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Editorial Foreword

Welcome to Volume 46 of our Journal. What started out as a normal year has become an extremely challenging time, and, like Khakheperre-sonbe, we are finding it difficult to choose the right words to express the tumultuous and dissonant feelings that we experience as we navigate the unprecedented (in our time at least) disruption and crisis of the pandemic. We find ourselves in a world of virtual meetings and lectures, cancelled travel plans, remote classes, locked-down universities and facilities, and precautionary measures. For a variety of reasons, focusing on how best to serve the members of this Society, we have decided to publish Volume 46 as a full print run, although there is no in-person meeting at which to distribute the current volume in hard copy to the members who would normally flock to Toronto, or at which to share meals and coffee and other refreshments and catch up with friends whom we look forward to seeing every year.

First and foremost we tender our grateful thanks to the contributors who have persevered to complete their articles, book reviews and other contributions, the peer reviewers who have diligently read and commented on the manuscripts while juggling other pressing responsibilities, and everyone on the Editorial Board and in the Society as a whole who has pitched in with unstinting help and hard work. We especially want to extend a warm and enthusiastic welcome to Mary Ann Marazzi, who is joining the Journal team as Technical Editor, and to thank her for hitting the ground running with proactive effort and excellent ideas for the present volume. Mary Ann has completed her PhD at the University of Birmingham, has presented at the SSEA Annual Meeting, has worked in the Valley of the Kings, and has published her work in venues including JEA. She is also the Director of her own firm, Seshat Editorial, LLC. And we gratefully thank our Webmaster and Newsletter Editor Peter Robinson for graciously and generously helping with the technical editing of Volume 46 and very effectively brainstorming with Mary Ann.

In this volume we also bring you the memorial tribute to teacher, mentor, colleague and friend Professor Jack Holladay, and we also announce our intention of dedicating a volume to the memory of our brilliant and treasured colleague Professor James Hoch.

And we need to make the very difficult announcement that, on account of workload pressures of her academic employment, Dr. Sarah Schellinger will not be able to continue as Co-Editor after the current volume. I thank her most deeply for her superb and dedicated work. It has been a real pleasure to work with her, and she will continue as a member of the Editorial Board.

So . . . here it is! Thank you for reading, and for everything that you do to support the Journal and the Society. And Ankh Wedja Seneb!–Be Well!

–Edmund S. Meltzer and Sarah M. Schellinger

John “Jack” Holladay, Jr.
1930–2016
by David R. Lipovitch

I first met Jack Holladay in 1985 when I took my first introductory course in Near Eastern archaeology in the University of Toronto’s then Near Eastern Studies department. Jack had been at U of T since 1968 after working briefly at Princeton University, long enough to teach two generations of Syro-Palestinian archaeologists in my clan (myself and Gary Lipton). Professor Holladay stood there with his trademark wavy hair and inundated us with his vast knowledge of Syro-Palestinian archaeology. It was hard not to be impressed. At the time he was just finishing up his excavations at Tell Maskhuta as part of the Wadi Tumilat Project. Sadly, he finished there before I was qualified to go and do my field school with him.

Not long afterwards, I followed that one class with several more from him as I clearly evolved from what I thought was an engineer into an Israeli archaeologist. I took every class he offered including an independent study course where I worked hand-in-hand with him trying to estimate the Iron Age population of ancient Israel and Judah. He became very much a mentor to me. He steered me towards trying to integrate anthropology with more traditional approaches to Biblical archaeology. I know that much of my own personal view of archaeology was very clearly shaped by his ideas. He gave me excellent advice on choosing a graduate programme and encouraged me to further my studies. He was an extremely supportive undergraduate mentor, but, he was also a brutal, though constructive critic.

Working with Jack Holladay taught me the importance of looking critically at everything I read and not to just accept the word of an expert simply because they had more experience than I did. He encouraged me throughout my undergraduate years (and long afterward) and took a personal interest in me as a mentor. If it were not for his support and help I would never have gone on to complete my doctorate. From him I learned the importance of building connections with my students and being a supportive but critical mentor. He established in me the importance of knowing not only my own little subset of my academic discipline but the great need to know about all of the related fields of study.

Unlike so many academics, Jack was not tied to a very narrowly focused interest in one region or period. He worked at Shechem, Gezer, and Khirbet el-Qom in Israel and Jordan and contributed greatly to our understanding of Iron Age Israel. He helped train an entire generation of North American field archaeologists and scholars who went on to work in Israel (and elsewhere) and trained another generation of Levantine-focused scholars from the classroom.

He then went on to work in Egypt, directing the Wadi Tumilat Project’s excavations at Tell el-Maskhuta attempting to better understand the connection between the history and archaeology of the southern Levant and Egypt. As one of his students, Jack encouraged me to take classes in anthropology and other fields outside of Near Eastern

Studies and made sure that I knew nearly as much about Egypt and Assyria as I did about Israel and Judah. His own depth of knowledge was staggering. When a theme was chosen for the Festschrift in his honour (Walls of the Prince: Egyptian Interactions with Southwest Asia in Antiquity), it was obvious that Egyptian-Levantine interaction was the right choice.

In my last year at U of T, I worked very closely with Jack on an independent study course in which I produced a 70-page essay that was clearly at that stage of my academic career well beyond my capability to write effectively. He told me that while my research was "A"-calibre, my paper was a "D", and that a paper like that "would never fly at Harvard." He told me he would give me an "A", as long as I promised him that at some point I would get him an "A"-paper. In the end I did. I rewrote it in the midst of the onslaught of my first-year graduate papers and tightened it up over the summer before presenting it to him. There was no way I would let Jack down. It would have been like breaking a promise to my parents.

Jack had pushed very hard for me to study elsewhere as a graduate student as he modestly felt that I had learned all I could from him. He steered me to work with someone in the United States whose work I admired. One of those people was Larry Stager from Harvard, Jack's alma mater (Jack had earned a ThD from Harvard Divinity School having followed Ernest Wright there from McCormick Theological Seminary where he had earned his Bachelor of Divinity in 1959), who called me to try and convince me to accept their offer. Larry had gotten his initial field training under Jack's guidance at Tel Gezer in the 1960s where Jack had supervised the excavations of the Solomonic gate. I had been reluctant to jump at Harvard's offer, because it was a PhD programme and I only had a bachelor degree. Larry laughed: "you have a BA from Jack Holladay. That's worth two American MAs." He was right.

I would run into Jack at ASOR annual meetings while in graduate school. It was during that time that his wife Phyllis passed away. They married in 1953 and had been largely inseparable since, and Jack was clearly heart-broken by her loss. I had gone down one evening to get something from my car and left my then-girlfriend in our room. When the elevator stopped at the lobby, there was Jack, who proceeded to talk my ear off for more than two hours. While I certainly enjoyed the conversation, it turned out my then-girlfriend was at the point of calling the police to make sure I had not been mugged on my way to get her chocolate.

After completing my PhD, I returned to Toronto and reacquainted myself with Jack. We would talk about academic life and archaeology, but we also talked about his own life. He told me about growing up in Thailand to Presbyterian missionary parents (he was born in Chiang Mai in northern Thailand, then Siam, in 1930) and being hospitalized for strep throat for nearly a year. He and his entire family had walked out of Thailand on the Burma Road ahead of the Japanese invasion. They got out on the last passenger ship to safely run a gamut of submarines as they returned to the United States.

He told me about his experiences as a radar-operator on an F-89 Scorpion in the US Air Force in the 1950s. He shared with me his experiences at Harvard working under G. Ernest Wright and alongside people like William Dever. I particularly enjoyed the

stories of his days excavating at Gezer and the early days in the field for people who were my senior colleagues. Jack became more than a mentor to me over the years.

In his final years, Jack began to show signs of Alzheimer's disease. Jack was wise enough to recognize what was happening to him. He worked closely with Stanley Klassen of the University of Toronto to as Jack put it "squeeze every last drop out of the toothpaste tube." While Jack's publications were always brilliant, he was a notorious perfectionist who was always looking for new approaches. As a result, much of his work was still incomplete and he recognized this would be his last chance to pass on his interpretations to the generations that will come.

I saw Jack one last time at a departmental graduate symposium. He was clearly not at his best but clearly enjoyed the student presentations. I was glad to be able to sit with him and chat over lunch. I am sure he knew how much I appreciated his support and guidance, but I wish I had said something concrete to him then.

Not long after, Jack fell on an icy day in Toronto on his way to choir practice at his church, Kingston Road United Church, where he and his family had been very active for years. Sadly, he did not recover from his injuries and passed on September 23, 2016.

I attended Jack's funeral expecting it to be a very sad day. Many of his students and colleagues were in attendance. I was, however, surprised by the experience. Several of his family members eulogized him, and one of the common themes was how dementia had "softened" Jack and made his connection to his family members (including his children Karen, Kim, and Scott; his grandchildren Allison, Carolyn, Lindsey, Siobhan, Kelsey, Sean, Benjamin and Simon, and his siblings Robert and Anna Marie) that much stronger. They were all very sad to see him pass, but his last few years had been a blessing for them as they all grew closer to him. I have never left a funeral before in such a positive mood. It was abundantly clear how much Jack had meant to his family, particularly in those final years when all the walls had come down as a result of the Alzheimer's and he was more easily able to show them how much he loved them all.

I owe a great deal to John S. Holladay, and while he was not alone in constructing who I have become as a scholar and educator, he was instrumental in laying the foundations. May his memory be a blessing to all who knew him.

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Etymological bits VIII: the Egyptian word "*tbtb*" "stork"

Stefan Bojowald

Abstract: The topic of this contribution is a suitable etymology of the Egyptian word "*tbtb*" "stork." The connection with the root "*tbtb*" "to stride" is considered most probable. The well-known character of storks as stalking birds is the likely reason.

Résumé: Cette contribution vise à déterminer l'étymologie possible du mot égyptien *tbtb*, « cigogne ». Le lien avec la racine *tbtb* « marcher à grand pas » est considéré comme étant le plus probable. Le comportement bien connu de la cigogne comme étant un oiseau traqueur serait à l'origine de ce lien.

Abstrakt: In diesem Beitrag wird nach einer passenden Etymologie für das ägyptische Wort „Storch" gesucht. Die sinnvollste Lösung wird im Zusammenhang mit der Wurzel „*tbtb*" „schreiten" vermutet. Der Name wird als Anspielung auf die typische Fortbewegungsart des Storches gedeutet.

Keywords/Mots-clés/Schlüsselwörter: Egyptian philology/philologie égyptienne/ Ägyptische Philologie–Egyptian etymologies/étymologies égyptiennes/ägyptische Etymologie–etymology of the Egyptian word "*tbtb*" "stork"/étymologie du mot égyptien *tbtb* « cigogne »/Etymologie für das Wort „*tbtb*" „Storch".

