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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial Foreword	viii
Tabula Gratulatoria	x
In Memoriam: Edwin Coville (Ted) Brock	xii - xvii
<b>LYLA PINCH-BROCK</b> The Merenptah Legacy: Ted Brock's Restoration of the Outer Sarcophagus Box	pp. 1-11
<b>ROBERTA SHAW, with translations by EDWIN C. BROCK</b> Theban Tomb 89 (Amenmose): Final Report	pp. 13-43
<b>KELLY-ANNE DIAMOND</b> The <i>dmd(y)t</i> : A Prototype for Isis?	pp. 45-67
<b>ROBERT STEVEN BIANCHI</b> Two Amulets in the Shape of Grasshoppers	pp. 69-83
<b>AMANDINA ANASTASSIADES AND MARK TRUMPOUR</b> Third Intermediate Period Coffin Fragments in Queen's University's Art Conservation Program: Investigation of Early Stewardship	pp. 85-100
<b>STANLEY KLASSEN</b> Persian Period Bes Vessels from Tell el-Maskhuta	pp. 101-117
<b>MARC MAILLOT with the contribution of AMINATA SACKHO-AUTISSIER</b> Osiris et ses Hypostases: Les bassins en pierre méroïtiques et la confirmation du pouvoir royal	pp. 119-150

**Book Reviews:**

pp. 151-159

Caroline M. Rocheleau. *Ancient Egyptian Art: Systematic Catalogue of the Collection, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh.*

**Silvia Zago**

William Y. Adams with contributions by Nettie K. Adams. *Qasr Ibrim: The Ballana Phase.*

**Sarah M. Schellinger**

Guidelines for Contributors

About the SSEA

## Editorial Foreword

This volume is the first of two which will contain tributes to our friend and colleague Edwin C. (Ted) Brock. Because of the outpouring of contributions, vol. 44, slated for publication next year, will include more papers dedicated to both Ted Brock and Jack Foster. We tender our heartfelt thanks to Lyla Pinch-Brock for Ted's bio and bibliography, and to Gerry Kadish for the memorial tribute he presented at the SSEA Annual Meeting in 2015. We also extend our appreciation to Lyla and to Roberta Shaw for presenting results of Ted's work with their contributions on the Merenptah sarcophagus and TT 89 respectively.

The Editors would like to take this opportunity to thank the authors and peer reviewers, and the entire team involved in the production and distribution of the Journal, for maintaining the highest level of professionalism while adhering to sometimes exigent demands and deadlines. We also wish to express our gratitude for the generosity of the donors who have helped this tribute to become a reality.

It is with sadness that Jackie must announce that this will be her last volume as co-editor. It has been a particular pleasure for her to help bring to fruition the Foster and Brock volumes. Jack Foster's work has been foundational in her own scholarship, and she remembers with fondness time spent with Ted in Luxor while working with Gene Cruz-Urbe and Steve Vinson in the Valley of the Kings.





TABULA GRATULATORIA

Paul English

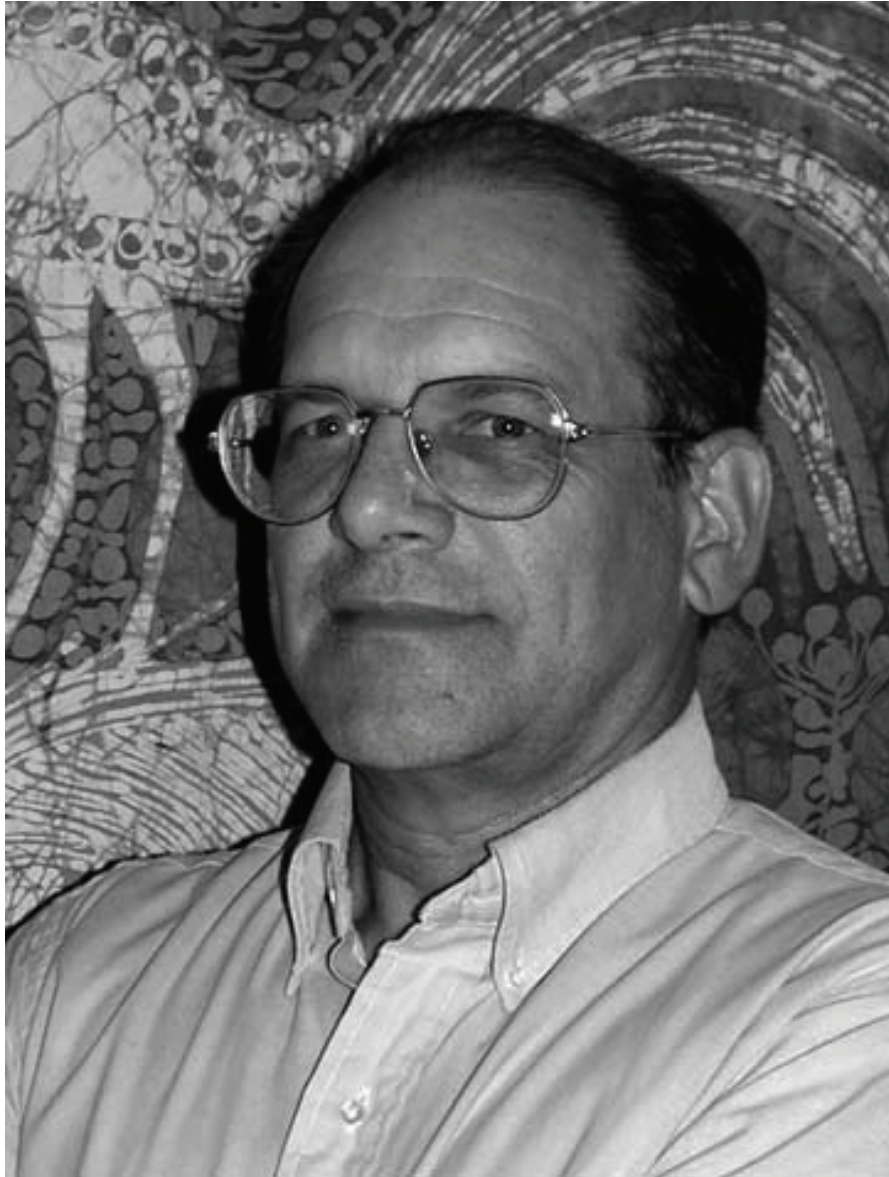
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Peter Sheldrick



**Edwin "Ted" Brock (1946 - 2015)**

## Edwin Coville Brock

### April 20, 1946 - September 22, 2015

Edwin Coville (Ted) Brock was born Robert George Simmons in Syracuse, New York on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1946. He was adopted on May 18, 1948 by Florence Helen Coville Brock (librarian) and John Brock (farmer) and assumed the names of his adopted family. His mother, with her access to books on the subject, nurtured his lifelong interest in Egyptology. He pursued a course of study in the field, only interrupted by a brief service in Vietnam.

He had one sister, Wendy Brock, who was adopted in 1950 and now lives in New Hampshire. He was married twice; first to Francis Balcom on November 2, 1968 (divorced on October 15, 1980), then to Canadian archaeological illustrator Lyla Pinch (nee Glover) on November 28, 1988, with whom he lived and worked up until his death. He resided in Heliopolis, Cairo, Egypt most of his adult life, running the Canadian Institute in Egypt for a number of years and working and directing archaeological excavations all over Egypt. Ted died suddenly in Cairo of a heart attack on September 22, not long after returning from the 11<sup>th</sup> Congress of Egyptologists in Florence (where he spoke on his restoration of the sarcophagus of Merenptah) and was buried in the Foreigners' Graveyard in Luxor with the help of his friends from Chicago House.

Ted wrote many articles both of an academic and a popular nature, and was known for helping younger Egyptologists with references and access to material. He also performed in a number of television programs about Egyptology, most notably the episode "The Search for Nefertiti," in the "Searching for the Truth" television series.

For ARCE's memorial message for Ted, written by Michael Jones, see ARCE Bulletin 207, Winter 2015/2016, p. 57.

**MILITARY SERVICE:** Served in Viet Nam with the United States Army from 1969-1971 as a radio-teletype operator.

**EDUCATION:** 1980-1983: University of Toronto. Major, Egyptian Art and Archaeology; minor, Egyptian Language and Literature. 1980: awarded Master of Arts and began his PhD. thesis, entitled, "Post-Amarna Royal Sarcophagi of the New Kingdom." It was incomplete at his death, but has been edited and emended by Lyla Pinch-Brock for future publication as *Post-Amarna Royal Sarcophagi* by Abercromby Press.

1971-1978: M.A. Program, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton, N.Y., Department of History. Master of Arts in History, Thesis Title; "The Book of Gates."

1964-1969: B.A. Program, State University of New York at Binghamton (Harpur College), Binghamton, N.Y., Department of History (studied under Gerald Kadish).

1960-1964: Skaneateles Central School, High School Diploma.

**AWARDS:** 1987, 1983-1984: American Research Center in Egypt, Inc., Research Fellowships. 1980-1981: University of Toronto Open Scholarship. 1964-1966: New York State Regents Scholarship.

**AFFILIATIONS:** Research Associate, the Royal Ontario Museum, Dept. of Near East and Asian Cultures from 1983. Member, American Research Center in Egypt, Egypt Exploration Society, Australian Centre for Egyptology and Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities.

**EMPLOYMENT:**

1998-2002: Theban Mapping Project, American University in Cairo (staff Egyptologist), Kent Weeks, director.

March 1997 - Feb 1998: American University in Cairo library (part-time staff, reference section), Laurence Moftah, reference librarian.

May-June, 1996: American Research Center in Egypt – Egyptian Antiquities Project, Valley of the Kings Research Group (Egyptological consultant and photographer), John B. Rutherford, director.

March-April, 1996, June-July, 1995: American Research Center in Egypt, Mitrahina (project photographer), Dr. Diana Craig Patch, director.

Sept-Oct, 1994: Threatened archaeological sites in Sinai; American Research Center in Egypt (Technical Needs Consultant), Robert K. Vincent Jr., director.

August, 1983 - April, 1994: Canadian Institute in Egypt, Ma'adi, Cairo (Director).

1980-1983: Egyptian Department, Royal Ontario Museum (Research Assistant).

1979-1980: Akhenaten Temple Project, University of Toronto (graduate student assistant).

1975-1979: Bartel Library, State University of New York at Binghamton (Technical Assistant/Bibliographic Researcher).

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE:**

Wadi Tumilat Project, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Toronto, Dr. J.S. Holladay, director; Excavations at Tell el-Masqutah, 1981, 1983, 1985 (site supervisor).

Akhenaten Temple Project, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Toronto, Dr. D. B. Redford, director; Excavations at East Karnak, 1982, 1984, 1986 (site supervisor).

New York University Apis House Project, Mitrahina, Michael and Angela Jones, field directors, 1986 (site supervisor).

Dakhleh Oasis Project, Egyptian Department, Royal Ontario Museum, A. J. Mills, director, 1984-1994 (epigrapher and site supervisor).

Royal Sarcophagi Study Project, Edwin C. Brock (director). Epigraphic and archaeological study of royal sarcophagi in the Valley of the Kings, 1982-1998.

Royal Ontario Museum Lahun Expedition, Dr. Nicholas B. Millet, director, 1992-1994 (site supervisor).

University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition (later renamed the University of Memphis Mission), Amenmesse Project. Dr. Otto Schaden, director, 1993-2004 (co-director, archaeologist and epigrapher).

Canadian Institute in Egypt Tomb 55 Conservation Project, Valley of the Kings, Lyla Pinch-Brock, director, 1993-1994 (archaeologist).

American Research Center in Egypt/Egyptian Antiquities Project, Robert K. Vincent Jr., director, Sept-Oct, 1994 (Technical Needs Consultant for ARCE/EAP on threatened archaeological sites in Sinai).

American Research Center in Egypt field school, Mitrahina; Dr. Diana Craig-Patch, director, June-July, 1995; March-April, 1996 (project photographer).

American Research Center in Egypt/Egyptian Antiquities Project, John B. Rutherford, director, May-June, 1996 (Egyptologist and photographer).

Royal Ontario Museum Theban Tombs Project, Roberta L. Shaw and Lyla Pinch Brock, directors, 1995, 1996, 2000, 2002 (philologist).

Ramesses VI Sarcophagus Restoration Project, 2000-2003 (director).

Merenptah Restoration Project, 2011-2015 (director).

Tel el Borg Project, Sinai, James Hoffmier, director, 2002-2004 (epigrapher, philologist).

American Research Centre in Egypt, Luxor Groundwater Lowering Project, 2005-2007 (archaeological supervisor).

#### **PUBLICATIONS:**

*Guide to the Temples of Abu Simbel*, Palm Press, Cairo, 2003.

*Guide to the Temples of Abydos*, Palm Press, Cairo, 2002.

"The Sarcophagus Lid of Queen Takhat," in Zahi Hawass and Lyla Pinch-Brock (eds.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo 2000*, Cairo and New York, American University in Cairo Press, 2002, pp. 97-102.

"The Tomb of Merenptah," "The Tomb of Rameses III," "The Tomb of Rameses VI," "The Tomb of Rameses IX," in Kent R. Weeks (ed.), *Valley of the Kings. The Tombs and the Funerary Temples of Thebes West*, Vercelli, Italy, White Star Publications, 2001, pp. 218-221, 232-239, 244-269 (also published by AUC Press as, *Treasures of the Valley of the Kings*).

"The sarcophagus of Queen Tiy," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, vol. XXVI (1996/1999), pp. 8-21.

"A Puzzle of Pharaonic Proportions," *Egyptian Archaeology*; Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society, no. 9 (1996), pp. 31-32.

"The Clearance of the Tomb of Ramesses VII," in Richard H. Wilkinson (ed.), *Valley of the Sun Kings, New Explorations in the Tombs of the Pharaohs* (papers from The University of Arizona International Conference on the Valley of the Kings), University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition, Tucson, 1995, pp. 47-67.

"Documenting the Sarcophagi of Ramesses VI," *Canadian Mediterranean Institute Bulletin*, XIII, no. 2, April 1993, p. 2.

"The Tomb of Merenptah and its Sarcophagi," in C. N. Reeves (ed.), *After Tutankhamen: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes*, London, Kegan Paul International, 1992, pp. 122-140.

"The Luxor Cachette," *KMT*, vol. 3.2, Summer 1992, pp. 42-49.

“A Clean Sweep. Further Clearance Work in the Tomb of Merenptah,” *Canadian Mediterranean Institute Bulletin*, XII, no. 2, April 1992, p. 1.

“Painted Plaster Fragments from the Chapel of Itet,” in Ali al-Khouli, ed. Geoffrey T. Martin, *Meidum*, The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 3, Sydney, Australian Centre for Egyptology, Macquarie University, 1991, pp. 35-42, pls. 24-39.

“Piecing It All Together. An Ongoing Study of Later New Kingdom Royal Sarcophagi,” *KMT*, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 1991, pp. 42-49.

“Stone Sarcophagi in the Valley of the Kings,” *Canadian Mediterranean Institute Bulletin*, IX, no. 2, April 1989, pp. 6-7.

Posthumous:

Lyla Pinch-Brock/Edwin C. Brock, “The Merenptah Sarcophagi Restoration Project,” in *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists, Florence, Italy, 2015*, 2016.

Lyla Pinch-Brock, “Picking up the Pieces; Edwin C. Brock and the restoration of the Sarcophagus of Merenptah/Edwin C. Brock en de restauratie van de sarcofaag van Merenptah,” *MEHEN, Essays over het oude Egypte* 6, 2016/2017.

Ted’s thesis, edited by Lyla Pinch-Brock, will be published by Abercromby Press.

**In memoriam Edwin Coville “Ted” Brock: A reminiscence presented by Gerald E. Kadish, Distinguished Teaching Professor Emeritus, Binghamton University, at the SSEA Symposium, Toronto, November 2015**

It has been a long day and I don’t want to keep you much longer, but I felt a strong desire to say something in memory of Ted Brock. I am grateful to Dr. Lyn Green and the program committee for finding a spot for my remarks.

As I move on in my 84<sup>th</sup> year, I am saddened by the fact that some of my former students have been dying off before me. Not, mind you, that I harbor any regrets over my own comparative longevity. But Jim Romano’s untimely death in 2003, David Lorton’s in 2011, and now ‘Ted’ Brock’s in September of this year form a considerable reservoir of regret. All were talented people who made significant contributions to the study of ancient Egypt and could easily have been expected to make still more. It seemed fitting to me to say a few words in Ted’s memory here in Toronto where he spent a good deal of time as a student and as a lecturer.

Years ago, I had a colleague in the Binghamton History Department who had a good deal of pleasure in breaking apart Latin slogans and re-combining them in sometimes hilarious, sometimes interesting ways. Two results of this process were “de gustibus nil nisi bonum” and “de mortuis non disputandum est.” Of Ted Brock, the latter strikes me as particularly apt.

Not long after my arrival in 1963 at the then Harpur College, now Binghamton University, a small progression of remarkable students began to make

themselves known to me. Some, like Camille Paglia, for example, were outstanding in their sheer intellectual ability and fervor. A few in the 1960s, like David Lorton and Ted Brock, clearly had not only the interest, but also the sense of excitement, when exposed to the remains of ancient Egypt. Lorton, for example, was probably the most gifted philologist ever to come my way in my 50-year teaching career. When he graduated he had already acquired French, German, Latin, Greek, Arabic and Middle Egyptian, and had actually taught himself some Sanskrit. His German was so good that he could unravel the complexities of the Assmann dialect of German. Romano in the 70s displayed a keen esthetic sense.

Now I must say that from the outset, especially once the Department of History began graduate studies, it became clear that graduate work in Egyptology was not in the cards. I had chosen Binghamton out of five job offers in 1963 because it would allow me to teach smarter undergraduates. Nor did I have any great need for acolytes. So, I was obliged to send the smart ones off to the major programs: Romano into the hands of Bernard V. Bothmer and Lorton into those of the now late Hans Goedicke. When I first encountered Edwin Coville Brock, his Egyptological future was somewhat uncertain, even when he graduated in 1969.

Between a not at all happy stint in Viet Nam and a brief career as one of the worst cab drivers in Binghamton, NY, he remained unclear as to what he wanted to do. The interest was certainly there, but he needed some urging to prompt the confidence to go on. The trial of his abilities and interest led to an M.A. from Binghamton in 1978, with a thesis entitled “An Examination of the Book of Gates.” Those of you who know his recent work on the reconstruction of the texts on royal sarcophagi and tomb walls will not be surprised to learn that this particular interest had its origin in the thesis. The major result of the thesis work was his description of “the features characteristic of the Book of Gates, particularly those representations that are unique to the composition.” He had intended to look for “the iconographic antecedents of the Book of Gates” as well, but that had “not proved to be completely attainable at present.” The academic gates opened at the University of Toronto where he worked principally with Professor Donald B. Redford. The provisional title of Ted’s dissertation, as of 1992, was “Post-Amarna Royal Sarcophagi of the Egyptian New Kingdom.” As he notes in the Preface, “It was startling to realise that many of the royal sarcophagi of the New Kingdom, whether *in situ* in their tombs or in various museums had never been fully documented or published.” From there a lengthy career working in Egypt. But neither Redford, Lyla, nor I could bully him into completing what Redford told me recently was “a damn fine thesis.”

I’ll not take up much more of your time at the end of this symposium in which Ted was to have participated, but I do want to mention some of the variety of his work, whether in the Valley of the Kings as co-director with Otto Schaden on the Amenmesse tomb project, as a seven-year member of the Theban Mapping Project (1997-2004), in several other expeditions, engaging in archaeological and salvage work in the Luxor Waste Water Project, his stint as director of the Canadian Institute in Egypt, and his various publications. As it happens, Ted was also a very fine photographer.



To that, I would like to add a memory or two. When he was a graduate student at Binghamton, I took him along, at least once, to the annual ARCE meetings. On the way, to pass the time (and to keep me awake while I was driving before sunrise), we would take turns making up Egyptian words from the letters on the license plates that passed us by. You can imagine what frivolity emerged from that game. It is probably best to forget the New Jersey vanity plate with the letters NK TW, which Ted spotted before I did; it's not a nice thing to say in ancient Egyptian. In Egypt, he was quick to get me to some sites I had not seen before, notably the Meidum pyramid. (I confess I was glad that he had engaged a driver for that stint, remembering his near legendary performance as a cab driver; Cairo traffic scared me enough as it was.) On occasion, when I led a tour to Egypt he would give a lecture to my group, a welcome relief for them from listening to me or Lotfi Sherif all day.

Ted had a wry sense of humor and was a mostly quiet observer of the world. He had strong opinions, but a willingness to listen to those of others.

Not a bad, if too short a life, for a boy from Skaneateles, NY. It only remains to say *requiescat in pace*.

# The Merenptah Legacy: Ted Brock's Restoration of the Outer Sarcophagus Box

Lyla Pinch-Brock

**Abstract:** Ted Brock undertook the restoration of the outer sarcophagus box of King Merenptah in his tomb in the Valley of the Kings from 2011-2013. The project involved gathering together all known fragments, including those Brock excavated himself, and using computer-generated plans, placing them in a feasible replica. An outline of the original decoration both inside and outside the box was added by Lyla Pinch-Brock. The anthropoid sarcophagus was displaced from its former location and the calcite/alabaster plinth restored.

**Résumé:** De 2011 à 2013, Ted Brock a restauré le sarcophage extérieur du roi Mérenptah dans son tombeau situé dans la Vallée des Rois. Le projet consistait à assembler tous les fragments connus, dont ceux excavés par Brock lui-même, tout en utilisant des plans générés par ordinateur afin d'en reconstituer une réplique possible. Le contour de la décoration originale fut ajouté par Lyla Pinch-Brock, sur l'intérieur comme sur l'extérieur du sarcophage. Le sarcophage anthropoïde fut déplacé de son ancien emplacement et le socle de calcite/albâtre fut restauré.

**Keywords:** Merenptah, restoration, sarcophagus, Ted Brock, KV 8, computer, decoration

**Mots-clés:** Mérenptah, restauration, sarcophage, Ted Brock, KV 8, ordinateur, décoration

## Introduction

Edwin C. “Ted” Brock<sup>1</sup> began his work in the tomb of Merenptah (KV 8 in the Valley of the Kings numbering system<sup>2</sup>) in 1982, but his interest went back much further: an examination of the king’s burial equipment was to be part of his PhD thesis, *Post-Amarna Royal Sarcophagi of the Egyptian New Kingdom*. When Gerry Kadish, his advisor and long-time friend, asked him why he chose this topic, Ted simply replied that the material hadn’t been studied enough. Gerry recalled, in a tribute at the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities in Toronto in November, 2015, “...that Ted clearly had not only the interest, but also the sense of excitement, when exposed to the remains of ancient Egypt, that set him apart from other students.”

By 1983, Ted had completed most of his PhD requirements at the University of Toronto and was looking forward to going to Egypt to begin his research. So when the Director of the Canadian Institute in Egypt in Maadi, Cairo was called

<sup>1</sup> Edwin C. “Ted” Brock was planning to write this article for the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* when he died suddenly in Cairo on September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2015. I have put it together based on my experience working for the project, with details added from a final report we wrote for the Supreme Council of Antiquities in 2014.

<sup>2</sup> See the Theban Mapping Project Website for a complete list:  
<http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/>.

away, he was delighted to be asked to take over the post temporarily. The job eventually became a permanent post which lasted for eleven years. It happily allowed him to excavate fragments of missing sarcophagi not only in the Valley of the Kings, but also to study them in museums around the world.

Few of these massive stone monuments had survived the millennia intact. During the late 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty, when Egypt's rule was split between north and south, known tombs were opened by the priesthood, stripped of their valuables, and the sarcophagi broken up to be reused for other purposes, such as stelae. In fact, the outer sarcophagus box of Merenptah provides fascinating evidence for the way these sarcophagi were broken up. Geologist James Harrell showed Ted how fire was used to crack the stone: holes were chiseled into the sides of the box and stuffed with straw which was set on fire. The stone was then doused with water, making it crack in a circular pattern. Burn marks can still be seen on the fragments of the outer sarcophagus box.

As an archaeological illustrator, I was often part of Ted's projects, responsible for recording fragments of royal sarcophagi, including those that went into the reconstruction of the sarcophagus and lid of the inner sarcophagus box of Ramesses VI in his tomb. This was carried out under an ARCE grant from 2001-2003, and was Ted's first attempt to actually restore a sarcophagus from the recovered fragments.<sup>3</sup>

### **The Merenptah Sarcophagus Restoration Project**

The Merenptah Sarcophagus Restoration Project was more ambitious, and involved much more than assembling fragments. King Merenptah (1236-1223 BC) was the 13<sup>th</sup> son of the long-reigning Ramesses II. He had four stone sarcophagi prepared to receive his body, including the innermost one made of alabaster/calcite. After his tomb was reopened, probably sometime late in the Twentieth Dynasty, the king's mummy was cached in the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35). The third granite sarcophagus and half of the alabaster plinth beneath it were removed from the tomb and taken to Tanis, the Delta administrative and religious center for the Twenty-first Dynasty kings, where they were employed for the burial of Psusennes I.

Merenptah's tomb had been neither completely cleared nor documented in modern times. Although planned and partially mapped by Richard Pococke (1737-1738), members of the Napoleonic Expedition (1799), James Burton (1825) and Robert Hay (1825-1835), excavation was only begun by Carl Richard Lepsius

<sup>3</sup> See Edwin C. Brock, "Conservation of the Sarcophagus of Ramesses VI," in *Preserving Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, ed. Randi Danforth (Cairo: Sahara Printing Co., 2010), 63-70, and "Chaos Reversed: The Reconstruction of the Inner Sarcophagus of Ramesses VI," in *Achievements and Problems of Modern Egyptology, Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Moscow on September 29-October 2, 2009* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences Center for Egyptological Studies, 2011), 47-61.

(1844-1845), and was followed by Howard Carter (1903-1904),<sup>4</sup> who also did conservation work.<sup>5</sup> Some of the sarcophagus fragments Carter collected were stored in side-chamber *Fa*, where Ted was able to examine, and later incorporate them, into his reconstruction. Some of the other fragments made up about 25% of the second sarcophagus box. Ted also recorded a large part of Merenptah's canopic box and a small part of his innermost sarcophagus made of alabaster/calcite. It seems that an alabaster/calcite inner sarcophagus was a not-uncommon addition to a king's burial equipment; Seti I and Siptah are also now known to have had them.<sup>6</sup>

Ted began by clearing the flood debris in the burial chamber and found a large pit containing a number of sarcophagus fragments, a lintel, and the remains of the inscribed alabaster plinth. He also cleared the tomb-shaft in the upper corridor and discovered another lintel that had been removed from the walls of the second corridor, apparently to make room for the descending sarcophagi. For the same purpose, large slots had been cut into the walls to hold huge wooden beams that acted as winches to slow the descent of the rope-wrapped sarcophagus. These slots were later patched with plaster and inscribed; Ted found one of these patches while clearing the tomb-shaft.<sup>7</sup>

In 2002 the Musée du Louvre expedition, which had permission to clear the flood debris-engorged chambers in the back of the tomb, came up with additional sarcophagus fragments.<sup>8</sup> Still more turned up during Zahi Hawass' excavations in the center of the royal *wadi* in 2008.<sup>9</sup> Finally, Ted found that he had collected enough of the outer sarcophagus box – 30% – to restore it. So in 2010, he submitted a proposal to the Supreme Council of Antiquities<sup>10</sup> to do the reconstruction. The

<sup>4</sup> Howard Carter, "Report of Work Done in Upper Egypt (1903-1904), Tomb of Merenptah," *ASAE* 6 (1905), 116-119, pl. II.

<sup>5</sup> Theban Mapping Project website, accessed March 25, 2016.  
<http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/html>.

<sup>6</sup> Ted found fragments of Siptah's calcite/alabaster sarcophagus box while excavating in the area of Seti I. See Brock, "Conservation of the Sarcophagus of Ramesses VI," 62.

<sup>7</sup> Edwin C. Brock, "A Clean Sweep: Further Clearance in the Tomb of Merenptah," *Bulletin of the Canadian Mediterranean Institute* 12/2 (April, 1992), 1. See also Edwin C. Brock, "Piecing it all Together: An Ongoing Study of Later New Kingdom Royal Sarcophagi," *KMT* 2/1 (1991), 42-49.

<sup>8</sup> In 2002, the Musée du Louvre expedition cleared the six annex chambers at the back of the tomb in collaboration with the Mission Archéologique Française de Thèbes Ouest (CNRS-MAFTO), managed by Christian Leblanc. The project was carried out by Christophe Barbotin and Sylvie Guichard, and will be part of a complete publication of the tomb (C. Barbotin, personal communication). See Christophe Barbotin and Sylvie Guichard, "Fouilles du Louvre dans la tombe de Merenptah, 2005-2006," *Memnonia* 17 (2006), 151-169; Christophe Barbotin and Sylvie Guichard, "La tombe de Merenptah: Projets et travaux récents," *Memnonia* 15 (2004), 153-164.

<sup>9</sup> See [http://www.guardians.net/hawass/Press%20Releases/secrets\\_of\\_the\\_valley\\_of\\_the\\_kings.html](http://www.guardians.net/hawass/Press%20Releases/secrets_of_the_valley_of_the_kings.html) (Accessed March 23, 2016).

<sup>10</sup> Sincere thanks are due to the team of Egyptian masons and restorers, led by Rais Ali el-Guftawi, who were the hearts and hands behind the work, and to our colleagues in the Permanent Committee of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, and to the SCA Luxor and West Thebes inspectorates. In particular we wish to express our gratitude to Dr. Mohammed Ibrahim, Minister of State for Antiquities, to Dr. Mustafa Amin, Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, to Dr.

proposal was accepted and in January, 2011, after assembling a large team of Egyptian stonemasons and restorers, and with funding from American philanthropists Klaus-Peter and Marcia Zech,<sup>11</sup> he began what he called "a dream come true."<sup>12</sup>

### **A Puzzle of Pharaonic Proportions**

The first stage of the work took a couple of months to complete, namely the recording of all the extant sarcophagus fragments by drawing and photography. Although many had already been drawn by artist Jenny Leimert†, it was my job to produce scaled drawings of all the new fragments, not only to show both their surfaces, but their sections as well, and note any colour still adhering. That way we could see where they fit onto the sarcophagus. Ted, who was a superb photographer, took shots of everything.

I then drew up a scaled plan of the sarcophagus box and scanned it and the scaled photographs and drawings of the fragments into the computer. The intact flat outer lid, together with the assembled parts of the first box, gave an estimate of the original dimensions of the outer sarcophagus box as 4.1 m long, 2.3 m wide, and at least 2 m in height, minus the unknown thickness of the missing floor. I then placed the fragments on the plan using layers in Adobe Photoshop. This was a useful and also necessary step, since some of the fragments were as big as a chair, and to lift them up to try and make a join was difficult if not impossible. The resulting drawings allowed Ted to see how the fragments fit into a scheme of decoration, which could be completed using as comparanda the scenes from the tombs of Ramesses VI (KV 9) and Tausert (KV 14). There were also scenes in the tomb of Merenptah itself, and on the anthropoid sarcophagus, which were helpful reference material. While we were doing this reconstruction work, the crew of Egyptian restorers was cleaning and conserving the pieces and doing test assemblies as indicated by the artwork. Where to place the restored outer sarcophagus box in the tomb was also being mulled over: after some thought and a lot of measuring, it was decided to reassemble it in its original (ancient) location in the burial chamber (room

Mohammed Ismail, Director of Foreign Missions Affairs and to the members of the Permanent Committee for granting permission to carry out this work. We express our appreciation as well to Dr. Mohammed el-Bialy, Director of Pharaonic Antiquities, Dr. Mansour Boraik, Director of Luxor Governorate Antiquities, and Dr. Mohamed Abdel-Azziz, Director of West Thebes Antiquities, for their support. Additional appreciation is owed to Dr. Zahi Hawass and Dr. Mustafa Waziri for their interest and support at the inception of this project. We also thank the inspectors of the West Thebes inspectorate who worked with us, including Mahmoud Hosni, Ramadan Ali, Mohamed Khalifa, Yaser Abd el-Raziq, Hiba Sayed Shahat, Mohamed Khalil, and Ayman Mohamed Ibrahim. Last, but certainly not least, we want to express our gratitude to our gracious sponsors, Marcia and Klaus-Peter Zech, without whom this work could not have been done.

<sup>11</sup> Ted met the Zechs while he was lecturing on a tour in Egypt.

<sup>12</sup> Interview September 26, 2014, Laura Ranieri, Conversations with Canadian Egyptologists. Ancient Egypt Alive! [www.ancientegyptalive.com/multimedia/videos/conversations-with-egyptologists/html](http://www.ancientegyptalive.com/multimedia/videos/conversations-with-egyptologists/html) (Accessed April 2, 2016).

J) on the travertine plinth where the anthropoid lid of the second sarcophagus presently rested on stone blocks. This decision entailed not only moving that lid to another location, but also reconstructing the original plinth by joining the extant fragment with another piece carved from white limestone, and rebuilding the missing bottom of the sarcophagus box.

Many of the steps taken to achieve this arrangement were probably the same as those taken in ancient times. First, a massive framework of heavy wooden beams with a winch attached was erected over the burial pit. The anthropoid lid, wrapped in ropes and swaddled in rubber foam padding, was winched up, then metal rollers were placed beneath it, so it could be slowly rolled to its new position at right angles to the new sarcophagus box reconstruction. The lid was set down on a new steel framework that was more aesthetically pleasing, and painted a complimentary colour. A mirror was positioned below so that the decorated underside of the lid could be seen by visitors. The same type of support was also installed under the flat lid of the first sarcophagus box which remained where it was in the upper part of the tomb; the mirrors reflect the beautiful image of Nut on the underside. Some corner fragments of the lid that had been found during excavation, perhaps broken off when it was levered open in ancient times, were also put back.

Restoring the travertine plinth was next. The four huge limestone blocks necessary to re-create it were provided by the local SCA inspectorate for this purpose. Once trucked into the Valley of the Kings, the blocks were wrapped in rope and hauled up to the tomb entrance using a hand-cranked winch. Each stone was mounted on a wooden support and moved on steel rollers over a track of wooden beams. The same process was used in reverse to lower the blocks down the tomb corridors to the burial chamber. The scaffolding and lifting winches used for moving the second lid also served to lower the four limestone blocks into place in the pit next to the existing piece of travertine block. Additional limestone blocks were cut and placed on the sides of the limestone and travertine base, to replicate the missing floor of what would be the restored box.

The computer work had led to test assemblies of the fragments, and when we had gone as far as we could go in incorporating the fragments, the actual reconstruction of the box on top of the plinth and new floor began. The assemblies, glued together with epoxy adhesive and cemented and pinned with steel rods, were set into place in a framework of fired brick and cement. Finally, this shell was filled in with cement and plastered and painted to approximate the box's original appearance.

### **Restoring the Missing Decoration**

Since there was only 30% of the original box remaining, leaving the rest of the box looking rather bare, we decided to fill in the missing decoration with a painted outline. I consulted with my artist friends at Chicago House and we concluded that a white outline would be most effective, as, unlike red (the choice of the "outline scribe") white more closely resembled the light on the fragments. We did not add any other colours, although here and there on the original fragments we

could see traces of yellow, black, and blue paint, so the original sarcophagus box must have been rather colourful! The scale and style of the figures and other elements of the decoration were based primarily on what we actually had, either on the box or elsewhere in the tomb, otherwise we used our comparanda.

I went back to the computer to re-create the decoration on all four sides of the box, both on the exterior and interior, since that was decorated as well. Using the models I had already made, I scanned in the illustrations that Ted and I had agreed upon to complete the scenes, and checked the results. I used Photoshop layers and resized my art to fit the photo. This process was enlightening, as we could see that the ancient artists must have been in a hurry to complete the work; in one case a line of figures had to be squeezed at the right end to get them to fit into the allocated space!

Once we had a satisfactory drawing, I first sketched it on the surface of the box using chalk, and then after Ted had checked it, I corrected it in pencil. The final illustrations were done in white paint. Of course, line levels, both vertical and horizontal, and good lighting, were indispensable. Knowing this work could take quite a long time to do, I took as many shortcuts as possible. When faced with having to draw a row of repetitive figures, I made myself a "template" of one figure or object in light cardboard, and traced around it. When I had to paint a long vertical or horizontal line, I simply bracketed the area with masking tape and daubed it with a sponge loaded with white paint. Nevertheless, the whole process took almost two years to complete, since both the inside and the outside of the box were decorated.

The tomb has now reopened to the public. The new box is surrounded by a wooden walkway and light protective wooden barriers, but some work still remains to be done. In the Fall of 2016 I hope to retouch the illustrations and to install metal signs. These signs will help the visitor to understand the tomb, and all the work that went into creating it, both in the past as well as in our own time. The result will be a fitting tribute to Ted, whom Otto Schaden† once called "our own sarcophaguy."<sup>13</sup>

## Notes

All photographs are by Edwin C. Brock with one exception (by Lyla Pinch-Brock). For the support, help and friendship offered us over the years, I donated his extensive photo archive to Chicago House, his Egyptological library to the Polish Institute in Cairo, and his personal library to the Netherlands-Vlaams Institute in Cairo. His cameras and computer equipment went to the ARCE field school for Inspector training in Luxor, with appreciation to the Supreme Council of Antiquities.

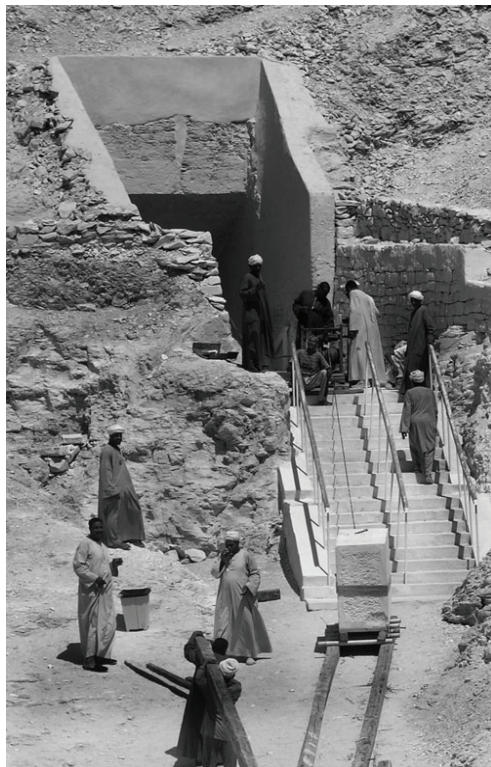
<sup>13</sup> Letter from O. Schaden to Ted Brock dated October 30, 1996.



**Figure 1: Ted Brock photographing joined fragments**



**Figure 2: Lyla Pinch-Brock brushes off a sarcophagus fragment preparatory to drawing it**



**Figure 3: Winching one of the plinth blocks up to the tomb entrance**



**Figure 4: Rais Ali watches as plinth block is steadied for decent into the tomb**



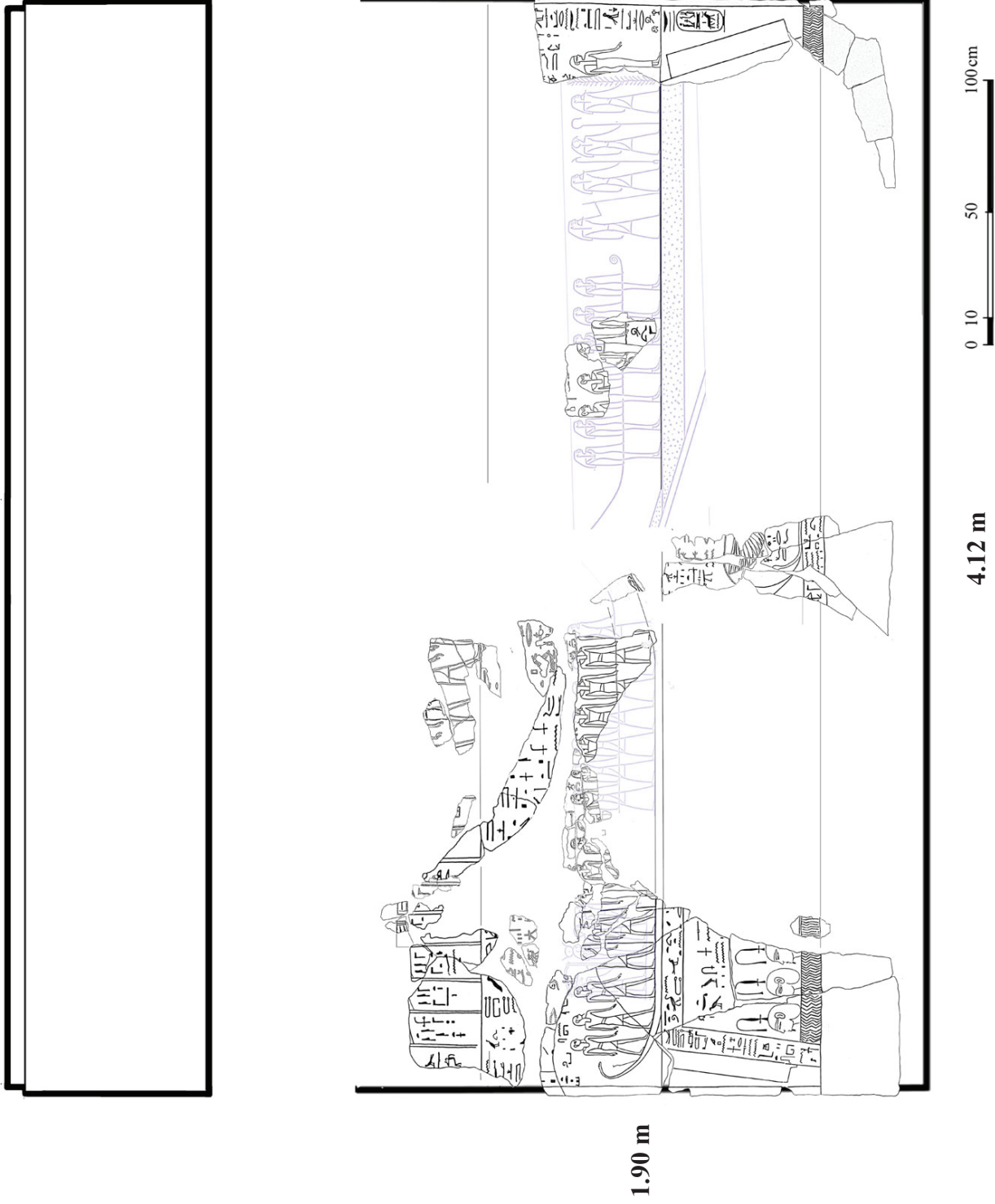


**Figure 5: Workmen rebuilding base of sarcophagus box on top of calcite plinth**



**Figure 6: Tense moment as workmen maneuver anthropoid lid into position**

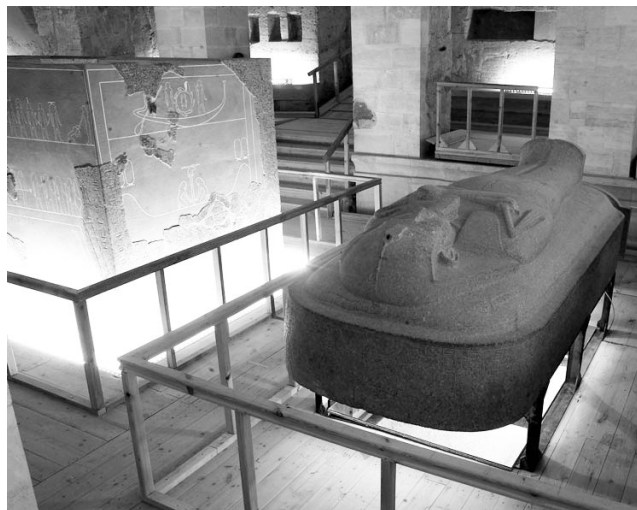
Figure 7: Preliminary illustration for restored decoration



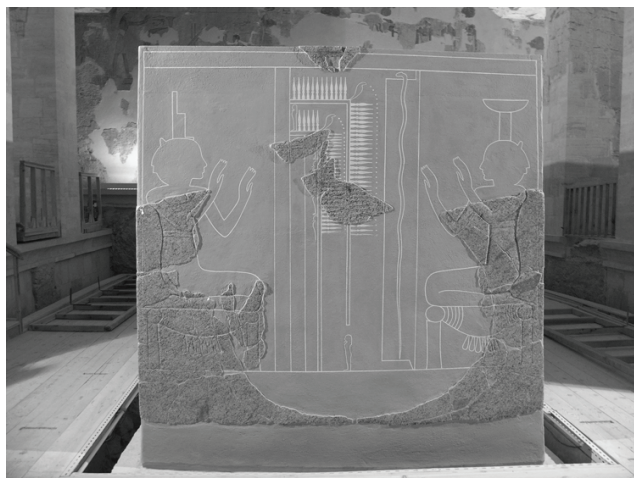
Sarc 1 Exterior Left Side



**Figure 8: Lyla Pinch-Brock painting in the missing decoration on the east side of the sarcophagus**



**Figure 9: Restored box and anthropoid lid in their new positions in the tomb**



**Figure 10: Completed decoration on north end of sarcophagus**



**Figure 11: Ted Brock in the restored burial chamber in the tomb of Merenptah**



**Figure 12: SCA officials and project team**



# Theban Tomb 89 (Amenmose): Final Report

Roberta Shaw  
With Translations by Edwin C. Brock

**Abstract:** The authors present the final report on the decoration and inscriptions in the tomb.

**Resumé:** Les auteurs présentent le rapport final de la décoration et les inscriptions dans la tombe.

**Keywords/Mots-Clés:** Inscriptions/inscriptions, wall paintings/peintures murales, line drawings/dessins, wall photographs/photographies des murs, Steward in the Southern City/Chef dans la ville du Sud

*I first met Ted Brock while we were both studying at the University of Toronto. Those were halcyon days of discovery and learning that forged a cohort bond between us, along with several other fellow students, that grew into a lasting affection and understanding. We worked on several projects together, the last and most important being the recording of Theban Tomb 89. His work on the inscriptions was fastidious, and I deeply appreciate his contribution to the project, which I believe is his final publication.<sup>1</sup> I treasure my memories of our time together, full of stimulating discussions and gemütlichkeit.*

The analysis of TT89 has already been published.<sup>2</sup> The current report consists of a complete and better-refined photo record of the wall paintings, detailed line drawings of the wall paintings, and translations of the inscriptions.

The figure depicted on Wall Q (Fig. 15; Pl. 16<sup>3</sup>) was revealed during the final season (2007), when the entrance jambs were cleaned with distilled water. It is now included with the drawings and photographs, and Wall Q is designated in the plan (Fig. 1). Note that the toes on the near foot are visible.

Further consideration of the layout and content of the decorative scheme of this tomb and the rare title of the owner, i.e., Steward in the Southern City,<sup>4</sup> suggests that this duality of office, mentioned in the 2006 report of this tomb, was a result of the necessity of creating an über-bureaucratic position, directly under the king, to administer all aspects of the economies of both royal and temple coffers at this time

<sup>1</sup> Ted's untimely death prevented him from seeing his manuscript through to publication, and some portions are unfinished. I thank Ronald J. Leprohon for his assistance on Ted's behalf.

<sup>2</sup> R. Shaw, "The Decorative Scheme in the Tomb of Amenmose (TT89)," *JSSEA* 33 (2006): 205-213.

<sup>3</sup> The colour plates for this article (Pls. 1-18) are available online through the SSEA Publication Database or by contacting the author.

<sup>4</sup> There is only one other example of the title, that of Djehuty from el-Kab, also dating to this reign; however, that tomb is no longer extant and so no visual comparison is possible. See Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia, Egypt: Obelisk Publications, 2006), 43.

of such stupendous wealth in Egypt, perhaps an early indication of the royal suppression of temple power.

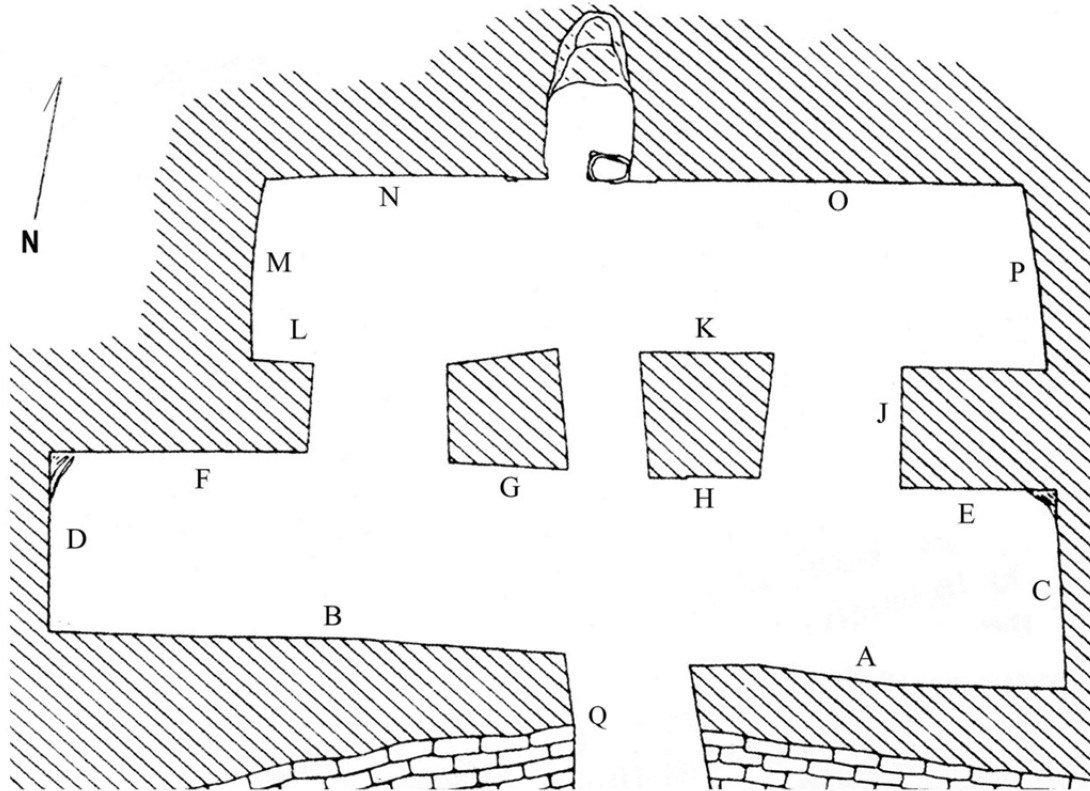


Figure 1: Plan of the tomb of Amenmose, TT89, with letter identifiers from N. M. Davies and N. de Garis Davies, "The Tomb of Amenmose (No. 89) at Thebes," *JEA* 26 (1940), fig. 1.

