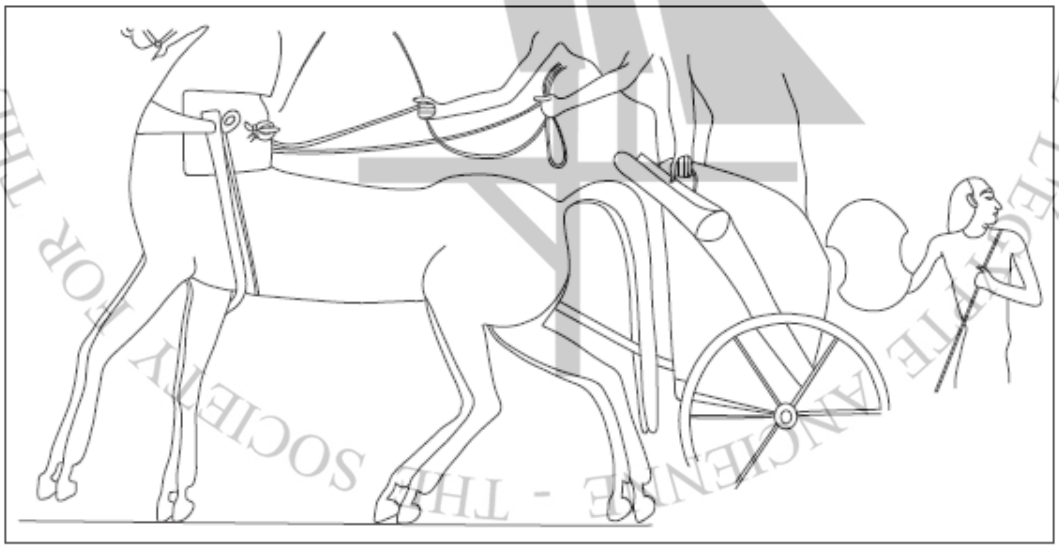


Fig. 4: The "Muwatallis vignette" from the Kadesh relief on the exterior north wall of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (adapted from Wreszinski, Atlas, vol. 2, taf. 21a). All surrounding details have been omitted.

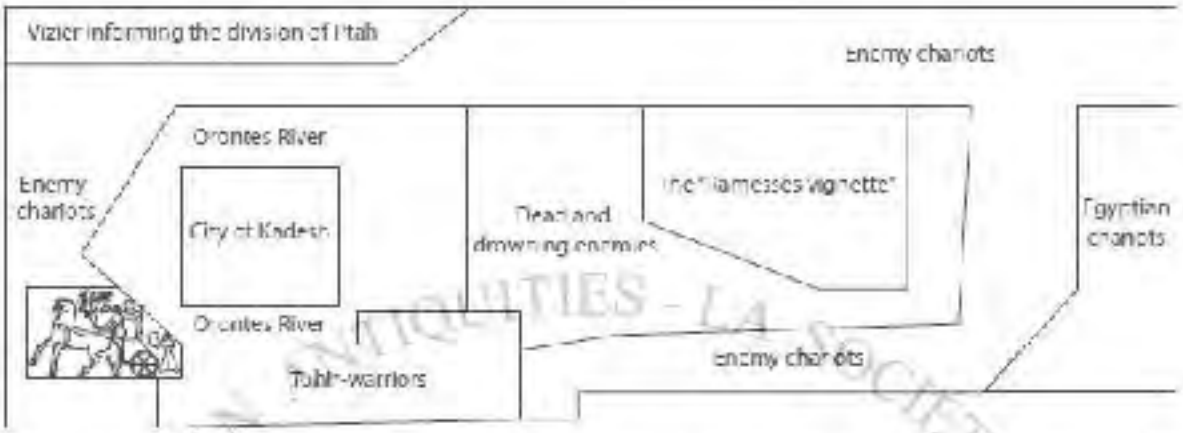


Fig. 5: Schematic representation of the primary elements of the Kadesh battle scene in relation to the "Muwatallis vignette" on the east side of the front (north wall) of the pylon at the temple of Luxor.

THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES - LA SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE - THE SOCIETY FOR THE

Wie der Wettergott Ägypten aus der grossen Flut errettete: Ein "inkulturierter" ägyptischer Sintflut-Mythos und die Gründung der Ramsesstadt[1]

Thomas Schneider

Abstract: This contribution, originally intended for publication in the proceedings of a conference that aimed to make the theological concept of "inculturation" profitable to the study of ancient cultures, attempts to contextualize a Late Egyptian version of a Near Eastern flood narrative. It is proposed that this myth, in which the weather god defeats the god of the sea Yam and prevents the earth from being destroyed in the deluge brought about by Yam, must be seen in the context of the installation of Seth-Baal as a new patron of Egyptian kingship at the transition from the 18th to the 19th dynasty and the foundation of Piramesse as a new capital of the Egyptian Empire, similar to the foundation of Tarhuntassa as a new Hittite capital consecrated to the weather god after 1300 BCE.

Résumé: Cette contribution, destinée à l'origine à être publiée dans les actes d'un colloque consacré au concept théologique d'«inculturation» appliqué aux cultures anciennes, vise à contextualiser une version narrative égyptienne tardive faisant référence au Déluge proche-oriental. On y propose d'étudier, dans le contexte de l'installation de Seth-Baal comme nouveau patron de la royauté égyptienne au cours de la période transitoire de la XVIIIe à la XIXe dynastie et la fondation de Pi-Ramsès comme nouvelle capitale de l'empire égyptien, le mythe du dieu de la tempête défaisant le dieu de la mer Yam, empêchant ainsi la terre d'être détruite par le déluge déclenché par ce dernier. Un parallèle s'impose entre cet acte et la fondation de Tarhuntassa comme la nouvelle capitale hittite vouée après 1300 avant J.-C. au dieu de la tempête.

Keywords/Mots-clefs: Pap. Amherst IX, Flood Narrative / le récit du Déluge, Foundation Myth / le mythe de fondation, Astarte and the Insatiable Sea / Astarte et la mer insatiable, Inculturation, Weather God/ dieu de temps, Storm God / dieu de la tempête, Baal in Egypt / Baal en Égypte, Seth, Piramesse/Pi-Ramsès, Egypt and the Near East/ l'Égypte et le Proche-Orient, Ramesside Kingship / la royauté Ramesside.

[1] Der vorliegende Beitrag sollte ursprünglich 2006 in den Akten der Tagung "Inkulturation und Akkulturation in der Antike" publiziert werden, die von Dr. Martin Bommas am 29. Oktober 2005 an der Universität Basel ausgerichtet wurde. Ich danke Dr. Katja Goebs und dem Editorial Board von *JSSEA*, durch die Aufnahme in Bd. 38 (2011/12) eine Publikation des Aufsatzes zu ermöglichen. Den im Folgenden im Mittelpunkt stehenden Text habe ich in *Ugarit-Forschungen* 35 (2003): 605-627 ("Texte über den syrischen Wettergott in Ägypten," dort 607-617) neu behandelt. Die Präsentation ist hier mit geringfügigen Änderungen aus diesem Aufsatz übernommen, die Interpretation als inkulturierter Text wurde dagegen für den ursprünglichen Publikationsrahmen hinzugefügt.

§1 Einleitung

Als Erik Hornung 1982 den ägyptischen Text von der *Vernichtung des Menschengeschlechtes* (als Teil des *Mythos von der Himmelskuh*) neu edierte, unterstrich er erneut einen seit Edouard Navilles *editio princeps* von 1876 häufig betonten Sachverhalt:

"In Ägypten ist es keine Sintflut, die dem rebellischen Menschengeschlecht den Untergang bereitet, denn die jährliche Überschwemmung des Landes galt auch dann noch als Segen, wenn sie gefährliche, sich zerstörend auswirkende Höhe hatte; dazu war der Tod durch Ertrinken durch das Schicksal des Osiris geheiligt. Dagegen ist die Feuerstrafe auch in den ägyptischen Jenseitsvorstellungen das wirksamste Mittel, um alle Feinde der Schöpfung radikal und nachhaltig auszutilgen."[2]

Die Vernichtung durch Flut bzw. Feuer wären daher als jeweils kulturell determinierte und nur im entsprechenden kulturellen Umfeld belegte Motive zu betrachten. Es ist aber bemerkenswert – wenn auch von der Ägyptologie noch nicht eigentlich zur Kenntnis genommen und bewertet, dass gleichzeitig zu dem von Sethos I. belegten Text[3] über die Vernichtung des Menschen–geschlechtes *durch Feuer* eine umfangreichere ägyptische Erzählung über die Zerstörung der Welt *durch eine große Flut* in der Tat belegt ist: durch den (in Zukunft sinnvollerweise so zu nennenden) *Mythos vom Kampf des Wettergottes gegen das Meer*. Während der erste Text mittelägyptisch und in königlich-funerärem Kontext überliefert ist, daher offenbar als Teil der königlichen Jenseitstexte betrachtet wurde, ist der Flutmythos als neuägyptischer Text auf Papyrus erhalten (ehemals sog. "Astarte-Papyrus" = Pap. Amherst IX [heute Pierpont Morgant Library, New York] + Pap. Bibliothèque Nationale 202, Paris) und ideologisch-politisch einzuordnen – in der einleitenden Eulogie wird der König mit dem Wettergott identifiziert, der gegen Ende des Textes die Welt vor der Vernichtung durch die Flut rettet. Es handelt sich damit um eine ägyptische Variante des Sintflut-Motivs.[4]

[2] Erik Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh. Eine Ätiologie des* Unvollkommenen[3], (Freiburg, Schweiz/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 93. Als Parallele zur altorientalischen Sintfluterzählung wurde dieser Text etwa betrachtet von Hellmut Brunner, in *Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament,*[2] ed. Walter Beyerlin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 35.

[3] Der vollständige Text des Mythos von der Himmelskuh mit dem Passus über die Vernichtung des Menschengeschlechtes ist zuerst im Grab Sethos' I. belegt. Auf dem äußersten Schrein Tutanchamuns sind lediglich Teile des Schlusses (Verse 202-234, 306-312), jedoch nicht der Anfang des Textes mit dem Abschnitt über die Rebellion der Menschen und ihre Vernichtung belegt (vgl. Hornung, Himmelskuh, 92).

[4] Vgl. aus der sehr umfangreichen Literatur Erich Bosshard-Nepustil, *Vor uns die Sintflut: Studien zu Text, Kontexten und Rezeption der Fluterzählung Genesis 6-9* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005); Martin Mulsow/Jan Assmann, *Sintflut und Gedächtnis: Erinnern und Vergessen des Ursprungs* (München: Fink, 2006); zu den altorientalischen Parallelen außerdem Willem H. P. Römer, *Die Flutgeschichte* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1993), 448-458; David Toshio Tsumura, "Genesis and Ancient Near Eastern

Während frühere Versuche die Erzählung an semitische Texte anzuschließen versuchten,[5] ist seit 1992 durch Studien von Philo Howink ten Cate[6] und Daniel Schwemer[7] als thematisch nächstverwandt der hurritisch-hethitische Text KBo XXVI 105[8] identifiziert, in dem der Meergott die Erde bis hinauf zum Himmel überflutet. Der Nachweis des hurritischen Wettergottes Teššob in der ägyptischen Version des Textes (s. unten Anm. 23) hat diese Annahme nun weiter plausibilisiert, ebenso ein neues Verständnis einzelner Passagen, die danach ganz konkret die Überflutung der Erde erwähnen. In KBo XXVI 105 bewegt Kumarbi die Götter zur Zahlung eines Tributs an den Meeresgott, doch muss zur Überbringung des Tributes die Göttin Šawuška aus Ninive (die mit Ištar und Astarte gleichgesetzt wurde[9]) veranlaßt werden. Ich zitiere den Text nach der von D. Schwemer vorgelegten Übersetzung:

§2' 4' [...] der [...] Wettergott (Teššob) [...] die *dan(n)auš* inmitten des Wassers [...]
5' [...] näherte sich *Stück für Stück* dem Himmel und [...]
6' bedeckte der schreckliche [...] und [*vom*] Himmel [...]
§3' 7' *Weil* der Meer(gott) [...] erschuf, [...] *ein anderes* [...],
8' [...] ... einen Spaten aus Bronze legte er in deine Hand; [und]
9' an der Brust der [Unter]welt wurden die Fluten *den* Berg[*en*]
10' [...*a*]*n* den Sockeln. Die *Wassermass*[*en*]
11' hüllten das [Lan]d ein.
§4' 12' Die *Wassermassen* [*erhob*]*en* sich und gelangt[en] hinauf zum Sonnengott (und) zum Mondgott,
13' [und hin]auf zu den Sternen des Himmels gel[angten sie].
§5' 14' [Ku]marbi [begann], zu den Göttern (folgende) Worte zu sprechen:
15' „[*Groß*]*e* Götter, welchen Gott kennen wir nicht? Und [...]

Stories of Creation and Flood: An Introduction," in *I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood. Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11*, ed. Richard S. Hess/David Toshio Tsumura (Winona Lake, In.: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 27-57; Ed Noort, "The Stories of the Great Flood: Notes on Gen 6:5-9:17 in its Context of the Ancient Near East," in *Interpretations of the Flood*, ed. Florentino García-Martinez/Gerard P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1999), 1-38.

[5] Dazu Schneider, "Texte über den syrischen Wettergott," *UF* 35: 606 mit Anm. 4-5.

[6] Philo H. J. Houwing ten Cate, "The Hittite Storm God: his Role and his Rule According to Hittite Cuneiform Sources," in *Natural Phenomena, their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Diederik J. W. Meijer (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1992), 83-148; 117-119.

[7] Daniel Schwemer, *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen. Materialien und Studien nach den schriftlichen Quellen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 451-453.

[8] Zu diesem Text zuletzt Jean-François Blam, "Le chant de l'Océan: fragment KBo XXVI 105," in *Mélanges offerts au Professeur René Lebrun Vol. 1: Antiquus Oriens*, ed. Michel Mazoyer/Olivier Casabonne (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), 69-81.

[9] Schwemer, Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens, 543.

16’ kennen wir den Meer(gott); und zum Herd der Unterwelt [...] ihn [...]
17’ Bringt dem Meer(gott) einen Tribut!
§6’ 18’ ku(wa)nnan-Stein, Lapislazuli, parašḫaš-Stein, Silber (und) Gold [sollen] i[m] Wasser [*liegen!*]
19’ In das [Wass]er wollen wir (sie) werfen. Sobald der Meer(gott) [den] Tribut [...]
20’ werden [...] hingebracht!“ Aber inmitten der Götter [...] niem[and...]
21’ [...] „Komm, Šawuška, Königin von Ninive, und [...]
§7’ 22’ [...] ... schriebst du; und du [...] mir (oder: mich) fern [...]
23’ [...] ... erhältst du aber am Leben; und mir [

Dass die um Šawuška sich rankenden Mythen in dieser Zeit in Ägypten bekannt waren legt der Umstand nahe, dass sich Amenophis III. eine Kultstatue gerade der Šawuška von Ninive nach Ägypten schicken ließ, wie es in Amarnabrief 23 bschrieben wird.[10] Der in Ägypten thematisierte Konflikt zwischen Meer und Wettergott ist ein Modellfall literarischen und religiösen Kulturkontaktes, ein Phänomen ägyptischer Aneignung bzw. – wie hier postuliert werden soll – auch der Inkulturation eines vorderasiatischen Textes in Ägypten. Dieses Phänomen soll im Folgenden durch eine Vorstellung des Textes und Überlegungen zu seiner kulturellen, religiösen und historischen Situierung beleuchtet werden.

§2 Der ägyptische Mythos vom Kampf des Wettergottes gegen das Meer

Die Bewertung des ägyptischen Textes ist im Jahr 2000 durch die Identifizierung des Anfangs der ersten Seite der Erzählung in Pap. Bibliothèque Nationale 202 durch Philippe Collombert und Laurent Coulon in neue Bahnen gelenkt worden.[11] Dieser Beginn war zwar seit 1868 bekannt, aber nicht als Eröffnung des New Yorker Textes erkannt worden. Durch die Restitution der ersten Seite aus pBN 202 und pAmherst IX.1 (Abb. 1) gelang der Nachweis, daß der Papyrus die volle Folio-Höhe von 40 cm besaß, woraus sich wiederum auf einen ursprünglichen Minimalumfang des Textes von 20 Papyrusseiten schließen ließ, umfangmäßig rund das Dreifache der längsten vollständig erhaltenen neuägyptischen Erzählung von *Horus und Seth* und das Viereinhalbfache des *Wenamun*.[12] Das zu Textbeginn erhaltene Datum (5. Jahr, 3. Monat der *Prt*-Jahreszeit, 19. Tag Amenophis’ II.) wurde von Collombert/ Coulon auch auf die

10 Mark S. Smith, *God in Translation: Cross-Cultural Recognition of Deities in the Biblical World* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 63ff.; eine Übersetzung des Briefes z.B. bei William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 61f.

11 “Les dieux contre la mer. Le début du ‘papyrus d'Astarté’ (pBN 202),” *BIFA0* 100 (2000): 193-242.

12 Collombert/Coulon, “Les dieux contre la mer,” *BIFA0* 100: 199.

Verschriftung des Mythos bezogen, in dem sie eine Ätiologie des Kultes des Heiligtums der Astarte von Perunfer zu sehen erwogen. Vor der Identifizierung des Textbeginns hatte die neuägytische Sprachvarietät dagegen eine Ansetzung am Ende der 18. Dynastie nahegelegt; hier soll vorläufig eine grundsätzliche Datierung in die Zeit des Übergangs von der 18. zur 19. Dynastie angenommen werden (s. §3.3). Damit läge zu Beginn des Textes ein fiktiver Rückbezug auf Amenophis II. aus der Zeit um 1300 v.Chr. vor.

Bisherige Übersetzungen und Behandlungen des gesamten Textes:

Collombert/Coulon, "Les dieux contre la mer", *BIFA0* 100 : 193-242.
Schneider, "Texte über den syrischen Wettergott in Ägypten", *UF* 35: 607-617.

Bisherige Übersetzungen und Behandlungen von pAmherst IX:

Adolf Erman, Die Literatur der Aegypter. Gedichte, Erzählungen und Lehrbücher aus dem 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v.Chr. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1923), 218ff. (engl.: The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians. Poems, Narratives, and Manuals of Instruction, from the Third and Second Millennia B.C. (London: Methuen, 1927), 169-70.

Hermann Ranke, in *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament²*, ed. Hugo Gress mann (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1926), 7ff.

Günther Roeder, *Altägyptische Erzählungen und Märchen* (Jena: Diederichs, 1927), 71-73.

Alan H. Gardiner, "The Astarte Papyrus", in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, ed. Stephen R. K. Glanville et al. (London: Egypt Exploration Society/H. Milford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 74-85.

Alexander H. Sayce, "The Astarte Papyrus and the Legend of the Sea", *JEA* 19 (1933): 56–59.

Gustave Lefèbvre, Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1949), 106-113.

Siegfried Schott, Altägyptische Liebeslieder mit Märchen und Liebesgeschichten (Zürich: Artemis, 1950), 212-14.

John A. Wilson, in Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, ed. James B. Pritchard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 17- 18. (nur partiell)

Rainer Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 125-131.

Edda Bresciani, *Letteratura e poesia dell'Antico Egitto* (Torino: Einaudi, 1969) (nur partiell).

Edward F. Wente, in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*[3], ed. William K. Simpson (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2003), 108-11.

Emma Brunner-Traut, Altägyptische Märchen, Mythen und andere volkstümliche Erzählungen[8] (München: Diederichs, 1989), 107-110.

Robert K. Ritner, "The Legend of Astarte and the Tribute of the Sea", in *The Context of Scripture I: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, ed. William W. Hallo/K. Lawson Younger (Leiden/New York: Brill, 1997), 35-36.

In der Übersetzung des Textes verwende ich die folgenden Siglen:

x	meint die am Anfang einer Seite verlorenen Zeilen
y	meint die am Ende einer Seite verlorenen Zeilen
[…]	Zerstörung des Papyrus von 1-5 Schriftquadraten
[…. … …]	Zerstörung des Papyrus von 6 und mehr Schriftquadraten
< >	Versehentliche Auslassung des Originaltextes
( )	Ergänzung, die im Text original nicht vorhanden ist, aber der Klarheit dient
SP.	Zeichenspuren
•	Verspunkt
[…] MESSER.GEWALT	hochgestellte Wörter in Großbuchstaben geben die erhaltenen Determinative an, wo der eigentliche Wort–körper verloren ist

§2.1 Abschnitt: Eulogie und Situierung des Textes [Pap. Bibliothèque Nationale 202]

1,1 Jahr 5, 3. Monat Peret, Tag 19.• Es lebe der König beider Ägypten [...[13]], er lebe, sei heil und gesund (LHG)•, der Sohn des Re, Amenhotep–Gott–und–Herrscher–von-Heliopolis, LHG,• mit Leben versehen auf immer und ewig,• inthronisiert [...[14]]

1,2 wie sein Vater Re täglich.• Erneu[erung[15] (?) ... des Aufruh]rs[16] (?) den er gemacht hatte für die Neunheit der Götter,• um mit dem Meer/Yam zu kämpfen. [...]

13 In der Lücke stand der Thronname des Königs. Die Identifizierung mit Amenophis II. ergibt sich aus den Epitheta des Eigennamens (dazu Collombert/Coulon, "Les dieux contre la mer," *BIFAO* 100: 193ff).

14 Ergänze vielleicht: "auf dem Thron des Geb."

15 Zu dieser Ergänzung s. Collombert/Coulon, "Les dieux contre la mer," *BIFAO* 100: 199. Vielleicht ist an die Erneuerung eines Tempels oder Kultes zu denken, vgl. Urk. IV 740,6; 741,10 (ein Siegesfest Thutmosis' III. wird neu eingerichtet); Alan W. Shorter, "A Stela of Seti I in the British Museum," *JEA* 19 (1933): 60-61 (ein Festritual wird erneut ausgerichtet); Urk. IV 194,15 (Opferstiftungen Sesostris' III. im Tempel von Semne werden durch Thutmosis III. erneut etabliert); 195, 12-13: ein Stier wird geopfert "für das Fest des Abwehrens der Beduinen, das am 21. Tag des 4. Monats der Peret-Jahreszeit stattfindet" (s. Siegfried Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1950), 85; 101). Vgl. dazu auch das Datum aus dem Tagewählkalender. Vielleicht ist zu ergänzen: "Erneuerung des Kultes des Seth (= Baal) am Fest des Aufruhrs (usw.)?"

16 Erhalten sind ein abschließendes *ś* und Reste eines Determinativs, ev. des schlechten Vogels  (Determinativ für Negatives). Nicht kommentiert von Collombert/Coulon. Nach der Aussage des Textes wurde die hier angesprochene Tat *für die Götter* und *mit dem Ziel, gegen das Meer zu kämpfen,* unternommen. Nach dem ugaritischen Mythos KTU 1.1-2 lehnt sich Baal in Wut gegen den von El als Herr-

1,3 deinen Sieg,• [ich] will erhöhen [...] beim Erzählen was du getan hast als du ein Kind warst,• deine Heldentaten[17] [...]

1,4 Lehrende vor mir.• Er wurde gemacht und auf[gezogen[d] [...] wo [Sch]ay und Renenet (die Schicksalsgötter) sind.• Schay und Renenet beschlossen für sie (Sg.f.) [...]

1,5 ABSTRACTUM bei seinem Bauen in mir.• Ausbreiten [...]MESSER.GEWALT seine Kleider bestehend aus Rüstungen und Bogen,• die (er) machte [...]

1,6 Berge und die Gipfel• j?[...] man bestimmte ihm Größe wie der Himmel• sobald gebaut wurden Denk[mäler (?) ...]

1,7 Eilen (o.ä.)[18].• Es wurde gemacht die [...] zwei Berge[19] (?) um zu zertreten deine Feinde• denn [...]

1,8 wie das Zertreten von Schilf • [...] der Himmel und die Erde• um zu erleuchten für das Pantheon der Götter.• Bauen [...]

1,9 sein Kopf.• Sein[e zwei?] Hörner[20] [...] seine Feinde und seine Widersacher.• Was anbetrifft SP. [...]

scher eingesetzten Yam auf, während die Götter vor Yam kuschen; es kommt zum Kampf gegen Yam. In dem magischen Pap. Leiden I343 + 345 rto. IV,9-V,2 wird der Zorn des Seth (= Baal) gegenüber der Krankheit mit seinem Vorgehen gegen das Meer verglichen. Könnte *bgś* "Aufruhr"(Wb I, 483, 4f.) vorliegen?

17 Dies ist jetzt der älteste Beleg dieses Lehnwortes, s. Thomas Schneider, "Eine Vokabel der Tapferkeit. Ägyptisch *tl* - hurritisch *adal*," *UF* 31 (1999) [2000]: 677-723; der Beleg nachgetragen in Thomas Schneider, "Nicht-semitische Lehnwörter im Ägyptischen. Umriß eines Forschungsgebiets," in *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis. Akten des Basler Kolloquiums zum ägyptisch-nichtsemitischen Sprachkontakt Basel 9.-11. Juli 2003*, ed. Thomas Schneider, unter Mitarbeit von Francis Breyer/Oskar Kaelin/Carsten Knigge (Münster: Ugaritverlag, 2004), 11-31; 24.

18 rw-q-ꜣ-rw-q-ꜣ, d.h. l/r-q/g/ġ-l/r-q/g/ġ , nur hier belegter Hapax. Die Determinierung (BEIN, GEHENDE BEINE) weist auf ein Verb der Bewegung hin. Zu beachten ist, daß der Beginn des Wortes auch am Ende von Z. 1,7 gestanden haben kann. Ob man mit Blick auf den über die Berge eilenden Wettergott (s. folgende Anmerkung) etwa an hebr. dlg "springen, eilen" (Hl 2,8 auch über die Berge) denken darf? Allerdings müßte dann eine reduplizierende Form *dlglg mit intensiver Bedeutung postuliert werden. Francis Breyer (*Ägypten und Anatolien. Politische, kulturelle und sprachliche Kontakte zwischen dem Niltal und Kleinasien im 2. Jahrtausend v.Chr*. (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 360) vergleicht dagegen heth. *lahhiya-* "ausziehen, reisen" bzw. *lahlahhiya-* "erregt sein, 'ängstlich sein."

19 Hier kann – falls die Lesung korrekt ist – an die zwei mit dem Wettergott verbundenen Berge gedacht werden: Schwemer, Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens, 228 mit Anm. 1581. Zu Darstellungen des auf zwei Bergen stehenden Wettergottes in der altsyrischen Glyptik s. Meindert Dijkstra, "The Weather-God on Two Mountains," *UF* 23 (1991): 127-140. Das weiter unten angespro–chene Rollsiegel aus Tell el-Daba ist zuerst publiziert bei Edith Porada, "The Cylinder Seal from Tell el-Daba," *AJA* 88 (1984): 485-488. Für zwei Berge, die mit einem Gegner Baals verbunden sind, s. KTU 1.4

viii 1 (Baal spricht zu seinen Helfern Gupan und Ugar): "So set your faces towards Moun̂ 4ÒÇȞÚǐ towards Mount Shirmegi, towards the twin (peaks) of the Ruler of the netherworld" (Nick Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit. The Words of Ilimilku and his Colleagues*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 112).

20 Siehe Izak Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Baʿal: Late Bronze and Iron Age I periods (c 1500-1000 BCE)* (Freiburg, Schweiz/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 136 mit Anm. 4 und die ikonographischen Belege pls. 32ff.

1,10 SP. Man[21] fand [x] Kubikel[len[22] [……] beim Erhöhen SP. [...]

1,11 der [...] sie war elend[23] (?) •. Vereh[ren (?)...]

§2.2 Abschnitt: Yam verweigert sich der Unterordnung unter Baal und überflutet die Erde [pAmherst (jetzt Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) IX]

1, x+1 seine zwei Stiere[24]•. Ich will (?) verehren Tešš[ob[25] (?) … … … ; [*ergänze wohl:* ich will verehren Astarte-die-Zornigste-der-Wüten] den[26] •. Ich will (?) verehren die [*ergänze wohl:* Erde[27]; … … …]

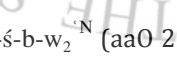
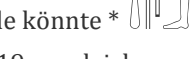
1, x+2 Ich will (?) verehren den Himmel [...] Wohnsitz [… … …] der Erdboden[28] • [… … …]

[21] D.h. der König.

[22] Maskulines Substantiv; ṯn[. Im vorliegenden Kontext (königliche Baumaßnahmen?) und mit Blick auf Genus und die lexikalischen Möglichkeiten könnte an pꜣ ṯnỉ + Kardinalzahl "x Kubikellen (Baumaterial)" gedacht werden.

[23] Nach wn-ś scheint der Eingangsbogen des  noch sichtbar zu sein, so daß sich mit dem folgenden  ꜣṯ ergibt, entweder ꜣṯ "wütend sein" (wn=ś ꜣṯ.tj "sie war wütend") oder auf Grund von Kontext und Zeichenresten unter dem <ṯ> eher ꜣṯ < ỉꜣṯ "Not leiden, Mangel haben, elend sein" (wn=ś ꜣṯ.tj "sie war in Not, elend") (*  ; s. Wb. I 35).

[24] Die zwei Stiere erinnern an die Verbindung des syrischen Wettergottes mit Stieren bzw. einem Stierpaar (s. Schwemer, Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens, 125; 477ff). Mit Blick auf den konkreten Text und seine vermutliche Verbindung zum Kumarbi-Zyklus dürften Šēriš (bzw. Tilla) und Ḫurra gemeint sein, die zwei Stiere des Teššob, die nach dem Ullikummi-Mythos die Zugtiere des Streitwagens des Teššob sind und für den Kampf des Teššob mit Kraftfutter gestärkt und prächtig geschmückt werden (Schwemer, Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens, 459; 479).

[25] Meist wird das Objektpronomen der 2. Ps.Sg.m. čw > tw "dich" verstanden, das auch <tj> geschrieben wird, und "ich verehre dich" übersetzt. Nach dem tj–Stößel folgt jedoch kein j, sondern wohl der rechte (im oberen Teil unterbrochene) Strich eines ś. Die Verwandtschaft des Textes mit KBo XXVI 105 und die vorhergehende Nennung der zwei Stiere des Wettergottes lassen es plausibel erscheinen, daß hier der Beginn des Gottesnamens Teššob notiert war, der ägyptisch (mit korrekter Wiedergabe des stimmlosen Interdentals durch ägyptisch <ś>, vgl. ugar. tṯb) in Personennamen  tj-b-śꜣ [sic] (Thomas Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches* (Freiburg, Schweiz/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 46, N 75),  tj-ś-b-w$_2$ʿN (aaO 47, N 79),  tj-j$_2$-ś-b-w$_2$ʿN (aaO 239, N 510),  tj-j$_2$WNM-ś-b-jʿN (aaO 240, N 513) notiert wird. An der vorliegenden Stelle könnte *  tj-ś-b-w$_2$ notiert gewesen sein.

[26] Zum Rest der Notation läßt sich 2,x+18/19 vergleichen; zur Übersetzung s. dort. Die Ergänzung von Astarte mit Epitheton auch (um eine Position versetzt) bei Brunner-Traut, Altägyptische Märchen, 107-110.

[27] Der Rest des Artikels ist noch sichtbar. Plausibel ist angesichts des Inhaltes und vor dem im folgenden angerufenen Himmel nur nur pꜣ tꜣ "die Erde" (so etwa Wente), nicht pꜣ ym "das Meer" (Brunner-Traut) oder Ptah (Gardiner).

1,x+3 [...] der Himmel.• Während nun der [... ... ...] den Erdboden.• Der Erdboden war eingenommen[29] [... ... ...]

1,x+4 [ich will (?) for]tnehmen seine SP. [... ... ...] Dann waren sie am Sich-Beugen wie ein Mundschenk[30] (?)• [... ... ...]

1,x+5 Da umarmte [jeder]mann [*seinen Nächsten (?)* ... ...] nach v[ier]zig[31] Tagen.• Der Himmel war [... ... ...]

1,x+6 am Hinunterkommen auf [... ... ...] das Meer/Yam•. Und [... ... ... der Erd-]

1,x+7 boden brachte hervor [... ... ...] die vier Gegenden der [Welt[32] ... ...]

28 Ägypt. *jwtn*. Der Text verwendet die zwei Begriffe *tꜣ* "Land, Erde" und *jwtn* "Erdboden, Erde." In den bisherigen Übersetzungen wurde diesem Umstand kaum je Beachtung geschenkt – beide Lexeme wurden meist unterschiedslos als "Erde, earth, terre usw." übersetzt. Da die Unterscheidung aber bewußt gewählt zu sein scheint (menschliche Lebenswelt, auch als Ziel religiöser Verehrung vs. physische Erdoberfläche), habe ich in der Übersetzung die Begriffe strikt auseinandergehalten.

29 Die bisherien Übersetzungen gehen einhellig davon aus, die Erde sei "zufrieden," "befriedigt" oder "beruhigt" gewesen. *ḥtp* kann aber auch das "Einnehmen" eines Platzes o.ä. bedeuten. Da die konkrete Bedrohung der Welt durch das Meer in der Überschwemmung der Erdoberfläche durch Wasser besteht, könnte aber in 1,x+3 davon die Rede gewesen sein, daß das Meer den Erdboden bedeckte und der Erdboden von den Fluten eingenommen war. 1,x+4 würde dann auf die Beseitigung der Fluten anspielen. Vgl. den oben zitierten Text KBo XXVI 105, dort Z. 6'.10'-11'.

30 Der bisher ungeklärte Hapax *šꜣq* (Determinativ: Tätigkeit) ist kotextuell dadurch präzisiert, daß vermutlich die Götter sich (zur Unterwerfung oder Anbetung) niederbeugen. Das erinnert an die Szene KTU 1.2 i 21-26, in der die am Esstisch sitzenden Götter vor den Drohungen des Yam kuschen und ihre Köpfe auf die Knie senken, worauf Baal ihnen die feige Unterwürfigkeit vorwirft und sie anweist, die Köpfe wieder zu erheben:

> Now the gods were sitting to ea[t],/the sons of the Holy One to dine./Baal stood by El. Lo, the gods saw them, they saw the messengers of Yam, the embassy of Ruler [Nahar]./ The gods lowered their heads onto their knees,/ and onto the thrones of their princeships./Baal rebuked them:/ 'Why, O gods, have you lowered your heads onto your knees,/ and onto the thrones of your princeships?/I see, gods,/ that the tablets of Yam's messengers,/ of the embassy of Ruler Naha<r>, are humiliating (you)./ Lift up, O gods, your heads from on your knees, from the thrones of your princeships, and I shall answer the messengers of Yam, the embassy of Ruler Nahar.' (Nick Wyatt, Religious Texts from Ugarit, 65-66).

Dieser Vergleichstext, die spezifische Situierung der ugaritischen Szene (Götter am Speisetisch) und die lexikalischen Möglichkeiten legen es nahe, hier akk. šāqû, ugar. (< akk.?) šqy, aram. šāqyā "Mundschenk" (√ šqj) anzusetzen. Der Vergleich ist dann gleichzeitig farbig und dramatisierend: die Götter sollen sich nicht auf die Ebene unmündiger Diener Yams erniedrigen lassen!

31 Gardiner (und in der Folge die vorliegenden Übersetzungen) lesen hier die hieratische Ligatur des Zahlzeichens 7. Plausibler scheint mir jene von "40" (Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II[2] (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1927), 56 [626]). Dazu assoziiert man dann natürlich die 40 Tage und Nächte des Regens, der zur Sintflut führte, in Gen. 7, 4.12. Die folgenden Zeilen könnten tatsächlich davon handeln, daß die Welt durch Yam überflutet wird.