The present article attempts to unravel the etymology of the Egyptian word "tbtb",[1] which has been interpreted as a designation of "stork". The age of the word can be dated as early as the Middle Kingdom. The word has earned several smaller studies in the history of research so far. The following overview explains the development up to the current point in time.

The first comment on this word was made by Stadelmann,[2] who suspected a bird demon as the target behind it. With regard to the bird species he settles on the stork, whose onomatopoetic designation "*tbtb*" is supposed to represent. The word continued to be explored by Faulkner,[3] who hesitated to translate it himself. The next opinion was voiced by Guglielmi,[4] who agrees with the interpretation of "*tbtb*" as a stork designation. In the question of etymology, she alternatively suggests a connection with the root "*tbtb*"[5] "to move (about the circling of the tongue in the mouth)", the meaning of which she extends

[1] CT V, 294c/317i.

[2] R. Stadelmann, Syrisch-Palästinensiche Gottheiten in Ägypten, PdÄ 5 (Leiden, 1967), 13–14.

[3] R. O. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts, Volume II, Spells 355–787 (Warminster, 1977), 77/82/83.

[4] W. Guglielmi, Die Göttin Mr.t, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation, PdÄ 7 (Leiden–New York–Kopenhagen–Köln, 1991), 158 n. 55.

[5] WB V, 262, 14; cf. also W. Westendorf, Koptisches Handwörterbuch (Heidelberg, 1965/1977), 240.

to “to flutter”. The next statement came from van der Plas/Borghouts[6] who defined the word as divine name with unknown meaning. The examination of the word was continued by van der Molen,[7] who, however, did not know how to interpret it. The next mention of the word appears in Leitz,[8] who also refrains from translating it. In a short note, Müller-Roth[9] has recently expressed himself favourably for the meaning “stork”.

The determination of the word as a stork name is therefore relatively certain. The explanation is supported by several parties. Against this background, the same approach is also adopted here. The task for the following lines consists in clarifying the etymology of the word. The onomatopoetic interpretation of Stadelmann is classified as unlikely. The suggestion of Guglielmi is also rejected, because it applies to every kind of bird and not only storks. The problem shall instead be directed here to another solution. The study of Egyptian etymologies has long been marginalized, but has been growing in popularity in the recent past. The author founded a project some years ago, which releases smaller works on selected Egyptian etymologies. The next lines can be seen as a continuation of this series, the first parts of which have already been published on previous occasions.[10]

In the introduction, some general facts about storks and their connection to Egypt are written down. The depiction of the Black Stork, Saddlebill Stork and Whale-headed Stork in art were made known by Houlihan.[11] The White Stork, on the other hand, seems to be missing in the depictions, which is probably due to the fact that the route of the birds on their way southwards bypassed Upper and Middle Egypt.[12] The presence of stork bones in the archaeological find material was reported by Boessneck/von den Driesch.[13] The high percentage rate of stork bones found in the Elephantine specimen has been highlighted by

[6] D. van der Plas/J. F. Borghouts, Coffin Texts Word Index, Publications Interuniversitaires de Recherches Égyptologiques Informatisées (Utrecht–Paris, 1998), 304.

[7] R. van der Molen, A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts, PdÄ 15 (Leiden–Boston–Köln, 2000), 714.

[8] Chr. Leitz (Hrsg.), Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band VII , *š-ḏ*, OLA 116 (Leuven–Paris–Dudley/MA, 2002), 382.

[9] M. Müller-Roth, Das Buch vom Tage, OBO 236 (Göttingen, 2008), 430.

[10] St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten I: das ägyptische Wort „*išf*“ „Hefe“/Etymological bits I: the Egyptian word “*išf*“ “yeast”, AuOr 32/2 (2014), 371–375; St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten II: das ägyptische Wort „*ḏḥꜥ*“ „Kamille“/Etymological bits II: the Egyptian word “chamomile”, AuOr 34/1 (2016), 5–8; St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten IV: das ägyptische Wort „*ḳri*/*ḳrr*” „Wolke”/Etymological bits IV: the Egyptian word “*ḳri*/*ḳrr*” “cloud”, ZDMG 170/1 (2020), 237–240; cf. also St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten V: das ägyptische Wort „*ṯwn*“ „Akazie“/Etymological bits V: the Egyptian word “*ṯwn*“ “type of acacia“ (in press); St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten VI: das ägyptische Wort „*ṯwn.w*“ „Kampfstier“/ Etymological bits VI: the Egyptian word “*ṯwn.w*“ “fighting bull“ (in press); St. Bojowald, Etymological bits VII: das ägyptische Wort „*bhn*“ „Mantel“/Etymological bits VII: the Egyptian word “*bhn*“ “cloak“ (in press).

[11] P. F. Houlihan, The Birds of Ancient Egypt, with the Collaboration and a Preliminary Checklist to the Birds of Egypt by Steven M. Goodman (Warminster, 1986), 22–26.

[12] L. Störk, LÄ VI, 10 s. v. Stelzvögel.

[13] J. Boessneck/A. von den Driesch, Studien an subfossilen Tierknochen aus Ägypten, MÄS 40 (Berlin, 1982), 30/98.

von den Driesch/Peters.[14] The role of storks on decorated knife handles of the Naqada IId-culture as anti-chaos powers was described by Dreyer.[15]

After the disclosure of this background data, the study of the etymology of the word can now commence. The final decision can be made more properly if the unsuitable roots are sorted out first. The root "*tbtb*"[16] "to crush, to tread" is excluded as first example as it is difficult to associate with the stork. The same objection speaks against the root "*tbtb*"[17] "piquer, couper", which represents most probably a spelling for "*dbdb*". The root "*tbtb*"[18] "to bear" does not make sense either in the stork context. The root "*tbtb*"[19] "to mould, to draw out (metal)" must also be rated negatively since it lacks any connection with storks. The examples mentioned so far give a rather disappointing impression. The answer must therefore be sought in a different direction.

The requirements are best met by the following alternative. In this case, a connection with the root "*tbtb*"[20] "to stride in front of someone (?)" is put up for discussion. The question mark added by Pries for caution seems to be unnecessary since the meaning fits well with that passage. The adverbial addition "in front of someone" results from the context and can be easily stripped off so that the essence of the meaning lies in "to stride". The transfer to the stork would, as will be shown shortly, not pose any difficulties. The root comes from the younger language level, but this should not be a problem.

The literal meaning of "*tbtb*" "stork" would therefore be "the striding one". Given this fact, the word can be interpreted as a deverbal nominal formation. The morphological phenomenon as such can be considered well known in the Egyptian language,[21] so that it

[14] A. von den Driesch/J. Peters, Störche über Elephantine, in: E.–M. Engel/V. Müller/U. Hartung (Hgg.), Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer, MENES. Studien zur Kultur und Sprache der ägyptischen Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches 5 (Wiesbaden, 2004), 664ff./670.

[15] G. Dreyer, Die Erfassung und Klassifizierung der Welt durch Bild und Schrift in der ägyptischen Frühzeit, in: S. Deicher/E. Maroko (Hrsg.), Die Liste, Ordnung von Dingen und Menschen in Ägypten, Ancient Egyptian Design, Contemporary Design History and Anthropology of Design (Bd. 1) (Berlin, 2015), 32–34.

[16] Chr. Geisen, Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep aus der 13. Dynastie, Ein Textzeuge aus der Übergangszeit von den Sargtexten zum Totenbuch, SAT 8 (Wiesbaden, 2004), 130 (VIII 14); P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon, A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu, OLA 78 (Leuven, 1997), 1134; zu diesem Wort vgl. auch M. Müller, Wie historisch ist ein kritischer Text? Fragen zum editionsphilologischen Umgang mit funerären Texten, WZKM 101 (2011), 361.

[17] Y. Koenig, Le Papyrus Boulaq 6, Transcription, Traduction et Commentaire, BdE 87 (Le Caire, 1981), 111g

[18] A. Rickert, Gottheit und Gabe, Eine ökonomische Prozession im Soubassement des Opettempels von Karnak und ihre Parallele in Kom Ombo, SSR 4 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 145.

[19] L. H. Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian, Volume IV (Providence, 1989), 77.

[20] A. Pries, Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult, Eine Studie zur Tradition und späten Rezeption von Ritualen im Alten Ägypten, Teil 1: Text und Kommentar, SSR 2 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 126.

[21] W. Schenkel, Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung des Aegyptischen, GOF 4: Ägypten Band 13 (Wiesbaden, 1983), passim.

should be possible to set it up easily. The reduplication of the root may have an intense colouring. The name is therefore to be understood as an allusion to the stork’s walking stride. The use of verbs of movement in the creation of Egyptian bird names can also be observed in other cases.[22] The mechanisms in this process have also ranged from colour to sound and body parts to behaviour. The same factors have been most accurately reproduced in fine arts.[23] Since the name “*mrwrii.t*”[24] already exists for the Black Stork, the name “*tbtb*” might have belonged to the White Stork. The idea of a popular nickname comes to mind here, in which the Egyptian language does not stand alone. The Aramaic provides a nice analogy for this, where the word “*ḥ*a**s**id”[25] “friendly one” is used as honourable stork designation. In spite of the large spatial and temporal distance, the German language also lends itself to comparison, where in connection with storks one speaks of “Meister Adebar”. The details may not be exactly identical, but the same familiar/half-familiar relationship between man and bird is expressed in all three examples.

The interpretation proposed here for the very first time is supported by the following argument. In modern ornithology, the term “stalking birds” (Ciconiiformes) is appropriately used as a generic term for storks.[26] The approach is further underpinned by this, so that methodologically it seems entirely permitted. The end result would also strengthen the evidence for the root “*tbtb*” “to stride”. The age of the root would therefore have to be dated back to the Middle Kingdom.

[22] C. Wolterman, On the names of birds and Hieroglyphic Sign–List G 22, G 35 and H 3, JEOL 32 (1991–92), 119–130.

[23] L. Evans, Bird Behavior in Ancient Egyptian Art, in: R. Bailleul–Lesuer (Ed.), Between Heaven and Earth, Birds in Ancient Egypt, Oriental Institute Museum Publications 35 (Chicago, 2012), 91–98.

[24] N. M. Davies, Birds and Bats at Beni Hassan, JEA 35 (1949), 13ff.