## TT 89 Inscriptions

Edwin C. Brock

Theban Tomb 89, the tomb of the Steward in the Southern City Amenmose, appears to have been unfinished in its cutting and decoration.<sup>5</sup> The completed textual material is unevenly preserved, with inscriptions painted directly on the plaster surfaces applied to the walls, which have suffered from structural damage and loss of pigment. In many instances what text remains are "ghost glyphs," where the pigment has fallen away leaving only an outline on the surface wash beneath. There are also instances where pigment colours have been altered, perhaps as a result of fires, often changed to a brownish red. The extensive red paint on the "south" wall of the outer room (Wall D) may either be the result of cooking fires inside the tomb or might be painted thus to provide a "granite look." The Paraloid applied during a previous conservation has obscured some of the inscriptions, even "creating" new ones by darkening areas that then suggest possible components of

<sup>5</sup> L. Pinch-Brock and R. L. Shaw, "The Royal Ontario Museum Epigraphy Project—Theban Tomb 89 Preliminary Report," *JARCE* 34 (1997): 167-177; Shaw, "Decorative Scheme in the Tomb of Amenmose," 205-233.

hieroglyphs. Examination with a magnifier sometimes helps distinguish paint from Paraloid brushstrokes.

### Wall A (“northeast” wall, outer room; Fig. 2; Pl. 1)

The preserved texts on Wall A are located at its southern end. Texts A I and A II are located around the erased figure of Amenmose, while Texts A III to A VII are labels. Each of the leading figures of offering bearers in the three registers behind Amenmose has a vertical-text column label in front, below the offerings being carried. In addition, the second figure in the third register also has a label.

**Text A I:** Above the figure (erased) of Amenmose holding two braziers are seven columns reading right to left, very poorly preserved with careless application of consolidant, most likely Paraloid. This is an example of the characteristic offering text for the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.<sup>6</sup>

1 [wdn ht] nb nfrt

2 ... ..

3 ... hwt-hr ... nb ... (?)

4 ... dt

5 inpw (?) nb t3 [-dsr (?)]

6 i[n] imy-r pr m niwt rsyt

7 ... ..

1 [Offering of] every good [thing] (Note: the sign for *nfr* [GSL F 35]<sup>7</sup> is not as clear as that in text N VIII at Wall N).

2 Nothing discernible.

3 ... Hathor ... Mistress of (?)

4 ... eternity

5 Anubis (?) Lord of Ta[-Djeser (?)]

<sup>6</sup> See B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. 1, pt.1, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press/Griffith Institute, 1985), Appendix A, selected scene #28,470. Note S. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale: Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*, Abhandlung der geistes- und sozial-wissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 11 (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz/Steiner, 1953).

<sup>7</sup> Individual glyph references are taken from Gardiner's Sign-List (hereafter GSL) in: A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed., rev. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1982), 438-546.



- 6 b[y] (?) the Steward in the Southern City
- 7 Nothing discernible: a possible *niwt* sign (GSL O 49) and the lower two-thirds purposefully excised.

**Text A II:** Below the arms of the erased figure of Amenmose are three columns of multicoloured glyphs, reading right to left.

- 1 *n k3.k imn-r<sup>c</sup> niswt ntr(w) n r<sup>c</sup> hr-3hty*
- 2 *n hwt-hr hryt tp w3st di.sn knt*
- 3 *nht n k3 niswt n [nb-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>/mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup> (?)]*

- 1 For your ka, Amun-Ra, King of the Gods, (and) for Ra-Harakhty,
- 2 (and) for Hathor, Chieftainess of Thebes. May they give valour
- 3 (and) strength to the royal ka of ... (Followed by an illegible prenomen with only the sun-disk certain, with a possible trace of *nb* [GSL V 30] at the bottom = *nb-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>* [Amenhotep III's prenomen]).<sup>8</sup>

**Text A III:** To the right of first offering bearer in the upper register. Badly preserved, upper part gone, lower better, [*wrt* (?)] *hk3w* ... [*ss* (?)], "[great (?)] of magic ..."

**Text A IV:** Below offering carried by lead bearer in second register. Traces in white of "ghost" glyphs, and some black originals remain: *sš n ... imn ... hry*, "The scribe of ... Amun ... Hory ..."

**Text A V:** To the right of the first bearer in bottom register, [*sš* (?)] [*im*]n-*htp n imy-r pr imn-ms*, "[The scribe (?)] [Am]enhotep of the Steward Amenmose."

**Text A VI:** To the right of the second bearer in bottom register, *s3wty-pr n imy-r pr [i]mn-[ms]*, "Gatekeeper/guardian of the Steward [A]men[mose]."

**Text A VII:** Written above butchering scene, lower right at the door; four text columns in black reading left to right, *sftw n imy-r pr imn-ms sdm-imn*, "Butcher of the Steward Amenmose, Sedjem-Amen."<sup>9</sup>

**Wall B ("southeast" wall, outer room; Fig. 3; Pl. 2)**

<sup>8</sup> K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Abt. IV, Heften 1-16 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906-1909), 1022, 7-8 (C1). Sethe renders the name Menkheperre, but Nebmaatere is still possible.

<sup>9</sup> Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1022, 10 (C2).

At door. At least 10 columns (8 visible in Fig. 3), reading left to right, over the offerings. Additional columns are now missing (?). Sethe did not publish the complete text.<sup>10</sup>

- 1 ... ..
- 2 [*ndm* (?)]*t bnrt* ... *n* ... *ti nb* ... [*imn*]-*r*<sup>c</sup> *nb*
- 3 [*nswt*] *t3wy n ws[ir] hk3 dt n hwt-hr*
- 4 [*hry*]*t [tp w3s]t* (?) *n psdt* <sup>c</sup>*t* (?)
- 5 ... *n iryw* <sup>c</sup>*3 sb3w*
- 6 *dw3t in iry-p*<sup>c</sup>*t*
- 7 *h3ty-*<sup>c</sup> *htm-bity* [*smr-* *w*<sup>c</sup>]*t[y]*
- 8 *šmsw niswt nmtwt.f hr h3st rsyt*
- 9 *mhtt* ... ..
- 10 ... ..

- 1 Completely missing although space exists and a red vertical register line is present.
- 2 sweet and pleasant ... for ... Amun-Ra, Lord
- 3 of the Thrones of the Two Lands, (and) for Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, (and) for Hathor,
- 4 Chieftainess of Thebes (?), (and) for the Great (?) Ennead,
- 5 (and) for the Doorkeepers of the Gates
- 6 of the Underworld by the Nobleman,
- 7 Mayor, Seal Bearer of Lower Egypt, [Sole Friend,]<sup>11</sup>
- 8 the one who follows the king's footsteps over the southern lands
- 9 (and) northern lands... (Sethe ends here.)
- 10 Two *pr* signs (GSL O 1; = "steward" [?]) are discernible. All else is lost, as the wall is too damaged.

#### Wall D ("south" wall, outer room; Fig. 5; Pl. 4)

<sup>10</sup> Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1024, 14-1025, 1 (G). Sethe begins in the middle of line 6.

<sup>11</sup> Note: Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1024, 14 (Ga), adds *smr-w*<sup>c</sup>*ty*, "Sole Friend," but only the *t* remains.

Sethe did not copy the eight columns in the principal scene with Osiris (Texts D I, D II). No text survives in front of Hathor in the bottom register on the right (western side of the wall). To the left (eastern side of the wall) of the Osiris vignette, the tomb owner kneels with tables of offerings, with no text. There is space for a third depiction of the owner, but the wall there has been left undecorated.

**Text D I:** Written over the offering table in front of Osiris, left side, reading right to left, five columns, white glyphs ("ghosts") on red ground.

- 1 *h̄tp di niswt wsir nb ... [inpw] h̄nty*
- 2 *sh-n̄tr h̄wt-h̄r h̄ryt tp smyt ... nfr ... [di.sn] t*
- 3 *hn̄kt k3w ... h̄t nb nfr w<sup>c</sup>b ...*
- 4 *... n k3 n imy-r pr m niwt rsyt ...*
- 5 *... ..*

- 1 An offering which the king gives, (and to) Osiris, Lord of ... (and) [Anubis,] Foremost of
- 2 the Divine Booth, (and) Hathor, Chieftainess of the Necropolis ... beautiful ... [that they may give] bread,
- 3 beer, meat ... every good and pure thing ...
- 4 ... to the ka of the Steward in the Southern City ...
- 5 Not readable.

**Text D II:** Columns 6 and 7 are in front of Osiris. Column 8 is behind Osiris. The columns read left to right.

- 6 *wsir ... dt*
  - 7 *... skr (?) wn-nfr*
  - 8 *s3 ʿnh̄ dd w3s snb ... h̄3.f nb mi r<sup>c</sup> dt (?)*
- 6 Osiris [ruler of (?)] ... eternity
  - 7 (falcon glyph = Sokar [?] Horus [?]), Wennefer
  - 8 all protection, life, stability, dominion, health behind him like Ra forever (?)

**Text D III:** Topmost of the three registers, on the right (west) side of the wall, in front of Anubis (not visible in Fig. 5).

1 *inpw ... [nb (?)]*

2 *r st3w*

3 *nb t3 dsr*

1 Anubis ... [Lord of (?)]

2 Ro-setau

3 Lord of Ta-Djeser

**Text D IV:** Right side of wall, in front of the Western Goddess, second register, reading left to right.

1 *imntt*

2 *nfrt ... hrt-ntr wn*

3 *.t hsy šsp*

4 *... imy-r pr m niwt rsyt imn-ms*

5 *m[3<sup>c</sup>] h[rw] (?)*

1 O Beautiful One of the West

2 ... Necropolis.

3 May you open for the favoured one who receives

4 ... Steward in the Southern City, Amenmose

5 t[rue] of v[oice] (?)

### **Wall F (“southwest” wall, outer room; Fig. 7; Pl. 6)**

The three scenes are divided into two registers each. On the bottom register of the second scene, in front of a darkened man at a pot, *sntr*, “incense.”

Directly below the decorated portion of the wall, and directly in line with the above inscription, “incense” in hieratic (see Fig. 7).

### **Wall G (“east” face of south pillar, outer room; Fig. 8; Pl. 7)**

Very little is legible. There are at least six columns reading right to left over a seated figure of Amenmose at a table of offerings.

X+4 *prwy* (double *pr* sign – two times?). Also traces of the *sw* sign (GSL M 23).

X+5 Perhaps *nsw* and *pr* but not certain.

X+6 ... *imy-r pr m niwt rsynt imn-ms* ..., "Steward in the Southern City, Amenmose."

### Wall H ("east" face of north pillar, outer room; Fig. 8; Pl. 8)

Very fragmentary traces of texts may be seen in white with red lines, but nothing discernible (no lines or glyphs visible on Fig. 8).

### Ceiling (above "southwest" corner, at southern end of outer room; Pl. 17)

In the corner between Walls D and F there are traces of glyphs in the border bands, but the paint is so damaged that virtually nothing is discernible except for about one metre, and then the text is completely gone.

**Vertical column:** ... [*mwt*].*f wsir imn-ms m3<sup>c</sup> hrw*, "... his [mother], the Osiris Amenmose, true of voice."

**Horizontal band:** Traces of glyphs intermittently dispersed, the south end showing a *ntr* sign (*ntr-<sup>c</sup>3* [?]), "great god."

### Wall K ("west" face of north pillar, inner room; Fig. 9; Pl. 10)

An erased figure of Amenmose on the left stands before an enthroned figure of Thutmose III rendered in red paint. Text columns are inscribed around the king. Column 4 runs horizontally under Columns 2 and 3, and Column 6 is behind him. Column 7<sup>12</sup> is below Amenmose's fan, in front of the king.

1 *ntr nfr s3 imn*

2 *niswt bity mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*

3 *s3 r<sup>c</sup> dhwti-ms*

4 *di <sup>c</sup>nh mi r<sup>c</sup>*

5 *mr n imn-r<sup>c</sup>*

6 *mi r<sup>c</sup> dt*

7 *h<sup>c</sup>t niswt hr st wrt*

1 The Perfect God, Son of Amun,

2 King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre,

3 Son of Ra, Thutmose,

4 given life like Ra,

5 beloved of Amun-Ra,

<sup>12</sup> Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1022, 1.

6 like Ra forever.

7 The king's appearance upon the great throne.

### Wall M ("south" wall, inner room; Fig. 10; Pl. 12)

The burial procession is portrayed in the upper three registers. It continues from Wall L, where no texts are found. The Voyage to Abydos and Return occupy the bottom (fourth) register.

**Register 1 (uppermost):** A row of men carry vessels, furniture, offerings for burial. Partly legible vertical text columns before second, third, and fourth bearers (from west to east).

**Register 2 (second from top):** West to east, two pairs of cattle drag a sarcophagus/coffin in a shrine on a boat, mounted on a sledge (?). Above the cattle are two horizontal lines of text. Between the pairs of cattle a priest (?) censes and libates, the activity identified by two columns of text below the hand holding the censer. Directly behind the cattle, a man with an upraised stick urges them onward. Behind the man driving the cattle are two pairs of men grasping the towrope for the sledge. Most of the boat with the sarcophagus in the shrine is now lost; only the top rear of the shrine and rear of the top of the sarcophagus remain, together with the small figure of Isis as one of the two mourning sisters of Osiris. The top of the stern of the boat in the form of a bound papyrus is also visible, together with the tops of the steering oars and their posts. Four pairs of men follow, carrying a shrine-shaped canopic box on poles. A woman with one hand held over her head in a gesture of mourning walks beside the box. Two vertical borderlines for a text are placed before her, but no trace of inscription survives. Twelve columns of text are inscribed over the group behind the sarcophagus, but much of this text is no longer clearly visible.<sup>13</sup> In front of registers two and three (west side) is a vertical text.

**Register 3:** Same theme as Register 1, with only two figures preserved, carrying vessels. Above the leading figure is one horizontal line of text.

**Register 4:** Almost all missing; one boat is almost completely preserved at the right. It is shown with sail unfurled, indicating travel upstream, returning from the Voyage to Abydos.

**Text M I (Register 2):** Two lines of text that read right to left.

1 *iw.tw r dd n nn nfrwt ithyw m mrwt ib.tn*

2 *m rdi wrd n ib.tn*

<sup>13</sup> See Sethe *Urk.* IV, 1024, 4-12 (F5). This text is cited in an article by E. Lüddeckens, "Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen," *MDAIK* 11 (1943): 75-76, 78-82; and by D. Silverman, "A New Kingdom Funerary Procession and Ritual," *Serapis* VI (1980): 125-126.

- 1 One shall say to these cattle, "Pull to your heart's desire.
- 2 Don't let your hearts be weary."<sup>14</sup>

**Text M II (Register 2):** Two columns, right to left, reading, *sntr kbh*, "Censing and libating."

**Text M III (Register 2):** Twelve columns, reading right to left. Column 1 is barely legible.

- 1 [h3w.k]
- 2 nb hr ii[.ti]
- 3 ʿdy.ty rmtw.k
- 4 nb hr kni.k p3
- 5 ii wd3
- 6 m [hs (?)] niswt
- 7 n gm.tw
- 8 sp nb hr.f
- 9 wsir hnty imntyw
- 10 imi n.f t3w ndm im
- 11 wn.f m-m
- 12 hsy nb m t3 n ʿnhw<sup>15</sup>

- 1 [Your kindred]
- 2 all say, "Welcome
- 3 safely!" All your people
- 4 embrace you, the (i.e., "your")
- 5 coming is safe
- 6 under the king's [praises],
- 7 no fault (of yours) is found
- 8 before him.
- 9 O Osiris Khenty-amentiu,

<sup>14</sup> Sethe, *Urk* IV, 1023, 15-17 (F3).

<sup>15</sup> Sethe, *Urk*. IV, 1024, 5-12. (F5). See Lüddeckens, "Untersuchungen," 75-76, 78-82; Silverman, "A New Kingdom Funerary Procession and Ritual," 125-126.

10 grant him the sweet breath yonder,  
 11 that he might be among  
 12 all the praised ones in the land of the living.

**Text M IV (between Registers 2 and 3):** *n3 n nfrwt nty hr st3 p3 hsy imn r imntt r p3 t3 n ...* “These cattle who pull the favoured one of Amun, ‘to the West, to the land of ...’”<sup>16</sup>

**Text M V (Register 3):** *hnw n šms-wd3*, “Vessels for the funerary procession.”<sup>17</sup>

**Text M VI (Register 3):** Behind the two figures carrying vessels a column of text reads, *n3 n sdmw-š n [imy-r pr imn-ms]*, “The necropolis workers (those who hear the call) of [the Steward Amenmose].”<sup>18</sup>

### Wall N (“southwest” wall, inner room, left [south] side; Fig. 11; Pl. 13)

The southern end of Wall N has a selection of Opening of the Mouth (OM) vignettes, with a row of offering bearers below. For discussion, each scene is presented from left to right. There are a total of 18 text columns in the upper register, and 14 surviving text columns in the second register, with an unknown number missing in the damaged portion.

The two upper registers feature vignettes of the OM ritual,<sup>19</sup> consisting of four scenes in each register. In each scene a leopard-skin clad priest (*sm*) performs ritual acts before the mummy of Amenmose. Between each of the two figures are ritual instruments and an offering table; each priest faces left, each mummy, right. In the upper register, there are glyphs discernible in the leftmost scene. In the second register, the centre section is damaged with loss of the second mummy and third priest.

Texts above the scenes in each register consist of two elements, one giving the title and name of the deceased on the left, and to the right of this, the recitation of the lector-priest describing the actions of the *sm*-priest.

<sup>16</sup> Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 1023, 12-13 (F2). Some final signs evident but illegible. Lüddeckens, “Untersuchungen,” 76, suggests *m3tyw*, “the justified ones.”

<sup>17</sup> Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 1023, 10 (F1).

<sup>18</sup> Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 1024, 2 (F4).

<sup>19</sup> E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, Teile 1-2, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Bd 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960). The Opening of the Mouth ritual has also been studied more recently by Mariam Ayad, “The Selection and Layout of the Opening of the Mouth Scenes in the Chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu,” *JARCE* 41 (2004): 113-133, and by Ann Macy Roth, *inter alia* “Opening of the Mouth,” *OEA* 2 (2001), 605-609, both with citations of other literature.



**Register 1:** Texts in the upper register are legible only for the leftmost group of mummy and priest.<sup>20</sup> The remainder in this register are lost due to surface deterioration. Despite this loss, the four individual scenes can be identified by the activities of the *sm*-priest and the ritual objects that he wields. From right to left, according to Otto's enumeration of the ritual scenes, we have Scene 3, Scene 2,<sup>21</sup> Scene 26, and Scene 27.<sup>22</sup>

Scenes 2 and 3 involve ritual purification of the mummy by a priest wearing a leopard skin who pours a water libation with characteristic vessels—one set of four in each scene. In Scene 3, the priest holds the *dsrt*-vessel, and three more, alternately red and white, lie on top of offerings on the table. In Scene 2, the priest holds the *nmst*-jar, and three more, alternately red and white, are on top of the offerings on the table.

OM Scenes 26 and 27 depict the *sm*-priest opening the mouth of the mummy with the characteristic tools. In Scene 26, the priest holds a large adze to the mouth of the mummy, which usually is described as the *ntrty*, but that name is not preserved in the missing text. In Scene 27, the priest presents a ram-headed instrument typically referred to as the *wrt-hk3w* ("Great of Magic"). Above the offering tables in Scenes 26 and 27 are four cups containing balls of incense, alternately green and red.

**Register 2:** The second register also consists of four scenes, but the two centre scenes are poorly preserved due to loss of plaster. The northernmost (first) is Scene 31, in which the priest places some kind of collar on the mummy.<sup>23</sup> To the left of Scene 31 is the "opening of the eyes with two fingers," possibly Scene 32 or 33. The third scene from the right has too little remaining to identify the scene. The fourth scene is Otto's Scene 37.<sup>24</sup>

**Register 3:** The preserved texts in the lowest register survive as white "ghosts" over a brownish wash. The text column-dividers are in red.

**Text N I, OM Scene 3 (Register 1):** No text remaining.

**Text N II, OM Scene 2 (Register 1):** In Column 1, *dd mdw in ... r ...*, "Words spoken by..." Columns 2 to 4 have no discernible text remaining.

<sup>20</sup> Contra M. K. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419-1372 BCE*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca X, Série IMAGO N° 2 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004), 117, n. 580, fig. 27.

<sup>21</sup> Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, Teile 1, 3-8; 2, 37-44.

<sup>22</sup> Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, Teile 1, 55-72; 2, 80-87.

<sup>23</sup> Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, Teile 1, 76-79; 2, 90-91.

<sup>24</sup> See Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, Teile 1, 90-91; 2, 97, where he cites TT89 as variant #47.

**Text N III, OM Scene 26 (Register 1):** Six columns, some with traces, but no discernible signs remain.

**Text N IV, OM Scene 27 (Register 1):** The preserved text over Scene 27 contains seven legible columns. The first three columns on the left (south) read right to left, starting with Column 6 (the third column from the left). Columns 1 to 5 read left to right (Column 1 being the fourth from the left). Only Columns 4 and 5 have fully discernible text.

1 *dd mdw in hry-ḥb*

2 *wp.n(.i) n.k r.k*

3 [*m ... wrt*]

4 [*ḥk3w ...*]

5 ... .. .

6 *wsir imy-r pr m niwt*

7 *rsyt*

8 *imn-ms*

1 Recitation by the lector-priest:

2 I have opened for you your mouth

3 [with ...]

4 ... (determinative for the *wrt-ḥk3w* [“Great of Magic”] tool)

5 (Nothing detectable.)

6, 7 The Osiris, Steward in the Southern City

8 Amenmose.

**Text N V, OM Scene 31 (Register 2):** The text over Scene 31 consists of seven columns. Columns 1 to 4 read left to right (Column 1 is the fourth column from the left [south] side), and Columns 5 to 7 read right to left.

1 *dd mdw in hry-ḥb*

2 *s<sup>c</sup>k*

3 *s3 mr.fr ...*

4 ... .. .

5 *wsir imy-r pr m niwt*

6 *rsyt*

7 *imn-ms*

- 1 Recitation by the Lector Priest:
- 2 Causing to enter
- 3 a son who loves ...
- 4 (Nothing detectable.)
- 5, 6 The Osiris, Steward in the Southern City
- 7 Amenmose.

**Text N VI, OM Scene 32 or 33 (Register 2):** Six columns are preserved, reading left to right.

- 1 *dd mdw in ...*
- 2 *wp.n(.i) ...*
- 3 *.k wn.n(.i) n*
- 4 *.k irty.k m db<sup>c</sup>wy*
- 5 *.i ds*
- 6 *.i ...*

- 1 Recitation by ...
- 2 I have opened ... your ...
- 3 I have opened for
- 4–6 you your two eyes with my own fingers ...

**Text N VII, OM Scene 37 (Register 2):** Seven columns of text. Columns 1 to 5 read left to right (Column 1 is the third column from the left [south] side); Columns 6 and 7 read right to left.

- 1 *dd mdw in*
- 2 *hry-ḥb [w]p.n(.i) n.k*
- 3 *r.k m p*
- 4 *sš kf*
- 5 *wp r n ntr ... ntrt ... im.f*
- 6 *wsir imy-r pr*
- 7 *m niwt rsyt imn-ms m3<sup>c</sup> hrw*

- 1 Recitation by
- 2 the Lector Priest: I have opened for you
- 3, 4 your mouth with the Pesesh-kaf
- 5 with which the mouths of the gods and goddesses are opened.
- 6 The Osiris, Steward
- 7 in the Southern City Amenmose true of voice.

**Text N VIII (Register 3):** Horizontal text along the top of the register, reading right to left, *ms ht nb nfr w<sup>c</sup>bt drpw (?) rnpy[w ...] imy-r pr m niwt rsyt inm-msw m<sup>3</sup>c hrw hr ntr <sup>c</sup>3*, “Presenting every good and pure thing, fresh offerings ... Steward in the Southern City, Amenmesw (sic), true of voice before the great god.”<sup>25</sup>

#### Wall N (“southwest” wall, right [north] side; Fig. 11; Pl. 13)

The north side of Wall N depicts an offering scene with two large erased figures offering to Amenmose (?). There are three inscriptions.

**Text N IX:** Over the bouquet bearers, to the right (north) of the right-hand bearer, three+ columns remain (i.e., X+1, X+2, X+3), reading right to left.

X [*iit hr <sup>c</sup>n<sub>h</sub>w n imn ...*]

X+1 [*hsy.f tw mry*].f tw

X+2 *di.f n.k <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>w nfr m pr-niswt*

X+3 *h<sup>c</sup>w wd<sub>3</sub> hr hswt nb*<sup>26</sup>

X [Coming bearing bouquets (or blossoms [?]) of Amun ...]

X+1 May he honour you, may he love you,

X+2 May he give to you a long lifetime in the House of the King,

X+3 healthy limbs (i.e., body), possessing all favours.<sup>27</sup>

**Text N X:** Horizontal text over left-hand bearer and offering bouquet, reading right to left, *iit hr <sup>c</sup>n<sub>h</sub>w imn hft ii.f m ipt-iswt*, “Coming bearing bouquets (or blossoms [?]) of Amun after he comes from Karnak.”<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1022, 12-13 (D).

<sup>26</sup> Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1022, 16-1023, 2 (E1). Sethe reconstructed E1 from his E2 (*Urk.* IV, 1023, 4-7).

<sup>27</sup> Note *nb* not *k* (“all,” not “you”), contra Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1023, 2 (E1).

<sup>28</sup> Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1023, 4-5 (E2.1).

**Text N XI:** Above the left-hand offering bearer, two vertical columns, reading right to left.

1 *ḥsy.f tw mry.f*

2 *tw di.f n.k ḥt nbt [nfrt w<sup>c</sup>bt]<sup>29</sup>*

1 May he honour you, may he love

2 you. May he give to you every [good and pure] thing.

**Wall O ("northwest" wall, inner room; Figs. 12, 13; Pl. 14)**

On Wall O, Amenhotep III, enthroned in a pavilion and accompanied by the goddess Hathor, views a procession of foreigners bringing "tribute" presented by Amenmose, whose figure is erased. Over the figures of the king and goddess is an inscription, reading right to left, giving their names and epithets.<sup>30</sup> Columns 1 to 4 and 6 to 7 are vertical, while Line 5 is horizontal, under Columns 2 and 3. Note: traces of earlier text near bottom of Column 1 are here enclosed in {}.

1 *ntr nfr nb t3wy nb ir[t] ḥt nb ḥ<sup>c</sup>w {iṯ (nfr?) ḥdt}{<sup>c</sup>nḥ} dt*

2 *nīswt bity nb-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>*

3 *s3 r<sup>c</sup> i[mn]-ḥtp ḥk3 w3st*

4 *mr[y] imn-r<sup>c</sup>*

5 *di <sup>c</sup>nḥ mi r<sup>c</sup>*

6 *ḥwt-ḥr nbt ... ḥryt tp w3st*

7 *di.s <sup>c</sup>nḥ w3s*

1 The perfect god, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of accomplishment (ritual acts), lord of appearances (crowns), {who seizes the beautiful white crown}, living forever,

2 King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neb-Maat-Ra,

3 Son of Ra, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes,

4 beloved of Amun-Ra,

5 given life like Ra.

6 Hathor, Mistress of ... Chieftainess of Thebes,

<sup>29</sup> Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1023, 6-7 (E2.2).

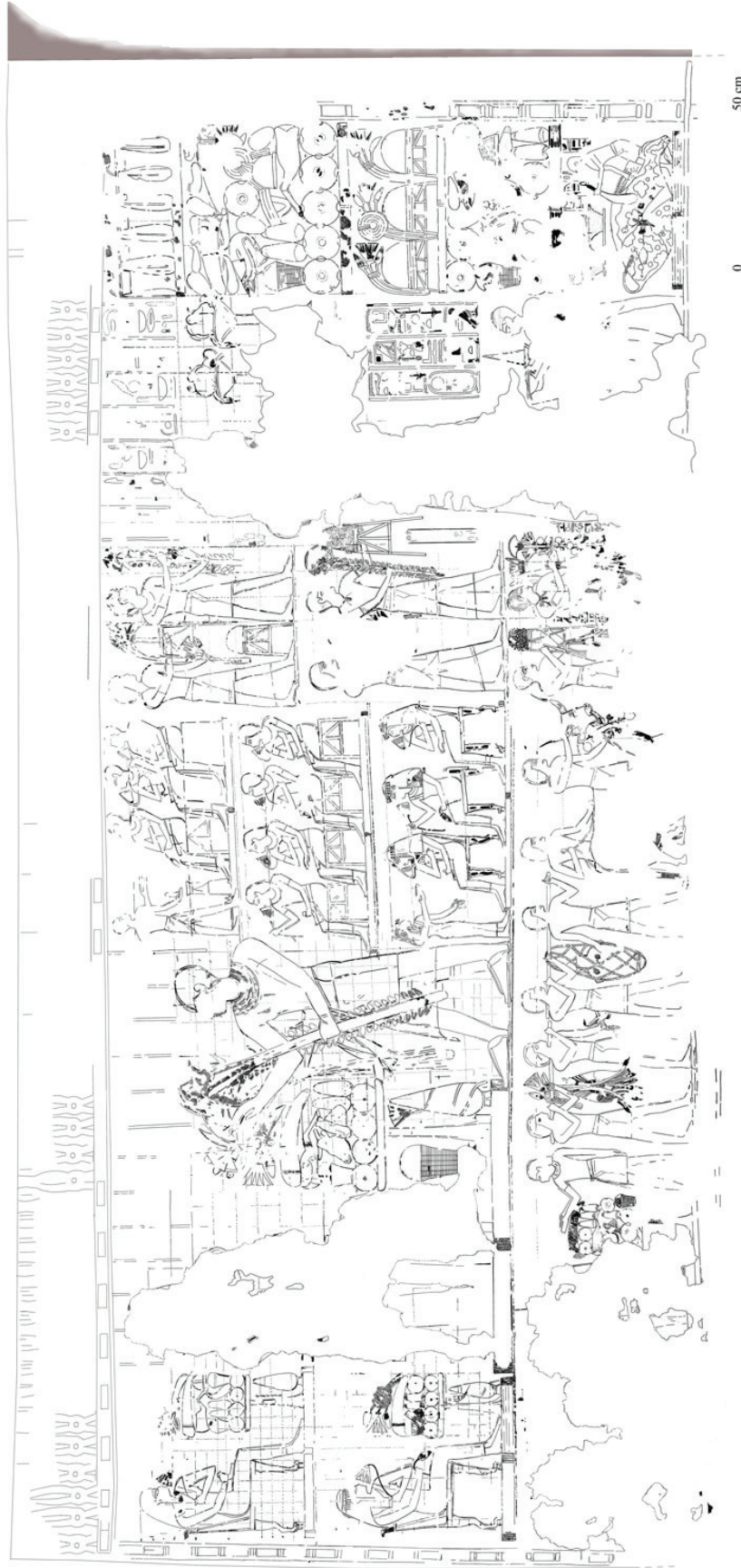
<sup>30</sup> Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1022, 3 (B), which only gives the two royal cartouches and the royal epithets "Lord of appearances" and "Who seizes the beautiful white crown."

7 May she give life and dominion.

**Wall P (“north” wall, inner room; Fig. 14; Pl. 15)**

In the centre of the second register from the top, two (or perhaps three) piles of incense (?) are flanked on the left by at least two scribes, while people from Punt are depicted to the right. Between the two scribes are the remains of a text column reading *nty hr šsp*, “The ones receiving.” Between the last pile of incense and the first Puntite is a vertical text reading *wrw nw pwnt*, “The great ones of Punt.”

**TT 89 Drawings  
Lyla Pinch-Brock**



**Figure 2: Wall A, with banquet, offering, and butchering scenes.**



**Figure 3: Wall B, with scenes of fowling in the marshes and making offerings. The erased figures have been enhanced to clarify the subject matter.**





Figure 4: Wall C, with scant remains of an autobiographical scene.

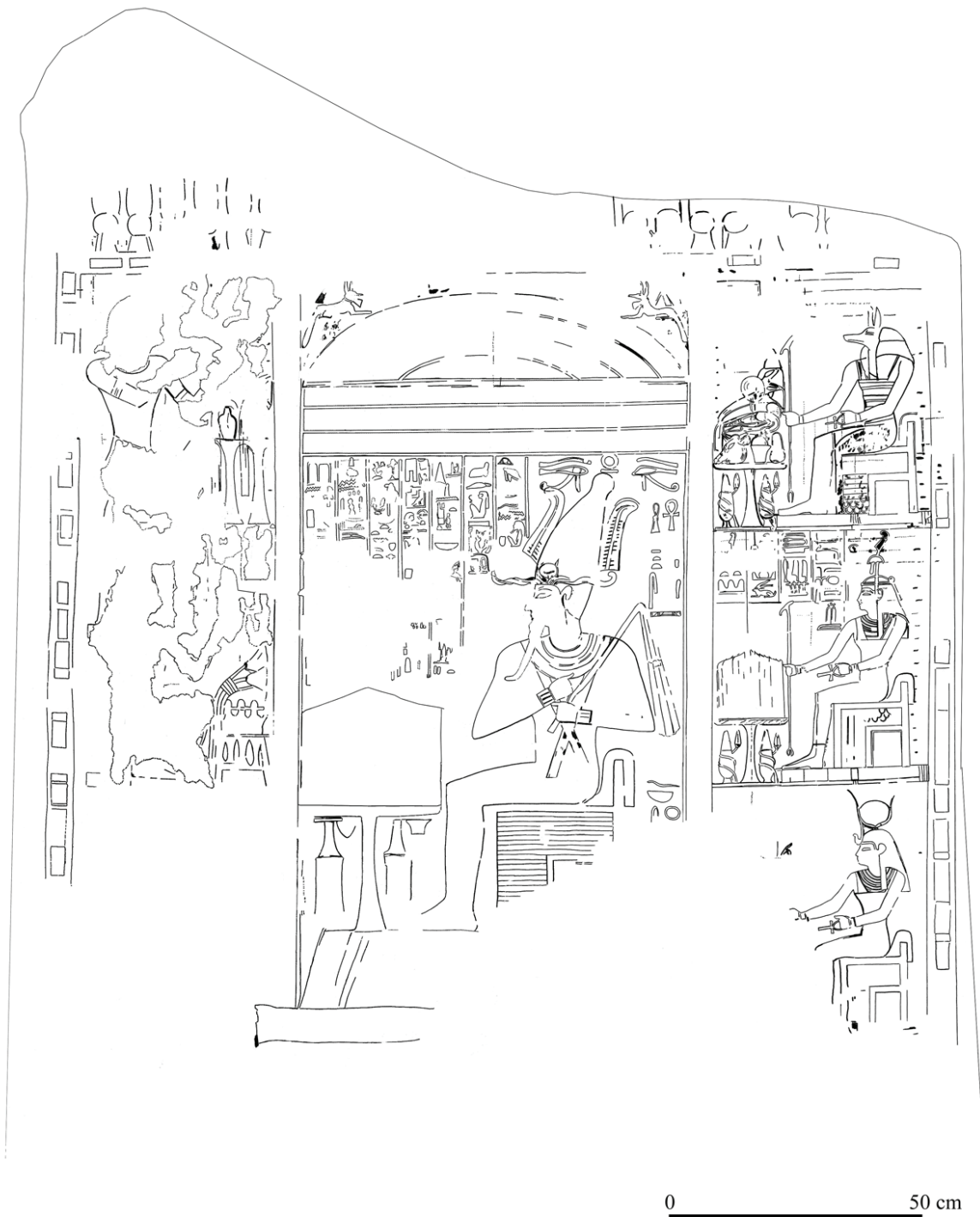
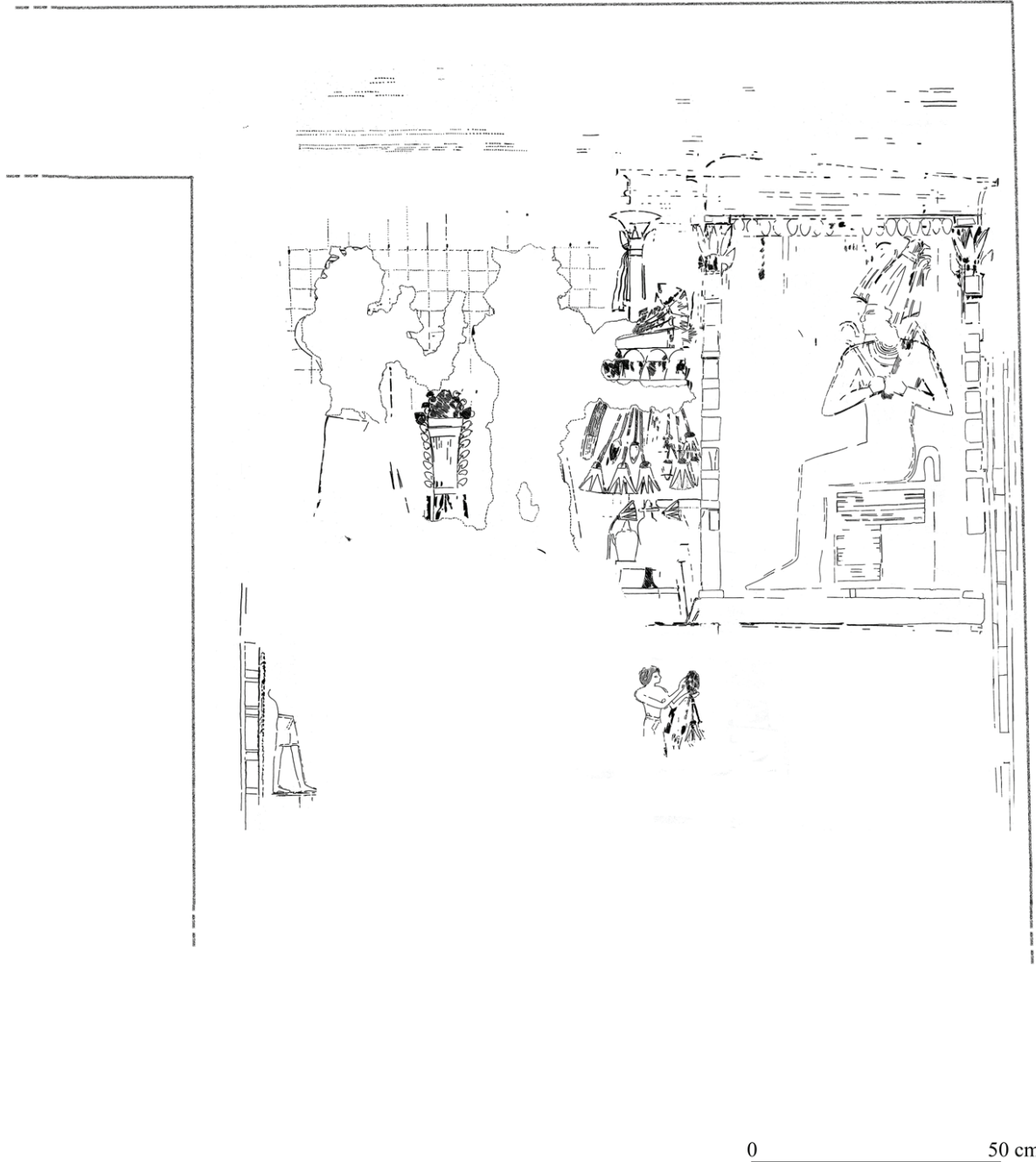


Figure 5: Wall D, showing Osiris in his kiosk.



**Figure 6: Wall E, showing Amenmose and his son (?) offering to Osiris in his kiosk. The draftsman's red outline indicates that only one individual making offerings was originally planned in this scene.**

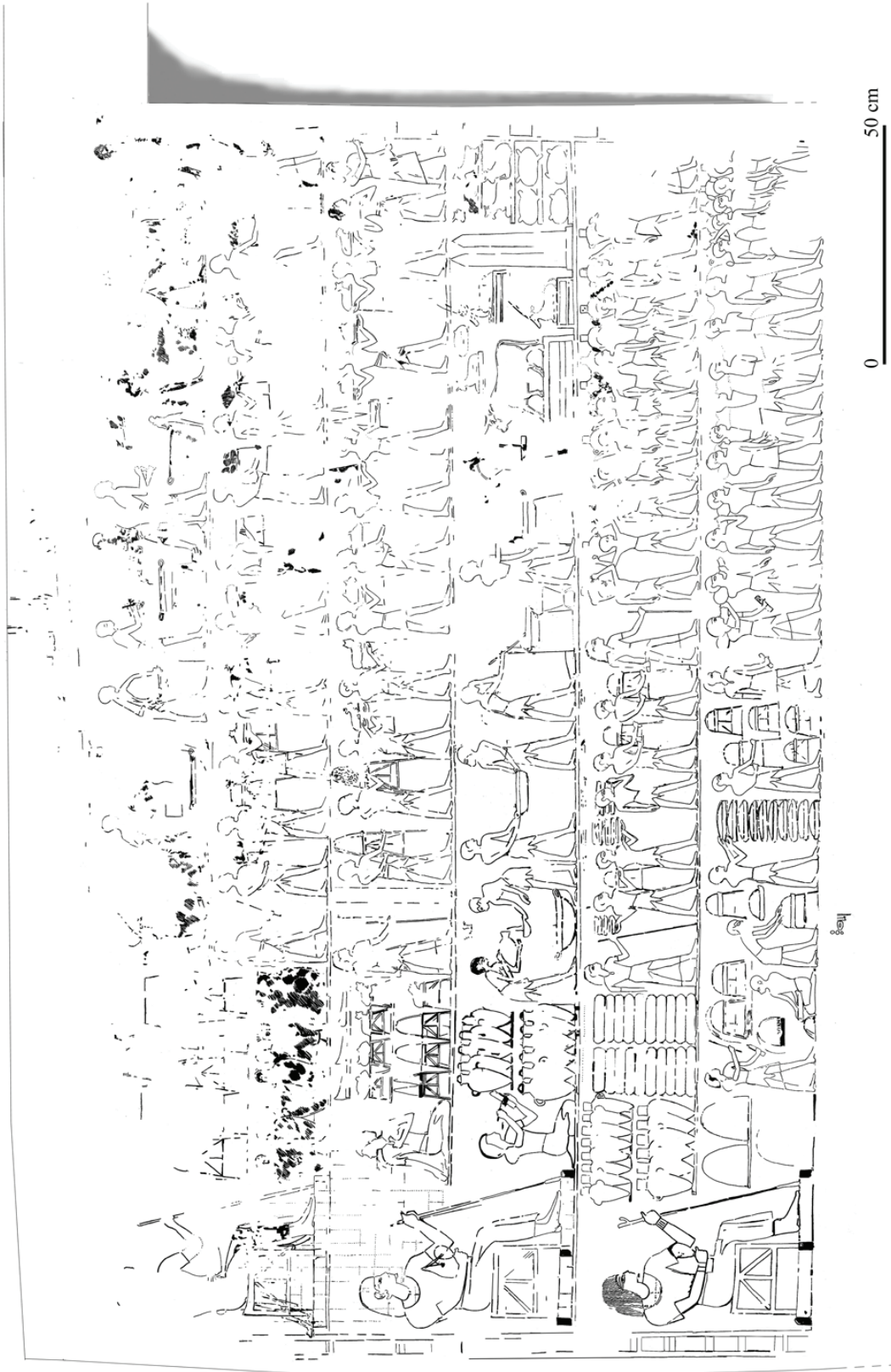


Figure 7: Wall F, showing Amenmose supervising the making and transport of incense. The underpainting of the top figure shows that a different type of stool was originally planned for this scene.

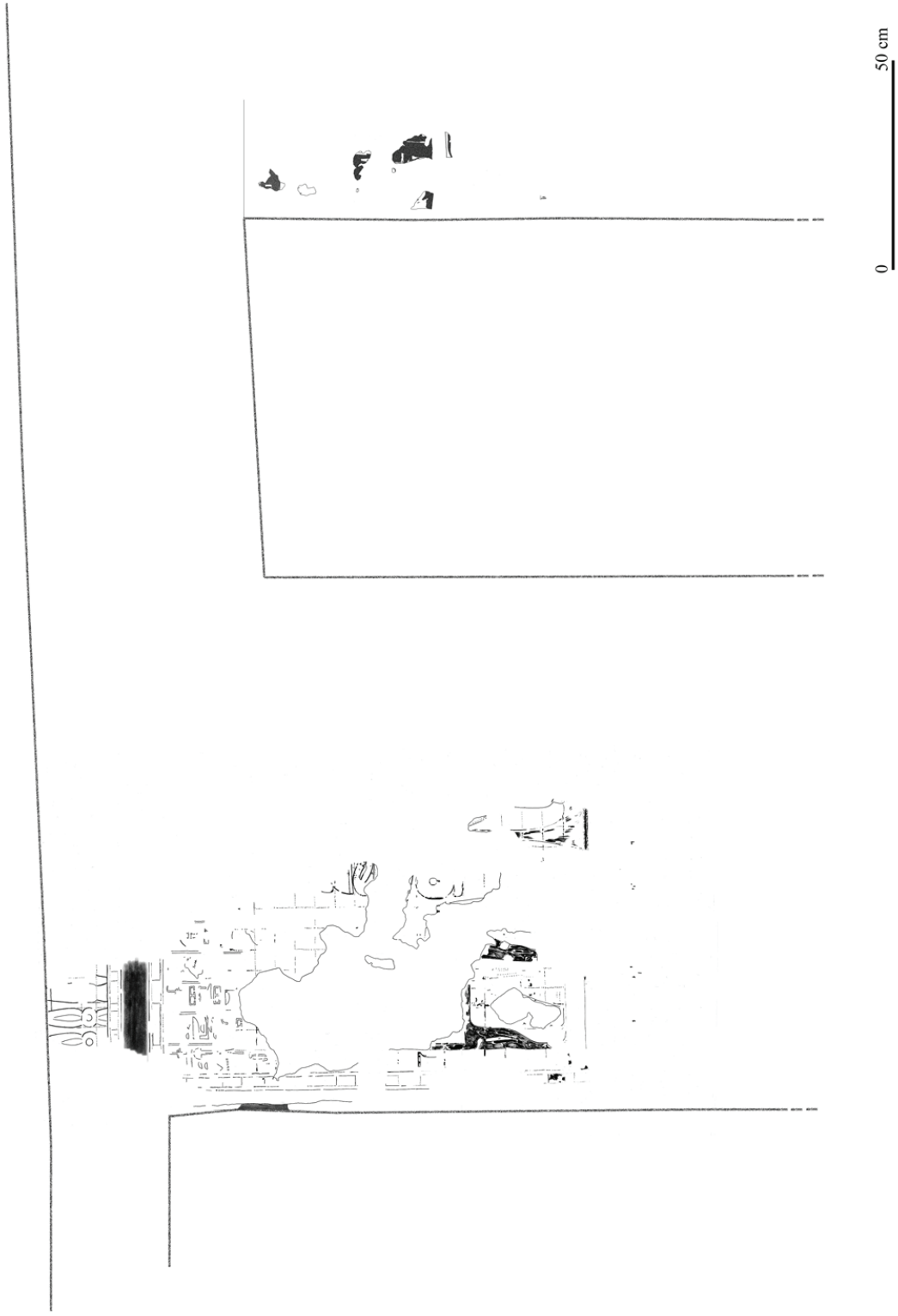


Figure 8: Walls G and H. *Left:* Wall H, showing Amenmose seated at an offering table.