32 Ein deutlicher Hinweis auf eine vorderasiatische Herkunft des Stoffes, vgl. akk. *kibrat erbetti* "die vier Ränder" der Welt (AHw I 471). Das Hethitische formuliert etwas anders "die vier Ecken" der Welt mit *ḫalḫaltumar* "Ecke, Winkel" Jaan Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* vol. 3 (Berlin/New York: Mouton, 1984), 20ff).

1,x+8 in seiner Mitte• wie der Luftraum [*ergänze:* "[das Wasser erhob sich] in seiner (der Erde) Mitte wie der Luftraum"?].[33] [… … …] sein Thron des Herrschers LHG• indem er am […… …]

§2.3 Abschnitt: Yam fordert Tribut und die Götter bestimmen Astarte als Überbringerin

1,x+9 ihm zu bringen Tribu[t … … …] in der Ratsversammlung.• Da brachte Renut[… … …]

1,x+10 als Herrscher LHG […… … … den Him]mel.• Nun, man brachte ihm den Tribu[t … … …]

1,x+11 […… …] er oder er wird uns nehmen als Beu[te … … SP. …]

1,x+12 unser eigenes [34] zu [...] Renut seinen Tribut in Form von Silber, Gold, Lapislazuli [...] die Kästen.• Da sagten sie zu

1,x+13 dem Pantheon der Götter: „g[ebt35...]-tABSTRACTUM [...] der Tribut des Meeres/Yam.• sodass er uns die Worte erhört [...; den Erdbode]n Schutz von ihm.• Ist er

2,1 […] *mindestens 6 Zeilen verloren*

2,x+1 denn sie sind in Furcht vor […… …]

2,x+2 des Meeres/Yam.• Veranlasse […… … de]r Tribut des Mee[res ...]

2,x+3 schlimm.• Renut ergriff einen […… …] Astarte.• Da sagte de[r Vogel (?)[36] … … …]

2,x+4 Vögel: „Höre, was ich gesagt/zu sagen habe.• Mögest du (m.) nicht fortlau[fen...] ein weiterer. Los, gehe zu Astart[e … … …]

2,x+5 ihr Haus und sprich (?) unter [...] sie schläft• und sage ihr: „Wenn [du…]

2,x+6 wenn du am Schlafen bist,• werde ich we[cken ... das] Meer/Yam als Herrscher auf dem […… …]

2,x+7 der Himmel.• Mögest du doch zu ihnen kommen in dem [... ... ...]

2,x+8 [...]FREMDE PERSONEN•. Und Astar[te … … …]

2,x+9 […] SP. […… …]

2,x+10 […]GEWALT die Tochter des Ptah.• Nun aber […… …]

2,x+11 […] des Meeres/Yams.• Der […… …]

[33] Die genaue Deutung ist auf Grund des Abbruchs des Papyrus unsicher. Collombert/Coulon setzen hier die Krankheitsbezeichnung ʿḫw an, gegen die sich in einem magischen Spruch des pLeiden I 343+345 vso. VII,5 der Zorn des Baal richtet. Ritner ("suspension") und Wente ("as if suspended") legen dagegen ʿḫj "hochheben, aufhängen" zugrunde, das auch vom Hochheben des Himmels verwendet wird. Vgl. dazu, daß Vögel m ʿḫ, d.h. "im Schweben" oder "im Luft(raum)" fliegen. Vielleicht ist zu ergänzen: "[das Wasser erhob sich] in seiner (der Erde) Mitte wie der Luftraum."

[34] Das Bezugswort stand am Ende von Z. 1,x+11.

[35] Mit Gardiner und Wente.

[36] Mit Schott. Wente hat "Ernutet" (d.h. die sonst hier genannte Renut). Der Vorderteil des maskulinen Artikels (pꜣ) ist aber noch erhalten.

2,x+12 [… ge]hst selber• mit dem Tribut des [… … …]
2,x+13 [… D]a aber weinte Astarte [… … …]
2,x+14 [… sei]n Herrscher LHG schwieg• […. … …]
2,x+15 [… erhe]be dein (m.) Gesicht [… … …]
2,x+16 [… erhe]be dein (m.) Gesicht• und […. … … hin-]
2,x+17 aus•. In der Tat nun trug [...] der [...] s-r [...] sang (?) lachend über ihn [...]

§2.4 Abschnitt: Yam und Astarte

2,x+18 sah Astarte, wie sie am Ufer des Meeres/Yams saß. Da sprach er zu ihr: [woher] kommst du, Tochter des Ptah,• du zornigste Göttin der Wüten-
2,x+19 den[37]•? Hast du die Sandalen zerschlissen, die an deinen Füßen sind•, hast du die Kleider zerrissen, die auf dir sind• beim Kommen und Gehen. daß (du) getan hast im Himmel und in der Erde[38]• ?“ Da sprach zu ihm

Seite 3: mindestens 22 Zeilen verloren

3,y-2 […. … … die Göt]ter. Wenn sie mir geben deine (m.) […. … …] sie. Was werde ich tun
3,y-1 gegen sie, ich allein? Astarte hörte was ihr das Meer/Yam sagte. Sie machte sich auf, um zu gehen• vor das Angesicht des Götterpan–theons an den Ort, wo sie versammelt waren.• Die Großen[39]
3,y sahen sie• und erhoben sich vor ihr.• Die Kleinen sahen sie• und legten sich auf ihren Bauch.• Man stellte ihr ihren Thron hin• und sie setzte sich.• Man brachte ihr herbei den

Seite 4: mindestens 22 Zeilen verloren

4,y-2 Erde […. … …]
4,y-1 die Perl[en … … …] Und die Perlen [...]

[37] Regelmäßig übersetzt als “wütende und zornige” Göttin. Im Gegensatz zum ersten Attribut (qnṭ.t) steht im zweiten Fall aber *nšny.w* mit der Determinierung für eine Mehrzahl von Personen.

[38] Ägyptisch *m t3 pt ḥnʿ p3 t3*. DiePräposition *m* bezieht sich offenbar auf beide Nomina. Daß ist hier deshalb relevant, weil ägyptisch differenziert wird zwischen *ḥr t3* “auf der (bewohnten) Erde” und *m t3* "in der Erde, d.h. der Unterwelt.” Alternativ liegt nur eine ungenaue präpositionale Wendung vor.

[39] Die Differenzierung zwischen “großen” und “kleinen” Götter könnte auf vorderasiatische Herkunft hinweisen – s. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 3, 549.555 –, ist aber auch in Ägypten belegte (LÄ II, 1977, 688).

4,y der Bote des Ptah ging los um diese Worte dem Ptah und der Nut[40] zu sagen.• Da löste Nut die Perlen, die an ihrem Hals waren.• Siehe, sie legte (sie) auf die Waage

§2.5 Abschnitt: Weitere Beratungen, weitere Tribute

Seite 5: mindestens 23 Zeilen verloren

5,y-1 [… A]starte. „O mein [… … … Prozessie-]
5,y ren (?) bedeutet das mit dem Pantheon der Götter.“ Also schickte er und erbat […… …] das Siegel des Geb […] in dem die Waage ist. So

Seite 6: mindestens 24 Zeilen verloren

6,y ABSTRACTUM von […… …]

Seite 7: mindestens 24 Zeilen verloren

7,y sein mit [… SP.] mein Korb (?) von […… …]

Seite 8: mindestens 24 Zeilen verloren

8,y ihr und er […]

Seite 9: ganz verloren

Seite 10: mindestens 24 Zeilen verloren

10,y […der Tribu]t des Mee[res …]GEHEN auf den Toren […] Tore. Kam hinaus (?) […… …]

Seite 11: mindestens 24 Zeilen verloren

11,y […… …] SP. […höre]n[41] (?) den […][42] wenn sie erneut kommen […][…]

Seite 12: ganz verloren
Seite 13: ganz verloren

[40] Ritner hat unkorrekt “Renenutet.”

[41] Wente liest hier: “servants.”

[42] Hier folgt eine bisher nicht geklärte Ligatur.

Seite 14: mindestens 24 Zeilen verloren

14,y [...] er [... das Me]er (?) und er [...] um zu bedecken den Erdboden und die Berge und

§2.6 Abschnitt: Der Wettergott kämpft mit dem Meer und besiegt es

Seite 15: mindestens 23 Zeilen verloren

15,y-1 [... ... ...] SP. [...] seinen Th[ro]n

15,y [...] für [...] du [...] [... kom]men, um mit ihm zu kämpfen, denn er hat sich untätig hingesetzt. Er wird nicht kommen, um mit uns zu kämpfen. In der Tat saß SETH da

Seite 16+x: mindestens 24 Zeilen verloren

16,y [...] ABSTRAKTUM.GEWALT du mich (m.) und deinen (m.) [... ... ...]

Seite 17+x: mindestens 24 Zeilen verloren

17,y [...] Das Meer/Yam ließ ab (?) [...] SP. [... ... ...]

Seite 18+x': mindestens 24 Zeilen verloren

18,y [... ... ...] und SP. er SP. er [... ... ...]

Seite 19+x'': mindestens 24 Zeilen verloren

19,y [...] die sieben (?) [...] sein (?) [... ... ...] und der Himmel [... ... ...]

Das Textende lässt vermuten, dass der Wettergott (ideographisch mit dem Sethtier notiert) den Kampf gegen das Meer aufnimmt und schließlich Yam besiegt, der von seinen Forderungen absieht und die Flut von der Welt bzw. Ägypten entfernt.

§3 Thesen zur Interpretation des Textes: Kulturkontakt, Inkulturation und die Gründung der Ramsesstadt

Die ägyptologische Diskussion über die Einordnung des *Mythos vom Kampf des Wettergottes gegen das Meer* soll im Folgenden durch Überlegungen zur kulturellen und historischen Situierung des Textes intensiviert werden.

3.1 Ägypten nahm zu allen Zeiten Teil am kulturellen Austausch zwischen den Zivilisationen der Alten Welt. Ausmaß und Mechanismen dieses Austausches sind nur teilweise sichtbar bzw. bekannt oder erforscht. Die Rezeption nichtägyptischen Kulturgutes kann aus ägyptischer Perspektive als *Aneignung (Appropriation)* – der selektiven Übernahme und Adaption von Innovationen auf Grund unterschiedlicher Motivationen – betrachtet werden.[43] Der ursprünglich in der Missionswissenschaft beheimatete Begriff *Inkulturation* meint dagegen die bewusste Anpassung (religiöser) Vorstellungen an die kulturelle Umgebung der rezipierenden Zivilisation durch die Ausgangskultur, um eine bessere Rezeption und Integration der Ideen zu gewährleisten.[44] Bei dem Ansatz der Inkulturation ist ein deutliches Interesse der Geberzivilisation an der Rezeption vorhanden, während im Falle der Appropriation das Interesse der rezipierenden Kultur im Vordergrund steht. Unter diesem Blickwinkel könnte etwa die kulturelle Überlagerung Unterägyptens durch die Naqada-Kultur in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrtausends v.Chr. oder die Hellenisierung Ägyptens in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends betrachtet werden. Ein ausgeprägtes Interesse an Inkulturation könnte jedoch ebenfalls für Gemeinschaften an den Grenzen Ägyptens (*border communities*) vermutet werden, etwa im Ost- bzw. Westdelta oder am Ersten Katarakt), z.B. im Interesse einer festeren Identität dieser Gemeinschaften[45] oder ökonomischer Vorteile.[46] Hans-Gerald Hödl hat den Nutzen des Konzeptes für kulturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen und dabei (unter Stützung auf Arbeiten von Clifford Geertz und Susanne Langer) insbesondere den Transfer von religiösen Symbolsystemen erörtert.[47] Eine Typologie der Veränderung religiöser Überzeugungen als Folge

[43] Thomas Schneider, "Foreign Egypt: Egyptology and the Concept of Cultural Appropriation," *Ägypten & Levante/Egypt & the Levant* 13 (2003): 155-61.

[44] Anton Peter, "Modelle und Kriterien von Inkulturation," in *Inkulturation zwischen Tradition und Modernität. Kontexte – Begriffe – Modelle*, ed. Fritz Frei (Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 2000), 311-335; Giancarlo Collet, "Theologische Begründungsmodelle von Inkulturation," in aaO, 337-353; vgl. auch Bernhard Heininger, *Die Inkulturation des Christentums* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).

[45] Zur Bedeutung der Verhandlung von Kultur an den Grenzen Ägyptens s. Thomas Schneider, "Foreigners in Egypt: Archaeological Evidence and Cultural Context," in *Egyptian Archaeology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 143-163; 146f.

[46] Für ein mögliches Beispiel einer Grenzidentität s. Thomas Schneider, "Contextualizing the Tale of the Herdsman," in *Egyptian Stories. A British Egyptological Tribute in Honour of Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of His Retirement*, ed. Thomas Schneider/Kasia Szpakowska (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2007), 187-196; eine andere Situierung des Textes bei John C. Darnell, "A Midsummer Night's Succubus: The Herdsman's Encounters in P. Berlin 3024, the Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling, the Songs of the Drinking Place, and the Ancient Egyptian Love Poetry," in *Opening the Tablet Box. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Benjamin R. Foster*, ed. Sarah C. Melville/Alice L. Slotsky (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), 99-140.

[47] Hans-Gerald Hödl, "Inkulturation. Ein Begriff im Spannungsfeld von Theologie, Religions- und Kulturwissenschaft," in *Inkulturation: historische Beispiele und theologische Reflexionen zur Flexibilität und Widerständigkeit des Christlichen*, ed. Rupert Klieber/Martin Stowasser (Berlin et al.: LIT Verlag, 2006), 15-38.

des Kontaktes zweier religiöser Systeme hat als Fallstudie zu antiker Inkulturation Andreas Feldtkeller in einer Untersuchung zur religiösen Identität des Urchristentums vorgenommen.[48] Er unterscheidet die vier Typen *intensificatio* (der Gläubige wendet sich durch interreligiöse Begegnung verstärkt der eigenen Religionsform zu), *extensificatio* (der Gläubige erweitert die angestammte Religionsform durch die Übernahme von Riten, Überzeugungen oder Symbolen), *inversio* (der Gläubige konzentriert sich auf Teilbereiche der angestammten religiösen Tradition und lehnt andere ab) und *conversio* (der Gläubige lehnt die angestammte Religionsform zugunsten einer anderen ab). Die seit 2000 v.Chr. belegte Kenntnis und zunehmende Integration des syrischen Wettergottes in Ägypten,[49] die in dessen Erhebung zum Dynastiegott der Ramessiden gipfelte, kann dabei als Paradigma für *extensificatio* angesehen werden. Das Ausmaß dieser theologischen Erweiterung hat Niv Allon jetzt in einer neuen Untersuchung zum Gebrauch des Seth-Tieres als *classifier* aufgezeigt, wonach das gegenüber dem Mittleren Reich verschobene Verwendungsspektrum des Determinativs plausibel macht, dass die Referenzgröße nicht mehr der ägyptische Seth war, sondern der ursprünglich vorderasiatische Wettergott.[50]

3.2 Der hier im Zentrum stehende Text vom *Kampf des Wettergottes gegen das Meer* richtet sich an ein Publikum, das mit den religiösen und literarischen Traditionen sowohl Ägyptens als auch des palästinisch-syrischen Raumes gut vertraut war. Zentrale Protagonisten der Erzählung (Yam, Astarte, Teššob) erscheinen mit ihren vorderasiatischen Namen und Charakteristika neben Gestalten des ägyptischen Pantheons. Der Mythos bietet religiöse Vorstellungen und kulturelle Eigenheiten Ägyptens und Vorderasiens Seite an Seite, ebenso dem Leser offenbar ohne weiteres verständliche vorderasiatische Lehnwörter inmitten des ägyptischen Textes. Das genuin nicht ägyptische Motiv der Überflutung der Welt durch das Meer erscheint hier ganz selbstverständlich adaptiert an den ägyptischen Kontext. Gleichzeitig präsentiert der Mythos als Retter der bedrohten ägyptischen Welt und Vorbild des ägyptischen Königs den kriegerischen, mit Rüstung und Bogen versehenen Wettergott Vorderasiens, der auf dem Kopf den Hörnerhelm trägt. Der ägyptische König als Sohn des Re und Repräsentant Amuns erkennt den Wettergott als wirkmächtigen Gott und Patron eines kriegerischen ägyptischen Königtums an; die Taten des über das Meer triumphierenden Gottes, die der Text beschreibt und verherrlicht, sollen „Lehren“ (oder „Lehrmeister“) des Königs sein. Ein theologischer Diskurs über die Stellung des Gottes in Ägypten dürfte in den Jahrhunderten vor der Niederschrift des Textes sehr intensiv geführt worden sein, auch wenn er nur aus

[48] Andreas Feldtkeller, *Identitätssuche des syrischen Urchristentums. Mission, Inkulturation und Pluralität im ältesten Heidenchristentum* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993).

[49] Schneider, “Texte über den syrischen Wettergott in Ägypten,” *UF* 35: 617.

[50] Niv Allon, “Seth is Baal. Evidence from the Egyptian Script,” *Ägypten & Levante/Egypt and the Levant* 17 (2007): 15-22.

indirekten Hinweisen erschlossen werden kann, etwa der Konfrontation des Gottes Seth-Baal mit Amun in der Unwetterstele des Ahmose, wo die Wirkmacht des Seth-Baal als größer bezeichnet wird als die des Amun und der anderen Götter Ägyptens, oder wenn Hatschepsut als Abkehr von der angeblichen Religionspolitik der Hyksos (mit deren Verehrung des Seth-Baal) eine Zuwendung zu Re proklamiert – möglicherweise ein Indiz für eine andauernde Popularität des Wettergottes in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts.[51] Der Textbeginn scheint auf die Erneuerung eines Kultes dieses Wettergottes in Ägypten hinzuweisen, worin ein Indiz für die historische Situierung des Textes vorliegen kann. Collombert/Coulon haben in ihrer Edition von pBN 202 das Datum des Textbeginns (5. Jahr, 3. Monat der *Prt*-Jahreszeit, 19. Tag Amenophis' [II.]) mit einem möglichen Kultbeginn im Heiligtum der Astarte von Perunefer verbunden, den sie auf die erneute Öffnung der Steinbrüche von Tura im 4. Jahr Amenophis' II. folgen lassen. Entsprechend erwogen sie, in dem Text eine Kultätiologie für das Heiligtum der Astarte von Perunefer zu sehen. Dabei müsste dann die vorliegende neuägyptische Textfassung eine nachamarnazeitliche sprachliche Modernisierung darstellen.[52] Die Thematik des Mythos, wie sie insbesondere durch die Auffindung des Textbeginns deutlich wurde, zeigt aber, dass Astarte nur eine Nebenfigur der Erzählung ist, während eigentliches Thema die Bedeutung des Wettergottes als Retter Ägyptens und Vorbild des ägyptischen Königs ist.

3.3 Wahrscheinlicher ist es daher, den Text mit der staatlichen Kultpolitik am Übergang von der 18. zur 19. Dynastie und der Gründung der neuen Residenz Piramesse nördlich des alten Heiligtums des Seth von Auaris zu verbinden. Die Königsfamilie der 19. Dynastie hatte entweder auf Grund ihrer Herkunft aus dem Ostdelta oder der beruflichen Tätigkeit der nachmaligen Könige Ramses I. und Sethos I. als „Vorsteher der (scil. nördlichen) Fremdländer“ und „Festungskommandanten von Sile“ eine enge persönliche Beziehung zu der Region und wohl auch dem Kult des Seth von Auaris.[53] Die ursprünglich sicher

[51] Schneider, “Foreign Egypt,” *Ägypten & Levante/Egypt & the Levant* 13: 161; Schneider, “A Theophany of Seth-Baal,” *Ägypten & Levante/Egypt & the Levant* 20.

[52] Die Paläographie des Papyrus erlaubt keine definitive Entscheidung zwischen den Optionen Amenophis II. und Haremhab. Von den sieben von Collombert/Coulon als Kriterium benutzten signifikanten Zeichen(gruppen) sprechen zwei für die spätere Datierung (s3 + Füllstrich; Möller 300), vier für den früheren Ansatz (Möller 2, Möller 113, Möller 217, Möller 118b), während ein Zeichen (Möller 196) bei beiden Optionen möglich ist (Collombert/Coulon, “Les dieux contre la mer,” *BIFAO* 100: 209ff). Was die Grammatik angeht, so entspricht der Text nach Collombert/Coulon “très exactement à la langue utilisée dans les documents privés (essentiellement la correspondance) de l’époque comprise entre Thoutmosis III et Amenhotep IV.” Das setzt allerdings eine bewusste Entscheidung unter Amenophis II. voraus, den Text nicht in dem in der mittleren 18. Dynastie für Literaturwerke normativen Sprachregister zu verfassen, sondern dem der Privatbriefe, was kaum vorstellbar scheint. Eine Datierung direkt nach der Amarnazeit ist daher weiterhin am plausibelsten.

[53] Vgl. etwa Jacobus van Dijk, “The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (c. 1352-1069),” in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt,* ed. Ian Shaw (New York/Oxford: OUP, 2000), 272-313; 294, wo auf eine Herkunft aus dem Ostdelta plädiert wird. Allerdings weisen andere Indizien (insbesondere ein Sarg aus

aus dem Seth-Tempel von Auaris stammende sog. Vierhundertjahrstele (Abb. 2)[54] dokumentiert das vermutlich unter Haremhab begangene[55] 400-Jahr-Jubiläum der Einrichtung des Kultes des (auf der Stele als solcher dargestellten) vorderasiatischen Wettergottes in Ägypten – Haremhab selber ist durch einen usurpierten Block vom Seth-Tempel in Auaris belegt (Abb. 3) – und benennt den Wettergott als Schutzgott der 19. Dynastie („Seth des Ramses"). Die Gründung der neuen Hauptstadt Piramesse unter den Nachfolgern Haremhabs, Sethos' I. und Ramses' II., wird zwar oft mit der militärischen Notwendigkeit begründet, rascher auf die außenpolitischen Herausforderungen in der Levante reagieren zu können.[56] Es ist jedoch bemerkenswert und wohl kaum bloße Koinzidenz, dass gleichzeitig – was bisher in der Forschung m.W. noch nicht eingehender erörtert wurde[57] – auch das Hethiterreich unter Muwatalli II. seine Residenz von Hattuscha nach Tarhuntasse verlegte, und die neue hethitische Hauptstadt ebenfalls dem Patronat des Wettergottes unterstand (und nach ihm benannt war).[58] In letzterem Fall wurden meist militärische Gründe ins Spiel geführt, aber auch eine persönliche und religiöse Motivation für möglich gehal–

Grab 5 in Gurob) auf eine Herkunft aus dem Fayyum: Daniel Polz, "Die Särge des (Pa-)Ramessu," *MDAIK* 42 (1986): 145-166: dort 165 mit Anm. 52; Valentina Gasperini, *Archeologia e storia del Fayyum durante il Nuovo Regno* (Dottorato di Ricerca in Archeologia, XXII ciclo) (Bologna: Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2010); http://amsdottorato.cib.unibo.it/2538/1/GASPERINI _VALENTINA_tesi.pdf, 24-27; 173. Zu der beruflichen Karriere von Paramessu und Sethos s. Eileen Hirsch, "Die Beziehungen der ägyptischen Residenz im Neuen Reich zu den vorderasiatischen Vasallen. Die Vorsteher der nördlichen Fremdländer und ihre Stellung bei Hofe," in *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches: Seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik*, ed. Rolf Gundlach/Andrea Klug (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 140-41; 176-77.

54 Für eine Übersicht der Forschungsdiskussion s. Thomas Schneider, "Das Ende der kurzen Chronologie: Eine kritische Bilanz der Debatte zur absoluten Datierung des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit," *Ägypten & Levante/Egypt & the Levant* 18 (2008), 295-298; add Jacobus van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (Groningen: Diss. Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1993), 107–11).

55 Jürgen von Beckerath, "Nochmals die 'Vierhundertjahr-Stele'," *Or* 62 (1993): 402; William J. Murnane, "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David B. O'Connor/David Silverman (Leiden et al.: Brill, 1995), 192-95; Peter J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I. Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2000), 336-37.

56 S. beispielsweise Anthony Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt. The New Kingdom* (Malden, Ma./Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 228.

57 Der Vergleich zwischen Piramesse und Tarhuntasse und ihren Gründern scheint mir historisch relevanter als der von Itamar Singer, "The Failed Reforms of Akhenaten and Muwatalli," *BMSAES* 6 (2006): 37-58 (http://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/6d%20The%20failed%20reforms.pdf) unternommene zwischen Akhetaton und Tarhuntassa. Francis Breyer, Ägypten und Anatolien, 212 erwähnt die gleichzeitige Gründung der beiden Residenzen und führt sie auf militärische Erwägungen zurück.

58 Trevor R. Bryce, "The Secession of Tarhuntassa," in *Tabularia Hethaeorum. Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Detlev Groddek/Marina Zorman (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2007), 119-29; H. Craig Melchert, Tarhuntassa in the SÜDBURG Hieroglyphic Inscription, in *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History: Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*, ed. K. Aslihan Yener/Harry A. Hoffner (Winona Lake, In.: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 137-44; John D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (Südburg)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 53-65.

ten.[59] Eine vergleichbare religiöse Begründung scheint auch für die Ramsesstadt plausibel,[60] vielleicht als Folge des politischen und theologischen Diskurses des 14. Jahrhunderts,[61] vielleicht auch begünstigt durch die familiäre oder berufliche Verbindung der Königsfamilie zum Ostdelta, für welche dann das besondere kulturelle Gepräge dieser Grenzregion vorauszusetzen wäre und gleichzeitig ein Interesse daran, die Idee des vorderasiatischen Wettergottes als eines neuen Patrons des ägypischen Königtums und Staatsgottes für Gesamtägypten zu etablieren. Dafür liefert die Vierhundertjahrstele eine kultgeschichtliche, der hier vorgestellte Mythos eine theologische Legitimation. Der Rückgriff auf Amenophis II., unter dem nicht nur der syrische Wettergott Baal zum erstenmal im Neuen Reich belegt ist und der Kult vorderasiatischer Gottheiten in Ägypten auf breiter Basis gefördert wurde, sondern der auch einem besonders kriegerischen Verständnis des Königtums Ausdruck verlieh,[62] dürfte bewusst gewählt sein.

Es ist damit nicht erst die *Erzählung von den zwei Brüdern*,[63] sondern – spätestens – der *Mythos vom Kampf des Wettergottes gegen das Meer*, der die Theologie des vorderasiatischen Wettergottes in der Staatsdoktrin des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches *inkulturiert.*

59 Horst Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches* (HdO Abt. I, 34) (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1998), 215; Singer, "The failed reforms of Akhenaten and Muwatalli," *BMSAES* 6, 41-44; Bryce, "The Secession of Tarhuntassa," 121-22.

60 Thomas Schneider, "New Kingdom Egypt," in *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, ed. Joan Aruz/Kim Benzel/Jean M. Evans (New Haven/London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2008), 252.

61 Zu der Vermutung, dass ein Grund sowohl für die Amarnazeit als auch für den Aufstieg des syrischen Wettergottes, der als Retter vor Seuchen galt, in der verheerenden, den Vorderen Orient im 14. Jh. heimsuchenden Epidemie zu sehen sein könnte, s. Thomas Schneider, "History as Festival? A Reassessment of Egypt's Use of the Past and the Place of Historiography in Egyptian Thought," in *Thinking, Recording, and Writing History in the Ancient World*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub (Malden (Ma.)/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, in press).

62 Betsy M. Bryan, "Antecedents to Amenhotep III," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David B. O'Connor/Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 32-33.

63 So vorgeschlagen von Wolfgang Wettengel, *Die Erzählung von den beiden Brüdern. Der Papyrus d'Orbiney und die Königsideologie der Ramessiden* (Freiburg, Schweiz/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), s. aber Thomas Schneider, "Innovation in Literature on Behalf of Politics: The Tale of the Two Brothers, Ugarit, and 19th dynasty history," *Ägypten & Levante/Egypt & the Levant* 18 (2008): 315-26.

Abb. 1

Abb. 2:

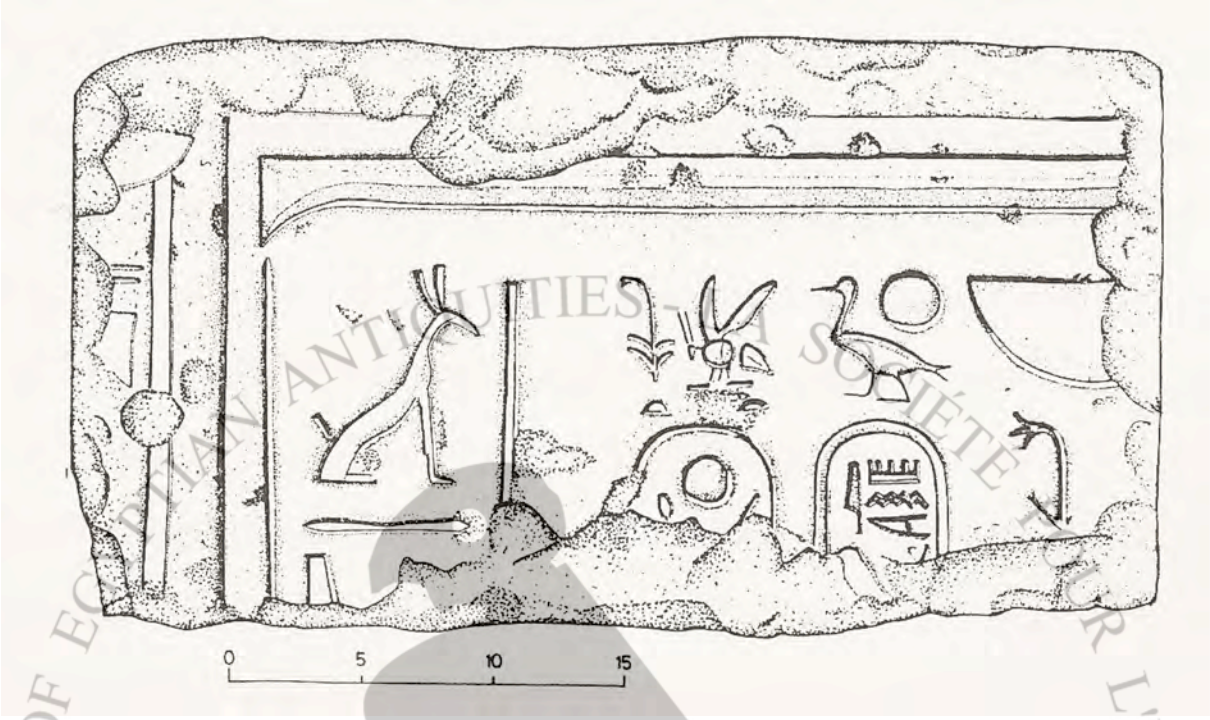


Abb. 3

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

Tamás Mekis

(Editorial Reprint from *JSSEA* 37, 9-38)

Sections of the following table were erroneously omitted from publication in JSSEA 37. It is here re-published with apologies to the author.

Table 1 – List of Theban-style-aprons

Inventory number	Name	Filiation (if any)	Bibliography
Amiens, Musée du Picardie, Inv. M.P. 94.3.122	Without a name		Olivier Perdu, Elsa Rickal, *La collaction égyptienne du Musée de Picardie* (Paris: RMN, 1994), 50, no. 57.
Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Inv. no. 1921.6	*Ḥr-z3-3s.t* (*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.
Baton Rouge, Louisiana Art and Science Museum, 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)
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, Inv. Nr. 703	*Ḥr-z3b ?*	*Ḥr-z3-3s.t* (*PN* I, 250,13; *PN* II, 378 *T3-šrj.t-mḥy.t* (*PN* I, 369.4)	Renate Germer et al., *Berliner Mumiengeschichten. Ergebnisse eines multidisziplinären Forschungsprojektes*, Regensburg, 2009, 91-93.
Berlin (?) Collection H. Brugsch	*Ḥr-Jj-m-ḥtp* (*PN* I, 245, 22)	*T3-n.t-Ḥr-p3-ḫrd*[1]	H. Brugsch, *Monuments de l'Égypte. Décrits, commentés et reproduits par Dr. Henri Brugsch pendant le séjour qu'il a fait dans ce pays en 1853 et 1854 par ordre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse. Première série* (Berlin : Chareles David, 1857), 1-3, Pl. I-II.
Cairo, Egyptian Museum of Cairo TR. 9.12.25.17[2]	*T3-rp.t* (*PN* I, 364, 20)	*Ns-Tfnw.t* (*PN* I, 179, 23) and *Ḥr-*	Akhmim Mummy Studies Consortium project no. AMSC 16.[3]

[1] Possibly a variant of *T3-dj.t-Ḥr-p3-ḫrd* (*PN* I, 374, 7). Anthony Leahy deduced that the two beginning name forms *T3-n.t-* / *T3-dj.t-* may be variants of each other, as they are homonyms and the same Greek word can be applied to both of them. See: Anthony Leahy, "*Ḥnsw-iy*, a problem of Late Onomastica", *GM* 60 (1982), 68, doc. 3; 75, n.1.

[2] In situ on the mummy originally belonging to the cartonnage in her own coffin. (Only the panel on the footcase was published in: Salima Ikram, Aidan Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt. Equipping the Death for Eternity* (Cairo: AUC, 1998), 187, no. 219. The origin of the coffin and the mummy inside is unknown. In my opinion these are from Thebes, the style of the cartonnages is typically Theban and they clearly cannot be the products of an Akhmimic workshop. The uncertainty is caused by lack of information on the deceased. She and her parents are without titles, but their names are

		m-ḥb (*PN* I, 248,7)	
Como, Civico Museo Archeologico di Como, Inv. ED 2	*Tȝ-tḫj* (*PN* II, 326,18)	-	Maria Cristina Guidotti, Enrichetta Leospo, *La collezione egizia del Civico Museo Archeologico di Como* (Como: Musei Civici Como, 1994), 50-57, H8.
Como, Civico Museo Archeologico di Como, Inv. ED 4	-	-	Guidotti, Leospo, *La collezione egizia del Civico Museo Archeologico di Como*, 50-57, H9.
Copenhagen, Carlsberg Glypotek, 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 Glypotek, 2001), 348-351.
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.
Florence, Museo Egizio di Firenze, Inv. no. 2158	*Tȝ-jrw ?* (*PN* I 354, 4; *PN* II, 392) / *Ns-ḥr*(PN I 178, 5; PN II, 365)	*Tȝ-rmṯ-Bȝst.t* (*PN* I, 364, 23; *DN* I, 1071)	Guidotti, *Le mummie del Museo Egizio di Firenze*, 57, 15A.
London, British Museum, EA 34262			Unpublished.
London, 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.[4]
London, Freud Museum, Inv. no. 4936	*Tȝ-Ḏḥwtj* (*PN* I, 363, 14)	*Ḏḥwtj-rs* (*PN* II, 334, 6) and *Tȝ-šrj.t-Ḥ^{c}pj* (*PN* I, 369, 14)	Lynn Gamwell, Richard Wells, *Sigmund Freud and Art. His personal Collection of Antiquities* (Binghamton, London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 74-75
Milan, Museo Archeologico, E 1022	*Tȝ-Ḏḥwtj* (*PN* I, 363, 14)	*Tȝ-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).
Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, No. I,1a 864	*Ns-Ḫnsw* (*PN* I, 178, 20; *DN* I 689)	*Stȝ-jr.t-*(*bjn.t?*) (*PN* I, 323, 1; *PN* II, 389)	Hodjash, "*The Way to Immortality*," 51-52, Plate no. 66.
Nantes, Musée Dobrée, Inv. no. 56.2855	Owner, or father *Šm-Jnḥr.t* (Michelle Thirion,	Mother: 	*Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches*. Antiquités. Planches, Vol. II., *Thèbes. Hypogées*. Paris,

frequently used in Akhmim, *Tȝ-rpt* (Τριφις), *zȝ.t n Ḥr-m-ḥb* (Αρμαις) *jr.t n nb.t pr Ns-Tfnt* (Εστφηνις) (Jan Quaegebeur, "À la recherche du huit clergé thébain à l'époque Gréco Romaine," 146). However, if we compare this ensemble with such parallels that can certainly be associated with Thebes, the Theban origin looks highly probable. See Firenze inv. no. 2158, Marie Cristina Guidotti, *Le mummie del Museo Egizio di Firenze* (Firenze: Giunti, 2001), 57, 15A or the coffin in Warsaw inv. no. 17329 (Elzbieta Dabrowska-Smektała, "A Coffin of Amenhotep from the National Museum in Warsaw [Inv. No. 17 329], *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, XLI (1980) zeszyt 2., 15-18, Niwiński, "Excavations in a Late Period priest's mummy at the National Museum Warsawa," 353-361.