[25] P. K. McCarter, The Balaam Texts from Deir ʿAllā: The First Combination, BASOR 239 (1980), 58; for this text cf. J. Hoftijzer/G. van der Kooij (eds.), The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAlla re-evaluated, Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Leiden 21–24 August 1989 (Leiden–New York–Kobenhavn–Köln, 1991), passim; D. Schwiderski (Hrsg.), Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften, The Old and Imperal Aramaic Inscriptions, Band 2: Texte und Bibliographie, Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes Band 2 (Berlin–New York, 2004), 187ff.; E. Blum, Die altaramäischen Wandinschriften von Tell Deir ´Alla und ihr multifunktionaler Kontext, in: M. Ott/Fr.-E. Focken (Hrsg.), Metatexte, Materiale Textkulturen 15 (Berlin–Boston–München, 2016), 21-52; Chr. Frevel, Traditionsverdichtung–eine Tora im Werden, Einblicke in die gegenwärtige Numeriforschung, ThLZ 145/4 (2020), 276; for the root “*ḥ*a**s**id“ “friendly“ cf. M. Jastrow, A dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature (New York, 2005), 487.

[26] Ch. G. Sibley/J. E. Ahlquist/B. L. Monroe Jr., A Classification of the living Birds of the World based on DNA-DANN hybridization Studies, The Auk. Bd. 105, Nr. 3 (1988), 409–423; Ch. G. Sibley/J. E. Ahlquist, Phylogeny and Classification of Birds–A Study in Molecular Evolution (New Haven, 1990), passim.

The Twenty-fifth Dynasty Coffin of Padikhonsu in the Royal Ontario Museum: 906.28.10 A, B

Gayle Gibson

Abstract: In 1905 Sir Robert Mond excavated a pit in the courtyard of the tomb of User, TT 21. The intrusive burial included a family group. Mond gave one of the coffins to Charles Trick Currelly for the newly founded Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Canada. The brightly painted coffin has characteristics of both intermediate and outer coffins of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty which mark it as having been made for a member of the lower elite. Part of the coffin may have been repurposed from another coffin.

Résumé: En 1905, Sir Robert Mond a fouillé une fosse dans la cour de la tombe d'Ouser (TT 21). La sépulture incluait un groupe familial. Mond donna l'un des cercueils à Charles Trick Currelly pour le Royal Ontario Museum de Toronto au Canada, alors nouvellement fondé. Le cercueil, peint de couleurs vives, possède les caractéristiques des sarcophages intermédiaires et extérieurs de la XXV^{e} dynastie ce qui permet de l'identifier comme étant un cercueil appartenant à un membre de la basse élite. Certaines parties pourraient être un réemploi provenant d'un autre cercueil.

Keywords/Mots-clés: Theban Coffin/sarcophage thébain; Sub-anthropoid/sub-anthropoïde; Twenty-fifth Dynasty/Vingt-cinquième dynastie; Sir Robert Mond; Charles Trick Currelly; Sokar; Nut/Nout; Schiaparelli.

The Royal Ontario Museum acquired the brightly painted wooden coffin of Padikhonsu, a Supervisor of the Storeroom in the Domain of Amun[1] (ROM 906.28.10.A-B) in 1906. According to a letter from the Museum's founding director, Charles Trick Currelly to patron Sir Edmund Walker, the coffin was a gift from Sir Robert Mond.[2] When Mond's 1906 season ended prematurely with the sudden death of his wife, he withdrew from active excavation until 1923, leaving the 1906 work unpublished. Fortunately, some of his notes for that season were found in the early 1970s among the papers of Professor W.B. Emery, and were published in 1976 by Lydia Collins.[3] These notes and the letter from Currelly to Walker mentioning the proposed gift are the only documents that trace the provenance of this coffin.

According to Mond's notes, Padikhonsu's coffin came from a shallow pit dug into the courtyard of the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of User (TT 21). There is no known connection between User and the family of Padikhonsu. Comparison with a large corpus

[1] Padikhonsu's title, *ḥry-ʿt n pr ʿimn* will be discussed below. For this translation of the title, see Erhart Graefe, 1981, *Geschichte der Institution de Gottesgemahin des Amun vom Beginn des Neues Riches bis zur Spätzeit.* Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 37, p. 12.

[2] Currelly wrote of meeting Mond in a letter to Edmund Walker dated 30 January 1906, posted from Luxor. The correspondence is in the Walker Collection, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto. He described the offer of a gift from Mond of four coffins to the proposed museum in Toronto.

[3] Lydia Collins, 1976, "The Private Tombs of Thebes: Excavations by Sir Robert Mond 1905 and 1906," *JEA* 62, pages 18-40. The contents of the pit in the courtyard of TT 21 (User) are described on page 38.

of securely dated coffins of similar style,[4] with regard to iconography and palaeography, shows that Padikhonsu’s coffin belongs to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[5] The pit contained material from three generations of at least one family group, recorded in Mond’s notes as, “Disiese, daughter of Thayanhor and the lady Taronebi; Pedikhons, Chief of the Department of the Estate of Amun, son of Hathat and the lady Disiese; (Na)menkhamun, Chief of the Estate of Amun of Opet, son of the lady Disiese; Djedthutefankh, son of Namenkhamun and the Lady Amenirdis.”[6] Padikhonsu and his brother, Namenkhamun, both held titles relating to what John Taylor calls ‘service roles’ in the Domain of Amun, “rather than to the presumably more prestigious sacerdotal functions.”[7]

Padikhonsu’s coffin belongs to the type Taylor refers to as “the lower elite.”[8] He characterizes this class by the existence of fewer elements in the burial assemblage and a simplified decorative scheme on the remaining items. Taylor also notes that lower elite coffins have “less careful workmanship, freehand paintings and position of graphic elements ‘by eye’ rather than by preliminary drawing; poor formation of images and of signs, clumsy construction of texts and reductions in the scale of hieroglyphs at the end of columns as a result of inefficient space planning. The general impression,” he writes,” is one of rapid work and less rigorous supervision over the quality of the output.” The evidence presented in this paper will demonstrate that this is, for the most part, a reasonable description of Padikhonsu’s coffin. The coffin is nevertheless a rather charming artifact with evidence of a particular social class and its belief. ROM 906.28.10 A.B., moreover, presents the modern scholar with several interesting mysteries.

The large number of coffins surviving from this period has enabled scholars to attribute particular coffins to individual workshops or ateliers. This recognition is based in large measure on general similarities of design, iconography and choice of texts, but often palaeography and idiosyncratic treatments of particular images can identify coffins that were decorated by the same hands. As Taylor puts it, “By thus identifying the work of a particular painter or scribe, a precise chronological link can be made between different coffins, and closed dated groups of specimens can be assembled. These groups are of value for stylistic studies, even in the absence of external dates.”[9] This paper will demonstrate affinities between Padikhonsu’s coffin and several others of the period, including one,

[4] For example, John Taylor described 66 coffins from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, “Evidence for Social Patterning in Theban Coffins of Dynasty 25,” in Taylor and Marie Vandenbeusch, *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Craft traditions and functionality*, (Peeters, 2018), p, 348–386.

[5] Evidence for this date will be presented throughout the paper.

[6] Collins, 1976, p. 38.

[7] Taylor, 2018, p. 373.

[8] Taylor, 2018, p. 379–380.

[9] Taylor 2003, p. 102.

Tadiaset-Tahekat, Turin S.5244, that has been identified by study of familial relationships, as coming very early in the sequence.[10]

Padikhonsu's sub-anthropoid coffin is of Taylor's Type IIIA.[11] The lid has a carved face, wig, and projecting foot, but is otherwise flat. There is no representation of arms or hands and no pedestal. The coffin is 200.75 cm in length, and 50.8 cm wide at the shoulders, tapering to 27.95 cm at the foot. The depth is 27.3 cm. Mond's notes provide no suggestion that it was part of set. There is no account, nor any trace recorded, of an associated mummy. As with many single coffins of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, when a three-coffin set was the ideal, Padikhonsu's has some characteristics of both outer and intermediate coffins.[12]

Coffin Lid: 906.28.10.B (Figure 1)

ROM Conservation notes from 1992 observe that the coffin is made of "fairly stout planks, roughly shaped" doweled together with wooden pegs[13] and that prior conservation efforts, either in Egypt or in Canada, had added nails and steel braces.[14] The Conservation notes refer to attempts to identify the wood, but the results, if any, are not in the archive. The flat lid is made of two planks of unequal width. The gesso surface was thin and lost in many places,

Figure 1: Coffin 906.28.10b
ROM Gallery

[10] Edoardo Guzzon, 2018. "Examining the Coffins from the Collective Tomb Found by Ernesto Schiaparelli in the Valley of the Queens: An Essay on Epigraphic and Stylistic 'Clustered Features' as Evidence for Workshops," p. 339–342, in Taylor and Vandenbeusch, *Ancient Egyptian Coffins*. Guzzon identifies a group of coffins as Family A, painted by Atelier 1. Padikhonsu shares many characteristics with the coffin of Tadiaset-Tahekat, who is the second generation of Family A, of whom five generations are known.

[11] David Aston, 2009. *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, p. 234. Guzzon has similarly identified Tadiaset-Tahekat as IIIA.

[12] Taylor discusses the standard three-coffin set in use during this period in "Theban Coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty," in 2003, *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*. London: British Museum, pages 113–119.

[13] Unpublished conservation notes preserved in the Egyptian Department, World Cultures, Royal Ontario Museum.

[14] Unpublished letter preserved in the Egyptian Department, World Cultures, ROM, from Egyptian Department Technician Alan Hollett to Conservator Susan Wilson, 4 March 1977: ". . . we have no record of any conservation work being done on any of (the coffins). Our records do not go back beyond 1968 . . . I have asked Winnifred Needler, the previous department head and she has no memory of any work being done on them, and her memory goes back to the '30s. It looks as if the work that has been done was probably done in the field or at least in Egypt."

with no evidence of linen between the wood and the gesso. There were no traces of varnish on the coffin.

The top of the head is simply decorated with an image of Gardiner N27, the *3ḫt,* on a roughly semi-circular white field bordered by a red band. The akhet, along with the scarab beetle, both solar symbols, are the two most common elements painted at this location during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[15] When the coffin is vertical, the mummy inside would thus be placed directly beneath the life-giving rays of the sun. The foot of Padikhonsu's coffin is undecorated.

The attractive, beardless[16] red face was separately carved and attached to the coffin with dowels, one of which can be seen plainly between the brows. The oversize eyes look out from under a head covering whose lappets were separately carved and attached with dowels. The ears were not indicated. The head covering is painted with stripes of yellow and red (identified in conservation notes as "red and yellow earth,") and a blue pigment which was not identified; each stripe is outlined in black. The lappets end simply, with no terminal decoration. Above the forehead are four stripes of colour, dark blue, yellow, red and yellow, crowned with a painted wreath of blue water-lily petals dependent from a red band.