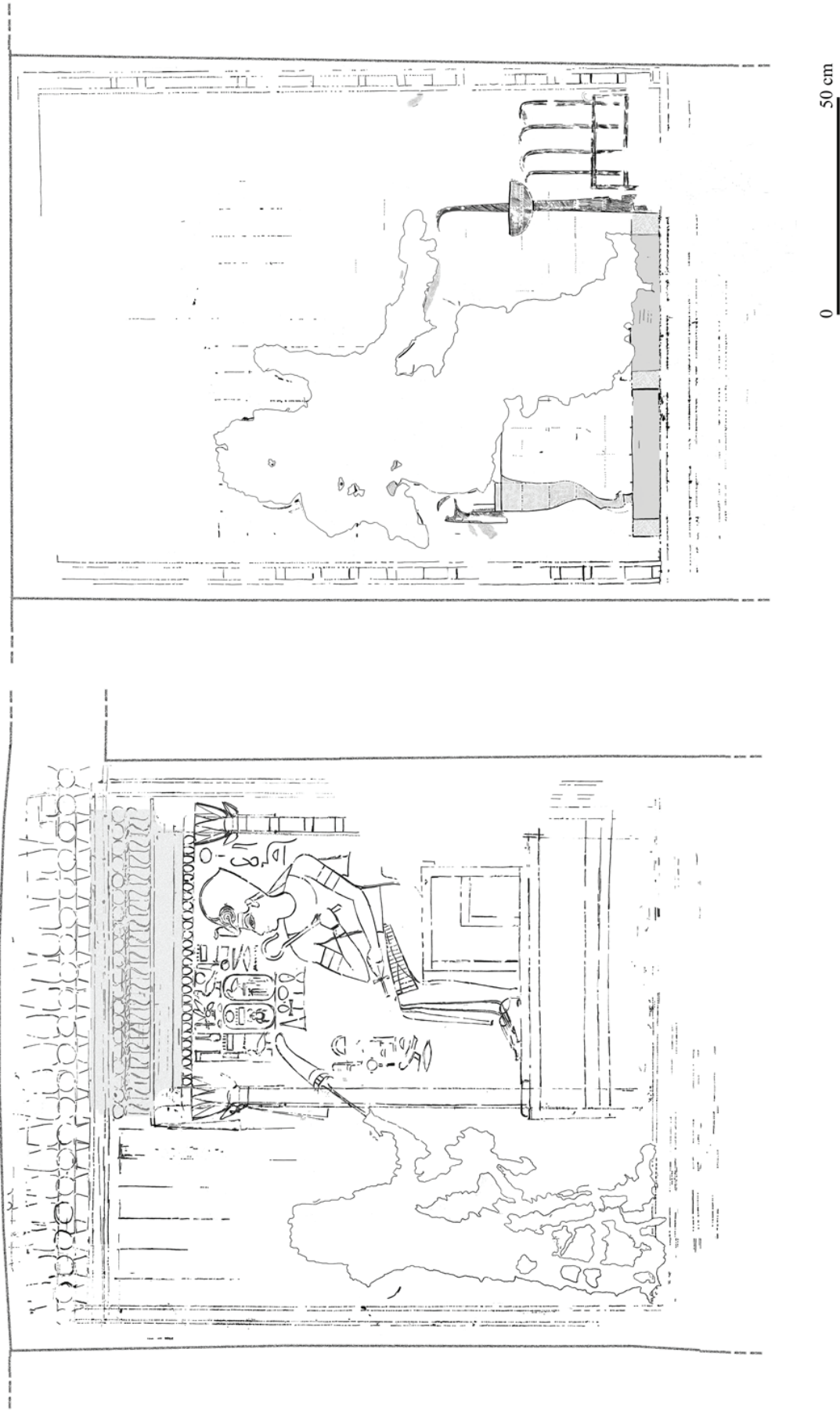


Figure 9: *Right to left*: Wall J, showing a seated Amenemose with tapers; Wall K, showing Amenemose before the deified Thutmose III.

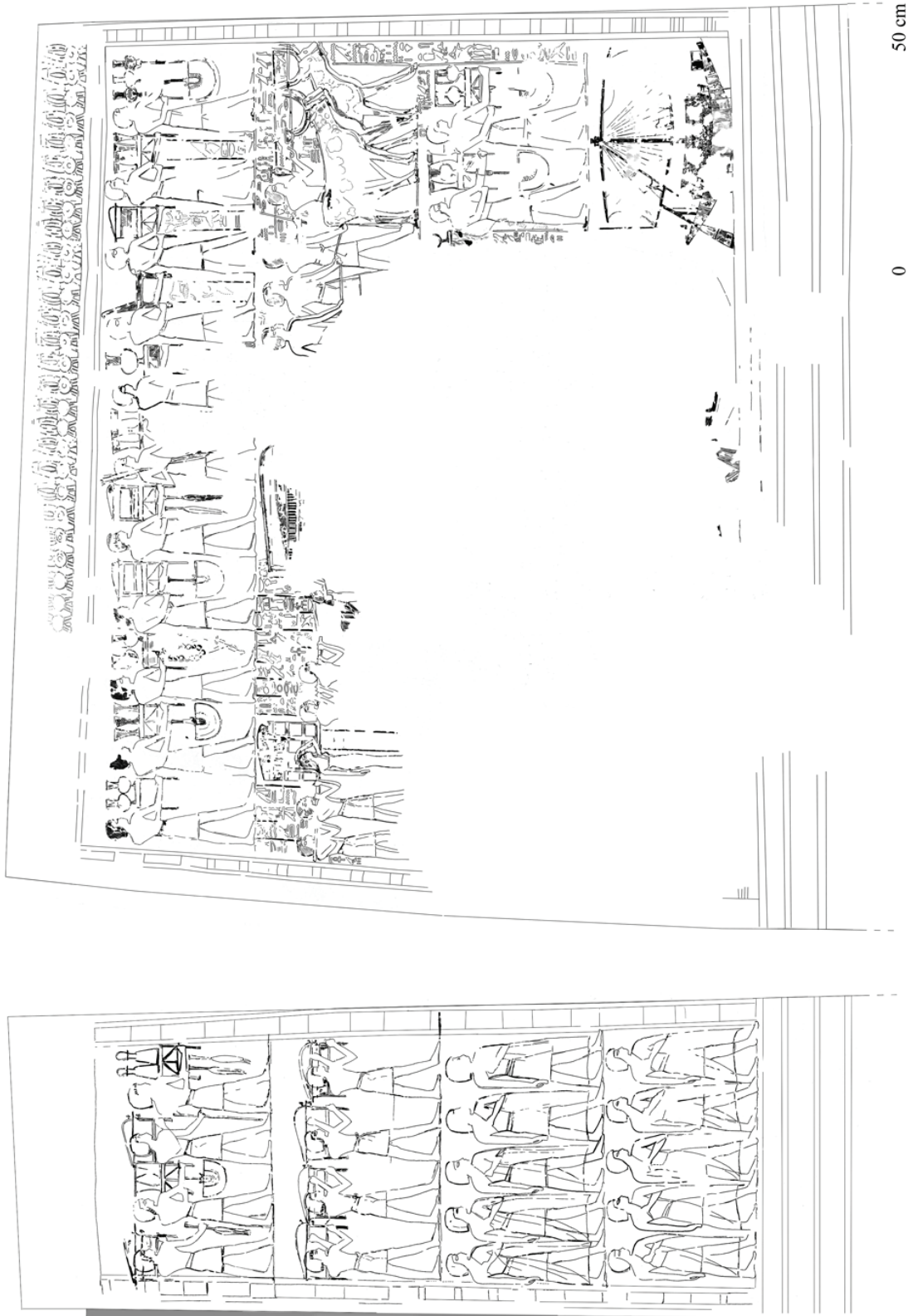


Figure 10: *Left to right*: Walls L and M, showing a continued scene of objects being brought to the tomb and the Voyage to Abydos.

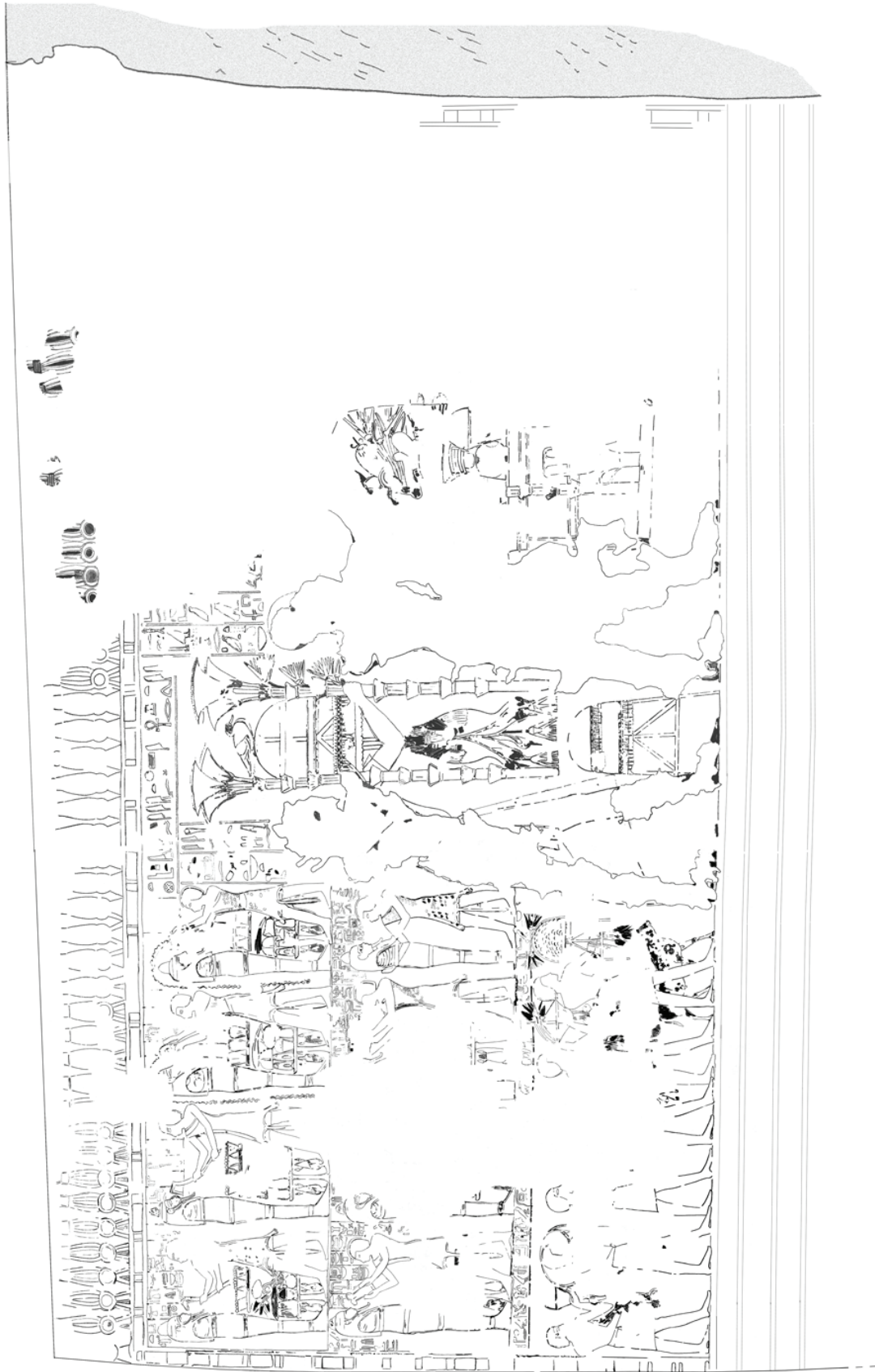


Figure 11: Wall N, showing the preparation of the deceased and an offering scene.



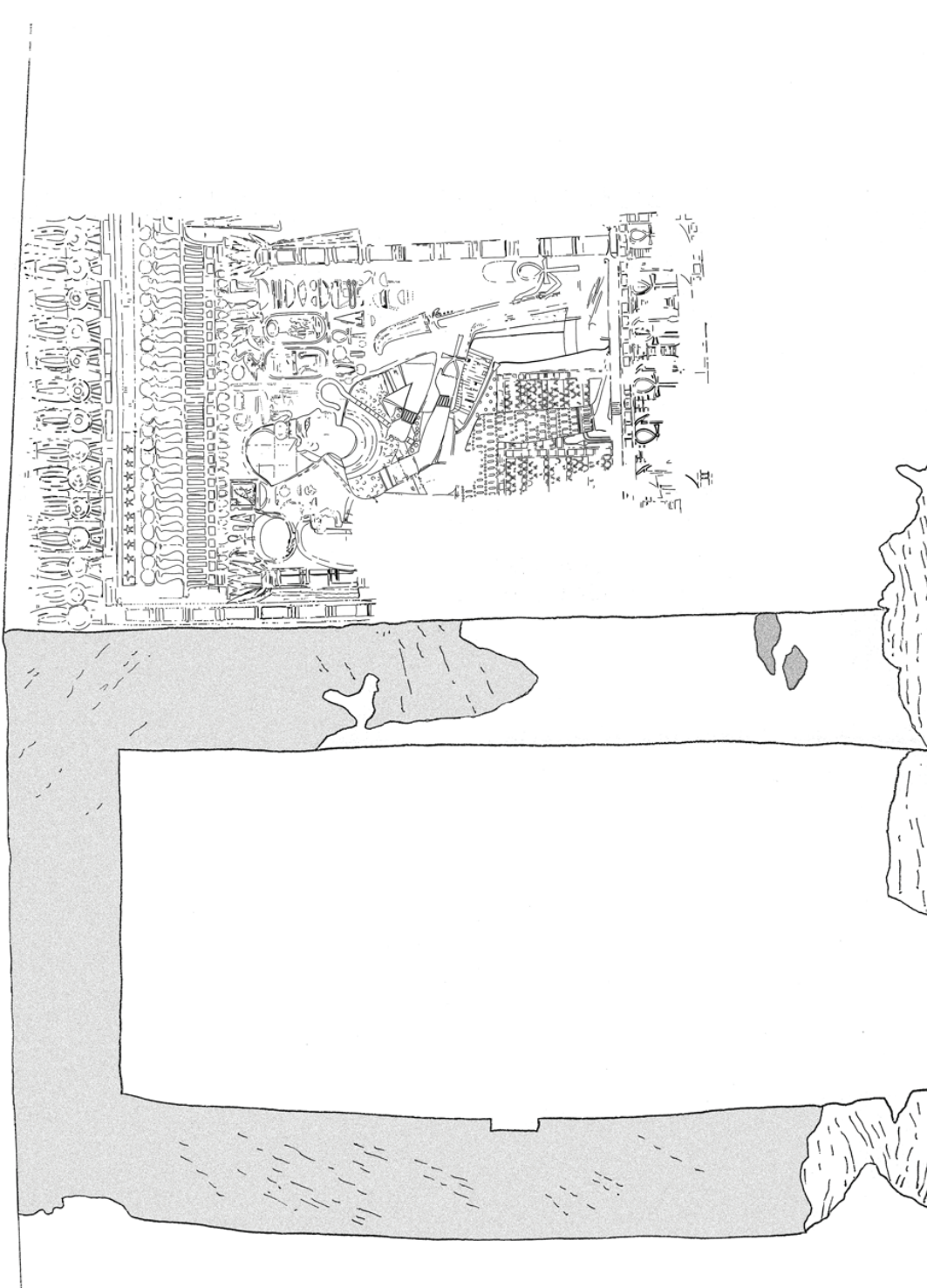


Figure 12: Wall O, showing Amenhotep III and Hathor receiving tribute from foreigners (see Fig. 13 for the continuation of the scene). On the left is a niche that probably once held a statue of Amenmose.

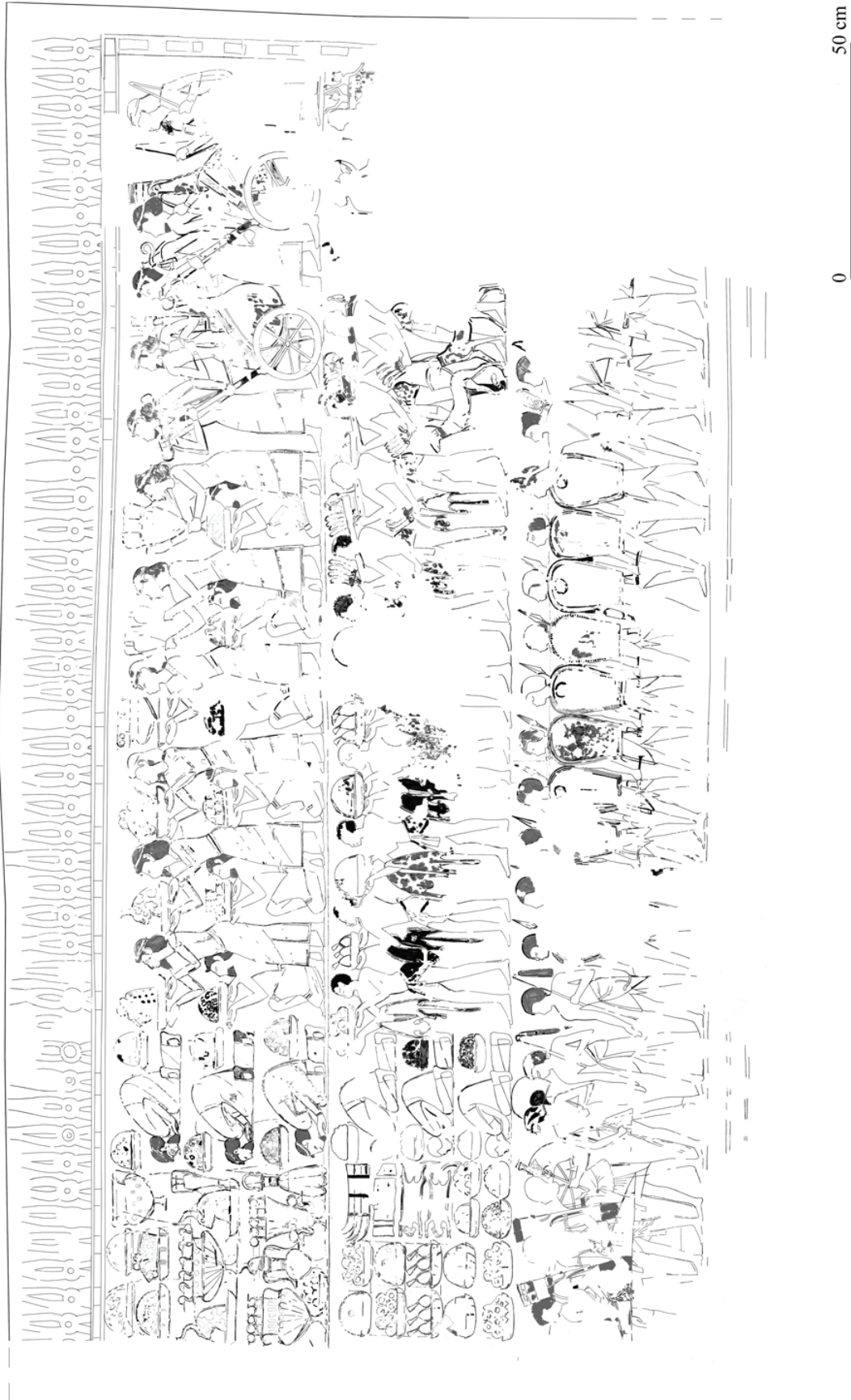


Figure 13: Wall O, showing foreigners bringing tribute to Amenhotep III and Hathor.



Figure 14: Wall P, showing Amenmose on his chariot greeting the Chiefs of Punt.



**Figure 15: Wall Q, showing, *left to right*, a partly preserved unknown woman facing the tomb entrance on the south reveal and a reconstruction of the figure.**



# The *dmd(y)t*: A Prototype for Isis?\*

## Kelly-Anne Diamond

**Abstract:** In the course of my research on ancient Egyptian funerary ritual, I encountered the word *dmd(y)t* in four ancient sources. In an attempt to discover the meaning of this word I realized that it had been grouped, along with a number of other female titles, into a category of words, which apparently signified, “a mourning woman.” However, upon further investigation a more precise meaning of the word *dmd(y)t* became clear.

In the cult drama, this woman (or women) was responsible for collecting the bones of the deceased in order for the body to become whole again in anticipation of its rebirth in the Afterlife. Therefore, the title *dmd(y)t* may be translated as “bone or limb collector.”

The title *dmd(y)t* refers to one of the *dramatis personae* in the early funerary cult drama. The term can be used in the singular and the plural and is derived from the root *dmd* “to collect or gather.” The *dmd(y)t* is not part of the Osirian cult drama and her presence seems to predate the superimposition of the Osirian characters, namely, in a funerary liturgy that may date back as early as the Third Dynasty. However, by the Fifth Dynasty there is evidence that the root *dmd* was directly associated with the reconstruction of Osiris’ body. The practice of dismemberment and the concept of rebirth through reconstruction existed even earlier.

**Résumé:** Au cours de ma recherche sur le rituel funéraire égyptien, j’ai trouvé dans quatre sources anciennes le mot *dmd(y)t*. Tentant d’élucider le sens de celui-ci, j’ai réalisé qu’il était regroupé avec d’autres titres féminins dans une catégorie de mots qui semblait signifier ‘femme en deuil’. Cependant, après des recherches plus approfondies, j’ai compris le sens spécifique du mot *dmd(y)t*.

Dans le drame cultuel, cette femme (ou ces femmes) avait la responsabilité de collecter les ossements du défunt afin que le corps puisse redevenir entier, anticipant sa renaissance dans l’Au-delà. Ainsi, le titre *dmd(y)t* pourrait être traduit par « ramasseuse d’ossements ou de membres »

Le titre *dmd(y)t* fait référence à l’une des *dramatis personae* du drame cultuel funéraire plus ancien. Le mot peut être utilisé au singulier et au pluriel, et dérive de la racine *dmd* “ramasser ou rassembler”. La *dmd(y)t* ne fait pas partie du drame cultuel osirien et sa présence semble précéder la surimposition des personnages osiriens, à savoir une liturgie funéraire datant possiblement d’avant la III<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Cependant, à la V<sup>e</sup> dynastie, il est attesté que la racine *dmd* était directement associée avec le rassemblement du corps d’Osiris. La pratique du démembrement et le concept de renaissance par rassemblement existait cependant bien avant.

**Keywords:** *dmd(y)t*, Ramesseum, Pyramid Texts, *mastaba*, Unas, Sacred District, *knwt*, Elkab, Naqada, Hierakonpolis, Adaïma

**Mots-clés:** *dmd(y)t*, Ramesséum, Textes des pyramides, *mastaba*, Ounas, Enceinte sacrée, El Kab, Nagada, Hiérakonpolis, Adaïma

\* In memory of my colleague and friend, Ted Brock. You were a great mentor and a lot of fun. A life that touches others goes on forever.

## Introduction

Kneeling in front of four basins of water, wearing a tight fitting white dress with one strap over the shoulder, breast exposed, is an enigmatic female ritualist. Her hair is cropped short and light brown in color, and she wears a white fillet around her head.<sup>1</sup> In her hands, she holds two *nw*-jars and, as some suggest, she may be fertilizing the barren desert in order to make it suitable for Osiris (figures 1 and 2).<sup>2</sup> Her placement in the general vicinity of the Osirian funerary rituals in private New Kingdom tomb scenes suggests she is connected to the process of rejuvenation and new life. The title associated with this woman is *dmd(y)t* (figure 3).

The majority of examples of the *dmd(y)t* thus far discovered (although there are not many) appear in an Osirian context—the funerary liturgy from papyrus Ramesseum E refers to the deceased as an Osiris, and the decoration in the private New Kingdom tombs encourages the deceased to become an Osiris and participate in an Osirian Afterlife. Regrettably, there are no explanations supplied in the ancient records that elaborate on the responsibilities of the *dmd(y)t*.

There are also attestations of the *dmd(y)t* that are devoid of a specifically Osirian context but are clearly funerary in nature, and therefore indirectly related to Osiris. There is, for example, the divine *dmd(y)t* who appears in both the procession of the gods in the pyramid temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur<sup>3</sup> and in the Book of the Amduat. It is the Twelfth Dynasty reference to *dmd(y)t* that is significant for two reasons. First, it demonstrates that the *dmd(y)t* can be divine, creating a more tangible connection with Isis. Second, this is the earliest confirmed attestation of the *dmd(y)t*, barring an enigmatic variant from the Pyramid Texts.

This work will present the various attestations of the *dmd(y)t* from the Old Kingdom through to the end of the New Kingdom, review past research,<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> This description of the *dmd(y)t*'s attire does not fit all renditions of this female ritualist. This description comes from a scene in Theban Tomb 82, which is similar to the scenes presented in several other tombs. For example, in Theban Tomb 100 the woman wears the same white dress, has her hair cropped short, and painted a light brown as in TT 82. But she wears a red fillet. Theban Tomb 17 features a similar scene (but with a different label), in which the woman is clad in an identical dress but instead she has her hair pulled back in a white scarf (figure 4). These white scarves appear on the two mourning women that flank the coffin in funerary renditions at least as early as the Middle Kingdom, as evidenced by a small, wooden boat model from Bersha (Mummification Museum, Luxor). From a scene in the tomb of Paheri, again with a different label, the woman wears the same white dress and red fillet, but her cropped hair is black. Therefore, despite the fact that these scenes are relatively contemporary (in that they all date to the Eighteenth Dynasty), variation in the costume of this ritualist was acceptable.

<sup>2</sup> Nina Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82)*, The Theban Tombs Series 1 (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1915), 52; plate X.

<sup>3</sup> Adela Oppenheim, “Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur: The Pharaoh and Deities” (PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2008), 290-291.

<sup>4</sup> Kelly-Anne Diamond, “Ancient Egyptian Funerary Ritual: The Term *h3t*” (PhD Dissertation, Brown University, 2007); Kelly-Anne Diamond, “*dmd(y)t*: The ‘Bone Collector,’” *GM* 218 (2008):

discuss the *dmd(y)t*'s connection with the goddess Isis.<sup>5</sup> *Dmd(y)t*, although a term designating a female ritualist, also appears as the name of a minor goddess. What immediately comes to mind are the two females who impersonate Isis and Nephthys in the funeral scenes beginning in the late Old Kingdom. Both private women and Isis and Nephthys can be labeled *dryty*, “the Two Kites.” This appears to be the case for the *dmdyt* as well.

As the title of this work suggests, the *dmd(y)t* may be a potential prototype for Isis, in her guise of protector and assembler of her brother/husband, Osiris. Even when Isis has been fully established as the protector of Osiris, this potentially early archetype makes sporadic appearances in the Middle and New Kingdoms. It is also intriguing to consider the *dmd(y)t* as a sub-type, or variant of the Isis-character, similar to the separation of Re, Atum and Khepri. Could the *dmd(y)t* be one manifestation of Isis? What dictated the choosing of the *dmd(y)t* over Isis in the later periods?

A linear progression that moves from one goddess to the next does not seem reasonable. More likely, a fission of an early goddess resulted in multiple digressions, or “goddess strains.” These divergences synchronize in tomb decoration and funeral rituals and result in parallels appearing between Isis and *dmd(y)t*.

## Sources

The title *dmd(y)t* can be found in several ancient sources (Table 1):<sup>6</sup> Pyramid Text §2283,<sup>7</sup> the decoration of the pyramid temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur,<sup>8</sup> the funerary liturgy from papyrus Ramesseum E,<sup>9</sup> the tomb scenes from Theban Tombs 20,<sup>10</sup> 82,<sup>11</sup> 100<sup>12</sup> and 222,<sup>13</sup> and the seventh and eighth hours of the Book of the

17-32; Kelly-Anne Diamond, *Transporting the Deceased to Eternity: The Ancient Egyptian Term ḥ3t*. BAR International Series 2179 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> The author presented on this topic at the ARCE Annual Meeting in Portland, OR in 2014. See Kelly-Anne Diamond, “‘The Bone Collector’: A Prototype for Isis?” in *The 65<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt*, ed. Kathleen Scott (San Antonio, TX: ARCE, 2014), 34-35.

<sup>6</sup> There are examples of epithets of goddesses, such as Hathor and Sakhmet, which include the word *dmd(y)t*, such as “The Uniter with Mother,” a designation for Sakhmet in the New Kingdom. See Christian Leitz, ed., *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band VII, OLA 116 (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2002), 547. These are not included in this study.

<sup>7</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 317; Supplement, 86.

<sup>8</sup> Adela Oppenheim, “Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur: The Pharaoh and Deities” (PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2008), 290-291; cat. no. SA 172, pl. 196. Thank you to Adela Oppenheim for bringing this scene to my attention.

<sup>9</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41(1955).

<sup>10</sup> Norman de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs (being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemaway and Tati)*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 21<sup>st</sup> Memoir (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1913).



Amduat.<sup>14</sup> These sources range in time from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom and they come from both royal and private contexts.

### Pyramid Text §2283

Pyramid Text §2283 may be the earliest confirmed attestation of a goddess named *Dmd(y)t*.<sup>15</sup> Admittedly, the passage is a little enigmatic and does not bear much resemblance to later attestations. The utterance reads, “Osiris Neith, accept Horus’s eye, which Seth hid—THE HIDDEN VULTURE; which he joined—THE JOINED VULTURE (*Dmd(y)t*).”<sup>16</sup> This example is written with a vulture determinative (which is not the case with later examples) and may very well refer to a different goddess. Moreover, the fact that avian motifs permeated ancient Egypt means that the presence of the vulture sign does not produce a clear association between this example in the Pyramid Texts and the goddess Isis, who takes many different bird forms. However, this Pyramid Text utterance does contain an early example of a deity named *Dmd(y)t*. This is significant when considering the later examples of *Dmd(y)t* in the pyramid temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur and the Book of the Amduat, all of which present her as a divine being.

### Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III

The pyramid temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur contains an intriguing example: the earliest attested occurrence of a deity *Dmd(y)t* whose name is written without the use of a vulture for a determinative, as in PT §2283.

In the square antechamber of the temple, Oppenheim suggests that the walls were configured so that three of them featured deities facing to the right, and one featured deities facing to the left.<sup>17</sup> One of the goddesses portrayed in the procession

<sup>11</sup> Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet (no. 82)* (Oxford: University Press, 1915).

<sup>12</sup> Norman de Garis Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Publications, Reprint Edition 11 (New York: Arno Press, 1973).

<sup>13</sup> Nina de Garis Davies, “An Unusual Depiction of Ramesside Funerary Rites,” *JEA* 32 (1946): 70; *PM* I.i, 323-324; Jürgen Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu Altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1963), 91, note 2.

<sup>14</sup> Erik Hornung, *Das Amduat: Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes*, vol. I (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1963), 126, no. 518; 150, no. 612; Erik Hornung, *Das Amduat: Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes*, vol. II (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1963), 134-150. See also the Hymns to the Diadem in Adolf Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenischeff* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911), 50-52.

<sup>15</sup> For hieroglyphs see R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), Supplement, 86.

<sup>16</sup> James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Society of Biblical Literature: Atlanta, 2005), 315. For an alternative translation, see Faulkner, 317, “Which he has reassembled—a *dmdyt*-vulture.”

<sup>17</sup> Adela Oppenheim, “Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahsur: The Pharaoh and Deities” (PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2008), 81, 236.

that faces toward the left, and is illustrated on the west wall, is probably *Dmd(y)t*. However, due to the fragmentary nature of the scene, this designation is made with some reservation (figure 5).<sup>18</sup> Here *Dmd(y)t* gives life and protection to king Senwosret III (*dꜣ.s 'nhꜣ w3s d...*).<sup>19</sup> There is no known cult place for a deity named *Dmd(y)t*, but she may not have been a cult recipient, like many other ancient Egyptian deities (including Isis for most of her history). Oppenheim associates the deities on the north wall with sites in the Delta, and the deities on the south wall with sites in the Nile Valley. The fact that *Dmd(y)t* appears on the west wall creates a conundrum, in that there are no cult centers or sites located in the west. Oppenheim suggests that the west wall is associated with the south, and thus southern locations. She bases her theory on earlier religious structures, such as the *Sed*-festival court of Djoser from Sakkara, the statue cult temple of Snefru at Dahshur and the temple of Pepi II at Sakkara.<sup>20</sup> In these instances the east walls are associated with Lower Egypt and the west walls with Upper Egypt. In the case of the pyramid temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur, other figures who face to the left (west wall) are associated with Middle or Upper Egyptian toponyms. This means that the west wall is equated with regions south of Dahshur. Other deities who also appear on this same wall are: Tjaisepef,<sup>21</sup> Thoth, Amun, Khnum, Sokar, Iunmutef (Akhmim), Hathor of Nefrusy (16<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian nome), Khnum (of an unknown locale), Anubis<sup>22</sup> and Horus of Hebenu (a town near Beni Hasan).<sup>23</sup> There are also several unidentified deities who appear on this same wall. If the proposed association with the south is correct, this might explain why *Dmdyt* appears most frequently in the Theban area.

### Funerary Liturgy

Although found in a Thirteenth Dynasty context, it has been suggested that the liturgy preserved on papyrus Ramesseum E may date back to the Third Dynasty. If so, it would contain the earliest occurrence of the word *dmd(y)t*. This text mentions a *dmd(y)t* five times and even includes a group of *dmd(yw)t*.<sup>24</sup> It was

<sup>18</sup> Oppenheim, "Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur," 290, cat. no. SA 172, pl. 196.

<sup>19</sup> Oppenheim, "Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur," 289.

<sup>20</sup> Oppenheim, "Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur," 82-83.

<sup>21</sup> Oppenheim, "Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur," 254.

<sup>22</sup> There does not appear to be any geographical location associated with Anubis. He may appear here because of his funerary association as he bears the title "lord of the embalming place." This may also be the case for *Dmd(y)t*.

<sup>23</sup> Oppenheim, "Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur," 241.

<sup>24</sup> The word *dmd(y)t* occurs in columns 16, 20, 47, 65 and 117. In columns 47 and 117 the word is written as a plural. All examples are written with a female determinative (Alan H. Gardiner, "A Unique Funerary Liturgy," *JEA* 41 (1955): 12, n. 2). See also Kelly-Anne Diamond, "*dmd(y)t*: The Bone Collector," *GM* 218 (2008): 17-32 and Kelly-Anne Diamond, *Transporting the Deceased to*

discovered in a Thirteenth Dynasty tomb beneath the Ramesseum, and was originally termed the Processional Papyrus, but then due to a better understanding of the text, it was re-interpreted as a funerary liturgy.<sup>25</sup> This new categorization of the text was made because the phrase *dbn ḥ3 i<sup>c</sup> sp 4 (fdw)*, “circulating round the *mastaba* four times,” appears regularly throughout the first portion of the text and the word *ḥ3i* occurs in five columns.<sup>26</sup> Also, the *imy-hnt* priest and lector priest are mentioned and the person for whom the rites are performed is called *Wsīr mn pn* “the Osiris this so-and-so.” In addition to the debate over the date of this funerary liturgy, there is also some confusion as to whether it is a royal or private text. A number of pieces of evidence suggest that it may indeed be a royal text. James Allen has noted that *mn* appears in Pyramid Text §147a in the pyramid of Unas, instead of the deceased’s name, demonstrating that the phrase can be employed in a royal context.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the various archaic references preserved in the text suggest both royal use and an early date.<sup>28</sup> Due to the presence of the word *i<sup>c</sup>* “*mastaba*” instead of the word *mr* “pyramid,” Jaroslav Černý believed that the text dates back to the Third Dynasty.<sup>29</sup> He also suggested that because the king’s children were present at the funeral, it was most likely a royal event since they would not have attended anything less. Additionally, due to the numerous actors in the funerary ritual, the deceased must have been a person of high rank. For these reasons, Gardiner was hesitant to place this text even as late as the First Intermediate period, despite its provenance in a Thirteenth Dynasty tomb.<sup>30</sup>

Does this rather enigmatic and fragmentary source reveal any connection between the *dmd(y)t* and the goddess Isis? From the funerary liturgy, the following conclusions can be made about the *dmd(y)wt*. These women attend the service at the *mastaba* on the day of burial; they are present during the entire funeral service since they appear from beginning to end in the liturgy. The summoning of the deceased for revivification occurs in conjunction with their participation. If they themselves

*Eternity: The Ancient Egyptian Term ḥ3i*, BAR International Series 2179 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 37-39.

<sup>25</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41 (1955): 10.

<sup>26</sup> See the following: Kelly-Anne Diamond, “Ancient Egyptian Funerary Ritual: The Term *ḥ3i*” (PhD Dissertation, Brown University, 2007); Kelly-Anne Diamond, “A Re-evaluation of the Ancient Egyptian Term *ḥ3i*,” *JSSEA* 35 (2008): 163-180; Kelly-Anne Diamond, *Transporting Deceased to Eternity: The Ancient Egyptian Term ḥ3i*, BAR International Series 2179 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010) for a new translation of this word.

<sup>27</sup> The fact that the deceased’s name is not specifically mentioned has led some scholars to assume that this ceremony cannot be for a king. James P. Allen, “Funerary Texts and their Meaning,” in *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, eds. S. D’Auria, P. Lacovara, and C. H. Roehrig. (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1998), 38-49, note 4.

<sup>28</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41 (1955): 17.

<sup>29</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41 (1955): 17.

<sup>30</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41 (1955): 17.

do not circulate around the *mastaba* as part of the ritual purification,<sup>31</sup> then at least they witness this circulation. The *dmd(y)wt* are recorded as moving in opposite directions simultaneously, which may refer to dance movement. Therefore, although this source does reveal how this female ritualist participated in a funeral on the day of burial, there are no allusions to seeking, finding, collecting, or reassembling the limbs of the deceased, other than in the title these women are given as ritual participants. What is notable is that the deceased will be enjoying an Osirian Afterlife, as the name of this god is invoked during the deceased's passing from this life to the next.

In the same way that ritualists performed the role of Isis in private funerary scenes beginning in the late Old Kingdom, there is evidence that this practice was paralleled by ritualists performing the role of a divine *Dmd(y)t* as well.

### Private New Kingdom Theban Tombs

The New Kingdom sources allow for greater comparison to be made between the *dmd(y)t* and the goddess Isis. For this, one can look to the private tombs of the Scribe, Counter of Grain and Steward of the Vizier, Amenemhet (TT 82)<sup>32</sup> and the Governor of the town and Vizier, Rekhmire (TT 100).<sup>33</sup> The tombs of Mentuherkhepeshef (TT 20)<sup>34</sup> and Hekmaatire-nakht (TT 222)<sup>35</sup> also feature a *dmd(y)t*, however, in these tombs her association with Isis is less clear. The contexts in these private New Kingdom sources give the impression that the word *dmd(y)t* refers to a female individual. The word is a title that appears as part of the caption that labels the woman as a female ritualist. She performs a particular duty in the funeral ceremony, and appears in the same *two* scenes in both Theban Tomb 82 and Theban Tomb 100.

<sup>31</sup> Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1993), 57-63.

<sup>32</sup> Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet (no. 82)* (Oxford: University Press, 1915), pls. X and XIII. Amenemhet lived during the reign of Thutmose III (*PM* I.i, 163).

<sup>33</sup> Norman de Garis Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Publications, Reprint Edition 11 (New York: Arno Press, 1973), pls. LXXXVIII, LXXIX. Rekhmire lived during the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (*PM* I.i, 206).

<sup>34</sup> Norman de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs (being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemaway and Tati)* Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 21<sup>st</sup> Memoir (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1913), pl. XIV. Mentuherkhepeshef was a fan-bearer and mayor of Aphroditopolis (ancient: Per-Hathor; modern: Gebelein) and probably lived during the time of Thutmose III (*PM* I.i, 34).

<sup>35</sup> Nina de Garis Davies, "An Unusual Depiction," *JEA* 32 (1946): 70; J-C. Hugonot, *Le jardin dans l'égypte ancienne* (Frankfurt am Main/New York: P. Lang, 1989), 217-219, figures 201-203; Jürgen Settgast, *Untersuchung zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1963), 91, note 2. This tomb is unpublished; Settgast was working from his own copies and drawings (120). Hekmaatire-nakht was the First Prophet of Montu and lived during the reigns of Ramesses III-IV (*PM* I.i, 323).

In the first scene, two women—depicted one above the other—kneel before four basins of water in the *s(my)t*, “desert necropolis,”<sup>36</sup> offering *nw*-jars (figures 1 and 2). The area of this performance is the Sacred District, or *t3 dsr*.<sup>37</sup> These women have their hair cut short, and wear a fillet.<sup>38</sup> Gay Robins describes the attire of these women as consisting of a cap of short black hair that leaves the ear uncovered.<sup>39</sup> She acknowledges that there is no evidence as to whether the women’s natural hair was cut for the occasion or whether they were wearing a wig.<sup>40</sup> Robins recognizes that short hair is not the norm for Eighteenth Dynasty women and concludes that its use was designed to mark the performance of a cultic role by a woman.<sup>41</sup> The change in hairstyle shifts the identity of these women from a secular one to a religious one. Robins also notes that the dress worn by these women is a more traditional garment no longer worn by women in secular contexts.<sup>42</sup>

In TT 82 the woman above is labeled *mnknw* (what appears to be a variant spelling of the archaic word *knwt*<sup>43</sup>) and the woman below is labeled *dmd(y)t*. Gardiner suggests that *mnknw* is an epithet of Isis and *dmd(y)t* a name applied to Nephthys. He bases his interpretation on the placement of these women within this scene in relation to their placement in similar scenes, namely the parallel scene in the tomb of Paheri (figures 6 and 7).<sup>44</sup> In the tomb of Paheri the two women are assumed to impersonate Isis and Nephthys because of their respective titles: *dr(y)t*

<sup>36</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1991), 227.

<sup>37</sup> James K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt: The Term *dsr*, with special Reference to Dynasties I-XX* (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985) and Kelly-Anne Diamond, “An Investigation into the Sacred District as Depicted in New Kingdom Private Tombs,” *ARCE Bulletin* 195 (2009): 23-27.

<sup>38</sup> This same scene also appears in TT 17, 21, 39, 81, 123 and in the tomb of Paheri at Elkab, although the labels are not always the same. Settgast offers a brief discussion on *Der Heilige Bezirk* and *Die vier Bassins* in *Untersuchung zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1963), 64-65. See also Kelly-Anne Diamond, “An Investigation into the Sacred District as Depicted in New Kingdom Private Tombs,” *ARCE Bulletin* 195 (2009): 23-27.

<sup>39</sup> The women illustrated in the tomb of Paheri have black hair (figure 7).

<sup>40</sup> Gay Robins, “Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480-1350 B.C.,” *JARCE* 36 (1999): 67-68.

<sup>41</sup> Robins, “Hair and the Construction of Identity,” *JARCE* 36 (1999): 67-68.

<sup>42</sup> Robins, “Hair and the Construction of Identity,” *JARCE* 36 (1999): 68.

<sup>43</sup> It is unclear as to whether “*mn*” belongs to the title or if it should be regarded as independent. See Jürgen Settgast, *Untersuchung zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1963), 64-65 and Kelly-Anne Diamond, *Transporting the Deceased to Eternity: The Ancient Egyptian term *ḥ3t**, BAR International Series 2179 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), note 30.

<sup>44</sup> J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, Excavation Memoir 11 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894), plate V; Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet (no. 82)* (Oxford: University Press, 1915), 52. Gardiner reads *mnknw* and connects the word to *k3n.s*, “garden” (*Wb* V, 107). See also Jürgen Settgast, *Untersuchung zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1963), 64, note 3.

*wrt* and *dr(y)t ndst*, “Greater Kite” and “Lesser Kite.”<sup>45</sup> Isis and Nephthys, in their role of mourners, are regularly called the Two Kites, this being only one of their many bird forms.<sup>46</sup> In TT 100 the women are dressed in the same fashion as in TT 82,<sup>47</sup> but they have switched positions with one another. The woman above is labeled *dmd(y)t* and the woman below is labeled *knwt*.<sup>48</sup>

The second scene featuring the *dmd(y)t*, and appearing in both TT 82 and TT 100, is more difficult to interpret (figure 8). The scene in TT 82 is damaged, and all that is left is a woman standing facing left, her right arm bent in front of her with her right hand in a fist, and her left arm bent at her side with her left hand in a fist. The caption beside her reads *dr(y)t wrt dmd(y)t*.<sup>49</sup> In front of her there is the bottom portion of a wall or column resting on a plinth, probably the remains of a shrine. Above her is an identical woman, although only partly preserved; her label has been destroyed. Most likely she is the counterpart to the remaining figure. In TT 100 an identical woman appears before a shrine with the accompanying caption *dr(y)wt dmd(y)wt*.<sup>50</sup> There is no second woman above her. Despite the apparent difficulty in understanding these two captions, it seems that they are, indeed, parallel scenes. The gesture these women make is considered to be one of offering, associated with transfiguration, reciting scripture and making glorifications.<sup>51</sup> The captions connect the *dmd(y)t* to the female ritualist who regularly impersonates Isis (as a Kite, the mourning bird) in private funeral scenes as early as the Old Kingdom.<sup>52</sup> There are

<sup>45</sup> J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, Excavation Memoir 11 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894), plate V. See also TT 17 for similar labels.

<sup>46</sup> Kelly-Anne Diamond, “The Goddess Isis: She who Makes Shade with her Feathers,” *ARCE-PA Newsletter*, Summer (2015): 2-4.

<sup>47</sup> While the fillets are white in the illustration in TT 82, they are red in TT 100. I would like to thank Thierry Benderitter for providing me with a color photo of this scene.

<sup>48</sup> They are also accompanied by the caption *ntr.w š*. However, it is unclear how this inscription relates to the scene itself. For discussion see Jürgen Settgast, *Untersuchung zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1963), 65.

<sup>49</sup> Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (no. 82) (Oxford: University Press, 1915), plate XIII.

<sup>50</sup> Norman de Garis Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Publications, Reprint Edition 11 (New York: Arno Press, 1973), plate LXXXVIII.

<sup>51</sup> Brigitte Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 10 (Heidelberg: Orientverlag, 1994), 83.

<sup>52</sup> Henry George Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 13. Fischer explains that in the Old Kingdom two priestesses impersonate Isis and Nephthys and appear at either end of the king’s bier. As well, in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties these priestesses appear in non-royal scenes in the same capacity. See also Henry George Fischer, “Representations of *Dryt*-mourners in the Old Kingdom,” in *Varia*, Egyptian Studies I (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 5:39-49 and C. J. Bleeker, “Isis and Nephthys as Wailing Women,” in *The Sacred Bridge: Researches into the Nature and Structure of Religion* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), 190-205.

other New Kingdom examples of this scene, but to the best of my knowledge, none have extant labels.<sup>53</sup>

A final scene that is at least worth noting, despite the fact that it appears to have no tangible connection with Isis, appears in TT 20. The two references to a *dmd(y)t* in the tomb of Mentuherkhepshef (TT 20) appear in a different scenario from those presented in the other tombs (figure 9). Davies describes this scene as depicting an ox bound for sacrifice followed by four female ministrants.<sup>54</sup> The last two women are labeled *dmd(y)t* and have one hand raised in adoration. Davies compares their costumes to the short dresses worn by the women who dance and shake sistra in numerous other tomb scenes and suggests the caption reads: “Offering carob-beans (?)” It is noteworthy that these women do wear different costumes and have different hairstyles than those referenced thus far. However, the typical fillet in the hair remains the same. He rightly associates the *dmd(y)t* with the funerary rites at the burial.<sup>55</sup> This suggestion is corroborated by the extant evidence for the *dmd(y)t* in both the funerary liturgy from papyrus Ramesseum E and Theban Tombs 82 and 100.

### **The Book of the Amduat**

The Book of the Amduat offers a parallel scene to the divine procession illustrated in the pyramid temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur. The word *dmd(y)t* is a proper name that refers to a female deity depicted in the seventh and eighth hours. This is only the second instance of the goddess *Dmd(y)t*, barring the elusive Pyramid Text utterance. In these later scenes from the Book of the Amduat, *Dmdyt* is connected with the battle against Apophis and the protection of the sun barque. The knife she wields is proof of her protective quality in association with the king’s solar journey. But as Oppenheim points out in her discussion of the pyramid temple of Senwosret III, any later attributes of the goddess *Dmd(y)t* cannot necessarily be applied to an earlier form of *Dmdyt*. Moreover, it cannot be confirmed that the Book of the Amduat was even in use as an Afterlife book during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> It should be noted that the women in this scene resemble more the image of the *dmd(y)t* in the pyramid temple of Senwosret III with regard to their attire and hairstyle than they do to the images of the women in the first scene from these tombs noted above.

<sup>54</sup> Norman de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs (being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemaway and Tati)*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 21<sup>st</sup> Memoir (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1913), plate XIV.

<sup>55</sup> de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, plate XIV.

<sup>56</sup> Adela Oppenheim, “Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur: The Pharaoh and Deities” (PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2008), 289, notes 541 and 547. See also Erik Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca-London, 1999), 27-28.

## Past Research

My initial research on the *dmd(y)t* began several years ago with the original intent of determining the precise translation of the title of this female ritualist from its use in private contexts.<sup>57</sup> This title is found in ritual contexts, and it labels the female participant, or participants involved in the performance. The *dmd(y)t* was the name for the person who fulfilled the ritual duty associated with this post.

Originally the word *dmd(y)t* was classified, like many other feminine titles, with other words that signify “a mourning woman.”<sup>58</sup> This appears to have been a common modern categorization for any woman performing an activity within a funerary context. However, it was initially thought by Alan H. Gardiner, and then followed by R. O. Faulkner, that the *dmd(y)t* was related to the collective word *dmdw*.<sup>59</sup> The word *dmdw* has been translated as “crowd”<sup>60</sup> and is far more common than the word *dmd(y)t*.