[3] I thank Jonathan P. Elias for the information on the ensemble.

[4] Three aprons are communicated from the corpus: EA 6965; EA 6968; EA 6969.

	"Notes d'Onomastique", *RdE* 46 (1995), 185		1809, Pl. 58, nr. 5.
Nantes, Musée Dobrée, Inv. no. 56.2856	*Mgȝ* ? (*PN* I, 167,4)	-	*Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches*. Antiquités. Planches, Vol. II., *Thèbes. Hypogées*. Paris, 1809, Pl. 58, nr. 5.
Nantes, Musée Dobrée, Inv. no. 56.2872	Name is damaged		Unpublished.
Nantes, Musée Dobrée, D 961.2.147 (Louvre AF 793)	*Jt-nṯr, jt-nṯr Mȝᶜ.t Pȝ-ḫr-Ḥnsw* (*PN* I, 116, 18, *PN* II, 358, *DN* I, 210, 508)	*Tȝj-kȝtm* (*PN* I, 375, 15, *DN* I, 1215)	Unpublished.
Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Inv. no. 1092	Name is covered with the bandages of the mummy		Renata Cantilena, Teresa Giove, *La Collezione Egiziana del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli* (Napoli: Arte Tipografica, 1999), 91-92, no. 9. 105.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 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
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Inv. no. 164	The name is damaged	The name is damaged	Unpublished.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Inv. no. 165	*Mȝj-rsy.t* (*?*)	*Tȝj-m-f*	Unpublished. Note: For the name of the mother see also: hypocephalus, Moscow N°. 1,1a 4865
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Inv. no. 168	[*Pȝ*]*-hb* (*?*) (Φιβις) (*PN* I, 115, 4; *DN* I, 202)	*Tȝ-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
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Inv. no. 169-2	Without a name		Unpublished.
Paris, Musée du Louvre E 18953 (ancient Musée Guimet E 1444)	Without a name	-	Marc Étienne, *Journey to the Afterlife. Egyptian Antiquities from the Louvre* (Sydney: Art Exhibitions Australia, 2006), 22 - 23. n° 24; Marc Étienne, *Les Portes du Ciel. Visions du Monde dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris: Somogy, 2009), 128-129, n° 92.
Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 19618	Anonym		*Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches*. Planches, Vol. II., *Thèbes. Hypogées*. Paris, 1809, Pl. 58, nr. 2
Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 26834[5]	*Šᶜ-ḫpr* (*PN* I, 324, 21, *DN* I, 963)	*Tȝ-rw* (*PN* I, 364, 16)	Jacques Vandier, "Nouvelles Acquisitions - Musée du Louvre," *La Revue du Louvre* 21, (1971), 98-99.
Paris, Musée du Louvre, N 2627	*Pȝ-šrj-*(*Mnw?*) (*PN* I, 118, 5; (20))	*Tȝ-jr-Bȝst.t* (*?*) (*PN* I, 353, 22)	http://www.louvre.fr/

[5] Transitional between the two-piece and four-piece cartonnages.

Swansea, Swansea University, Egypt Centre, EC 498	-	-	http://www.egyptcentre.org.uk/index.asp?page=item&mwsquery={Identity number}={EC498}
Swansea, Swansea University, Egypt Centre, W881	Anonym	-	http://www.egyptcentre.org.uk/index.asp?page=item&mwsquery={Identity number}={W881}
Swansea, Swansea University, Egypt Centre, W894	*?*	*?*	http://www.egyptcentre.org.uk/index.asp?page=item&mwsquery={Identity number}={W894}
Swansea, Swansea University, Egypt Centre, W895	*?*	*?*	http://www.egyptcentre.org.uk/index.asp?page=item&mwsquery={Identity number}={W895}
Thebes, TT32 – Tomb B Reg. no. 1991/148; 1992/102, 102.2, 103, 111 2005.Ca.130 - Varia	-	-	Schreiber, *The Theban Necropolis*, 244
Thebes, TT32 no. 2005. Ca.024	the name is damaged		Schreiber, "Ptolemaic Cartonnages," 241, no. 9, Plate 66/3
Thebes, TT32 reg. no. 2005. Ca.056	the name is damaged		Schreiber, *The Theban Necropolis*, 188, no. 23
Thebes, TT32 reg. no. 83/272	the name is damaged		Schreiber, "Ptolemaic Cartonnages," 241, no. 8, plate 66/2
Trieste, Civico Museo di Storia, the inv. no. is not known	*Mɜʿ.t-pɜ-ʿnḫ*	*Ḥr-(m)-hb* (*PN* I, 248,7) *Tɜ-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.[6]
Turin, Museo delle Antichità Egizie di Torino, cat. no. 2267	Anonym	-	Fabretti, Rossi, Lanzone, "Regio Museo di Torino," 322
Turin, Museo delle Antichità Egizie di Torino, cat. no. 2268[7]	*Pɜ-Ḫnm* (*PN* I, 110, 17; *PN* II, 353	-	Fabretti, Rossi, Lanzone, "Regio Museo di Torino," 322
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, ÄS 297a/4	*Pɜ-šrj-jḥ.t* (*?*) (*DN* I, 512)	*ɜs.t-wr.t* (*PN* I, 4,1; *DN* I, 76-77)	Wilfried Seipe, *Götter Menschen Pharaonen 3500 Jahre ägyptische Kultur. Meisterwerke aus der Ägyptisch-Orientalischen Sammlung des Kunthistorischen Museums Wien* (Speyer: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1993), 274, no. 198.
Warsaw, National Museum, Apron pertaining to the coffin MN 17329	*Jmn-ḥtp* (Αμενωτης), (*PN* I, 30, 12; *DN* I, 67)	*Pɜ-dj-ʿšɜ-jḫ.t* (*PN* I 122,22; *DN* I, 295) *Psd.t* (*PN* I, 137, 11, *PN* II, 287; *DN* I, 482)	Niwiński, "Excavations in a Late Period priest's mummy at the National Museum Warsawa," 353, Tav. V,1.
Zagreb, Archeological Museum, Inv. no. 667-1 (893)[8]	Anonym	-	Monnet-Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 172-173, no. 893. Uranić, *Aegyptiaca Zagrabiensia,* 102-103, Cat. no. 121.

[6] Cartonnage apron from Armant.

[7] And some subsequent fragmentary examples (non vidi).

[8] The apron also makes part of the ancient Koller Collection similarly to hypocephali (Cat. no. 889-891), a *wesekh-en-bik* collar (Cat. no. 893) and two gilded cartonnage masks (Cat. no. 895, 896). We cannot exclude the possibility that the parts belong to at least one set.

Book Reviews

David A. Aston and Barbara G. Aston. *Late Period Pottery from the New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqara*. EES Excavation Memoir 92. London and Leiden: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2010. ISBN: 978-0-85698-198-0. 279p. £65.

At first glance, a study of Late Period pottery from a New Kingdom necropolis sounds like something of an oxymoron. Yet the publication of pottery from the twenty years of excavation (1975-1995) at Saqqara by the Egypt Exploration Society and the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden is to be lauded as providing important information about the history of the site at the end of the pharaonic age. The area of these excavations is to the south of the Unas causeway. Previous reports have presented the New Kingdom pottery associated with the tombs in this area; the present report deals with the considerable quantity of pottery from later periods only loosely associated with the New Kingdom tombs. David Aston and his ex-partner Barbara Aston call the pottery presented in this volume "contexted" (p. 187), which is technically true. Yet ironically the nature of these contexts (i.e. surface finds, caches, and re-used tomb shafts) provides little information for actually placing the pottery "in context". Rather it is through a study of the pottery that significant information is gained about the archaeological contexts in which that pottery is found. As if this were not enough, the discussion of the pottery's dating leads to a much needed revision and updating of the chronology of Late Period pottery in general, especially in the north of Egypt.

The Astons' report is divided into eight sections as follows: I. Introduction; II. The Embalmers' Caches; III. Late Period Pottery from Late Period Tomb Shafts; IV Date of the Caches and Late Period Shafts; V. Excursus: Late Period Funerary Practices in the Light of the Ceramic Material Found in the Caches and Tomb Shafts; VI. Late Period Pottery from Pre-Existing Shafts Reused in the Late Period; VII. Surface Pottery; VIII. The Saqqara Pottery in Its Chronological Setting. The extensive fabric descriptions in the introduction (section I) will be useful to any ceramist dealing with post New Kingdom pottery from the north of Egypt. There is also a discussion of how vessel shapes are determined, and a list of abbreviations used in the text (e.g. Pht = preserved height). The bulk of the text presents the pottery according to the following three contexts: 1) caches buried loosely in the surface sand (section II); 2) funerary pottery recovered from tomb shafts (sections III & VI); and 3) surface debris (section VII). Questions raised by this pottery are dealt with in extensive excurses covering the archaeological contexts of this pottery in caches (sections II) and tomb shafts (section III), the date of these caches and tomb shafts (section IV), Late Period burial practices (section V), and the overall chronology of Late Period pottery (section VIII).

The Late Period pottery corpus from Saqqara is beautifully illustrated in the plates at the end of the text numerically by type no. (1-466) and the vessels are described in this order in the sections dealing directly with the pottery. However, when dealing with the individual caches and tomb shafts, figures in the text illustrate individual vessel assemblages arranged by their pottery corpus number; so while the vessels appear in numerical order in each figure, the numbers do not begin at one and are not consecutive. For example, the first vessel in fig. 1 is no. 25; the first vessel in fig. 2 is no. 21. The number of times an individual type appears in a particular context is indicated in parentheses beside the drawing. So in fig. 2 "(2x)" beside no. 36 indicates that two examples of this type of torch appeared in cache no. 5. When you look in the pottery typology, you see that the example drawn is actually from Cache 4; you have to look at the end of the entry to read "two more in J1 coarse uncoated ware in Cache 5" (p. 33). Each type drawn in the pottery corpus can represent one or many vessels. For example, in addition to the vessel drawn and described as type 70 (bowl with round rim and round base), an additional 29 other from the same cache (no. 13) are briefly listed, followed by seven examples from cache no. 14, and single examples from caches 15 and 17, for a total of 39 examples of the type. It looks like vessels with inscriptions in ink or charcoal (e.g. nos. 69, 71, and 72) each have been given their own entry in the typology. The eleven pages of photos at the end of the volume are referenced with excavation numbers. One has to use the concordance provided (pp. 189-193) in order to determine the catalogue number under which they are discussed in the text.

Although the vessel typology system works well for presenting the ceramic evidence from a site, it is not so well adapted to dealing with the archaeological context of the pottery. The description of the Saqqara embalmers' caches 4-16 in the present work, along with the discussion in section V, is the most extensive description of embalmers' caches outside of Thebes.[1] Caches 1-3 are discussed in Martin *The Tomb of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqâra* (EES Excavation Memoir 52) and are not included in the Astons' work. Added to this is an extensive discussion in section V which argues that the "the Saqqara caches fit into a well-defined pattern, which seems to have developed during the Eighth to Seventh Centuries BC, and continued at least into the Fourth Century BC" (p. 119). Despite all this attention, other finds from these embalmers' caches, such as linen bandages or straw matting, are not illustrated or fully described as the publication under review concentrates solely on the pottery. Likewise, the archaeological description of the re-used tomb shafts is perhaps more extensive than strictly warranted by the pottery. For instance, it covers some shafts without pottery

[1] See Julia Budka, "Deponierungen von Balsamierungsmaterial und Topfnester im spätzeitlichen Theben (Ägypten), Befund, Kontext und Versuch einer Deutung" in Joannis Mylonopoulos and Hubert Roeder, eds. *Archäologie und Ritual. Auf der Suche der rituellen Handlung in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands* (Vienna, 2006), 85-103.

(e.g. Horemheb shaft iv) or whose associated pottery is treated as surface debris (e.g. tombs of Ramose and Pabes).

Although the archaeological context does not provide much evidence for a precise dating, the connections established between the pottery in the different contexts and the typology of over 300 forms is "a sizeable corpus of roughly contemporary pottery which is large enough to approach the dating of this material from a solely comparative point of view" (p. 108). The discussion of the "chronological setting" of the pottery in section VIII is something of a *tour de force* with four basic phases and several sub-phases delineated. It follows on from and continues the discussion in David A. Aston, *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth-Seventh Centuries BC)* (Heidelberger Orientverlag 1996). Although the discussion centres on the basic sequence of phases, rather than absolute or dynastic chronology, the results can be basically summed up as follows:

Phase A (figs. 34-6) = Dynasty 25 (Kushite) = Seventh century BC
Phase B (figs. 37-43) = Dynasty 26 (Saite) = late Seventh to Sixth century BC
Phase C (figs. 44-46) = Dynasty 27 (Persian) = Fifth century BC
Phase D (figs. 47-48) = Dynasties 28-30 = Fourth Century BC

Unfortunately, the vessel forms in the figures illustrating the different phases are not numbered and no source is given for their origin; this makes it difficult to cite any particular vessel type. Some of the types are from this volume; for example, the Bes jar on figure 46 is no. 294 in the Saqqara Late Period pottery typology. Most of the pottery from the embalmers' caches and Late Period shafts at Saqqara can be placed in Phase C or the Persian Period. The Late Period pottery from the pre-existing shafts seems to cover two phases (B2 and C). In the text (pp. 136-144), this pottery is divided between the Saite and Persian Periods.[2]

Further refinement of the Late Period Egyptian pottery chronology, especially for northern sites, awaits the full publication of a number of stratified sites, such as Tell el-Maskhuta. The preliminary work of the late Pat Paice, a much-respected secretary of the SSEA, has yielded important results used by the Astons in their study. They note (p. 179 & p. 113), for example, the distinction of thinner walled vessels being characteristic of the Saite Period (the Astons' Phase B2) and thicker walled vessels being characteristic of the Persian Period (the Astons' Phase C). Although J.S. Holladay (University of

[2] Note that although Saite and Persian Period pottery are obviously two separate mutually exclusive categories, the typography does not consistently distinguish the various wares and imports as subcategories. As produced in the text (pp. 136-144), it looks like such categories as "Levantine Imports" are at the same level as these major categories, rather than being subordinate to them; since "Aegean Imports" occurs twice, it is evident that the first section contains vessels of Saite date and the second section vessels of Persian date.

Toronto) is called "a victim of his own fixed dates" (p. 112, n. 196), which dates are "the result of historical fantasy" (p. 110), I find the Maskhuta ceramic dating to be basically sound. The work of the Astons' goes much beyond the important presentation of the Late Period pottery at Saqqara. For ceramists, it is an indispensible summary of our current knowledge of Late Period pottery. Beyond this, their work contains significant archaeological discussions on such topics as embalmment caches and the development of funerary practices in the Late Period. The excellent and comprehensive bibliography of sources, however, is not quite without flaws. I could not help but notice that my own name has been consistently misspelt with a "c" throughout the volume under review.

- Steven Blake Shubert

Nathalie Baum. *Le temple d'Edfou. À la découverte du Grand Siège de Rê-Harakhty*. Monaco : Éditions du Rocher, 2007. ISBN: 978-2-268-05795-8 (Collection « Champollion »). un vol. relié en 4, 634 p. + 32 pl. coul. + 25 pl. n./bl. €24.

Cet ouvrage est consacré au Grand Siège de Rê-Horakhty localisé dans la partie arrière du temple d'Horus à Edfou, comprenant le sanctuaire central et ses chapelles rayonnantes à l'exclusion de la chapelle de Min et du complexe de la Ouâbet.

L'auteure fonde son ouvrage sur le principe d'une « visite guidée » menée en différentes étapes, tel que le suggèrent deux séries de textes conservés dans le temple. L'ordre des chapitres est judicieux dans la mesure où il est calqué sur celui imposé par la description de l'édifice dictée par le scribe lui-même. Avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, une introduction (pp. 9-29) livre des informations d'ordre général au sujet de la construction du temple et des pharaons qui en sont à l'origine, mais donne surtout les clés pour comprendre le fonctionnement de l'ouvrage, initiative qui ne peut qu'être saluée aux vues de l'ampleur de la documentation présentée. Cette partie s'avère donc incontournable pour la suite de la lecture.

Les huit chapitres sont subdivisés en sections descriptives ou thématiques et passent en revue l'ensemble des tableaux conservés. De façon à pouvoir aisément se repérer, l'auteure donne pour chaque texte cité les références à l'édition du temple d'Edfou (E. Chassinat), renvois regroupés en fin d'ouvrage dans un index fort utile (pp. 590-613) et dont on ne saurait faire abstraction selon le propre avis de l'auteure (p. 15).

Le premier chapitre (pp. 33-87) est dédié à la chapelle du Vaillant, aussi dite de Mesen. Première des chapelles rayonnantes selon le texte qui accompagne son décor (*Edfou* IV 5, 1-3), elle est située dans l'axe central nord du temple derrière le naos. C'est dans cette chambre qu'était renfermée, dans un naos, l'une des représentations de Rê-Horakhty, l'effigie du faucon-*gemhes*, l'animal sacré d'Edfou, en compagnie d'une statue d'Hathor et de deux lances sacrées. Cet indice permet donc de constater que le dieu de cette chapelle est le même que celui du temple.

Scindée en une série droite et une série gauche, la décoration de la chapelle du Vaillant n'échappe pas à la règle de division axiale qui s'applique à tout le temple et donc aux scènes des autres chapelles. Suivant la légende inscrite sur l'une des parois de la chambre, le décor illustre l'Ennéade de Mesen faisant face au roi officiant. Parmi les dieux présents, la divinité parèdre qui semble revêtir le plus d'importance est Hathor dame d'Iounet qui, « non loin de Sa Majesté, est toujours devant lui » (*Edfou* I 228, 8-9). Tout comme dans le reste du temple, les scènes sont construites sur le principe du face à face entre l'officiant (le roi) et la divinité. Tout comme dans les autres chapelles, la paroi du fond semble jouer un rôle primordial : dans le cas présent, elle illustre l'offrande des étoffes, matériel essentiel aux cérémonies d'investiture.

Le Grand Siège est aussi le lieu du lever et du coucher quotidien du dieu du ciel » (p. 87). Après être venu passer la nuit dans son sanctuaire (*Edfou* I 35, 4), le disque ailé s'y

faisait réveiller par le prêtre récitant le chant litanique gravé sur la façade (*Edfou* I 14-18).

Le deuxième chapitre (pp. 89-104) s'intéresse de son côté à deux des trois chapelles osiriennes situées dans l'angle nord-ouest du sanctuaire, deux chambres identifiées par les textes comme étant la Shetyt et la chambre du Prince (*Edfou* I 175-201 et 203-217). Située immédiatement à l'ouest de la chapelle de Mesen, la Shetyt est principalement dédiée au dieu Sokar-Osiris (p. 90). L'image du dieu était déposée dans cette salle afin d'y être cachée (*Edfou* I 179, 14-15). Représentant en quelque sorte le sépulcre d'Osiris, la Shetyt recevait des simulacres osiriens qui y étaient conservés pendant une année complète dans le but de pouvoir bénéficier de toutes les célébrations rituelles annuelles ayant lieu dans le temple. C'est essentiellement pour cette raison que les textes et les scènes de cette salle s'articulent tous autour du thème de la régénération et du renouvellement de la nature. La chambre du Prince, sorte d'annexe à la Shetyt, imite quant à elle le sanctuaire d'Osiris à Héliopolis. Vouée à Ioun de Behdet (*Edfou* I 179, 14), elle symbolise sa salle d'audience (*Edfou* I 180, 3-4). Les reliefs qui la décorent mettent essentiellement en images les mystères osiriens, témoignant du triomphe du dieu et de l'intronisation de son fils Horus (p. 103).

Immédiatement au sud de la chambre du Prince se trouve la dernière des trois chapelles osiriennes, identifiée par les textes comme le Sanctuaire de la Shetyt (*Edfou* IV 5, 5-7). Cette salle, faisant à elle seule l'objet du troisième chapitre (pp. 105-119), est consacrée à Osiris, Isis et Nephthys. Le thème central de l'ensemble des tableaux est celui du scarabée en tant que manifestation matinale du dieu-soleil, tandis que l'essentiel des scènes latérales concerne l'intégration d'Osiris dans le panthéon d'Edfou et la perspective de sa renaissance (p. 107). Le corps d'Osiris étant en partie associé au renouvellement annuel de la crue, c'est là qu'est attesté le thème de la crue du Nil favorisant le renouvellement et le rajeunissement (p. 110). Aussi est-il important de mentionner que le Sanctuaire de la Shetyt contient quelques passages du rituel de Behdet, dont les références à la dynastie divine ne sont qu'une allusion à la continuité lagide (p. 115).

Le chapitre quatre offre la description du Trône des dieux (pp. 121-142) dans lequel l'Ennéade d'Edfou, à qui cette chapelle est dédiée, tient une place prépondérante. Bien que l'affiche de la chambre annonce un rituel de protection (p. 128), l'ensemble des tableaux a pour but de souligner la réception des attributs de la royauté divine par Horus de Behdet qui y apparaît en tant que souverain (p. 125). L'une des scènes de la paroi ouest montre le roi recevant des millions d'années de la part du dieu Heh (pp. 128-129) : par ce geste, le dieu devait garantir la continuité des rythmes cosmiques ainsi que celle de la dynastie. Une autre partie du rituel de Behdet est inscrite dans la chapelle : elle met en scène le dieu Khnoum, dieu de la cataracte qui contrôle la crue. La présence de ce dieu est loin d'être anodine, puisqu'en évoquant la crue annuelle, elle rappelle aussi le cycle de l'année solaire, bénéfique à Horus de Behdet (pp. 139-140).

La description de la chapelle des étoffes fait l'objet d'un cinquième chapitre (pp. 145-191). Bien qu'elle ait contenu le cadastre des districts administratifs, cette salle tire son nom des étoffes de différentes couleurs qui y étaient conservées en vue des rites quotidiens et avec lesquelles la statue d'Horus était habillée. L'offrande d'étoffes destinée principalement à Horus de Behdet, qui est inscrite sur le double linteau de l'entrée (*Edfou* I 98), confirme d'ailleurs la fonction de cette salle.

Le chapitre six (pp. 193-263) porte sur les chapelles lunaires, à savoir la chapelle de la Jambe vouée à Khonsou de Behdet, homologue lunaire d'Horus de Behdet, et à son arrière-chapelle dédiée à Hathor qui fonctionnait comme un magasin. Le membre qui donne son nom à la salle est en fait la jambe gauche d'Osiris. Connue pour être l'une des sources mythologiques du Nil, cette jambe était adorée à Edfou sous la forme d'un obélisque reliquaire. Pour cette raison, plusieurs des tableaux contenus dans ces deux salles sont articulés autour du thème de la crue du Nil et du lever héliaque de Sothis. Parce qu'elle est le lieu de l'élection du faucon vivant, la chapelle de la Jambe est également destinée à assurer le maintien de la monarchie (p. 238), comme en témoignent de nombreux textes faisant allusion à la transmission de la royauté divine (*Edfou* II 52-53 et VI 102, 6).

Le septième chapitre vise à décrire le Trône de Rê (pp. 265-326), première des deux chapelles latérales est. Tandis que certains textes (*Edfou* I 282, 10-15) précisent que le *ba* de Rê venait dans cette salle pour y passer la nuit avant d'en sortir chaque matin (pp. 266-267), d'autres inscriptions relatent la manière dont les dieux primordiaux étaient impliqués dans les rituels liés à l'investiture divine et royale (p. 271). Leur présence dans cette chapelle indique que le roi s'inscrivait dans la lignée de Rê et dans le Grand Siège de la royauté divine incarné par le temple (Behdet). Les rituels qui y étaient exécutés avaient donc pour but d'assurer la continuité dynastique tout en étant en harmonie avec les rythmes cosmiques (p. 320).

Le huitième et dernier chapitre de l'ouvrage s'intéresse à la Behdet de Rê (pp. 329-436). Dernière salle ouvrant sur le côté latéral est, cette chapelle a pour particularité d'être, entre autres, décorée d'images de la déesse léonine Mehyt afin assurer la protection du temple (Behdet ; p. 329). En outre, parce que cette salle contient de nombreuses scènes pouvant se rapporter à d'autres représentations situées ailleurs dans le temple, l'auteure n'hésite pas à établir plusieurs parallèles intéressants entre les différents tableaux. Cette méthode permet de mettre en évidence la manière dont les divinités d'Edfou et d'Abydos étaient interpellées afin de participer au rituel osirien, thème qui se retrouve en filigrane dans la quasi-totalité des textes de cette chapelle. Par conséquent, la Behdet de Rê est le lieu où l'investiture d'Horus était le plus étroitement associée à la renaissance d'Osiris.

Aux huit chapitres précédents s'ajoute une série de cinq annexes venant chacune enrichir la connaissance des chapelles rayonnantes du Grand Siège d'Edfou et plus généralement de la partie arrière du temple. La première annexe (pp. 437-444) décrit les

scènes du sanctuaire et de la Ouâbet, deux structures jusqu'alors évoquées de manière indirecte. La deuxième annexe (pp. 445-482) s'attarde quant à elle à brosser un tableau exhaustif des scènes des chapelles rayonnantes en donnant une traduction des séquences d'épithètes formant la majeure partie de leurs textes. Les deux annexes suivantes présentent les structures des scènes et de larges extraits des textes de deux grands ensembles liturgiques spécifiques au temple : l'investiture du faucon vivant (pp. 483-491 pour la troisième annexe) et le calendrier de la fête de Behdet (pp. 493-501 pour la quatrième annexe). La cinquième et dernière annexe (pp. 502-525) reprend les relevés des parois des chapelles publiés par Chassinat. Une bibliographie et de nombreuses notes (pp. 527-580) complètent l'ensemble et témoignent ainsi de la valeur scientifique de cette monographie. Venant enfin conclure l'ouvrage, sept index (pp. 581-625) permettent de retrouver les différents éléments que l'auteure a jugé pertinent de mettre en lumière. Les scènes, classées de façon thématique, les dates, les textes, les divinités, les lieux, les noms du temple et de ses différentes parties, ainsi que les mots outils de la théologie sont tour à tour listés de manière à recouvrir la globalité des informations essentielles.

Avant la table des matières, une table des photos (pp. 627-629) inventorie les quelque soixante-quinze illustrations couleur insérées au centre du livre entre les pp. 432-433. On regrette toutefois que l'auteure n'y fasse pas référence de manière plus directe : il est quelquefois difficile de se rendre compte de la raison pour laquelle ces images – qui n'englobent d'ailleurs pas toutes les parois abordées – ont été ajoutées au volume. Un renvoi au numéro de la photo aurait pu éviter cet inconvénient.

De manière générale, par souci d'exactitude et d'exhaustivité, l'auteure a jugé pertinent de fournir un maximum de précisions à l'exposé des chapelles. Dans certains cas, ce trop-plein d'informations laisse malheureusement une certaine impression de confusion et oblige le lecteur à faire un effort supplémentaire pour comprendre ce dont il est question.

Ces détails mis à part, on ne peut que saluer le formidable effort de recension systématique et de description analytique réalisé par l'auteure. Conçu avant tout pour des spécialistes, ce volume offre une clé de lecture on ne peut plus utile pour ceux qui désirent pénétrer plus en détail les tableaux contenant les textes collectés dans l'édition du temple d'Edfou de Chassinat. C'est en ayant cette publication à l'esprit que l'on est alors en mesure d'apprécier à sa juste valeur toute l'ampleur du travail mené par N. Baum.

-Cedric Gobeil

Janine Bourriau. with a contribution by Kathryn Eriksson. *The Survey of Memphis IV. Kom Rabia: The New Kingdom Pottery.* EES Excavation Memoir 93. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2010. ISBN: 978-0-85698-193-7. 508 p. £65.

The ambitious goal of this book, as Janine Bourriau tells us in the introduction, is "to show from the stratigraphic sequence the changes and developments in ceramics from the end of the 2nd Intermediate Period to the end of the Ramesside Period" (p. 1). She is largely successful in this goal, although assigning absolute dates to the levels was not possible. The Kom Rabia pottery in this study comes from sealed contexts in six discernable occupation phases[1] given the labels of level V (the oldest), IV, IIIb, IIIa, IIb, and the most recent IIa. The excavations produced a statistically reliable sequence upon which the relative chronology is based (pp. 4-5). The pottery from "WC", an additional 5 meter square, is also included, but treated separately, since it could not be linked archaeologically to the main sample (p. 1).

The importance of this study cannot be overemphasized. Published assemblages of pottery from an Egyptian settlement of any date are rare, let alone from a settlement as important as the capital city of Memphis with such a long history and stratigraphic accumulation of sealed deposits. Bourriau's study also benefits from a huge sample of ceramic material. "Approximately 85000 diagnostic sherds were kept during the first 6 weeks of excavation in 1985" (p. 3). Kathryn Eriksson's contribution to this publication is unclear, but it is noted that she will be publishing *The Minoan, Mycenaean and Cypriote Pottery from New Kingdom Levels at Kom Rabia*; Colin Hope will be publishing *The Blue-Painted Pottery from New Kingdom Levels at Kom Rabia* (p. 10).

The book under review has eleven chapters followed by three appendices and a bibliography. Chapter 1 suggests a date for each level and then describes the preliminary procedure for treating the huge volume of sherds. All the sherds from each context were washed, and then sorted by fabric, surface treatment, and shape. Each category was weighed and body sherds were then discarded. The diagnostic sherds, i.e. the decorated and foreign body sherds, as well as the rims, bases and handles, were kept. In order to cope with the overwhelming number of sherds, a scientific method of random sampling was used (p. 8). The sampling method for the diagnostics was based on the advice of Dr. Nicholas Fieller of the University of Sheffield. To prevent the random sampling from missing significant sherds, "two samples were taken from each closed New Kingdom context. The first was a simple *random* sample of rims, intended to represent in a statistically significant way the character of the whole assemblage. The

[1] For description of the excavation and the methodology of its recording, see David Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis V. Kom Rabia: The New Kingdom Settlement* (2006).

second was a *purposive sample* taken from all the diagnostic sherds (not only the rims) remaining after the random sample had been removed" (p. 8). In all 13,527 sherds were recorded, drawn, and entered into the database (p. 9): "This system provided 'unbiased' data upon which to observe the changes in the pottery assemblages through time" (p. 8).

Chapter 2 explains the terminology used in the catalogue and the accompanying appendices. The pottery is classified according to open and closed forms and vessel shapes, with names based on their vessel index. For example, a "dish" is defined by a vessel index between 500–350, as opposed to a "bowl" with a vessel index of 350-200. Page 13 contains a very important table that shows the classes of shapes that are used in the catalogue. Keep a finger on this page! Each vessel classification is given three numbers: the first number identifies the class (e.g. 4 is a "bowl"), the second number describes the sub-class as defined by its shape or contour in more detail, and the third number represents the number in that class (p. 14). A following letter, (a) or (b), describes the surface treatment, a chart for which appears on page 15. "Quantity is expressed in *eve*s. The *eve* has been calculated by adding up the percentage of the rim present in all examples sharing the same level, fabric, shape, and surface treatment" (p. 14). Chapter 3 gives a very detailed description of the ceramic fabrics found at Kom Rabia. It also contains a useful explanation of how to describe the inclusions in the various fabrics.

Chapters 4 through 9 describe each of the six levels separately, in a predictable way beginning with the lowest level "V" up to the most recent "IIa". A discussion of the character and dating of the pottery begins each chapter. Middle Kingdom residual pottery is accounted for. The comments that follow sum up interesting points that occur in open and closed forms in both Nile Silt and Marl fabrics. A chart sets out the quantity and distribution of imported vessels in each level. The main body of the work is a ceramic typology, sorted by open and closed forms, and then by fabrics, describing in detail the plates of illustrated vessels. The plates are well drawn and clear. Drawings from the purposeful sample are also included at the end. The book closes with three appendices: Appendix 1 covering the distribution of New Kingdom pottery by context; Appendix 2 giving the quantification of New Kingdom pottery types by level; and Appendix 3 giving the distribution of Middle Kingdom style pottery by context.

The EES Memphis project must be commended for allocating a large amount of its human and financial resources towards recording and studying the pottery. The project benefited by the input of many other experts in different fields of ceramics, but it was Janine Bourriau who supervised the entire venture. I particularly appreciate her complete honesty in presenting all the facts, the difficulties, and the problems that she faced. Her suggestions of what she would have done differently had she to begin the project again were very illuminating and will be extremely helpful to ceramicists pondering how to approach such large ceramic assemblages in the future (p. 9).

The book is a wonderful resource for ceramicists since it is full of important pottery remarks on subjects such as ceramic date markers, subtle technical changes in manufacturing, and the ubiquitous presence of residual sherds. The information provided reflects the authors' years of experience. You will need all your fingers to hold places in the book as you flip back and forth from the illustrations to the descriptions and to Appendix 2 in the back to follow the history of a particular vessel through the levels.

This book will be of broad interest to both archaeologists and ceramicists. It raises the important question of how to process and record large amounts of pottery in order to achieve the maximum amount of information with limited resources. All digs face this problem and a perfect solution is not easy to achieve. Janine Bourriau achieved her goal of revealing scientifically that a major change in New Kingdom pottery appeared at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty in (Level IV) and a less dramatic change at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty (Level IIb) (p. 415). My only regret is that the book is so large and heavy that it won't fit into my back pocket in the field.

-Rexine Hummel

Arlette David. *The Legal Register of Ramesside Private Law Instruments.* Göttinger Orientforschungen IV, Reihe Ägypten 38: Classification and Categorisation in Ancient Egypt 7. Wiesbaden: Harrosowitz Verlag, 2010. ISBN: 3-447 06143 8. 331p. €74, $102 (US).

Upon setting out to read Arlette David's *The Legal Register of Ramesside Private Law Instruments*, Vol. 7 in the series Classification and Categorisation in Ancient Egypt of the Göttinger Orientforschungen, it became eminently clear to this reviewer, as early as page 1 of the Introduction, that any reading would be steep sledding indeed without some prior understanding of David's previous opus, *Syntactic and Lexico-Semantic Aspects of the Legal Royal Decrees*, Vol. 6 in the same series, and the research and methodology that undergirds both tomes. This Göttingen series is devoted to a detailed examination of the function of hieroglyphic determinatives or "classifiers" in an effort to illuminate the ancient Egyptians' method of classifying and categorizing the experiential world in which they lived. This is a specialized, relatively recent undertaking since determinatives have too long been taken for granted as an interesting peculiarity of the hieroglyphic writing system and a heavy chore for new students to master.