A broad ornamental collar was painted around the shoulders. The collar has eight rows: four of blue water-lily petals alternating with four rows of rectangular shapes of red, white, green and yellow that represent folded leaves. These eight rows extend from shoulder to shoulder. Four short rows between the lappets of the head covering consist of two rows representing blue water-lily petals and two rows that imitate greenish-blue droplet beads on an orange-red background. There are no hawk-headed or other terminals; the pattern simply stops at the join between lid and box. The style of the alternating rows of water-lily petals and folded leaf pattern matches that on several coffins found by Schiaparelli in 1903, in the collective tombs 43 and 44 in the Valley of the Queens.[17]

[15] It is not always possible to directly observe the head of a coffin in a Museum gallery, and many Museums do not publish images of this area. However, Taylor 2003, *Theban Coffins,* attests to the use of the scarab, p. 116, and an image of the akhet can be directly observed on the intermediate coffin of Tabakenkhonsu (96.4.3) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the intermediate coffin of Amenhotepiyin (A.1869.33.A) in the National Museums of Scotland.

[16] The presence or lack of a beard was not gender specific during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. See Cynthia May Sheikholeslami, 2017, "Iconography and dating of some Vatican coffins (Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Inv. D. 2067.6.1-6 and MV 250007) in *Proceedings: First Vatican Coffin Conference, 19–22 June 2013, Volume II,* (Vatican City,) p. 439 ff.

[17] Guzzon, 2018, p. 341. Padikhonsu shares the characteristic spellings, wesekh collar details, and other characteristics of this set of coffins, such as "broad yellow horizontal bands bordered by thin red and black ones and vertical lines of red, white and blue stripes resembling ribbons."

Frontal body field (Figure 2)

The frontal body-field is divided into five horizontal registers, plus the feet, separated by broad bands of colour, with an axial column extending from the bottom of the *wesekh* collar to the toe. (Figure 2, Section A.) This vertical band was painted yellow, bordered by panels of the palace façade pattern: a blue-black outer border delineates a white space with a single red ribbon, outlined in black, in the centre. Black marks (Figure 3, arrow) to indicate the positioning of the lines can be seen between the outer border and the red ribbon.[18] All images and texts are drawn parallel to this central band. On New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period coffins, such a central band is usually inscribed with the standard offering formula and the name of the deceased.[19] On ROM 906.28.10.B, however, this band is blank. Of the six horizontal registers on the coffin, four contain images and two, text.

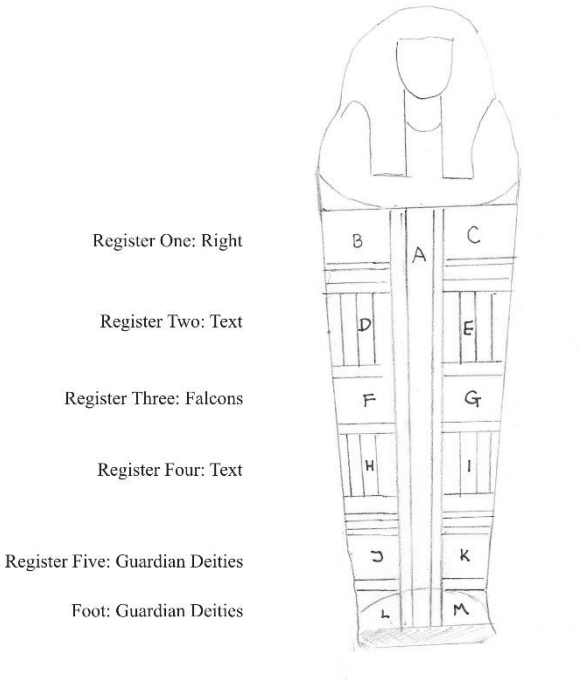


Figure 2: Frontal Body field

Register 1: Sections B and C (Figures 3 and 4)

The first register under the *wesekh* collar is divided by the central panel. It consists of two scenes. On the right, Section B, a mummiform Osiris stands facing right. His face, now dark grey, was originally green. He is dressed in red wrappings with yellow stola, and a yellow broad collar with red *menat.* His yellow crown is damaged but appears to be a *pschent* with uraeus and possibly a red panel at back. He has a curled divine beard, and grasps a now-damaged *w3s* sceptre. Thoth, an ibis-headed human with a red tri-partite wig, bends slightly toward Osiris.

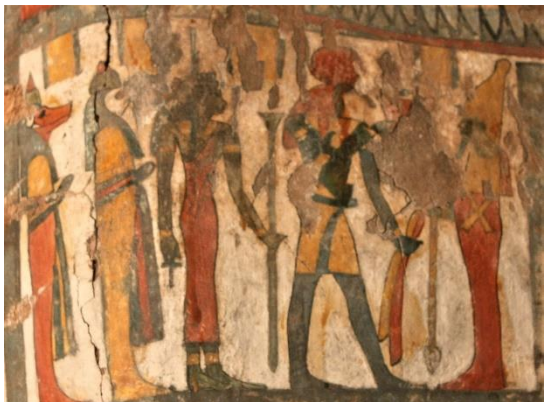


Figure 3: Register One, B Right: Hapy, Kebehsenuef, Isis, Djehuty and Osiris.

[18] Similar guidelines can be seen on the approximately contemporary intermediate coffin of Pakepu, Fitzwilliam E.2.1869. See Julie Dawson and Helen Strudwick, 2016, *Death on the Nile: Uncovering the Afterlife of Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, p.102.

[19] In Guzzon's Atelier I, the coffin of Tadiaset-Taheqet (Turin S.5244) has the same decorative scheme as Padikhonsu, but in her case the central yellow band did contain her name and titles. I am grateful to C.M. Sheikholeslami for sharing an image she took of this coffin in the Museo Egizio.

Thoth carries a dark red-orange crescent moon and a brighter red disk of the full moon on his head. His limbs are now grey, but traces of paint show that they were originally blue. His yellow kilt ends above his knees, has a yellow shoulder strap, and blue-green sash.[20] His broad collar and armlets are yellow. Thoth carries red and yellow cloths in his lower hand, and offers a red pot of incense with his raised hand.

Isis, green-skinned with a dark wig, stands behind Thoth, wearing her customary headdress, a throne (Gardiner Q1), which is the glyph for her name. Her dress is red, with yellow armlets and anklets. She carries a papyriform sceptre in her forward hand and the ankh in her trailing hand. Behind Isis stand mummiform figures, probably two of the Sons of Horus, hawk-headed Qebehsenuef and baboon-headed Hapy. Each wears a wig topped by a Type 3 unguent cone of the style characterized by Taylor as not occurring before the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[21] Qebehsenuef is wrapped entirely in yellow while Hapy's wrappings are red on the bottom and yellow above. The thick sashes of yellow and red around their waists have prominent knots at the front. Their hands are not visible. Hapy's baboon face is red. Qebehsenuef's hawk face is white, without the usual lanner falcon eye markings.[22] Although there are vertical registers above each figure, there are no identifying glyphs.[23]

Figure 4: Register One C, Left: Sokar, Horus, Nephthys, Atum. Canine-headed deity

To the left of the central band, in Section C, the focal mummiform deity is hawk-headed, and might be Sokar-Osiris or Sokar whose funerary role had grown during the Third Intermediate Period, but I believe him to be Re. His iconography is ambiguous; he seems to be wearing a yellow *ḥḏt* crown without uraeus and red wrappings with yellow around the upper body, more like a shawl than a collar. He has a long blue-green wig and carries a *w3s* sceptre. It is especially unfortunate that there are no identifying glyphs in the empty register in front of him, as he lacks any particularly

[20] Taylor, 2003, categorizes this style of male kilt as #6, and identifies it as Twenty-fifth Dynasty, "Theban Coffins" p. 100.

[21] Taylor, 2003, "Theban Coffins," p.100–101.

[22] The unusual appearance of the *Falconidae* on this coffin will be discussed below.

[23] During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, it became common for these particular registers to be left empty, even as emphasis was placed on the display of sections of texts (see sections D, E, H and I.) Examples of well-produced coffins lacking the labels for the deities in the first register scene are common, among them Amenhotepiyin, inner coffin, National Museums of Scotland (Edinburgh) A.1869.33; Nesikhonsupakhered, inner coffin, A.1910.90.A; Hor, outer coffin, Leiden AMM3 (M 40); Shepenmehyt, inner coffin, British Museum EA 22814; Djedmontefankh, inner coffin, BM EA 25256; Takhebkhenem, inner coffin BM A 6691; and Padihershef, number unknown, Massachusetts General Hospital. See also Taylor, 2003, p.116.

distinguishing iconography, such as the sundisk of Re, or the *atef* crown with uraeus or *wꜣs* and *ḥḳꜣ* sceptres common among images of Sokar during this period.[24] However, on many coffins of this period which show two funerary deities, the two gods are clearly Osiris and Re.[25]

Balancing the image of Thoth on the right, a hawk-headed deity, presumably Horus, faces the mummiform figure and offers a yellow and red pot of incense with his upper hand while carrying yellow and red cloth in the other. Horus wears a golden *wesekh* collar, a short yellow kilt with green fold-over, a yellow belt, and a red upper garment. He has yellow armlets and wristlets and is barefoot. He has a dark blue-green wig, and wears the Type 3 unguent cone. Neither of the raptor-headed figures bears the lanner falcon markings.

Balancing Isis, a figure of Nephthys stands behind Horus, her red dress bright against her dark blue-green skin. She wears a yellow broad collar, armlets, wristlets and anklets. Her hair is adorned with a red tie, and on her head, she carries the glyph for her name, the palace (Gardiner O6). Nephthys carries a *sekhem* sceptre in her forward hand and an *ankh* in the other. Behind her are two figures. The remaining Sons of Horus would be expected here to balance the two on the right, but instead there are two crowned mummiform deities or genies. The first is snake-headed and beardless. Over his wig he wears a modius with a crown like Amun's of two hawk-feather shapes and a sun disk. He seems to carry a yellow ostrich feather, but this may not be identifying, as close examination reveals that the artist may have mistaken the prominent blue-green knot on his girdle for hands, and added the feather. Snake-deities are common on coffins of this period, and may represent Atum.[26] His companion's face is damaged, but he has a long, thin snout or muzzle. A damaged shape on top of his head might be plant material, or possibly the ears of Anubis or Duamutef; his hands are not visible. Both figures are wrapped in red to the waist and yellow above with elaborate ties of green, white, green and red around their waists. There is an empty register above each figure.[27]

[24] C.M. Sheikholeslami, 2014. "Sokar-Osiris and the Goddesses: Some Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty Coffins from Thebes," in Julia Pischikova et al., *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, p. 455

[25] While Re and Osiris are both present in presentation and psychostasis scenes on many coffins of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, often only Re appears. Published examples of both: Boston Museum of Fine Arts 95.1407d,on the outer coffin of Nesmutaatneru where only Re appears, identified by iconography and name; BM EA15654, Bakenrenes which has only Re, identified by Hawk-head and sundisk; Fitzwilliam, E.2.1869, Inner coffin, of Pakepu unnamed hawk-headed god and Osiris; Gustav-Lubcke-Museum, Padi-imen-menu both Re and Osiris; Leiden Inv. AMM3 (M40), outer anthropoid coffin of Hor has Re identified by hawk head and sundisk; Medelhavsmuseet Cat. No.13C, Ast-ir-dis, has both Re and Osiris, identified by their usual attributes; National Museums of Scotland, Amenhotepiyin, inner coffin lid has both Re and Osiris; Tubingen Taditjaina KAO-Äs-150a, very similar to Pakepu's outer coffin, has both Re and Osiris; Turin Nesimendjem S.5250 has both Osiris and Re; Vienna Inv. A 1999 has both Re and Osiris.