In his dictionary entry, Faulkner cites examples of *dmd(y)t* from only the funerary liturgy on papyrus Ramesseum E.<sup>61</sup> The entry for the word *dmd(y)t* in the Berlin Dictionary states that the word refers to a mourning woman and lists two references from the tomb of Amenemhet (Theban Tomb 82), where the title refers to a single woman.<sup>62</sup> In actuality, *dmd(y)t* and *dmdw* (“crowd”) are two different words with entirely different meanings that are derived from the same root. The root of the two words is *dmd*. The word *dmdw* is a masculine passive participle that means “those who are collected/assembled,” and thus form “a crowd” (in some cases, at the burial of Osiris). The word *dmd(y)t* is a feminine active participle that means “she who collects/assembles” (the limbs of Osiris); the corresponding plural *dmd(y)wt* means “those (f.) who collect/assemble” (the limbs of Osiris). It is significant that in the Old Kingdom *dmd* can mean “to collect or put together (the limbs of Osiris).”<sup>63</sup> This signification can be seen in the following Pyramid Text Utterances:

PT §318a: My limbs which were in concealment are reunited...<sup>64</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Kelly-Anne Diamond, “*dmd(y)t*: The ‘Bone Collector,’” *GM* 218 (2008): 17-32.

<sup>58</sup> The entry for the word *dmd(y)t* in *Wb* V 462, 12 reads “*von der Klagefrau*.”

<sup>59</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41 (1955): 12; R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1991), 313; Rami van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 797.

<sup>60</sup> For example, in CT IV, 371a-373a, *dmdw r qrs Wsir* “The crowd at the burial of Osiris (Alan H. Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41 [1955]: 12, n. 2).

<sup>61</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1991), 313.

<sup>62</sup> *Wb* V 462, 12.

<sup>63</sup> Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch: Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Mainz: Zabern, 1997), 979-981; Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit* (Mainz: Zabern, 2003), 1476-1478; Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit* (Mainz: Zabern, 2006), 2784-2790.

<sup>64</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 69.



PT §617b: He has put you together.<sup>65</sup>

PT §1036c-1037a: ...that you may assemble my bones and collect my members. May you gather together my bones...<sup>66</sup>

PT §1514b: This King's bones shall be reassembled, his members shall be gathered together.<sup>67</sup>

PT §1890a: O Osiris the King, knit together [your] limbs, reassemble your members, set your heart in its place!<sup>68</sup>

These passages demonstrate that by the Old Kingdom the root *dmd* is intimately connected to the revivification process of Osiris.

Therefore, we may conclude that in the funerary cult drama, the *dmd(y)t* was responsible for collecting the limbs or bones of the deceased. The purpose of this collection was to make the body whole again, in anticipation of rebirth in the Afterlife. The title *dmd(y)t* can therefore be translated as “bone or limb collector.”<sup>69</sup> As ancient references to the *dmd(y)t* are quite scarce, it is difficult to recreate a chronology for this functionary (Table 1). However, what can be stated is that the funerary liturgy from papyrus Ramesseum E is one of the earliest sources, thus far, to feature a *dmd(y)t*. It is the oldest if one accepts its Third Dynasty date, postulated by Černý. The two other early sources, PT §2283 and the pyramid temple of Senwosret III, show evidence for a deity named *Dmd(y)t*. The later references appear during the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (in three tombs' decorative programs), and then during the reigns of Ramesses III and IV (in one tomb's decorative program). This last example is an outlier as it is the only example of a *dmd(y)t* appearing in a private tomb scene in the Ramesside Period.

## Discussion

Consequently, one is confronted with the realization that the ritual function of the *dmd(y)t* is remarkably similar to that of Isis in the Myth of Osiris. The origin of Isis is rather obscure. There is no town in Egypt that claims to be her place of origin, for most of her history she is not associated with any locality, and there are no attestations of her before the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>70</sup> This lack of information about the origin of Isis is an important point when considering the identity of the *dmd(y)t*. The throne symbol that represents Isis' name implies that she developed in a royal

<sup>65</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 119.

<sup>66</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 173.

<sup>67</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 232.

<sup>68</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 274. Additional examples can be found in PT §§70a, 577b, 623b, 635a, 645a, 828b, 835b, 980b, 1789, 1801b, 2283 supplement.

<sup>69</sup> Kelly-Anne Diamond, “*dmd(y)t*: The Bone Collector,” *GM* 218 (2008): 17-32.

<sup>70</sup> Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 146.

context,<sup>71</sup> and when she becomes visible in the Pyramid Texts she is already significant as she appears over eighty times.<sup>72</sup> In several of these references Isis is searching for her brother/husband Osiris in order to reassemble him for rebirth.<sup>73</sup> There is no doubt about the great antiquity of several of the utterances from the compendium of Pyramid Texts, some of which feature Isis.<sup>74</sup>

On the whole, Isis' primary role is one of protection and security and she acts as helper to the dead king, as Osiris. Her principal identity is of a funerary nature, in that she helps the deceased transition from this life to the next one. In the Osirian Myth, to which many of the Pyramid Text Utterances allude, Isis finds the different parts of her brother/husband's body and reunites them.<sup>75</sup> Eventually, Isis becomes the conventional image of "the Mourner," along with her sister Nephthys. Consequently, the question arises: What is the connection between the goddess Isis and the *dmd(y)t* whose name literally means, "she who collects/assembles"?

There is one unusual reference to *Dmd(y)t* in the Pyramid Texts where she appears to take the form of a vulture. This is the earliest reference to *Dmd(y)t* as a goddess, a goddess who takes an avian form and has a funerary connection. Her name implies that she unites the limbs of the deceased, but in this early example there is no explicit connection with Osiris other than the fact that the deceased king is regularly depicted as an Osiris in the Pyramid Texts.

There is slightly more evidence available to reconstruct the ritual role played by the impersonators of this goddess, the ritualists. Unfortunately, the evidence is fragmentary and a certain amount of interpretation may be necessary to make any sense out of her ritual role. These ritualists should probably be considered in the same light as those who impersonate the more popular deities Isis and Nephthys. The inferences that can be made about the *dmd(y)t* from the extant texts and scenes

<sup>71</sup> George Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London/New York: Routledge, 2005), 80.

<sup>72</sup> Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 146.

<sup>73</sup> Some examples can be found in PT §§584, 592, 632, 1004, 1255, 1280-1 and 1981. Isis also performs other duties such as crying out to the King as Osiris (§1750), drying off the King (§1733), nursing the King (§1873) and loving the King (§2127).

<sup>74</sup> Utterance 633 (PT §1791) is very short. It reads: *d(d) mdw tmt h3(i)t hr.f*, "To be said: It is you who has ritually transported/transfigured because of him." Unfortunately, this is the only line in the utterance, so it is impossible to infer more about the meaning from its context. There is no doubt that the presence of the preposition *hr* after *h3i* makes the translation difficult. In his translation, Faulkner notes that the feminine pronoun probably refers to Isis and that the use of this obsolete pronoun points to the great age of the utterance. See Kurt Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, vol. 2 (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1908), 436 for hieroglyphs and R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 262 for his translation. A special thank you to Leo Depuydt who helped make some sense of this passage.

<sup>75</sup> The most complete Pharaonic account of this myth can be found on Louvre Stela C 286 from the New Kingdom.

are: that the *dmd(y)t* and *knwt* regularly appeared together;<sup>76</sup> that the *dmd(y)t* participated in funerary rituals beginning at least as early as the Middle Kingdom, depending on the date of the Ramesseum funerary liturgy and the traditions it reflects; and that in the New Kingdom there was an association between the *dmd(y)t* and *knwt* and the two *dr(y)ty*. By the time of the New Kingdom, the latter title “the Two Kites” had been firmly established as a designation for Isis and Nephthys, but the *dmd(y)t* and *knwt* seem to have largely fallen out of use.

The general scarcity of the title *dmd(y)t* in New Kingdom tomb scenes may indicate an anachronism from the past—a ceremonial position left over from the early, perhaps pre-Osirian era—that still served a purpose in New Kingdom depictions of funerary ritual, even if only a symbolic purpose. This is not at all surprising considering that Isis, in one of her bird forms, searches for and collects the pieces of Osiris’ slain body and reassembles them to rejuvenate her husband.<sup>77</sup> This could be a significant example of a myth, in this case the Osirian myth, being used to explain an earlier ritual, namely the participation of a female “bone or limb collector” in the funeral ceremony. On the other hand, the *dmd(y)t* may be a variant form of the Isis character who is employed in these tombs scenes to perform a particular function, for a reason that is as of yet unclear (Table 2).

For any of these suggestions to have validity it must be shown that dismemberment of the corpse took place in an earlier period, or at least a symbolic dismemberment.<sup>78</sup> Admittedly this is a controversial topic,<sup>79</sup> but it is highly relevant when analyzing the ritual role of the *dmd(y)t*. In their 2010 publication, Hendrickx *et al.* describe evidence for religious and ritual activity at the Naqada II-III burials at Hierakonpolis. In particular, there were some individuals with cut marks found on the neck vertebrae, which might indicate that their throats had been cut or that they had been decapitated.<sup>80</sup> Similar evidence was also found at Adaïma. There is the

<sup>76</sup> The *dmd(y)t* and *knwt* also appear together in the funerary liturgy; however, this section in the papyrus is fragmentary. Jürgen Settgast, *Untersuchung zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1963), 64-65, note 3; Kelly-Anne Diamond, *Transporting the Deceased to Eternity: The Ancient Egyptian term ḥ3t*, BAR International Series 2179 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), note 30.

<sup>77</sup> Kelly-Anne Diamond, “The Goddess Isis: She who Makes Shade with her Feathers,” *ARCE-PA Newsletter* (2015): 2-4.

<sup>78</sup> Kelly-Anne Diamond, “The Function and Structure of the *dmd(y)t* ‘Myth,’” *JARCE* 51 (2015): 225-234.

<sup>79</sup> W. M. Petrie, J. E. Quibell and F. C. J. Spurrell, *Naqada and Ballas* (London: B. Quaritch, 1895); J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 25-26, 51, 60-61; A. J. Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 39-44; J. H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 48, 79; J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 23-38; F. Dunand and R. Lichtenberg, *Mummies and Death in Egypt* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 9, 15, 35, 54, 66, 110, 203.

<sup>80</sup> S. Hendrickx, D. Huyge and W. Wendrich, “Worship without Writing,” in *Egyptian Archaeology*, ed. W. Wendrich (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 24-25.

possibility that these throat cuttings were part of a post-mortem ritual involving dismemberment and recreation.<sup>81</sup> According to Assmann, the concept of dismemberment reflected the idea of “redemption from death through collecting, joining, uniting, and knotting together.”<sup>82</sup> The Osiris myth dramatized this situation with Isis being the collector of Osiris’s limbs in the late version that comes down to us. Despite the continuing debate, for the purpose of this study it is irrelevant if the bodies were *actually* dismembered or *symbolically* dismembered, because either way, circumstances would have existed that required the services of a *dmd(y)t* in the funeral ritual. Therefore, the *dmd(y)t* could have actually collected the dismembered limbs or this collection could have been only dramatized. Regardless, this context might have provided an origin for the *dmd(y)t*.

## Conclusions

The term *dmd(y)t* does not refer to a crowd of females, or a mourning woman, but instead it is the title of a female ritual officiant for a funeral ceremony, whose identification was derived from the goddess *Dmdyt*. The job of these impersonators was to collect and assemble the deceased’s limbs, either literally or symbolically.

By the Old Kingdom the root *dmd* was associated with the rebirth of Osiris, hence the *dmd(y)t* should be considered linked to the Osirian ceremony at this time. This fact is reiterated in the private New Kingdom tomb scenes where the *dmd(y)t* and Isis are interchangeable. As noted above, the *dmd(y)t* appears in an Osirian context in the majority of examples thus far discovered, making this exchange feasible. The funerary liturgy refers to the deceased as an Osiris, and the decoration in the private New Kingdom tombs encourages the deceased to become an Osiris and participate in an Osirian Afterlife. The *dmd(y)t* was the one who collected and assembled the deceased’s limbs in the same way that Isis searched for Osiris’ body parts and put them back together. In this respect, these two mythical characters could perform a similar ritual. Both goddesses also appear in funerary contexts and were considered protective deities.

The question is, why was the *dmd(y)t* still being utilized in the New Kingdom, albeit infrequently, when Isis was clearly the more popular alternative? The *dmd(y)t* may have originated earlier than the Osirian character Isis, who first appears in the Pyramid Texts, if we accept the Third Dynasty date for the funerary liturgy (Table 2). The mythological figure of Isis could have been superimposed on this ordinary funeral attendant who originally performed the collecting and assembling of the bones (either literally or symbolically). It is in the post-Fifth

<sup>81</sup> S. Hendrickx, D. Huyge and W. Wendrich, “Worship without Writing,” in *Egyptian Archaeology*, ed. W. Wendrich (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 24-25.

<sup>82</sup> Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 26.

Dynasty Osirian texts that we see Isis outshining the *dmd(y)t*. This is when evidence for the cult of Osiris becomes abundant – and the *dmd(y)t* is conspicuously absent for the most part. In the funerary liturgy she appears in conjunction with the Osirian ceremony and her name is grammatically linked to the reunification of Osiris' limbs in the Pyramid Texts, but in general she is not systematically included in Osirian cult drama. The rare appearances of the *dmd(y)t* from the late Old Kingdom on are then best interpreted as carry-overs (probably unconscious) of an older religious tradition.

Taking the date of the funerary liturgy into account, or at least the ceremony this liturgy is based on, the *dmd(y)t* may have been active as early as the Third Dynasty (Table 2). If what is preserved is an agenda for an early dynastic funeral for a king, then the *dmd(y)wt* may have been performers whose title described their role in the proceedings, namely, to collect and assemble the limbs of the deceased king for rejuvenation. As the deceased king became identified with the god Osiris, the *dmd(y)t* ritualist was pushed into an Osirian context, only shortly thereafter to be replaced by Isis. There is no mention of Isis in the funerary liturgy and the king is referred to as an Osiris.

At this point there may have been a schism, where on one path *Dmd(y)t* appears as a minor deity in the Pyramid Texts and the pyramid temple of Senwosret III, but is surpassed in popularity by Isis who may also have derived from the original ritualist the role of uniting the bones of the deceased and protecting the corpse for rebirth (the second path). Despite the *dmd(y)t*'s connection with Osiris in the funerary liturgy, by the time the Pyramid Texts are employed in the late Old Kingdom Isis has been firmly established as the one who seeks and finds Osiris and brings him back to life. This connection was maintained until the end of the Pharaonic Period.

As the Osirian ceremony became available to the non-royal population, female ritualists began to impersonate Isis and Nephthys during private funerals; these performances are illustrated in the private tomb scenes beginning in the Fifth Dynasty and they become common in the Middle Kingdom and beyond. The private New Kingdom tomb scenes that exhibit the *dmd(y)t* demonstrate this same phenomenon of impersonation. It is no coincidence that royal contexts display the goddess *Dmd(y)t* and the private contexts display the *dmd(y)t* ritualist.

In fact, because the funerary liturgy was found in a Thirteenth Dynasty context it is possible that this liturgy was used as a template for non-royal funerals at this time, in which case the *dmd(y)wt* may have considered themselves to be "impersonators" of the goddess *Dmd(y)t*, despite our limited knowledge of this deity. Conversely, in its original version, some nine hundred years earlier, the ritualists' title may have been descriptive.

The evidence becomes even more intriguing in the New Kingdom when a synchronization between the *dmd(y)t* and Isis is renewed. Now ritualists can impersonate either *dmd(y)t* or Isis in the same contexts, namely, before the four basins of water in the Sacred District and before a shrine in the funerary scenes (TT 82 and TT 100). Somehow, the harmonization of these goddesses has remained

intact in the cultural memory. Yet, in mainstream mythology Isis is still dominant and *dmd(y)t* has been relegated to the seventh and eighth hours of the Amduat.

Accordingly, looking to a linear progression of the Isis-character may be misleading. It is also possible that the popularity of Isis resulted in a resurgence of *dmd(y)t* in particular contexts, probably based on the attribute of Isis being invoked. Other examples of this phenomenon can be seen in the use of the vulture to convey Isis' maternal tendencies, the *h3(i)t*-bird for her seeking and searching qualities, and the kite for her mourning propensities.

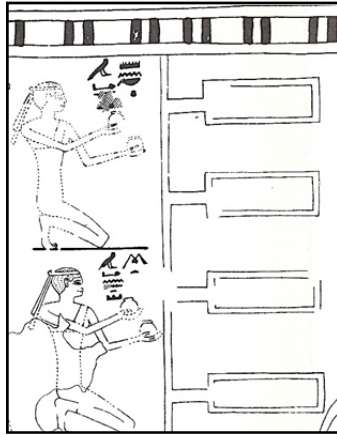


Figure 1: Line drawing of two women kneeling before four basins of water from TT 82 (Davies and Gardiner 1915, plate X).



Figure 2: Photograph of two women kneeling before four basins of water from TT 82. Photo by Kelly-Anne Diamond.



Figure 3: Hieroglyph for the word *dmd(y)t*.



Figure 4: Photograph of two women kneeling before four basins of water in TT 17. The captions label the women as the “Greater and Lesser Kites.” Photograph by Kelly-Anne Diamond.



Figure 5: Drawing of the fragmentary inscription containing the word *dm<sub>u</sub>yt* from the pyramid temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur. Drawing by Roman Reed and adapted from plate 196 in Adela Oppenheim, “Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur: The Pharaoh and Deities” (PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2008).





Figure 6: Line drawing of the scene featuring two women kneeling before four basins of water. In this scene the two kneeling women are labeled as the “Greater and Lesser Kites” (Tylor and Griffith 1894, plate V).



Figure 7: Photograph of two women kneeling before four basins of water from the New Kingdom tomb of Paheri at Elkab. Photo by Kelly-Anne Diamond.

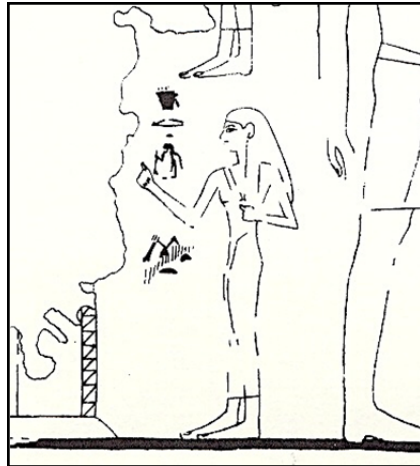


Figure 8: Scene depicting a woman with the label *dr(y)t wrt dmd(y)t* from TT 82 (Gardiner 1915: plate XIII).

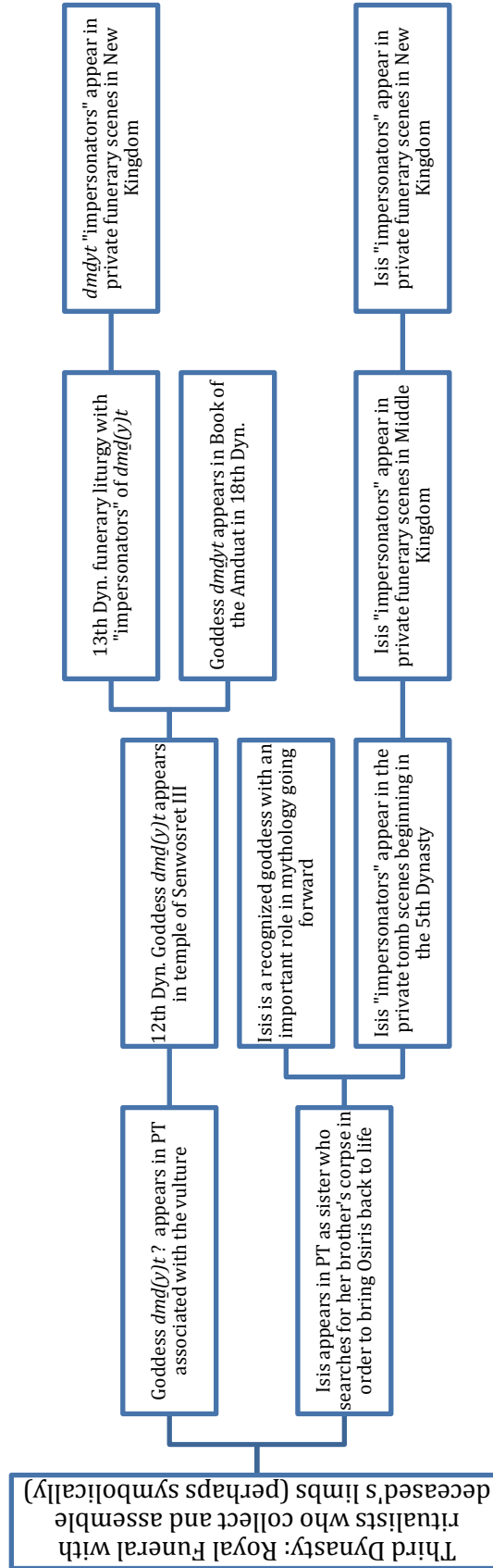
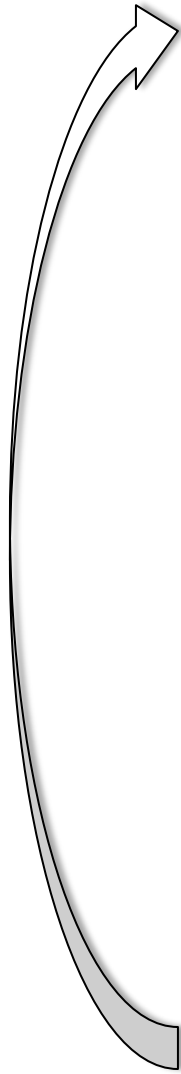


Figure 9: Scene depicting two women labeled *dmdyt* in TT 20 (Davies 1913, plate XIV).

Source	Old Kingdom		Middle Kingdom		New Kingdom	
Pyramid Text §2283	Divinity					
Pyramid Temple of Senwosret		Divinity				
Funerary Liturgy <sup>1</sup>			Ritualist			
Theban Tombs					Ritualist	
Amduat					Divinity	
	Royal Context	Private Context	Royal Context	Private Context	Royal Context	Private Context

**Table 1: Chronology of sources containing examples of *dmd(y)t* with designations for context (royal or private) and nature of participant (divine or human).**

<sup>1</sup> The date of the liturgy presented in this document is contested, and it is suspected that the ritual preserved on this papyrus may date as far back as the third dynasty. These theories are not presented in this table, as the information is speculative. The papyrus was found in a private context but there are several pieces of evidence within the text that suggest this ritual was originally used for a king, and perhaps has been adopted by the elite by the time of the Middle Kingdom.



**Table 2: Theoretical configuration for the evolution of the Isis/Dmḏ(y)t fission and later synchronization that conceptualizes the funerary liturgy as an early royal source.**



# Two Amulets in the Shape of Grasshoppers

Robert Steven Bianchi

**Abstract:** The essay discusses two objects identified as amulets depicting grasshoppers in the collections of the Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève, Suisse and passes in review parallels and representations of that insect in other two- and three-dimensional objects, with a view toward suggesting their date and interpretation. Both are suggested to date to the New Kingdom.

**Résumé :** Le présent article concerne deux objets identifiés comme des amulettes représentant des grillons dans les collections de la Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève, Suisse. Sont passés en revue les parallèles et les représentations de cet insecte dans d'autres objets bidimensionnels et tridimensionnels en vue de déterminer leur datation et de suggérer une interprétation. Jusqu'à présent, l'analyse suggère, pour les deux amulettes, une datation au Nouvel Empire.

**Keywords:** Ahmose, Amarna letters, amethyst, amulet, Esna, fly, cosmetic container, grasshopper, limestone, locust, military honor, votive, suspension hole, suspension loop

**Mots-clés :** Ahmosis, Lettres d'Amarna, améthyste, amulette, Esna, mouche, contenant à cosmétique, sauterelle, calcaire, locuste, honneur militaire, objet votif, trou de suspension, boucle de suspension

Ted Brock initially appeared to me to be a very private person. I recall how he would occasionally spend a night in one of the available beds in the dormitory room located along the northern side of Beit Canada when he was working on the West Bank and I was a member of the team excavating the Precinct of the Goddess Mut at Southern Karnak under the direction of my friend and colleague, Richard Fazzini. Ted did not speak much, if at all, but he and I eventually did have a conversation about the finds which the Canadian mission had uncovered during their work in the Western desert. That discussion led to an invitation to visit him in his spacious flat in Heliopolis, where he maintained the documentation for those finds. Later, I took him up on his kind offer and made my way to the flat where both he and Lyla warmly welcomed me. Without further ado, Ted began to share that documentation with me in an enthusiastic, unselfish manner which dispelled my initial impressions of his standoffishness and reticence. I am, therefore, honored to be able to present two hitherto unpublished, small objects depicting insects ostensibly used as amulets in this dedicatory volume because many of those finds we discussed that day might be classified as minor arts, and they were of particular interest to Ted.

The two amulets in question visually appear to represent members of insects belonging to the order Orthoptera (“straight wings”), a classification which includes grasshoppers, crickets, and locusts:

Collection Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève, Suisse

FGA-ARCH-EG-0567 (Fig. 1)

Amulet of a Grasshopper

Limestone, 8.3 cm (3 1/4 inches) in length; 2.7 cm (1 1/16 inches) in height; 1.9 cm (3/4 inches) in depth; 62 grams in weight

Formerly in the collection of Dr. J.M. Kemish, Laguna Niquel, California, formed before 1975; thence, Noele and Ronald Mele Ancient Works of Art.

Collection Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève, Suisse

FGA-ARCH—EG-0621 (Fig. 2)

Amulet of a Grasshopper

Amethyst, 5.2 cm (2 1/16 inches) in length; 1.5 cm (9/16 inches) in height; 1.7 cm (11/16 inches) in depth; 17 grams in weight.

From the same collection and via the same dealer as the above.

By way of introduction, it must be acknowledged that according to one estimate insects constitute about 75% of all living things on earth, although only four appear as distinct hieroglyphs in Gardiner's Sign List.<sup>1</sup> All insects share anatomical traits which include three pairs of jointed legs and a mature body divided into a head (characterized by antennae, eyes, and mouth parts), the body proper, and the rear in which the genitalia are found.<sup>2</sup> In a series of articles<sup>3</sup> published in the 1930's, Ludwig Keimer treated representations of several different insects in ancient Egyptian art.<sup>4</sup> As he duly noted, ancient Egyptian craftsmen were not as exacting as

<sup>1</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs* (London, 1957), 477, L1-L5; so, too, Nicolas-Christophe Grimal, Jochen Hallof, Dirk van der Plas, Hans van den Berg, and Gabriele Hallof, *Hieroglyphica: sign list = liste des signes = Zeichenliste* (Utrecht, 2000), L1-L5.

<sup>2</sup> Randa Baligh, "Insects in ancient Egypt with references to the holy books," in Khaled Daoud and Sawsan Abd el-Fatah (eds.), *The world of ancient Egypt: essays in honor of Ahmed Abd el-Qader el-Sawi* (Cairo, 2006), 19.

<sup>3</sup> Ludwig Keimer, "Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens," *ASAE* 31 (1931), 145-186; *idem*, "Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens. B. Pendeloques et pièces de colliers en forme de sauterelles," *ASAE* 32 (1932), 129-150; *idem*, "Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens. C. Quelques remarques sur la mante prie-dieu dans l'Égypte ancienne," *ASAE* 33 (1933), 193-200; *idem*, "Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens. D. Pendeloques-amulettes en forme de papillons," *ASAE* 34 (1934), 177-213; *idem*, "Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens. E. Notes additionnelles," *ASAE* 36 (1936), 89-114; and *idem*, "Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens (suite et fin). E. Notes additionnelles (suite)," *ASAE* 37 (1937), 143-172. To these may, perhaps, be added the summary discussion by Pascal Vernus, "Monde de miniscule," in *idem* and Jean Yoyotte, *Bestaire des pharaons* (Paris, 2005), 431-2.

<sup>4</sup> One tends to overlook the importance of insects within the context of ancient Egyptian zoolatry, for which see both Dieter Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1989), 21-22; and Mark Smith, "Aspects of the Preservation and Transmission of Indigenous Religious Traditions in Akhmim and its Environs during the Graeco-Roman Period," in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, and J.

contemporary entomologists might be in their depictions of ancient Egyptian insects. Such imprecision is not limited to attempts to identify representations of relatively small living creatures such as insects. It is oftentimes difficult for a modern to differentiate between ancient Egyptian images of a goose and a duck,<sup>5</sup> and more complicated to identify individual animals in those compositions in which a variety of different species are represented.<sup>6</sup> The imprecision of the ancient Egyptian designs of animals in general and of insects in particular precludes modern attempts to differentiate and identify their representations as one species or another.<sup>7</sup> This modern conundrum with regard to identification does not appear to have been a concern of the ancient Egyptians, who accepted the variability of their own representations as abstractions which might be understood on several different levels.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, there is an academic consensus that Gardiner Sign List L4 represents a member of the order Orthoptera, which the ancient Egyptians called *snhm*, although modern translations of that noun vary not only from author to author but even within the same publication from sauterelle<sup>9</sup> and criquet<sup>10</sup> in French and Heuschrecke<sup>11</sup> in German to grasshopper<sup>12</sup> and locust<sup>13</sup> in English. The insect

Van Der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis. An Egyptian town from Alexander the Great to the Arab conquest* (Leiden; Boston; Cologne, 2002), 243-4, on insect burials and Shenute's condemnation of same.

<sup>5</sup> Frédéric Servajean, "Du singulier à l'universel: le *Potamogeton* dans les scènes cynégétiques des marais," in Sydney H. Aufrère (ed.), *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal: croyances phytoresligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne* 1 (Montpellier, 1999), 255; see, too, the debate about the identity of the mammal *hḏr* in Lothar Störk, "Miettes," *Die Welt des Orients* 15 (1984), 72-74.

<sup>6</sup> Nathalie Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III: plantes et animaux du "jardin botanique" de Karnak* (Leuven, 1990) [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 36], 272-275 and 282-283; see, too, René Khoury, "Sur une observation entomologique de Pierre Belon du Mans. À propos d'une édition récente de son Voyage en Égypte (1547)," *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 237-244.

<sup>7</sup> Keimer, "C. Quelques remarques," 125-127; and *idem*, "B. Pendeloques et pieces," 136, observes that when insects are represented flying in two-dimensional representations, grasshoppers and dragon flies are often indistinguishable from one another; so, too, Baligh, "Insects in ancient Egypt," 24. This confusion appears to plague modern commentators as well because the faience insect measuring 6.5 cm, published and illustrated by H.C. Loffet, *La Collection Emmacha I* (Paris, 2013), 214-6, appears to be a fly rather than a grasshopper; see, also, Jaromir Malek, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993), 25-26.

<sup>8</sup> Dimitri Meeks, "De quelques 'insectes' égyptiens: entre lexique et paléographie," Zahi A. Hawass, Peter Der Manuelian, and Ramadan B. Hussein (eds.), *Perspectives on ancient Egypt: studies in honor of Edward Brovarski* (Cairo, 2010), 294-295.

<sup>9</sup> Nadine Cherpion, "Keimer et les sauterelles," *Acta Orientalia Belgica* XXV (2012), 185-208, followed by Philippe Germond, "La sauterelle, autre marqueur imagé de la renaissance du défunt, au caractère parfois ambivalent....," *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève* 29 (2011-2013), 29-41.

<sup>10</sup> Cherpion, "Keimer et les sauterelles," 185.

<sup>11</sup> Joachim Boessneck, *Die Tierwelt des Alten Ägypten untersucht anhand kulturgeschichtlicher und zoologischer Quellen* (Munich, 1988), 148-149; and Ludwig Morenz, "Das Lese-Bild von



identified in a two-dimensional hieroglyph as a criquet appears to have shorter antennae than that identified as a sauterelle.<sup>14</sup> However, ancient Egyptian design tenets eschew cantilevering anatomical parts into space so that entomological details such as antennae on both two-<sup>15</sup> and three-dimensional representations<sup>16</sup> of members of the order of Orthoptera are frequently omitted. While acknowledging the proposed etymology of *snḥm* and its possible relations to both Coptic and Hebrew which support the French translation of that Egyptian noun as criquet,<sup>17</sup> and with the full understanding that the *snḥm* is itself polyvalent and does not necessarily correspond precisely with the designation sauterelle (“grasshopper”), we have elected to identify the two insects represented by the amulets in the collections of the Fondation Gandur pour l’Art as “grasshoppers” because the academic consensus suggests that the insect represented belongs to the species *Schistocerca gregaria*,<sup>18</sup> to which both grasshoppers and locusts belong. It is to a discussion of these two amulets and their identification as grasshoppers<sup>19</sup> which one now turns.

In our first example (Fig. 1: FGA-ARCH-EG-0567) the artisan has simplified the design of the head. When viewed from the bottom, the lower, horizontal pair of incisions appear to represent the labium, or lower jaw, while the vertical incision and the accompanying two oblique incisions would seem to represent the mandible, above which is the large, undecorated labrum, or upper jaw. This interest in the “mouth” of the insect is consistent with ancient texts which compare the rapacious

Königskartusche, Löwe und Stier versus vier Heuschrecken: Königspropaganda und Selbstindoktrinierung der ägyptischen Elite,” *ZÄS* 126 (1999), 132-141.

<sup>12</sup> Gene Kritsky and Ron H. Cherry, *Insect mythology* (San Jose, 2000), 17-18 and 49-63.

<sup>13</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar*, 477, L4; and Baligh, “Insects in ancient Egypt.”

<sup>14</sup> Servajean, “Du singulier à l’universel,” 258-259; and Meeks, “De quelques insectes,” 290-291 with figures 9a and 9b.

<sup>15</sup> Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités*, 286-287.

<sup>16</sup> Switzerland, private collection: Madeleine Page-Gasser and André B. Wiese, *Ägypten, Augenblicke der Ewigkeit: Unbekannte Schätze aus Schweizer Privatbesitz* (Mainz, 1997), 156-157, no. 97; and Kurt Flimm and Thomas Kühn, *Pharaos Tier: Mesiterwerke altägyptischer Kleinkunst* (Heidelberg; Basel, 2016), no. 132.

<sup>17</sup> Dimitri Meeks, “Étymologies coptes: Notes et remarques,” in S. Giversen, M. Krause, and P. Nagel (eds.), *Coptology: past, present, and future: studies in honour of Rodolphe Kasser* (Leuven, 1994), 210-211; and *idem*, “De quelques insectes,” 290-291.

<sup>18</sup> Keimer, “C. Quelques remarques,” 108; Emma Brunner-Traut, “Heuschrecke,” in Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf (eds.), *LdÄ II*, 1179-1180; *Wb III*, 461; although Keimer, “C. Quelques remarques,” 114-18, suggests that *ṗš3i.t* [*Wb I*, 181] is not a designation for grasshoppers but rather a designation for *Coléoptère nécrophage*; Cherpion, “Keimer et les sauterelles,” 185; Baligh, “Insects in ancient Egypt,” 24; and Germond, “La sauterelle”, 30-31.

<sup>19</sup> The passage in *Leviticus* 11:22 (Baligh, “Insects in ancient Egypt,” 24) which permits the faithful to eat such insects is perhaps reflected by the discovery of roasted locusts forming part of the diet of miners of the Old Kingdom, for which see Rudolph Kuper and Frank Förster, “Khufu's 'mefat' expeditions into the Libyan Desert,” *Egyptian Archaeology* 23 (2003), 25-28.

eating of these insects to the mauling teeth of a lion,<sup>20</sup> which may perhaps account for the design of at least one example of a lion-headed grasshopper/locust in Oxford.<sup>21</sup> The appearance of the compound eye of FGA-ARCH-EG-0567 is captured by cross-hatching. If this detail is purposeful, the amulet does indeed represent a grasshopper because that is the only one of its species which exhibits such an ocular feature. In keeping perhaps with ancient Egyptian artistic conventions which eschew cantilevering objects into space, the antennae are not represented, although their absence may be attributed to the overriding imperatives of simplification and abstraction. The insect's head is separated from its thorax by a raised band; the abdomen simplified and plain, lacking as it does the dorsal plates, or tergites, divided into segments termed sternites. A second raised band separates the thorax from the two wings, neither of which is ornamented. All of the legs are rendered in raised relief, and are tucked into the body, rather than extending into space. The tibiae, or shanks, of the forelegs and mid-legs are slightly ornamented with a few incisions in contrast to the degree of incised ornamentation exhibited by the femurs of the rear legs. There is a suspension hole drilled through the body above the tibiae and femurs of the forelegs in the space just below the thorax.

The details of the head of the second example (Fig. 2: FGA-ARCH-EG-0621) have been summarily treated with emphasis only on the eyes as recessed sockets and on incision to suggest the jaws. A raised ring separates the head from the thorax; a second, semi-circular in shape, the thorax from the abdomen, which is concealed on the top and sides by a pair of wings, which are not separately designed but uniformly exhibit a series of somewhat parallel, raised bands separated by incision. The forelegs, mid-legs, and hind legs are likewise tucked into the body, but are more ornately articulated with incision than those of the previous example. These same legs are modeled on the bottom of the object, a greater degree of attention being paid to the hind legs with their tibiae and massive femurs. The object is pierced transversally in approximately the same area as the preceding example for suspension.

The relatively large size of both of these objects does not preclude the possibility that they served as amulets. Here modern prejudices with regard to scale should be set aside because there is another dimension to consider. Indeed, one has recently argued that suspension loops on relatively large-scale bronze statuettes might actually have served for suspending such objects around the necks of

<sup>20</sup> Keimer, "B. Pendeloques et pieces," 137.

<sup>21</sup> Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum 1965.178. This object was formerly in the Spencer-Churchill collection and appears to have been acquired at Christie's [London], *Norwick Park Collection: Antiquities* (21-22-23 June 1965). The department has no record of the lot number because the majority of the objects in that sale were catalogued into grouped lots without being either individually described or illustrated. I thank both Helen Hovey and her staff for information about the Oxford example as well as G. Max Bernheimer and his staff at Christie's for their assistance about that particular sale.

individuals.<sup>22</sup> Raphaelle Meffre has furthered that suggestion by opining that other metal objects, likewise exhibiting suspension loops, might very well have served as adornments for attachment to colossal statues.<sup>23</sup>

Amulets in the form of such insects<sup>24</sup> appear in Egypt as early as the Predynastic Period,<sup>25</sup> and are encountered in contexts dated to the Archaic Period.<sup>26</sup> Some are datable to the time from the Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period,<sup>27</sup> but most appear to date to the New Kingdom. These are suggested to have served as pendants for suspension from necklaces or other pieces of jewelry.

One may reasonably date FGA-ARCH-EG-0567 (Fig. 1) to the New Kingdom, on the basis of Keimer's suggested dating of the example in Berlin (Fig. 3).<sup>28</sup> A second example in that same collection, ostensibly dated to the New Kingdom as well, exhibits a remarkably human-looking face (Figs. 4 and 5),<sup>29</sup> recalling the design of the composite lion-headed example in Oxford, mentioned above. The Berlin and Genevese examples share correspondences in the design of their top, although prominence is given in the example in Berlin to the hind legs with their pronounced femurs projecting slightly into space above the wings. That emphasis is doubtless due to the nature of faience as a modeling medium. However, the design of the bottom of that example is not congruent with the design of the bottom of FGA-ARCH-EG-0567.<sup>30</sup> Both of these examples are stylistically close to

<sup>22</sup> Robert Steven Bianchi, *Egyptian Bronzes. Fondation Gandur pour l'Art* (Bern, 2014), 22-3.

<sup>23</sup> Raphaelle Meffre, "Remarques à propos du texte de la triade d'Osorkon II (Louvre E 6204)," *RdE* 64 (2013), 41-61.

<sup>24</sup> William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Amulets: Illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College, London* (London, 1914), 14, no. 26 with plate II, 26a-b, identified as locusts without a date.

<sup>25</sup> William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Abydos: 2* (London, 1903), no. 40 with plate VII and frontis; and Günter Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII: der Tempel der Satet. Die Funde der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* (Mainz, 1986) [=Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 39], 76, no. 7.5.

<sup>26</sup> Helwan 713H: Zaki Y Saad, *The Excavations at Helwan. Art and Civilization in the First and Second Egyptian Dynasties* [Edited, and with a foreword, by J. Frank Autry] (Norman, 1969), 55 and 157 with plate 77.

<sup>27</sup> London, The British Museum 3288. Carol Andrews, *Amulets of ancient Egypt* (Austin, 1994), 11, figure 5g, in carnelian and identified as either a grasshopper or a locust.

<sup>28</sup> Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 12638. Keimer, "B. Pendeloques et pièces," 137, with plate IX, 1a-1d. The images are courtesy of Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, ÄM 12638; photographer: unknown. I thank Caris-Beatrice Arnst for providing me with the photographs from the negatives which were recently located.

<sup>29</sup> Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 1620. Keimer, "B. Pendeloques et pièces," 137, with plate IX, 1a-1d. The images are courtesy of Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, ÄM 1620; photographer: unknown. I thank Caris-Beatrice Arnst for providing me with the photographs from the negatives which were recently located.

<sup>30</sup> Their designs differ markedly as well from that of Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 19120: Keimer, "B. Pendeloques et pièces," 137-8, b with plate IX, 2a-2b, plate IX,3 = figure 43; present whereabouts not known: Keimer, "B. Pendeloques et pièces," 137-8, d with plate IX, 3a-3c = figure 43; and Berlin, Antikensammlung 31133: Keimer, "B. Pendeloques et

a fragmentary example in green, glassy faience,<sup>31</sup> a second example in a grassy-green colored stone,<sup>32</sup> and a third in green, glazed steatite, the bottom of which features a papyrus plant as a motif.<sup>33</sup> FGA-ARCH-EG-0621 (Fig. 2) would seem to date to the same period, as a comparison of its profile views and the location of its suspension hole suggest. In general the design of all four examples, despite their minor differences, conform to that of cosmetic containers dated to the New Kingdom, as comparisons with examples in a private collection<sup>34</sup> and a second excavated at Saqqara demonstrate.<sup>35</sup> The profile view of a third cosmetic container in Cairo,<sup>36</sup> also dated to the New Kingdom, is remarkably congruent with that of FGA-ARCH-EG-0567, and that congruence would suggest that all of these examples are roughly contemporaneous and should be dated to the New Kingdom. These examples should perhaps be regarded as reflections of such objects recorded in the Amarna Letters: “I send as your greeting-gift 2 minas of lapis lazuli, and concerning your daughter Mayati, having heard [about her], I send to her as her greeting-gift a necklace of -(shaped) gems, of lapis lazuli, 2048 their number”<sup>37</sup> and “I s[end] 10 lumps of genuine lapis lazuli as your greeting-gift, and to the mistress of the house [I send] 20 ‘crickets’ of genuine lapis lazuli.”<sup>38</sup>

Such insects are encountered as a motif on various objects such as the amulets under discussion, on cosmetic containers, as motifs on discs of terracotta lamps, as devices on the bottom of scarabs and stamp seals, as pendants for

pieces.” 135-6 with plate IX, 5; and <http://emp-web-24.zetcom.ch/eMuseumPlus> [viewed on 04 February 2016], for which reference I thank Helmut Brandl and Martin Maischberger.

<sup>31</sup> Switzerland, private collection. Page-Gasser and Wiese, *Ägypten, Augenblicke*, 156-157, no. 97.

<sup>32</sup> Munich, Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 1320. Dietrich Wildung (ed.), *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst: München, Residenz Hofgartenstrasse*. (Munich, 1976), 144, ÄS 1320.

<sup>33</sup> Ludwig Keimer, “Die ‘Papyrus-farbene’ Heuschrecke,” *ZÄS* 68 (1932), 119-121.

<sup>34</sup> Formerly of The Guennol Collection, on loan to Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum of Art L48.7.1: J. D. Cooney, “Three Ivories of the late XVIII Dynasty,” *Bulletin. The Brooklyn Museum* X, 1 (Fall 1948), 1-16; and Thomas P.F. Hoving, “Valuables and ornamental items: The collection of Mr. and Mrs. Alastair Bradley Martin,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (new series) 28 (3) (1969-1970), 147-160. I thank Ed Bleiberg for the information that this object is no longer on loan to the Brooklyn Museum.

<sup>35</sup> René van Walsem, “Preliminary report on the Dutch excavations at Saqqara, season 2000,” *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 35-36 (1997-2000), 13 with plate 11, figure 10.

<sup>36</sup> Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 56931. René van Walsem, “Preliminary report,” 13, note 10; and Anonymous (ed.), *Egypt's golden age: The art of living in the New Kingdom, 1558-1085 B.C.* [Catalogue of the exhibition] (Boston, 1981), 201, figure 55. To this can also be added another example in Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 55939. Keimer, “B. Pendeloques et pièces,” 139-40 with plate 8, 1a-b.

<sup>37</sup> William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore; London, 1992), 10, EA 10, 43-49.

<sup>38</sup> Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, EA 11, reverse, 24-34.

suspension on jewelry, as a knife handle,<sup>39</sup> and as motifs on a figural ostracon,<sup>40</sup> but all such objects lack accompanying inscriptions, even the two depicted on a writing board of New Kingdom date,<sup>41</sup> so that suggestions about their significance and meaning must be adduced from what is known about their behavior in the wild and by the perceived context of their appearance in vignettes in tomb painting.<sup>42</sup> On the basis of their reproductive qualities, these insects may have symbolized fertility and their ability to swarm may have connoted abundance.<sup>43</sup> Additionally their description in funerary texts facilitating ascent into the heavens may have imbued them with funerary associations linked to the deceased and passage into the heavens.<sup>44</sup> These characteristics suggest that the grasshopper possessed "une signification religieuse"<sup>45</sup> "(ou plus exactement 'funéraire')." <sup>46</sup> One should not exclude the possibility that this insect might also be possessed of military associations,<sup>47</sup> somewhat analogous to those of the fly.<sup>48</sup> In keeping with the polyvalence of ancient Egyptian motifs in general these insects were also imbued with negative characteristics,<sup>49</sup> particularly in military contexts,<sup>50</sup> but such negative

<sup>39</sup> Sotheby's [New York], *Antiquities* (11 December, 2002), lot 83.

<sup>40</sup> Chicago, The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum 16897. Emily Teeter, *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago* (Chicago, 2003), 58, no. 26.

<sup>41</sup> Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum 1948.91. Fredrik Hagen, "An Eighteenth Dynasty writing board (Ashmolean 1948.91) and the Hymn to the Nile," *JARCE* 49 (2013), 73-91, who passes over their depiction in silence.

<sup>42</sup> Cherpion, "Keimer et les sauterelles," 191, for a review of the contexts in which this insect appears as a motif; both Servajean, "Du singulier à l'universel" and Germond, "La sauterelle," for its appearance in vignettes in wall painting; see, too, Naguib Kanawati, *The rock tombs of el-Hawawish: The cemetery of Akhmim IV* (Sydney, 1983), plate 12.

<sup>43</sup> Carol Andrews, *Amulets*, 66; Keimer, "C. Quelques remarques," 97-101.

<sup>44</sup> Andrews, *Amulets*, 66; more fully, Keimer, "C. Quelques remarques," 107-114; and Ahmed Eissa, "Zur Heuschrecke als eine Verwandlungsform des Sonnegottes," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 77 (1998-1999), 53-59.

<sup>45</sup> Keimer, "E. Notes additionnelles," 154-155.

<sup>46</sup> Cherpion, "Keimer et les sauterelles," 200.

<sup>47</sup> Keimer, "C. Quelques remarques," 102-106.

<sup>48</sup> Amandine Marshall, "Lion and Fly. Military Awards in Ancient Egypt," *KMT* 26, 3 (Fall, 2015), 39-47.

<sup>49</sup> Keimer, "C. Quelques remarques," 106-7.

<sup>50</sup> Cairo, The Egyptian Museum 52658. Jaromir Malek, "The locusts on the daggers of Ahmose," in Elizabeth Goring, Nicholas Reeves, and John Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of seers: Egyptian studies in memory of Cyril Aldred* (London; New York, 1997), 207-219; Morenz, "Das Lese-Bild"; and Cherpion, "Keimer et les sauterelles," 192; *contra*, Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, "Le "bestiaire" symbolique du libérateur Ahmosis," in Friedrich Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache and Religion Ägyptens: zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf, überreicht von seinen Freunden and Schülern* 2 (Göttingen, 1984), 883-894; see, too, the passage in the First Libyan War: the Great Inscription of Year 5 of Rameses III: A.J. Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty* (Jonsered, 1994) [= *Documenta Mundi Aegyptiaca*, 3], 18-19, "...for he regards the mass

ancient Egyptian associations were minimal within the cultural context of the ancient Near East in general.<sup>51</sup>

One may also suggest that the choice of materials from which these two amulets were made was purposeful because materials in general furthered the function and meaning to which any given ancient Egyptian object was put.<sup>52</sup> Within this context, the choice of limestone, not only the darker colored deposits,<sup>53</sup> but also the pink varieties,<sup>54</sup> was particularly favored for amulets, but for reasons which are not always explored. The same holds true for the choice of amethyst,<sup>55</sup> the symbolic value of which is often overlooked,<sup>56</sup> despite the fact that *hrsd m m3c*, “real amethyst,” is listed as the eighth of the eight precious *3t* (“stone”) at Dendera.<sup>57</sup> Here, the choice of amethyst with its roseate color for FGA-ARCH-EG-0621 may have been intentional in order to hint at the red color of the actual insect,<sup>58</sup> and its reddish color, although polyvalent, connotes new life.<sup>59</sup>

In discussing his examples, Ludwig Keimer questions whether or not they may have served as amulets<sup>60</sup> because they exhibit neither suspension loops nor holes, although he muses that adjuncts for suspending them may have been provided but have since been lost.<sup>61</sup> Marsha Hill has observed that the presence of such loops might equally well have served for suspending such objects on the walls of

of the multitude as (mere) grasshoppers [*snhw*], thrashed, worn down, and pulverized like flour”; and Ahmad Abo El Magd, “Dehumanization of the ‘Other:’ Animal Metaphors of Defeated Enemies in the New Kingdom Military Texts,” *JARCE* 52 (2016), 333-334.