David's initial contribution to this area of study endeavours to shed light upon a corpus of about fifty Ramesside royal decrees, divided into four subsets constituting "a representative and coherent sample of Ramesside Period official legal terminology and forensic categorization system" for the period from 1300-1100 B.C. (vol. 6, 23), by subjecting each text to analysis in terms of its function, beginning with an "enacting clause" specifying the issuer, the object, the beneficiary, and the decree's applicability and proceeding to a detailed analysis of each section of the document in terms of the stage of the linguistic development (assessing various characteristics of Neo-Egyptian versus various characteristics of Middle Egyptian, i.e. "Classical" forms). The subsets of royal decrees treated by David include specific protection/criminal law decrees concerned with the protection of a temple and its property (Nauri Decree, Hermopolis Decree, Armant Decree, etc.); specific royal endowment decrees including two Buhen decrees; brief royal commission decrees, including the land-survey Brooklyn 69.116.1 and Fayyum decrees; as well as epistolary warning and instruction decrees, including P. Anastasi IV 10,8-11,8, among the Late Egyptian Miscellanies, addressed by the king to a royal officer, and P. Cairo ESP (B), a personal royal communication to the high priest of Amun Ramessenakht. Her treatment of the four subsets results in a complex and detailed analysis that requires a terminology of its own, unfamiliar to many if not most Egyptologists. The treatment of each category analyzed is followed by a table of the relevant legal register syntactic forms and particularities.

The analysis that underlies both volumes is rooted in several methodological approaches, including that of Hans Jacob Polotsky. From Polotsky, who taught

linguistics at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, David derives the structuralist textual-analytic approach that features the all-important terms *theme* (for what information is given or presupposed, i.e. "what is being discussed"); *rheme* (for the message about the theme or the given information); and the *nexus* ("the special interdependence and link of theme and rheme"). Without a clear understanding of these and other terms David presents on pp. 8-9 of vol. 6 and those relevant to vol. 7 (23-26), neither book would be comprehensible. The work of David's mentor Professor Orly Goldwasser also plays a major role since David derives key terms from Goldwasser that she employs in both volumes. These include the essential term "register" which, in David's words, refers to a "variety of language distinguished according to use" where the deciding criteria "are found in its grammar and lexis" (vol. 6, 10). The pioneering research of Rosch[1] and Goldwasser[2] provides the theoretical framework of the study of "script classifiers" ("determinatives" or iconic elements without phonetic value) utilized by David in analyzing individual documents, both royal decrees and private law instruments. These include the book-roll for [ABSTRACT]; the string for [BINDING]; the hand with a stick for [COERCION]; the walking legs for [MOTION]; the crossed sticks for [UNION/DIVISION]; and the evil bird for [INFERIORITY/PERTURBATION]. To this end, David provides a table entitled *Occurrences of classifiers in the Ramesside royal decrees legal register* (vol. 6, 253-57) with various lexemes classified, translations, occurrences in texts and alternatives (if any). In the end, as a result of the many perspectives from which she has approached her corpus, David's conclusions apply to a wide variety of subjects from Egyptian law to narrative form to grammar, each document providing a different platform from which to comment upon and strengthen her arguments.

David's follow-up study, *The Legal Register of Ramesside Private Law Instruments*, proceeds along the same lines, but shifts the focus to the language of documents in the private sphere in order to "establish the linguistic features of that specific genre, and to compare them with those of the dialect used in public sphere normative instruments" (vol. 7, 1; from here all page references will be to vol. 7). The private law corpus she treats thus provides the "basis of *genre-oriented* grammar of a definite period in the context of a specific *état de langue*" (1). When the third projected volume concerning the *contentious* genre is complete, David will have surveyed the various legal registers using both a synchronous approach for the Ramesside epoch and a diachronic approach

[1] Eleanor Rosch, "Principles of Categorization" in Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd, eds. *Cognition and Catergorization* (Hilldale: Erlbaum), 28-49.

[2] Orly Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor*. OBO 142. (Fribourg and Göttingen: University Press Fribourg, 1995); Orly Goldwasser, "The Determinative System as a Mirror of World Organization." *GM* 170 (1999): 49-68; Orly Goldwasser, *Lovers, Prophets and Giraffes: Wor[L]d Catergorization in Ancient Egypt.* GOF IV. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

that allows comparison with material both earlier and later in date in order to reveal and interpret emergent patterns and changes.

In the extensive but necessary introduction that explains the framework followed and terminology used, David proceeds to a general discussion of structuralist syntactic analysis; the sociolinguistic analysis of registers, genres, and dialects; legal discourse analysis; Neo-Egyptian registers; semiotics, cognitive linguistics, and categorisation; and ends with a glossary of the legal terms used in the book.

David roots her typological approach in the general legal concept of individual freedom to dispose of one's own property according to private law, whether in bilateral acts (where two or more parties must willingly consent) or in unilateral acts such as wills or gifts. Thus, the Ramesside documents treated here belong to the consentient legal genre and have legal consequences. The author's discussion concerns the legal force attached to the written record as opposed to the verbal commitment. David sets out the situational parameters of the Ramesside register as consisting of the following: participants; relationship between addressor/addressee(s); setting; channel or mode; relations of the participants in the text; purpose; and topic.

Part One is concerned with wills, gifts, and partitions, wills and gifts taken as the first and longer section (A), partitions as the second (B). Next, there is a consideration of wills, gifts, and partitions in other periods from a diachronic perspective (Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and New Kingdom with examples).

The textual analysis of Section A commences with nine documents in the category of wills and gifts and ends with a category of often fragmentary or elliptic records of movable assets, i.e. private assets' transmissions that are not private law instruments. A Table of syntactic forms and particularities in wills and gifts ends section A.

The partitions discussed in Section B result from several types of situations and do not belong to the consentient legal genre. In parallel to Section A, Section B ends with a Table of syntactic forms and particularities in partitions. In each section, David undertakes the textual analysis of the individual texts, beginning, for example, with the earliest in Section A, O. DeM 108 from the reign of Seti I, and including the well-known Will of Naunakhte (P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.97 & 1945.95 and P. DeM 23 & 25) and P. Adoptions (P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.96).

First identified are several major problems the author faced in approaching the study. First was establishing the corpus, since the nature of private law documents and their classification as wills, gifts, or contracts and as autonomously legally binding acts is not always so clear due to the fragmentary condition of many texts and the elusive character of both the pharaonic legal system and Egyptian socio-economic organization. Mrisch's view that the very idea of *Letzwilligkeit* is contradictory to Egyptian beliefs in the

Afterlife is mentioned but largely denigrated as "too narrow"[3] (3). To consider Mrisch's objection unreasonable for its narrowness is to throw it aside too casually, especially in light of the absence (so far) of Ramesside Period written contracts and the borderline status of many documents that appear to relate to wills. Second is the question of whether the legal system of Ramesside Egypt was predominantly oral or written, the answer to which David gives is that the oral legal practice only slowly developed into a written practice, the oral will remaining the primary way of expressing one's wishes (a dispositive legally binding act), the written form being completed only *a posteriori*. These issues are compounded with other dilemmas as regards the textual genre: consentient legal vs. "other genre" (for example, epistolary or narrative constructions) or a mixture of "two genres". This in turn is related to the question of the origin and use of the instrument, private vs. public sphere, and the value of the legal instrument as an original vs. a copy, a draft, excerpt or summary.

Here the issue of orality comes into play since it was most common during the New Kingdom for expressions of will to be verbal, as in the Nineteenth Dynasty P. Cairo JE 65739, from the time of Ramesses II, a document generally considered a lawsuit, concerning the purchase of a girl for a price. This had been an oral agreement that came under court scrutiny (and documentation) when conflict arose between the parties concerning their agreement that required a written record. Yet, we have to take into account Mrsich's view that this is an authentic document ("the written protocol by the administration controlling the market of the slave's acquisition by co-buyers") rather than a lawsuit.[4] Records arising from disagreement over an oral transaction appear to have required a written account, bringing up the question of legal orality and literacy to which David draws parallels in various times and places (Tiersma[5]), in Greek society (Robb[6], Thomas[7] and Gagarin[8]) and Anglo-Saxon as well (Danet and Bogoch[9]). Thus,

[3] Tycho Mrsich, *Fragen zum altägyptischen Recht der "Isolationsperiode" vor dem Neuen Reich: Ein Forschungsbericht aus dem Arbeitskreis Historiogenese von Rechtsnormen* (München: Herbert Utz, 2005), 157-8.

[4] Tycho Mrsich, "Erenofres Verteidigung" in Dieter Kessler and Regine Schulz, eds. *Gedenkschrift für Winifred Barta. MÄU* 4 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995), 298-9; Alan. H. Gardiner, "A Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase of Two Slaves," *JEA* 21 (1935): 142.

[5] Peter M. Tiersma, "Writing, Text, and the Law" in Charles Bazerman, ed. *Handbook of Research on Writing: History, Society, School, Individual, Text* (Lawrence Erlbaum, available at SSRN (http://ssrn.com/abstract=850305) as *Loyola Law School LA Legal Studies* Paper No. 2005-31, 2007).

[6] Kevin Robb, *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[7] Rosalind Thomas, "Written in Stone? Liberty, Equality, Orality and the Codification of Law" in Lin Foxhall and Andrew D.E. Lewis, eds. *Greek Law in its Political Setting: Justifications not Justice* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996), 9-31.

[8] Michael Gagarin, *Writing Greek Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[9] Brenda Danet and Bryna Bogoch, "From Oral Ceremony to Written Document: The Transitional Language of Anglo-Saxon Wills," *Language and Communication* 12 (1992): 95-122; Danet and Bogoch, "Whoever Alters This, May God Turn His Face from Him on the Day of Judgment.' Curses in Anglo-Saxon Legal Documents," *Journal*

she does not hesitate to compare legal material from societies far distant in time and space as well as social and ethical values. Having found in Ramesside legal instruments that the issue of the legal original does not frequently arise, originals being verbal rather than written and records being "official or private renditions of it" (5), she turns to the context of the Anglo-Saxon legal system, from the fifth to the eleventh centuries A.D., where the absence of the fully autonomous legal force of the written act suggests a stage of literacy she finds comparable to that attained by Ramesside society, oral acts of bequeathing being followed by *a posteriori* binding events in the Anglo-Saxon context (6). At the same time, she recognizes that the issue of literacy vs. orality is not a simple dichotomy and can in fact co-exist in Ramesside Egypt. This is because the village of Deir el-Medina provides a major source for her corpus and represents a population that was relatively highly literate (pre-Demotic) and unique among settlements with the possible exception of Middle Kingdom Kahun where many literary works and documents have come to light. Thus, she subsequently comments, "some aspects of the Egyptian literate experience were already deeply assimilated during the Ramesside Period" (9).

Each document in David's corpus (using the initial O. DeM 108 as an example) is first described in terms of its date; a citation of its hieroglyphic version; its "instrument", i.e. its present state of preservation; its "value" as an original/copy/or draft (here as "excerpt?"); its "nature" such as private letter with legal consequences (here the main provisions of an *imyt-pr*); and its genre (here consentient legal). Following instrument comes the legal step it represents (here, the external manifestation of will); the legal issue at stake (here a will); and its textemic features, which naturally merit the longest and most detailed treatment of the text.

The structural analysis of textemic features begins with "pre-material" where the author considers the introduction of the text with date and title (object, testator, instrument, and beneficiaries) preliminary to examining the stage of linguistic development. This is determined using the Neo-Egyptian text analysis model for distinguishing dialectical features from the conservatism of Classical Middle Egyptian "degree 0" (reference *Sinuhe*, *CT*) through "degree 1" and "degree 2", representing adaptation and innovation respectively, and finally "degree 3", signifying a new *état de langue* entirely (reference Twentieth Dynasty *Wenamun*), a degree of Neo-Egyptian being assigned to the entire texteme. The progression through these stages is not merely a chronological development but also involves genre and register.

Pre-materials are followed by what David calls the "Operative Part" or the analysis of the text of the legal provisions that give effect to the transaction described, the relevant

of American Folklore 105 (1992): 132-65; Danet and Bogoch, "Orality, Literacy and Performativity in Anglo-Saxon Wills" in J. Gibbons, ed. *Language and the Law* (Harlow: Longman, 1994), 100-35.

section of the text subsequently translated. Neo-Egyptian characteristics are taken into account together with Classical forms used. In the case of O. DeM 108, the last component analyzed is the Colophon, note being made that colophon usage as an authenticating device was a Twentieth Dynasty phenomenon rare at Deir el-Medina according to Haring.[10] David ends the analysis with a discussion of the categorization of terms relevant to the text in the legal register such as *rdi ḫt*, "to give, transmit assets/material property" with [ABSTRACT] classifier for *ḫt; irí imyt-pr* "to make a (written deed of transfer)" generally with absence of classifier but when classified takes the [ABSTRACT] or the [BINDING] classifier; *ps*□, "to divide (assets)" with [ABSTRACT] and [UNION/DIVISION] classifiers, sometimes [COERCION]; *iw.f N n PN* "to be for PN, to belong to"; *ḥsb* "account, balance" referring to the semantic category [UNION/DIVISION], and *m-b3ḥ mtrw*, "in the presence/before witnesses" with [ABSTRACT] for *m-b3ḥ* and [MALE-HUMAN] and [CONTROLLED ACTIVITIES?] classifiers for *mtrw* (40-43).

The term *imyt-pr* invites comparison of P. DeM 108 with the *Stèle juridique de Karnak* (JE 52453) from the Seventeenth Dynasty with regards to the format of the pre-material, especially the title, as well as to the unique Old Kingdom example of Nebkaweher's *imyt-pr* which concerns a funerary foundation where testimonial dispositions regarding heirs are lacking (34).

Part Two of the book treats contract related records, derived largely from the relatively highly literate community of Deir el-Medina. These are exceptionally well preserved because of the character of the site. It is a relatively short section organized according to genre. A series of questions are applied to the texts discussed, beginning with the question of whether the instruments belong to the consentient legal genre and express mutual consent of the parties involved. The orality of legal matters is also raised since Ramesside contracts were mainly verbal (224, n. 765). The matter of orality with respect to documents of this type was previously discussed in the Introduction where note is made of Janssen's position that "ostraca did possess some value as legal documents" and further that Egyptians made "no distinction in this respect between papyri and ostraca" despite the fact that without mention of witnesses such ostraca were not "actual legal deeds".[11] Moreover, ostraca were probably "used in daily life by ordinary people, and papyri more in the administration, but even this difference is far from absolute. Their value in legal proceedings was the same."[12] Debate on this subject has continued with McDowell[13] and Donker van Heel and Haring.[14] Clearly, the

[10] Ben Haring, "From Oral Practice to Written Record in Ramesside Deir el-Medina." *JESHO* 46 (2003): 264.

[11] Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 511, 513.

[12] Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period, 511.

[13] Andrea Griet McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990), 5-7.

administration made use of ostraca on a daily basis, filing them with a system of dockets,[15] so that they might remain in use for some time,[16] even if there is doubt concerning their maintenance in official archives.[17] Menu's comment that ostraca were autonomous legally binding documents acknowledges the ubiquity of the material and their status as the preferred medium for the most frequent transactions.[18] David's corpus reflects, however, the preponderance of papyri (admittedly a relatively cheap commodity, according to Janssen, appropriate to semi-official uses, such as drafts[19]), for wills and gifts and partitions in contrast to ostraca that were used mainly to record social gifts (10).

The three wills treated by David, namely that of Naunakhte, P. Adoptions and P. Turin 2021, are indeed authentic, longer, neatly written and corrected documents executed before witnesses, including provisions and clauses common to the genre of wills but not necessarily to all documents inscribed on ostraca. However, until a more thorough examination of the entire corpus of such documents in Egyptian history is made, the choice of medium remains open to question. New caches of temple documents (ostraca and papyri) such as those found by an Italian team in 2010 from the Roman cache at the temple of Soknopaiou in the Fayyum (yet to be published in full[20]) need to be thoroughly studied, especially in light of the fact that temples served as the hub of the legal system (Egyptian temple notaries and courts separate from Greek courts) for ethnic Egyptians during the Ptolemaic Period when a dual Hellenic-Egyptian legal system was in force. All such materials need to be evaluated and more will inevitably come to light. Thus, as so often is the case, absence of evidence does not automatically denote evidence of absence. Discussion of these texts and related issues is followed by the categorizing of genres of texts rather than features of the lexemes already encountered. Features and examples are provided as are copious lengthy and detailed footnotes.

[14] Koen Donker van Heel and Ben J.J. Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village: Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), 2-5.

[15] See O. Gardiner/Ashmolean 36 in Donker van Heel and Haring, Writing in a Workmen's Village, 12-13.

[16] Shafik Allam, "Sind die nichtliterarischen Schriftostraka Brouillons?" *JEA* 54 (1968): 124-27.

[17] Jac. J. Janssen, "The Rules of Legal Proceeding in the Community of Necropolis Workmen at Deir el-Medina (review of S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit,* 1973*) BiOr* 32 (1975): 295.

[18] Bernadette Menu, *Égypte pharaonique: Nouvelles recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte (III*) (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), 257.

[19] Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period, 447-48.

[20] Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit. *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005). For the most up-to-date treatment of Roman period documents, including ostraca see Trevor V. Evans and Dirk D. Obbink. *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

A brief eight pages summarize the conclusions drawn from the analysis with reference, not surprisingly, to the register for Ramesside royal decrees. David notes that a significant difference between the two registers is their provenance: Ramesside royal decrees were composed most likely in the Ramesside administrative capital of Memphis while the Ramesside private register hails from the village of Deir el-Medina and its environs. She also notes significant changes in the constitutive elements that comprise the private documents towards the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, the date of P. Adoptions and P. Turin 2021, that are "indications of an increasing performativity and autonomy of the written text" (263), a conclusion that accords with what my mentor, the late Professor J.J. Janssen, would likely have said concerning the evolution of the legal register. Thus, David suggests directions in which future research might proceed.

Following the conclusions, there is a bibliography (including abbreviations) that provides the sources of the texts mentioned, ostraca as well as papyri. In addition, there are indices of syntactic forms and technical terms; of Egyptian texts; as well as the main Egyptian lexemes discussed.

A final comment needs to be made. While there is no understating the advance that Arlette David has made in the linguistic analysis of the texts she has chosen to exemplify her method and the discussions she embarks upon of relevant terminology in each of the documents (the discussion of the word *nmḥ*, in the Will of Naunakhte, for example, as a (voiceless) independent person ("citizen") with the right to possess private assets caught this reader's eye but did not contribute anything of substance in socio-economic terms over what was previously known since the semantic evolution of the term from the negative to the positive is well known irrespective of the classifier used, interesting as the choice of classifier may be), I cannot help but think that the book would have been improved by putting a complete translation of each document at the outset of the analysis rather than revealing the text section by section with comments both preceding and following each section. The book would not have been that much longer. If the reader could first see David's translation and then, knowing precisely what is at issue, progress to seeing the contents analyzed section by section (with introduction and subsequent details), greater clarity and comfort would have resulted.

This extremely well researched book will have appeal to many scholars of ancient legal systems, not merely to Egyptologists. However, the highly technical nature of the discussion together with the strong emphasis on semiotics, cognitive linguistics, and categorization as the theoretical framework will limit that appeal to those with strong philological leanings and the patience to follow the complexity of the philological discussion. This is a book that requires the reader's full attention to every detail and sufficient philological as well as legal background to benefit by the arguments tendered.

-Sally L.D. Katary

Wolfram Grajetzki. *The Coffin of Zemathor and Other Rectangular Coffins of the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.* GHP Egyptology 15. London: Golden House Publications, 2010. ISBN: 978-1-906137-22-9. 124 p. + 15 pls. $60 (US).

Extensive studies on Middle Kingdom coffins have already been written (G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern*. SAGA 7. Heidelberg, 1993; H. Willems, *Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*. MVEOL 25 (Leiden, 1988). Due to the limited number of preserved and published coffins of the late Middle Kingdom (MK) and Second Intermediate Period (SIP), the discussion of coffins dating to that time period is, however, rather short. Thus, Grajetzki's publication, focusing on exactly this time span, comprises an invaluable addition to those two works. His achievement particularly lies in his study and reconstruction of lost coffins from that period; many of these artefacts were discovered in a very fragmentary state at the beginning of the 20th century and have only been recorded in notebook sketches that have never been published. Thus, Grajetzki's publication makes these coffins available to the scholarly world for the first time. But also, his descriptions of already published coffins from that time span and his detailed discussion of the different text programs provide an important base for everyone working on the subject.

The publication consists of six chapters. The first one focuses on the reconstruction of Zemathor's coffin (Aby5) and its possible origin. The piece was found in a very fragmentary state during the 1906 season of Garstang's work at Abydos and is preserved only on sketches. Based on these drawings that only show single text lines, the author is able to reconstruct its original layout: the textual decoration comprised one horizontal line at the top, eight to nine columns on the long sides, maybe two columns on the narrow ends, and text panels between the columns on the long sides. The attached drawing of the reconstructed piece (pl. 1) is especially helpful for the reader to visualize the original layout of the coffin. The artefact might have belonged to a sepulchre classified by Garstang as belonging to tomb 6. Besides other finds, the grave also included the stela of Khonsu (World Museum, Liverpool 16.11.06.13); Grajetzki points out that the stela owner is also known from other artefacts, and that he can be dated somewhere within the reigns of Sobekhotep II to IV.

In chapter two, Grajetzki discusses coffin and canopic box fragments from Abydos, Hu, and Hawara dating to the SIP that have not been published or have only been poorly published. Photographs of excavation reports and notebook entries found in archives from digs that took place at the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th centuries are the main basis of the study. The author is able to identify spells, although

only very few lines, and sometimes only words, are preserved from the original text. By providing hieroglyphic transcriptions of those pieces, Grajetzki makes it easy for the reader to comprehend his suggested reconstructions. The presence of certain spells on a coffin is suggestive of the coffin's original layout as well as its dating. For example, tomb Hu Y 219 contained two coffins, of which only drawings of the inscriptions are preserved. Grajetzki identifies the spell as PT 249, §266, b, c (so-called Nefertem-spell), resulting in important information concerning the original decorations and dating of the coffin; the spell is common in the late MK and the SIP and appears on the backside of the coffin.

Chapters three and four provide a catalogue of already published rectangular coffins, describing the layout, decoration, and text programs of these artefacts. Chapter three covers the period of the late 12th (after Senwosret II) and 13th dynasties as well as the early SIP, taking into account only those coffins that already show features characteristic of the SIP. Chapter four then discusses the artefacts of the late SIP and the early 18th dynasty; the Rishi-coffins of the 17th dynasty are not included. Some of the coffins have not been published in detail, and Grajetzki's achievement lies again in his tedious work in identifying spells and reconstructing the original layout of the coffins. This leads to suggestions about possible chronological placements of the pieces, while also taking into account other objects known from a specific coffin owner.

The fifth chapter builds on the previous sections, revealing important information on the development of coffin decoration. Grajetzki identifies the three main text programs featured on the coffins dating to the late MK and SIP. The traditional MK pattern (offering- and *im3ḫw-ḫr*-formulae) is still attested; however, the characteristic text program is the so-called "Speeches of gods", including pyramidia spells like the Anubis- and *wn-ḥr*-formulae or the Nefertem-spell. Hieroglyphic transcriptions of the different spells are provided and the witnesses for each text listed. Coffins from Abydos and Thebes constitute a unique group, featuring Coffin Text (CT) spells 777 to 785. Additionally, longer religious texts in panels on the outside or on the inside are attested; however, interior decoration is very rare. The chapter is complemented by hieroglyphic transcriptions of all text witnesses of CT 777 to 785 as well as a transliteration, translation, and commentary of those spells.

In the final chapter, Grajetzki presents his conclusions, classifying the coffins based on the decoration and text programs. In general, artefacts from the late 12th dynasty show one horizontal line at the top, four columns at the long sides, and two columns at the narrow ends, the latter often depicting Isis and Nephthys. The text program consists of pyramidion spells and a variety of the so-called "Speeches of gods". Coffins of royal women, featuring gold foil and a simple outside decoration, as well as some texts on the inside, comprise a separate group, which the author calls "court type". It is important to note here that the term was used differently by A.C. Mace and H.E. Winlock (*The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht.* New York, 1916); in their publication, the designation refers to coffins with a simple outside decoration consisting of an inscribed

band made of gold foil as well, but the authors did not take into account the different text programs of those coffins. Some show "Speeches of gods" like other examples from all parts of Egypt, while others only show texts on the inside and/or the inscribed gold foil band. The latter are the artefacts Grajetzki summarizes under the "court type", including the middle coffin of Senebtisi. The coffins of the 13th dynasty show different designs and text programs. An increasing number of columns (up to 10) can especially be observed on coffins from Upper Egypt, and text panels between columns appear on coffins from Lower Egypt and Abydos. The "Speeches of gods" are more standardized and the Coffin Text Spell group 777-785 came into use. Some coffins show longer religious texts such as Coffin Text and Book of the Dead spells. At the very end of the SIP and the early 18th dynasty, inscriptions became increasingly rare on rectangular coffins and were replaced by a checkerboard pattern or imitations of mats. Wadjet-eyes are drawn on both long sides; figures and other objects appear in panels between the columns. Despite the different text program of the coffins, connections between some "Speeches of gods" and the Coffin Text group are obvious; they both relate to the hourly vigil.

The two following appendices provide a useful description of "court type burials" listing all objects discovered in each sepulchre as well as a brief discussion on the differences between the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead. Early versions of the latter are attested on a few SIP coffins (e.g. queen Mentuhotep/T4L) and it has been argued that the text corpus originated in Thebes (e.g. L. Gestermann, 'Aufgelesen': Die Anfänge des altägyptischen Totenbuchs', in: Backes, B., Munro, I., and Stöhr, S. *Totenbuch-Forschungen, Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums 2005*. SAT 11. Wiesbaden 2006, 101-113). Grajetzki notes that early versions of the Book of the Dead also appear on coffins from the Memphite-Fayyum region dating to the 13th dynasty (queen Keminub, Da5X) and he, thus, convincingly questions Thebes as being the place of origin for every spell.

The figures within the chapters and the plates at the end of the volume constitute a valuable addition to the content of the sections. The author provides hieroglyphic transcriptions for those parts of spells that are preserved on the coffins, drawings of reconstructed coffins with the fragmentary texts placed at their original places on the artefacts, as well as photos of notebook sketches made during excavations that have never been published before. The latter work, especially, provides proof of the tedious work that Grajetzki had to undertake in reconstructing very fragmentary coffins, sometimes based on only a few words or descriptions. The coffin sigla at the beginning of the book (p. 3) is also very useful for anyone working on the subject, since it provides the sigla of each coffin, the owner of the artefact, as well as its place of origin; if a coffin has been published before, the author adds bibliographic information on the piece.

In summary, the volume is a valuable resource for the study of late MK and SIP coffins, making information on some artefacts available for the first time, providing an

informative collection of the artefacts from that time span, and a discussion on the development of the text program.

-Christina Geisen

Glenn Janes. *Shabtis: A Private View*. Paris: Cybele, 2002. ISBN 2-9516758-2-8. 264 p. & CD-ROM. €90 & **Glenn Janes**. *The Shabti Collections 1: West Park Museum, Macclesfield*. Cheshire: Olicar House Publications, 2010. ISBN: 978-09566271-0-0. 64p. £35

There is a painting in the Townley Art Gallery, Burnley, in Northwest England, produced by Edwin Long in 1878 entitled 'The Gods and Their Makers'. This painting shows a rather romanticised Victorian view of a workshop in ancient Egypt, where all manner of objects surround a group of ancient Egyptian craftsmen and women. Lying scattered on the floor around a group of the workers, and on shelves attached to the wall, one can see many little shabti statues of faience and other painted material. It is a reproduction of this painting that forms the endpapers to the first of these two books, *Shabtis: A Private View*, by Glenn Janes. This volume is a sumptuously illustrated catalogue of 115 shabtis from various private collections across Europe.

With an eleven-page introduction, Janes outlines the historical development of shabti figures and their appearance within the funerary assemblage from the Middle Kingdom until their disappearance during the late Ptolemaic Period. Going through each of the periods of Egyptian pharaonic history, we read of the increasing use of shabtis and changes in their purpose and design, and are introduced to the various accoutrements possessed by the various types of shabti. Here, Janes also introduces us to a 'generic' Shabti spell, in modern English, transliteration, and hieroglyphs. Finally, Janes also includes a discussion of the two Deir el-Bahri caches (the Royal Cache from DB320 and the Bab el-Gusus cache of the Priests of Amun), since shabtis from both caches appear within the collections discussed.

The catalogue proper appearing in *Shabtis: A Private View* is arranged in chronological order, commencing with an alabaster shabti of a certain Kemehu from the Middle Kingdom, formerly in the collection of Émile Brugsch, and provenanced to Abydos. Each shabti in the volume is catalogued according to Schneider's typology, based on period, material, iconography, and a series of type codes, dependent on various attributes of the individual shabtis.[1] Each shabti in Janes' volume is depicted with a colour, life-sized image and described with details including the name of the owner, if known, along with the owner's name in hieroglyphs, the material the shabti was made of, dimensions and date (based on Peter Clayton's *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*[2]). In addition, the details include information on the shabti's previous whereabouts, references to any sale catalogues in which the shabti might have appeared and any

[1] Hans D. Schneider, *Shabtis - An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes*, 3 vols. (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1977)

[2] Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs – the Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994).

publications in which the shabti has been discussed academically. Each shabti's catalogue entry also includes full details (translation, transcription, and hieroglyphic text) of any inscription located on the shabti.

Shabtis: A Private View also contains an extensive Appendix. As well as including further details about the Schneider typology used within the catalogue and the typology as it applies to all 115 of the shabtis, Janes has included line drawings of the salient features of the typology (statuette form, type of wig, position of hands, forms of any implements, bags or baskets, whether the shabti wears any amulets and the position of texts). This set of drawings is invaluable for any student of shabtis who might not have access to Schneider's original volumes, since it will help enable them to describe shabtis in a standard conventional way. The catalogue is finished off with a series of indices (names and titles, both in translation and in transliteration) and finally with a CD-Rom of the catalogue images, searchable by provenance, period or individual catalogue number.

The Egyptology collection of West Park Museum, Macclesfield in Cheshire, was first comprehensively catalogued by Rosalie David of Manchester University.[3] The Museum's collection contains a good number of items from the collection of Marianne Brocklehurst, a Victorian tourist to Egypt in the latter part of the 19th century. Egyptologists might be familiar with Marianne Brocklehurst as one of the 'MB party' who travelled up and down the Nile aboard the dahabeeyah 'Lydn' in late 1873 and early 1874, tourist rivals of Amelia Edwards' party. The day-to-day exploits of the two parties are recounted in the diary of Marianne Brocklehurst[4] and Edwards' published account of her trip.[5] Brocklehurst visited Egypt a number of times, and acquired a collection of objects from her travels. It is likely that she obtained some of the shabtis that are the subject of this catalogue on a visit to Deir el-Bahri whilst in Egypt in the winter of 1890-91, from the Abd el-Rassul brothers, finders of the Royal cache in the cliffs adjacent to Queen Hatshepsut's mortuary chapel on Luxor's West Bank. Other items in the Brocklehurst collection come from the annual 'distributions' of the Egypt Exploration Fund, of which Brocklehurst was then a member.

Janes' catalogue of the Macclesfield shabtis follows very much the format of his *Shabtis: A Private View*. A Foreword by the Honorary Curator of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum, Alan Hayward, sets the scene by giving the context of Brocklehurst's travels and activities in Egypt and how she envisaged setting up the Museum, sadly accomplished just three weeks before her death in London in 1898. Details of the mummy caches from Deir el-Bahri, with extracts from Brocklehurst's diary and a number of photographs of Brocklehurst's watercolours showing excavations

[3] Rosalie David, *The Macclesfield Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1980).

[4] Marianne Brocklehust, *Miss Brocklehurst on the Nile: Diary of a Victorian Traveller in Egypt* (Disley: Millrace Books, 2004).

[5] Amelia Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1888).

at Luxor help with the background to the collection. The catalogue then details forty-nine shabti objects, including a 19th Dynasty shabti box. Each shabti is described and photographed. Any inscription is rendered in hieroglyphic text, transliteration and translation, and any parallels are noted. References to David's original Catalogue, Schneider's typological classification and publication of any parallel shabtis are included within each shabti's pages. The shabti box of Ashakhet includes reduced-sized images, and descriptions of all four sides and vaulted lids, along with details of the texts from the box. The Macclesfield fascicule is then completed with a series of Appendices – a brief and simple chronology from the New Kingdom to the end of the Ptolemaic period, Indices of owners' names, titles, and provenances, for each shabti, where known or deduced on stylistic grounds. A Concordance between the Museum's accession number, David's 1980 catalogue and Janes' catalogue helps with cross-referencing and identifying each shabti. Finally, a Bibliography including references to scholarly works, excavation reports, catalogues of private collections and auction house catalogues closes the volume.

The Macclesfield shabti catalogue forms the first volume in a planned project to record and catalogue six local museums in the northwest of England that contain Egyptian antiquities acquired as a result of the growth of the early tourist industry to Egypt at the end of the 19thcentury.[6] As a series of scholarly fascicules, each volume is invaluable, not only for the meticulous and detailed recording and classification of each shabti in the various collections, but also as a record of what shabtis are where, how they arrived in their respective collections, and placing each shabti into the public domain, so that scholars around the world are made aware of their presence. Whether one is willing to allow objects of historical interest to be removed from original heritage context into private collections or museum (and potentially therefore the meanings and significances of culturally important objects may be lost to the global community), it is the opinion of this particular reviewer that Janes' work in the publication of these shabtis from both private collections and provincial museums will prove a valuable resource for the scholar of Ancient Egyptian funerary equipment and belief, enabling much more study of these important, but easily missed, objects to take place in future.

-Peter Robinson

[6] See the website (http://www.shabtis.com/shabtigroup.php) for the full list of catalogues already out in print and under preparation.

David Jeffreys. *The Survey of Memphis VII. The Hekekyan Papers and Other Sources for the Survey of Memphis.* EES Excavation Memoir 95. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2010. ISBN: 978-0-85698-192-0. 225p. £65.00.

The Egypt Exploration Society's survey to Memphis began in 1981 and has continued on an annual basis. In order to cope with the amount of material related to Memphis, the project created a significant archive of historical material. It is this archival work that gave birth first to David Jeffreys' doctoral thesis, and ultimately to this volume. The current addition to the project's publication series concentrates on Memphis' floodplain and settlement areas, with a specific focus on the work of Joseph Hekekyan. Hekekyan, a Turkish Armenian educated in Great Britain in the early 1800s, was called to Egypt to serve Mohammed Ali in his efforts to modernise Egypt. He worked for the pasha in a number of different positions, but fell from grace after Ali's death. Forcibly retired, Hekekyan was eventually commissioned by Leonard Horner to investigate the rates of alluvial increase in both Heliopolis and Memphis. As his work progressed, he devoted considerable effort to reveal Memphis' monuments and to understand their context. Although his work at Memphis was brief, undertaken between 1852 and 1854, it resulted in a considerable amount of documentation, now housed in both the British Library and British Museum. As the title suggests, this is not a book for the casual reader. It is, however, an essential resource for anyone working on Memphis; ancient, medieval, or modern. It is also a great source of information for scholars working on the history of the exploration of Egypt.