[26] Taylor, 2018, p. 364.

[27] On a significant number of Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffins, two additional figures follow the Sons of Horus in scenes painted in the top register of the lid. On the coffin of Padihershef in the Massachusetts General

Several different styles of coffin were being produced during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Taylor has noted that, "in burials where only a single anthropoid coffin was provided, it is usually of the 'sub-anthropoid' shape, characteristic of an outer or intermediary coffin, and with the decoration also usual for those types."[28] On anthropoid outer coffins, it was common to have a depiction of the Weighing of the Heart with an image of the deceased being led to the gods by a psychopomp, usually Thoth or Horus. The Devourer is often shown. Padikhonsu's coffin, presumably his only coffin, might be expected to have this scene, but, although Osiris and other funerary deities are shown, along with the Sons of Horus, the welcoming goddesses, and the usual psychopomps, there is no image of the Weighing of the Heart and no image of Padikhonsu himself. A pattern of registers of vertical inscriptions and registers with standing figures of the Sons of Horus and Thoth would conform to Taylor's Design 3 of an intermediate coffin.[29] Does the absence of a scene of psychostasis suggest that ROM 906.28.10 was originally constructed to be the intermediate coffin in a set that included an outer or inner coffin that did display this scene? Though this would have been unusual, Amenhotepiyin, Edinburgh A.1869.33C, whose intermediate coffin resembles Padikhonsu's, was so provided.[30] As noted previously, however, there is no suggestion in Mond's notes that this was not a single coffin burial. The possibility that Padikhonsu's burial involved the reuse of burial equipment will be discussed below, though Taylor has noted that there was, "little sign of evidence for the recycling of coffins at this time,"[31] probably due to better regulation of cemeteries.

Register Two: Sections D and E (Figures 5a and 5b)

The second register has text on both sides that identify the owner of the coffin and name his parents and his position. Although the over-all style of this coffin and its similarity to the coffins of Family A, Group 1 of the Queen's Valley coffins clearly point to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, it is the paleaography which secures the dating.

The hieroglyphs are outlined in black. Traces of blue paint can be seen inside the black outlines. On the mummy's right, Section D, four vertical lines of inscription name the deceased and his parents, then stops in mid-sentence due to lack of space.:

Hospital, one is a bearded snake-headed being carrying a feather and the other, whose head is damaged, has a long snout and might be either canine or crocodilian. Two similar figures, in this case certainly canine and serpentine, follow the sons of Horus on the coffin of Shepenmehyt. BM 22814, and another such pair are on the coffin of Djedmontefankh, BM EA 25256.

[28] Taylor 2018, p. 378.

[29] Taylor, 2003, p. 117.

[30] Taylor, 2018, "sometimes only the deceased before Osiris and/or Re is depicted, without the weighing scene." p. 368.

[31] Taylor, 2016, "Coffins from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period," in Julie Dawson and Helen Strudwick, *Death on the Nile*, (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam) p. 69.

1. *ḏd mdw in Wsir ḥry ˊt*
2. *n prʾImn Pꜣ-di-ḫns mꜣˊ ḫrw*
3. *sꜣ mi nw ḥꜣty mꜣˊ ḫrw mwt.f*
4. *nbt pr* (*šps*) *di-ꜣstt mꜣˊt ḫrw nbt*

Figure 5a: Section 2 D

A recitation by the Osiris, the Supervisor of the Storeroom in the Domain of Amun, Padikhonsu, justified, the son of a man with similar titles, Haty, Justified, his mother (is) the Lady of the House, (the noblewoman), Diaset, true of voice, possessor of . . .

Padikhonsu's name,[32] "Gift of Khonsu, the Moon God," is typically Theban. The coffin of a lady of the house, Diaset,[33] was found in the same pit in the courtyard of TT 21 as Padikhonsu's. No title is recorded for Haty,[34] who was named on the coffin of Diaset.[35]

Comments:
Line 1. The writing of Osiris with Gardiner R8, the pennant, has been shown by Anthony Leahy to occur first "about 740–730 B.C. during the reign of King Piye."[36] The forms of the seat, Q1, and the water sign, N35, are identical to those in Guzzon's Family A, Group 1. This usage became common during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, perhaps during the reign of Taharqa or somewhat earlier.[37]
Line 4: The scribe used the Gardiner A51, the seated noble with flagellum (sometimes drawn, as here, with a water-lily)[38] as a determinative for Diaset's title, *nbt pr,* but used a variant of B1, the common determinative for a woman, for her own name. Since 'noble' is never written out, and because the women who used it were not elite, there is some question as to whether the sign should be read as 'noblewoman' or simply as a female determinative.

[32] Ranke, Hermann. *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, (Glückstadt, 1935) p. 125, # 21

[33] Ranke, p. 372 #13 as *T3-dj(.t)-3st*, and as forms of *Di-aset*. page 196, #7–10.

[34] Ranke, p. 233, #11.

[35] Collins, 1976, figure 55.

[36] Anthony Leahy, 1979. "The name of Osiris Written  ", *SAK 7, pages 143–149.*

[37] C.M. Sheikholeslami, 2010, "Palaeographic Notes from Twenty-fifth Dynasty Thebes," in *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of Edward Brovarski*, Cahier No.40, Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo, pages 409–412.

[38] The reading of this glyph as 'noble' is used by Elvira d'Amicone in connection with the coffin of Tadiaset-Tahekat in the Catalogue for the Barcelona exhibition of the Schiaparelli coffins, *Sarcófagos del Antiguo Egipto: Jardineros de Amón en el Valle de las Reinas* (Barcelona, 2009) page107. Considering the status of Padikhonsu and his brother, I believe it is more likely that the glyph was used as feminine determinative and not as a title. However, Sheikholeslami, 2014, accepts "noble house-mistress" as the proper reading of this title on the coffin of Shepenmehyt, BM EA 22814, p. 454.

This spelling also occurs on the coffin of Tadiaset-Tahekat, Turin S5244, the Queen’s Valley coffin which most closely resembles Padikhonsu.

Not enough space was left at the bottom of the fourth line to complete the phrase, “possessor of reverence.”

Figure 5b: Section 2 E

On the mummy’s left, Section E repeats the information from D with variations. On this side, there was enough space to finish the final phrase.

1. *ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr Pꜣ-dỉ-ḫns*
2. *mꜣʿ ḫrw sꜣ n ḥꜣty mꜣʿ ḫrw mwt*
3. *.f nbt pr* (*šps*) *mꜣʿt ḫrw dỉ-ꜣstt mꜣʿt ḫrw*
4. *Nbt ỉmꜣḫ ḫr ỉmntt nfrt*

A Recitation by the Osiris, Padikhonsu justified, son of Haty, justified, his mother (is) the Lady of the House (the noblewoman), justified, Diaset, justified, possessor of reverence before the beautiful West.

Register Three: Sections Right F and Left G (Figures 6a & 6b)

Figure 6a and 6b: Register 3, F & G. Unidentified Falcons

Large images of a raptor crowned with a sundisk without uraeus, his open wings surrounding a shen symbol, face each other across the central panel. (Figures 6a, 6b.) Above them, four short vertical registers that might have held the name of the deity are empty. The two opposing raptors decorative element had survived on Theban coffins since the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty, but the identity of the birds is not always secure. On some coffins, such as the Twenty-second Dynasty ROM 910.10,

Djedmaatisankh, (Figure 6c) the falcons are clearly identified as Horus the Behedite.[39] Nearly identical figures, however, are sometimes identified as Re.[40] On the coffin of Tadiaset-Tahekat, the hawks are not named, though Elvira D'Amicone identifies them as Sokar.[41] It is possible that the ambiguity was deliberate, so that these falcons could invoke both ReHorakhty and Horus Behedite, the ancient gods of strength and protection.

Figure 6c: Horus the Behedite, ROM 910.10

Like the Accipitridae in the first register, these raptors lack the lanner falcon eye-markings. Their eyes are shown as black dots within yellow circles. The presence of the lanner falcon eye-markings is fairly standard, but not universal, in Egyptian art. There were at least three artistic traditions[42] for the depiction of raptor eyes, perhaps matching several types of raptors known to the artists. Considering Guzzon's theory of Ateliers[43], it is also possible that a family of artists with an idiosyncratic bent is responsible. The presence or absence of the markings does not seem to be iconographically significant during the Third Intermediate Period and Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[44]

Register Four: Sections H and I (Figures 7a & 7b)

White rectangles on either side of the central band are divided by black lines into four vertical registers to make up this section. The lines pose difficulty for translation, though the intent is clear. Two aspects of the Afterlife are described. On the right,

[39] See Figure 6.

[40] For example, Simone Musso & Simone Petacchi, "The Inner Coffin of Tameramun: A Unique Masterpiece of Kushite Iconography from Thebes," 2014, in Pischikova et al., p.446.

[41] Turin S. 5244, Sarcófagos, 2008, p. 107.

[42] Eyes lacking the lanner falcon markings are seen on two coffins from Guzzon's Atelier A, Tadiaset-Tahekat Turin S. 5244, and Nesimendjem A, Turin S.5227. The third tradition shows an eye with a short vertical line or dot beneath, but not touching, the pupil, and another short curved horizontal line or dot behind the eye, e.g. the Inner coffin of Pakepu, Fitzwilliam E.2.1869, and inner coffin of Mose, Denver Museum of Natural History (accession number unavailable).

[43] Guzzon, 2018, pages 337-347.

[44] Plain eyes can be seen among others, on Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin of *ḏi-ḥr-i3wt / mry nṯr* Inv. No. 51.1995/1-2 from Akhmim, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, unidentified genii; Twenty-fifth Dynasty Padiherishef, inner coffin, Massachusetts General Hospital, one of the sons of Horus.

Padikhonsu is promised eternity in the Necropolis, ruled by Osiris and visited in his funerary chapel. On the left, in Section I, the deceased is assured that he will rise and set like the sun, sharing in the offerings of the spirits.