<sup>51</sup> Baligh, “Insects in ancient Egypt,” 24-25.

<sup>52</sup> Robert Steven Bianchi, *Ancient Egyptian Art and Magic. Treasures from the Fondation Gandur pour l’Art* (St. Petersburg, FL, 2012) [exhibition catalogue], 20-29.

<sup>53</sup> Andrews, *Amulets*, 103.

<sup>54</sup> Carol Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1990), 48.

<sup>55</sup> Pierre Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris (BM 9999 I (Cairo, 1994) [=BdE CIX/I], 243 and II [=BdE CIX/II], 81 with note 299, who observes that the term *hsmn*, which he identifies as amethyst, could not be confused with the homographs for natron and bronze.*

<sup>56</sup> Carol Andrews, “Sa-amulet,” in Edna R. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt. Masterworks of ancient art from the British Museum* (London; Berkeley; Los Angeles, 2001) [Exhibition catalogue], 110-11, no. 37.

<sup>57</sup> Ahmed Mohamed Ali Mansour, *Turquoise in Ancient Egypt: Concept and Role* (Oxford, 2014) [=BAR International Series 2602], 8.

<sup>58</sup> Cherpion, “Keimer et les sauterelles,” 186.

<sup>59</sup> Sydney Aufrère, *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, 2 (Cairo, 1991) [= *Bibliothèque d’étude* 105], 556-558.

<sup>60</sup> Compare, as well, an example in bronze, measuring 99 mm in length: Joseph Darracott, *All for art: the Ricketts and Shannon Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 9 October-3 December, 1979* (Cambridge, 1979), 27, no. 21.

<sup>61</sup> Keimer, “B. Pendeloques et pieces,” 139.

temples.<sup>62</sup> Consequently objects exhibiting such suspension holes or loops may have been hung in any one of several contexts, regardless of their size.

It is equally possible that images of the grasshopper may have served other functions as well. Ludwig Keimer laconically describes an object from Deir el Medineh as a fragment "d'une sauterelle colossale en calcaire," which he suggests was a votive object because of its size.<sup>63</sup> However, the relative size of an object, and whether it was pierced for suspension or not, would seem to be inconsequential in determining its function as a votive object, since Geraldine Pinch has demonstrated that even the smallest of amulets served as votives.<sup>64</sup>

More enigmatic perhaps is the appearance of these insects as sculptures in the round on top of a single composite floral capital on Column 9 within the hypostyle hall at Esna which appears to have escaped all notice (Fig. 6).<sup>65</sup> Serge Sauneron passes these representations over in silence in his otherwise detailed discussion of the decoration of these columns.<sup>66</sup> The inscriptions on Column 9, accompanied by the cartouches of the Roman Emperor Domitian, describe rituals associated with the lotus, a hymn celebrating the revealing of the divine countenance, and an enumeration of fear of Khnum.<sup>67</sup> There appears to be no reference whatsoever to these insects in any of the other columnar inscriptions,<sup>68</sup> and they cannot be associated with the animals, both large and small, mentioned in those inscriptions in the company of both serpents and scorpions, and fish and fowl.<sup>69</sup> Elsewhere among

<sup>62</sup> Marsha Hill, *Royal Bronze Statuary from Ancient Egypt with Special Attention to the Kneeling Pose* (Leiden; Boston, 2004), 130-1.

<sup>63</sup> Present whereabouts not known: Keimer, "E. Notes additionnelles," 167, plate XXI, 1 a-c.

<sup>64</sup> Geraldine Pinch, *Votive offerings to Hathor* (Oxford, 1993), 283-300 and pl. xii with figure 6; and W.M.F. Petrie, *Denderah (1898)* (London, 1900), plate 23.

<sup>65</sup> Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings VI: Upper Egypt: chief temples (excluding Thebes), Abydos, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kôm Ombo, and Philae* (Oxford, 1939), 115, Columns; Jean-Louis de Cenival, *Living Architecture: Egyptian* [Photographs by Henri Stierlin] (Fribourg, 1964); Dieter Arnold, *Temples of the last pharaohs* (New York and Oxford, 1999), 292-304; and Günther Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel Römische Politik und altägyptische Ideologie von Augustus bis Diocletian, Tempelbau in Oberägypten* (Mainz, 2000), 100-114, despite the fact that these insects are clearly visible in the illustration on page 105, figure 143 (third capital from the left); for a better image see this link <http://hillhead.smugmug.com/Travel/Egypt-Esna-Khnum-Temple-2011/i-6vGxZ3m/0/L/Esna%20Khnum%20Temple%20Columns%2013%20Detail-L.jpg> (viewed on 17 January 2017). The figure atop the column immediately to the (spectator's) right is too damaged to hazard a guess as to its identification.

<sup>66</sup> Serge Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna* (Cairo, 1968) [= *Esna III*].

<sup>67</sup> Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna*, 171-189, Column 9, inscriptions 270-282; and *idem*, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme* (Cairo, 1962) [= *Esna V*], 388-389, for the index of pages on which these inscriptions are translated and commented upon.

<sup>68</sup> Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses*.

<sup>69</sup> Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses*, 89 (§17), *passim*.

the inscriptions at Esna, Gardiner Sign List L4 is apparently attested once, but within a context in which only its phonetic value and not its meaning is intended.<sup>70</sup> The same conclusion holds for a seemingly anomalous sign, judging from the facsimile reproduction, in which the hind leg of what appears to be a *snḥm*-insect is incorporated into the design of a bee,<sup>71</sup> without further comment.<sup>72</sup>

The presence of these grasshoppers on the capital of one column at Esna and the absolute silence about that presence in the preserved inscriptions of that temple are remarkable, but their presence may be understood as the confluence of two traditions. On the one hand, the inscriptions make it perfectly clear that music was a fundamental component of those rites.<sup>73</sup> If one accepts the supposition that the hieroglyph L4 in cryptographic texts can represent the uniliteral *r* through onomatopoeia whereby the ancient Egyptian trilled that *r* in order to resemble the sound made by a grasshopper,<sup>74</sup> then one can tentatively suggest that the presence of grasshoppers on the composite floral capital of Column 9 is symbolic of the perpetual music intended to accompany the performance of those rituals, eternally enacted by virtue of their having been sculpted in stone as well. That musical association would then complement the long tradition of music associated with grasshoppers in Classical poetry.<sup>75</sup>

Indeed the presence of the grasshoppers on the capital of Column 9 at Esna belongs to a long pharaonic tradition in which such animal representations, far from being decorative, were understood without the need of any gloss. Those grasshoppers can be understood in keeping with pharaonic Egyptian precedents. One may profitably compare them to the serpents at the top of the “Wall of the

<sup>70</sup> Serge Sauneron, *Esna VIII: L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna* (Cairo, 1982), 152, no. 192 and *idem*, *Le Temple d'Esna*, 39 (§69).

<sup>71</sup> Laila Ménassa, *Le temple d'Esna. Dessin des architraves* (Cairo, 1975), plate XII, line 1, architrave C, south face (no. 424), second part.

<sup>72</sup> Alexandra von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna: eine Fallstudie zur Religiösen Astronomie in Ägypten am Beispiel der kosmologischen Decken- und Architravinschriften im Tempel von Esna* (Wiesbaden, 2000) [=Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 64], 96-103, Esna 424.

<sup>73</sup> Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses*, 32, the rites of *Pi-neter*; 59, the rites for renewing the fields; 61-62, the dance of Shu; 84-94, the song of the morning; 190, for the hymns by the choir; and 356, the awakening of the slumbering deity.

<sup>74</sup> David Klotz and Marina W. Brown, “The Enigmatic Statuette of Djehutymose (MFA 24.743): Deputy of Wawat and Viceroy of Kush,” *JARCE* 52 (2016), 278 and 281(f) citing in note 75, D. Werning, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen in Unterweltbüchern des Neuen Reiches: Gesicherte Entsprechungen und Ersetzungsprinzipien,” in C. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf, GM Beihefte* 3 (Göttingen, 2008), 144.

<sup>75</sup> Maria S. Marsilio, *Farming and Poetry in Hesiod's Works and Days* (Lanham, 2000), 27-28; R. Hunter Fantuzzi, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge, 2004), 141-167; and Angela Bellia, *Il canto delle Vergini locresi: la musica a Locri Epizefirii nelle fonti scritte e nella documentazione archeologica (secoli VI-III a. C.)* (Pisa and Rome, 2012) [=Nuovi saggi, 116], 19-20.



Cobras" within the complex of Djoser's Step Pyramid at Saqqara<sup>76</sup> or with the frieze of baboons across the top of the façade of the Temple of Rameses II at Abu Simbel.<sup>77</sup> Those cobras and baboons are not decorative adjuncts. Rather, they were understood as protectors and sun-worshippers, respectively. Given Domitian's Egyptianizing predilection<sup>78</sup> and the erudition exhibited by the "cryptographic" nature of many of the inscriptions at Esna,<sup>79</sup> one wonders whether his Roman agents in concert with the Latopolite priesthood mutually developed this unique formulation which united the Classical characterization of the grasshoppers' "song" with the suggested pronunciation of the cryptographic value of the hieroglyph L4 in order to create visually and symbolically the sonorous background against which the Egyptian musical component of the rituals at Esna were performed.<sup>80</sup> One might further inquire whether the characteristics of mystical rebirth and immortality attributed to these insects in Plato's *Phaedrus* also played a role in that decision. Regardless, the grasshoppers at Esna are part of the same complex, millennia-old symbolic network to which the two amulets in the Gandur Collection also belong.

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<sup>76</sup> J.-P. Lauer and A. Shoucair, *Saqqarah: La nécropole royale de Memphis, quarante siècles d'histoire, cent vingt-cinq ans de recherches* (Paris, 1976), 132, figure 95.

<sup>77</sup> T. Schneider and D. Lorton in J.J. Shirley and T. Schneider (eds.), *Ancient Egypt in 101 questions and answers* (Ithaca, 2013), 205-6, no.72; and Jean-Luc Chappaz and Claude Ritschard (eds.), *Voyages en Egypte de l'antiquité au début du XXe siècle* (Geneva, 2003), 17, figure 11, for a good vintage photograph of this frieze.

<sup>78</sup> Hans Wolfgang Müller, *Il culto di Iside nell'antica Benevento: Catalogo delle sculture provenienti dai santuari egiziani dell'antica Benevento nel Museo del Sannio* (Benevento, 1971).

<sup>79</sup> Sauneron, *Esna VIII*; and Christian Leitz, "Die beiden kryptographischen Inschriften aus Esna mit den Widdern und Krokodilen," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 29 (2001), 251-276.

<sup>80</sup> Rory Egan, "Eros, Eloquence and Entomo-psychology in Plato's *Phaedrus*," in *idem* and Mark A. Joyal (eds.), *Daimonopylai: Essays in Classics and the Classical Tradition presented to Edmund G. Berry* [Winnipeg, 2004], 65-87.



**Figure 1: Amulet in the shape of a grasshopper, Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève, FGA-ARCH-EG-0567, photograph by the author.**



**Figure 2: Amulet in the shape of a grasshopper, Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève, FGA-ARCH-EG-0621, photograph by the author.**



**Figure 3: Amulet in the shape of a grasshopper, Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 12638, courtesy of Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, photographer: unknown. I thank Caris-Beatrice Arnst for providing me with the photographs from the negatives which were recently located.**



Figures 4-5: Amulet in the shape of a grasshopper, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 1620, courtesy of Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, photographer: unknown. I thank Caris-Beatrice Arnst for providing me with the photographs from the negatives which were recently located.



**Figure 6:** Grasshoppers atop the capital of Column 9 in the Temple at Esna, a cropped version of Günther Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel Römische Politik und altägyptische Ideologie von Augustus bis Diocletian, Tempelbau in Oberägypten* (Mainz, 2000), page 105, figure 143.



# Third Intermediate Period Coffin Fragments in Queen's University's Art Conservation Program: Investigation of Early Stewardship

Amandina Anastassiades and Mark Trumpour

**Abstract:** Among Ted Brock's recent work is the restoration of the sarcophagi of Merenptah and Ramesses VI. In keeping with his interests, this article presents the results of the initial examination of three partial coffins presently housed at Queen's University's Masters of Art Conservation program. The fragments, some quite substantial, are described along with information gleaned to date regarding their acquisition and provenance.

**Résumé:** La restauration des sarcophages de Merenptah et de Ramsès VI figure parmi les travaux récents de Ted Brock. Au regard de ses intérêts, cet article présente les résultats de l'examen initial de trois sarcophages partiels présentement conservés par le Programme de maîtrise en conservation de l'art de l'Université Queen's. Cet article fait une description de ces fragments, dont quelques-uns sont substantiels, et compile les informations relatives à leurs acquisitions et leurs provenances.

**Keywords:** Akhmim, coffin, conservation, provenance, restoration, Thebes, TIP, Yellow coffin

**Mots-clés:** Akhmim, sarcophagi, conservation, provenance, restauration, Thèbes, TPI, sarcophage jaune

## Introduction

The partial remains of three adult coffins dating to the Third Intermediate Period are currently under study in the Masters of Art Conservation program at Queen's University in Canada.<sup>1</sup> Presented here is the first stage of a multi-phased interdisciplinary project: areas of study include ethics, history, iconography and epigraphy, as well as the media, construction and conservation analyses of the coffins. This paper outlines the recent chain of events leading to the fragments' donation to Queens; describes the coffin types; and proposes scenarios for the fragments' early chronology of stewardship and acquisition.

## Donation of fragments to Queen's University (1989-2015)

The coffin fragments now residing in the Art Conservation program at Queen's University were once part of the former Stanford University Museum of Art's collection. Typical of early collections, records describing the coffins' early stewardship, including how, when, and in what condition they entered Stanford

<sup>1</sup> Mark Trumpour, "Canadians Collect Egypt: Captains, the Curious and a Famous Scoundrel," presented 7 November 2015 as part of the SSEA symposium "Egypt's Threatened Treasures: Plunder and Restoration, Past & Present." Online at [https://www.academia.edu/25235295/Canadians\\_Collect\\_Ancient\\_Egypt\\_Captains\\_the\\_Curious\\_and\\_a\\_Famous\\_Scoundrel](https://www.academia.edu/25235295/Canadians_Collect_Ancient_Egypt_Captains_the_Curious_and_a_Famous_Scoundrel)

University Art Museum, are sparse. What is known of the history of these objects at the time they arrived at Queen's follows.

Stanford University Museum of Art suffered an earthquake in 1989 that destroyed the building but caused no damage to the collections. Under the directorship of Thomas K. Seligman, the museum reformed its mission as an art museum. Archaeological and anthropological materials were moved to Stanford University's Anthropology Department and the original museum building underwent extensive restoration work, to re-emerge as the Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts. These materials are now managed by the Stanford Archaeology Center as the Stanford University Archaeology Collections.

Although no objects were damaged, the earthquake necessitated the packing and temporary relocation of the entire collection to allow for the construction of the new Cantor Art Centre. During this period, Seligman and staff took the opportunity to divest the museum holdings of items that were not in keeping with the new mission. Among these were the remains of three coffins lacking accession numbers, which could not be connected to any documentation at the time.<sup>2</sup> In June 1993, this group of coffin remains was selected for deaccessioning. Three packages of fragments were given to the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology in the United States and seven packages were sent to the Canadian Conservation Institute in Canada.<sup>3</sup> Both sets of fragments remained virtually untouched by the two receiving institutions until the fall of 2014, when the CCI donated ten fragments from one package in its possession to the Art Conservation program's study collection at Queen's University.

In 2014-2015 Queen's students in the Artifacts Treatment stream carried out a preliminary study and analyses of a small selection of pigment and textile samples taken from the coffin fragments. In the summer of 2015, two fragments went on display in Kingston at the Pump House Steam Museum as part of the Royal Ontario Museum's travelling exhibit, "Egypt, Gift of the Nile." The excitement of this work, combined with study on the ethical questions surrounding the approach to preserving ancient materials,<sup>4</sup> prompted the Art Conservation program to request that the CCI donate its remaining fragments to Queen's University for study and research. The CCI consented and the objects arrived at Queen's in December 2015. This generous donation included numerous fragments, many substantial.

<sup>2</sup> Anna Soland, Assistant Curator of Collections Storage and Research, Cantor Arts Center. Personal communication, 18 February 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Madeleine Fang, Conservator, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology. Personal communication, 9 January 2015.

<sup>4</sup> A. Anastassiades, Doxsey-Whitfield, M., Doyle, D., Guerin, A.M., Imamura, L., Porteous, G., Savage, C., Zweifel, S., "Those in the Netherworld Sing: Considering the Intangible in Conserving Dissociated Ancient Objects," Joint AIC 44th Annual Meeting & CAC 42nd Annual Conference, Palais des Congrès, Montreal, QC, May 13-17, 2016.

## Identification and Provenience

Cataloguing and a condition assessment are underway of the over one hundred coffin fragments that comprise the partial remains of the three coffins now at Queen's. Represented are portions of one Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin and two Twenty-first Dynasty Yellow Type V coffins, although parts of additional coffins may also be present.

The Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin (AA2190.A) comprises fragments from the lid including parts of the head, chest, foot/pedestal, as well as portions of the trough with text running down the sides (Figure 1). A cursory examination of the texts suggests they include a standard *hṭp-di-nswt* offering formula.

The identification of this coffin as a Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin is due primarily to its large pedestal. John Taylor observes that in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, “a new type of anthropoid case was introduced” in which “the coffin represents the deceased on a rectangular plinth or pedestal.”<sup>5</sup> This key feature can clearly be seen in Queen's coffin AA2190.A (Figure 2). Other features also make Dynasty Twenty-five the probable time period; John Taylor has described a number of variants of this type of coffin.<sup>6</sup> Dodson and Ikram also discuss the development of Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffins.<sup>7</sup>

The closest match for the coffin now at Queen's is an example in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (No. 51.1995/1-2).<sup>8</sup> Shared characteristics include the vertical text down the sides of the coffin, an identical band or border of coloured rectangles running around the top of the pedestal and along the sides of the coffin lid, and a very shallow trough. This coffin type is attested at Akhmim. The Queen's coffin also has similarities to British Museum coffin EA25256.

Of the two Yellow Type V coffins, one (AA2190.B) includes two substantial fragments that comprise the entire top portion of the lid, but is missing the feet (Figure 3).

The other Yellow Type V coffin (AA2190.C) includes fragments of the face and a significant portion of the chest, including the *wesekh* collar and protective wings covering the breast, and a pair of finely crafted hands (Figure 4).

Anthropoid, “Yellow” coffins are commonly found at Thebes,<sup>9</sup> although some have been attested at Memphis. The coffins acquired by Leland Stanford Jr.

<sup>5</sup> John Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 236.

<sup>6</sup> John Taylor, “Theban Coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty: Dating and synthesis of development,” in Nigel Strudwick and John Taylor (Eds), *The Theban Necropolis: Past Present and Future* (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 95-121.

<sup>7</sup> Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 236-238.

<sup>8</sup> Eva Liptay, *Coffins and Coffin Fragments of the Third Intermediate Period* (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2011), Plate 14.

<sup>9</sup> Andrzej Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1988).



were said to have been excavated by Emil Brugsch at Thebes,<sup>10</sup> supporting the possibility that the Queen's fragments stem from Leland's early acquisitions. The Yellow type first appears in Dynasty 20, becomes very popular in Dynasty 21, and then fades from use in Dynasty 22. Over the period, this coffin type evolved through several versions or sub-types, originally described by Niwinski, and numbered YI through YV. The development is depicted in an easily accessible form in Ikram and Dodson.<sup>11</sup> The final sub-type is YV, which appears in the reign of Pinudjem II (ca. 985 BCE) and disappears in the reign of Osorkon I (i.e. by 890 BCE).<sup>12</sup> A key indicator for the Type V coffin is the red stola, also referred to as mummy braces, which are present on both of the Queen's coffins.<sup>13</sup>

### Early Stewardship

When this study commenced, little was known of the coffins' history prior to the 1989 earthquake. Along with the packages, both the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the CCI received black and white photographs of the coffin fragments in storage prior to their deaccessioning from the museum (Figure 5). From what can be seen of the coffin remains in the Stanford University Museum images, the fragments are easily identifiable as the fragments now at Queen's.

The museum storage photographs capture the three coffins in a severely fragmented state. As noted earlier, it is recorded that no objects were damaged in the 1989 earthquake. After attempts to date the acquisition of the fragments by Stanford University Museum between 1906 and 1989 proved unfruitful, two questions were raised:

Is it possible the damage the coffins suffered occurred in the museum during the devastating Great Earthquake that struck San Francisco in 1906? If this is correct, were the coffins collected by Stanford family members? Communication with current Stanford University curatorial and collections staff, combined with a search of archival records and related publications, have revealed some interesting findings.

Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive listing of the Egyptian holdings at the time of the earthquake; the museum's cataloguing process only began in 1910,<sup>14</sup> after the 1906 earthquake destroyed two wings of the museum building and caused extensive damage to portions of the collections.

<sup>10</sup> S. J. Wolfe and Robert Singerman, *Mummies in Nineteenth Century America: Ancient Egyptians as Artifacts* (North Carolina, 2009), 236. Wolfe derives this information from the *Ninth Annual Register, 1899-1900* (Stanford, California, 1900), 27.

<sup>11</sup> Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, 228-233. A useful chart of types appears on 229.

<sup>12</sup> John Taylor (2003), 103.

<sup>13</sup> See for example a discussion of mummy braces and coffin type in Lawrence M. Berman, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art: The Cleveland Museum of Art* (New York, 1999), 314.

<sup>14</sup> Anna Lessenger Soland, Assistant Curator of Collections Storage and Research, Cantor Arts Center. Personal communication, 25 March 2016.

The earthquake was particularly devastating to the Egyptian exhibition galleries, which collapsed. The extent of destruction is illustrated in photographs held in the Stanford Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts. Figure 6<sup>15</sup> illustrates a damaged coffin amidst the rubble.

Osborne notes that a child's coffin, collected by David Hewes, was "crushed beyond salvage in the earthquake of 1906,"<sup>16</sup> and "The faculty and its administrators showed little desire to salvage from the Museum's wreckage whatever could have served as the start of a new, academically useful collection. The remains of the building were allowed to fall into further disrepair, and all pretence of scholarship gradually ceased."<sup>17</sup>

At the time, a substantial number of the museum's holdings had come from the Stanford family. Forming the core of the museum's original collection was material collected by Leland Stanford Jr. An early record indicates that he had acquired two coffins and mummies from Emile Brugsch, then Assistant Curator of the Cairo Museum. Brugsch excavated them from Thebes.<sup>18</sup> As we have seen, Thebes is the likely source for the remains of the two Yellow coffins whose fragments are now at Queen's.

Leland Stanford Jr. died in 1884 at the age of fifteen. His acquisition of the two coffins probably occurred during trips he took with his parents, one in 1880-81 and a second in 1883-84, the trip that ended in his death.<sup>19</sup> Following his passing, Leland's grieving parents seized on the idea of creating a university and museum as a way to keep his legacy alive. Leland Stanford Jr. University opened its doors to students in 1891, and the museum opened to the public in 1894.<sup>20</sup>

Leland's mother Jane continued collecting, acquiring two further lots of Egyptian material for the museum between 1901 and the time of her death in 1905.<sup>21</sup> A letter in the museum archives indicates that her collecting added a further four coffins and mummies, comprising three adult coffins and one child's coffin.<sup>22</sup>

The museum also received a donation of material collected by David Hewes, the husband of Jane Stanford's sister. Between 1870 and 1879, Hewes acquired the

<sup>15</sup> Photograph by Joseph A. Baird, Jr., taken 1906. Albumen print located in the Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts, Accession No. 1975.60.21.

<sup>16</sup> Carol M. Osborne, *Museum Builders in the West* (Stanford University, 1986), 67.

<sup>17</sup> Osborne, 18.

<sup>18</sup> *Ninth Annual Register, 1899-1900*, 1900. Leland Stanford Junior University, Stanford Ca. 27.

<sup>19</sup> Theresa Johnston, "About a Boy," *Stanford Magazine* (July/August 2003). Accessed online at [https://alumni.stanford.edu/get/page/magazine/article/?article\\_id=36804](https://alumni.stanford.edu/get/page/magazine/article/?article_id=36804) on February 29, 2016.

<sup>20</sup> "History of the Cantor Arts Center," accessed online on February 29, 2016 at [http://museum.stanford.edu/explore/museum\\_history.html](http://museum.stanford.edu/explore/museum_history.html)

<sup>21</sup> Cherkea Howery, documentation, "Exhibit Title: Object Lessons III – 'Museum Acquisitions,'" Stanford University Archaeology Collections, 2011.

<sup>22</sup> From a letter in the Stanford Archives, quoted by Anna Soland (see Note 2 above) in a personal communication, 25 March 2016.

coffin and mummy of a child.<sup>23</sup> He acquired three additional "beautifully encased" mummies by purchase in Cairo in March 1890.<sup>24</sup>

While the museum also received material from the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), this did not include coffins or mummies.<sup>25</sup> Additional Egyptian material was donated by Timothy Hopkins, a friend of the Stanfords, but no coffins or mummies appear to have been included in his donations.<sup>26</sup>

The Cantor Arts Centre still holds a coffin datable to the Twenty-first Dynasty, one that originated with the collection of the Cooper Medical College. Since the College amalgamated with Stanford University in 1913, presumably the coffin was transferred to Stanford at the same time. Having been housed outside of the museum until then, it did not sustain the same earthquake damage as the other coffins. This is the only complete coffin remaining at Stanford today.<sup>27</sup> Fragments of cartonnage also remain in the collection, possibly salvaged from a Greco-Roman mummy case that appears in an archival photograph in the Stanford Historical Photograph Collection.<sup>28</sup>

To summarize, Table 1 lists the pre-1906 documented Egyptian collection of coffins in the Stanford Museum. Since the Hewes' coffins were donated by Mrs. Stanford's sister, is it possible that these were attributed to Jane Stanford, and the Jane Stanford and Hewes mummies and coffins are one and the same?

<b>Coffin Provenance</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Origin</b>		<b>Reference</b>
Leland Stanford Jr.	Two, adult	Purchase from E. Brugsch, before 1885	Excavated at Thebes	<i>Ninth Annual Register, 1899-1900</i> , 1900. Leland Stanford Junior University, Stanford Ca. 27 <sup>29</sup>
Jane Stanford	Three, adult One, child	Purchase from E. Brugsch, before 1905	Not known	Letter in the Stanford University Archives
David Hewes	One, child	Purchase from E. Brugsch	Excavated at Thebes	Osborne, 63
	Three, adult	Purchased in Cairo, March 1890	Not known	Osborne, 65

<sup>23</sup> Osborne, 63.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Osborne, 65.

<sup>25</sup> EEF files, as conveyed by Alice Stevenson, 4 April 2016.

<sup>26</sup> His various donations are discussed in Osborne, 17, 60 and 67.

<sup>27</sup> Anna Soland, Assistant Curator of Collections Storage and Research, Cantor Arts Center. Personal communication, 18 February 2015.

<sup>28</sup> Stanford Historical Photograph Collection, Photo ID 6272.

<sup>29</sup> S. J. Wolfe and Robert Singerman, 27.

This accounts for a total of six to ten coffins known to be part of the Stanford University Museum collections prior to 1906. Photographs taken of the Egyptian gallery prior to 1906 show multiple coffins on display (Figure 7);<sup>30</sup> however, further examination of the images is needed to discern the total number of coffins recorded on display.

Apart from the round of de-accessioning of damaged coffins that occurred in 1993, we are aware of no other de-accessioning of coffins or coffin fragments. This suggests that the remains of the coffins collected prior to 1906 were dispersed in 1993. There were only two recipients of the fragments, the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, and the CCI.

It seems possible then, that the fragments at Queen's today may be from one or both of the coffins Leland Stanford Jr. acquired from Brugsch. Other fragments at Queen's may belong to coffins collected by David Hewes or Jane Stanford, coffins which also seem to have come through Brugsch, either as seller or as middleman.<sup>31</sup>

Indeed, a further search of the Stanford Historical Photograph Collection produced two key images taken prior to the 1906 earthquake: an intact coffin and mummy during installation in the Egyptian Galleries (Figure 8); and the same intact coffin on display, we believe (Figure 9).

The intact coffin in these images is clearly identifiable as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin now in fragments at Queen's (AA2190.A). A number of elements appear very much the same, including the head, and the bands of text running along the side of the trough. The most compelling evidence is marked by the condition of the pedestal, where a pattern of staining is identical, as seen in Figures 10 and 11. This evidence clearly proves this coffin was part of the Stanford University Museum collection and on display in the Egyptian gallery prior to 1906. Thus, it is plausible this coffin could have been collected by a member of the Stanford family.

Other images taken after the earthquake show the devastation of the Egyptian gallery and capture the effort to gather together fragments from the wreckage. One image is particularly intriguing, as a fragment from one of the Yellow coffins at Queen's (Figure 12) is visible in the foreground of the wreckage (Figure 13), which attests to its exhibition in the Egyptian gallery prior to 1906. Several other Queen's fragments from this coffin appear to resemble fragments seen amongst the debris, but the photograph's image resolution is too poor to assign any further identification with confidence at this time.

At the moment there is no evidence that indicates the second Yellow coffin (AA2190.C) was acquired after 1906. So it is conceivable that it too was collected prior to 1906, and by a Stanford family member as well. Further investigation

<sup>30</sup> See also: SHPC Photo ID 6269.3, Reference 00009463-19576; SHPC Photo ID 6268, Reference 00009459-20377; SHPC Photo ID 6274, Reference 00009463-19581. Photos are available online.

<sup>31</sup> Osborne notes, "Brugsch was quite accustomed to selling antiquities and plasters to Americans either from a shop on the premises of the Bulak Museum maintained for this purpose or as a middleman in other deals," 66.

including a deeper search of the photographic archival records may prove fruitful in confirming the exhibition of this coffin in the Egyptian gallery along with the others.

### **Current and Future Research and Conservation**

Further work on the coffins at Queen's University is planned as multi-phased, collaborative and multi-disciplinary studies in the following areas, some of which are currently underway:

- Study of historical background and provenance.
- Study of iconography and inscriptions.
- Documentation and analysis of materials composition and manufacturing techniques using: ultraviolet light (UV), infrared reflectography (IR), microscopy (PLM, XPL), Fourier transform infrared (FT-IR) spectroscopy, x-ray fluorescence (pXRF) spectroscopy, scanning electron microscopy (SEM-EDS), computed tomographic (CT,  $\mu$ CT) imaging and photogrammetry.
- Virtual reconstruction using: computed tomographic (CT) imaging and photogrammetry.
- Execution of conservation treatments including: materials stabilization, cleaning and physical reconstruction.

Highlights of this project include providing students in the Art Conservation program at Queen's University with a unique and exciting experiential learning opportunity to study and conserve Egyptian material in Canada in collaboration with scholars and experts in related fields.

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Figure 1: Coffin fragments (AA2190.A); Queen's University. Photo V. Kablys.



Figure 2: Coffin fragments: Pedestal (AA2190.A); Queen's University. Photo A. Anastassiades.



Figure 3: Coffin fragments (AA2190.B); Queen's University. Photo V. Kablys.





Figure 4: Coffin fragments (AA2190.C); Queen's University. Photo A. Anastassiades.



**Figure 5: Stanford University Museum: Coffins in storage (composite photo), prior to 1993 date.**



**Figure 6: Stanford University Museum: Coffin amongst the rubble after the Earthquake of 1906; Photograph by Joseph A. Baird, Jr., taken 1906. Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts, Accession No. 1975.60.21.**



**Figure 7: Stanford University Museum: Egyptian Gallery, coffins on display prior to 1906 earthquake; Stanford Historical Photograph Collection, SHPC ID 6269.2.**



**Figure 8: Stanford Museum: Egyptian Gallery, installation of coffin in exhibition case prior to 1906 earthquake; Stanford Historical Photograph Collection, SHPC ID 6273.**



**Figure 9: Stanford Museum: Egyptian Gallery, coffin on display prior to 1906 earthquake; Stanford Historical Photograph Collection, SHPC ID 6266.**



**Figure 10: Stanford Museum: detail of staining on pedestal in Figure 8; Stanford Historical Photograph Collection, SHPC ID 6273.**



**Figure 11: Detail of staining on pedestal (AA2190.A); Queen's University. Photo A. Anastassiades.**

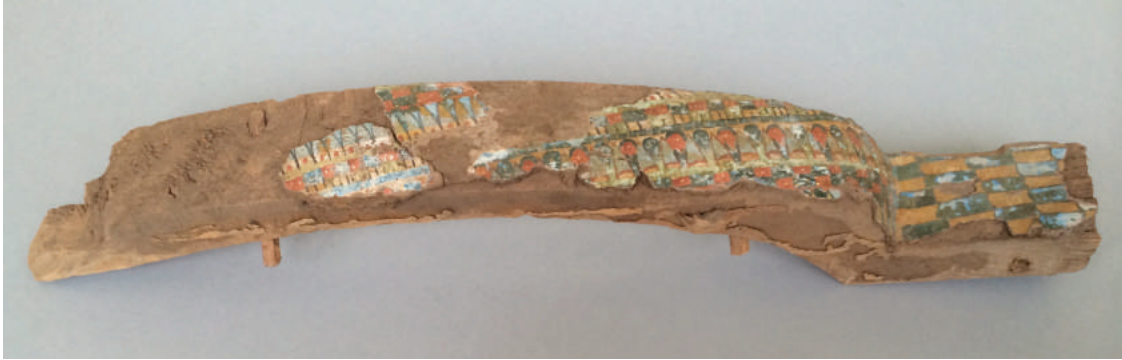


Figure 12: Yellow Type V coffin fragment; Queen's University. Photo A. Anastassiades.



Figure 13: Stanford University Museum: sorting damaged collections post 1906 earthquake. Yellow Type V coffin fragment in Fig. 12 can be seen in foreground; Stanford Historical Photograph Collection, SHPC ID 2705.1.

# Persian Period Bes Vessels from Tell el-Maskhuta<sup>1</sup>

## Stanley Klassen

**Abstract:** A number of Bes vessels were uncovered during the 1985 excavation season in Area Q at Tell el-Maskhuta in the eastern Nile Delta. The architectural phases in which these vessels were found have been dated to the Persian period based on associated ceramic finds. Comparison with established typologies suggests a close affiliation with Bes vessels from Tell el-Herr in the north Sinai, and the fabrics indicate local production in the region of Wadi Tumilat. This paper proposes that greater diversity existed in the production of Bes vessels than has been previously identified.

**Résumé:** De nombreux vases Bès furent découverts lors des fouilles de 1985 sur le site de Tell el-Maskhuta, dans l'est du Delta du Nil, dans la zone de fouille Q. Les phases architecturales au sein desquelles ces vases furent trouvés ont été datées de l'époque perse compte tenu de la céramique trouvée. La comparaison de ces vases avec les typologies déjà établies suggère une forte affiliation avec les vases Bès provenant de Tell el-Herr, dans le nord du Sinäi, alors que la pâte indique une production locale dans la région du Wadi Tumilat. Cet article avance l'idée qu'une diversité plus grande que celle précédemment identifiée existait dans la production des vases Bès.

**Keywords:** Bes, Bes vessel, Tell el-Maskhuta, Wadi Tumilat, Persian Period, Achaemenid, Late Period

**Mots-clés:** Bès, vases Bès, Tell el-Maskhuta, Wadi Tumilat, Période perse, Achéménides, Basse époque

### Introduction

Bes vessels attributed to the Persian or Late Period have been discovered throughout the Near East. Although they appear as early as the New Kingdom, it is during the Persian period that they become most prominent with the increase in popularity of this particular god.<sup>2</sup> Vessels of this type are commonly found at sites throughout the Achaemenid Empire and particularly in Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This short article is dedicated to Edwin C. Brock who was a valued member of the Wadi Tumilat Project (WTP). Ted began at Tell el-Maskhuta in 1981 and worked for three seasons. Unfortunately the director of the project, John (Jack) S. Holladay Jr.†, was unable to write an article due to illness when he learned of Ted's passing, but wanted to contribute in some way to honour Ted's contribution to the field of Egyptology and the WTP. It is my honour to write on Jack's behalf for this special JSSEA volume in honour of Ted Brock.

<sup>2</sup> See P. Charvát, "The Bes Jug. Its Origin and Development in Egypt," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 107 (1980): 49; L. Kuchman Sabbahy, "Observations on Bes-pots of the late Period," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 109 (1982): 147. Note also, that of the 384 Bes-vessels studied by Kaiser, 274 (71%) belong to this period alone. K. R. Kaiser, *Water, Milk, Beer and Wine for the Living and the Dead: Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian Bes-Vessels from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman Period*, unpublished doctoral dissertation (2003): 350.

<sup>3</sup> For details on the origin and worship of the deity Bes, see P. Charvát, "The Bes Jug. Its Origin and Development in Egypt"; V. I. Yarmolovich, "Dating the Bes Vessels from the Ces Ras Excavations

The Bes vessels presented here were uncovered within two squares excavated in Area Q during the 1985 season at Tell el-Maskhuta directed by Dr. John S. Holladay Jr. as part of the Wadi Tumilat Project (WTP). Based on initial assessments of the pottery found with the Bes vessels, a date between the mid-6<sup>th</sup> and late 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE has been proposed by the excavators. Numerous typologies of these unique vessels have already been established;<sup>4</sup> therefore, the examples from Tell el-Maskhuta will be compared to relevant published studies, not only to establish how they compare typologically, but also to determine how they fit chronologically with Bes vessels found at other sites. As provenance is also a concern, I will evaluate the fabric of these vessels and how they relate to the suggestion of specialized production of Bes vessels during this period.

### Excavation Context

All of the Bes vessels discussed in this paper were found during the 1985 season in two excavation squares in Area Q: square Q4 supervised by E. Cline and Q5 supervised by M. Morden. The architecture uncovered within these squares was composed of a series of mudbrick rooms with associated pit features (Figures 1-3) dating to the Persian period based on the ceramic finds, roughly between the mid-6<sup>th</sup> and late 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. The sherds belong to three architectural phases, with two sherds uncovered in the earlier Phase 5, two in the later Phase 6, and one sherd associated with the founding of Phase 7 (Table 1). It is uncertain at this point how much time separated these phases, but it should be noted that the larger structure to the east, composed of rooms D and J, continues in use throughout most of the Persian period with no change in orientation.

at Kom Tuman," in *And the Earth is Joyous ... И ЗЕМЛЯ В ВИКОВАНИИ ... Essays in Honour of Galina A. Belova. Сборник Статей в честь Г. А. Беловой*. Москва: цЕи РАН (2015).

<sup>4</sup> E. Stern, "Bes Vases from Palestine and Syria," *Israel Exploration Journal* 26 (1976): 183-87; L. Kuchman Sabbahy, "Observations on Bes-pots of the Late Period," 144-8; M. C. Guidotti, "I potesi di significato e tipologia dei vasi egizi di Epoca Tarda raffiguranti il dio Bes," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6 (1983) 33-65; J. A. Blakeley and F. L. Horton Jr., "South Palestinian Bes Vessels of the Persian Period," *Levant* 18 (1986): 111-119; D. A. Aston and B. G. Aston, "The Dating of Late Period Bes Vases," in *Proceedings of the 1990 Pottery Symposium at the University of California, Berkeley*, ed. C. A. Redmount and C. A. Keller (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); K. R. Kaiser, *Water, Milk, Beer and Wine for the Living and the Dead: Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian Bes-Vessels from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman Period* (2003); C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," in *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, ed. P. Briant and M. Chauveau, *Persika* 14 (Paris: De Boccard 2009); C. Defernez, "Four Bes Vases from Tell el-Herr (North-Sinai): Analytical Description and Correlation with the Goldsmith's Art of Achaemenid Tradition," in *Under the Potter's Tree. Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. D. Aston, B. Bader, C. Gallorini, P. Nicholson, and S. Buckingham, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 204 (Leuven: Peeters 2011).

Registration Number	Locus	Locus Description	WT Fabric Group	Diametre	Phase
M85 Q4.220.6	4094	Probe in corner of Room D. light brown soil with mud brick tumble	92	12.0	6
M85 Q4.279.3	4005	Mudbrick wall removal	42	12.0	7-10
M85 Q4.393.2	4212	Soil layer in Room D cuts surface 4211? Brown with ashy streaks	92	7.0	5
M85 Q5.84.12/13	5072	Layer = L. 4024 (1981) black ash	92	14.0	6
M85 Q5.146.6/147.3	5121	Black ash pit under L. 5119 (below Room C)	94b	11.0	5

**Table 1: Indication of context, phase, fabric, and diameter of each Bes vessel from Tell el-Maskhuta Area Q.**

### Phase 5

Phase 5 (Figure 2), is composed of a series of pits with multiple layers of ash and compact soil occurring in Square Q5 to the east of the building containing rooms D and J. Wall 5123 emerges from the East baulk of Square Q3, but its relationship to the other structure is uncertain. Vessel M85 Q5.146.6/146.3 was found in Locus 5121, which is described as a series of ashy lenses within a larger pit (L 5120) sealed by a compact brown earth deposit (L 5119). Locus 5121 yielded an abundance of pottery (nine baskets) dating to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Locus 4212 was excavated against the southern face of Wall 4177 within Room D (Figure 2). Vessel M85 Q4.393.2 was found in this locus, composed of a brown soil with ashy streaks, which possibly cuts surface L4211 that extends throughout Room D, and is therefore slightly later than the surface itself, but does not appear to be part of Phase 6.

### Phase 6

Vessel M85 Q5.84.12-13 was uncovered while excavating Locus 5072 which sealed against Walls 5003 and 5004 (Figure 3). This soil locus was composed of a loose greyish brown soil containing a layer of black ash, and is sealed over by a mudbrick platform (L5006/4027) belonging to a later phase.

A probe (L. 4094) was excavated against Wall 4177 in the southwestern corner of Room D. This locus was composed of a light brown soil and contained a “fair bit of pottery.” Vessel M85 Q4.220.6 was uncovered along with a complete vessel and mudbrick tumble (Figure 4).

### Phase 7



Vessel M85 Q4.279.3 was found during the dismantling of Wall 4005 and uncovered within the mudbrick. This wall was first exposed during the 1981 excavation season and is constructed directly on top of W4135 of Phase 6, using it as a foundation. Wall 4005 was in use through Phases 7 to 10 and acts as the south end of Room D (Figure 5). As the sherd was mixed in with the mud to produce the bricks, it is quite possible that the sherd dates to one of the earlier phases of the Persian period uncovered at the site, but cannot date later than Phase 7.

### Typology

As discussed above, a number of typologies have been published focusing on Bes vessels from the Late Period, although not all of the established typologies follow the same criteria. For example, some focus on fabric,<sup>5</sup> others on general vessel morphology in combination with the physical attributes detailing the deity Bes,<sup>6</sup> and there are those that include all of these aspects.<sup>7</sup> Other studies are site specific and highlight the details such as rim shape and vessel form.<sup>8</sup> Not only are rims, bases, and the application of Bes imagery varied on those vessels studied to date, so too are the vessel forms. Functional terminology such as jugs, vases, bottles and pitchers have all been used.

Although only one example of the Bes vessels uncovered at Tell el-Maskhuta in squares Q4 and Q5 shows a partial a rim, the curvature of the vessel body and the positioning of the Bes figure on the other sherds assist us in determining the form of these vessels.

### M85.Q4.279.3 (Fig. 6.1)

This fragmentary vessel consists of only one body sherd with an applied fragmentary right arm. However, based on the positioning of the arm and the diameter and stance of the sherd, it would appear that the vessel is similar in shape to M85.Q5.146.6/147.3 (see below). Most other vessel types show the arm at the mid-point or waist of the vessel, whereas this vessel type has the arm positioned on the lower half of the vessel. The interior shows some evidence of turning and the wall is relatively thin. The arm is not as realistic as those appearing on the other Bes vessels found at Tell el-Maskhuta and only shows a slight bend. A shoulder is evident, but as the arm is not at a right angle, no elbow is present. Differentiation of fingers on the hand is identifiable but limited.

<sup>5</sup> L. Kuchman Sabbahy, "Observations on Bes-pots of the Late Period."

<sup>6</sup> M. C. Guidotti, "I ipotesi di significato e tipologia dei vasi egizi di Epoca Tarda raffiguranti il dio Bes."

<sup>7</sup> D. A. Aston and B. G. Aston, "The Dating of Late Period Bes Vases"; K. R. Kaiser, *Water, Milk, Beer and Wine for the Living and the Dead: Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian Bes-Vessels from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman Period*.

<sup>8</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification."

**M85.Q5. 84.12/13 (Fig. 6.2)**

This vessel is composed of two mended sherds representing the body of a jar. With an interior diameter of 12.0 cm, the body reflects a more ovoid shape than the other vessels from Tell el-Maskhuta, showing similarities to Defernez's Type I<sup>9</sup> which is dated to phase VA (end of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE). The curvature, towards what would be the shoulder of the vessel, does not indicate any change in direction towards a neck. Two applied physical features are visible indicating the right side of the figure is represented. An ear is apparent at the point of curvature of the vessel moving towards the shoulder. The ear is an applied circular piece of clay with an impression on the right side. Directly below the ear is an arm in relaxed position with a right angle bend at the elbow. The details clearly show a shoulder with elbow and forearm. Although the hand is partially missing, there is clear evidence of the beginnings of fingers. The fingers are less precise than other examples and represent more of a pincher type of hand.<sup>10</sup>

**M85.Q4.220.6 (Fig. 6.3)**

This body sherd would appear to be from what has been described as a vase by Defernez, with the best examples falling into her Types E and F,<sup>11</sup> or perhaps Type H,<sup>12</sup> which date from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. With a maximum diameter of 14.0 cm, this larger vessel shows vertical sides with a slight carination at the shoulder. The angle of the shoulder is slight and does not reflect the more common bottle or pitcher form which has a smaller body diameter and much narrower neck.<sup>13</sup> Only two anthropomorphic features are visible on the remains of this vessel, indicating the right side of the god Bes. The first is the top of a moulded shoulder with an incomplete upper arm hanging downwards, positioned just at the point of carination of the vessel. The second physical feature is what appears to be an applied clay nose with a single nostril impressed within it. A

<sup>9</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 198, fig. 20.

<sup>10</sup> See C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," fig. 14.

<sup>11</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 189-193, fig. 11, 13-14.

<sup>12</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 195-97, fig. 17-19.

<sup>13</sup> D. A. Aston and B. G. Aston, "The Dating of Late Period Bes Vases," fig. 6.5; J. A. Blakeley and F. L. Horton Jr., "South Palestinian Bes Vessels of the Persian Period," fig. 2, plates 14-15; C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," fig. 26; G. Lecuyot, "La céramique de mastaba d'Akhetetep à Saqqara. Observations préliminaires," *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne* 6 (2000) : 241, fig. 2.1 BE.15 (SA 1992/418).

parallel has been found at Mendes<sup>14</sup> as well as an unprovenanced jar in the Cairo catalogue published by Kaiser.<sup>15</sup>

**M85.Q5.146.6/147.3 (Fig. 6.4)**

Although lacking a rim, this mendable vessel is a clear parallel to the Type G vase from Tell el-Herr which Defernez dates to phase VA (end of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE).<sup>16</sup> Limited parallels are identified at sites such as Heliopolis and Memphis.<sup>17</sup> Composed of two sherds, the vessel has an ovoid body with a maximum diameter of 12.0 cm. The vessel body is thick and shows clear carination at the shoulder where the neck changes to a vertical position creating a closed vessel. The anthropomorphic features are of the right side of the body and are represented by an ear and an arm. The ear is cup shaped with a depression in the applied clay. The applied arm is directly below the ear and has a defined shoulder with a relaxed arm at a right angle to the body. The elbow is well defined and realistic looking, with a delineated forearm, wrist, and hand. Impressed within the flat hand are four incisions replicating five fingers.

**M85.Q4.393.2 (Fig. 6.5)**

This vessel is the most complete of the Bes vessels excavated within the two squares at Tell el-Maskhuta. As the only sherd with rim attached, it is possible to compare it more closely with the published typologies. Although the thickened rim and ridging below shows similarities to Defernez's Type A,<sup>18</sup> its vertical sides fall more clearly into her Type B form,<sup>19</sup> both of which are dated to phase VIA (third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE). For Type A, Defernez suggests parallels can be found at Saqqara and Gourna,<sup>20</sup> but there are none outside of Tell el-Herr for Type B. The vessel has a thickened vertical rim with a diameter of 7.0 cm. Three ridges situated on the shoulder show evidence of turning and are emblematic of the

<sup>14</sup> D. B. Redford, *Excavations at Mendes. Volume 1. The Royal Necropolis*, CHANE 20 (Leiden: Brill 2004): plate T.40 (see also, plate T.41 for a much larger parallel).

<sup>15</sup> K. R. Kaiser, *Water, Milk, Beer and Wine for the Living and the Dead: Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian Bes-Vessels from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman Period*, 245, 437 Cat 236.

<sup>16</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," fig. 15-16.

<sup>17</sup> See C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 194 for references. This author would find a closer similarity to her Type A for the vessel from Saqqara (C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 179, fig. 1).

<sup>18</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 158-160, 179-80, fig. 1.