The book is roughly divided into nine chapters. The first foregoes a narrative structure in favour of a chronological listing of sources relevant to Memphis, from Classical antiquity to the mid-nineteenth century. This format is particularly rewarding for scholars interested in the history of Egyptology. Other works on the subject, such as Bierbrier's *Who Was Who in Egyptology*,[1] favour an alphabetical organisation of personal names. The strength of Jeffreys' chosen format is that it gives the reader a very clear understanding of the progression of references and work done at Memphis. This section of the book provides multiple headings of individuals, starting with Herodotus, followed by brief descriptions of, and commentaries on, their interaction with the site, as well as extracts of references from their works. It provides both interesting, anecdotal material, as well as useful summaries of sources. It also provides a fascinating collection of sources, including well-known, Classical authors, little-known travelers, texts, and relevant monuments that give insight into Memphis' history. It describes, for example, the sixth century Gerash mosaic map of the Middle and Near East, which depicts the location of Memphis and attests to its perceived, historical importance beyond Egypt.

[1] Morris Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London: EES, 1995).

The seventh to eighth century Jeremias Corvée list, similarly demonstrates the city's decline. It also makes good use of normally neglected, Arabic sources.

The second chapter follows the format established in the first. It continues listing sources, this time from the late Middle Ages, and includes entries on early western travelers. As with the first chapter, this section provides a good mix of well-known and lesser-known authors and sources, including Crusader sources, and works such as the fifteenth-century Book of Buried Jewels. The chapter also includes some interesting, early images, including woodcuts and engravings from the mid to late-1500s, and reproductions of maps by both Norden[2] and Pococke.[3] The chapter progresses to describe early nineteenth-century sources, many of which question earlier tendencies to posit Memphis near Medieval Cairo. The dominance of the *Description de l'Égypte*,[4] its assertion that contemporary Mit Rahina must be the location of ancient Memphis, and the importance of the French savants' work is noted. Interestingly, Jeffreys also points out that Lepsius'[5] work provided the standard Memphis site plan until the mid-twentieth century. A useful assessment of the impact of Mariette's work at Memphis' Serapeum is found near the end of the chapter.

The third chapter is devoted to explaining the Hekekyan Papers, and presents a comprehensive, systematic ordering of documents, including ample images, to explain Hekekyan's labours. This material is the product of a fascinating and largely forgotten scientist, who, in Jeffreys' estimation, produced an archive superior to that of Petrie in the depth of the information presented. This chapter introduces a narrative structure, as Jeffreys discusses the traditional disuse of Hekekyan's work, and how its archaeological value has been almost entirely overlooked. Within the biographical account presented is a description of the manuscript records. Jeffreys explains Hekekyan's working methodology, and his effort to date Memphis' occupation through the measurement of flood levels. While this work was, at the time, deemed a scientific failure, the high level of recording it provided left a wealth of material for archaeological investigation. As evidence of this fact, Jeffreys proceeds to present seven sets of maps created from Hekekyan's works, the coordinates, levels, and measuring techniques used by him, the soil descriptions and definitions he used, and his drill core results. Within the explanation of soil descriptions and definitions, Jeffreys notes that Hekekyan's work presented, for the first time, a proper, geological approach in the study of archaeological data. In praise of his methodology, Jeffreys states, "In addition to a detailed facies, description and key, Hekekyan formally laid out his methodology in a way that can be

[2] Frederik L. Norden, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia* (London: Lockyer Davis and Charles Reymers, 1757).

[3] Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East, and some other countries* (London: W. Boyer, 1743).

[4] Edme François Jomard, ed., *Description de l'Égypte, ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1809-1828).

[5] Karl R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin: 1843, Text, 5 vols. Leipzig 1897-1913).

compared to the recording systems still in use in British archaeology today."[6] From there, Jeffreys begins describing Hekekyan's excavation work at Memphis, including a number of colossi, statues, and architectural elements that were found, and, when possible, their original locations. Within this description is a delightful drawing of a restored colossus, used as the volume's cover illustration, shown as Hekekyan imagined it might have related to adjacent monuments and stratigraphy. Within this discussion of material, Jeffreys notes that Hekekyan's records represent the only records of areas now built over with modern structures. Jeffreys also demonstrates how Hekekyan's work helped to resolve the debate over the identification of Memphis' Ptah temple. In addition, this chapter contains useful commentary on statuary and blocks recorded by Hekekyan, including his incorrect identification of a 'Ptah dyad', material from Amenemhat III reused by Merenptah, the appropriation of a Twelfth Dynasty statue by Ramesses II, blocks inscribed with the names of Amenhotep III and Amasis, and some Amarna Period blocks. Near the end of the chapter, Jeffreys gives a detailed description of Hekekyan's exploration in the Ptah temple, and notes that his work represents the only stratigraphic record at the approximate center of the temple. Jeffreys also points out that some of Hekekyan's work might actually have touched upon part of the famous Memphis Nilometer.

Chapter 5 comprises a shortlist of finds at Memphis, including their current museum numbers, Hekekyan's sketches of them, and relevant, bibliographic references. Chapter 6 begins by citing sources from the later nineteenth century, and resumes the format presented in the earlier chapters. It contains numerous entries discussing Wilbour, Maspero, Petrie, and de Morgan. Also, like the earlier chapters, this listing manages to convey very human elements, such as commentary on Mariette's relationship, and occasional rivalry, with Hekekyan.

The seventh chapter discusses the mythology of Memphis, and returns to the topic of the process, and obstacles, of correctly identifying the site. It briefly touches upon Memphis in folklore and as a perceived centre of occult knowledge before Chapter 8 moves the discussion to the city's natural environment. The Nile's gradual movement from west to east, and its effect on Memphis' development over time, is discussed. It also explores perceptions of the location of the desert edges in ancient and contemporary times, the inter-visibility of settlement sites in the area, the difficulty of establishing the ancient city's scale, and the problems of protecting the temple enclosure from modern building activity. This chapter highlights Jeffreys' efforts to revisit areas worked by Hekekyan, and demonstrates nicely how archival work can add to current

[6] David Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis VII. The Hekekyan Papers and other sources for the Survey of Memphis* (London: EES, 2010), 101.

knowledge, and how modern reinvestigation can elucidate older sources. Throughout this section, frequent references are made to Petrie's later efforts in Memphis.

The volume concludes by assessing Hekekyan's contribution to Egyptian archaeology. Jeffreys emphasises Hekekyan's novel, non-textual approach to the site; his emphasis on geology, archaeology, and context. He correctly notes that Hekekyan's work was pioneering not just in Egypt, but anywhere in the world in the mid 1800s. The author also strikes an important chord while recounting Hekekyan's story, when he mentions the bias he and his work must have faced from foreigners. His intellectual environment is briefly described, as well as other, non-academic influences, such as his status as a Freemason, and his later foray into mysticism. Returning to the topic of his work, Jeffreys highlights the importance of the Hekekyan Papers by claiming they offer answers to many of the questions posed by contemporary archaeological enquiry. Such questions include the creation of the man-made stratigraphy of Memphis, the city's arrangement of sacred and secular space, and the layout of the Ramesside Ptah enclosure. As Jeffreys notes, the cruel irony of Hekekyan's work is that little attention was paid to site stratigraphy in Egypt, and elsewhere, until the end of the 1800s, meaning its value, at the time, was grossly underappreciated. The volume ends with a discussion on the dispersal of some of the objects found during Hekekyan's work, as well as the general relevance of certain objects today, such as the so-called Amarna Coregency Relief and the Apries Stela

-Andrew Bednarski

Christian Leitz. drawings by Victoria Altmann, *Der Sarg des Panehemisis in Wien, Mit einer detaillierten Bilddokumentation der Särge des Panehemisis und Horemhab auf DVD.* Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011. ISBN: 978-3-447-06237-4 492 p. + xii + 356 Abb. +10 Tab. €98.

The third volume of a new series examining the richness and complexity of Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egyptian religion, *Der Sarg des Panehemisis* is an exemplary work, providing the most accurate and detailed publication of a single Late Period sarcophagus to date.[1] The text is divided into a short introduction (pp. 1-5), discussion of the provenance Naukratis (pp. 369-371), and a list of themes (373-379); the bulk of the volume is the beautiful photographic and epigraphic record of the 23 sections of the sarcophagus (conveniently labeled in the sketch plan on pp. 6-7), with translations and commentary (pp. 9-367). Each of the 23 sections of the sarcophagus is given in photograph and facsimile, and all hieroglyphic texts are also typeset. Additional sections include a concordance of divine groupings (pp. 382-388) and concordances and translations of parallel monuments, particularly CG 29303, 29304 and the inscriptions on the sarcophagus of Horemhab (pp. 389-449). A glossary of Egyptian words includes both the sarcophagi of Panehemisis and Hormehab (pp. 451-465), and a few exceptional orthographies are noted (pp. 467-468).

The brief introduction summarizes the need for the present work—the last publication of the sarcophagus of Panehemisis was the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and epigraphic techniques, as well as our understanding of ancient Egyptian texts had advanced greatly in the intervening 150 years. The introduction also notes that the volume is intended to be a detailed publication of the sarcophagus of Panehemisis, not a general overview of Late Period anthropoid sarcophagi, which would require a much more extensive treatment. Due to its thoroughness and attention to detail, this very specificity of the volume is one of its major strengths. In a few pages, Leitz provides an overview of the texts and images on the sarcophagus, particularly their main parallels in other Egyptian monuments; perhaps surprising to most readers, the sarcophagus contains very few passages from the Book of the Dead, while nearly a quarter of its decoration finds parallels in the first Chamber of Sokar at Edfu Temple (Room G), with many other similarities appearing in the roof chapels of Osiris at

[1] Such detailed studies of individual funerary monuments remain surprisingly rare—compare Harco Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (Leuven: Peeters, 1996); and the significant analysis of female coffins by Erika Meyer-Dietrich, *Nechet und Nil: Ein ägyptischer Frauensarg des Mittleren Reiches aus religionsökologischer Sicht* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2001); idem, *Senebi und Selbst: Personenkonstituenten zur rituellen Wiedergeburt in einem Frauensarg des Mittleren Reiches* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2006).

Dendera Temple. In neither the forward nor the introduction is the epigraphic methodology discussed—an unfortunate omission, since the style and accuracy of the drawings should be emulated in future publications, particularly their careful attention to sun-shadow convention.

The present review will not engage with every aspect of the detailed commentary that forms the main portion of the work, but will describe each decorative and textual element of the sarcophagus and offer additional references to particularly significant iconographic or theological aspects of the sarcophagus.

§1 (pp. 9-10): The elaborate pectoral on the sarcophagus is flanked by avian forms of Isis and Nephthys, with twinned images of Osirs-Wennefer below. Isis and Nephthys do not hold *w3s*-scepters as claimed, but rather more typical *w3ḏ*-scepters.[2] The count of 110 amulets on the broad-collar and comparison with the ideal lifetime is a fascinating observation; and one may add Johnson's study on the religious significance of broad-collars made of specific symbols (such as the *ḫrw*-sign).[3]

§2 (pp. 11-25): The proper right lappet of the wig contains eight sun-disk crowned protective deities, each bearing a knife and described as being placed by Re as protection of Osiris; the annotation continues to exhort the gods to be vigilant as those who are in their hours and to watch over their agathodaimons (*ḥ*ʿ*w*), and finally the deceased is said to be one of them. The connection between these gods and the hours is discussed extensively in the commentary, which collects a wide range of passages from Edfu Temple, other sarcophagi, and Late Period funerary papyri;[4] in each case, the context of the passage is briefly described, providing an exceptionally useful guide to the intertextuality of the sarcophagus of Panehemisis with other contemporaneous religious compositions.

The use of lower-case letters to mark similar passages within the following commentary, however, is confusing and difficult to follow. For example, section c), "commentary" (pp. 14-20) contains seven examples of "a": "those who are in the following of Osiris." This method of marking parallels texts becomes even more convoluted when parallel texts are given their own letters (g-y); this leads to a collection

[2] For a rare depiction of a goddess holding a *w3s*-scepter, compare Satis at the small temple of Abu Simbel in Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt and Charles Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel* (Cairo: Centre de documentation égyptologique, 1968), vol. 2, pls. 71-72.

[3] W. Raymond Johnson, "The *nfrw*-collar Reconsidered," in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente,* Emily Teeter and John Larson, eds. *SAOC* 58 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1999), 225-232; for the physical make-up of broad-collars, also check Hatshepsut catalog, pp. 198ff.

[4] For texts such as the "Book of Traversing Eternity" and the "Book of Breathing," see also Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity, Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

of parallels for the parallels, such as Texts 9 and 11, that do not have any of the letters from the original passage on the sarcophagus of Panehemisis. The author should be applauded for his careful collection of parallel passages, and it is fortunate that all later sections abandon the lettering system for a more narrative and easily navigable commentary. The commentary to the individual names of the deities is presented here and throughout the rest of the volume in a straightforward fashion with the occurrences of similar names in other funerary corpora, as well as extensive collections of texts that bear on the lexicography of those names (pp. 20-25). Regarding the illustration to this section, on p. 13, there is a discrepancy between the slant of the upper line of the top register as shown in the drawing and the horizontal line on the photograph.

§3 (pp. 27-37): The proper left lappet of the wig contains another eight sun-disk wearing, knife-wielding protective deities with a short annotation describing them (as their names indicate) as the "children of Horus, the eight efficacious *akh*-spirits in his [Osiris'] following." As on the right lappet, these gods are installed by Re and the text describes protection being provided day and night against Seth; again, the deceased is one of their members. A summary of the role of the sixteen protective deities highlights the fact that the deities are related to the embalming chambers of Osiris at Edfu and Dendera Temples and that all of them play a role in the *Studenwachen*.

§4 (pp. 39-45): The goddess Nekhbet atop a lotus plant is located beneath the right ear, while the goddess Wadjet atop a papyrus plant appears beneath the left ear of the sarcophagus; both wear the white crown of Upper Egypt. A short annotation accompanies each goddess, and a convenient chart on p. 44 compares the two parallel inscriptions. The location of the goddesses enclosing the ear of the deceased is particularly interesting.[5]

§5 (pp. 47-49): Two slivers of decoration between the lappets and the lengthy texts on the side of the sarcophagus each show a rearing serpent inside a shrine. One serpent, *nʿw*, protects the "sarcophagus of the great god in the West," while the other, *dndn*, protects the bier (*nmi*) of the same deity. Such rearing serpents find parallels in the temple of Edfu (as noted by Leitz), but possess an earlier role as Osirian protectors in the Book of Caverns, in association with Osiris himself as well as the goddess Shetayt.[6]

[5] For the religious significance of the ear, see Enka Elvira Morgan, *Untersuchungen zu den Ohrenstelen aus Deir el Medine* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 48-54, *passim*.

[6] Nils Billing, "The Secret One. An Analysis of a Core Motif in the Books of the Netherworld," *SAK* 34 (2006): 51–71; Colleen Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 404-410.

§6 (pp. 51-112): 34 protective deities on the right side of the sarcophagus "who protect the bier of Wenshepy (scil. Osiris)." The annotations grant to these protective divinities a variety of roles, from guarding the gateways and removing evil from the necropolis to watching over the mummy within the tomb (cf. chart on p. 54). Parallel texts, again from Edfu Temple and contemporaneous sarcophagi further explicate the role of these guardian deities.

The section then divides the gods into categories based on their iconography. For example, Group I (gods 1-6) entities carry serpents and have kilts whose tail extends nearly to the ground. The first four gods have the heads of *bnw*-birds, which are associated with *hearts*, a connection between bird and human body-part also pronounced in the iconography of heart scarabs.[7] Those deities in Group II (gods 7-12) have a distinct iconography—they wield knives in each hand. These gods inspire fear in enemies, promise free passage to the deceased, and preserve the mummy of Osiris, among other tasks; Leitz collects parallel texts for each of these duties of the protective deities. Each god in Group III (gods 13-16) is shown with their arms hanging down without holding any attributes; each of the god's names is compounded with *maat*, and they promise the deceased that he will live on *maat,* be free from falsehood, and be nourished beside the gods. Groups IV through VII all confer additional benefits on the deceased, each carefully documented in the commentary; Group VII, four mourning goddesses, conclude the 34 protective deities.

§7 (pp. 113-178): A corresponding group of 34 protective deities appear on the right side of the sarcophagus. As in §6, detailed commentary is offered for the duties of each of the gods, with parallels texts from other contemporaneous tombs, sarcophagi, and papyri. The iconography of nos. 17 (a female Bes-headed figure) and 19 (a human-headed male holding two scorpions) is notable for the frontality of their faces.[8] Although not discussed in Leitz's volume, recent work on Egyptian demonology suggests that each of these sixty-eight figures, often wielding knives, noxious creatures, or amuletic signs (i.e. *ꜥnḫ*, *s3*) could also be classified as Netherworldly "demons;"[9] each deity appears to be confined to one place in the Underworld and is associated with a dual nature that drives away enemies, yet protects the deceased, thus overlapping in

[7] To Leitz's references, add Jadwiga Lipińska, "Ancient Egyptian Heart Scarabs from the Louvre on Loan in the Nathional Museum in Warsaw," in *Les civilisations du bassin Méditerranéen: hommages à Joachim Śliwa,* Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz and Janusz A. Ostrowski, eds. (Cracow: Université Jagaellonne, Institut d'Archéologie, 2000), 134-135.

[8] For the significance of this feature, see Youri Volokhine, *La frontalité dans l'iconographie de l'Egypte ancienne, CSEG* 6 (Geneva: Société d'Égyptologie, 2000).

[9] See Panagiotis Kousoulis, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Demonology* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).

their ontological status with gate-guardian demons in the Book of the Dead and other funerary texts.[10]

§8 (pp. 179-190): The top register of the decoration on the breast of the sarcophagus shows a central scene of Isis and Nephthys protecting a shining sun-disk, flanked by six baboons in a posture of adoration. A short text describes how the name of the deceased will endure on earth, a motif that finds numerous parallels in funerary texts (collected on pp. 186-187). As the author notes on pp. 187-190, baboons are frequently shown in adoration of the solar disk, often in groups of eight rather than six. In addition to the parallels from other sarcophagi and Graeco-Roman temples, baboons appear as jubilants for the sun god in the Underworld Books, a corpus accessible at the time of Panehemisis.[11]

§9 (pp. 191-201): Two annotations to six depictions of a *ba* of the West occur in the second register on the breast of the deceased. The translation of the text on p. 192 may be altered to take into account that the verb *ii* in the sentence *ii n=tn bꜣ n Wsir N* could be a nominal *sḏm=f* (rather than a generic present tense),[12] emphasizing the following clauses "so that you may unite for him his body;" similarly *ii bꜣ=f n ḏ.t=f n ib=f* should emphasize the following sentence *sḫn bꜣ=f … ḥtm bꜣ=f* …The collection of references to different aspects of the interaction between the deceased and his *ba* makes this section particularly useful to the study of Egyptian funerary religion.

§10 (pp. 203-211): The *ba* of the deceased is shown holding *sḫen*-rings in each claw, facing to the right; on either side of the *ba* are three deities holding composite hieroglyphs of the sail (*ṯꜣw*) with the *ꜥnḫ*, below which is a di-sign, writing "giving the breath of life" (a sportive use of signs not otherwise mentioned by the author). The annotations to Shu and Thoth describe how the *ba* of the deceased is enlivened by the "breath of Shu" and his *ka* is made divine by the "breath of Thoth"; while the former is commonly attested, the latter finds its strongest parallel on the sarcophagus of

[10] Rita Lucarelli, "Demons in the Book of the Dead," in *Totenbuch-Forschungen: gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn 25. Bin 29. September 2005*, Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro, and Simone Stöhr, eds. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 203-212; Rita Lucarelli, "The guardian-demons of the Book of the Dead," *BMSAES* 15 (2010): 85-102. For a similar investigation in the Underworld Books, see Colleen Manassa, "Divine Taxonomy in the Underworld Books," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 14, forthcoming.

[11] Manassa, Late Egyptian Underworld, 86-88, 198-199, 367 and references therein.

[12] For the existence of this form in Late Period religious documents, see Jacqueline Lustman, *Étude grammaticale du Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (Paris: J. Lustman, 1999), 123-125; note also, however, doubts about this form in Ptolemaic period texts expressed by Dieter Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische, Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken* (Hützel: Backe-Verlag, 2008), vol. 2, 920-921.

Horemhab, which provides the closest overall similarities of any monument to the sarcophagus of Panehemisis.

§11 (pp. 213-222): The *ba* of the deceased hovers over the mummy on a lion-headed bier, while libations are poured over them by Isis and Nephthys. Particularly notable are the two horizons—both labeled "west"—shown below the bier, which does not otherwise receive commentary. The presence of the horizon enhances the "cosmic" significance of the union of the *ba* of the deceased with his corpse, a powerful fusion that fuels recreation in the afterlife. Knife-wielding deities, which again might fall under the definition of "demons" (see note 10), flank the depiction of the unity of *ba* and corpse, one of the central mysteries of Egyptian funerary religion.

§12 (pp. 223-255): The lower half of the front of the sarcophagus contains a lengthy funerary text that incorporates the beginning of Book of the Dead, Chapter 127. Each theme within the text is discussed alongside parallels, ranging from greeting the sun god, to the deceased's defeat of Apep, to triumphing like the stars. The second portion of the text is labeled as an "autobiographical-funerary text." The deceased greets various netherworldly deities and then proclaims his good deeds on earth, and again numerous parallels are collected for each concept within the text.

§13 (pp. 257-269): The text on the foot-end of the sarcophagus is addressed to the deceased; the change in speaker between the centre portion of the sarcophagus and the foot-end is notable—an analysis of the different speakers and addressees throughout the sarcophagus could have made another interesting point of analysis. The foot-end text focuses on the resurrection of the deceased, the respect of the Underworldly dwellers for the deceased, and how the deceased ascends, like Re himself, into the day and the night barks; the cosmic orientation of most of the text contrasts with a statement in lines 8-9: "May you stand on earth in Naukratis by day and holy night. All of your good things come to be in your city."

§14-15 (pp. 271-292): Two knife-wielding deities and two serpents flank a *djed*-pillar along the toe-line at the base of the sarcophagus. Additional protective deities occur alongside twinned hieroglyphs for "west" at the base of the front of the sarcophagus. One of the more interesting "demonic" figures is a turtle-headed god who is named "he who eats decomposition," another attestation of putrefaction as nourishment in the Underworld.[13] The biological discussion of turtle behavior (p. 283) is particularly notable.

[13] See Manassa, Late Egyptian Underworld, 47.

§16 (pp. 293-301): A central scarab beetle is flanked by two goddesses holding *sw*-plants. Although not addressed in the volume, the position of the goddesses' arms may write *dw3* "to praise," with the *sw*-plants writing the feminine pronoun *=s* to read each figure as *dw3=s ḫprr* "She praises Khepri;" alternatively, the *sw* plant could write the third person masculine dependent pronoun as the object of the praise. To either side of the goddesses are depictions of the gods of the four winds.

§17 (pp. 303-319): Lengthy texts appear around the head of the deceased on the sarcophagus of Pahemenisis. The content of the hieroglyphic inscriptions range from an extensive list of titles of the deceased and the offering of fields, to portions of Book of the Dead Chapter 19 and wishes for the dead to have mobility in the afterlife. Notable are the small winged *udjat*-eyes at the top of the shoulders, the eyes of Re that protect the body of the deceased.

§18 (pp. 321-327): Either side of the head contains texts spoken by Thoth, with some parallels from Chapter 18 of the Book of the Dead. The chief themes of the texts are the justification of the deceased in the afterlife, the defeat of enemies, and the revivification of the corpse and the *ka*-spirit. The role of Thoth in particular should be highlighted.

§19 (pp. 329-336): At the top of the back of the head is a depiction of the "Abydos-fetish" adored by Isis and Nephthys and guarded by four knife-wielding gods; a winged scarab hovers over the scene. This is one of the few cases where the theme of a scene is directly related to a body part—the "Abydos-fetish" is closely linked with the head of Osiris, the "relic" of the god found at Abydos. The relationship between Osiris and the scarab is also well-established. The commentary to this scene provides an excellent resource for the "Osiris mysteries" at Dendera.

§20 (pp. 337-344): Behind the head of the sarcophagus are two five-line texts giving a speech by the goddess of the West,[14] accompanied by a simple hieroglyph of the west, rather than the goddess herself. The placement of the text mimics the representation of the goddess of the West on the floors of Third Intermediate Period coffins. Like the goddess Nut, the goddess of the West ensures that the sun will shine on the breast of the deceased, thus incorporating the deceased into the solar cycle that is simultaneously a cosmic occurrence and captured within the microcosm of the sarcophagus.[15]

[14] On this goddess, see Hosam Refai, *Die Göttin des Westens in den thebanischen Gräbern des Neuen Reiches: Darstellung, Bedeutung und Funktion*, *ADAIK* 12 (Berlin: Achet Verlag, 1996).

[15] Manassa, Late Egyptian Underworld, 466-468.

§21 (pp. 345-350): The back panel of the bottom portion of the sarcophagus contains an incomplete funerary text, with the bottom half of lines 1-3 not carved. The text begins with an exhortation to open various parts of the cosmos and shrines within Egypt for the deceased; this pairing of heaven, earth, and Underworld with specific temples in Egypt finds an interesting parallel in the Book of Traversing Eternity.[16] The text also addresses the gods that protect the sarcophagus itself, and describes how the deceased will be resurrected through the joining of his *ba* with the "excellent *ba*s that unite with Re in the west." The final section returns to a local perspective, mentioning Naukratis, a topic further explored in §24 (pp. 369-371).

§22 (pp. 351-360): The sides of the sarcophagus are decorated with doorways, guardian deities, and hour-goddesses, representing the twelve hours of the night (although hours seven and eight are omitted). As with many other sections of the sarcophagus of Pahemenisis, the closest parallels to these scenes appear in the roof chapels of Osiris at the Temple of Dendera. The combination of an hour-goddess along with a gate-guardian represents the same expression of "space-time" present within an hour of the Book of Amduat or the Book of Gates, where each unit to space also represents a specific unit of time.

§23 (pp. 361-367): Additional protective deities guarding doorways occur on the shoulders of the sides of the sarcophagus. Interestingly, the doorways are all labeled *ꜥ.t* "chamber," and as Leitz suggests this may be a reference to the *ꜥ.t imn.t* "the hidden chamber," that occurs within the title of the Book of Amduat; on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306), a near contemporary to Pahemenisis, the entire decorative scheme of the monument is labeled *sš n ꜥ.t imn.t* "Book of the Hidden Chamber."[17]The decoration of the top of each a.t-chamber with a *ḥkr*-frieze is reminiscent of the sbx.t-portals in the Book of Gates, which do indeed occur before hours of the Book of Amduat on the Type II Late Period sarcophagi,[18] again contemporaneous with the sarcophagus of Pahemenisis. Each *ꜥ.t*-chamber contains the name and description of the space, followed by the name of the deity who guards the chamber; each of these names is paralleled on the sarcophagus of Horemhab.

The concluding sections of the volume (§§24-27) discuss Naukratis and list the themes within the various texts on the sarcophagus, and the structure and concordance

[16] Smith, Traversing Eternity, 395-436 and references therein

[17] Manassa, Late Egyptian Underworld, 283-285.

[18] Manassa, Late Egyptian Underworld, 73-74.

of the groups of gods on the sarcophagus. The volume also includes a translation of the texts on the sarcophagus of Horemhab (§28), much of which is parallel to the sarcophagus of Panehemisis. A glossary of Egyptian words, select unusual hieroglyphic orthographies, and a bibliography conclude the volume. A DVD included with the volume contains a detailed photographic record of the sarcophagi of Horemhab and Pahemenisis and is an extremely useful addition to the book.

Der Sarg des Panehemisis in Wien is an excellent publication with the most accurate record to date of a Late Period anthropoid sarcophagus. Each aspect of the sarcophagus' decoration is discussed in detail, and the collection of references for virtually every funerary concept alluded to on the sarcophagus makes this book a truly invaluable reference for the study of the afterlife in Late Period Egypt. One can only hope that the new series *Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion* solicits additional similar volumes.

-Colleen Manassa

A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Spencer and A. el-Khouli. *Saqqâra Tombs III. The Mastaba of Neferseshemptah*. Archaeological Survey Memoir 41. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2008. ISBN: 978-0-85698-168-5. 38 p. + xv + 44 pl. £65.00.

This volume is the final one in a series that began with the publication of the tomb of Khentika in 1951 by T. G. H. James[1] and was resumed in 1976 by V. W. Davies, A. J. Spencer and A. el-Khouli.[2] The series investigates the structures, decoration, and archaeology of the tombs found at the core of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, including those of the high officials buried in the great mastabas adjacent to the king's pyramid, the vizier Khentika and the inspector of priests and tenant of the pyramid of Teti, Neferseshemptah, whose tomb is studied in the present volume. Also studied were lesser officials, whose tombs are found to the west of the mastaba of the vizier Mereruka. Their tombs, which were studied and published by this expedition in 1984 and 1990, include those of Mereri, Wernu Meru, Semdenti and Khui, who were all connected either with the court of Teti or his mortuary estate.[3]

This volume, which closely follows the format of earlier publications in this series, begins with a table of contents, acknowledgments, list of plates and abbreviations, and sigla. The text proper commences with a general introduction to the tomb of Neferseshemptah, giving its historical and topographical context, as well as an overview of previous work carried out on the site. There follows a brief description of the architecture and archaeology of the tomb. The bulk of the text (pp. 6-32) consists of a discussion of the texts and representations in the tomb, beginning with a list of all titles found in the inscriptions, and concluding with a discussion of unattributed inscribed blocks found on the site. The text ends with an index. The 44 plates include three plans, 20 photographs, and 48 epigraphic drawings, including three foldout plates.

The Teti Pyramid Cemetery, situated directly outside the northern enclosure wall of the pyramid, is one of the most compact and coherent examples of such Old Kingdom burial grounds of royal dependants. Its most striking feature is the so-called *rue de tombeaux*, a "street" of massive stone-built mastabas with elaborately decorated multi-room chapels, running north from the enclosure wall of the pyramid. At a right angle, from east to west, along the enclosure wall, are the chapels of Neferseshemre, Kagemni, Ankhmahor, Mereruka and Khentika, all viziers of Teti, of whom three were married to

[1] The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi (London: EES, 1953).

[2] W. Vivian Davies, Ali el-Khouli, Alan B. Lloyd and Alan J. Spencer, *Saqqâra Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London: EES, 1984), 1.

[3] Davies, el-Khouli, Lloyd and Spencer, Saqqâra Tombs I; Alan B. Lloyd, Alan J. Spencer and Ali el-Khouli, *Saqqâra Tombs II. The Mastabas of Meru, Semdenti, Khui and Others* (London: EES, 1990).

his daughters.[4] The uncompleted tomb of Neferseshemptah, lies on the "street" to the north of that of Ankhmahor, facing the pyramid of Queen Khuit in the enclosure directly opposite, and is not as well preserved above ground as the aforementioned mastabas.[5] It does, however, contain some of the finest examples of Old Kingdom sculpture and relief, closely related in both theme and style to the other great tombs in this location.

The site has been the subject of investigation since Teti's pyramid was numbered and measured by Perring and Vyse in 1839.[6] Lepsius, who was in Saqqara for six months in 1842-3, investigated, for the most part, the area to the north, uncovering some First Intermediate Period tombs as well as the mastaba of Kagemni.[7] De Morgan found that of Mereruka,[8] and, in 1897-9, Victor Loret uncovered the so-called street of tombs, the series of large mastabas running north, as well as the pyramids of Teti's queens Iput and Khuit. Among New Kingdom and later remains, he found the chapel of Mose, with its famous juridical inscription.[9]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, James Quibell worked on the pyramid and the temple on its south side[10] and, in 1920, C. M. Firth turned his attention to the enormous buildup of debris and sand which separated the pyramid of Teti from the mastabas of Mereruka and Kagemni.[11] Apart from clearing the burial chamber of the pyramid and the adjoining wall, he documented the larger mastabas and the numerous smaller tombs that filled this area.[12] His report, brilliantly supplemented by the epigraphic researches of Battiscombe Gunn, was never fully completed,[13] but still forms

[4] Bertha Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 2nd ed., J. Málek, ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1978), 508-525, pl. 51, [hereinafter *PM* III²]; Naguib Kanawati and Mahmud. Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and his Family Part II: The Tomb of Waatetkhethor*, (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 2008), 14, n. 35.

[5] Lloyd, Spencer and el-Khouli, Saqqâra Tombs III, 1.

[6] John S. Perring, *The Pyramids to the Southward of Gizeh, Part III of Work Entitled Pyramids of Gizeh* (London, 1842), pl. VII; Richard W. H. Vyse, *Narrative of Operations Carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh III* (London, 1842), 39.

[7] Carl R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, 1849-56), Text, Vol. I, 147, 158-60, Plates II, pls. 145-6.

[8] Victor Loret, 'Fouilles dans la nécropole Memphite 1897-1899,' *Bull. Inst. Égyptien* 10 (1899), 86.

[9] Loret, 'Fouilles dans la nécropole Memphite 1897-1899,' *Bull. Inst. Égyptien* 10 (1899), 185-100.

[10] James E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-8)* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1909), 19-26, 85-93. See also Jean-Philippe Lauer, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Téti. Mission archéologique de Saqqarah* I. BIFAO 51 (Le Caire, 1972), 1-2.

[11] Cecil Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, Volumes I & II (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1926).

[12] Firth died in the summer of 1931. Gunn's notes are now in the Griffith Institute. For a synopsis of their contents, see *PM* III², 508-57.

[13] Lauer and Leclant, Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du Roi Téti.

the basis of all other work on this cemetery. The Antiquities Organization has worked in this area since the 1940s.[14] The Oriental Institute commenced copying the mastaba of Mereruka during this period.[15] Since 1980, the Australian Centre for Egyptology has been engaged in the re-excavation and recording of the tombs in this cemetery.[16] Restoration and republication of the pyramid complex by the French mission archéologique de Saqqâra has been ongoing since the 1970s.[17]

Although Neferseshemptah did not achieve the highest offices attainable by private persons at this period, he also married one of Teti's daughters, Sesheshet, who is recorded in his chapel (pls. 17,18, 21, 22, 38, pp. 18-19, 22, 24). Unfortunately, all of Teti's daughters who married non-royal men bear this name as their *rn nfr*, and both Neferseshemptah's wife and Mereruka's wife, whose *rn ꜥ3* is Watetkhethor, are king's eldest daughter. The authors of the present work suggest that either the titles are being used honorifically, or that the title refers to the eldest surviving daughter (p. 2). Both the tomb owner's royal marriage and his participation in important royal ceremonies and close attendance on the king's person, as shown in titles like *mdw rḫyt, ỉwn ḥmwt*, *ḥrỉ ḥb wr* or *ỉry nfr ḥ3t*, as well as his connection with the royal pyramid, explain the care lavished on the reliefs and sculptures in his tomb, although only three of its seven aboveground rooms were decorated (p. 1).

Although it is only partially preserved, Neferseshemptah's autobiographical statement on the front of his tomb (pls. 5, 33, pp. 10-11) is of the greatest importance. It belongs to the type of autobiography that may be described as "ideal" or "imaginary" in that it consists only of general statements about the good conduct of the deceased with wishes for a good afterlife and reputation with posterity, providing no circumstantial details about his career. Edel, who made a close study of this text in connection with his researches on the phraseology of Old Egyptian, established its close relationship with similar inscriptions in the nearby tombs of other courtiers of Teti.[18] A subsequent study by Nicole Kloth has established that the texts in the tombs of

[14] Zaki Saad, 'Preliminary report on the excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara 1942-3,' *ASAE* 43 (1943), 449-57; Ali el-Khouli, 'An Old Kingdom Tomb in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, Saqqara,' *JSSEA* 11 (1981), 89-96.

[15] Prentice Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* (Chicago: OIP, 1938); Ann Macy Roth, *ARCE Newsletter* 131 (1985), 59.