Section H: Section H lies underneath the image of Osiris and his entourage in Register One. Three vertical lines contain text: the final register on the far right was ruled too narrow for any glyphs and was left blank.

Figure 7a: Section 4 H

1. *ḥtp.k ḥr st.k n*
2. *ḫrt-nṯr mi ḥwt.k pw*
3. *nt ḏt ꜥḥꜥt.k ḫr.f*

May you rest upon your place in the Necropolis, likewise in your funerary chapel which is eternal, your lifetime will be with/under him. (i.e. Osiris).

Figure 7b: Section 4 I

Section I: This text, underneath Section C, which showed Horus offering to Osiris, promises participation in the solar cycle.

1. *nn skḫ. f tr. k ỉmỉ. f*
2. *pr. k ḥnꜥ.f hɜ. k*
3. *ḥnꜥf drpw. f m*
4. *bɜw drpw. f sn nb ỉmɜḫ*

He will not destroy your lifetime. May he cause that you ascend with him and that you descend with him, (and may) he offer [food] together with the spirits, He offers them [food for] the possessor of reverence.

Comment: Line 4: Not quite enough space was left for the final glyph, Gardiner F39, which is barely recognizable.

These passages are both aspirational and a kind of insurance. It is clear from the manner of his burial that Padikhonsu could not have had his own funerary chapel on the West Bank, and might have hoped to share in the offerings left at the tomb of User or, more probably, at the great temples nearby. In previous eras, only the king joined the sun god in his daily journey, but now Padikhonsu believed or hoped that participation in the cyclical rebirth of the sun was open to him as well.

Register Five: Sections J and K (Figures 8a & 8b)

Figure 8a (left): Register 5, section J, Guardian Deities. Hippopotamus and Snake-headed.
Figure 8b (right): Register 5, section K, Protective Deities. Snake and canine- (?) headed.

Register five consists of a white rectangle on either side of the central panel, each section subdivided into two. Four Guardian Deities occupy these spaces. On the right, in Section J, nearest the yellow band, stands a bearded, snake-headed deity wearing a modius with two plumes and a sundisk atop a long dark wig, holding a knife. In the second compartment, to his right, sits a similarly crowned hippopotamus-headed being. Both face inward.

In Section K, on the left of the central band, a bearded, snake-headed guardian stands, and to his left, in a separate compartment, sits a being whose head may be canine. All four Guardians are dressed in red and yellow. The standing deities have broad sashes of yellow and dark green or blue. All four carry knives to protect the deceased. None is named, even though there are empty registers for glyphs in front of the two seated beings.

Feet: Sections L and M (Figures 9a &9b)

Figure 9a (left): Foot, section M, Hippopotamus-headed Guardian Deity
Figure 9b (right): Foot, section L, Crocodile-headed Guardian Deity

The final area of decoration on the front of the coffin lid contains two more standing Guardians. The feet were decorated with beings positioned upside down relative the rest of the decoration, so that they could be seen by the deceased. These Guardians are dressed and armed like those in Sections J and K. The Guardian on the right, in section L, is hippopotamus-headed, and his companion in

Section M has the head of a crocodile. Tadiaset-Taheqet also has four guardians at Register 5, all standing, and two more, standing, facing the deceased, on the feet. The deities are similarly clothed and crowned, but carry ostrich feathers instead of knives.

Interior of the Lid:

There is no decoration recorded on the interior of the lid of this coffin. This accords with Taylor’s observation of “the interior of the lid being unadorned” in intermediary coffins.[45]

Padikhonsu 906.2810: Coffin Case (Figures 10–16)

Figure 10: Full coffin during 1977 renovation

The exterior case walls are decorated in Taylor’s Design 1: “A single line of inscription usually in a narrow band occupying the centre of the field.”[46]
On the coffin of Padikhonsu, this band of glyphs was painted in polychrome.[47] The line contains a version of the customary offering formula. The inscription begins at the foot on the right side, continues over the vertex of the coffin, and finishes at the foot on the left side. There is no decoration on the bottom of the foot, which appears to have had only a thin wash of white paint or gesso.

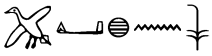
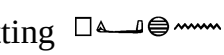
The offering formula does not seem to have been written by the same scribe who worked on the lid. The name of the deceased, consistently spelled with Gardiner G40, the flying pintail duck  on the lid, is written instead with Gardiner’s Q3, the stool of reed matting  in the offering formula. Moreover, the image of ReHorakhty is drawn with the lanner falcon eye-markings, unlike the falcons on the lid. (Figure 11) As presently displayed, only the right side of the coffin box can be seen.

Figure 11: Detail of the join between lid and box, in gallery

[45] Taylor 2003, p. 116.

[46] Taylor 2003, p. 116.

[47] Coffins with polychrome, such as Bakenrenes, BM EA15654 and Padkihonsu, may have been decorated in the earlier part of the dynasty, while coffins from later in the Dynasty generally use only black ink for the offering formula. Personal communication, Cynthia May Sheikholeslami.

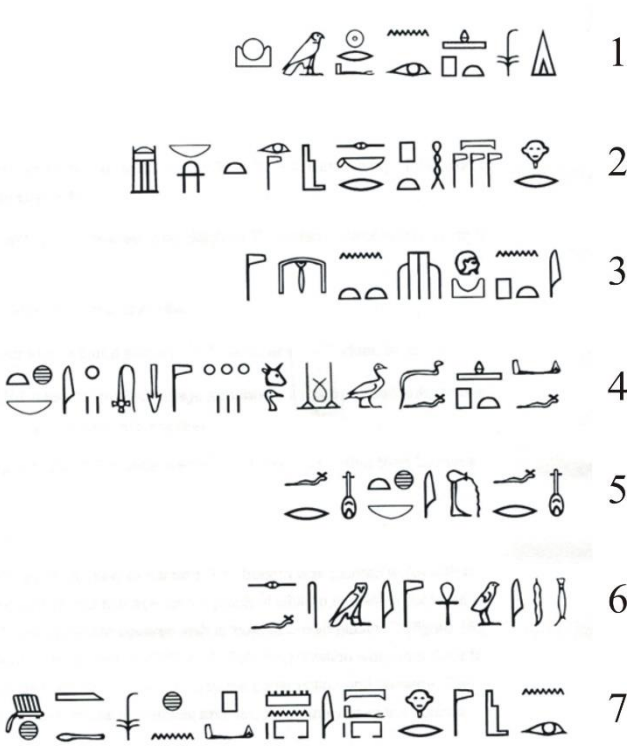
Fortunately, some old photographs of the left side exist, along with a collation by M.L. Bierbrier, made prior to 1976.[48]

Figure 12: ReHorakhty on coffin box. Note lanner falcon eye-markings.

Figure 13: Coffin box, showing detail of stucco and paint extending from side planks to bottom.

[48] Dr. Bierbrier's collation was made before the coffin was cleaned and conserved in 1977, and, as published (Collins 1976, p. 29, Section 52a) contains a few inaccuracies.

Below: Text of band of glyphs from box copied by the author from personal observation, 1977 and 1992 photographs, and Bierbrier's compilation prior to 1976. The continuous band has been divided into short lines for ease of reading.



1. *ḥtp di nsw n Wsir*[sic] *Rˁḥrɜḫt*[*y*]
2. *ḥry nṯrw Ptḥ skr Wsir*t[sic] *nb kɜr*
3. Ìn*tpw*[sic] *tpy ḏw<f> ḫnty sḥ nṯr*
4. *di.f ḥtp ḏf šs mnḫt kɜw ɜpdw snṯr iḫt*[sic] *nb*
5. *nfr wˁb iḫt*[sic] *nb nfr*
6. *bnr nḏm iw*[sic] *ˁnḫ nṯr im.sf*[śiś]
7. *n wsir ḥry ˁt pr* Ìmn *Pɜdiḫnsw mɜˁ ḫrw imɜḫy*

A royal offering to Rehorakhty, chief of the gods, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Lord of the Sacred Shrine, (and) Anubis who-is-on-<his> mountain in front of the sacred booth, that he[sic] *may give offerings of food, cloth, beef and fowl, incense, everything good, everything pure and good, sweet and pleasant such as the gods live upon, for the Osiris, the Supervisor of the Storeroom in the Domain of Amun, Padikhonsu, justified, venerated.*

Comments: There are several odd usages in this passage.
Line 1: a) the *'n'* is written out after *ḥtp di nsw*. b) Apparent error as scribe added Gardiner D4 in front of Rehorakhty. Perhaps the scribe began to write 'Osiris' before changing to Rehorakhty. c) Indication of dual missing on Gardiner N17 *ɜḫt*.
Line 2: a) Ptah written with letters reversed, *ḥpt*. b) Gardiner X1 added unnecessarily to name of the god Osiris
Line 3: Gardiner X1 added to name of Anubis.
Line 4: a) Use of singular after a plural subject, *di.f.* b) Gardiner M17 added to *ḫt*.
Line 5: Gardiner's M17 added to *ḫt*. This usage appears to have been particular to this scribe; similar coffins[49] do not have this spelling.
Line 7: a) Note spelling of name of the deceased with Gardiner Q3, rather than Gardiner G40 as on the lid. b) *imɜḫy* stands alone at the end of line, rather than being part of a phrase, such as 'venerated before the god." The scribe may have run out of space for a complete formula.

[49] E.g. Bakenrenes, British Museum EA 15654, Pakepu, Fitzwilliam E.2.1869.2, right side, Amenhotepiyin, National Museums of Scotland, A.1869.33 left side and Unknown person, Vatican Museum. 25007.

Interior of the Box:

Figure 15: Nut on floor of box

The interior is simply, even sparsely decorated. The bottom was painted white with a single image of the goddess Nut full-face, and a patch of white paint with a colourful sundisk at the head. The sides are covered with a "coarse brown plaster"[50] (Figure 15), and appear at present undecorated. In 1977 and 1992 conservation work was done to prepare the coffin for display, rather than to study the construction and damage. The Museum hopes to provide a modern chemical and structural analysis of the coffin at some time, though there are no plans at present to do so. Many questions remain unanswered.

The top of the head of the coffin (Figure 14) appears to be a single thick piece of wood bent to shape. White paint does not quite cover the entire surface. The sundisk is bright red; two yellow uraei crowned with Upper Egyptian *hedjet* crowns depend from the sides of the disk. The crowns are also painted yellow. The similar coffins of Amenhotepiyin, Edinburgh A. 1869.33, Bakenrenes BM EA 15654, and Pakepu, Fitzwilliam E 2.1869.2, have similar images at the head of the coffin, though none has the uraei crowned with *hedjet.* Though this image is entirely consistent with a date in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and with a coffin of the lower elite, it is most unusual in that it is painted on a small patch of white paint.