<sup>19</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 158-160, 180-81, fig. 2.

<sup>20</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 180 for references.

carination evident in Defernez's Type B, but also the ridging in Type A. The vessel could be construed as a mug and shows a number of aspects typical of Bes imagery. As the vessel is fragmentary, only part of the right side of the face remains. An applied clay eyebrow angles downwards pointing towards where the nose would likely be, similar to what is common to Aston and Aston's Type V.<sup>21</sup> An ear is situated directly above an appliqué arm and is formed by a small crescent moon shaped piece of clay. The arm is complete and is in a relaxed position with a right angle bend. Both shoulder and elbow are detailed, along with three incised fingers in the hand.

### Typology Summary

Although parallels at sites in Lower Egypt have been suggested for the Bes vessels uncovered at Tell el-Maskhuta, the study that shows the most similarities is the typology described by Defernez<sup>22</sup> based on material excavated at Tell el-Herr in the north Sinai, directly to the northeast of Tell el-Maskhuta. The WTP staff have not established absolute dates for the phases in which the Bes vessels were uncovered, although as mentioned above, they are based on the pottery found in association with the vessels and date roughly between the mid-6<sup>th</sup> to late 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. In comparison to the phases from Tell el-Herr, our earliest vessels from Phase 5 (Figure 6.4–5) fall into a post mid-5<sup>th</sup> to early 4<sup>th</sup> century date (Phases IVA to VA at Tell el-Herr). The vessels from Phase 6 (Figure 6.2–3) reflect parallels in phases VA to VB at Tell el-Herr, dating to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. The similarity of vessel M85 Q4.279.3 (Figure 6.1) found in the mudbrick wall of Phase 7, to M85 Q5.146.6/147.3 of Phase 5 (Figure 6.4), suggests an early date for this vessel as proposed.

The dates for Phases 5 and 6 at Tell el-Maskhuta, established by the WTP, are still general until further analysis on the ceramic corpus from these phases can be conducted. Though the dates are perhaps slightly earlier than those proposed for Tell el-Herr, both sites indicate a comparable mid- to late 5<sup>th</sup> century date and show a similar chronological/typological sequence for the Bes vessels found at each site. A mid- to late 5<sup>th</sup> century date fits well with the dates established by Aston and Aston for their Types IV to VI.<sup>23</sup> However, other than the applied and impressed physical details of the deity evident on their Type V vessels, the morphology of the vessels themselves are not comparable.

<sup>21</sup> D. A. Aston and B. G. Aston, "The Dating of Late Period Bes Vases," 102-106, fig. 6.5.

<sup>22</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification"; C. Defernez, "Four Bes Vases from Tell el-Herr (North-Sinai): Analytical Description and Correlation with the Goldsmith's Art of Achaemenid Tradition."

<sup>23</sup> D. A. Aston and B. G. Aston, "The Dating of Late Period Bes Vases," 100-107.

## Fabric

To this author's knowledge, no chemical or mineralogical analyses have been conducted on any published Bes vessels to date.<sup>24</sup> Some of the studies determine potential regions of production based on similar morphological features in comparison to local vessel types,<sup>25</sup> whereas others simply list details of the representative fabrics identified without referring to provenance. Aston and Aston identify distribution patterns of the provenanced examples in their study, suggesting that vessels made of marl clay were produced in the Memphis-Fayum region, whereas the Nile silt vessels are from the Egyptian Delta.<sup>26</sup> Although Kaiser modifies a number of the fabrics identified by Aston and Aston in his reanalysis of the Late Period Bes vessels, he arrives at similar conclusions for most of his Late period types but suggests that his LP5 forms were likely produced in the region of Saqqara.<sup>27</sup> There appears to be more diversity in the fabrics used to produce the Bes vessels found at Tell el-Herr. Defernez identifies three marl fabrics (C1, C2, and C7) and four fabrics composed of Nile silt (L2, L3, L4 and L5),<sup>28</sup> although mixing of the two clay types is evident in one example.<sup>29</sup> Similarities between Tell el-Herr fabric C1 and fabric K2 at Saqqara<sup>30</sup> have been suggested, and equated to Marls A2 and A3<sup>31</sup> of the Vienna classification system,<sup>32</sup> with fabric L2 related to the Nile C<sup>33</sup> group.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Kaiser issues a call for archaeometric analysis in the form of NAA or magneto-archaeometry (K. R. Kaiser, *Water, Milk, Beer and Wine for the Living and the Dead: Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian Bes-Vessels from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman Period*, 367).

<sup>25</sup> Blakeley and Horton suggest the vessels from Tell el-Hesi, and those similar in form, were produced in Edom (J. A. Blakeley and F. L. Horton Jr., "South Palestinian Bes Vessels of the Persian Period"). Kaiser, however, refutes this region as the production centre as he identifies all the fabrics of a much larger corpus as either Nile silts or Egyptian marls and are therefore from Egypt (K. R. Kaiser, *Water, Milk, Beer and Wine for the Living and the Dead: Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian Bes-Vessels from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman Period*, 254-55). Stern determines his corpus of Bes vessels is of Phoenician origin (E. Stern, "Bes Vases from Palestine and Syria," *Israel Exploration Journal* 26 [1976]: 186).

<sup>26</sup> D. A. Aston and B. G. Aston, "The Dating of Late Period Bes Vases," 108.

<sup>27</sup> K. R. Kaiser, *Water, Milk, Beer and Wine for the Living and the Dead: Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian Bes-Vessels from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman Period*, 358.

<sup>28</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 178-9; C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 288-91.

<sup>29</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 178-9.

<sup>30</sup> P. French and H. Ghaly, "Pottery Chiefly of the Late Dynastic period, from Excavations by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization at Saqqara, 1987," *Cahiers de al Céramique Égyptienne* 2 (1991): 98.

<sup>31</sup> H.-Å Nordström and J Bourriau, "Ceramic Technology: Clays and Fabrics," in *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, eds. D. Arnold and J. Bourriau, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 17 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 176-77.

The Bes vessels from Squares Q4 and Q5 at Tell el-Maskhuta were analyzed macroscopically and three different fabric groups were identified (Table 1). These fabric groups, described below, were determined by the project<sup>35</sup> and deemed to be composed of local clays harvested in the vicinity of Tell el-Maskhuta.

### **Fabric 92**

This fabric is described as a white (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2), very fine calcareous clay with very small sand inclusions of quartz, some medium sand sized sub-angular quartz, many small to medium sand sized iron oxides, fine polygenetic riverine sand, and very small organic cast present.

### **Fabric 94b**

This sub-group of fabric 94 is very pale brown in colour (Munsell 10YR 7/4) and composed of a very fine calcareous clay with a high percentage of very small sand sized quartz, few medium sub-angular quartz, many small sub-angular limestone, and few very small to medium sand sized iron oxides. Also included are fine polygenetic riverine sand inclusions as well as fine organic and chaff casts.

### **Fabric 42**

Fabric 42 is described as a red to reddish yellow (Munsell 10YR 6/6) fine siliceous riverine clay with inclusions of fine mica, limestone, medium to large sand sized sub-round to round quartz, and organic and chaff casts.

### **Fabric Summary**

Although petrography has not been conducted on the Bes vessels from Area Q specifically, other vessels recognized as belonging to the same fabric groups have received such study, and all are identified as locally produced with clays found within the vicinity of Tell el-Maskhuta.<sup>36</sup> As discussed above, some authors have suggested that the majority of Late period Bes vessels were produced in Egypt, primarily in the vicinity of the Memphis-Fayum region or the Egyptian Delta on the basis of the similarity of fabrics. The evidence from Tell el-Maskhuta and Tell el-

<sup>32</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 178; C. Defernez, "Four Bes Vases from Tell el-Herr (North-Sinai): Analytical Description and Correlation with the Goldsmith's Art of Achaemenid Tradition," 288 (n.4).

<sup>33</sup> H.-Å Nordström and J Bourriau, "Ceramic Technology: Clays and Fabrics," 173-4.

<sup>34</sup> C. Defernez, "Les vases Bès à l'époque perse (Égypte-Levant). Essai de classification," 178-9.

<sup>35</sup> The Ware group descriptions are found in the unpublished field records as defined by P. Holladay, P. Paice, and C. Redmount.

<sup>36</sup> For Fabrics 92 and 94b (Aleksandra Ksiezak personal communication) and for Fabric 42, see S. Klassen, "MB II Flat-Bottom Handmade cooking Pots from Wadi Tumilat: A Useful Chronological Marker or an Indicator of Technical Style?" in *Walls of the Prince: Egyptian Interactions with Southwest Asia in Antiquity. Essays in Honour of John S. Holladay Jr.*, ed. T. P. Harrison, E. B. Banning, and S. Klassen, CHANE 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 26-27.

Herr, however, indicates that there may be more diversity in the fabrics of 5<sup>th</sup> century Bes vessels than has been discussed to date. Tell el-Maskhuta is situated east of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile in the eastern Delta, and the fabrics of the Bes vessels from the site appear to be slightly coarser than those found at sites to the west. Although some of the groups from Tell el-Herr are indicative of the Vienna classification system, others are not. Variations in fabric "recipes" or "technological pools" have been shown to reflect micro spaces at the regional or sub-regional level.<sup>37</sup> If the fabrics of vessels thought to be produced to the west are in fact as homogenous as suggested, this would have major implications for the specialization of these vessels and their distribution throughout the larger region. However, if Bes vessels dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century in Egypt do have subtle differences in fabric,<sup>38</sup> there is a distinct possibility that they too were produced locally at or near the site where they were excavated. Aston and Aston specify that their Type V Bes vases are composed of "invariably Marl A2 or Marl A3," and belong to a lower Egyptian potting tradition.<sup>39</sup> Kaiser, on the other hand, is reluctant to use the Vienna System on Late period ceramics and emphasizes that the various sub-types of marl cannot be distinguished without macroscopic observation of fresh breaks, which was not possible for much of his study.<sup>40</sup> Only further archaeometric research in the form of mineral or chemical analysis will help clarify production of Bes vessels in Memphis-Fayum region and the Egyptian Delta.

### Diffusion of the Bes "Style"

The five Bes vessels from Area Q at Tell el-Maskhuta discussed in this paper clearly date to the mid- to late 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, typical of other examples found at Persian period sites throughout the Achaemenid empire, particularly within Egypt. Although typologies of these intriguing vessels have been published, those

<sup>37</sup> O. P. Gosselain, "Social and Technical Identity in a Clay Crystal Ball," in *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, ed. M. T. Stark (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1998): 92; O. P. Gosselain, "Mother Bella was not a Bella. Inherited and Transformed Traditions in Southwest Niger," in *Cultural Transmission and Material Culture. Breaking Down Boundaries*, ed. M. T. Stark, B. J. Bowser, and L. Horne (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2008): 161-63; O. P. Gosselain, "Fine if I Do, Fine if I Don't. Dynamics of Technical Knowledge in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Investigating Archaeological Cultures. Material Culture, Variability, and Transmission*, ed. B. W. Roberts and M. Vander Linden (New York: Springer, 2011): 216; O. P. Gosselain and A. Livingstone Smith, "The Source. Clay Selection and Processing Practices in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Pottery Manufacturing Processes: Reconstruction and Interpretation*, eds. A. Livingstone Smith, D. Bosquet, and R. Martineau, BAR International Series 1439 (Oxford: Archeopress, 2005): 43.

<sup>38</sup> Note the diversity determined by B. Bader in Marl C fabrics. B. Bader, "A concise Guide to Marl C Pottery," *Ägypten und Levant XIII* (2002): 29; B. Bader, *Tell el-Dab'a XIII. Typologie und Chronologie der Mergel C-Ton Keramik. Materialien zum Binnenhandel des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit* (Wein: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001).

<sup>39</sup> D. A. Aston and B. G. Aston, "The Dating of Late Period Bes Vases," 102-03.

<sup>40</sup> K. R. Kaiser, *Water, Milk, Beer and Wine for the Living and the Dead: Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian Bes-Vessels from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman Period*, 246-47, n.59.

uncovered at Tell el-Maskhuta appear most similar to the one developed from vessels excavated at Tell el-Herr. Transformations in vessel form based on chronological phases are also comparable between the two sites. Nonetheless limited parallels are evident at sites in the Nile Delta and the region of Memphis.

Chronological changes of physical characteristics of the deity are apparent, with both impressed and applied clay attributes common to vessels dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE;<sup>41</sup> however, vessel morphology is not! If diversity exists in fabric and vessel shape, how is it that the physical features of Bes appear ubiquitous, to a point, throughout the region? Imitation, be it “stylistic” or “morpho-functional,” is copied through either vertical (direct – potter to potter) or horizontal (indirect – without potter interaction) transmission.<sup>42</sup> In the case of the Bes vessels, horizontal, or indirect transmission, is the most likely mode as style is not duplicated but imitated.<sup>43</sup> This, however, may not be true of the Type V vessels<sup>44</sup> which appear to show a much more standardized production. Thus, duplication of common Bes features, applied to the vessels of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE throughout the region, likely crossed “technological” boundaries via indirect transmission. Therefore, similar physical attributes are common on a variety of vessel forms composed of diverse fabrics produced throughout the Near East during the Achaemenid Empire.

## Conclusion

The Bes vessels excavated at Tell el-Maskhuta dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE show particular affinity to those from Tell el-Herr in the North Sinai. Similar chronological changes in vessel typology might suggest the occurrence of a regional morphological style, although diversity in fabrics suggests unique production centres, most likely local. The origin of production of most Bes vessels has often been suggested to occur in the Memphis-Fayum region for those vessels consisting of marl clays and somewhere in the Nile delta for vessels composed of Nile silts. However, the fabrics of the Tel el-Maskhuta vessels, and those from Tell el-Herr, suggest that production of Bes vessels should be considered more diverse. Specialized production of some Bes vessel types from the above mentioned regions does appear likely but is not indicative of the entire region. With the aid of archaeometric and more detailed macroscopic analysis, there is potential for isolating unique fabric ‘recipes’ allowing us to better understand the production of Bes vessels during the Persian period.

<sup>41</sup> D. A. Aston and B. G. Aston, “The Dating of Late Period Bes Vases.”

<sup>42</sup> V. Roux, “Standardization of ceramic assemblages: Transmission mechanisms and diffusion of morpho-functional traits across social boundaries,” *Journal of Anthropological Science* 40 (2015).

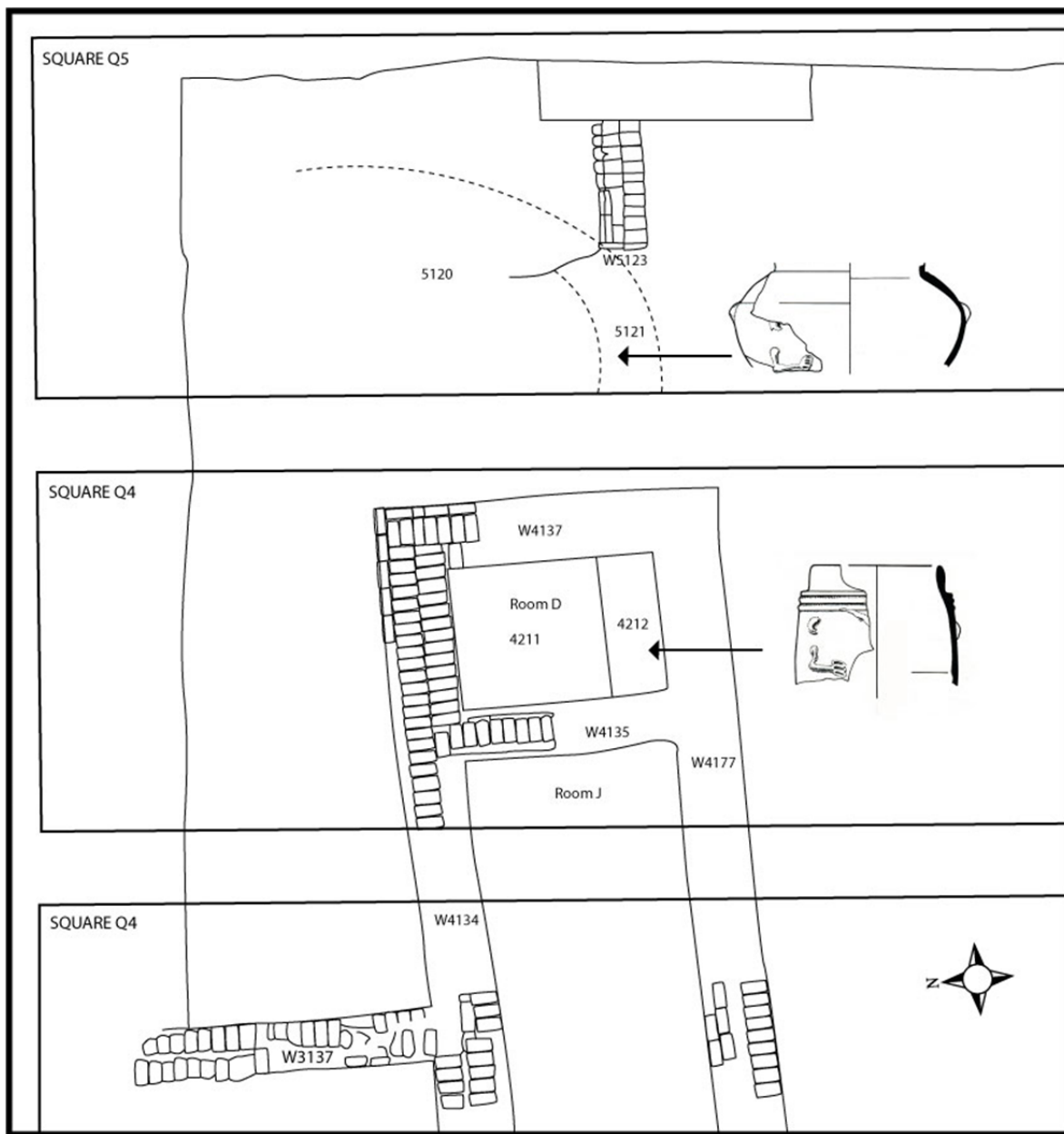
<sup>43</sup> C. Knappett, “Communities of Things and Objects: a Spatial Perspective,” in *The Cognitive Life of Things: Recasting the Boundaries of the Mind*, ed. L. Malafouris and C. Renfrew (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2010): 86-7; O. P. Gosselain, “Mother Bella was not a Bella. Inherited and Transformed Traditions in Southwest Niger,” 172.

<sup>44</sup> D. A. Aston and B. G. Aston, “The Dating of Late Period Bes Vases.”

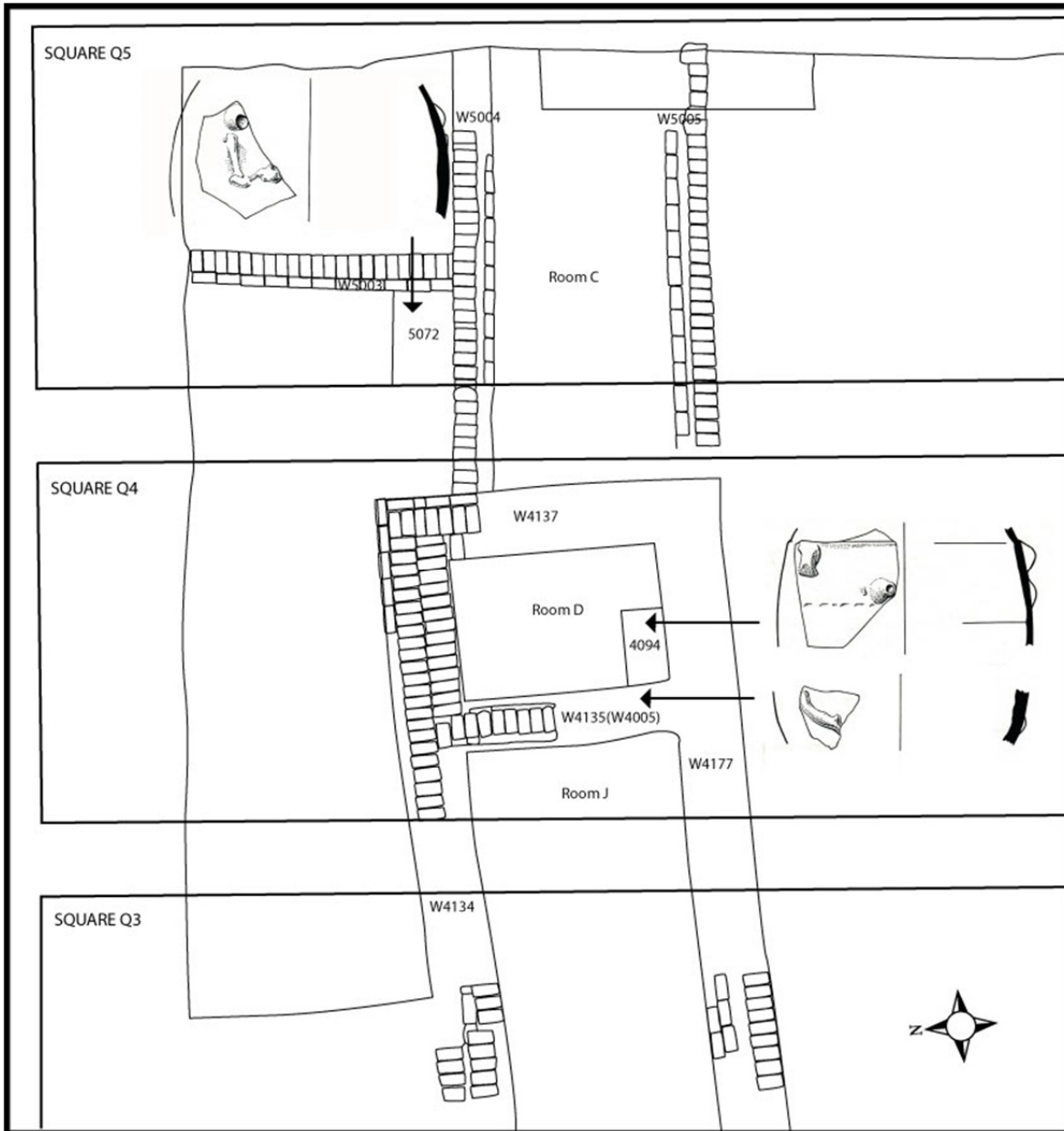




**Figure 1: A view of Area Q from the east, with Room C in the foreground, Room D in the middle with Room J behind.**



**Figure 2: Phase 5 of Area Q showing mudbrick building and associated pits L. 5120 and L.5121. Find spots of the Bes vessels are also indicated in L.5121 (M85 Q5.146.6/147.3) and L. 4212 (M85 Q4.393.2) in Room D**



**Figure 3: Phase 6 of Area Q showing mudbrick buildings and Rooms C, D and J. Find spots of the Bes vessels are also indicated in L5072 (M85 Q4.12/13) and L. 4094 in room D (M85 Q4.220.6). Phase 7 vessel M85 Q4.279.3 is also shown as coming from Wall 4005 built direct on Wall 4135.**

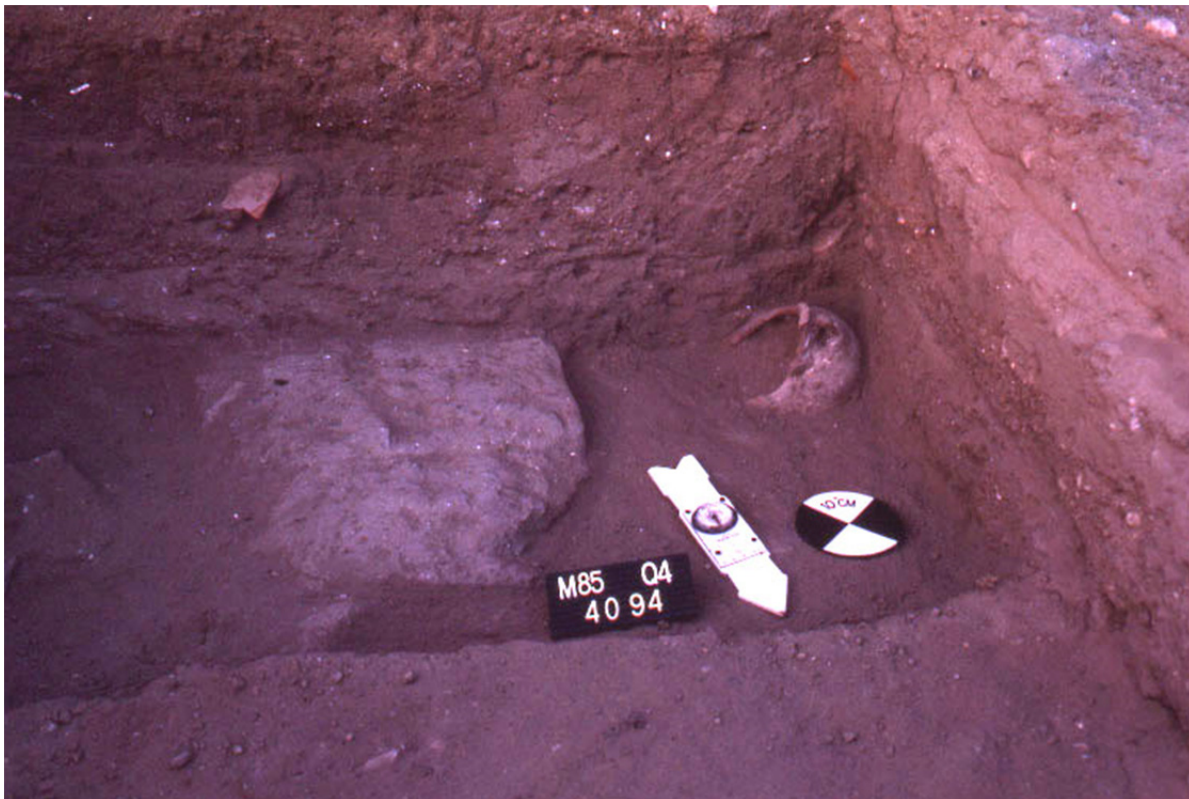
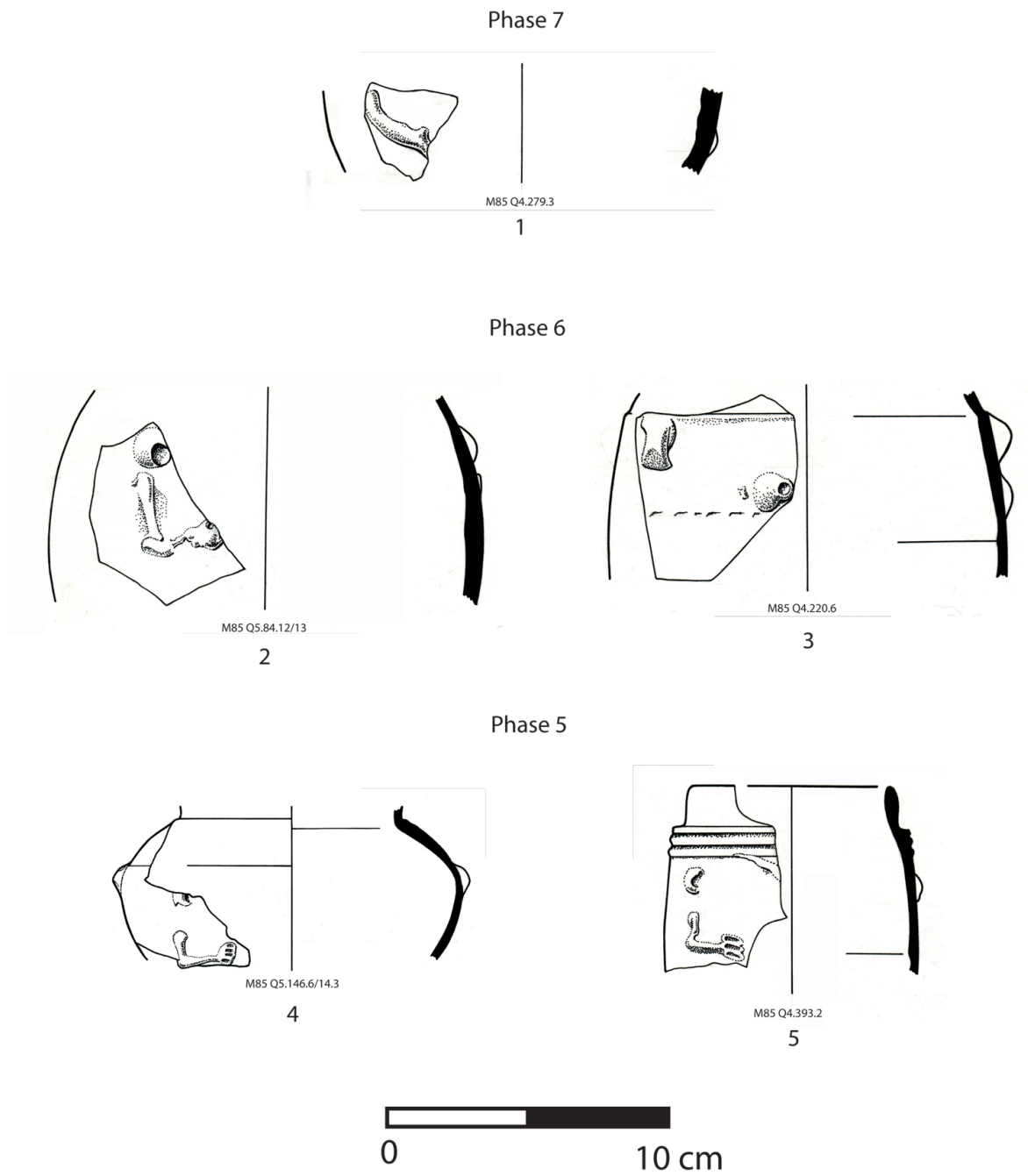


Figure 4: A view to the south showing probe L. 4094 with complete vessel in the right corner and the mudbrick collapse in centre. Wall 4135 is to the right and Wall 4177 is at the back.



**Figure 5. A view from the east (in room J) looking at Wall 4005 with multiple threshold loci in filled in doorway to the right (Phases 7-10). Wall 4137 is visible directly below Wall 4005 continuing across room.**



**Figure 6: Illustrations of Bes Vessels by Phase.**



# Osiris et ses Hypostases : Les bassins en pierre méroïtiques et la confirmation du pouvoir royal

Marc Maillot

Avec la contribution d'Aminata Sackho-Autissier

**Résumé:** Cet article fait suite à la synthèse publiée dans la revue *Sudan and Nubia* 19<sup>1</sup> présentant les palais méroïtiques et leur connexion avec les temples d'Amon principaux au sein des villes royales. En conclusion de cet essai, il a été annoncé qu'une réflexion dédiée aux bassins méroïtiques, associés ou non aux sanctuaires de l'eau, était en cours en raison du rôle potentiel joué par ces bassins lors de la confirmation du pouvoir royal<sup>2</sup>. En effet ces derniers, de par leur position dans la ville qui manifeste un lien étroit avec d'autres lieux de pouvoir (palais et temples en particulier), sont clairement intégrés aux cérémonies lors des rituels de renouvellement royaux. Voici donc les quelques commentaires que nous pouvons formuler en l'état actuel des connaissances.

**Abstract:** This article follows the synthesis published in *Sudan and Nubia* 19 presenting the Meroitic palaces and their connection with the main temples of Amun in the royal cities. At the conclusion of this article, it was announced that a study dedicated to the Meroitic basins, associated or not to water sanctuaries, was planned because of the potential role of these basins in the confirmation of royal power. Indeed, due to the fact that their position in the city shows a close relationship with other places of power (palaces and temples in particular), they are clearly integrated in ceremonies during the royal rituals of power renewal. The following comments represent a first step, considering the current state of knowledge

**Mots-clés :** Méroé; Bassin; Osiris; Pouvoir royal; Amon; Dionysos; Apédemak; Sarapis, Sébioumeker ; Khnoum ; Djebel Barkal ; Purification ; Montagne Pure ; Procession.

**Keywords :** Meroe; Basin; Osiris; Royal Power; Amun; Dionysus; Apedemak; Sarapis, Sebioumeker; Khnum ; Gebel Barkal ; Purification ; Pure Mountain ; Procession.

## Sélection d'exemples

### Méroé

Plusieurs exemples de bassins en pierre sont à mentionner dans le cadre de l'essai qui nous occupe ici. A Méroé, les niveaux inférieurs du bâtiment M954 contenaient plusieurs bassins, dont deux en pierre de forme ovoïde. Dès lors, les bâtiments

<sup>1</sup> M. MAILLOT, "The Meroitic Palace and Royal City", *SudNub* 19, à paraître.

<sup>2</sup> Nous excluons ici les bassins en pierre retrouvés en contexte funéraire, qui ne sont pas nécessairement associés au renouvellement du pouvoir royal. A titre d'exemple, nous pouvons mentionner le bassin de la tombe du prince Teqedene à Méroé Ouest: <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/offering-table-of-prince-teqedene-163624>. Sont concernés également par cette exclusion les bassins en terre cuite, qui ne sont pas l'objet de cet article.



M954 et son extension M954a ont été considérés comme des pièces de bains<sup>3</sup>. Tout comme dans les cas des maisons D, M690 et M923, ces bassins en pierre ont été décrits comme étant connectés à des conduites et à un réseau de circulation des eaux, bien que cela ne soit pas visible sur les clichés disponibles. Après une reprise antique du bâtiment M954, on ne pouvait pénétrer au sein de ces pièces que par des ouvertures placées bien au-dessus du niveau de circulation, ce qui contredit un usage domestique de ces éléments. L. Török l'interprète comme un conteneur, destiné à conserver l'eau de l'Inondation à fonction rituelle où l'on rapportait l'eau du Nil dans des céramiques pour les verser dans un bassin imitant un sanctuaire de l'eau.

Un bassin en pierre fut également retrouvé dans la structure M923<sup>4</sup>, sans lien avec un quelconque système de réchaud ou de conduite d'eau. Interprété par L. Török également comme un conteneur de stockage de l'eau du Nil durant l'Inondation, ce phénomène est particulièrement connu en Egypte hellénistique et romaine<sup>5</sup>. Toujours à Méroé, sous les murs de la maison D<sup>6</sup>, un bassin sans réseau de conduites revêt également une potentielle fonction rituelle, considérant que les murs antérieurs à la maison D et auxquels est associé le bassin sont en relation avec les bâtiments culturels alentours et au M296. Notons que les murs de la pièce contenant le bassin étaient enduits de blanc. Enfin, ajoutons le fameux sanctuaire de l'eau M194-195, situé près du palais M295 et sur lequel nous reviendrons *infra*.

### Djebel Barkal

Une structure intéressante, connexe avec le palais de Natakamani et interprétée partiellement comme une annexe de stockage<sup>7</sup>, est numérotée B2200<sup>8</sup>. Fouillée par la mission italienne<sup>9</sup>, sa particularité réside dans la présence de deux bassins. Située entre le palais de Natakamani et la montagne de Barkal, la structure en brique crue, parementée à l'extérieur de brique cuite, s'étend à 45 m à l'ouest du palais B1500.

En surface, et mis à part les arases de murs, seule la bordure externe d'un bassin en grès (Figure 1) était visible. Le bâtiment est scindé en deux parties. La partie nord, probablement ouverte, est composée d'un sol dallé en pierre de modules variés, reposant sur une couche de sable rapporté. Très mal conservé, ce sol n'est visible que par lambeaux. Dans cette section, deux tambours et une base de colonne ont été découverts, malheureusement hors contexte. La section sud est mieux préservée, en

<sup>3</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *Meroe City, an Ancient African Capital*, vols. I et II, Londres, 1997, p. 209-210 et pl.9; pl.172b; pl.172d. Pour les exemples suivants provenant de Méroé, les dimensions précises ne sont pas données, mais d'après clichés, les bassins mesurent environ 2 x 1.15 m. Les clichés ne permettent pas d'identifier un trou d'évacuation, mais on ne saurait être définitif au regard des sources disponibles.

<sup>4</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *op.cit.*, p.198.

<sup>5</sup> V.A. HIBBS, *The Mendes Maze. A Libation Table for the Inundation of the Nile*, Londres - New-York, 1985, p.182.

<sup>6</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *op.cit.*, p.56 et pl.9.

<sup>7</sup> T. KENDALL, "A New Map of the Djebel Barkal Temples", *Etnub* II, 1994, p.143.

<sup>8</sup> F. W. HINKEL & U. SIEVERTSEN, *Die Royal City von Meroe und die repräsentative Profanarchitektur in Kusch, The Archaeological Map of the Sudan* Suppl. 4, Berlin, 2002, p.76 et fig. IX.64.

<sup>9</sup> M.N. SORDI, "Un santuario dell'acqua a Napata", *Aegyptus* 85, fasc.1/2, 2006, p.135-147; M.N. SORDI, "Djebel Barkal: New Excavation in B2200", in *Between the Cataracts*, PAM Supplement Series 2/2, Varsovie, 2010, p.182.

raison de son parement en brique cuite encore présent ; les murs conservent une élévation maximum de 40 cm.

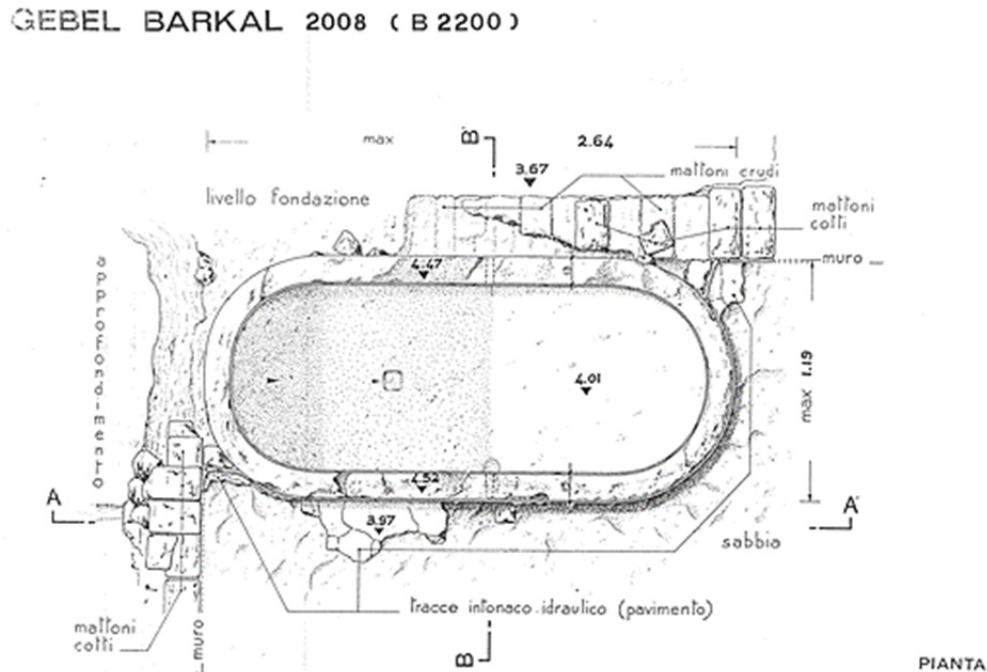


Figure 1 : Bassin en grès du B2200

(d'après [www.archaeogate.org/egittologia/article/862/1.html](http://www.archaeogate.org/egittologia/article/862/1.html)).

Deux bassins<sup>10</sup> sont situés dans l'angle sud-ouest du bâtiment, et séparés environ d'1,40 m. Ils sont tous deux taillés dans un bloc monolithique en grès. Le plus petit (1,85 x 0,9 m) n'était pas visible en surface et n'a que très récemment été indiqué sur les plans de fouille. Le second, (2,64 x 1,14 m) moins profond que le premier, présente un décrochement vers le haut, sur l'une des extrémités. Les deux bassins sont enduits sur leurs parois internes et externes par un mortier blanchi à la chaux, et reposent sur un sol en terre battue également blanchi, particulièrement compact, renforcé par une couche de préparation plus fine mais de même composition<sup>11</sup>.

Les bassins sont encadrés par des murs fins (Figure 2)<sup>12</sup>. Ils sont parementés de brique cuite recouverte d'un enduit blanc très épais. Un passage courant au nord du grand bassin, d'un mètre de large, ouvre sur la seconde partie du bâtiment. Le passage possède également un sol abondamment enduit, de même que les murs. Il semble toutefois que la nature des enduits varie entre le sol et les murs au sein de

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, p.181-186 et figs.2-4.

<sup>11</sup> Notons également à Faras la présence de deux bassins en briques cuites de même dimension (1,5 x 0,75 x 0,4 m) dans une des habitations, très mal documentée : W. GODLEWSKI, « Faras à l'époque méroïtique », *EtudTrav* 6, 1972, p.191. Les deux bassins sont liés par une canalisation en céramique, et trois petites constructions en briques cuites et pierre y étaient accolées.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.archaeogate.org/egittologia/article/1036/1/the-italian-archaeological-expedition-in-the-sudan-univ.html>.

cette structure<sup>13</sup>. L'enduit des murs est également utilisé dans le revêtement des bassins pour ses caractéristiques hydrophobes, de même que les niveaux de sol, qui sont toutefois moins épais, étant plus régulièrement sujets à rénovations<sup>14</sup>.

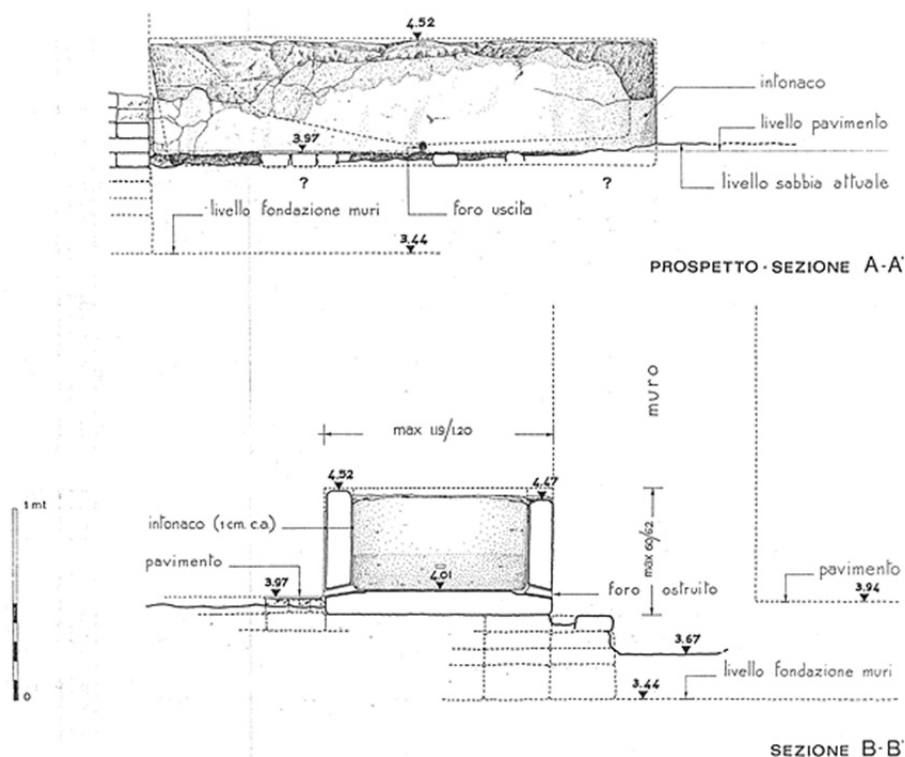


Figure 2 : Bassin monolithique en grès du B2200 (coupe) (d'après M.N. Sordi 2010, fig.4)

Le nettoyage du mur de partition séparant les deux sections du bâtiment a permis la découverte d'un seuil de porte en grès, proche du passage précédemment cité<sup>15</sup>. Les fondations de ce mur montrent une extension supplémentaire de deux lignes de briques cuites placées à plat, et disparaissant à l'approche du passage. Cet aménagement est probablement destiné à renforcer l'entrée, ce que confirme le seuil en pierre. Les murs partant de l'entrée forment un étroit passage tournant à l'ouest puis l'est vers les bassins. Ces derniers peuvent contenir entre 200 et 400 litres d'eau. Le trou d'évacuation est situé au fond de chacun des bassins, au sud pour le plus grand et au nord pour le plus petit.

L'entrée mène donc, depuis un espace ouvert, au nord à travers un passage vers les deux bassins (Figure 3). Les trous d'évacuation des bassins ouvrent directement sur le sol, sans aucune trace de chenaux ou de systèmes drainants, induisant que l'eau devait s'écouler à même le sol. La différence de niveau entre les sols des bassins et

<sup>13</sup> Phénomène également visible pour les bains de Méroé : S.WOLF, C. HOF, H.-U. ONASCH, "Investigations in the so-called Royal Baths at Meroë in 2000, 2004 and 2005", *Kush* 19, 2008, p.102-103.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p.102-103.

<sup>15</sup> M.N. SORDI, *op.cit.*, p.182-183 et fig.4.

les sols communs de la structure est de 6 cm, indiquant peut-être que le passage en S n'est pas destiné à la circulation, mais à l'évacuation de l'eau, ce qui semble confirmé par le dense revêtement d'enduit sur les murs et le sol. L'eau devait ensuite s'écouler vers le nord, dans l'espace ouvert, où celle-ci devait être absorbée et/ou vaporisée par la chaleur. Cependant, notons la découverte de deux tessons de céramique formant une canalisation dans les déblais de la partie septentrionale<sup>16</sup>, pouvant indiquer un éventuel système de canaux d'évacuation aujourd'hui disparu. La profusion de brique cuite dans les parements est également un indicateur de la volonté de protection hydraulique de la structure. La datation obtenue par l'analyse du matériel céramique est contemporaine du palais de Natakamani.



Figure 3 : Vue générale de la structure B2200 (état 2008).  
(d'après [www.archaeogate.org/egittologia/article/862/1.html](http://www.archaeogate.org/egittologia/article/862/1.html))

L'interprétation initiale de ce bâtiment en tant que simple bain n'est cependant plus d'actualité, puisque le petit passage en S destiné à l'évacuation contrôlée de l'eau renvoie à une fonction rituelle, une évacuation simple de l'eau hors du bâtiment grâce au dénivelé des niveaux de sol étant bien plus simple à réaliser<sup>17</sup>. Le parallèle le plus proche est le groupe M98 de Méroé (Maisons A-D)<sup>18</sup>, mentionné *supra*. Les murs des pièces abritant ces bassins sont également blanchis à la chaux, et une corrélation avec la structure M950<sup>19</sup> est également envisagée<sup>20</sup>. Ce procédé semble

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, p.183.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, p.183.

<sup>18</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *op.cit.*, p.55-57.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, p.207-211.

<sup>20</sup> M. BAUD, «Méroé, visages d'une capitale», in M. BAUD (dir.) *Méroé, un empire sur le Nil*, Musée du Louvre éditions, Officina Libraria, Paris-Milan, 2010, p.61-63. Il s'agit en réalité des niveaux antérieurs au

particulièrement important, puisque les niveaux antérieurs aux maisons A-D étaient également connectés à des bâtiments culturels contemporains avoisinants<sup>21</sup>. Toutefois la fonction culturelle de M98 n'est pas évidente, contrairement au parallèle souhaité par la mission italienne<sup>22</sup>, puisque les jarres enterrées sous M950 ne sont pas nécessairement associées au culte<sup>23</sup>.

### Apédemak, Osiris et le roi

Le matériel découvert au sein de ces bâtiments à Méroé est similaire à celui du palais de Natakamani, comme des fragments de croissant de lune ou des fragments de protomé de lion en terre cuite émaillée avec couronne *hmhm* (Figure 4)<sup>24</sup>. Des moules de ce type de matériel ont par ailleurs été découverts près du B2200<sup>25</sup>. Selon la mission italienne, cette couronne associée à la figure du lion avec le dieu Apédemak comprend également un croissant de lune, croissant que l'on retrouve sur des motifs en céramique dédiés à la libation<sup>26</sup>. La figure d'Apédemak juché sur croissant est donc, dans cette hypothèse, envisagée en tant que source de vie et de fertilité<sup>27</sup>. Le schéma est confirmé par les décors de façade du sanctuaire de l'eau M195 à Méroé<sup>28</sup>, où des appliques similaires en terre cuite émaillée sont associées à des protomes de lions<sup>29</sup>. Plusieurs empreintes



**Figure 4 : Applique murale figurant l'Apédemak à couronne *hmhm* sur croissant, palais de Natakamani (d'après [www.archaeogate.org/egittologia/article/862/1.html](http://www.archaeogate.org/egittologia/article/862/1.html)).**

M950, à savoir M 954, M950 correspondant plus volontiers à une demeure de prestige/bâtiment officiel, qu'à un lieu de culte : L. TÖRÖK, *op.cit.*, p.207-211.

<sup>21</sup> F. W. HINKEL & U. SIEVERTSEN, *op.cit.*, p.76 n.109; M.N. SORDI, *op.cit.*, p.183.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, p.183.

<sup>23</sup> Voir le cas du M996: F. W. HINKEL & U. SIEVERTSEN, *op.cit.*, p.137 et n.849. Pour la fonction domestique de cette pratique: M. FITZENREITER, "Exkurs: Wohnbauten Des Antiken Sudan-Struktur Und Entwicklung" in M.FITZENREITER, A.SEILER, et I. GERULLAT, *Musawwarat es Sufra II, die Kleine Anlage, Meroitica* 17/1, 1999, p.114.