[16] (http://www.egyptology.mq.edu.au/egyptology/); Naguib Kanawati, et al., *Excavations at Saqqara*, vols. 1-9 (Sydney: Ancient History Documentary Centre / Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1984-2009).

[17] Jean Leclant and Catherine Berger, « Les textes de la pyramide de Téti. État des travaux, » in : *L'Ancien Empire. Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*, Catherine Berger and Bernard Mathieu, eds. (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III, 1997), 271-277; Jean-Pierre Adam and Christiane Ziegler, *Les pyramides d'Égypte* (Paris: Hachette Littératures, 1999).

[18] Elmar Edel, 'Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches,' *MDAIK* 13, Heft 1 (1944), 70-72 (§54); *Hieroglyphische Inschriften des Alten Reiches* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981), 17.

Neferseshemptah, Neferseshemre, Khentika, and Idu, at Giza, are especially closely related.[19] Indeed, Kloth convincingly suggests that the funerary autobiography originated in the tombs of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, later spreading to other necropoleis and other parts of the country.[20] The content of these biographies, with their emphasis on *maat* and right conduct and speech, fits well with Neferseshemptah's legal responsibilities, as shown in titles like *ỉmy-r ḥwt wrt* or *s3b sḫḏ* s̈w *spr*, as well as those of the viziers buried in this cemetery.[21]

The finest reliefs in the tomb are to be found in the main chapel, Chamber 3, dominated by the great limestone false door and its sculptures, long recognized as a masterpiece of Old Kingdom sculpture (pls. 20, 41, 43, pp. 20-22).[22] As noted in this publication, the door preserves traces of colour: the door itself was painted to imitate granite, and traces of skin colour and painted colours are found on the human figures. On the outer jambs, below the level of the lower lintel, vertical columns of texts are replaced on either side by an engaged statue of the deceased in full face. However, the most interesting feature of this door is to be found in the central part, between the upper and lower lintel, where a bust of the deceased is placed, so that his head and shoulders appear to emerge from above the central part of the doorway. While the figures on either side, standing with feet together and fists clenched, wear long, flaring wigs, the upper sculpture shows the deceased with short hair, indicated by traces of paint. The only other bust showing the subject from shoulder level from the Old Kingdom is that of Ankhhaf, who was also married to the daughter of a king, Hetepheres, whose father was Khufu. While the modelling of the 4th Dynasty bust is supplemented by a layer of plaster, it also shows the subject with short hair. There are no other exact parallels in the Old Kingdom corpus, but the roughly contemporary tomb of Idu at Giza, whose funerary autobiography closely parallels that of Neferseshemptah,[23] has something quite similar. While his offering chapel likewise contained engaged statues ranged along one wall, the false door was distinguished by a waist-level engaged statue of the deceased, also shown with short hair and with both hands extended out from the door onto the offering table with palms up to receive gifts.[24] While there is no indication of what kind of installation the bust of Ankhhaf was

[19] Nicole Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zu Phraseologie und Entwicklung* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 2002), 8, 54, 106, 262.

[20] Kloth, Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, 273-5.

[21] Mariam Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1992), 13-15.

[22] *PM* III², 516.

[23] Kloth, Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, 262.

[24] William S. Smith, *History of Painting and Sculpture in the Old Kingdom* (London: OUP, 1949), 38-39; William K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976), pls. 21-3, 29, figs. 12, 23, 24, 27.

part of,[25] the similarities between the busts themselves are striking. In both cases the deceased is depicted as a well-fleshed mature man with short hair. Indeed, the installations of Neferseshemptah and Idu suggest that he is thought of emerging from the otherworldly portal of the false door to commune with those who survived him and receive his offerings. The same idea is also conveyed by the famous naos statue in the nearby tomb of Mereruka and the engaged statues on the jambs of Neferseshemptah's false doors.[26]

Just as the autobiographical inscriptions of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery tombs show a close relationship with each other as well as providing a template for later such texts, so too do the reliefs in their chapels. A particularly close relationship has been noted between the decorative program and subjects depicted in the tombs of Neferseshemre, Neferseshemptah, and Ankhmahor. While the adjoining mastabas of Ankhmahor, Neferseshemre, and Neferseshemptah appear to have been constructed together as a joint project (p. 2), similarities between chapels of Neferseshemre and Neferseshemptah have led to the plausible suggestion that they are father and son.[27] Not only are there similarities between the decorative schemes of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery chapels, but they were clearly used as models for provincial tombs, especially in Middle and southern Upper Egypt (p. 2).[28] Some other observations may be added. The comparatively rare scene of geese being fed in a courtyard with a pool (pls. 16, 36) which prior to this period is known only from the tomb of Ty is to be found in the tomb of Mereri, as well as those of Kagemni and Mereruka.[29] Slightly different depictions of the subject, clearly derived from this treatment, are to be found in provincial tombs at Meir and Deir el Gebrawi.[30] While the authors note (p. 28, n. 215) another unusual motif, that of attendants bringing the sacred oils and eye paint for the spiritualization ceremony which can be paralleled in the tomb of Kagemni, it should be

[25] So Smith, History of Painting. However according to George Reisner (*Diary*, Vol. 13, p. 228, Sunday February 8, 1925, Giza Archives, (http://www.gizapyramids.org/code/emuseum) accessed June 11, 2011), the bust had fallen off a "pedestal" in the external chapel of G 7510 (illustrated in a sketch diagram).

[26] Florence Friedman, 'On the Meaning of Some Anthropoid Busts from Deir el Medina,' *JEA* 71 (1985), 89-91; Henry G. Fischer, 'Egyptian Doors, Inside and Out,' *Varia Nova: Egyptian Studies III* (New York: MMA, 1996): 91-98.

[27] See Yvonne Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, (London: Kegan Paul International, 1987), 294.

[28] The sites with the most striking parallels are Deshasheh, Zaiwet el-Amwat, Sheikh Said, Deir el-Gebrawi, Meir, and el-Hawawish, Harpur, Decoration in Egyptian Tombs, 11, 27-31.

[29] Lucienne Epron, François Daumas, Henri Wild and Georges Goyon, *Le tombeau de Ti* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1939), pls. 6-8, 19; Prentice Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1938), pls. 53, 53b; Friedrich W. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* (Berlin, 1905-11), pl. 8-9; Davies, el-Khouli, Lloyd and Spencer, Saqqâra Tombs I, pl. 6a. See Harpur, Tombs, 114.

[30] Norman de Garis Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi I* (London: EEF, 1902), pl. 16; Aylward M. Blackman and Michael Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir V* (London: EES, 1953), pl. 22.2. See also Harpur, Tombs, 143-5.

noted that this subject undergoes a striking and original development in the tomb of Mereri, where the figures offering the oils are depicted in the panels on either side of the false door.[31]

The authors of the present publication have carefully noted the presence of decorative coloured areas in the chapel. There is a red band on the entrance wall, a red, yellow, and dark blue band in Room 1 and a well preserved dado below the reliefs in Room 3 in black, red, blue and yellow (pp. 12, 19, fig. 1). A similar, less elaborate dado, without the coloured borders shown in fig. 1 of the present work, can be seen in the tomb of Khuenukh at Quseir el-Amarna in red, yellow and black.[32] Similar dados can be seen in later Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period tombs.[33] It should, however, be noted that the areas recorded by the authors as "dark blue" are more likely to be black, as blue pigment, a luxury item at this period, was used very sparingly in special locations, like the hieroglyphs on a false door.[34]

The man directing the operation of the clapnet in the marsh scene composition in Room 3 (pl. 16) is probably not "African" (p. 18), but a typical representative of the marshman/lower class type, whose costume and physiognomy can be closely paralleled in the late 5th Dynasty tomb of Ty which provided much of the inspiration for the style and iconography of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery reliefs.[35]

The most important contribution of this investigation of the tomb of Neferseshemptah is the expedition's discovery and documentation of the previously unknown decoration of Room 7 (pp. 26-30, pls. 23-8). This chapel contained a large false door, reliefs, and some unfinished drafts for unfinished wall decoration. The poor quality of the work and its hasty execution have suggested to the authors that the tomb

[31] Davies, el-Khouli, Lloyd and Spencer, Saqqâra Tombs I, pl 26, p. 27. This scene cannot be paralleled in any Old Kingdom monument in situ. A possible precursor of the scene may be found on the false door of Hedjet-hekenu at Tehneh, where a relative of the deceased offers her a basket of cloth and two ointment vessels (Fraser, 'The Early Tombs at Tehneh,' *ASAE* 3 [1902], pl. 3.4). For other versions, see Jadwiga Lipińska, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegytiacarum: Cuba* I. 76; Reginald Engelbach, et al., *Riqqeh and Memphis VI* (London: British School in Egypt, 1919), 17, pl. 15, nos. 4-5 = Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 1518-19, O. Koeford-Petersen, *Catalogue des Bas Reliefs et Peintures* (Copenhagen, 1956), 23, pl. 26.

[32] Gillam, 'Topographical, Prosopographical and Historical Studies in the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome,' (Unpub. Diss., Toronto, 1991), 446-7, therein noted as brown, yellow, and black. Comparison with the paintings on the wall above suggests that the brown is red, discoloured by age or of an earthy tone, as common in the Egyptian palette, see John Baines, 'Colour Terminology and Colour Classification: Ancient Egyptian Colour Terminology and Polychromy,' in Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), 247.

[33] Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir IV, op. cit., pl. 26.1; ibid., vol. V, pl. 50.2; Simpson, Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part 1, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1980), frontispiece; C. N. Peck, Some decorated tombs of the first intermediate period at Naga ed-Dêr (Unpub. Diss, Providence, 1958), 9, n. 22.

[34] False door of Niankhsekhmet, CCG 1482, *Urk*. I 39, 2-3 (temp. Sahure), quoted by Baines, 'Colour Terminology and Colour Classification,' 248.

[35] Epron and Wild, *Tombeau de Ti,* op. cit., pls. 90-1, 94, 124, 165, 167, 174. See also Harpur, Tombs, 11, 143ff., 340-1; G. Robins, *Egyptian Painting and Relief* (Aylesbury: Shire, 1986), 38-41.

owner died unexpectedly and his tomb chapel had to be hastily readied for his burial and funerary cult. Of the greatest interest are his titles of prophet and supervisor of prophets at the Pyramid of Pepi I, indicating that he survived into the reign of this king. The authors argue (p. 2) that this supports Capart's identification of the tomb owner with a like-named person commemorated on a false door from Abydos, who is also prophet at the pyramid of Pepi I and whose great name is Sankhptahmeryre.[36] The inscriptions in this chapel indicate a substantial rise in rank and responsibility as reflected in the titles that correspond closely to those on a false door from Abydos, located by Capart, who also identified its owner with Neferseshemptah. Although the authors are confident of this identification (p. 1), there are some problems with it. Firstly, all the texts on the false door in Room 7 have been systematically defaced. Secondly, and more significantly, the owner of the false door in Room 7 has many more and much higher ranking titles (including *iry pʿt* and *ḥ3ty-*ʿ) (p. 28, pls. 24, 43) than those recorded in the other rooms. Only three titles are held in common: *ḫnty-*š *ḏd-swt-tti, ḫry-tp nsw* (*pr* ʿ*3*) and *s3b* (ʿ*ḏ mr*).[37] In light of these anomalies, Kanawati's suggestion that Room 7 commemorates another person, namely the son of the tomb owner, seems more plausible.[38]

The authors of this work have precisely described all the reliefs in their architectural and decorative setting, after providing an overview of the historical and archaeological context of Neferseshemptah's chapel and describing what remains of its superstructure. All inscriptions are given in transliteration and translation, and interpretations and scholarly controversies scrupulously documented. However, in the tradition of the earlier memoirs in this series, discussions of the material *in extenso* are avoided, with the emphasis placed on a clear presentation of the materials. Given these objectives, it is to be regretted that almost thirty years elapsed between the collection of the materials and their publication, as this is one of the most important tombs in the cemetery, for reasons given above. There are no epigraphic drawings or detailed coloured photographs of the great false door in Room 3. Only two black and white photographs, one a general view (pl. 20.1) and a close up of the bust (pl. 42) are provided. The clearest image of this important artifact is the colour photograph on the front cover of the book, which is only a partial view. No doubt the high cost of colour reproduction, a

[36] CG 1404, Capart, Rue des tombeaux, 74-6, pl. 102. It should, however, be noted that there is otherwise little correspondence between the titularies on the stela with those in Room 7 or the rest of the tomb, other than the title *ḥri* s*š*t*3 n nsw* (var. *n swt.f nbt*, Room 7, pls. 23, 43). Furthermore, the man commemorated on the Cairo false door holds the ranking titles š*pss nsw* and *smr pr* which are not attested anywhere in the tomb, and are generally accepted to characteristic of the later 6th Dynasty, being first attested in the reign of Pepy I, see C. de Wit, 'Enquête sur le titre smr pr,' *CdÉ* 31 (1956): 89-104.

[37] See pp. 2, n. 17, 6-9. Brackets indicate variants found only in Room 7.

[38] He also observes that the names Neferseshemptah and Seshi are common during this period, N. Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace: Unis to Pepy I* (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2002), 108-110.

serious issue for academic publishing, was responsible. It is to be most regretted that the untimely death of Dr. Ali el-Khouli has deprived us of the records of his excavation of the substructures of the tomb. Although it is indicated that the burial chambers were uninscribed and contained no human remains (pp. 1, 5), this omission, out of line with the previous volumes in this series, is most unfortunate. However, these probably unavoidable omissions do not detract from the overall scholarly value of this work. This book admirably fulfills its purpose as a tool to facilitate further research and will be an indispensable work of reference for many years to come.

-Robyn Gillam

Alexandra Philip-Stéphan. *Dire le Droit en Égypte pharaonique. Contribution à l'étude des structures et mécanismes juridictionnels jusqu'au Nouvel Empire.* Connaissance de l'Égypte ancienne 9. Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2008. ISBN: 978-2-87457-018-6. 326 p. €59.

The task of reconstructing the juridical structures and mechanisms of ancient Egypt from the Old Kingdom to the beginning of the New Kingdom is a daunting one. Alexandra Philip-Stéphan is well aware of the main difficulties which she states in her introduction: the scarcity and fragmentary state of the sources as well as a possible bias towards information from the southern part of the country because the conditions for the preservation of papyri are more favorable there than in the Delta region.

Her book is divided into two main parts, dealing with the personnel and institutions (pp. 19–101) and the course of action (pp. 102–190) of juridical practice, each subdivided chronologically into a section on the Old Kingdom and one on the 1st Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. Eight annexes make up the rest of the book: I. a bibliography, pp. 191–222; II. a list of abbreviations, pp. 223–225; III. a catalogue of the sources with bibliographical data, complete transliteration[1] and translation, pp. 226–307; IV. a prosopographical catalogue, pp. 308–322; V. a chronological table, pp. 323–324; VI. a glossary of the French juridical terms used; p. 324; VII. a map of Egypt, p. 325; and VIII. an index, subdivided into sources (by source number and by inventory number or common appellation), proper names and place names (transcribed into Latin letters and vocalised), and titles (in transliteration with translation given in brackets), pp. 326–336.

In view of the unfavourable situation concerning the sources, the reader of course wonders how Philip-Stéphan had managed to produce almost 200 text pages on this subject. And indeed she admits in her introduction that the picture that can be drawn from describing and analyzing the few and often badly preserved relevant sources would be only a partial one. Philip-Stéphan therefore intends to fill the holes by utilizing later sources as well as non-juridical, especially literary texts. Now this approach is perfectly legitimate if used with due caution, and can in fact yield admissible working hypotheses. For example, to analyse the juridical vocabulary employed in the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant can help to understand how these same terms were used in more fragmentary documentary contexts. But is it really necessary to inflate the statement that there is no contemporary evidence for royal juridical activity in the Old Kingdom to a two-page chapter (pp. 21–23) by citing passages from the Pyramid Texts that eventually culminate in the king's cooptation as divine judge? And what information on juridical mechanisms in the Middle Kingdom do we draw from speculations on the

[1] For unknown reasons lacking for the wisdom texts, no. 100–106.

hypothetical charges that might have been laid against Sinuhe, spread out over seven pages (pp. 137–143)? A succinct study of the few phrases in which legal terminology appears would have been more helpful. In her eagerness to create ambiance, Philip-Stéphan even attempts to squeeze information from the dry bones of hieroglyphic spelling, deducing that in earlier periods legal courts were held sitting in a circle, because the word *ḏ3ḏ3.t* 'council' is written with the determinative ○, while the fact that the term *ḏ3ḏ3.t* in the late 1st Intermediate Period is superseded by *ḳnb.t* would imply that later the judges convened in the corner (*ḳnb.t*) of a rectangular space (pp. 35, 61 and elsewhere). To mention this once, in passing, and with appropriate caution – because no word *ḏ3ḏ3*(*.t*) meaning 'circle' or similar is known from any stage of the Egyptian language, and homographic roots are abundant in Egyptian – would have been enough, but this somewhat naive idea figures even in the conclusions on p. 186 as one of the salient points of her study. One should also regard her statement "(...) la symbolique de l'arbre jouant un rôle essentiel, le justice pouvait être rendue sous un palmier, un tamaris ou un chêne (...)"[2] with suspicion, not only because there are no oak trees in Egypt,[3] but also because, despite an undoubtedly important religious role of trees, there is no evidence for this alleged 'tree of judgment' in Egypt at all. That this custom is mentioned in the Bible is no reason to assume the same for Egypt, given the difference between a people shaped by a nomadic life in an arid landscape for whom a tree was a landmark, meeting place, and much sought-after opportunity for shade, and the long since sedentary population of densely vegetated riverside Egypt. There, porches and gateways of temples and other public buildings seem to have played the role of shaded gathering places for juridical proceedings, as already pointed out by Quaegebeur[4] in an article which Philip-Stéphan cites eventually, on p. 113.

The author's argumentation is often hard to follow: for instance, I fail to understand why the passage of the Lamentations of Ipuwer 6,12 *jw ms ḫnt wr m pr hꜣ=f ḥwrw.w ḥr šmt jyt m ḥw.wt wr.yt,* translated by her as "Voyez donc, la grande chambre privée est envahie et les miséreux vont et viennent dans les Grandes Cours" tells us that the *ḥw.t wr.t* and the *ḥw.t wr.t 6* both were situated within the royal palace (p. 28). Juxtaposition in the text does not necessarily imply adjacent locations. I am also doubtful about her somewhat debonair approach for identifying the members of the court at Balat: "La majorité des documents découverts à Balat concerne le personnel palatial dont les membres éminents devaient composer le collège de la *djadjat*. Afin d'identifier ces personnages il convient d'étudier les titres auliques ainsi que les titres de

[2] Cf. 24–25.

[3] Renate Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten*, *SDAIK* 14 (Mainz, 1985), 20–21.

[4] Jan Quaegebeur, « La justice à la porte des temples et le toponyme Premit, » in *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte: mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès,* Christian Cannuyer, ed. (Bruxelles: Association Montoise d'Égyptologie), 201–219.

fonction et, en isolant les plus importants, apparaîtront les membres de la *djadjat* du gouverneur de l'oasis." (p. 41). To give a last example of her extraordinary syllogisms: "Étant donné l'absence de titre mentionnant une instruction ou un jugement secret, la procédure devait être publique, ce que confirmerait une empreinte de sceau mentionnant « la porte de l'*ousékhet* » découverte dans le complex funéraire de la reine Khentkaus" (pp. 58–59). Even after consulting the publication of this seal impression[5] I remain unable to understand how the mere mention of a doorway in a broken context can yield information about the secrecy or publicity of court procedures.

Quite a few of the documentary sources which she uses do not immediately reveal their relevancy to the problem, due to their fragmentary state, lack of context or deliberate understatement. Unfortunately, many do not do so at second glance either, which does not spare them from being submitted to lengthy speculations, such as on the nature of the charges from which Pepiankh-heri-ib was acquitted (pp. 104–106), on the context and meaning of three enigmatic letters from the funerary temple of Neferirkare-Kakai (pp. 110–119), or on the meaning of the extremely fragmentary papyrus UC 32209 (pp. 165–167). *Argumenta e silentio* are common, alternative explanations are rarely even discussed – in brief, one misses an awareness of the scientific necessity of the critical analysis of one's own theses.

Another practice that undoubtedly increases the number of pages significantly is the citation, often in full and not just as translations, but with transliteration as well, of textual sources that appear again in Annex III.[6] Unfortunately, the transliterations of Egyptian words exhibit a startling number of inconsistencies, e.g. personal names with and without elements separated by hyphen,[7] irregular rendering of grammatical features,[8] and typing mistakes, e.g. *ḫ* for *ḥ,*[9] *h* for *ḫ*[10], *ṯ* for *t*[11] and *š* for *s,*[12] but there is also the famous automatically corrected *http* instead of *ḥtp* (p. 311). Negligent proofreading alone can hardly explain their survival, thus raising suspicions of a certain unfamiliarity with Egyptian philology. In the same direction point mistranslations like "directeur de tous les jugements de la *djadjat* royale" for *mr* (read *ỉmy-rꜣ*) *ḏꜣḏꜣ.t nsw n.t*

[5] Miroslav Verner. *The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaous*. Abusir 3 (Prague 1995), 127, fragment 11/A/85-c.

[6] E.g. doc. 33 on 82, doc. 40 on 84–85, doc. 6 on 104, doc. 57 on 128–129, doc. 83 (split into three pieces) on 151, 153 and 153–154, doc. 70 on 165–166, doc. 65 on 175 and in part again on 179, doc. 85 on 178, doc. 80 on 180–181.

[7] Passim, cf. also Annex IV, 308–322.

[8] E.g. feminine and plural endings sometimes separated by dot, sometimes not; missing parts of stative endings sometimes supplied, sometimes not.

[9] E.g. *ḫsỉ* instead of *ḥsỉ* (310).

[10] E.g. *ꜥnh* instead of *ꜥnḫ* (322).

[11] E.g. *ṯty* instead of *tty* (36), *ṯšỉw* instead of *tšỉw* (44 bis, 261 bis).

[12] E.g. *šn-nw-kꜣ* instead of *šṯn-nw-kꜣ* (42 bis), *šṯw* statt *sṯw* (55, n. 162), *šꜣwt* instead of *sꜣwt* (69).

*wḏ*ʿ*-mdw nb* (p. 26) instead of "directeur de la djadjat royale de tout jugement," or "Grande Cour des Six" for *ḫw.t wr.t 6* (p. 35 ff. and passim) instead of "les six grandes cours,"[13] as well as inconsistencies in translating identical phrases (e.g. *sn.wy* as "deux litigants" on p. 61, "deux frères" on p. 85, "deux hommes" on p. 87). The large number of mistakes in transcription and translation that advise against a use of Annex III without consultation of the text publications has already been thoroughly presented by G. Vittmann in his review in *WZKM* 100, 2010, pp. 276–277. Additionally, the significance of square brackets seems to have escaped the author: They are explained as "Passage non cité" in the section *Conventions adoptées* on p. 6, while ///, which, as far as I can make out, never occurs in the whole book, is given as "Lacune dans l'original." Within the transliterations and translations, however, square brackets are used in the conventional way, i.e. to mark destroyed passages, which does not prevent Philip-Stéphan from arguing on the basis of phrases entirely within these square brackets. The most striking case is perhaps the tomb inscription of Kaemtjenenet (p. 30): Philip-Stéphan's interpretation is entirely based on the free reconstruction for the lost passages made by E. Schott in an article which Philip-Stéphan does not even cite.[14] Philip-Stéphan's references are to French and English translations by Roccati and Delgado who passed Schott's German reconstruction, although clearly identified as purely conjectural, off as translation. Not only in this example the indication and content of missing passages in transliteration and translation do not correspond.[15]

The treatment of text material is, moreover, not very consistent: For example, the leather scroll Berlin P 10470 (doc. 84) is cited variously as "Papyrus Berlin 10470" (p. 163), "rouleau de cuir Berlin 10470 (document 84)" on p. 177 n. 407, under the heading "papyri" on p. 329 as "P. Berlin 3029 (= « Rouleau de cuir de Berlin »): doc. 84," and as "rouleau de cuir de Berlin" without further designation on pp. 68, 94 and 186. On the other hand, some of the sources, even among those cited more than once, do not appear in Annex III at all[16] and therefore lack a comprehensive bibliography. Papyrus Westcar is not mentioned in Annex III nor VIII.2, but referred to rather obliquely as "conte du magicien Djédi" on p. 186, without inventory number and with

[13] For her translation, a genitive adjective *n.t* between *wr.t* and *6* would be indispensable, because a direct genitive cannot be split up by an adjective, although a few exceptions to this rule have been collected by Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik I* (Rome, 1955), 136 §321.

[14] Erika Schott, "Die Biographie des Ka-em-tenenet," in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto,* eds. Jan Assmann, Erika. Feucht, Reinhard Grieshammer (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1977), 443–461. Cf. 443–444: „Spiegelberg (...) meint, daß von jeder Zeile ungefähr drei Viertel fehlen. (...) Parallelen fehlen bei der Inschrift des Ka-em-tenenet, sie soll hier auch nicht ergänzt werden, doch ist vom Text genug erhalten, daß man Mutmaßungen über ihren Inhalt anstellen kann (...)".

[15] Cf. also doc. 80, 180–181 and 273–274.

[16] E.g. Decree Koptos R, mentioned on 60 and cited more fully on 108–109 and Graffito Hatnub no. 12, mentioned on 85 and cited with transliteration and translation on 86.

a popular French translation[17] as sole bibliographical reference. All in all, Annex III appears to have been an afterthought, which would explain not only the omissions, but also the redundancies and why one has to hunt for the document numbers in the footnotes instead of finding them in a consistently conspicuous position within the text.

Among the more entertaining blunders is the caption 'Extrait de l'enseignement d'Ani (doc. 105)' accompanying the judgment of the dead scene (i.e. vignette to spell 125) of the Book of the Dead papyrus of Ani on p. 305; the same picture, this time in colour, graces the cover of the book and, on p. 4, is correctly identified as belonging to papyrus BM 10470. An unfortunate fault is the big white blob defacing the photographic reproduction of clay tablet 5955 from Balat on p. 260, erroneously copied from the adjacent image of tablet 3689-7, 8 and 11, where an identical white patch was used for masking the missing central portion. Although tablet 5955 has already been published by Pantalacci and Philip-Stéphan in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 83, 2005, pp. 273–281, this journal on legal history is not easily accessible for Egyptologists which makes the lack of a useful photograph even more aggravating.

It remains to state that the book does indeed offer a certain number of new sources that may contain evidence as to the functioning of the ancient Egyptian juridical system. But unfortunately it is entirely up to the reader to search for them among a large quantity of irrelevancies and to extract their scientific value. The overall impression is that of a valiant effort to produce a book from data that would have been about sufficient for a journal article, by an author who visibly struggles when confronted with the exigencies of Egyptian philology and academically sound reasoning.

-Sandra L. Lippert

[17] Lalouette, Textes sacrés et textes profanes, II, p. 179.

Heike C. Schmidt. *Westcar on the Nile. A Journey through Egypt in the 1820s*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2011. ISBN 978-3-89500-852-8. 250 pp. + 140 colour and b/w images + 1 colour plate. €49.

The travel diary of Henry Westcar, generally known only in connection with the famous papyrus that bears his name, is finally published here by Egyptologist Heike C. Schmidt for the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo. Unfortunately, the diary does not provide information on the papyrus itself as one would have wished. Nevertheless, this publication surely enriches the growing field of History of Egyptology, and it contributes some valuable information for the historian interested in modern Egypt.

The book by Schmidt is the first of a projected series called "Menschen – Reisen – Forschungen" published by the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, as specified in Daniel Polz's *Vorwort* written in German (which is odd, since the book is published in English). The volume is divided in three parts: "The History of the Journal"; Westcar's own travel account and a "Historical Background." Three appendixes follow: "The itinerary", a gazetteer with dates and page references; "W.R. Dawson Introduction to the diary"; "Papyrus Westcar." An Index of names and an Index of Places follow. At a quick survey, these seem not to be very accurate, as some places (e.g. Gebel el-Teir, el-Amarna) and names (e.g. J. Tokeley-Parry and F. Schultz) are not to be found. Physician, traveller and draughtsman, Alessandro Ricci (d. 1834) is listed twice as two different people ("Ricci, Alessandro" and "Ricci, Dr."). Sometimes the same name is repeated in a row for all different spellings, instead of directing the reader to a single entry. The Bibliography ends the volume.

There is one plate only, which is the well-known map of the Nile countries published by Lepsius, but it is so small as to be almost useless. Westcar did not go south of Wadi Halfa, with the result that two-thirds of the map is superfluous. A detailed map (or group of maps) would have been useful because Westcar mentions many sites that require geographical identification. On the other side, there are many colour photographs. It is a pity that the publisher could not acquire the rights of publication for the drawings made by Westcar's fellow travellers – Catherwood, Parke, and Scoles – to accompany the text. Some of the images chosen from same-period artists are very interesting: Cooper's "Drawing of the interior of a Canga" (fig. 78), the sketches of Bonomi (figs. 6, 34, 37, 80, 113), and Bossi's view of Maharraqa (fig. 59) among them. Some other photographs are much less meaningful: "A young crocodile" (fig. 25), "View of the Forum Romanum" (fig. 9), a rear view of the temple of Kalabsha (fig. 68) and "The first page of Dawson's introduction to the manuscript" (fig. 140). It would have been useful to include all of Westcar's small sketches – as done with the cross-section of the pyramid (p. 253) and the key to the secret code (pp. 32-33) – and the

passages with difficult readings, so as to allow the scientific community to make their own guesses as to the interpretation.

Before going through the book, a few words should be devoted to the diary itself. Written in Egypt and Nubia between 1823 and 1824, the journal is a day by day diary of Westcar's journey on the Nile from Alexandria to Cairo and from there to Wadi Halfa and back; it is not written in the form of a series of letters as stated by the editor (p. 3); "*There is no specific address or the slightest hint who this reader might have been. In fact there are only four references in all to his possible readership*" should be enough to prove that the diary was not written in an epistolary style. Westcar did not publish it, as righteously Schmidt points out (same p. 3), probably because he realized it could not stand competition against the many other travelogues that appeared in the same period. Sometimes around the end of the 1940s, Ludwig Keimer acquired the diary and started to work on it for publication with Warren R. Dawson. Unfortunately, the death of Keimer in 1957 halted the project. A further attempt by Rolf Herzog and Hanns Stock was also stopped by political problems between Egypt and West Germany in 1965. The manuscript, along with all of Keimer's archive, was bought by the German Archaeological Institute in 1957 and it is still part of its rich collection.

As already pointed out by Dawson (quoted at p. 5), "*the journal is of great value for the information it supplies of the movements of other travellers, collectors and dealers.*" In fact, there is not much Egyptological information if compared to other accounts (Belzoni's, and Linant's just to quote two). At the beginning, Westcar's diary is written in a dry and almost rough manner, in need of a heavy revision, but it becomes more fluid further on and shows even some (rare) poetic glimpses and much witty irony: "*Signeur Scoles, who has a very large bum* [sic!]*, in measuring part of the temple, was obliged to mount a wall, but on account of the weight of his posterior, he was not able to keep his perpendicular position, but overbalancing, he fell with his centre of gravity upon the roof of a Nubian dwelling, & was suddenly with the whole fabric [of the roof], which was not able to stand this close bombardment, precipitated to the earth in one universal ruin*" (p. 89). Humour is often involuntary as it comes more from Westcar's naiveté and poor knowledge of the East: "*Was surprised to hear the Arabs speaking English to one another, as I thought they cried "God damn, God damn". For some time I could not but admire their selection of phraseology, but upon enquiry I found it was Arabic & meant "forward", "before". This is curious.*" (He is here misunderstanding the arabic قدام, in Southern Egypt pronounced "goddam"). A few other passages show more awareness of the country; for example at p. 46, Westcar expresses (unusual) criticism towards the regime of Mehmet 'Ali Pasha: "*Query: is the Pasha a friend or enemy to this country?*"

Part I, "The History of the Journal", contains information on the diary, the fellow travellers, "Impediment to travel", and an "Introduction to the Journal" which is a sort of prologue to the journal itself starting with the studies and travels of Catherwood, Scoles, and Parke in Italy in 1822. One would have wished for more information about

Henry Westcar himself rather than on his fellow travellers. The little information on the author and the diary is on the contrary scattered between here, the Preface and Dawson's introduction at the end. Nevertheless, Schmidt is able to demonstrate that Westcar was not an architect (which clearly results from the reading of the diary itself) and that he had no real goal in Egypt except 'making the tour,' enjoying life (see the description of their 1823 Christmas lunch at p. 51) and purchasing horses. It is not clear on which basis the editor states that the dragoman's surname was Papandriopulos (p. 11) and calls the port of Bulaq "Ottoman" (p. 13), while it was a working dock at least since the early XV century.[1]

Part II presents the original diary of Westcar with explanatory footnotes by the editor. The main issue in the historical analysis is that Schmidt fails to recognize Westcar's diary as an important eyewitness source for the revolt that sparked in Upper Egypt in 1824, a topic that would have been well worth a separate chapter.[2] By failing to do so, Schmidt does not discuss the first-hand information provided. The other eyewitness source of the period, John Madox, reports the point of view of the rebels. On the other end, Westcar sheds new light on the other side of the fight, because he was in touch with the Turkish officers engaged in the suppression of the revolt. Moreover, he adds information on the alleged implication of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II financing the revolt against Mehmet 'Ali. It is a chain of events. In fact, the Pasha did not build his army as soon as he got the power in 1805 (p. 170); well aware of the unreliability of his Albanian troops, only in 1815 did he start a program of military reform (*nizam-i cedid*) and then waged war against Sennar to recruit slave-soldiers (1820).[3] The campaign was not a success (as at p. 171), but to the contrary, it was a human disaster: "*The lack of effective means of transportation resulted in the deaths of thousands of slaves before they even reached Egypt. Still more staggering is the fact that of 20,000 slaves who did in fact reach Aswan, by 1824 only 3,000 remained alive.*"[4] In fact, it was the lack of success in this mission that pushed the Pasha to recruit, for the first

[1] André Raymond, *Cairo City of History* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2007), 184-85.

[2] The most recent work on the subject is Nicole B. Hansen, "The Peasant Revolt of 1824," in *The International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest*, Immanuel Ness, ed. (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009). Other sources not used by Schmidt are Félix Mengin and Edme-François Jomard, *Histoire sommaire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly ou récit des principaux événements qui ont eu lieu de l'an 1283 à l'an 1836, précédée d'une introduction et suivie d'études géographiques et historiques sur l'Arabie* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1839) and Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, his Army and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 95, where original governmental documentation from the Dar al-Watha'eq al-Qaumiyya (National Archives of Egypt) are used.

[3] Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 205; Khaled Fahmy, All the Pasha's Men, 85-86; Khaled Fahmy, "The era of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Volume Two. Modern Egypt from 1517 to the end of the Twentieth Century*, ed. M.W. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 153.

[4] K. Fahmy, "The era of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha," 153-54.

time in modern Egyptian history, native peasants. It was to object to this that the 1824 revolt witnessed by Westcar actually started.