Figure 14: Sundisk with uraei inside bottom box, at head

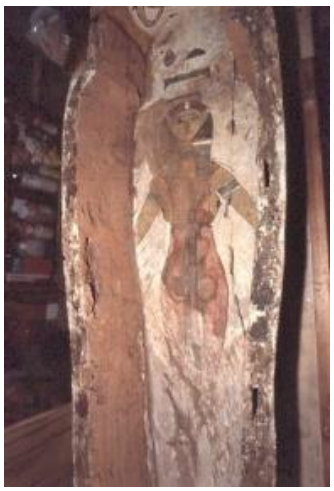


Figure 16: Floor of Coffin, with Nut

At an unknown point, the box suffered serious water damage. On the outside, there are stains and water marks, but the text is still legible. The water damage is worse on the flat back of the coffin and on the interior bottom. (Figures 15 and 16) The 1977 Conservation notes mention a loss of surface and "water soluble dirt, with heavy concentrations in some areas. Notably on Nut."

The figure of Nut is named by large glyphs over her head. Wingless, she is full-breasted with black nipples. The nurturing goddess wears an archaic dress which now appears pink rather than red, with a grey tie whose original colour was not noted. She wears armlets of a dark colour bordered by white, and a broad

[50] Susan Wilson 1976, unnumbered pages among conservation notes in the Egyptian Department, Royal Ontario Museum.

collar whose colour is difficult to discern. Her dark hair or wig is adorned with five bands, each white in the centre bordered by pale red. Her rather sad and solemn face seems to express a gentle sadness.[51]

Nut's arms stretch out as if to reach up the sides of the coffin to embrace the mummy, but the arms end at the elbow, where they would have bent upwards. The Conservators in 1977 saw no trace of them on the walls. This peculiarity led them to wonder if "the bottom was part of a large object previously? What happened to the missing interior white?"

If the image of Nut on the bottom was once part of some other object, is there any evidence whether was it added in ancient times or in modern? Arguing for an ancient construction, the layer of gesso and paint, though thin, continues from the exterior walls onto the wood of the bottom, apparently original (Figure 11). This would suggest that the large board with Nut was laid as bottom of this coffin in ancient times. As Taylor has pointed out, it was uncommon for coffins to be reused at this period.[52] Was this coffin an exception? Where would the large wooden board with the image of Nut have come from if not from another coffin? Since Nut is drawn in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty style, any previous use would have been very recent. It is worth noting, moreover, that there is room on the walls of the coffin for arms in proportion to the figure on the bottom, and room for her lower body and feet as well.

There is no clear evidence at present of any mummy ever being placed in the coffin, and no report by Mond of a mummy. Was there a mummy in this coffin in 1906? As members of the lower elite, perhaps Padikhonsu's family was unable to afford the unguents that often stain the interior of a coffin and act as glue to hold some of the mummy's linens inside.[53] It is possible that any evidence of a burial was cleaned away at some point. A careful study using modern techniques is necessary to understand the relationship between the bottom and the sides.

No mention is made in any note of decoration on the back of the coffin box.

The West Bank would have been an active and prosperous place during Padikhonsu's lifetime. Kushite kings undertook new constructions at Medinet Habu, God's Wives prepared tomb chapels for themselves and laid out a cemetery for the women members of the cult of Amun, while the priests of Montu prepared burials for themselves and their families at Hatshepsut's old temple of Deir el Bahari. As a Supervisor of the Storeroom of the Domain of Amun, Padikhonsu was a part of the funerary establishment,

[51] A very similar figure is on the bottom of the coffin of the child, Hori, now in Atlanta at the Carlos Museum, 1999.1.6. Her face and the shape of her body appear to have been drawn by the same hand as Padikhonsu. Her arms bend at the join of the coffin and extend up the sides of the coffin to embrace the mummy.

[52] Taylor, 2003, p. 96, fn.10 and 2016 p. 69

[53] Taylor, 2018, notes that "Where details of the mummification procedure performed on the body can be ascertained, this turns out to have been of a simple type (excerebration was omitted, the abdominal and thoracic cavities were simply filled with mud, sand and linen, and no amulets were placed beneath the wrappings,) . . ." p. 372.

and would have been familiar with the available artists and current styles in funerary equipment. The decoration and texts on his coffin show that, despite his lower economic status, he shared the beliefs and hopes of the true elite for an afterlife with the gods of justice and truth. Thebans of his class, unable to construct new tombs, reused earlier tombs, particularly at Sheikh abd el-Gurna.[54] Padikhonsu and his family found a safe resting place for their coffins and funerary equipment in the courtyard of the tomb of User, where they lay undisturbed for twenty-five hundred years. Now their memory is in the custody of a great museum.

We would like to acknowledge the great help that has been given to us during the study of this coffin by C.K. Irie, Dr. Ed Meltzer, ROM Docent Emeritus Joseph L. Serio, and by Cynthia May Sheikholeslami.

Photo Credits: 1, 7c, 10–12, C.K. Irie; 9, 13–15 Royal Ontario Museum; All other photos by the author.

[54] David Aston, 2003, "The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period," in Strudwick and Taylor, 2003, *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future* (London: British Museum), p.143–149.

The King in the Catacombs: Why Does He Appear on the Walls at Kom el-Shoqafa?[1]

Mark Trumpour

Abstract: The catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa in Alexandria offer a fascinating example of a Roman period tomb complex in Egypt, combining both Greco-Roman and Egyptian elements. There are no inscriptions in the complex, only images. Some are inspired by Greek religion, others by Egyptian religion.

Three of the Egyptian-style scenes show a king wearing the pharaonic "double crown" of Egypt. In two of them he is making offerings to the Apis. Since the tomb clearly was not that of the king (at that time the Roman emperor), the question is, "Why is the king shown in these scenes?" The king is not usually considered a funerary god. Is his appearance here merely an example of a strange or idiosyncratic notion unique to this period or place?

While the king's image rarely, if ever, appears in non-royal tombs prior to the New Kingdom, it does from the New Kingdom on. The relatively few instances where it appears are analyzed and his roles identified. His oldest and most enduring role in a funerary context is that articulated in the hieroglyphic offering formula, *ḥtp dỉ nsw*, "an offering which the King gives . . ." The analysis results are then applied to the case of the king's depictions in Alexandrian tombs, specifically the Kom el-Shoqafa catacombs and the Tigrane tomb.

It is evident that the king's role as depicted in Alexandria's tombs shows continuity with ancient tradition. While the role changed over time, and while one important new role is in evidence, the primary one is consistent with that of a divine king (Horus on earth) who presents funerary offerings to his brother and sister gods on behalf of the deceased, acting as an "intercessor," one who is able to influence the gods favorably to ensure a happy afterlife.

Résumé: Les catacombes de Kom El Shuqafa à Alexandrie offrent un exemple fascinant d'un complexe funéraire de la période romaine en Égypte, combinant des éléments gréco-romains et égyptiens. Le tombeau ne contient aucune inscription, seules des scènes s'y trouvent; certaines sont inspirées par la religion grecque, d'autres par la religion égyptienne.

Trois des scènes de style égyptien montrent le roi portant la « double couronne » pharaonique. Dans deux de celles-ci, il effectue des offrandes à Apis. Dans la mesure où la tombe n'était clairement pas celle d'un roi (un empereur romain à cette époque), il convient de se questionner sur la présence du roi dans ces scènes. Ce dernier n'étant généralement pas considéré comme un dieu funéraire, se pourrait-il qu'il s'agisse simplement d'un exemple d'une notion étrangère ou idiosyncratique unique à cette période ou à ce lieu ?

Alors que le roi n'est que très rarement voire jamais représenté dans les tombes non-royales avant le Nouvel Empire, il en existe quelques représentations à partir de cette période. Ces quelques rares occurrences seront analysées et les rôles qu'y endosse le roi seront identifiés. Son rôle le plus ancien et le plus persistant dans un contexte funéraire s'articule autour de la formule d'offrande Htp di nsw « une offrande que le roi donne . . . ». Les résultats de l'analyse seront ensuite appliqués aux cas des représentations du roi dans les tombes d'Alexandrie, plus spécifiquement aux catacombes de Kom El Shuqafa et au tombeau de Tigrane.

Le rôle du roi dans les tombes d'Alexandrie montre une continuité évidente avec l'ancienne tradition. Alors que des changements s'opèrent au fil du temps et qu'un nouveau rôle est mis en évidence,

[1] This paper is based on a presentation I gave at the Scholars' Colloquium of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA), 4 Nov. 2018. It was prompted by a visit to the catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa in October 2017; I give special thanks to guide extraordinaire Hend Magdy, who introduced me to this remarkable site. I also acknowledge the input of Gayle Gibson, Katja Goebs, Ron Leprohon, Ed Meltzer and Roberta Shaw, without in any way blaming them for my analysis.

le rôle fondamental demeure celui d’un roi divin (Horus sur terre) présentant des offrandes funéraires à sa sœur ou son frère divins au nom du défunt, agissant comme un « intercesseur », apte à influencer favorablement les dieux pour garantir au défunt une existence heureuse dans l’au-delà.

Keywords/Mots-clés: Catacombs/catacombes, Alexandria/Alexandrie, imagery/iconographie, king’s role/rôle du roi, funerary reliefs/bas-reliefs funéraires.

Background

Relatively little of ancient Alexandria, one of the largest cities of the ancient world, remains standing above ground today: “None of the fabled monuments that distinguished Alexandria remains.”[2] By the same token, for much of the 20th century it received relatively little attention from the mainstream Egyptological community, leaving much of the study of its remains to Classics scholars.[3]

On the other hand, a number of underground sites remain, particularly the Roman-era catacombs of Kom el-Shoqafa. Translated as, “mound of sherds”, the name is due to the pile of pottery sherds around its entrance, the remains of ancient funerary feasts and offerings to the dead.

As catacombs, they were used over many years and by large numbers of people, making the dating difficult. However, they seem to have been in use from the late 1st century CE to sometime in the 3rd century.[4] Empereur has suggested a date range for what is known as the Principal Tomb of 81 to 138 CE. The Principal Tomb is possibly the earliest component of the catacombs and is decorated with relief sculpture. Some, including Marianne Bergman, date it to the 2nd century rule of Hadrian (117–133 CE).[5] Despite impressive statues of the owner of Principal Tomb and his wife, nothing is known of who they were.

The catacombs were discovered in 1901 by a resident of Alexandria who brought them to the attention of Giovanni Botti, founder of Alexandria’s Greco-Roman Museum (established 1882).[6] They were subsequently explored and published in 1908 by German

2 Marjorie Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theater of the Dead* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1.