<sup>24</sup> M.N. SORDI, *op.cit.*, p.183 et fig.6.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, p.183. Un seul exemplaire est ici mentionné, cependant nos observations personnelles sur le site indiquent plusieurs exemplaires des moules en question.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, p.183 et fig.6.

<sup>27</sup> I. GAMER-WALLERT, *Der Löwentempel von Naqa in der Butana III. Die Wandreliefs*, Wiesbaden, 1983, p.184.

<sup>28</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *op.cit.*, p.63-90 et plus particulièrement p.76; S.WOLF, P.WOLF, H.-U. ONASCH, C.HOF, U.NOWOTNICK, "Meroë und Hamadab – Zwei Städte im Mittleren Niltal in den Jahrhunderten um die Zeitenwende. Bericht über die Arbeiten zwischen 1999 und 2007", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2008/2, Berlin, 2008, p.157-230 et S.WOLF, P.WOLF, H.-U. ONASCH, C.HOF, U.NOWOTNICK, "Meroë und Hamadab – Stadtstrukturen und Lebensformen im afrikanischen Reich von Kusch. Die Arbeiten der Saison 2008 und 2009", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2009/2, Berlin, 2009, p.215-262.

<sup>29</sup> Voir annexe, notice n°1.

de sceaux avec des motifs similaires ont été étudiées par I. Vincentelli et mises au jour dans les magasins du palais de Natakamani à Barkal (Figure 5)<sup>30</sup>.

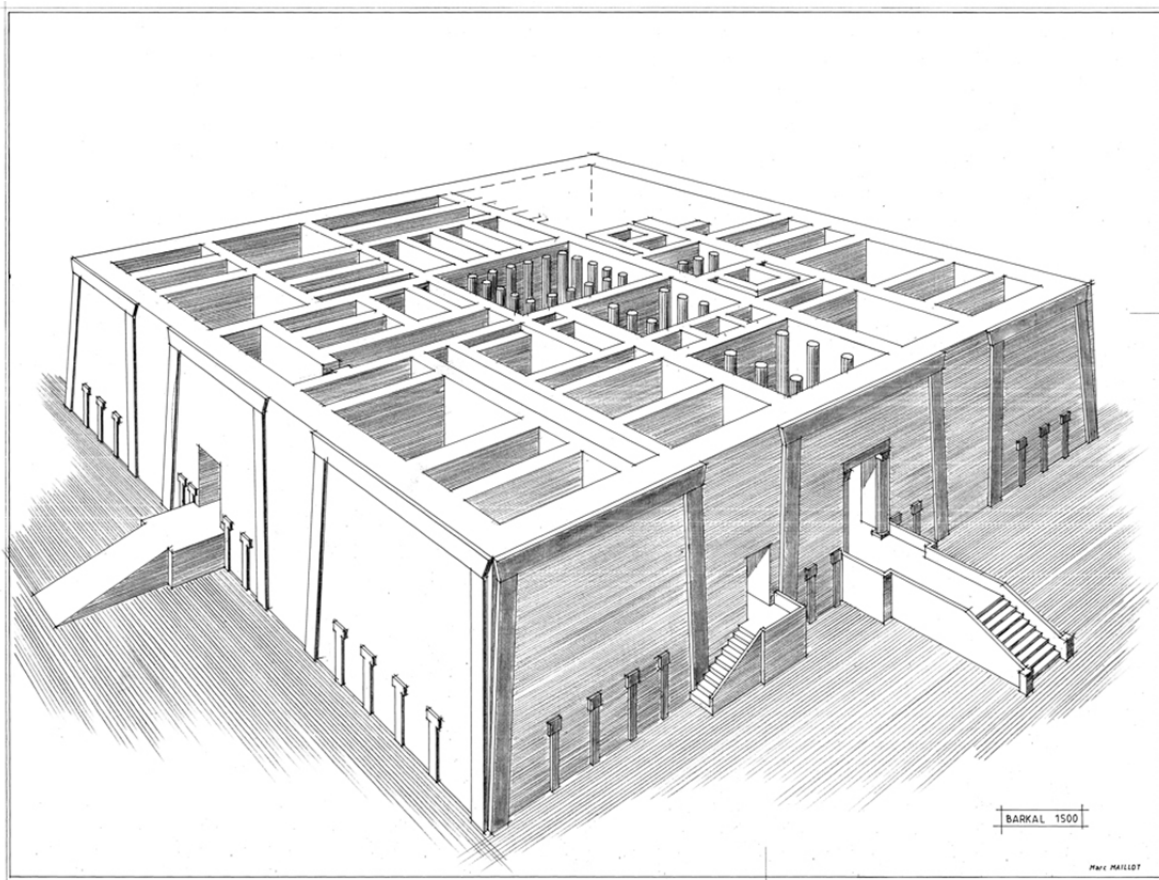


Figure 5 : Élévation du palais B1500 du Djebel Barkal (Marc Maillot).

L'association du lion avec l'écoulement des eaux n'est cependant pas limitée aux contextes rituels, aussi bien en Egypte ptolémaïque et romaine qu'au Soudan à la période méroïtique<sup>31</sup>. Les sections supérieures des parois extérieures des temples sont régulièrement équipées de conduites d'écoulement d'eau de pluie ponctuées d'un protome de lion à leur extrémité (Figure 6).

<sup>30</sup> I. VINCENTELLI, "Clay Sealings from Jebel Barkal (Sudan)", *CRIPPEL* 22, Lille, 2001, p.73-74; A. MANZO, "Apedemak and Dionysos. Further Remarks on the "Cult of the Grape" in Kush", *SudNub* 10, 2006, p.88 et fig.13.

<sup>31</sup> B. BRUYÈRE, *Tell Edfou 1937*, *FFP* 1, Le Caire, 1937, p.80-81, fig. 37 ; G. HUSSON, *Oikia, le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Université Paris IV - Sorbonne *Série papyrologie* 2, Paris, 1983, fig. 34. À Meinarti: W.Y. ADAMS, *Meinarti I. The Late Meroitic, Ballana and Transitional Occupation*, Londres, 2000, p.38.



**Figure 6 : Moussawarat es-Soufra, gouttière à tête de lion, façade ouest du temple du lion (Marc Maillot).**

Les inscriptions égyptiennes commentant ces gargouilles indiquent que l'animal est convoqué ici pour ingurgiter et recracher l'eau des averses, signe de mauvais augure. Cette tradition est d'ailleurs particulièrement ancienne (Ancien Empire, V<sup>e</sup> dynastie), et non pas strictement tardive comme envisagé auparavant<sup>32</sup>. Un autre bon exemple de l'association lion/eau réside dans les tables en pierre appelées «porte-jarre(s)»<sup>33</sup>. Il s'agit de tables en calcaire<sup>34</sup>, taillées selon un plan rectangulaire d'environ 60 cm à 1,25 m de long pour 45 cm à 60 cm de large. Les décors observés se placent sur l'une des grandes faces et consistent en une tête de lion<sup>35</sup> percée d'un conduit d'écoulement qui servait à transvaser l'eau contenue dans la cavité centrale vers un autre conteneur (Figure 7)<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> P. VERNUS et J. YOYOTTE, *Le bestiaire des pharaons*, Paris, 2005, p.157.

<sup>33</sup> P. CHANTRAINE, «Pétrins ou baquets ?» *Revue Archéologique (Mélanges Charles Picard)*, 1949, p.162-165 ; J. SCHWARTZ, H.WILD, *Qasr-Qarun / Dyonisias 1948. Fouilles franco-suissees. Rapport I, FIFAO / FSS 1*, Le Caire, 1950, pp. 7-9, 52-54, figs. 2 et 10 ; C. GALLAZZI, G. HADJI-MINAGLOU, *Tebtynis I - La reprise des fouilles et le quartier de la chapelle d'Isis-Thermouthis, FIFAO 42*, Le Caire, 2000, p.73, fig. 18, photo 68.

<sup>34</sup> E.M.HUSSELMAN, *Karanis, Excavations of the University of Michigan in Egypt 1928-1935, Topography and Architecture, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology Studies 5*, Ann Arbor, 1979, p.54.

<sup>35</sup> L'usage de la tête de lion à l'extrémité d'un conduit pour l'eau n'est pas surprenante : G. HUSSON, *op.cit.*, fig. 34 ; à Meinarti: W.Y. ADAMS, *op.cit.*, p.38. Dans ce dernier contexte, l'association tête de lion/presseur à raisins est aussi remarquable, phénomène courant en Egypte : P. VERNUS et J. YOYOTTE, *op.cit.*, p.165. Voir également, parmi de nombreux exemples égyptiens : B. BRUYÈRE, *op.cit.*, p.80-81, fig. 37 ainsi que les « gargouilles » des temples de Dendérah ou d'Edfou.

<sup>36</sup> E.M. HUSSELMAN, *op.cit.*, p.54, pl. 94b.



Figure 7 : « Porte-jarres » décoré d'une tête de lion percée  
(Karanis, maison C45, d'après E.M. Husselman 1979, pl. 94b).

Pour en revenir au sanctuaire de l'eau M194-195 à Méroé, orienté dans le sens du Nil, celui-ci s'organise selon un axe nord-sud et traverse la porte nord en direction du temple d'Isis et du temple d'Amon M600 adossé à l'enceinte de la ville royale. L. Török<sup>37</sup> relie cette association à la figure d'Apédemak, dieu-guerrier mais également dieu fertile, et plus précisément « *god of the life-giving water* », connecté à la construction des *hafirs*. Cette ambivalence est illustrée à Moussawarat es-Soufra avec le temple du Lion, joignant la figure d'Amon à celle d'Apédemak<sup>38</sup>.

Ce sanctuaire de l'eau M194-195 contenait un bassin en pierre de deux mètres de long, et l'écoulement des eaux était assuré par un réseau dense de canalisations, certaines d'entre elles reliées au palais antérieur au M295. Le bassin est interprété comme une source symbolique du Nil<sup>39</sup> et présente une décoration hellénisante associée au culte des ancêtres, directement inspiré du culte dynastique ptolémaïque<sup>40</sup>. Il est d'ailleurs intéressant de noter la découverte, au sein d'une cachette, située au niveau du palais antérieur au M295 (cachette probablement connectée au sanctuaire de l'eau), d'objets votifs en faïence comme des sistres surmontés d'une tête d'Hathor et des ex-voto de grandes dimensions en forme de signe *ankh*, offerts lors de la cérémonie du Nouvel An par le souverain depuis Senkamanisken (deuxième moitié du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.) jusqu'à Siospiqo (première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.)<sup>41</sup>. Ceci constitue un bon exemple marquant la relation

<sup>37</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art. The Construction of the Kushite Mind, 800 BC-300 AD, Probleme der Ägyptologie* 18, Leyde- Boston-Cologne, 2002, p.30 et n.123.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, p.187.

<sup>39</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *Meroe City*, p.63-90.

<sup>40</sup> F. VLACH, "Meroitisch-hellenistische Plastik aus den sogenannten königlicher Bädern. Ein Arbeitsbericht", *Meroitica* 7, 1984, p.573-576.

<sup>41</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *Meroe City*, p.235-241. Voir annexe, notices n° 2-4.



entre les vertus fertiles d'Amon associé à l'inondation et la figure royale du souverain, perçu comme le fils du dieu<sup>42</sup>.

Si l'on suit l'hypothèse présentée, il existe un parallèle idoine avec le *double* bassin de Barkal B2200, pouvant peut-être associer la figure royale lors de la fête du Nouvel An avec le culte osirien de Khoiak<sup>43</sup>, particulièrement adéquat lors de la célébration de l'Inondation<sup>44</sup>. Précisons immédiatement que ces références ne sont pas formellement démontrées dans les textes disponibles, et qu'il ne s'agit ici que d'une interprétation<sup>45</sup>. B2200 serait relié de façon similaire au B1500, comme une véritable extension cultuelle du palais, ce qui pourrait être le cas du M194-195 de Méroé avec le palais antérieur au M295. Ceci ne ferait que renforcer le poids de la liturgie égyptienne dans le culte royal méroïtique<sup>46</sup>.

La présence du *double* bassin dans le complexe B2200 pourrait également refléter la nature *duelle* du dieu fertile<sup>47</sup>, mais également la *double* fontaine associant figure royale et crue du Nil. Le double bassin du B2200 pourrait ainsi être perçu comme une représentation physique de cette association<sup>48</sup>, selon le rituel osirien de Khoiak<sup>49</sup>, célébrant la personne funéraire et royale<sup>50</sup>. Il ne s'agit pas là d'une

<sup>42</sup> J-Cl. GOYON, *La confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel an*, BdE 52, Le Caire, 1972, p.50 ; L. TÖRÖK, *Meroe City*, 76; L. TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, p.29.

<sup>43</sup> E. CHASSINAT, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, Le Caire, 1966, p.809-823; E. CIAMPINI, G. BĄKOWSKA-CZERNER, "Meroitic Kingship and Water: The Case of Napata (B2200)" in *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond, Proceedings of the 12<sup>th</sup> International Conference for Nubian Studies*, Leuven, Paris, Walpole, 2014, p.695-697.

<sup>44</sup> J-Cl. GOYON, *op.cit.*, p.43 et n.5.

<sup>45</sup> Rappelons cependant que l'iconographie des chapelles royales méroïtiques entre le milieu du II<sup>e</sup> siècle et la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.C. comporte des représentations du *Livre des morts*, ainsi que des scènes appartenant au programme des temples funéraires égyptiens de la région thébaine. La procession de la barque *Henou* de Sokar par exemple, suppose l'accomplissement d'un rite proche de la fête de Khoiak: G.A. GABALLA, K.A. KITCHEN, "The festival of Sokar", *Orientalia* 38, fasc.1, Rome, 1969, p.33-34; AHMED M. ALI HAKEM, *Meroitic Architecture, a background of an African Civilization*, Khartoum, 1988, p.237; G. RUFFINI, *Medieval Nubia, a social and economic history*, Oxford University Press, 2012, p.53-55. Cette dernière référence renvoie aux pèlerinages d'émissaires Méroïtes à Philae, identifiés grâce aux graffitis réalisés au moment de la célébration de Khoiak (inscription de Pasan). Ces rites sont donc probablement connus des Méroïtes: S. BUMBAUGH, "Meroitic worship of Isis at Philae", in K. EXELL (éd.) *Egypt in its African context, Proceedings of the conference held at The Manchester Museum, 2-4 October 2009*, BAR-IS 2204, 2011, p.66-69.

<sup>46</sup> J-Cl. GOYON, *op.cit.*, p.19 et n.4: la cérémonie de confirmation du pouvoir royal débute le 1<sup>er</sup> jour au réveil du « roi » par une purification accompagnée de deux hymnes de l'eau, accomplie au Palais ou devant le Temple.

<sup>47</sup> Ceci est illustré par les hymnes 23 et 24 de la chapelle d'Osiris-*neheh* à Karnak, où Osiris est pourvoyeur de la crue pour les vivants et les défunts: C. TRAUNECKER, « La chapelle d'Osiris «seigneur de l'éternité-*neheh*» à Karnak », in L. COULON (éd.), *Le culte d'Osiris au premier millénaire av. J.C., Actes de la table ronde internationale tenue à Lyon, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, les 8 et 9 juillet 2005*, Le Caire, 2010, p.171; l'hymne 24 met l'accent sur l'eau de la crue qui vient purifier Osiris et alimenter son culte: *ibid.*, p.172-177.

<sup>48</sup> C. ROBICHON, P. BARGUET, J. LECLANT, *Karnak-Nord IV*, Le Caire, 1954, pl. 61; C. TRAUNECKER, *op.cit.*, p.170-176 et n.95. L'association de la purification d'Osiris, par l'intermédiaire de Hâpy, avec le rituel de couronnement royal est ici particulièrement adéquate.

<sup>49</sup> E. CHASSINAT, *op.cit.*, p.809-823; E. CIAMPINI, G. BĄKOWSKA-CZERNER, *op.cit.*, p.695-697. L'analyse en cours de cette structure en connexion avec le palais B1500 par E. Ciampini constituera certainement un marqueur fondamental de la compréhension des palais méroïtiques et de leur symbolique.

interprétation différente de celle proposée par la mission italienne, mais plutôt d'un prolongement de celle-ci, puisque la relation entre le mythe osirien et la figure du lion est bien connue<sup>51</sup>. La décoration des tables à libation égyptiennes démontre parfaitement cette tradition bien ancrée<sup>52</sup>, puisqu'elle associe le culte de l'inondation aux figures et protomes de lions<sup>53</sup>, chose courante à la période ptolémaïque car les crues nilotiques sont associées au signe du lion de par la position du soleil dans les constellations<sup>54</sup>. On retrouve également la figure du lion sur les fontaines du dromos du Sérapéum de Memphis<sup>55</sup>, daté du règne de Ptolémée I. Le lion est associé à la figure de l'enfant Dionysos<sup>56</sup> et, de fait, établit une relation entre les figures du lion, d'Osiris<sup>57</sup> et du roi<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> F. VLACH, *op.cit.*, p.574; C. TRAUNECKER, *op.cit.*, p.170-171. Notons d'ailleurs que l'hymne 23 de la façade de la chapelle d'Osiris à Karnak est également attesté à Moussawarat es-Soufra, inscription 16 : F. HINTZE, *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat es Sufra (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst 1)*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1963, pl. XVa, blocs 503 à 506; et inscription 17 : F. HINTZE, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Mousawwarat es Sofra 1960-1961", *Kush* 10, 1962, p.170-202, pl. XVb, blocs 525, 529 et 531. Cf. Traunecker associe d'ailleurs le dieu Sébioumeker à Osiris, dans sa fonction de dieu/fils : C. TRAUNECKER, *op.cit.*, p.165 en complément de sa fonction créatrice : F.HINTZE, *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels*, p.33.

<sup>51</sup> C. DE WIT, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, Leyde, 1951, pp.84, 86, 396; L. TÖRÖK, *Meroe City*, p.76.

<sup>52</sup> V.A. HIBBS, *op.cit.*, p.153.

<sup>53</sup> F. VLACH, *op.cit.*, p.575. Notons également la récurrence du motif de la gargouille dans les contextes rituels égyptiens et méroïtiques, que ce soit dans les temples de Dendérah et d'Edfou ou dans les tables à libation dédiées au culte de l'inondation : V.A. HIBBS, *op.cit.*, p.153 ; L. TÖRÖK, *Meroe City*, p.76.

<sup>54</sup> C. DE WIT, *op.cit.*, p.398; L. TÖRÖK, *Meroe City*, p.76.

<sup>55</sup> P.M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford, 1972, p.206-253.

<sup>56</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *Meroe City*, p.76.

<sup>57</sup> Pour le lien entre Osiris et Dionysos, voir *infra* n.74.

<sup>58</sup> S. SAUNERON. « Villes et légendes d'Égypte », *BIFAO* 62, 1964, p.56; voir également M. FITZENREITER, "Taharqo und Osiris. Fragmente einer Kapelle im Ägyptischen Museum der Universität Bonn", in A. LOHWASSER, P.WOLF (éds.) *Ein Forscherleben zwischen den Welten. Zum 80. Geburtstag von Steffen Wenig, Der Antike Sudan – Sonderheft 2014*, p.111-128 et J. YELLIN, "The Kushite Nature of Early Meroitic Mortuary Religion: A Pragmatic Approach to Osirian beliefs" in A. LOHWASSER, P.WOLF (éds.), *op.cit.*, p.395-404.



**Figure 8 : Bassin du bâtiment M954, soubassement du M950, vue nord-est (d'après L. Török 1997, pl. 172b).**

Il demeure cependant une différence importante entre le B2200 et le M195 de Méroé. En effet, l'eau rituelle est destinée à être conservée dans le bassin du sanctuaire de Méroé, tandis que B2200 favorise un écoulement hors de la structure. Ceci indique une fonction divergente, connexe à la crue et aux sources du Nil. La position du B2200 dans l'axe du palais B1500, induit ainsi une relation entre les deux édifices, surtout si l'on considère la fonction potentielle du palais de Natakamani associé au rituel de renouvellement royal, lors de la fête du Nouvel An<sup>59</sup>. Il est d'ailleurs notable qu'un seul et unique bassin ait été découvert au sein du M194-195<sup>60</sup>, tandis que des bassins supplémentaires de plus petites dimensions ont été mis au jour au sein du palais M295<sup>61</sup>, dans le vaste complexe M998<sup>62</sup> et en M621<sup>63</sup>. L'observatoire antérieur au M950 contenait lui-même des bassins et citernes associés à la crue nilotique (Figure 8)<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> E. CIAMPINI, G. BĄKOWSKA-CZERNER, *op.cit.*, p.695-697.

<sup>60</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *Meroe City*, p.63-65.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, p.122 et pl.145.

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*, p.229.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*, p.162 et pl.145.

<sup>64</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *The Image of the Ordered World*, p.30 et n.118.

### Dionysos, Khnoum et Sébioumeker

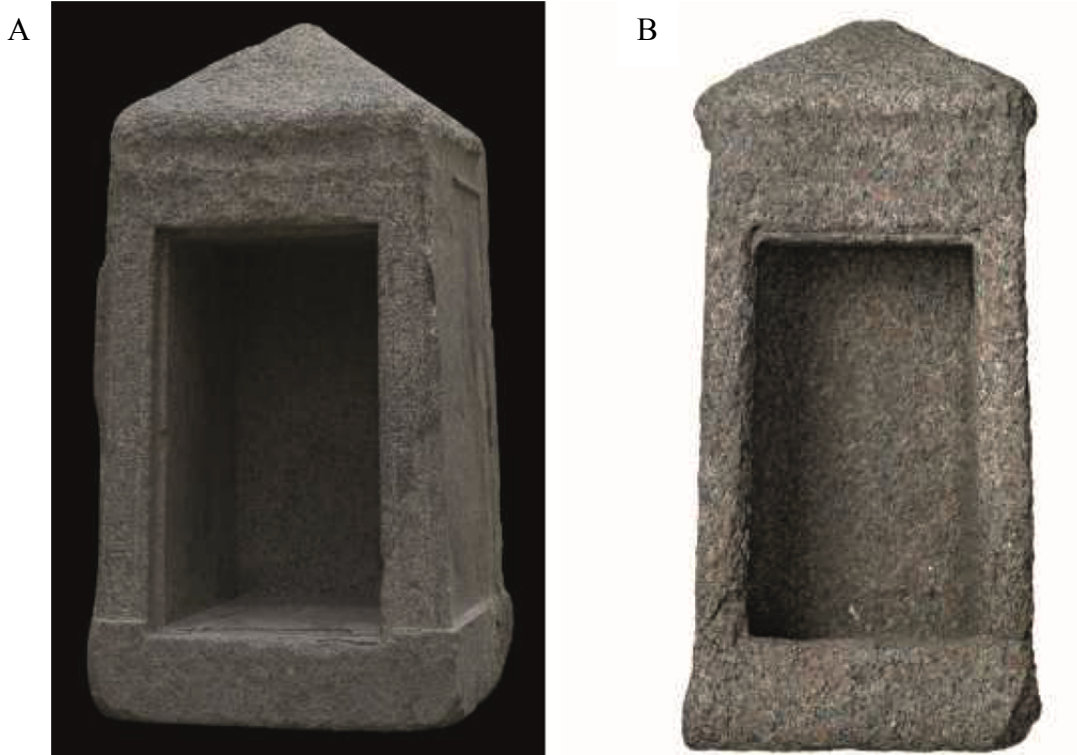


Figure 9 : Naos SCA 457 et 456, Musée maritime d'Alexandrie  
(d'après <http://www.ieasm.org/mobilier.php?lang=fr&site=heracleion&groupe=pierre>).

L'association d'Osiris aux bassins en pierre est un phénomène courant dans l'Égypte contemporaine. A titre d'exemple, notons le décret sacerdotal en l'honneur de Ptolémée II Evergète mentionnant la remontée d'Osiris depuis Héracléon jusqu'au temple d'Osiris à Canope<sup>65</sup>. Les recoupages par prospection sous-marine ont révélé, avec deux naos<sup>66</sup> (Figure 9), une cuve en granit rose aménagée de deux perforations<sup>67</sup> (Figure 10). Cette cuve était destinée à héberger une figurine d'Osiris en argile, qui était ensuite séchée et transportée dans la nécropole de Canope<sup>68</sup>. L'usage habituel en Thébaidé depuis Thoutmosis III associe d'ailleurs un local

<sup>65</sup> J. YOYOTTE, « Osiris dans la région d'Alexandrie », in L. COULON (éd.), *op.cit.*, p.37.

<sup>66</sup> Dédiés à l'Amon de Gereb et à Khonsou-Héraclès :

[www.ieasm.org/mobilier.php?lang=fr&site=heracleion&groupe=pierre](http://www.ieasm.org/mobilier.php?lang=fr&site=heracleion&groupe=pierre).

<sup>67</sup> Une des deux perforations est cependant interprétée comme le résultat d'un « emploi utilitaire postérieur » : J. YOYOTTE, *op.cit.*, p.37 et n. 21.

<sup>68</sup> J.F. QUACK, « Organiser le culte idéal. Le manuel du temple », *BSFE* 160, 2004, p.17 ; J. YOYOTTE. « Le Portus Magnus d'Alexandrie » (avec la collaboration de F. Goddio), in *Trésors engloutis d'Égypte*, Seuil, Paris, Milan, 2006, p.130-131 et n.165.

consacré à Osiris en parallèle au temple du dieu majeur<sup>69</sup>, comme à Hibis, Edfou et Dendérah<sup>70</sup>.



Figure 10 : Cuve en granite rose d'Héracléion (205x90x63 cm,  
Musée maritime d'Alexandrie H1 108/SCA 459.

(d'après <http://www.ieasm.org/mobilier.php?lang=fr&site=heracleion&groupe=statuaire>).

En effet, au V<sup>e</sup> siècle, les figurations reproduites au temple d'Hibis dans le complexe H, consacré à la veillée d'Osiris, et dans le complexe K, consacré au réveil du dieu, assimilent le dieu Min coptite comme un des aspects d'Osiris. L'analyse de J. Yoyotte<sup>71</sup> a confirmé que ces complexes, constituant un temple haut, rappellent le complexe osirien du Memnonium d'Abydos et préfigurent les chapelles de Philae et d'Hathor-Isis de Dendérah. Plusieurs extraits du rituel osirien de Khoiak y sont mentionnés, selon un paradigme également présent sur un autre bassin en pierre de Coptos. Cette cuve osirienne de Coptos en granit rose, dégagée en 1904 (Caire, musée égyptien, JE 37516), présente un prêtre, fils du roi Harsiesis, accomplissant le rite préliminaire de « l'encensement et de la lustration » devant Osiris-Khentamenti et la déesse Shentayt de Busiris. D'autre part, le pharaon est présenté dans le rôle du fils aimant, offrant simultanément la terre agricole et l'or au même Osiris-Khentamenti et à « Shentayt qui réside dans Abydos ».

<sup>69</sup> J. YOYOTTE, « Religion de l'Égypte Ancienne I, la cuve osirienne de Coptos », *AEPHE* LXXXVI, 1978, p.169.

<sup>70</sup> J. YOYOTTE, « Osiris dans la région d'Alexandrie », p.37.

<sup>71</sup> J. YOYOTTE, « Religion de l'Égypte Ancienne », p.163-172.

Toujours en nous fondant sur la tradition égyptienne, se pourrait-il que la présence de *deux* bassins au sein du B2200 du Djebel Barkal renvoie aux *deux* grottes protégées par le dieu Khnoum, maître des inondations ?<sup>72</sup> L'association avec Khnoum en tant que gardien des portes de l'inondation mais également en tant que dieu « faiseur du corps royal » sur son tour de potier serait particulièrement adaptée<sup>73</sup>. Khnoum est également célébré au premier millénaire et à la période romaine au temple d'Esna en tant que créateur et animateur des corps physiques des dieux représentés en modèles réduits de statuettes en argile<sup>74</sup>. Khnoum est par ailleurs régulièrement identifié à l'âme d'Osiris en tant que dieu créateur<sup>75</sup>.

L'importance d'Osiris dans le culte méroïtique n'est plus à prouver<sup>76</sup>. L'hymne 23 dédié à l'invocation d'Osiris seigneur de l'éternité *neheh*, retrouvée à Moussawat es-Soufra est ainsi un excellent exemple. L'hymne est placé au cœur du discours du roi Arnekhamani, où ce dernier est représenté devant Sébioumeker (inscriptions 16 et 17)<sup>77</sup>. C. Traunecker identifie ainsi Sébioumeker au rôle du dieu/fils, où le début de l'hymne, adressé à Osiris, établit un rapport entre Sébioumeker et le dieu égyptien. Le même hymne est présent à Philae, sur la porte de la chapelle VI de Ptolémée II Philadelphe. Le choix de cet hymne à Moussawat es-Soufra est éclairant en ce que le roi remplit sa fonction de fils aimant en versant l'eau rituelle de la crue pour le souverain défunt. Sur la porte d'Evergète<sup>78</sup>, il est par ailleurs indiqué que cette eau est celle de l'Inondation, et que l'Osiris défunt bénéficie d'une *double* libation, plus volontiers spécifique aux rites funéraires. C'est donc à travers cet *échange de bons procédés* que le défunt profite de l'eau de la crue, et en retour, cette dernière assure la prospérité au pays.

A la même période, Dionysos est régulièrement mentionné en lieu et place d'Osiris, notamment dans le secteur de la première cataracte, par l'intermédiaire de Sarapis<sup>79</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> G. PINCH, *Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2004, p.154.

<sup>73</sup> J.P. CORTEGGIANI, *L'Égypte Ancienne et ses dieux*, Fayard, 2007, p.270-273.

<sup>74</sup> S. SAUNERON, *op.cit.*, p.36.

<sup>75</sup> G. PINCH, *op.cit.*, p.154 ; E. Ciampini semble également suggérer une telle piste: E. CIAMPINI, G. BĄKOWSKA-CZERNER, *op.cit.*, p.695 et n.7.

<sup>76</sup> ABDELGADIR M. ABDALLA, "Meroitic funerary religion customs and beliefs: from texts and scenes", *Meroitica* 6, 1982, p.61-104.

<sup>77</sup> F.HINTZE, "Preliminary Report", p.33-37 et pl.XVb ; E. WINTER, "Arensnuphis, sein Name und seine Herkunft", *RdE* 25, Deutsche Literatur Zeitung, 1965, p.86 et colonne 244. L'hymne en question est présent sur une des chapelles de la Divine Adoratrice Ankhnesneferibrê à Karnak et à Thèbes, sur plusieurs statues : J. LECLANT, « Revue des "Inscripfen des Löwentempels von Musawwarat es Sufra" par F. Hintze », *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 61, 1966, n°11/12, p.552.

<sup>78</sup> Propylône de Khonsou à Karnak au nom de Ptolémée III Evergète : FR. LABRIQUE, « Les ancrages locaux d'Osiris selon les inscriptions du propylône de Khonsou à Karnak » in L. COULON (éd.), *op.cit.*, fig. 6.

<sup>79</sup> P. KOEMOTH, « Osiris, Dionysos et le culte royal à l'île de Séhel » *CdE* 81, 2006, pp.234-245, 237; Sarapis identifié au temple d'Apédemak à Naga : A. MANZO, « Apedemak and Dionysos. Further Remarks on the «Cult of the Grape» in Kush », *SudNub* 10, 2006, 91; J. YOYOTTE, « Osiris dans la région d'Alexandrie », p.34.

Plusieurs inscriptions grecques de Philae<sup>80</sup>, datées de 163 à 116 av. J.-C., mentionnent ainsi Isis déesse de l'Abaton et de Philae, aux côtés de Sarapis, d'Harpocrate, d'Anubis, de Khnoum-Amon<sup>81</sup> et d'Arensnouphis. Une inscription grecque d'Alexandrie<sup>82</sup> reflète également cette association Osiris/Dionysos, par l'intermédiaire de l'entité Sarapis. Des ex-voto dédiés à Sarapis consistant en de blocs en grès décorés en léger relief d'un pied nu ont été découverts associés à un sanctuaire à Tômas et à Qasr Ibrim<sup>83</sup>. Avec ces exemples, on observe donc un lien étroit entre la figure osirienne et Dionysos<sup>84</sup>, la mention d'Osiris en personne étant certainement réservée aux contextes royaux<sup>85</sup>. Dionysos/Osiris incarnait probablement un archétype du souverain victorieux<sup>86</sup>, à l'instar des associations dionysiaques au service du pouvoir lagide<sup>87</sup>. Il est d'ailleurs remarquable que cette association soit déjà mentionnée dans une inscription ptolémaïque grecque, où le clergé de Khnoum est chargé du culte royal<sup>88</sup>.

Déjà mentionnée par Hérodote (2, 42) dès le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère, l'association Osiris/Dionysos est expliquée par les traits communs aux deux divinités, en tant que maîtres de la fertilité agraire et de la renaissance<sup>89</sup>. A l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine, Sarapis est théoriquement la forme hellénisée d'Osiris, qu'il remplace au sein de la triade isiaque comme époux d'Isis et père d'Horus-Harpocrate. Toutefois, une distinction existe entre les deux divinités, en raison de l'évolution de la personnalité de Sarapis, au premier chef dieu dynastique des Lagides et seigneur de l'au-delà, puis dieu guérisseur et protecteur des vivants, laissant à Osiris le domaine funéraire<sup>90</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> A. ROCCATI, « Nuove epigrafi greche e latine da File », in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* III, *EPRO* 68, 1978, p.993-994, pl.CCVII et CCVIII; J. BINGEN, « Les inscriptions de Philae des III<sup>e</sup> et II<sup>e</sup> siècles avant notre ère », *CdE* 54, 1979, p.309.

<sup>81</sup> Rappelons ici les représentations du souverain faisant face à Khnoum-Amon sur les colonnes 7 et 9 du temple central de Moussawarat es-Soufra : S. WENIG, "Musawwarat es-Sufra, Interpreting the Great Enclosure", *SudNub* 5, 2001, p.82-84 et figs.11 et 13.

<sup>82</sup> Fr. DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, *EPRO* 26, Leyde, 1973, p.114 et n.2.

<sup>83</sup> Tômas : Paris, musée du Louvre, E 25562. Grès. L. 51 ; l. 26 ; ép. 17 cm = A. SACKHO-AUTISSIER, « Quelques remarques sur le bloc Louvre E 25562 », *RdE* 57, 2006, p.260-263. Qasr Ibrim: W.Y. ADAMS, *Qasr Ibrim. The Ballaña Phase*, Londres, 2013, p.119, pls. 51a, 68c.

<sup>84</sup> P. LENOBLE. « Satyres Extravagants », in T. KENDALL (éd.) *Nubian Studies 1998*, Boston, 2004, p.336.

<sup>85</sup> B.G. HAYCOCK, "The Kingship of Cush in the Sudan", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7, 1965, p.478-479; J.G. GRIFFITH. « Osiris », in *L'Á* IV, Wiesbaden, 1982, p.627-628; P. KOEMOTH, *op.cit.*, p.237.

<sup>86</sup> C. PRÉAUX, *Le monde hellénistique*, Paris, 1978, pp.228, 240.

<sup>87</sup> Fr. DUNAND, « Les associations dionysiaques au service du pouvoir lagide », in *L'association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes, Actes de la table-ronde organisée par l'école française de Rome, Collections de l'école française de Rome* 89, 1986, p.90-91; A. SACKHO-AUTISSIER, « Les représentations de Bès et de Satyres à l'époque méroïtique : syncrétisme ou confusion des emblèmes ? », in I. CANEVA, A. ROCCATI (éds.), *Acta Nubica*, 2006, p.310.

<sup>88</sup> P. HEILPORN, « La provenance de la Dédicace I.Th.Sy. 302 », *CdE* 65, 1990, p.117.

<sup>89</sup> G. CLERC et J. LECLANT, « Osiris » in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)* VII/1, Artemis Verlag, Zurich et Munich, 1994, p.108; A. SACKHO-AUTISSIER, « Un aspect de la religion méroïtique : vin et culte dionysiaque », in M. BAUD (dir.), *op.cit.*, p.202-207.

<sup>90</sup> G. CLERC et J. LECLANT, *op.cit.*, p.116.

Cette association Osiris/Dionysos est ainsi confirmée par les découvertes d'Héracléion et de Canope citées *supra*. Les Ptolémées, en renforçant le culte royal dynastique, vont promouvoir Osiris, Dionysos et cette création nouvelle qu'est Sarapis, ce dernier émergeant des cultes osiriens memphites<sup>91</sup>. La relation entre ces trois dieux est mal connue, mais à en juger par le culte du pouvoir royal développé par les Ptolémées en Haute-Egypte, la volonté d'affirmer une légitimité souveraine par Osiris est indubitable<sup>92</sup>.

### « La politique sous le linceul de la religion »

La dimension politique d'Osiris est présente dès les origines<sup>93</sup>, mais elle se développe particulièrement au I<sup>er</sup> millénaire avec l'imbrication de la fonction royale et de l'imagerie osirienne, dont la meilleure illustration est le motif du cartouche royal cerclant le nom du dieu combinée à une titulature royale développée<sup>94</sup>. Les rites royaux tels la fête-*sed* sont également transformés selon la mythologie osirienne<sup>95</sup>. Osiris est alors une figure de pouvoir mise en avant par les souverains pour construire l'imagerie royale. La recomposition cyclique du corps d'Osiris, dont les restes sont supposés être répartis entre les nomes d'Egypte, est assimilée à un processus de réunification politique accomplie par le roi<sup>96</sup>. La domination étrangère de l'Egypte durant une grande partie du I<sup>er</sup> millénaire av. J.C. cherche également à s'inscrire dans ce processus, en favorisant la figure osirienne pour la légitimation du pouvoir royal<sup>97</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> Fr. DUNAND, « Les associations dionysiaques », p.85-103; St. PFEIFFER, "The God Serapis, his Cult and the Beginnings of the Ruler Cult in Ptolemaic Egypt", in P. MCKECHNIE, Ph. GUILLAUME (éds.), *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World, Mnemosyne Supplements 300*, Leyde, Boston, 2008, p.387-408.

<sup>92</sup> L. COULON, « Le culte d'Osiris au I<sup>er</sup> millénaire, une mise en perspective », in L. COULON (éd.) *op.cit.*, p.16-17.

<sup>93</sup> B. MATHIEU, « Mais qui est donc Osiris ? Ou la politique sous le linceul de la religion », *ENIM* 3, 2010, 77-107.

<sup>94</sup> J. YOYOTTE, « Une notice biographique du roi Osiris », *BIFAO* 77, 1977, p.145-149; C. SPIESER, « Les cartouches divins », *ZÄS* 129, 2002, p.85-95.

<sup>95</sup> W. GUGLIELMI, *Die Göttin Mr.t. Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation*, PdA 7, Boston, 1991, p.45-56; G. MÖLLER, « Das *bb-sd* des Osiris nach Sargdarstellungen des neuen Reiches », *ZÄS* 39, 1901, p.71-74, pl. IV.

<sup>96</sup> H. BEINLICH, *Die Osirisreliquien "zum Motiv der Körpergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion*, Wiesbaden, 1984, p.208-209; S. CAUVILLE, *Le temple de Dendara. Les chapelles osiriennes. Commentaire*, BdE 118, 1997, p.35; J. ASSMANN, "Remembering Osiris: From the Death Cult to Cultural Memory", *Membra disiecta: Einbalsamierung und Anatomie in Ägypten und Europa*, I, in G. BRANDSTETTER, H. VOLCKERS (éds.), *ReMembering the Body. Körperbilder in Bewegung*, Ostfildern-Ruit, 2000, p.72-78; A. EGBERTS, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves*, *EgUit* 8, Leyde, 1995, p.436-437. Élément d'interprétation supplémentaire de la fameuse royauté ambulatoire? : L. TÖRÖK, "Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History", in CH. BONNET (éd.) *Etudes Nubiennes, actes du VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'études nubienes, 3-8 septembre 1990*, 1992, p.111-126.

<sup>97</sup> J. YOYOTTE, « Les étrangers chez Osiris: Stèles caro-helléniques et syro-perses de la nécropole de Saqqara », *AnnCdF* 94, 1994, p.693-694; P. GALLO, O. MASSON, « Une stèle "helléno-memphite" de la collection Nahman », *BIFAO* 93, 1993, p.265-276, pl. I-IV; I. MATTHIESON, E. BETTLES, S. DAVIES, H.S. SMITH, "A Stela of the Persian Period from Saqqara", *JEA* 81, 1995, p.23-41 et pls. 5-6; H. LOZAMACHEUR, V.



Comme nous l'avons vu *supra*, le lien entre la figure d'Apédemak, Osiris et le roi est bien connu, même si la figure du lion peut également être associée au culte dionysiaque<sup>98</sup>. Le lien entre le lion et Dionysos est attesté en Nubie<sup>99</sup>, y compris dans des contextes non monumentaux<sup>100</sup>. Le Bain Royal de Méroé est à ce titre un élément fondamental, et démontre par son programme décoratif que l'association des motifs dionysiaques avec Apédemak est pertinente au tournant du premier siècle de notre ère<sup>101</sup>.

La décoration du palais de Natakamani au Djebel Barkal constitue un exemple supplémentaire<sup>102</sup>, avec la juxtaposition de carreaux en faïence et appliques en terre cuite émaillée figurant Apedemak sur croissant, des médaillons de type « *imago clipeata* » représentant des têtes de femmes de tradition hellénistique et des nœuds isiaques<sup>103</sup>, des ménades tenant des grappes de raisins<sup>104</sup>, l'ensemble formant un programme iconographique cohérent et inscrit dans le cadre qui nous occupe ici. Le même programme iconographique compose le décor des façades du sanctuaire M195 à Méroé soulignant ainsi le caractère dionysiaque du complexe<sup>105</sup>. Le raisin et la vigne sont d'ailleurs parfois présents dans les décors pariétaux des palais, comme à Ouad Ben Naga (Khartoum, SNM 62/9/55)<sup>106</sup>. Par ailleurs, l'association Osiris/Apédemak est suggérée dans le cas du palais B1500, où il a été noté que le dieu tutélaire des Méroïtes pouvait se substituer à Osiris au sein de la triade formée avec Isis et Horus<sup>107</sup>. La similarité des éléments décoratifs entre le M194-195 de Méroé et le palais de Natakamani à Barkal a déjà été soulignée<sup>108</sup>, et l'implantation

DOBREV, « Nouvelle inscription funéraire araméenne à Saqqara », *CRAIBL* 2008, p.911-925; G. VITTMANN, *Agypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, Mayence, 2003.

<sup>98</sup> A. BRELICH, "Attributo", in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica ed orientale*, I. Rome, 1958, p.911; C. GASPARRI, M. VENERI, « Dionysos », in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)* III.1, Artemis Verlag, Zurich et Munich, 1986, p.414.

<sup>99</sup> A. MANZO, *op.cit.*, p.86-87.

<sup>100</sup> W.Y. ADAMS, "The Vintage of Nubia", *Kush* 14, 1966, 262; S. WENIG, *Africa in Antiquity II. The Catalogue*, New-York, 1978, p.255 et n.191. Voir également les protomes de lions décorant les pressoirs à vin en Egypte: P. VERNUS et J. YOYOTTE, *op.cit.*, p.165.

<sup>101</sup> A. MANZO, *op.cit.*, p.87.

<sup>102</sup> S. BOSTICCO, « Les récentes fouilles du complexe 1500 au Gebel Barkal », *Meroitica* 10, 1988, p.779-780; S. DONADONI, "Excavations of the University of Rome at Natakamani Palace", *Kush* 16, 1993, p.102-103; S. DEMICHELIS, "l'Architettura meroitica" in A. ROCCATI (éd.) *Napata e Meroe. Templi d'oro sul Nilo*, Milan, 1999, p.118; L. SIST, "Natakamani e l'Ellenismo: alcune considerazioni sul palazzo B1500 a Gebel Barkal", in S. RUSSO (éd.), *Atti del V Convegno Nazionale di Egittologia e Papirologia*, Florence, 2000, p.254.

<sup>103</sup> S. DONADONI, *op.cit.*, p.110 et *id.*, « Le palais de Natakamani au Djebel Barkal », *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 196, 1994, p.56-57.

<sup>104</sup> I. HOFMANN, "Die meroitische Religion. Staatskult und Volksfrömmigkeit", in W. HAASE (éd.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Teil II: Principat*, Berlin, New-York, 1995, p.2847; J. LECLANT, « Fouilles et travaux en Egypte et au Soudan 1981-1982 », *Orientalia* 52, 1983, p.525 et fig. 64; S. WENIG, *Documenti di architettura meroitica*, Rome, 1984, p.48. Voir annexe, notice n°5.

<sup>105</sup> Voir annexe, notice n° 6.

<sup>106</sup> A. SACKHO-AUTISSIER, « Un aspect de la religion méroïtique : vin et culte dionysiaque », in M. BAUD (dir.), *op.cit.*, p.205 et fig.271. Voir annexe, notice n° 7.

<sup>107</sup> L.V. ZABKAR, *Apedemak, lion God of Meroe*, Warminster, 1975, p.17-19.

<sup>108</sup> S. BOSTICCO, *op.cit.*, p.780; L. SIST, *op.cit.*, p.254.

de ces programmes au sein de structures monumentales liées au renouvellement du pouvoir royal ne peut être fortuite<sup>109</sup>.

L'association d'Apédemak avec Osiris et Dionysos n'est pas surprenante si l'on considère ses attributs guerriers et sa dimension de dieu fertile, protecteur du roi<sup>110</sup>. Par extension, l'association du dieu lion avec Sarapis a déjà été proposée<sup>111</sup>, et le dieu protecteur des Lagides est représenté dans le temple d'Apédemak à Naga bâti par Natakamani et Amanitoré<sup>112</sup>. Nous avons d'ailleurs mentionné que Sarapis pouvait régulièrement remplacer Osiris à la période gréco-romaine<sup>113</sup>, à la manière d'Apédemak à Méroé<sup>114</sup>.

La récurrence d'Osiris et de ses hypostases dans les lieux de pouvoir méroïtique<sup>115</sup> pourrait être renforcée par un exemple supplémentaire sur le site de Mouweis. Bien que l'étude du temple J soit encore en cours<sup>116</sup>, la découverte d'une figurine d'Osiris en bronze au sein de cette structure datée du règne d'Arakakhatror<sup>117</sup> est intéressante, particulièrement si l'on considère la position du temple J le long de l'allée processionnelle partant du temple principal jusqu'au palais royal, située à la bordure sud du site<sup>118</sup>. La figurine d'Osiris découverte dans le saint des saints du temple d'el-Hassa (Khartoum, SNM 31687)<sup>119</sup> est également à mentionner, associée à plusieurs objets de très belle facture (Figure 11).

Le fait que l'on retrouve régulièrement l'imagerie osirienne au cœur des édifices impliqués dans les processions royales induit une sélection consciente du répertoire osiriaque lors des célébrations politiques, et comme instrument, probablement archaïsant<sup>120</sup>, de la légitimité du souverain. Il a d'ailleurs été suggéré que la multiplication de l'iconographie dionysiaque (sous-tendue par les attributs osiriens) dans le décor des bâtiments monumentaux soit une affirmation anti-romaine du pouvoir méroïtique, Dionysos étant considéré comme le dieu des ennemis de Rome<sup>121</sup>. Ce système de référence, basé sur la tradition ptolémaïque<sup>122</sup>, expliquerait

<sup>109</sup> *ibid.*, 256; A. MANZO, *op.cit.*, p.87.

<sup>110</sup> I. GAMER-WALLERT, *op.cit.*, p.210-214; J. LECLANT, « Le Meroïtique » (Religion), in Y. BONNEFOY (éd.), *Dictionnaire des Mythologies*, vol. II, Paris, 1981, p.88; N.B. MILLET, « Meroïtic Religion », *Meroïtica* 7, 1984, p.118; E. SEGUENNY, « Quelques éléments de la religion populaire du Soudan ancien », *Meroïtica* 7, 1984, p.150; L.V. ZABKAR, *op.cit.*, p.13-21; L. TÖRÖK, *Meroe City*, p.76-77.

<sup>111</sup> J. LECLANT, « Aspects du syncrétisme Méroïtique », in *Les Syncrétismes dans les religions Grecque et Romaine. Colloque de Strasbourg du 9 au 11 Juin 1971*, Paris, 1973, p.142-143; I. GAMER-WALLERT, *op.cit.*, p.239-240.

<sup>112</sup> Zeus-Amon-Sarapis: I. GAMER-WALLERT, *op.cit.*, p.75-76; I. HOFMANN, *op.cit.*, p.2845 et pl.21.

<sup>113</sup> G. CLERC et J. LECLANT, *op.cit.*, p.108; A. DARBY NOCK, « Notes on Ruler-Cult I-IV », in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford 1972, p.140.

<sup>114</sup> L.V. ZABKAR, *op.cit.*, p.17-19.

<sup>115</sup> ABDELGADIR M. ABDALLA, *op.cit.*, p.61-104.

<sup>116</sup> M. BAUD, « Les fouilles du Louvre à Mouweis », in M. BAUD (dir.), *op.cit.*, p.218-219 et fig.285.

<sup>117</sup> *id.*, « Méroé, un monde urbain », in M. BAUD (dir.), *op.cit.*, p.216-217 et figs. 281-282.

<sup>118</sup> M. MAILLOT, « The Meroïtic Palace and Royal City », *Sudan and Nubia* 19, à paraître.