In June 1824 Westcar observes in Cairo troops embarking for Alexandria "*and thence to Greece*" (p. 143), but the editor denies this possibility stating, without quoting a source, that "*the embarkation to Greece would not happen before 1825.*" On the contrary, Mehmet 'Ali received orders from the Sultan as soon as February 1824 and the Pasha was able to comply rather quickly: "*Five months later the Pasha sent a force comprising 17,000 newly trained infantry troops and 700 cavalrymen assisted by four artillery batteries to the Morean Peninsula in the South of Greece.*"[5]

A frequent habit of the editor is the use of historical analysis *tout court* from old sources without further discussion. Referring to the revolt of the Albanians soldiers in Cairo in March 1824 against Mehmet 'Ali Pasha, Schmidt states: "*Part of his old troops […] very much disagreed with his plan to build a new army out of natives rather than the usual foreigners*" (so quoting the opinion of Drovetti, p. 16). But there is no doubt that the real reason for the rebellion was the refusal of the *nizam-i cedid* by the unruly Albanians.[6]

There is also a problem with Italian terms used by Westcar in the diary. Italian was a very widespread language in Europe at the time and the official language of the Franks in Egypt, spoken even by many members of the Turkish elite.[7] Westcar proves to know some Italian; the same can't be said for the editor of the current publication. For example "baruf" question-marked at p. 54 means 'fight', 'quarrel'; "pantaloons" at p. 76 is a word derived from Italian rather than French and the same for "fantasia" (p. 76), which is an Italian loan. The transcription of Westcar's Italian translation of Herodotus at p. 164 makes no sense at all. But perhaps the most unfortunate result is the editing of a phrase of Westcar's at p. 121: "*He himself* [i.e. Yanni] *was in too bad a plight to consider anything, & his wife,* poveretta non poteva petare (?) nassi (?) per 15 giorni." "Nassi" has no meaning in Italian, but "petare" means "to pass gas".

In general, one notes a large disparity between extremely accurate notes, sometimes with useless details ("*The distance between Kena and Quseir, approximately 190 km, was covered by the French army within 41 hours and 55 minutes, of which 13 hours and 45 minutes were spent asleep,*" note 504, p. 117; note 555 at p. 128 with details on two of the most recent auctions of Seti I's ushabtis), uninformative notes (218, 219, 221 and 640 with lists of different spellings for names and titles, including the well-known name of French Consul Bernardino Drovetti), and lack of notes for important passages (as for

[5] Al-Sayyid Marsot, Egypt, 206; Fahmy, All the Pasha's Men, 55.

[6] Fahmy, All the Pasha's Men, 85; Fahmy, "The era of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha," 151-52.

[7] Alain Silvera, "The First Egyptian Student Mission to France under Muhammad Ali," in *Middle Eastern Studies* 16 (1980): 7; R.N. Verdery, "The Publications of the Būlāq Press under Muḥammad 'Alī of Egypt," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971): 129.

example at pp. 164-65). Sometimes the monuments Westcar refers to are not identified (and no Porter-Moss bibliography is ever given, except in note 573): so for the ruins of a temple/church in Alexandria (p. 27), the "excavated temples" near Asyut, i.e. the tombs of Meir (p. 48), the temples of Amenhotep III and Thutmosis III at Elephantine (p. 64, even if portrayed in fig. 40), the temple of Seti I at Qurna (p. 127), the ruins of Hermopolis near el-Rairamun (p. 141), the obelisk of Senusret I at Heliopolis (p. 152). It is always difficult to work on toponyms given by early travellers, but some of them can be easily traced through old maps, for example, "Erraine" at p. 48 is a locality between Tahta and Akhmim on the east side of the Nile listed in the 1807 *Map of Upper Egypt* by Aaron Arrowsmith (which can even easily be consulted, along with dozens of others, on-line[8]). A place called "Homs" at p. 102 ("*They had also killed the governor of Homs*") receives no discussion despite the importance of the information conveyed.

Some of the information provided in the footnotes is not accompanied by the quotation of a source: note 253 on the different breeds of camels in Egypt and their characteristics; note 282 on the *varanus niloticus*; note 514 on the horned viper; note 565 on the weight of the large colossus in the Ramesseum; note 636 on the so-called "Well of Joseph" in the Citadel. On the other hand, the same information is sometimes repeated twice: notes 173 and 229 on millet; notes 218 and 226 on el-Rairamun; notes 643 and 704 on the wages of army officers, notes 659 and 865 on the colossus of Ramesses II at Memphis.

There are some other small inaccuracies, such as: notes not placed at the first occurrence of a term ("Hermontis", pp. 108-109; "Muhammad Bey Lazoghlu," pp. 109-110); many abbreviations not spelled out; note 665 contradicting the emendation in the text. At p. 106, note 459, with "tamarins" Westcar does not refer to the monkey belonging to the *cercopythecus* (errors in spelling) family, as this monkey lives in the Americas only, but rather to the *tamarindus indica*, which was effectively a trade good often present in caravans coming from the Sudan as the species is not native to Egypt.[9] So *canga* (note 199) is not an Arabic word, but rather a Turkish one[10] and the spelling of the African region is not *Senaar* as Schmidt uncritically gives following Westcar, but *Sennar* (p. 19 and notes 240, 243, 460, 477, and 671). Finally, the tomb of Nebamun

[8] Aaron Arrowsmith, *Map of Upper Egypt, drawn from various documents* (London: A. Arrowsmith, 1807). David Rumsey Map Collection Cartography Associates, accessed September 27, 2012, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~233531~5509640:Map-of-Upper-Egypt,-drawn-from-vari?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No&qvq=q:egypt;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=0&trs=249

[9] Mahmoud A. Zahran, *The Vegetation of Egypt* (Berlin: Springer, 2009).

[10] Giuseppe Gabrieli, *Ippolito Rosellini e il suo Giornale della Spedizione Letteraria Toscana in Egitto negli anni 1828-1829* (Roma: Reale Società Geografica Italiana, 1925), 10-11, n. 3.

cannot correspond to the structures described by Westcar at pp. 129 and 132 ("*some immense excavations*"), as it must have been a small painted chamber;[11] the tomb was not discovered in 1822 (note 561), because already in July 1821 most of the pieces were seen deposited in Yanni's by Linant[12] and Ricci. The largest tombs in the area are those of Kheruef (TT 192) and Amenhotep-Huy (Tomb -28-).[13]

Part III, "Historical Background," is intended "*to elucidate the social and political circumstances a bit more than the glimpses given in Westcar's diary*" (p. 1). For this reason, it would have been more appropriate to place it before Westcar's diary and not after. It actually seems that this part was originally conceived to belong at the beginning of the book, because some of the characters (Salt, Burckhardt, and Dr. Forster) are here presented as if it is the first time we hear about them. In general, the information is disorderly scattered between text and notes and between the different paragraphs, whose division sometimes does not seem to be very meaningful (e.g. "Scientific researchers and early Egyptologists" vs. "Scientist"). In the paragraph under the title "Souvenir hunters," for example, the mix of topics flows as follows: travellers' ways of dressing, security in Egypt, antiquity robbing, books about Egypt published in the early 19th century, again security in Egypt, number of travellers, antiquities purchased, pillage by the locals, forgeries.

From the title of Part III one would expect a comprehensive study on Mehmet 'Ali's reign, but the chapter actually deals mainly with antiquity looting and trafficking. And it approaches it in a roundabout way: from the Romans through early Christian zealots, Mameluke sultans (indulging in an excursus on Islamic art, p. 175), early travellers and collectors down to modern tomb robbers. The list is updated as to January 25 Egyptian Revolution (oddly called "*days of riot and upheaval,*" p. 206). One wonders how the reader who is interested in Westcar's diary can benefit from all this unnecessary information.

In general, there is lack of a critical sense in the examination of the problem of heritage preservation: (p. 172) Mehmet 'Ali "*cared much more for his revenues and the future development of his new industries, than for any of the ancient monuments* [my note: this is completely understandable]. *These remained something more than strange to him: he never comprehended why these ruins were so highly estimated by Europeans visitors.*" It takes Schmidt thirty pages to quote the fact that the first antiquity law was issued in Egypt (by Mehmet 'Ali *ça va sans dire*) as early as 1835. It is worth quoting it here: "*Foreigners are destroying ancient edifices, extracting stones and other worked objects and*

[11] Richard B. Parkinson, *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun: Masterpieces of Ancient Egyptian Art in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum Press, 2008), 9.

[12] Parkinson, The painted tomb-chapel, 12.

[13] TT 192: PM I, 1, 298-300; Tomb -28-: Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, *Die Thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1996), vol. II, 637-38.

exporting them to foreign countries. If this continues, it is clear that soon no more ancient monuments will remain in Egypt […] The Government has judged it appropriate to forbid the export abroad of antiquities found in the ancient edifices of Egypt […] and to designate in the capital a place to serve as a depot […] It has decided […] to spend the greatest possible care on their safekeeping."[14] At p. 190 we read: "*There were no limits for excavators and explorers as long as they had a firman from the Pasha, which was obviously no problem at all.*" On the contrary, even the famous scientific expedition led by Champollion and Rosellini in 1828-29 had to struggle to obtain a *firman*, which was not granted. It was agreed that consuls Drovetti and D'Anastasy temporary ceded their own *firmans* to the two scientific missions.[15]

The reconstruction of the so-called War of the Consuls period is quite superficial, everything being reduced to a struggle between British Consul General Henry Salt and his French counterpart Bernardino Drovetti. No mention is made in the book of other important protagonists of the period, all part of the diplomatic body: Swedish and Norwegian Consuls Bokty and D'Anastasy, Tuscan Consul De Rossetti, Austrian Consul Acerbi and his Chancellor Nizzoli. So it is all reduced to the British Museum versus the Louvre, while important collections formed in the same period such as those in Turin, Florence, Leiden, Berlin, and Dresden are neglected. Among the scholars, no mention is made of Prof. Ippolito Rosellini, disciple of Champollion and mentor to the young Richard Lepsius. A good many more contemporary travellers are also left out: Hyde, Beechey, Baron von Sack, Frediani, Segato, Baron von Minutoli, Barry, the Earl of Belmore with Richardson among them.[16] It is also odd that Burckhardt, Burton, and Hay are mentioned as scholars, while Cambridge graduate William John Bankes[17] is listed among the explorers. "*Others followed in the wake of the gentlemen travellers of the early 19th century. These were men less wealthy in their possessions, but much richer in their knowledge of Egypt, eagerness to learn, and time to spend there*" (p. 191); it seems indeed a questionable distinction, as all these people were travelling at the same time (Burckhardt since 1812!).

[14] Donald M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 21.

[15] Maria Carmela Betrò, ed., *Ippolito Rosellini e gli inizi dell'Egittologia. Disegni e manoscritti originali della Spedizione Franco-Toscana in Egitto (1828-29) dalla Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa* (London: Golden House Publications, 2010), 73.

[16] For good summaries on the period and travellers' lists see Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?* (who also explores the early tourism industry); Alberto Silotti, *The Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1998); Jean Leclant, "De l'égyptophilie à l'égyptologie: érudits, voyageurs, collectionneurs et mécènes," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 4 (1985): 630-647, accessed October 1, 2012, doi: 10.3406/crai.1985.14311.

[17] Patrick Usick, *Adventures in Egypt and Nubia. The Travels of William John Bankes (1786-1855)* (London: The British Museum Press, 2002), 11.

It is also debatable that the lack of interest in Egyptian antiquities begins to change only "*after the decipherment of the hieroglyphics*" (p. 183). It was Napoleon's enterprise in the first instance and then the work of many explorers and antiquarians in the decade before 1822 that directed the attention of Europe towards ancient Egypt and even facilitated the decipherment itself (e.g. Bankes' Philae obelisk contributed to the correct reading of Ptolemaic cartouches in 1818[18]).

One could also question the actual correctness of a phrase such: "*The strongest complaint against the activities of the Consuls from the scientific community is not their simple accumulation of antiquities themselves. […] The real grievance is that they did so without taking any account of the circumstances of where and how the artefacts were discovered*" (p. 191). The debate on post-colonial and community archaeology, today, is by far more advanced than at this stage and one wonders why Schmidt undertook it in a only few pages of superficial analysis.[19] The lack of a critical approach to the destruction of the houses of Qurna and the evictions of their inhabitants in 2006 by the Government is also quite shocking, as "*the Qurnawis, the inhabitants living in and above the ancient tombs at western Thebes, were responsible for the destruction of many tombs either due to neglect or for rapacious reasons*" (p. 206). Information about the most recent looting/destruction episodes is not referenced: "*Not many years ago, in some remote villages, the finest limestone-reliefs from tombs and temples still ended up in limekilns because of the stones' supreme quality*" (p. 181), and the same for notes 922, 938 to 940 and the account of the blowing up of one boundary stela at el-Amarna in 2004 at p. 173.

As for the bibliography, some of the books mentioned abbreviated in the footnotes are not listed at the end, for example in note 720 "Störk L., *s.v. Gold* in: LÄ II, 728" (this is the sort of thing that would discourage a non-Egyptologist reader and Westcar's diary is interesting for a wide range of scholars outside Egyptology) or the excellent *Whose Pharaohs?* by Donald Malcom Reid (quoted in note 856), so too Champollion's *Grammaire Égyptienne* (note 970). The website quoted as a source in notes 143 and 147 is no longer available, which is not of course the fault of the editor, but still it is unclear what it was about. Some books quoted as history synthesis are quite out of date, such as Heyworth-Dunne's *Introduction* (1938) quoted on Mehmet 'Ali's land reforms and Fahmy's *Révolution* (1954) on the demographics of Egypt.

[18] Usick, Adventures, 77-79.

[19] Stephanie Moser, Darren Glazier, James E. Phillips, Lamya Nasser el-Nemr, Mohammed Saleh Mousa, Rascha Nasr Aiesh, Susan Richardson, Andrew Conner, and Michael Seymour, "Transforming Archaeology through Practice: Strategies for Collaborative Archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt," *World Archaeology* 34/2 (2002): 220-248; Yvonne Marshall, "What is Community Archaeology?" *World Archaeology* 34/2 (2002): 211-219.

Finally some good news: the discussion on Papyrus Westcar at pp. 219-221 is well researched and makes use of new sources; the argumentation is convincing and easily defeats the suspicions cast on Lepsius by Dawson in his introduction to the diary (pp. 214-217). This is probably the best part of the book as for research.

On the publisher's side, there are some typos here and there that could have been avoided through a more rigorous revision; the most disturbing is the appearance of "ý" instead of "the" in large part of the diary. There is a "1925" instead of "1825" in note 665 and a "Rammesses II" at page 185. Page numbers in footnote bibliographic references are replaced by question marks in note 314 and by an asterisk in notes 597, 612, 670. The graphic rendering for the pillars and squares mentioned by Westcar at pp. 128 and 129 is rather primitive and an image of the sketch or an explanatory footnote would have been much better. Odd is also al-Makrizi quoted in German (p. 179) and Richard Lepsius quoted in English the page after. Nevertheless the book is very elegant, the font easily readable and printed in two-colours, the paper of fine quality.

The book is definitely well worth reading, at least for Westcar's diary with its commentary. The editor, however, fails to provide more information on Westcar himself before and after his travel on the Nile. Despite the mistakes mercilessly highlighted in this review, the edition of the diary is quite accurate, the commentary is generally informative and most of the notes provide helpful information. On the other hand, the general part on Mehmet 'Ali's reign is disappointing and so too the reconstruction of the "War of the Consuls" period and the discussion of heritage-related issues. To add more to the current knowledge of the period, a thorough discussion of the 1824 uprising would have been welcomed. The set of illustrations is really impressive and enriches the volume.

-Daniele Salvoldi[20]

[20] I would like to thank Dr. Lyn Green for her assistance.

Gabor Schreiber. *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes II. Finds from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty*. Studia Aegyptiaca Series Maior II. Archaeolingua Alapitvany, 2008. ISBN: 978-963-9911-02-4. 95p. +95 pls. of line drawings +25 photo pls. (5 colour). $120 (US).

The private tombs on the West Bank at Luxor are world famous and yet until recently have been badly published. Many of the wall paintings are well known, but the tombs as an archaeological whole have been neglected. Modern archaeological work has sought to remedy this deficiency with full excavation and publication. The Hungarian mission has been working on the Ramesside tomb of Djehutymes (TT 32) since 1983 and only now are its results being made available. This second volume in the series publishes the ancient Egyptian archaeological finds from the excavation but not all the finds as the author makes clear. Several categories are excluded such ostraca, architectural fragments, magical bricks, statuary, anthropological, and faunal material and stray finds from other tombs so it is not possible to appreciate the funerary ensemble as a whole. Perhaps a brief listing of some of this material that will feature in further volumes might have been appropriate.

A brief introduction gives a short history of the excavations, the organization of the material in the volume and acknowledgements. As with most tombs on the West Bank, the site has been reused over the centuries since its first construction in the Ramesside Period with burials in the Third Intermediate Period and stray finds in the Saite Period. There have also been disturbances in later periods, including plundering in the nineteenth century. The publication is divided chronologically so the first section deals with finds from the original interments (pp. 17-32). Ironically the first objects discussed, the pink granite sarcophagi of the deceased and his wife, come only partly from the current excavation as the lids were removed in the early nineteenth century to join the Drovetti collection now in the Museo Egizio Turin, leaving the fragments of the bases behind. The surviving texts are here transcribed. The few remaining objects from the original burials, including shabtis, shabti boxes and pottery, are listed. Four anonymous tombs of the New Kingdom, Tombs C, D, H, and O found in the courtyard, are then described with their contents (pp. 32-41). Tomb O has yielded a Mycenaean stirrup jar and other pottery that should date it to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. Finally, the finds from the forecourts are listed, including four rectangular coffins, caches of pottery, as well as stray pottery and faience (pp. 41-48).

The second part of the archaeological report deals with the material from the Third Intermediate and Saite Periods (pp. 49-83). Three different areas are outlined. Firstly, the objects from later burials in the main tomb are listed including cartonnage fragments, canopic equipment, amulets, Osiris statues and pottery (pp. 52-63). Very few names have been preserved from these archaeological fragments, but, in one case, one has been erroneously interpreted. The name of this fragment 2.1.2.1 has been read

as Sa-pa-di-khons or possibly as Pa-di-khons. The last reading is, of course, correct as Padikhons is a common name of the Third Intermediate Period. The author has overlooked the fact that the preceding 'Sa' is, in fact, the filiation signifying 'son of.' The true name of the owner has been lost in the break and only preserved is the name of the father Padikhons. As part of the title has survived and it matches the title of other fragments attributed to Djed-Amenet from the same burial, it is likely that only one individual Djed-Amenet son of Padikhons is involved. The second area investigated was a shaft Tomb B built in the forecourt (pp. 64-77). A similar assemblage of mostly fragmentary Third Intermediate material was found. Thirdly, another Tomb G was discovered with much less in the way of small finds (pp. 77-81). The chapter concludes with the publication of stray finds of shabtis and pottery from the later periods (pp. 81-3).

The book is completed with indices, abbreviations, and bibliography (pp. 85-95). This is an exemplary publication of archaeological material from a minor Theban tomb. The line drawings are clear and crisp. The black and white photographs and architectural drawings are sharp, and there are even some colour photographs to give a true view of some of the more interesting objects. It is unfortunate that such an excellent report has concerned itself with such relatively unimportant objects but it does present an accurate archaeological background to a typical Theban tomb.

-Morris L. Bierbrier

Ian Shaw. *Hatnub: Quarrying Travertine in Ancient Egypt.* EES Excavation Memoir 88. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2010. ISBN: 978-0-85698-187-6. 197 p. + drawings and photographs. £65.00, $130.00 (US).

Ian Shaw's much anticipated and eminently readable study of the quarrying of travertine ("Egyptian alabaster" or calcite-alabaster) at Hatnub over the pharaonic period and into Roman times is intended to address both the lack of attention to the survey and excavation of mining and quarrying sites in the desert areas: the Eastern and Western deserts as well as the Sinai Peninsula, and the lack of focus upon archaeological field work from mining and quarrying areas in contrast to the abundant studies of ancient inscriptions dealing with these activities compiled over the past century. While there is no other comprehensive study of quarrying at Hatnub to which the work can be compared, there is the 2009 study of the pharaonic limestone quarries in Wadi Nakhla and Deir Abu Hennis in Middle Egypt by Klemm and Klemm (2009).[1] There are also several recent overviews of quarrying and mining in ancient Egypt, including those of Bloxam (2010),[2] Harrell and Storemyr (2009),[3] and Klemm and Klemm (2008).[4]

Hatnub: Quarrying Travertine in Ancient Egypt is the result of fieldwork carried out by the author between 1984 and 1990 in order to examine travertine quarrying activities at Hatnub, situated in the Eastern Desert, about 25 km southwest of the present day settlement of Mallawi. While the greater part of the book is devoted to quarrying activities during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, as evidenced by a wide variety of archaeological remains, the origins of quarrying activities in the late Predynastic Period, when travertine funerary vessels were first produced, are also discussed. Considerable attention is given to the discovery of the true magnitude of New Kingdom activities, previously underestimated and poorly understood. The decline of the site as a significant source of travertine after the early Ramesside Period is also considered with mention of the paucity of archaeological evidence that dates to the Late Period and continues into the Roman Period when a single amphora emerges from hut A35 in Quarry P and a Coptic sherd is found in the structure known as NN38,

[1] Rosemarie Klemm and Dietrich D. Klemm, "Pharaonic Limestone Quarries in Wadi Nakhla and Deir Abu Hennis, Egypt," in ASMOSIA VII, Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity, Thassos, 15-20 September 2003, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, supplement 51, 2009, Yannis Maniatis, ed., 211-25.

[2] Elizabeth Bloxam, "Quarrying and Mining (Stone)," *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Full text and PDF, 2010.

[3] James A. Harrell and Per Storemyr, "Ancient Egyptian Quarries – An Illustrated Overview," in "QuarryScapes: Ancient Stone Quarry Landscapes in the Eastern Mediterranean," *Geological Survey of Norway Special Publication* 12, ed. Nizar Abu-Jaber, Elizabeth Bloxam, Patrick Degryse, and Tom Heldal, 7-50. Trondheim: Geological Survey of Norway. PDF, 2009.

[4] Rosemarie Klemm and Dietrich D. Klemm, *Stone & Stone Quarries in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 2008. Originally published in German in 1993; translated into English and updated).

rock-cut images from Quarry T notwithstanding. A significant accomplishment of the book is the exploration through archaeological and textual evidence of vital social and economic issues and a synthesis of archaeological and textual evidence concerning the organization of quarry-workers at Hatnub in the pharaonic period since the large-scale procurement of fine stone was a crucial element in the functioning of the pharaonic economy. The quarrying of fine stone reflected both social stability and royal power vis à vis high officials in the provinces.

The book is divided into eight chapters preceded by a Preface that sets out the problems to be addressed in a clear and easily comprehensible manner. There are also six appendices, a bibliography, and two indices. Many photographs in sharp black and white as well as copious line drawings and maps have been provided to supplement the text. Some photographs, however, are difficult to make out clearly because of the nature of the materials depicted (stone or rock in desert in shades of gray) or the distance from which the picture was taken. Many of the chapters end with a valuable discussion section that summarizes the foregoing archaeological evidence for those who seek only general conclusions concerning the line of enquiry pursued in the chapter.

First off (p. xv), Shaw provides "A Note on Geological Terminology" to clarify understanding of the term "travertine" he employs in light of the confusion that has persisted in the terminology used for the two varieties of rock commonly referred to as "Egyptian alabaster" and "gypsum" respectively in Egyptological circles. What is understood as "Egyptian alabaster" is calcium carbonate ($CaCO_3$), a white, tan or cream coloured variety of limestone, often fibrous and layered. It is produced with the precipitation of calcium carbonate (as "calcite" or even "aragonite") at the mouths of hot springs, limestone caves, and open fissures. This rock is not to be confused with "gypsum" which is not, as Shaw writes, calcium sulphate ($CaSO_4$) but *hydrated* calcium sulphate ($CaSO_4.2H_2O$), the formula $CaSO_4$ actually representing the mineral anhydrite that forms in a different environment. The word travertine for "Egyptian alabaster" (ancient Egyptian *šs* and Latin *lapis alabastrites*, the latter, the source of confusion) is appropriate to rock that is found in the limestones of the Mokattam, Samalut, and Minia formations (all Tertiary) in the Eastern Desert, though "calcite-alabaster", a term used by Klemm and Klemm (1991)[5] would also be acceptable.

The Preface not only sets out the problem of filling in gaps in the coverage by Egyptologists of quarrying activities in desert areas, but also explores problems in the perception of the influence of quarrying and mining in ancient Egyptian history, concluding that although travertine quarrying had not the prestige for wealth-generation that the mining of copper and gold ores possessed, it was carried out to

[5] Rosemarie Klemm and Dietrich D. Klemm, "Calcit-Alabaster oder Travertin? Bemerkungen zu Sinn und Unsinn petrographischen Bezeichnungen in der Ägyptologie," *Göttinger Miszellen* 122 (1991): 57-70; Klemm and Klemm, Stone & Stone Quarries, 147.

obtain highly coveted pure white stone most commonly used in the funerary industry for vessels and other objects (p. xvii). Shaw mentions the quarrying of travertine as an enterprise undertaken by temples, forming part of their assets or funerary estates (i.e. the rights to the concession, mining personnel, settlements, see pp. xvii-xviii) as exemplified by the temple of Seti I at Abydos. It was also a "socio-economic bargain" between pharaohs and the elite, the latter charged with the procurement of stone and metal which secured for them valuable royal gifts (e.g. a fine sarcophagus for Weni made of Tura limestone, see p. xviii). Thus, Shaw emphasizes, "[l]ike agriculture and bureaucracy, the procurement of mineral wealth was an essential part of the infrastructure of the pharaonic economy" (p. xviii) as is demonstrated by the use of the annual tax levy to support it. There is also a brief review of the Turin Mining Papyrus, the oldest ancient surviving Egyptian topographical map to shed light upon an expedition to *bḫn* quarries in the Wadi Hammamat (Eastern Desert), the document now in the Museo Egizio, Turin.[6]

In Chapter 1, Shaw discusses previous epigraphic and archaeological work at Hatnub. He explains the discovery and history of Hatnub *bḫn*-stone (the place name Hatnub derived from *ḥwt-nbw* or "Mansion of Gold") which begins with Petrie's identification of the site during his 1891-2 season at Amarna and follows subsequent discussions up to the Hatnub Survey from 1985 to 1994, begun under the auspices of Cambridge University and the Egypt Exploration Society and later the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. The chapter ends with a consideration of the ancient toponyms *ḥwt-nbw* (mansion/temple/estate of gold), *pr-šs* (a settlement in the Amarna area), and *ṯrtỉ* (another settlement associated with quarrying in the Middle Kingdom or earlier), all of which occur in association with mining activities in the vicinity of the Hatnub quarries explored in this volume.

Chapter 2 explores several vital issues in the study of travertine quarrying in ancient Egypt, beginning with the ancient Egyptian exploitation of travertine and the geoarchaeology of Hatnub and other ancient quarries, putting the Hatnub quarries in a geographical and geological context. Here Shaw returns to the confusion arising from terminology and the distinction between true alabaster (gypsum: *hydrated* calcium sulphate) and travertine (calcium carbonate). Barbara Aston's 1994 re-examination of the Umm el-Sawwan alabaster-gypsum quarries[7] has provided insight into the probable misdating of much alabaster-gypsum quarrying and funerary vessel manufacturing by

[6] James A. Harrell and V. Max Brown, "The Oldest Surviving Topographical Map from Ancient Egypt: Papyrus Turin 1879, 1899 and 1969," *JARCE* 29 (1992): 81-105.

[7] Barbara G. Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1994).

Caton-Thompson and Gardner[8] to the Third and Fourth Dynasties rather than the First and Second Dynasties, because of its rare use in the making of these vessels in the later Old Kingdom, First Intermediate through Second Intermediate Periods and the Third Intermediate Period, a revised dating of the quarrying activities supported by a study of the pottery remains (p. 11). The uses of travertine in both Egypt and the ancient world are explored with the conclusion that the white colour's suggestion of purity and sanctity led to the favouring of travertine in the manufacture of funerary vessels (p. 15). The difficulty in obtaining large blocks of travertine meant that it was much less commonly used to make sarcophagi, statues, and naoi. Travertine's use in architecture for temple pavements and wall-linings is also mentioned as is its less commonly known medicinal use as a powder used in preparing skin ointments (P. Ebers 714-15, P. Hearst 153-4). Most significant here is the brief discussion of travertine's use as a favoured item in commerce and especially the royal diplomatic exchange of gifts (p. 17). The chapter also includes the discussion of nine other ancient Egyptian travertine quarries, archaeological evidence of their exploitation, and problems in efforts at provenancing ancient Egyptian travertine. Discussions of the archaeological evidence of travertine workshops and toolkits in Egypt as well as the Minoan site of Knossos where imported Egyptian travertine was worked[9] and the extent to which the actual production of travertine objects took place at the Hatnub quarry sites fill out the chapter. One slight criticism here in this most geologically oriented of chapters is the lack of a description of how the travertine deposit was related to the adjacent Tertiary and the name of the host limestone formation. Only a few added lines would be necessary.

Chapter 3, authored by Shaw in conjunction with Robert Jameson and Paul T. Nicholson, is devoted to a consideration of the northern Quarry P, the largest and most prolific of the ancient Egyptian quarries at Hatnub in terms of inscriptions and graffiti, a round basin that is marked today by heaps of travertine chips. This survey includes discussion of the Quarry P workers' encampments the layout and number of rooms of which suggest that from the Old Kingdom through the Middle Kingdom workmen were organized into gangs in multiple of threes. The single-room shelters of the New Kingdom indicate a change in the nature and direction of the exploitation of travertine. A crucial point raised by the authors concerns the interpretation of Old Kingdom evidence: considering the peculiar clustering of groups of stone huts in the area of Quarry P, to what extent was occupation simultaneous or was occupation instead the

[8] Gertrude Caton-Thompson and Elinor W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum.* 2 vols. (London: The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1934).

[9] Peter Warren, "Egyptian Stone Vessels from the City of Knossos: Contributions towards Minoan Economic and Social Structure," *Ariadne* 5 (1989): 8.

reflection of a lengthy series of expeditions such as are recorded on the quarry walls (p. 73)?

Next in Chapter 4 comes a survey of Quarry R and Quarry T at Hatnub, the former consisting of two quarries 2 km southwest of Quarry P, the pottery sherds of which indicate that this quarry was utilized over the longest period of time as is reflected in the number of large inscriptions and graffiti. Quarry T is a fourth quarry just 1 km east of Quarry R. However, modern quarrying operations have not only removed the larger pieces of travertine in the ancient stone heaps but also seriously damaged Quarry T as a whole. In light of this ongoing damage, it is quite likely that our expectations for future studies of the quarries should be lowered.

Pottery is the subject of Chapter 5 authored by Paul T. Nicholson and Pamela J. Rose. They give their priorities as the study of windbreaks and huts within the area of the Hatnub Survey 1985-1994 and the examination of surface and subsurface pottery from NW23 and S26, structures which have been excavated. The objective was to determine general periods of occupation in specific areas. The results of any more recent archaeological work were not included in the chapter. It is not indicated what if any work has been completed in the interim. The authors conclude that most of the ceramics from Hatnub associated with windbreaks and stone huts are of Old Kingdom date. Some sherds dating to the Roman Period and subsequent Coptic Period are also to be mentioned even though the low density of their finding suggests "only casual discard" (p. 95). Attention is drawn to the perplexing New Kingdom encampment described as "more complicated and more interesting" (p. 95), but nothing further is remarked other than the fact that while some huts used in the New Kingdom were older huts reused, others were newly built.

Religion and ritual are the subjects of Chapter 6 which treats the archaeological and textual traces of the remains of religious and ritualistic activities. These take the form of petroglyphs, 'shrines', and stone alignments. First noted by Petrie in 1894,[10] the petroglyphs are chiefly votive symbols in the form of curious feet and sandals carved into the stone. Although these petroglyphs are clearly pharaonic in date, they recall other rock-carved feet found at Mediterranean sites from the Hellenistic and Roman periods (p. 97). Unfortunately, no account is given of the interpretation (if any) of these petroglyphs at sites outside Egypt. Other similar petroglyphs of pharaonic date have been found in the Western Desert and date to the Old Kingdom.[11] Stone alignments and orthostats are another religious feature that can be traced back to Neolithic times in Nubia (Nabta Playa c. 4900 BCE in the Western Desert, 100 km

[10] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna* (London: EEF, 1894).

[11] See, for example, Olaf E. Kaper and Harco Willems, "Policing the Desert: Old Kingdom Activity around the Dakhleh Oasis," in *Egypt and Nubia: Gifts of the Desert*, Renée Friedman, ed. (London: British Museum Press, 2002), 81-89.

west of Abu Simbel). Shrines are defined as "elaborate versions of the configurations of upright stones…" (p. 101), structure S2 being the largest. This evidence of religious and ritualistic activities has parallels at other Egyptian quarrying and mining sites (e.g. orthostats at Serabit el-Khadim, shrines at Timna, Gebel Zeit, and Serabit el-Khadim, petroglyphs at Wadi el-Hudi and Wadi Maghara), though there are differences in the combination of features (p. 106). Graffiti from the Hatnub quarries frequently mention priests. Some of these references to priests derive from the priestly titles belonging to nomarchs of the Hare nome. A final point explored here is the absence of mention of the goddess Hathor who was the patron goddess of mining and quarrying regions in ancient Egypt. However, Horus, Min, and Soped are ascribed the title *nb ḫ3swt*. Hathor was most commonly associated with the material being quarried itself and was the patroness of this material (so *nbt mfk3t, nbt msdmt, nbt ḫnmt* for turquoise, galena, and carnelian respectively), but she was curiously never referred to as *nbt bit* or *nbt šs* nor was she called *nbt mntt* (gneiss). The possibility is raised that Hathor was most likely envisioned as the patroness of gemstones rather than rock types such as travertine or gneiss (p. 107). It is also noteworthy that Thoth and Khnum, deities worshipped in the Hermopolitan nome, are frequently attested at the quarries, suggesting the predominance of local cults.

The network of major and minor roads needed to connect quarrying and mining sites to the Nile Valley to facilitate the moving of materials to their destinations is the subject of Chapter 7. It is clear that road construction for quarries and mines was dictated by three factors: the nature of the materials being procured and the quantities needed; the topography of the area; and local materials available for road building. Although six quarry roads are identified that generally take account of the naturally occurring topographic phenomena, most of the attention is devoted to the main quarry road between Hatnub and the Nile Valley at el-Amarna and the wayside huts that mark the three-hour 16-km journey by foot. This road was used as far back as the middle of the third millennium BCE, continuing in use throughout the pharaonic period. The information gleaned about transport from the roads themselves is supplemented by the evidence of the tombs of Weni and Djehutihotep. In the case of Weni, a Sixth Dynasty limestone stela from his tomb in the 'northern cemetery' at Abydos describes Weni's expedition to Hatnub in which an offering table of Hatnub travertine was quarried and assembled and then sent downstream for Merenre in a *wsḫt*-boat, the assembly taking 17 days.[12] Also mentioned is the Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Djehutihotep at Deir el-Bersheh (Wadi el-Nakhla), which depicts a colossal statue of either Djehutihotep himself or the ruling monarch in the process of being transported by a wooden sledge

[12] Janet Richards, "Weni the Elder and his Mortuary Neighbourhood at Abydos, Egypt," *Kelsey Museum Newsletter* (Spring 2000); Janet Richards, "The Archaeology of Individuals at Abydos, Egypt," *Kelsey Museum Newsletter* (Fall 2001).

along a path lubricated by water with the assistance of a multitude of attending workmen.[13] Other evidence for the use of wooden sledges, including an unprovenanced Middle Kingdom stela made of travertine[14] and an Eighteenth Dynasty rock carving from the limestone quarries at Maṣara near Cairo (JE62949)[15] are also taken into account. Most important is the conclusion that the opening up of roads for mining and quarrying expeditions and the regular maintenance of these roads was a chief priority for the ancient Egyptian administration, requiring large expenditures of time, energy, and wealth, the latter obtained from the collection of the annual tax levy that also benefitted temples, garrisons and foreign settlements under pharaoh's authority, as well as the royal palaces, including harems (p. 123).[16] The difficulty of the quarrying work and the hardships experienced by the workers is also considered with the possibility emerging that some degree of exaggeration on the part of responsible officials may have occurred as officials sought to increase their own prestige by elevating that of the materials they procured. However, the lack of inscriptional details concerning the process of building the roads is compared with a similar lack of details for the building of the pyramids, the gaps in our knowledge from written sources fortunately filled, to some degree, by the archaeological evidence of the roads themselves and the occasional survival of sledges and rollers used in construction and transportation.

An extremely important discussion follows in Chapter 8 where the author delineates the organization of quarry-workers in pharaonic times and attempts a preliminary synthesis of the archaeological and textual evidence. While stone and metal procurement was a vital part of the ancient Egyptian economy as far back as the late Predynastic Period, answering the needs of both funerary cult and architecture, it also serves as a gauge of the relationship between royal authority and the officials entrusted with the task over the pharaonic period. One can discern fluctuations in royal power and social stability from the inscriptions of men such as Weni who went on quarrying expeditions for the Crown not only to Hatnub but to Aswan; monumental inscriptions such as the one from the temple of Seti at Abydos that documents temple mineral rights, the work of miners, their settlement and well under royal authority;[17] and the Wadi Hammamat inscription in the Eastern Desert concerning the dispatch of 18,000

[13] Percival E. Newberry, *El-Bersheh* I, *ASE* 3 (London: EEF, 1893), 16-26, pls. 12-19; Dieter Arnold, *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 277-8.

[14] Hans Goedicke, "A New Inscription from Hatnub," *ASAE* 56 (1959): 58.

[15] Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue: The Egyptian Museum, Cairo.* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), No. 119.

[16] See too Sally L.D. Katary, "Taxation (Until the End of the Third Intermediate Period)," *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology.* Full text and PDF, 2011.

[17] Battiscombe Gunn and Alan H. Gardiner, "New Renderings of Egyptian Texts I: The Temple of the Wady Abbad," *JEA* 4 (1917): 242; Henri Gauthier, "Le temple de l'Ouadi Miya (el-Kanais)," *BIFAO* 17 (1920): 7.

workers to quarry *bḫn*-stone for Senwosret I in year 38.[18] The possibility that archaeological remains suggest exaggeration in the "official" numbers given is not at all surprising. Most important is the discussion of the training of mining and quarrying workmen (p. 127), Bloxam having previously concluded that there was specialized training for a small group of professionals (*smntyw* "prospectors" and *iḳwyw* "professional miners and quarriers?"),[19] many members of the workforce being obliged to labour in the quarries as part of the corvée system.[20] Inscriptional evidence from the Wadi el-Hudi amethyst mines,[21] the Wadi Hammamat *bḫn*-stone quarries[22] and the Sinai copper/turquoise/malachite mines[23] expand upon the workforce. It appears as though a god's treasurer (*sḏ3wty nṯr*) usually led the expedition while local people were recruited to serve in the lower ranks. These lower-ranking team members (including doctors, foremen, and workmen) customarily served on many expeditions in contrast to the higher officials who had a higher turnover rate. Also discussed in this chapter is the similarity of the Old and Middle Kingdom settlement at Hatnub to that of the Umm el-Sawwan alabaster-gypsum quarries (northern Fayyum) and the Gebel el-Asr gneiss quarries (Western Desert): these being encampments that were not considered under threat of attack unlike quarries at the periphery of Egyptian territory in the Sinai or the Wadi Maghara. New Kingdom settlements are also explored with the conclusion that the exploitation of quarries at this time was not done at the behest of the State but instead was carried out by individual groups working without much or any government backing. The work was therefore seldom commemorated on the quarry walls as had been the custom in the Old and Middle Kingdoms (p. 133).[24] This is a chapter which can be expected to give rise to more discussion of occupations and their sociological and economic niches and status.

[18] Karl-Joachim Seyfried, *Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ostwüste* (Hildesheim: Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, 1981), 248-53.

[19] See Elizabeth Bloxam, *The Organization, Transportation and Logistics of Hard Stone Quarrying in the Egyptian Old Kingdom: A Comparative Study*. Unpubl. Ph.D. diss. (Institute of Archaeology, University College, London, 2003); Elizabeth Bloxam, Per Storemyr, and Tom Heldal, "Hard Stone Quarrying in the Egyptian Old Kingdom (3rd Millennium BC): Rethinking the Social Organization," *ASMOSIA VII, Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity*, Thassos, 15-20 September 2003, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, supplement 51, 2009, Yannis Maniatis, ed.,187-201.

[20] Christopher Eyre, "Work and the Organisation of Work in the Old Kingdom," in *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Marvin Powell, American Oriental Series 68 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1987), 5-47.

[21] Ashraf I. Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*. 2 vols. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1980-95).

[22] Jules Couyat and Pierre Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouadi Hammamat* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1912-13).

[23] Alan H. Gardiner, T. Eric Peet, and Jaroslav Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai* II, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).

[24] See too Ian Shaw, "A Survey at Hatnub," in *Amarna Reports* III, ed. B.J. Kemp (London: EES, 1986), 201-3.

Appendix 1 provides a summary of the chronology of the Hatnub quarries. The usage of the Hatnub quarries is dated back to late Predynastic Period, though the earliest inscriptional evidence dates to the reign of Khufu in the Fourth Dynasty. A principal finding of the book is that New Kingdom quarrying activities represent a substantial phase in the site's history even though the exploitation of the quarries was differently organized than it was in earlier periods of use. The new archaeological discoveries necessitate a re-examination of the textual evidence for the New Kingdom, including the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut where in line 28, *n ḥwt-nbw* can be understood as not simply a designation of the quality of the stone,[25] but as the identification of place of origin of the stone (p. 136). The rarity of finds from any period following the New Kingdom suggests that the quarrying of travertine at Hatnub declined radically after the New Kingdom.

Appendices 2 through 4 represent collections of inscriptions from the site of Hatnub that place the archaeological evidence in context. These texts are not intended to be complete or to offer new interpretations though that is admittedly sorely needed. Royal texts in Appendix 2 are followed in Appendix 3 by a collection of graffiti from the reign of Teti to the Second Intermediate Period. Graffiti that feature images are reproduced in full. Unprovenanced texts follow in Appendix 4. Appendix 5 is a chronological list of all known texts from Hatnub; Appendix 6 lists the texts formerly and currently in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin.

The bibliography is lengthy, well done, up-to-date and includes a fair number of geological and other technical sources to supplement the archaeological and inscriptional sources. This reviewer noted a couple of omissions from the bibliography of references cited in the text. The bibliography also includes a few websites. There is a detailed general index as well as a very useful index of mostly Egyptian, but also Coptic, Akkadian, and Greek words, which would have been more useful if the terms had also been translated into English wherever possible.

When we compare Shaw's study with the brief synopsis of the travertine quarries at Hatnub provided in Rosemarie and Dietrich Klemm's all-inclusive monograph, *Stones & Quarries in Ancient Egypt*, translated into English from the 1993 German edition in 2008, many of the questions that arise from the authors' brief synopsis of the site have come a long way to being answered by Shaw and his co-authors in *Hatnub: Quarrying Travertine in Ancient Egypt*. In the end, for the site of Hatnub at least, Shaw has remedied the complaint of Ericson and Purdy concerning ancient quarrying activities

[25] John Raymond Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Materials* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), 77.

the world over to the effect that "our information on the activities at quarries and workshops ranks among the most abysmal."[26]

-Sally L.D. Katary

[26] Jonathan E. Ericson and Barbara A. Purdy, eds., *Prehistoric Quarries and Lithic Production* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 8.

André J. Veldmeijer, with contributions by Alan J. Clapham, Erno Endenburg, Aude Gräzer, Fredrik Hagen, James A. Harrell, Mikko H. Kriek, Paul T. Nicholson, Jack M. Ogden and Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood. *Tutankhamun's Footwear. Studies of Ancient Egyptian Footwear.* Norg, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij DrukWare, 2010. ISBN: 9789078707103.[1] 310 p. €59,95.

This book is one of the more recent monographs in a series of publications by The Ancient Egyptian Footwear Project. The AEFP describes itself as a multidisciplinary project which combines "the study of archaeological artefacts and their (museological) context, iconography, philology and experimental archaeology and, where appropriate, ethno archaeology in order to better understand footwear's meaning and position within the ancient Egyptian society."[2] The numerous publications of the AEFP have appeared in *Jaarberichten Ex Oriente Lux*, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*, *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, *Proceedings of the 11th Conference of Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August-2 September 2006* and *Beyond the Horizon: Studies in Archaeology, Art, and History in Honour of Barry J. Kemp.*[3] The footwear from a wide range of Egyptian history is covered in these monographs and articles, but the focus has been on manufacturing techniques. *Tutankhamun's Footwear* most closely meets the project's mandate to look at the footwear of the late 18th dynasty through the media of artifacts, iconography, philology, and experimental archaeology. A number of experts on Egyptian clothing, metallurgy, glasswork, gemstones, and plant materials have contributed to this volume, adding to its already considerable value for those interested in the material culture of New Kingdom Egypt.

The book begins with a Preface and Introduction. The former includes two "notes in press". In the first, Veldmeijer notes that the results of the DNA tests had appeared in

[1] The edition reviewed here is no longer available. The book has been republished by Sidestone Press: (Leiden, 2011 Imprint: ISBN: 9789088900761. Number of pages: 312. Price: €59,95). It is also available as an e-book at http://www.sidestone.com/library/tutankhamun-s-footwear (download is €4,50)

[2] As described at http://www.leatherandshoes.nl/ancient-egyptian-footwear-project-aefp/

[3] For example, André J. Veldmeijer. "Studies of Ancient Egyptian Footwear. Technological Aspects. Part VII. Coiled Sewn Sandals" *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 14: 85-96 (online at www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes); A. Veldemeijer, "Studies of Ancient Egyptian Footwear. Technological Aspects. Part VI. Sewn Sandals", in: Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, eds.. *Beyond the Horizon: Studies in Archaeology, Art, and History in Honour of Barry J. Kemp*. (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2009): 554-580; André J. Veldmeijer "Tutankhamun's open shoes 270a", *Archaeology Times Online Magazine* 3 (May-Aug 2012): 152-155 (http://worldwidearchaeology.org/pdf-magazines/Archaeology%20Times%20Issue%20III.pdf) . Due to the number of publications by the Project, only a small relevant sampling is offered here. A full list of the publications is available online at http://www.leatherandshoes.nl/ancient-egyptian-footwear-project-aefp/

the *Journal of the American Medical Association,*[4] and that these results had included the observation that Tutankhamun had a club foot. He connects this diagnosis with pieces of footwear discussed in this volume. This conclusion would be expanded upon in numerous popular articles and lectures over the succeeding months. There are too many of these to mention, although special note might be taken of the short news piece with comment by Dr. Salima Ikram at discovery.com.[5]

The second note is by Aude Gräzer, who wrote the book's section on Iconography. This note references additional comments on the use of footwear to indicate rank and status by Kate Spence in the proceedings of the symposium on Egyptian royal residences. It is to the credit of the authors and publisher that they found a way to include these additional citations. However, I cannot help wishing that the authors had referenced those chapters of the book where the additional discussion would be pertinent.

The Introduction serves to establish a number of essential bits of background for the studies contained in this publication. It includes "The Discovery of a Tomb" and "Carter's System of Excavating," as well as a description of the Ancient Egyptian Footwear Project and its methodology.

Chapter 1 deals with the discovery and the excavation of KV62 in more detail, incorporating many unknown or rarely seen photos by Harry Burton. The quality of the reproduction of these photos makes their original clarity apparent.

Chapter 2, "Preservation and Conservation" discusses the original work done to preserve the footwear discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamun. Black and white photos by Harry Burton illustrate this chapter, confirming the sad condition of some of the pieces when excavated. There is also a warning that these artefacts may continue to deteriorate in their current conditions of storage or display.

Finally in Chapter 3, "Description," we come to the various specimens of footwear from KV62. These are divided into "Sandals" (section 3.2) and "Open Shoes" (3.3). The categorization of the artefacts into specific sub-types of footwear (e.g. Sewn Sandals Type C, Sewn Sandals Type D) draws on Veldmeijer's extensive earlier work establishing typologies of ancient Egyptian footwear. Each object is beautifully and clearly photographed in colour, usually from several angles, and there are occasional black and white line drawings (by E. Endenberg or the author) of specific details of manufacture to supplement these photos. Particularly enjoyable and informative are the

[4] Zahi Hawass, Yehia Z. Gad, Somaia Ismail, Rabab Khairat, Dina Fathalla, Naglaa Hasan, Amal Ahmed, Hisham Elleithy, Markus Ball, Fawzi Gaballah, Sally Wasef, Mohamed Fateen, Hany Amer, Paul Gostner, Ashraf Selim, Albert Zink, and Carsten M. Pusch, "Ancestry and Pathology in King Tutankhamun's Family", in *Journal of the American Medical Association* 303.7 (Feb 2010): 638-47.

[5] Rossella Lorenzi, "King Tut Wore Orthopedic Sandals" at news.discovery.com Apr 7, 2010: http://news.discovery.com/history/archaeology/king-tut-sandals-orthopedic.htm

photos and drawings of the king's decorated sandals which supplement the detailed descriptions, as for example, of two pairs of sandals decorated with the bound enemies of Egypt on the insole (pp. 84-94). Very few Egyptologists or historians of material culture will ever have the chance to see these items at such close quarters, so the photos and drawings are a great service to this community.

Similarly the photographs and discussion of the leather and bead sandals on pages 95 through 107 are not only revelatory but provide a feast for the eyes as well. It is following this section that we see some of the most often reproduced images from the study, the artists' impressions of the open shoes. These paintings by M.H. Kriek have illustrated popular articles and news items on the footwear, especially those that deal with the possibility that the shoes were specially made to fit deformities in Tutankhamun's foot.[6]

Chapter 4, which deals with the materials used in the construction of late 18th dynasty footwear, consists of a series of short sections by various experts in the field: Andre Veldmeijer himself deals with the use of various fibres and with leather in the manufacture of ancient Egyptian footwear. Alan J. Clapham discusses the use of the bark of the silver birch tree as a decorative element in the marquetry veneer sandals previously discussed by Veldmeijer in Chapter 3. The scrupulous degree of detail involved in investigation of the materials used in the construction of the sandals is exemplified in this section. The birch bark – if such it is – is used only on one item of footwear, and there forms part of the finer elements of the decoration: the [myriad tiny areas/narrow strips] of white or gilded insert on the insole of the marquetry sandal. Glass and faience elements in the sandals and shoes are analyzed by Paul Nicholson, gemstones by James A. Harrell and gold by Jack M. Ogden. All three contributors are well known for their previous publications on these topics.

As someone with a long-standing interest in clothing in ancient Egypt, I looked forward to reading Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood's short chapter (Chapter 5) on the socks from Tutankhamun's tomb. Vogelsang-Eastwood, of course, was one of the few to publish on the footwear from Tutankhamun's tomb (with Willeke Wendrich) in such books as 1999's popular publication *Tutankhamun's Wardrobe: Garments from the Tomb of Tutankhamun.*[7] In the *Tutankhamun's Footwear*, Vogelsang-Eastwood offers the observation that gauntlets and socks can be indistinguishable and notes that socks, which may have been worn during chariot-riding, could have have been of Mitannian origin. A footnote to the latter idea also mentions that the Minoans may also have worn this garment, an idea which could have been incorporated into the text. Whatever the

[6] E.g. Lorenzi , "King Tut Wore Orthopedic Sandals."

[7] "Footwear" by Willeke Wendrich and GillianVogelsang-Eastwood in Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Tutankhamun's Wardrobe: Garments from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Rotterdam: Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn and Co's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1999): 68-77.

origin of the socks, gloves however, along with gauntlets and the cloth "corset" from the tomb, are described as part of "a chariot outfit" (p. 168).

Chapter 6, "Contemporary Footwear: A Survey" offers a detailed look at sandals and other footwear from the tombs of Yuya and Tjuya, and Nefertari, and from the site of Amarna. The reports on these other NK articles of clothing are fairly detailed, but are substantially shorter than those presented in Veldmeijer's other reports on NK footwear in the *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* (*BMSAES*).

The essay "New Kingdom Sandals: A Philological Perspective," by Fredrik Hagen, forms Chapter 7 of the book. The article employs much of the same material as was used for the Chapter on footwear in Jac. Janssen's *Daily Dress at Deir el-Medîna*[8] as acknowledged by Hagen in the notes. However, Hagen's work here is informed by his interactions with Veldmeijer, and thus is able to tie in more closely with specialist work on the typology and construction of footwear. The final section of Chapter 7, on the "Economic Role and Manufacture" of sandals and other footwear is especially valuable, covering as it does the textual evidence for the working conditions and wages of the sandalmaker, and offering a view into the social structure of New Kingdom Egypt.

In Chapter 8, representations of footwear are examined. After an introductory section by Veldmeijer, the remainder of the Chapter is authored by Aude Gräzer. In his introductory section, Veldmeiejer discusses how to distinguish leather from fibre sandals in representations, offering criteria which will prove useful to those studying New Kingdom footwear in general.

The remainder of Chapter 8, "Iconography" is the work of Aude Gräzer, who is writing a doctoral dissertation on the subject of the ancient Egyptians' concept of "domestic comfort." This was another chapter that I particularly wished to read, because of my own interest in this subject and in Amarna iconography and it did not disappoint. Gräzer makes a number of important observations which are of interest to students of Amarna-Period iconography, especially with regard to the type of footwear depicted in domestic indoor scenes from the tombs, palaces, and temples of the period: the king and queen always wear sandals in palace; princesses sometimes too; dignitaries are sometimes show wearing them, even in presence of the king; all members of the domestic staff are barefoot both in palaces and private houses and sandals also appear in elite mansions and palaces (palace bathroom). These observations, like those of Veldmeijer, offer useful clues to the identification of the location of various types of scenes depicted, as well as subtle nuances of status in late 18th Dynasty society.

For example, Gräzer notes that the representations of the royal bathroom from Amarna (in the tomb of Ay) seem to show leather sandals. He also notes that represesentations of royal leather sandals are otherwise unknown and suggests that we

[8] Jac, Janssen, *Daily Dress at Deir el-Medîna* (London: Golden House Publications, 2008).

should then perhaps link this bathroom not with the king but with the women's quarters depicted nearby. If this connection is accurate, it is not only iconographically significant but may have some archaeological use as well. For example, Gräzer uses his conclusions to argue for a possible mismatching of blocks in Vergnieux's publication of the talatat.[9]

Chapter 9 briefly presents and summarizes the work of the rest of the volume. It concludes by noting that climatic conditions in Egypt are optimal not only for the preservation (and study) of ancient Egyptian footwear, but for that of other countries: "even footwear from foreign peoples, which have no chance of being preserved in their home country, have been found within the borders of Egypt." In view of the possibilities revealed in this book, we must join with Dr. Veldmeijer in decrying the neglect of the study of ancient Egyptian footwear, which is, as he says "much more than a protective foot covering, and has considerable symbolic content." Given the paucity of published work on Egyptian footwear outside of the AEFP,[10] we can only hope that the work of the project will continue for years to come.

The book ends with Notes, an extensive Bibliography and Appendices. The latter includes Abbreviations, Glossary, Concordances with Carter's numbers, Exhibition Number, Special Registry Number, Temporary Number, JE Number for all Tutankhamun's footwear and for the sandals of Yuya annd Tjuya, a concordance of JE Number vs. CG Number & Special Registry Number.

In sum, this book is both a considerable contribution to the scholarly study of material culture and a volume lavishly illustrated enough to feel like an indulgence. As it is now available for download very inexpensively, it is an indulgence any Egyptologist or Egyptophile can enjoy.

-Lyn Green

[9] Robert Vergnieux, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains d'Amenhotep IV à l'aide d'outils informatiques. Méthodes et résultats*. Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève (Geneva, 1999).

[10] One exception being Véronique Montembault, *Catalogue des chaussures de l'antiquité égyptienne*. Département des antiquités, Musée du Louvre. Preface by Christiane Ziegler (Paris : Réunion des musées nationaux, 2000). I would like to thank Steven Shubert for lending me his copy of this book.

Carola Vogel, Illustrated by Brian Delf. *The Fortifications of Ancient Egypt 3000-1780 BCE*. Fortress 98. Westminster & Essex: Osprey Publishing. 2010. 64p. $18.95 (US).

Osprey Publishing has produced a few general interest books on ancient Egyptian warfare in the past (Healy, (1993) *Qadesh, 1300BC: Clash of the Warriors*; Healy & McBride, (1992) *New Kingdom Egypt*; Fields, Reynolds & Bull, (2007) *Soldier of the Pharaoh: Middle Kingdom Egypt*). With its new theme, focusing on the building & maintenance of fortifications, it seems only fitting that ancient Egypt makes a further contribution. The author is intimately familiar with the topic. Carola Vogel holds a Ph.D. in Egyptology from Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz which focused on the Nubian Fortresses of the Middle Kingdom (2055 – 1650 BCE).

This volume is very much directed at the interested public as it lays out a history of fortification research in ancient Egypt in a very direct, succinct manner that makes it immediately accessible. Furthermore, the plentitude of images holds the reader's interest and illustrates what the text is referring to. While the title does imply that this book covers the whole of Egyptian fortifications, it mainly focuses on the massive Nubian fortifications of the Middle Kingdom that were established under Senusret I (1965 – 1920 BCE) and Senusret III (1874 – 1855 BCE). Instead of treating the entire thing as an exercise for a general audience, Vogel incorporates new information into her volume that will no doubt get new readers up to speed on developments in the field. She does this in many instances and includes information for those who wish to follow-up – such as the inclusion of museum catalog numbers accompanying pictures of artifacts and the academic discussion that only certain sites can be ascribed to Senusret I with a degree of certainty. It really does give one an impression that the author has a command of the material.

Furthermore, Vogel does an admirable job of informing the reader of the materials and historical setting for the placement of the fortifications before going into a site-by-site write-up. Readers will find that this is particularly useful as they will notice, thanks to Vogel's illustrations, that fortress sites may share common features but they are each unique in their own way. One section of the book, "The Living Sites," really does illustrate for the reader what life was like (or rather, what we think it was like) at one of these frontier bases as Vogel goes into reconstructions of barrack buildings, the commander's headquarters, the granaries, etc. Vogel does a great job of illustrating what can be said about the material in an academic way and I applaud her attempt to stay as true to the material as is possible in a general interest book. Also, the reconstruction compositions, by Brain Delf, should also be pointed out as being a great tool to help the reader visualize how these fortresses operated in their time.

In the course of reading this book, I actually learned quite a few things. The most fascinating thing, in particular, was Vogel's mention of Welsby's article ("Ancient

Treasures of Lake Nubia" in *Sudan & Nubia Bulletin* 8 (2004), pp. 103-104) that claims that the fortress sites of Uronarti and Shelfak are above the water line of Lake Nasser. This comes as big news to those who thought that all the Nubian fortress sites were submerged with the building of the High Aswan Dam, over 30 years ago. It seems that even a book aimed at a general audience can still inform a researcher on recent developments in the field.

I found this book to be useful as a really good introduction to Egyptian fortifications. I have no doubt that students and non-specialists will benefit from Vogel's good grounding in the material and the informed way in which she draws conclusions from it.

-Nicholas Wernick

Penelope Wilson and Dimitris Grigoropoulos, *The West Delta Regional Survey, Beheira and Kafr el-Sheikh Provinces*. Excavation Memoir 86. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2009. ISBN: 978-0-85698-194-4. 490 p. + 13 maps, tables, catalogue, photographs, glossary and CD-ROM. £65.

This excellent 490-page volume furnishes a commendably timely preliminary publication of a 2001–2006 regional survey of seventy sites located in a 62 by 90 km area to the west and north of Sais (Sa el-Hagar) in Egypt's West Delta (pp. x, 1). The survey team selected and visited seventy sites (i.e. known *koms* ["hills"] and *tells* ["settlement mounds"]) that represented little to better-known ancient settlements already identified from diverse mapping projects, archaeological surveys (e.g. *Survey of Egypt*), and N. Spencer's ongoing Egypt Exploration Society Delta Survey database (p. 1). The project's recording methodology dealt variously with each site depending upon the individual nature and current status of a given site, generating geographical coordinates, site measurements, topographic maps, fifty-one auger-cores (at twenty-six localities, including off-site coring), surface artifact assessments (e.g. mostly potsherds), and drawings and photographs of sites, features, and artifacts; the survey also recorded official (SCA) data on many of the sites, noting additional local-general anecdotal information for selected sites. The report incorporated the geophysical findings from a University of Mansoura project that conducted deep drilling around Naukratis, focusing on connections between Sais and Naukratis and other geographic and settlement pattern data associated with the Canopic branch of the Nile.

The report is subdivided into several sections: (1) a brief introduction with a glossary, abbreviations used in the text, thirteen maps and a table providing summary information on site locations and other pertinent data (pp. 1–41); (2) the seventy sites placed in numeric sequence across the modern provinces of Beheira (site nos. 1–52) and Kafr el-Sheikh (site nos. 53–70) (pp. 43–260); (3) a pottery and glass section outlining the methodology applied, the various periods represented, a discussion of the glass pieces, summary tables on the pottery, and a well-illustrated catalogue of potsherds, glass and their descriptions, arranged in sequence from sites 1–70 (pp. 261–477); (4) a bibliography (pp. 479–90); and (5) a photographic record of the findings from each site placed on a disk included at the end of the volume.

The initial summary Table 1.1 is quite helpful, displaying basic site data, including each site's number, name, province, dimensions, area and pottery dates (pp. 39–41, table 1.1). Of note, no artifacts were found/collected at twenty-one of the seventy sites, whilst the remaining forty-nine sites yielded pottery and other evidence indicating occupation dating to the Saite period (Dynasty 26), the Late Period/Dynastic (6th – late 4th century BCE), Ptolemaic period (3rd – later 1st century BCE), Early Roman (later 1st century BCE – end of 2nd century CE), Middle Roman (3rd – end of 4th century CE), Late Roman (5th – mid-7th century CE), Early Arab to Medieval Arab periods, and

Ottoman/Modern times. This information is summarized in Table 1.1 (pp. 39–41), with a more specific and very useful table found in the pottery catalogue (see pp. 287–88, table 2.1), which includes site numbers, names, province, potsherd quantities, and dates. For example, by using these tables, persons interested in Late Period/Dynastic findings can refer immediately to the more comprehensive summaries in both the site and pottery catalogues: site nos. 10 (Kom el-Dahab iii), 21 (Kom Khaleesh), 28 (Kom Aziza), 31 (Kom Nakhlah), 33 (Kom Barsiq), 34 (Kom Saieda), 44 (Abu Mandour [Tell Kom el-Farah]), "46" (Waset [Kom el-Ghuraf]; actually site 47),[1] 51 (Tell Dibi), and 67 (Kom el-Arab) yielded evidence for Late Period occupation. Each site is also easily located spatially via an overall map of the survey region (Map 1) and more detailed site locations illustrated across twelve area maps (Maps 2–13); the latter map series indicate the local topography, modern rivers, canals, roadways, and urban areas. More detailed individual site maps appear in the site catalogue, beside the discussions regarding the findings from each site.

The site catalogue displays a fairly uniform approach to recording and displaying the varying information from each survey site – depending upon individual circumstances: (1) the site name, map number and sketch map; (2) geographic and survey data (SCA number; EES number; other surveys and maps; geographic coordinates); (3) a description of the site's current setting, conditions, ancient-modern features and a history of its occupation and exploration (this category is sometimes replaced by "History": see site no. 13); (4) a section normally designated as "Pottery," summarizing the collected pottery types and date ranges, sometimes either having an alternate title ("Surface Material") to include other findings (no. 55), or being a separate category ("Other Material") (no. 57); (5) a discussion of the site's past-present significance; and (6) a list of photographs (located in the attached disk). Some of the catalogued sites contain further categories: (7) drill auger survey results and diagrams; (8) a separate discussion on the history of a given site's occupation and exploration (nos. 33, 44, 53, 54); (9) some additional information under a category called "Earlier Work," or "Previous Work" (nos. 41, 48, 52, 66); and (10) a special discussion on a site under the title "Current Situation" (no. 41). Some sites lack most of this information, having a minimal listing of geographic data and a brief description (see site nos. 7 and 69).

Within the site catalogue, each site map displays a range of basic to much more detailed information depending upon individual circumstances (e.g. site preservation and accessibility). Seventeen sites, namely Kom Defshu (no. 8), Kom el-Debaa North and South (nos. 24–25), Kom Aziza (no. 28), Kom Barsiq (no. 33), Tell Mutubis (no. 53), Tell Qabrit (no. 54), Tell Amya (no. 55), Kom Abu Ismail (no. 57), Kom el-Misk

[1] Of note, Table 2.1 incorrectly cites Kom el-Waset as site "46"; instead, site 46 is Kom el-Ghuraf, which precedes Kom el-Waset in the site catalogue. The citation should be site no. 47.

(no. 58), Tell Aluwe (Tell el-Farr) (no. 59), Kom Dahab ii (no. 60), Kom Sheikh Ibrahim (no. 61), Tell Foqaa (no. 62), Kom Sidi Selim (no. 64), Kom Khawalid (no. 65), and Kom el-Arab (no. 67), received more detailed topographic mapping (see figs. 9, 31, 37, 47, 71, 75, 79, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 95, 97 and 100). In contrast, a few sites had been either destroyed, or become obscured and thereby lack a detailed plan (see site no. 17, Tell Sherif Khalaf). In addition, the survey report sometimes adds further information: for example, two sketch plans, with scale bars, show some already excavated (SCA) and exposed architectural details at Tell Qabrit, which had a late Roman/Antique to Medieval settlement and church (pp. 202–8; figs. 76–77). Wilson and Grigoropoulos summarized and displayed the drill-auger column data in multiple diagrams for ten sites: Kom Defshu (nos. 8, 66–68; figs. 12–14), Kom Mazen (nos. 11, 80; fig. 19), Kom el-Debaa North and South (nos. 24–25, 113–14; figs. 32–33), Kom Aziza (nos. 28, 124–5; figs. 38–39), Abureh (nos. 29, 128; fig. 41), Tell Bisintawy (nos. 30, 132; fig. 43), Kom Barsiq-Awad (nos. 33, 141–2; figs. 48–49), Kom en-Nawwam (nos. 49, 185; fig. 66), Tell Mutubis (nos. 53, 198–99; figs. 72–73). Kom Defshu (site no. 8) features two section drawings of its stratigraphy (figs. 10–11).

The pottery catalogue, which was compiled by Dimitris Grigoropoulos, discusses and illustrates 686–721 potsherds, and thirty-eight glass fragments, found at forty-three of the seventy survey sites (pp. 263–477). This section excludes some potsherds from sites that were already assessed elsewhere: e.g. Tell Mutubis, Tell Qabrit, and Tell Amya (p. 263). After describing the approaches used for recording pottery, Grigoropoulos describes the fabrics, forms, and dating of the pottery. Each main period represented by pottery forms is next described in more detail regarding their chronological placement, parallels, types, quantities, significance, and other relevance to their occurrence at individual sites and the survey area in general. This assessment includes a discussion on local, regional, and imported pottery, and the implications for various findings within this region; it compares the pottery findings to areas outside the Northwest Delta and trends over time within and outside the survey area. The pottery catalogue continues with a detailed description and illustration of most of the recovered potsherds, arranged in sequence from sites 1–70. Of particular use is the site-by-site summary of potsherd quantities, major periods of occurrence, other represented periods and a functional assessment of the pottery from each site. The pottery description and plates are arranged by pottery forms (e.g. tableware; utilitarian vessels; kitchenware; transport amphorae; other functions), with a subdivision between Egyptian and non-Egyptian forms and fabrics. Potsherds that lack illustrations are also described and clearly indicated as "not indexed/illustrated." The date of each potsherd is also emphasized helpfully by placing the chronological designation in boldface at the end of each description. One minor criticism might be that the illustrated cross-sections for both pottery and glass are shown in solid black (pp. 380–81, figs. 137 TAR.P1, 2, 4 and 6 versus TAR.P7–8), whilst the relatively few glass vessels might have been

emphasized by a different coding (i.e. hatching?) to emphasize their presence visually; otherwise, the accompanying descriptions do clarify the material of each illustration, with "glass" also being labeled and placed at the base of the pertinent plates for each site.

Of note, readers should be reminded that this West Delta survey and preliminary volume did not aim to represent a final, comprehensive assessment of all surface sites found within the Beheira and Kafr el-Sheikh provinces. The surveyors asserted that that "[t]he sites selected for the hinterland research were those which may have been situated upon former river branches or distributaries in the region and thus could be directly compared to Sais upon the east bank of the modern Rosetta Branch of the Nile" (p. 1). The survey excluded many of the thirty-five sites initially recorded on the *Survey of Egypt* maps, since they "… had ceased to exist in any meaningful way and could not be surveyed or even provide useful pottery samples" (p. 1). Hence, this project focused upon selected extant sites, while unidentified, buried archaeological sites remain beyond easy detection by most survey techniques (excepting more time-consuming and costly land-based remote sensing sampling across broad regions).

Regarding potential future survey work within this region and elsewhere, readers are encouraged to consult further applications of non-visual applications of satellite imagery analysis. Such techniques are increasingly more useful and essential in locating less easily detected surface and shallow sub-surface archaeological sites that have otherwise evaded many intensive ground-based and aerial surveys that frequently incorporate regular visual, albeit still highly productive, searches to detect potential archaeological sites and architectural features.[2] For example, Sarah Parcak processed the imagery data from a 4-3-2 RGB Landsat 7 satellite, using principal components analysis, to isolate and obtain an archaeological soil signature for 119 already known ancient sites and in the process detected forty-four potential unknown archaeological sites in a 50 by 60 km area around Tell Tebilla (Northeast Delta, Egypt).[3] In a subsequent surface survey, during which this author and S. Parcak visited sixty-two of both the little known and newly discovered sites, Parcak confirmed the antiquity of 90% of her new archaeological site signatures.[4] S. Parcak's subsequent Middle Egypt survey utilized different analytical techniques (i.e. unsupervised classification) and achieved a higher success rate (98%) for detecting and verifying the existence of forty-three previously unknown archaeological sites.[5] In essence, these archaeological signatures represent variously manipulated satellite image data that are programmed to emphasize the

[2] See Sarah Parcak, *Satellite Remote Sensing for Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2009).

[3] Parcak, Satellite Remote Sensing, 167.

[4] Parcak, Satellite Remote Sensing, 167.

[5] Parcak, Satellite Remote Sensing, 168-70.

apparent differences between the composition of archaeological soils and more recent/modern soils. Each of the aforementioned surface and aerial/satellite survey techniques remains valid and necessary, and displays individual advantages and disadvantages. However, all aerial and satellite-based remote sensing techniques still require ground verification and exploration, while ground survey work is still essential in detecting archaeological sites that are less easily seen via aircraft and satellites (e.g. rock art; lithic scatter sites; ancient architectural components reused in more recent structures). It should also be emphasized that many "buried" sites remain hidden, or less easily detected, in Egypt's flood plain and require other detection techniques, including coring, ground-based remote sensing, and more specialized types of satellite imagery (e.g. ground penetrating radar) that can detect deeply buried sites.[6]

In brief, this preliminary publication represents an excellent contribution to Late Period through Islamic period settlement studies, trade, and related topics for the Northwest Delta and Egypt in general. Its timely and full publication, methodology and comprehensive approach also provide an exemplary format for current and future survey publications, and will be an invaluable resource for future work both within this region and at sites featured in the survey.

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[6] Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 73-106.