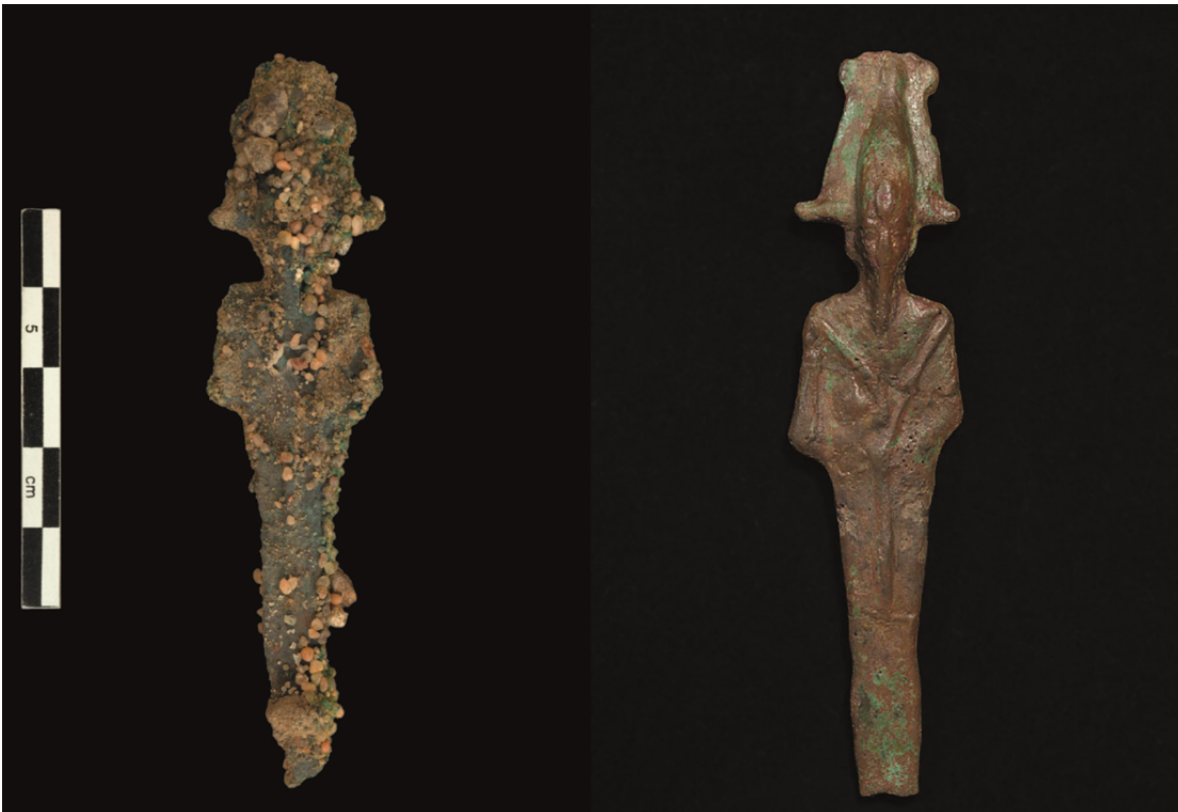
<sup>119</sup> Khartoum, SNM 31687. Bronze. H. 14 ; l. 3,3 ; ép. 1,2 cm = V. RONDOT, « Le matériel culturel du temple à Amon d'el-Hassa », in M. BAUD (dir.), *op.cit.*, p.236 et fig.309.

<sup>120</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook of the Napatan-Meroïtic Civilization*, La Haye, 1997, p.525.

<sup>121</sup> A. MANZO, *op.cit.*, p.90-91.

<sup>122</sup> L. TÖRÖK, *Handbook*, p.463-464.

ainsi pourquoi l'association Apédemak-Dionysos a pu apparaître tout à fait naturelle aux yeux des Méroïtes.



**Figure 11 : Figurine d'Osiris en bronze J052-01 (gauche), debout de face avec couronne atef (9,15x2,25x0,9), Mouweis, Khartoum SNM 34983 (O. Cabon/Musée du Louvre) et figurine d'Osiris en bronze, H.14 cm, el-Hassa (droite), Khartoum, SNM 31687 (d'après M. BAUD 2010, p.236 et fig. 309).**

## Annexe

### A. Sackho-Autissier

#### Notice 1 — Applique murale à l'effigie du dieu-lion Apédemak sur un croissant de lune



A. Sackho-Autissier, 2009

Terre cuite émaillée

H. 24,2 ; l. 23,1 ; ép. 5,3 cm

I<sup>er</sup> s. apr. J.-C.

Méroé-ville, « sanctuaire de l'eau » (M195)

Liverpool, World Museum, 49.47.847

**Bibliographie:** WENIG 1978, II, 274 (n° 214); BIENKOWSKI-TOOLEY 1995, 97, 100; TÖRÖK 1997, I, 84 ; II, 51 (195-31); BAUD- LABBÉ-TOUTÉE-SACKHO-AUTISSIER 2010, 243 (n° 324).

Lion vu de face, coiffé de la couronne *hmm* et juché sur un croissant de lune. Cette applique fut trouvée dans le « sanctuaire de l'eau » à Méroé (M195). Elle faisait partie du décor de la façade sud du bassin qui était alimenté en eau. Le complexe était richement décoré de statues de Dionysos, du satyre Silène et de joueurs de flûtes à double chalumeau (*aulos*), de Pan (*syrinx*) et de cithare (*kitharados*) et des sculptures des participants au banquet dionysiaque allongés sur un lit. Le décor est

complété par des appliques en faïence en forme de nœuds « *sa* » et de signes « *ankh* » et des médaillons de type « *imago clipeata* » à l'effigie de ménades, personnage du thiasse dionysiaque.

### Parallèles

- Applique murale : Apedemak sur un croissant de lune. Terre cuite émaillée. H. 27 cm. Djebel Barkal, côté nord du palais de Natakamani (B1500), milieu du I<sup>er</sup> s. apr. J.-C. (GB82e). Bibliographie : BAUD-LABBÉ-TOUTÉE-SACKHO-AUTISSIER 2010, 96 (n° 111) ; SIST 2006, 476, fig. 2.

### Notice 2 — Sistre avec visage de la déesse Hathor



Faïence verte

H. 6,1 ; l. 1,9 ; ép. 0,8 cm

Début de la période napatéenne

Méroé-ville, M294

Londres, Petrie Museum, UC 38581

**Bibliographie :** TÖRÖK, 1997, I, 158 ; II, pl. 120 (294-76).

Ce sistre à naos est composé d'un manche surmonté d'une tête de la déesse Hathor coiffée d'une petite chapelle ouverte, percée afin de faire raisonner des rondelles en métal enfilées sur des tringles disposées à l'intérieur. Le manche est anépigraphe.

### Notice 3 — Ex-voto en forme de signe *ankh*



Faïence verte

H. 23 ; l. 9,7 cm

Règne d'Aspelta (fin du VII<sup>e</sup>-début du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.)

Méroé-ville, M294

Londres, Petrie Museum, UC 43949

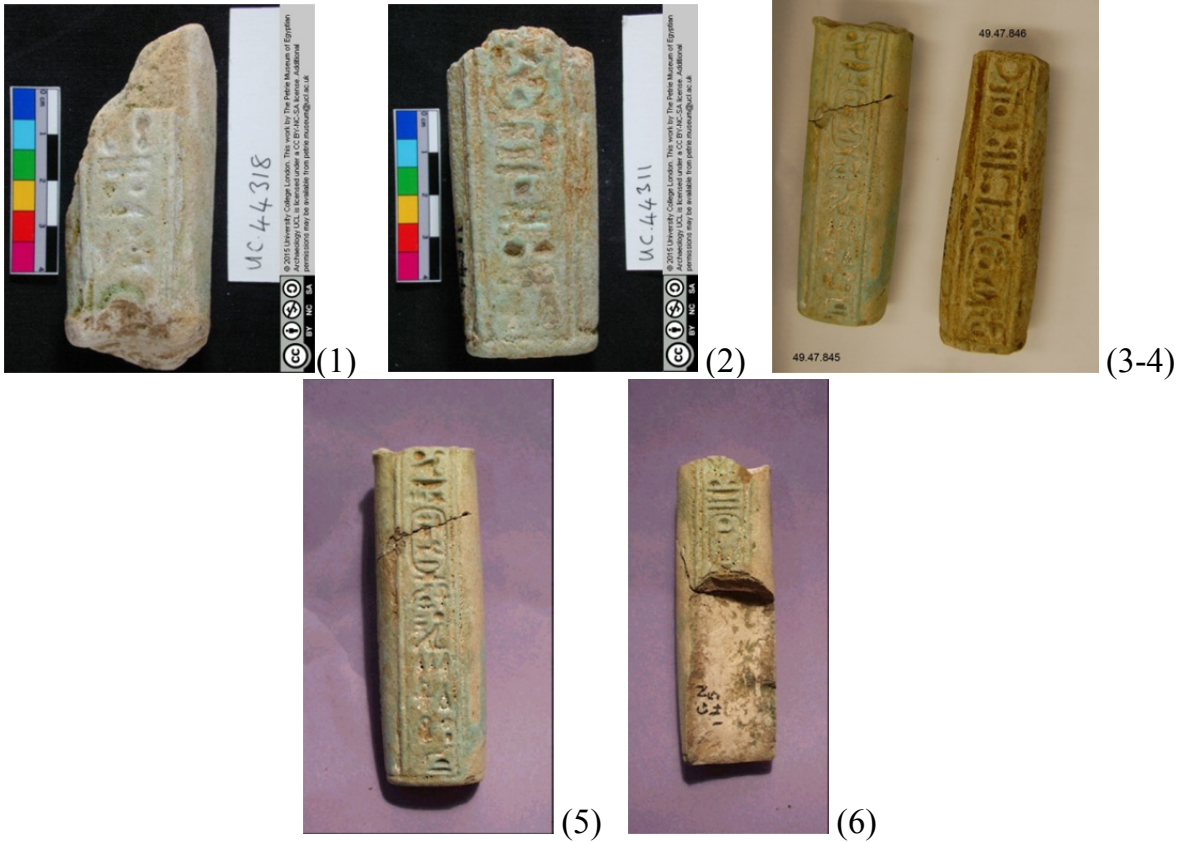
**Bibliographie** : TEASLE TROPE–QUIRKE–LACOVARA 2005, 104 (n° 78) ; TÖRÖK 1997, I, 156 ; pl. ; II, pl. 116 (294-32 et 294-35).

Objet votif en forme de signe *ankh* en trois morceaux recollés. Les deux côtés du manche sont inscrits au nom du roi Aspelta.

#### Parallèle

- Ex-voto associant les signes *ankh*, *djed*, *heh* et le sceptre *ouas*. Faïence, h. 23,5 cm. Période napatéenne. Proviendrait du Djebel Barkal, temple de Taharqa (B300). Londres, British Museum, EA 54412. Bibliographie : FRIEDMAN 1998, 131, 226 (n° 119).

#### Notice 4 — Fragments de manches de sistre ou d'objet votif



##### (1) Faïence verte

H. 7 ; l. 3 cm

Début de la période napatéenne, VII<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

Méroé-ville, M294

Londres, Petrie Museum, UC 44318

##### **Bibliographie :** inédit

Fragment d'un manche de sistre ou d'ex-voto de section ovale. Chaque côté du fragment est gravé d'une inscription en colonne en partie effacée.

##### (2) Faïence verte

H. 6,8 ; l. 3,3 cm

Règne d'Aramatelqo (1<sup>er</sup> tiers du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.)

Méroé-ville, M294

Londres, Petrie Museum, UC 44311

**Bibliographie** : BAGH 2015, 67, fig. 1.94; TÖRÖK 1997, I, 236 ; II, fig. 119 (inscr. 10).

Partie inférieure d'un manche de sistre ou d'ex-voto de section ovale. Chaque côté du manche porte un texte hiéroglyphique en colonne. Sur le droit, on peut lire : « ... aimé d'Amon-Rê, maître des trônes du Double Pays, vivant à jamais », et, sur le revers, « ... Aramatelqo, aimé d'Amon de Napata, doué de vie... ».

### (3) Faïence verte

H. 10,5 ; l. 3,2 cm

Règne d'Aspelta (fin du VII<sup>e</sup> s.-début du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.)

Méroé-ville, M294

Liverpool, World Museum, 49.47.845

**Bibliographie** : GARSTANG–SAYCE 1912, 59; TÖRÖK 1997, I, p. 157, 241; II, fig. 123; pl. 118 (294-60 = inscr. 68).

Partie inférieure d'un manche de sistre ou d'ex-voto de section ovale. Chaque côté du manche figure une colonne de texte en hiéroglyphes. On peut lire sur le droit « ... fils de Rê, Maître des couronnes, Aspelta, doué de vie, aimé de Rê-Horakhty, comme Rê, à jamais... », et, sur le revers, « ... roi de Haute et Basse-Egypte, Merikarê, .... ».

### (4) Faïence verte

H. 10 cm

Règne d'Aramatelqo (1<sup>er</sup> tiers du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.)

Méroé-ville, M294

Liverpool, World Museum, 49.47.846

**Bibliographie** : TÖRÖK 1997, I, 238 ; II, fig. 121 (inscr. 42).

Partie inférieure d'un manche de sistre ou d'ex-voto de section ovale. Chaque côté du manche figure une colonne de texte en hiéroglyphes. On peut lire sur le droit « ... qu'Amon de Napata, qui préside dans la Montagne Pure, ouvre une nouvelle année pour [Aramatelqo], vivant à jamais », et, sur le revers, « ... [qu']Amon-Rê, Maître des trônes, (ouvre) une nouvelle année pour le roi de Haute et Basse-Egypte, [Aramatelqo], vivant à jamais.... ».



**(5) Faïence verte en grande partie décolorée**

H. 7,8 cm

Début de la période napatéenne, VII<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

Méroé-ville, M294

Copenhague, NY Carlsberg Glyptotek, ÆIN 1310

**Bibliographie** : BAGH 2015, 66, 67, fig. 1.93 (à gauche).

Partie inférieure d'un manche de sistre ou d'ex-voto de section ovale. Chaque côté du fragment est gravé au nom d'un roi napatéen qui est en grande partie effacé.

**(6) Faïence verte en grande partie décolorée**

H. 7,5 cm

Début de la période napatéenne, VII<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

Méroé-ville, M294

Copenhague, NY Carlsberg Glyptotek, ÆIN 1311

**Bibliographie** : BAGH 2015, 66, 67, fig. 1.93 (à droite).

Partie inférieure d'un manche de sistre ou d'ex-voto de section ovale. Chaque côté du fragment est inscrit d'un texte hiéroglyphique en colonne qui est en grande partie effacé.

**Notice 5 — Médaillon-applique murale : femme présentant des grappes de raisin**



Terre cuite émaillée

D. 28,4 ; ép. 4,7 cm

Milieu du I<sup>er</sup> s. apr. J.-C.

Djebel Barkal, Palais de Natakamani (B1500), n° de fouilles GB88.1

Khartoum, SNM 31330

**Bibliographie** : BAUD-LABBÉ-TOUTÉE-SACKHO-AUTISSIER 2010, 204 (n° 267) ; WELSBY-ANDERSON 2004, 162 (n° 145).

Médaillon au décor en relief d'un buste de femme vue de face tenant dans chaque main une grappe de raisin. Applique murale à sujet dionysiaque où le personnage féminin a été identifié à une ménade.

**Parallèle**

- Médaillon-applique murale : femme tenant des grappes de raisin. D. 28,4 cm. Djebel Barkal, côté nord du palais de Natakamani (B1500), milieu du I<sup>er</sup> s. apr. J.-C. (GB82). Bibliographie : BAUD-LABBÉ-TOUTÉE-SACKHO-AUTISSIER 2010, 204 (n° 268) ; SIST 2006, 477, fig. 14.

### Notice 6 — Médaillons-appliques murales : buste de femme



Bruxelles MRAH E 3709

(1)



(2)

Terre cuite émaillée

(1) H. 26,5 ; l. 39 cm ; (2) H. 30 ; l. 27,5 cm

I<sup>er</sup> s. apr. J.-C.

Méroé-ville, « sanctuaire de l'eau » (M195), mur sud

(1) Bruxelles, musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 3709

(2) Londres, Petrie Museum, UC 44156

**Bibliographie** : WENIG 1978, II, 274 (n° 215 = Bruxelles, musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 3709) ; TÖRÖK 1977, I, 84-85 (195-36 = Bruxelles, musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 3709).

Médaillons-appliques murales de style hellénistique au décor en relief d'un buste de femme vue de face. Tenant la tête légèrement penchée, elle porte les cheveux longs sur les épaules. Ce personnage féminin a été identifié à une ménade du cortège dionysiaque.

### Notice 7 — Frise à décor en relief : rinceaux de vigne avec oiseau picorant



Musée du Louvre, C. Décamp 2010

Terre cuite émaillée

(a) L. max. 22 cm ; l. max. 10,3 cm ; ép. max. 2,4 cm ; ép. moyenne 2,3 cm

(b) L. max. 14 cm ; l. max. 11,5 cm ; ép. max. 2,4 cm ; ép. moyenne 2,3 cm

Ouad ben Naga, palais attribué à la reine Amanishakheto, 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. apr. J.-C. (n° fouilles WB 59-60 53)

Khartoum, SNM 62/9/55

**Bibliographie** : SACKHO-AUTISSIER 2011, 373 (bibliographie avant 2011) ; ZACH 2012, 206 ; ONDERKA-VRTAL 2013, 60 et fig. 6.7.

Ces deux fragments non jointifs font partie d'une frise de décor pariétal : le fragment (a) est décoré d'un rinceau de vigne et d'un oiseau picorant une grappe de raisin ; le décor du fragment (b) est composé d'un pampre avec ses feuilles de vigne et une grappe de raisin.

Ces deux éléments ont été d'abord interprétés comme faisant partie d'une table d'offrandes<sup>123</sup>. En effet, un décor semblable est attesté sur les fragments de deux

<sup>123</sup> VERCOUTTER 1962, 289-270 ; MANZO 2006, 82.

tables d'offrandes en faïence bleue, découvertes à Méroé<sup>124</sup>. Ce type de décor, de même que les figurations d'amphores et de jarres à vin, sont bien attestés en contexte funéraire méroïtique sur des récipients en céramique, sur les reliefs des chapelles des pyramides de Méroé, sur les stèles et les tables d'offrandes<sup>125</sup>. La vigne, le pampre, le rinceau, la grappe et la feuille de vigne appartiennent au vocabulaire iconographique dionysiaque et évoquent traditionnellement l'éternité, l'immortalité, la renaissance que procuraient Dionysos, dieu de la fertilité, et sa contrepartie chthonienne Osiris<sup>126</sup>.

Les deux fragments à décor de rinceaux de vigne découverts en contexte palatial, ont une épaisseur trop faible (2,3 à 2,4 cm) pour être identifiés à des éléments appartenant à une table d'offrandes méroïtique dont l'épaisseur moyenne varie entre 8 et 10 cm. En revanche, cette épaisseur convient à des éléments décoratifs de frise murale. Liés au rituel associé au vin à Méroé, des ornements en faïence suspendus ou posés en applique en forme de grappes de raisin décoraient des résidences méroïtiques. Les exemplaires les plus remarquables, en faïence, ont été découverts lors des fouilles de John Garstang à Méroé-ville (Paris, musée du Louvre, E 11392-93 ; Londres, Petrie Museum, UC 43945)<sup>127</sup>. Ce type d'ornements est très voisin des décors pariétaux déjà bien attestés dans les palais du Nouvel Empire et qui évoquerait la vigne cultivée en tonnelle.

La scène de l'oiseau picorant une grappe de raisin figurée sur le fragment (a) est attestée sur les fragments d'un vase au décor peint découvert dans le Grand enclos de Moussawarat es-Soufra (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 29039)<sup>128</sup>. Ce thème iconographique de l'oiseau unissant le pampre, le rinceau et la grappe de raisin est issu du monde méditerranéen. Il est présent dans les frises décorant des hauts vases cylindriques en faïence d'époque romaine tel le fragment Louvre E 11141 (atelier de Memphis, 1<sup>er</sup>-2<sup>e</sup> s. apr. J.-C.)<sup>129</sup>. Pour ces vases, on y reconnaît également des figures tirées de la mythologie telles que des Erotes vendangeurs ou musiciens, des Harpocrates et des centaures. Un exemplaire 39.31 de la collection Dumbarton Oaks (inv. 39.31) évoque le monde dionysiaque. Son décor en bas-relief, disposé en frise,

<sup>124</sup> Beg. N 2 (Amanikhabale, 1<sup>re</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> s. apr. J.-C.) = DUNHAM 1957, 104, fig. 71, pl. XLII G (n° fouilles 21-1-674) ; 105 (n° fouilles 21-1-725). Beg. N 8 = DUNHAM 1957, 69, pl. XLI B (n° fouilles 21-3-438).

<sup>125</sup> SACKHO-AUTISSIER 2010, 202 et n° 264.

<sup>126</sup> LENOBLE 2004, 337-338 ; SACKHO-AUTISSIER 2006a, 310 ; MANZO 2006, 82-94.

<sup>127</sup> Paris, musée du Louvre, E 11392. Faïence. H. 11,3 ; D. 8,15 cm ; E 11393. Faïence. H. 11,8 ; D. 8,9 ; ép. 4,3 cm = SACKHO-AUTISSIER 2010, 206, 205 (n° 269-270). Londres, Petrie Museum, UC 43945, H. 13,9 ; D. 7,6 ; ép. 3,5 cm = TÖRÖK 1997, I, 206 ; II, pl. 169 (943-17). Cette grappe de raisin fut trouvée dans la pièce M943 d'une maison. Signalons aussi les deux ornements en forme de grappe de raisin découverts dans une résidence méroïtique (« Western Palace ») à Faras, GRIFFITH 1926, 31-32, pl. XIX (n° 9, 10).

<sup>128</sup> Fragment de panse en cinq morceaux recollés. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 29039. Terre cuite. H. 23 ; l. 15 ; ép. 0,9 cm. WENIG 1978, II, 276 (n° 219) ; TÖRÖK 1987, 97, fig. 1.

<sup>129</sup> Paris, musée du Louvre, E 11141. Fragment de la panse et du fond au décor en relief unissant le rinceau, l'oiseau, un mammifère et la végétation. Faïence. H. 12,1 ; d. 12,5 cm = BEL-GIROIRE-GOMBERT-MEURICE-RUTSCHOWSCAYA-GATIER 2012, 158-159, fig. 130 ; CAUBET-PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS 2005, 186, n° 502 ; NENNA-SEIF EL-DIN 2000, 340, 410.

est composé de quatre Eroses se faisant face, deux à deux, séparés par des ceps de vigne<sup>130</sup>.

Le programme iconographique décorant les hauts vases cylindriques d'époque romaine produits en Egypte, notamment dans les ateliers de Memphis, semble avoir été l'une des inspirations des artisans méroïtes qui ont transposé ce type de décor sur les murs du palais WBN 100 à Ouad ben Naga.

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<sup>130</sup> Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 39.31. Faïence. H. 15,5 ; d. 14,5 cm. Origine inconnue. 1<sup>er</sup>-2<sup>e</sup> s. apr. J.-C. = NENNA–SEIF EL-DIN 2000, 339 ; KITZINGER 1967, 87 (n° 301).

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## Book Reviews

Caroline M. Rocheleau

### *Ancient Egyptian Art: Systematic Catalogue of the Collection, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh*

North Carolina Museum of Art Publications. 2012. xv +163 pages.

This book is the catalogue of the ancient Egyptian collection at the North Carolina Museum of Art. It marks a major achievement in academic research at this institution, as it is the first publication entirely devoted to its collection.

It is divided into four major sections. In the first section, after a list of the comparative illustrations with which the author complemented some of the entries in the catalogue proper (p. ix), and after a foreword by the Director of the Museum and the usual acknowledgements (pp. x-xi), a brief introduction (pp. xii-xiii) deals with the history of the foundation of the North Carolina Museum of Art, and in particular with its Egyptian collection and the role played in its establishment by its chief benefactor, Mr. James Gordon Hanes Jr. His generosity, one reads, “resulted in a small but coherent collection that beautifully illustrates major aspects of ancient Egyptian culture” (p. xii). This part of the book is concluded by the notes to the reader (pp. xiv-xv), which includes an explanation of the organization of the catalogue and of the conventions used in Egyptology when transliterating and translating original texts.

The second section of the book is the actual catalogue (pp. 1-102), which offers a comprehensive examination of the artefacts in the collection. It is organized chronologically by historical period, and arranged into dynasties whenever applicable. Within each period or dynasty, the featured artefacts are listed in alphabetical order, unless a more accurate time frame could be provided, as for instance the attribution of an artefact to the reign of a specific ruler. The occurrence of the latter circumstance determines the presence of the artefacts listed first within their dynasty in such a position (e.g. pp. 14-16), followed by the alphabetical listing of the objects more generically dated to a dynasty or period. The catalogue numbers (1 to 37) follow the order in which the objects appear in the book. Each artefact is illustrated in full color, and several entries also feature color comparative illustrations. Under the illustration of each object, the usual basic data are provided: name (entry heading), provenance, date (by period and dynasty, with name of a specific ruler and/or absolute dates when applicable), material(s), dimensions (both in inches and in centimeters), credit line specifying how the object entered the collection, and accession number. The main entry provides a detailed description of the object itself as well as of its cultural and historical context, and is complemented by endnotes and additional details about its provenance, its materials and construction, its current condition (including conservation details), and its exhibition history. Additionally, the “references” section attached to each entry provides






information on where the artefact has been published. Newspaper articles and illustrations in art magazines are listed in full, whereas scholarly publications are referred to through abbreviations, which can be found at the end of the book, in the section dedicated to the bibliography of the works cited (pp. 152-157). In addition, the presence or absence of inscriptions on each of the objects is specified, and details are provided as to where one can find their translation, since the book also includes a section devoted to the inscribed artefacts in the collection. Each entry therefore provides an exhaustive range of information, which allows even a reader inexperienced in Egyptology to fully comprehend and appreciate the historical and cultural background of each object in the collection. However, although the purpose of the book was not to present the reader with a wide array of information, which would be more befitting an encyclopedia, it surely would have been nice if the author had chosen to provide at least some further bibliography on the specific category that the objects described belong to (e.g. false doors, or shabti-boxes, etc.), just to guide the keenest readers to more suitable and thorough sources to turn to on a specific subject.

The third section of the book (pp. 105-149) is dedicated to the inscribed artefacts of the collection, and includes the annotated transliteration and translation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Each text is identified by a code (T-7 to T-31), in which the number matches the catalogue number that each object has been assigned in the catalogue section of the book. Thus, for instance, T-14 corresponds to the catalogue object n. 14. This reference system, along with the details provided in the main entry of the catalogue proper whenever an inscribed object is dealt with, allows the reader to easily trace back the inscription to the object in the catalogue. Each entry in this section is fully illustrated to provide scholars with the original texts; close-up pictures of the various parts of the inscription are included, whenever necessary, in order to associate in a clear way the transliteration and translation with the matching section in the original text appearing on the object. In cases where an artefact features a longer and complex inscription, such as for instance cat. 7 and 8, the author clearly identifies the various parts of it when she provides the translation, also specifying in which direction the text has to be read, in case some less experienced reader should be interested in taking a stab at unlocking the meaning of the hieroglyphs. In some cases (e.g. T-20, pp. 123-141), small numbers flank or top the pictures of various parts of an inscription, matching its lines or columns, in order to allow the reader to be able to quickly find the transliteration and translation of each of them. Although in not all the cases the alphanumerical system used to identify each column or line is indicative of the order in which the texts need to be read, there never occurs any confusion when going over the inscriptions, as the author pairs the transliteration and translation with the original text in a clear way. The notes at the end of every text translated help to clarify any debated or unclear point in the transliteration and/or the translation of the texts, and provide additional information on any relevant issue, from the orthography and grammar to the interpretation of the most difficult passages (with some exceptions noted below).



The fourth section of the book (pp. 150-161) includes a glossary, the bibliography of works cited, a chronology, and a general index. While all of these are very helpful tools, the lack of a map of Egypt is somewhat surprising. Although anyone with a background in Egyptology is familiar with the geography of Egypt, the same does not apply to the general public, who would have greatly benefitted from having the chance to visually identify on a map the locations where the artefacts in the collection originally came from. Additionally, it may have been helpful to include not only a list of Dynasties grouped by period, but also a list of kings ruling Egypt. The author instead chose only to single out some of the names of apparently the most relevant kings (including the Macedonian and Ptolemaic rulers, as well as the Roman emperors). Such a choice, however it may be justified inasmuch as it clearly identifies in the list those rulers to whose reign some of the artefacts in the collection could be dated, is not completely effective, since it deprives the reader of the possibility to situate those very same rulers in a complete chronological outline of the history of Egypt. It thus transmits a somewhat distorted impression that the rulers whose names who made their way to the list should be considered more preeminent than others.

Although the author extensively describes the artefacts and explains their background, and although a comprehensive treatment of the development of Egyptian art was beyond the scope of the catalogue, an introductory historical overview outlining its major features would have been surely beneficial, as it would have provided the reader with the means to fully appreciate the changes of Egyptian art over time, set against the background of a cultural continuum that emerged already in the Predynastic Period, before Egypt became a unified kingdom. However, throughout the catalogue the author consistently provides references to other artefacts both in this collection and in others around the world, thus profitably stressing the interconnections among different fields of ancient Egyptian material culture.

I provide below some corrections on the section containing the translation of the inscriptions (pp. 105-149):

- T-7 (pp. 105-107): in the transliteration of the left outer jamb (p. 106), the *f* (“his”) after *qrst* has been omitted. Also, replace the *h* with a *ḥ* in the word *ḥnt(yw)-š*.
- T-8 (pp. 108-112): replace *ḥnk* with *ḥnk(t)* (“offerings”, *Wb* III, 118.9-15) on p. 109 (offering list, column 1) and p. 111 (offering list, column 3). On p. 109, the word *wḏḥw* in column 6 should be written *wḏḥw* (“offering table”, *Wb* I, 393.15-394.1). In column 10 on p. 111, what is transliterated as *irp* “wine” does not match the group of signs visible in the image. The signs appear to be , followed by what looks like a simplified version of a sealed oil jar (, Gardiner W1), or perhaps a beer jug (, Gardiner W22). Although it is logical to assume that this may be a scribal error, since the same offering list appears elsewhere in the text (p. 109, column 8, with *irp* written correctly), a note would have been in order to explain what the hieroglyphs actually show, and why the author chose to transliterate and



translate the way she did. Finally, in column 11, *3pw* should be *3pdw* “birds”, “fowl” (*Wb* I, 9.5-8).

- T-14 (p. 113): the text in column 1 is open to different avenues of interpretation, on which unfortunately the author does not dwell. The double arm sign with a *t* in between () is interpreted as a writing for the dual of  $\text{ḥt}$  (“limb”, “member”, *Wb* I, 160.14-23), with the result that a *.t* (second person singular feminine suffix pronoun) has to be supplied. If this reading were correct, the dual of  $\text{ḥt}$  should be  $\text{ḥty}$ , and not  $\text{ḥtwy}$ , since such a word is feminine.<sup>1</sup> However, the most likely hypothesis is that the *t* written between the two arms is the second person singular feminine suffix pronoun itself,<sup>2</sup> placed there out of aesthetic reasons. Accordingly, the inscription would follow the usual pattern for the period,<sup>3</sup> calling upon one of the four mortuary goddesses (Isis, Nephtys, Neith, Selqet) to wrap her arms (*inq ḥwy*, *Wb* I, 100.22) around the tutelary god associated with the specific organ contained in each canopic jar, namely one of the four sons of Horus (Hapy, Imseti, Duamutef, Qebehsenuf). The text would thus read *inq ḥwy.t [hr nty] im.t* “enfold your arms [around the one which is] in you”. Furthermore, it is not necessary to take the final  $\text{ḥstp-s3}$  in column 1 as a prospective with omitted subject (as per translation), since it is more likely that this verb works parallel to the *inq*, and that it is accordingly an imperative. In column 3, there is no *n* after the word *šnwty* (“Double Granary”, *Wb* IV, 510.1). Right after that, *pr-ḥ3* is singular, and not dual (*prwy-ḥ3* in the book), the writing on this jar () being just a graphic variant of the word *pr-ḥ3*, attested in the New Kingdom (cf. *Wb* I, 516). Also, the exclamatory phraseology immediately following the word *pr-ḥ3*, namely “live, prosperous, and healthy” (“l.p.h.”) should have been more correctly transliterated  $\text{ḥnh(.w) (w)d3(.w) s(nb.w)}$ , including the usual omitted ending of the stative.<sup>4</sup> Lastly, the final words of this line are better transliterated as *nb ḥim3ḥ*.

- T-19 (pp. 118-122): what the author consistently has as *imnt{t}* (p. 118, 121-a, 122-a), considering it an erroneous writing, is simply a variant (*imntt*,

<sup>1</sup> The ending of the feminine dual nouns is *-ty*; see J. E. Hoch, *Middle Egyptian Grammar* (Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1997), 28.

<sup>2</sup> The sound *t̄* had changed to *t* in many words already by Middle Egyptian, including the 2nd person singular feminine suffix pronoun. See J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian. An introduction to the language and culture of hieroglyphs*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 20, §2.8.3.



<sup>3</sup> K. Sethe, “Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche” (Berlin: *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1934), 2\*-8\*. In particular, see 4\* Var. 2, where the usual  is written , with the sign  $\text{ḥ}$  being either a filler, typical of Late Egyptian writing, or most likely a corrupted writing of the *t*. See also various examples similar to this canopic jar in A. Dodson, *The canopic equipment of the kings of Egypt* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1994), 154-155, 160-161, 166-169.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the normal omission of the endings of the stative, common expressions, especially honorific transpositions, were usually abbreviated by using defective writings, as is the case here. See Hoch, *Middle Egyptian Grammar*, 59, 116. This is the reason why, in order to reflect what is in the original, some of the letters of these words should be put in parentheses, as suggested.

*Wb* I, 87.1-13) of the more common *imnt* “West”, with the same meaning. Accordingly, the translation for *hnty imntt* should be “foremost of the West”. Also, throughout the transliteration of the text (p. 118, central column of text; p. 120, upside-down inscriptions on the toes, left side of central inscription; p. 121), replace *qrs* with *qrs*, which is the term properly designating the burial (*Wb* V, 64.5-7). On p. 118, the translation of the text in the two columns in front of and behind Nut’s head should be “Nut the Great, the begetter of the gods” (*Nwt wr(t) ms ntrw*), which is a phraseology well attested in sources of the pharaonic period.<sup>5</sup> On the same page, the transliteration and translation found under the captions labelled “goddess on the left” and “goddess on the right” do not fully match the hieroglyphs visible in the images. In fact, the image referred to the “goddess on the left” only includes what can be transliterated as *3st di.s* “Isis, may she give”. The other image only shows *nb(t)-hwt* “Nephtys”.

- T-20 (pp. 123-141): some portions of the coffins are not illustrated, so that it is at times impossible for the reader to match transliteration and translation with the relevant part of the text in the original. The author here has chosen to translate the heading *dd-mdw* as just “spoken” instead of “words (to be) spoken”, although the latter, more correct alternative is used consistently in the rest of the translations in the book (e.g. T-14, p. 113). On p. 123 (column 3b), p. 125 (columns 10c), p. 126 (column 20b), and p. 131 (column 42f), replace *qrs* with *qrs* for “burial”. In column 7d (p. 124), the word *hrw* is missing after *m3c* in the transliteration. On pp. 125 (columns 10b, 16b) and 126 (column 19a), in the transliteration, the first person singular suffix pronoun *.i* is missing after the verb *wmn*. In column 13b, the capitalized *h* appearing in *sh* in the transliteration is a misprint for *3* in the word *s3* “protection”. On p. 127 (column 24b), there is what looks like a *nb* sign (☪, Gardiner V30) after the word *ht*, which is omitted in the transliteration. On the same page, at the end of line 25, the inscription should have been transliterated and translated as *nsw ntrw hr(y) pt ntr 3* “king of the gods, who is upon the sky (i.e. master of the sky), the great god” (cf. same expression in column 42b, p. 131). On p. 129, the transliteration and translation of columns 31a and 31c are switched. On p. 131 (column 41a), the group of signs after *nb ddw* looks like *ntr 3* “the great god”, and not *hq3 ntr[w]*. At approximately half the length of column 42a, after *n k3 n* the phrase *Wsir nb(t) pr* (“the Osiris lady of the house”) is left out in the transliteration. In both the transliteration and the translation of column 42b, *n k3 n* (“for the ka of”) is missing before the title and the name of the deceased preceded by the title *Wsir*. In column 42c, the group of hieroglyphs *n.s {n}* (with the second *n* omitted altogether) after the invocation offering is ignored in the translation; in the transliteration, *hb* should be followed by *nfr* “beautiful”, which is instead left out (but appears in the translation). On p. 140, in the transliteration of line 1b, *htp* should be *htpw*.

<sup>5</sup> C. Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002-2003), vol. III, 538-539.

- T-30 (p. 147): due to the degraded condition of the surface of the rim of the bowl, the inscription is a bit damaged. As a consequence, the photograph is not clear enough to allow for a secure reading of the hieroglyphs. However, it can be observed that the name of the father of the owner of the bowl, which appears at the end of the line, is not fully spelled out. In fact, only the falcon  (Gardiner G5) and the sign  (Gardiner M15) are visible. This name is transliterated as *hr-m-3h-bit*, when instead it would have been more appropriate to be true to the hieroglyphs and transcribe it as *hr(-m)-3h(-bit)*. In note 4, it is stated that “a rather abbreviated version of this name is available in Ranke 1935: 247/15”. However, what this refers to are actually the abbreviated writings of the name, like the one occurring on this bowl, and not abbreviated versions of the name itself.

- T-31 (pp. 148-149): on p. 148, in the first (1) column to the right of Nut's face, the word *mdw* is missing after *dd*. On p. 149, the signs after the word *hnty* show the writing *imntt*, and not *imnt*. The translation of *hnty imntt* should be “foremost of the West” (*Wb* I, 87.13). On the same page, the word *w<sup>c</sup>b* “pure” is missing in the transliteration between *nfr* and *w3h-ib* (erroneously printed as *w3h-ib*), although it is included in the translation.

- Finally, it has to be noted that several inconsistencies appear in the use of the conventional brackets that are employed in Egyptology in the transliteration and translation of texts to indicate things such as errors, damages, extraneous signs, and omissions occurring in the original (see explanation on p. xv). For instance, in T-19, in column 3 of the text in the top register, right of the central inscription (p. 119), the *i* supplied after *ii.n* should be put either in angle brackets *< >* or in the round ones (  ), depending on whether one chooses to consider this to be an erroneous omission or a common scribal omission (most likely), respectively. The same applies to the text in column 3 in the top register, left of the central inscription, in which *ii[n.i]* *n* should have been probably more correctly transliterated as *ii.n(.i) <n>*. Whereas these (and other) minor imprecisions throughout the section on the translations do not affect the meaning, it would surely have been better to be consistent in the use of such conventions.

These remarks aside, this book is a very important publication in its field, since, as mentioned above, it is the very first entirely concerned with the collection housed at the North Carolina Museum of Art. It is a comprehensive publication, and one that provides valuable insight into the ancient Egyptian material culture, which is almost brought to new life thanks to the numerous color images that accompany the texts. The imprecisions pointed out, if anything, are witness to an undoubtedly difficult task, namely that of researching materials that come from different periods and belong to various spheres of such a multifaceted culture, and that additionally bear inscriptions written in different stages of the Egyptian language (and writing). The author set out to publish a detailed catalogue of the collection that she is in charge of, and she most assuredly achieved the goal, thus presenting to the public for the first time the remarkable objects housed at the Museum, which would have gone unnoticed otherwise.

William Y. Adams with contributions by Nettie K. Adams.

*Qasr Ibrim: The Ballana Phase.*

EES Excavation Memoir, no. 104.

Egypt Exploration Society. 2013. 304 pages.

This excavation report was written by the former field director of Qasr Ibrim, William Y. Adams, with contributions by Nettie K. Adams on the textiles. This report is the fourth EES Excavation Memoir published on the site of Qasr Ibrim in addition to multiple journal articles.

The book is divided into five major parts. Part 1 introduces background of the site, Part 2 discusses the architectural record, Part 3 examines the artefactual record, Part 4 presents the textual record, and Part 5 synthesizes the information presented throughout the report. Parts 1-3 are additionally divided into chapters, which enables the reader to easily find the desired information.

Part 1 comprises two chapters in which the author provides an introduction to the book as well as the historical and cultural context of the site. In Chapter 1, the author presents the nomenclature used throughout the text, an overview of the site and its excavation, and the methods of documentation. In Chapter 2, the author outlines the historical and cultural contexts of Qasr Ibrim.

Part 2 includes five chapters where the author describes the architectural record. In Chapter 1, the author discusses the fortifications and town plan. The majority of the buildings were concentrated in the southwest corner of the site. These buildings were arranged within and around streets and plazas. The East Temple Gate Plaza was a central feature with streets radiating off it; it offered primary access to the Taharqa and Meroitic temples (p. 25). In Chapter 2, the houses and storerooms are described. Early Ballana houses were more regular in plan and more stoutly built than other Ballana period structures. These structures may not have been dwellings but rather commercial or business areas, which would account for the lack of mastabas, fireplaces, and food preparation areas (p. 29). In Chapter 3, the additional storage facilities are presented, which include small, above-ground enclosures without lateral entrances and subterranean crypts (p. 49). In Chapter 4, three temples and a shrine that were in use during the Ballana period are described. The Taharqa temple became a side chapel or annex to the Meroitic temple and was later converted into one of the earliest Christian churches in Nubia (p. 57). The Meroitic temple was the largest of the temples at Qasr Ibrim, yet was dismantled during the early Christian period to provide building blocks for the Cathedral (p. 58). The Isis Shrine did not serve as a public monument, but rather was a building reserved for only the initiated few. The cult of Isis was a state religion in Lower Nubia during the Ptolemaic, Meroitic, and Ballana periods, which could explain the destruction of the Isis shrine during the Christian period as discussed in Part 5. Chapter 5 summarizes the architecture discussed throughout the chapters of Part 2.

Part 3 is composed of eleven chapters, all discussing the Ballana period artefactual record found at Qasr Ibrim. In Chapter 1, the author presents the materials used to manufacture the objects discovered. These materials include stone, metal, ceramic, faience, mud and clay, glass, wood, textiles, leather and hides, bone, ivory, horn, and eggshell. In Chapter 2, implements used for agriculture, animal husbandry, and food procurement and preparation are discussed. Although some objects, such as qadus, associated with farming have been discovered, the residents of Qasr Ibrim were probably more involved with fishing as evidenced by portions of netting, some with lead weights attached (p. 77). In Chapter 3, types of containers are outlined. This corpus of material comprises the largest group of artefactual remains found at the site. During the Ballana phase, the decoration on the containers became simpler than their Meroitic predecessors and Christian successors. The decoration was painted in red, black, or white, but had a hasty and haphazard application (p. 89). In Chapter 4, the tools, implements, and weapons discovered are discussed. The abundance of weaponry found attests to the disturbed nature of the period (p. 100). In Chapter 5, the author presents the household equipment discovered, which includes furniture elements, pot rests and stands, lamps and censers, a brazier, brushes, and lock components. Chapters 6 and 7 were written by Nettie K. Adams and focus on the textile industry at Qasr Ibrim. The Meroitic textile tradition continued during the early years of the Ballana phase. Although the use of cotton for weaving did continue into the Ballana period, wool was also integrated into the textiles (p. 109). Additional changes that occurred during the Ballana period include the use of green and brown dyes in addition to the traditional red and blue, the use of a picket fence weaving technique that was not employed during the Meroitic period, the incorporation of Byzantine Egyptian woolen fabrics, trade with nomadic weavers who used goat hairs, and the addition of French knots (p. 109-110). Clothing styles of the Ballana period were derived from Pharaonic Egyptian styles: men wore kilts with a pendant apron in front and women wore skirts. Both sexes were bare chested (p. 113). Decoration on the clothes also included beads of ostrich eggshell, faience, and glass. In Chapter 8, miscellaneous and specialized objects are discussed. The main categories of artifacts include cult objects, miscellaneous religious paraphernalia, secular figurines, sealing stamps, seals, coins, and toys and models. Objects found in the Isis Shrine are not discussed in this chapter. In Chapter 9, unidentified objects and fragments are presented. The quantity of unidentified objects with decoration is a testament to Qasr Ibrim's status as an elite site (p. 125). In Chapter 10, the contents of the Isis Shrine are described. The Isis Shrine is a one of a kind structure; there is nothing else like it at any other known Nubian site (p. 129). Most of the objects from the Shrine are of Meroitic origin or type. Mud amphora seals discovered in the Inner Hall are indicators that wine drinking was part of the ritual practices (p. 136). Chapter 11, the final chapter in Part 3, summarizes the evidence of the artifacts. During the Ballana period, Qasr Ibrim was a commercial, manufacturing, and religious center; its residential purpose was secondary as evidenced by the lack of domestic features within buildings as well as the absence of food preparation, storage, and cooking implements (p. 139).

Part 4 identifies the textual record at Qasr Ibrim. Shortly after the fall of the Meroitic Empire, the Meroitic language fell out of use in Lower Nubia. In addition to Meroitic stelae, ostraca, papyri, and wooden tablets, four royal correspondence letters written on papyrus were found. One letter was written in Greek and the other three in Coptic (p. 144). These letters indicate that the Nobadian-Blemmyan conflict was more involved and lasted longer than previously assumed; however, there were times of peaceful coexistence and diplomatic relations (p. 147).

Part 5 is the conclusion of the site report. Here, the author analyses life at Qasr Ibrim during the Ballana period. The site experienced a period of civic decay and social demoralization after the fall of the Meroitic Empire. Houses were abandoned and pilgrimages ceased. However, the emergence of Christianity revitalized the population with new building projects; moreover, the site became the residence of the eparch of Nobadia (p. 153). Greek became the language of choice between the Blemmyan and Nobadian kings, and the Isis Shrine was completely destroyed rather than integrated into the new religious landscape. The Ballana period at Qasr Ibrim can be viewed as a transitional phase between the old and new traditions. The implementation of Christianity marked a new era in the history of Nubia.

In addition to the figures and tables accompanying the text, there are 70 pages of black and white and color plates which illustrate the architectural and artefactual remains at the site. Although the extensive number of figures and plates is an excellent addition to the report, it would have been welcome for the figures to have been inked in for clarity. It also would have been helpful if some of the pictures, particularly detail images, had been of a higher resolution because they are blurry and the details are difficult to discern. Given that this book is a report on an archeological site, it is technical in nature and therefore not suited for non-scholars; however, interested scholars will find this book to be a comprehensive addition to the work done at Qasr Ibrim.

- Sarah M. Schellinger



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- La translittération de textes égyptiens doit être en format *Manuel de Codage*; idéalement, le grec, l'hébreu et l'arabe doivent être rédigés avec la fonte Unicode. Les textes hiéroglyphiques doivent préférentiellement être édités à l'aide du logiciel Vector Office qu'il est possible de télécharger à l'adresse suivante : <http://www.hornet-sys.com/VectorOffice.html>

### Images

Les images doivent avoir une résolution minimale de 600 ppp et doivent idéalement être soumises en formats .tif ou .jpg. Notez que nous acceptons les images en noir et blanc et en couleur, cependant celles-ci seront imprimées uniquement en noir et blanc. L'édition en ligne du *JSSEA* permet néanmoins la publication d'images en couleur. Notez qu'il est de la responsabilité de l'auteur d'obtenir les droits d'auteur sur la diffusion du contenu visuel.

### COMPTE RENDUS

- Les comptes rendus d'ouvrage sont acceptés en français et en anglais.
- Les directives concernant la fonte sont les mêmes que celles pour les articles.
- Les comptes rendus peuvent contenir des notes de bas de page, le cas échéant le style Chicago doit être utilisé.
- Un modèle pour les comptes rendus est également disponible à l'adresse suivante : [http://www.thessea.org/journal\\_submission.php](http://www.thessea.org/journal_submission.php)
- [Les comptes rendus doivent être soumis à bookreviews@thessea.org](mailto:bookreviews@thessea.org)

### DATE DE TOMBÉE

La date limite pour soumettre un texte est le 31 janvier de chaque année. Toutes les soumissions seront évaluées par un comité de lecture. Les auteurs peuvent apporter des changements une fois que le processus de lecture est complété. Une fois que les épreuves finales sont soumises, seules des corrections mineures seront acceptées.

# About The SSEA/SÉÉA

The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities was founded in Toronto in 1969 and duly incorporated in August of 1970. It was registered as a charitable organization under the laws of Canada in a year later. In 1984, the Calgary Chapter of the SSEA was formed and in 1999, a chapter was opened in Montreal under the name “La Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne” (SÉÉA). In 2007, the Toronto Chapter was established as an entity distinct from the Head office of the Society (The head office or parent organization is now known as The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne). A Chapter in Vancouver has been operational since the summer of 2010. Each Chapter organizes local events for its members and is maintained by an elected Chapter Executive, under the authority of the Bylaws of the Society.

The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne is governed by a Board of Trustees elected annually. It organizes the Annual General Meeting, Symposium, Scholars' Colloquium and Poster Session, maintains the membership database and sundry websites, and publishes both the *Journal of the SSEA* and the *Newsletter*, in addition to other occasional publications.

To join the SSEA, contact [info@thesea.org](mailto:info@thesea.org) or visit [www.thesea.org](http://www.thesea.org).

Below is information regarding The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / La Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne in the year of printing of this journal (2016-2017).

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