3 Bowman, writing in 1989, suggested, “Viewed from the standpoint of the Egyptologist, the Graeco-roman [sic] period may seem to lack the grandeur and the romance which the relics of the Pharaohs possess . . .” in Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt After the Pharaohs* (Berkeley, California University Press, 1989), 7.

4 A useful discussion of dating is contained in Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets, André Pelle, Mervat Seif el-Din, *Resurrection in Alexandria: The Painted Greco-Roman Tombs of Kom al-Shuqafa* (New York: AUC, 2017), 153. Their proposed date range for the development and painting of the tomb is “a period between the end of the first century and the middle of the second century AD.”

5 Cited in Guimier-Sorbets et al., 153.

6 Zahraa Adel Awad. “The Catacombs of Kom el-Shuqafa, the Mound of Shards”, online publication by Tour Egypt, Part I, page 2. Accessed on November 24, 2017 at http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/komelshuqafa.htm.

archaeologist Ernst von Sieglin.[7] British archaeologist Alan Rowe on behalf of the Greco-Roman Museum examined the site further in 1941–42.[8]

Despite the activity, the site remained relatively unknown and only the first level was open to the public until 1995.[9] A high level of groundwater, and the need to control it, was the primary reason. The groundwater issue continued to be troublesome, with the lowest level of the catacombs still closed off to visitors until a water control project was completed in early 2019.[10] The project is indicative of the site's interest, as is the fact that the Supreme Council of Antiquities is creating an open-air museum around the entrance to the catacombs.[11]

Visitors enter the catacombs via a staircase that spirals around a circular shaft measuring approximately 6 m (19 ft) in diameter. The shaft was originally used for lowering the bodies. At the bottom of the staircase one is greeted with a view towards the Principal Tomb (Fig. 1). The deepest point of the complex is 30 m (98 ft) below ground.

Figure 1: View Looking Towards the Principal Tomb, photo: Wikimedia Commons

Jean-Yves Empereur noted that when he was researching a guide to the catacombs in 1993 there was a "terrible dearth" of readily accessible information on Alexandria.[12] Even though Empereur published his *Short Guide*[13] in 1995, the relative shortage of easily-accessed published material specific to Kom el-Shoqafa continues. Empereur includes a chapter on the Catacombs in his 1998 publication, *Alexandria Rediscovered*,[14] but it is mostly descriptive material as opposed to analysis of the images. The same is true of Judith

7 Sieglin, Ernst von, *Die Nekropole von Kom-Esch-Schukafa–Ausgrabungen und Forschungen Expedition Ernst Sieglin* Band 1 und Band 2. 1905. Giesecke & Devrient.

8 Rowe, Alan, "Excavations of the Greco-Roman Museum at Kôm es-Shuqafa during the season 1941–42", *BSAA* 35, 3–45. [BSAA = Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie].

9 Zahraa Adel Awad, 2.

10 "Kom el-Shoqafa archaeological site fully renovated", *Egypt Daily News*, 5 March 2019. Accessed 23 June 2020 at www.dailynewssegypt.com .

11 Also see more of the open-air museum in the article by Khloud Hosny, "Alexandria Catacombs Salvation", *Luxor Times*, 4 March 2019, accessed 22 June 2020 at http://luxortimes.com/2019/03/alexandrias-catacombs-salvation/

12 In his forward to Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets, André Pelle, and Mervat Seif el-Din, *Resurrection in Alexandria*, (New York: AUC, 2017) 7. Of course, original excavation reports were published, but they are far from readily accessible.

13 Jean-Yves Empereur, *A Short Guide to the Catacombs of Kom el Shoqafa*, (Alexandria: Harpocrates Publishing, 1995).

14 Jean-Yves Empereur, *Alexandria Rediscovered.* (New York: George Braziller, 1998).

McKenzie's book, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt 300 BC–AD 700;*[15] not surprisingly, her focus is on architecture, not imagery and iconography. However, three relatively recent books are the principal exceptions to this. They are: Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets, André Pelle, Mervat Seif el-Din, *Resurrection in Alexandria: The Painted Greco-Roman Tombs of Kom al-Shuqafa* (2017), American University in Cairo; Marjorie Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theater of the Dead* (2002), Cambridge University Press; and Marjorie Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, (2015) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The first is a detailed look primarily at the images of the so-called "Persephone tomb". It describes the efforts of photographer André Pelle to clarify the degraded images through the use of filters, presents the results, and explicates their meaning. The authors also provide useful analysis of some of the images in Kom el-Shoqafa's Principal Tomb. The second looks at the imagery more broadly across all Alexandrian tombs and specific to the purpose here, throughout the Catacombs. Venit followed up this opus with a second book in 2015,[16] devoting a chapter to Kom el-Shoqafa and the tombs of Alexandria. It is Venit who has devoted more time than other writers and scholars to interpreting the significance of the imagery in the catacombs.

There have also been occasional articles specifically on the images of the king presenting an offering to the Apis bull, notably a recent speculation by Nenad Marković, in which he suggests a possible solution to the question of why the king appears in those scenes.[17] We will take on his suggestion later.

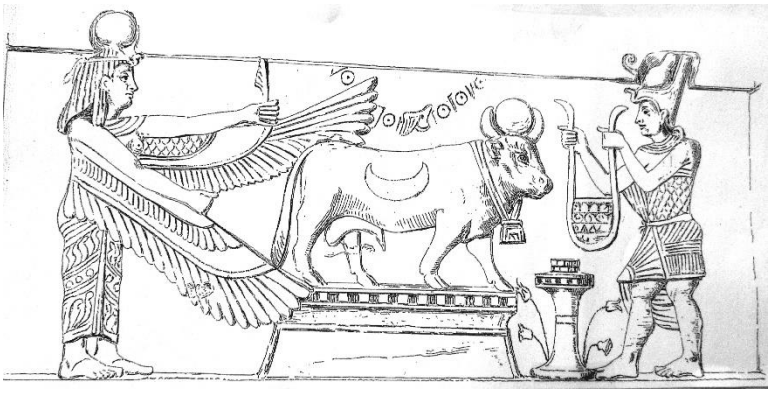


Figure 2: Apis relief in the Principal Tomb,
photo: Clemens Scmillens, Wikimedia Commons

The Issue

The specific image that catches the attention is a relief scene (Fig. 2) in two of the three burial niches in what is referred to as the Principal Tomb (see floor-plan, Fig. 3a). The niches on the left and on the right as one enters the tomb have reliefs that are virtually mirror images of each other. In the scene, the king (at this period, the Roman

15 Judith McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt 300 BC–AD 700*, (London: Yale University Press, 2010).

16 Marjorie Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Chapter two "Egypt as Metaphor: Bilingual Bilingualism in the Monumental Tombs of Alexandria" is specific to Alexandria's tombs.

17 Nenad Marković, "Titus and the Apis Bull: Reflections on the Socio-Political Importance of the Memphite Divine Bull in Roman Egypt", in Christian Langer (Ed.), *Global Egyptology*, (London: Global House, 2017) 103–116.

emperor) is presenting a necklace to a bull with a sun-disk between its horns and uraeus on its brow.[18] Between them is an offering table. The bull stands on a raised platform. Behind the bull, standing with outstretched wings, is a goddess. The goddess has been identified as Isis by almost all who have commented on the scene, of which more later in this article.

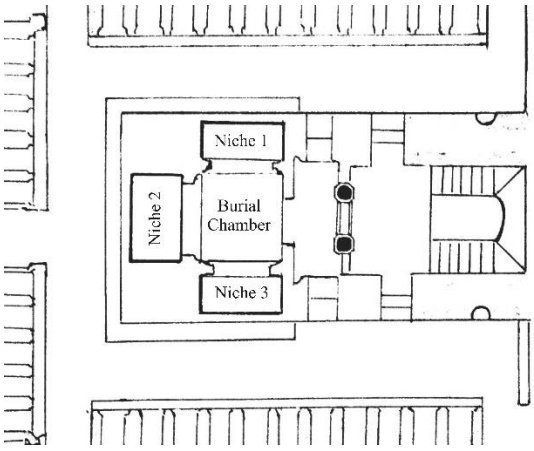


Fig. 3a: Plan of the Principal Tomb, by E. Crabtree, based on Adriani (1966), f. 331

The scene is striking because, in imagery from the more familiar tombs, the king is not featured. While the king was a god, he did not typically have a funerary role. As Venit noted, the scene is also unusual in Alexandria, "The scenes of veneration of the Apis Bull by the Roman emperor-pharaoh and the inclusion of a Roman emperor such as on the lateral walls are unique within Alexandrian tombs that have come to light."[19] Before we unpack the symbolism in the scene to begin to address the question of why he would be here, let us look briefly at some previous attempts to answer the question.

Some Previous Explanations

The presence of the King in this scene is explained by Empereur (1995): "the bull god Apis stands on a pedestal and is being presented with a necklace by a figure dressed as a pharaoh. . . . Only pharaoh—a god incarnate himself—could stand face-to-face with a god."[20] His interpretation accords with the views quoted above. It explains why it would be the king who is presenting, as opposed to the deceased.

Venit on the other hand saw it as the emperor "paying homage to the Apis bull".[21] She further suggests that the emperor depicted is Vespasian, and that the scene memorializes him. She noted that he had been declared Emperor by the legions while he was in Alexandria, and Venit believed that Vespasian's visit "must have been remembered long after the actual occasion . . ."[22] She made this claim at the same time as noting that the image's head was not treated as a portrait.[23] In other words, there is no way that Vespasian could be identified as the person depicted on the basis of the features in the image.

18 Small statuettes of the Apis bull in the same stance are fairly commonly represented in museum collections, e.g. British Museum, BM1886.0401.1460; Royal Ontario Museum 910.17.25; Cleveland Museum of Fine Art 1969.118.
19 Venit (2002), 142.
20 Empereur (1995), 11.
21 Venit (2002), 142.
22 Venit (2002), 143.
23 Venit (2002), 143.

Contra Empereur’s approach, she further argued that, while the notion that only the king could interface directly with the gods was true in Pharaonic times, by Roman times the direct personal knowledge of a deity, especially for initiates of Isis, was accepted. “Traditionally, only Egyptian priests and pharaohs could view a deity face to face, but in the Greco-Roman world this prescription no longer applies, since initiation into the cult of Isis seems to included [sic] an encounter with the gods.”[24] While nothing is known of the tomb’s owner, as noted earlier, this argument seems to form part of the basis on which Venit subsequently argues that individuals depicted in the nearby Tigrane Tomb, and wearing what was previously considered divine/royal headgear, are actually initiates of Isis.[25] The particular scene in the Tigrane Tomb will be discussed later.

Venit revisited her arguments about the Apis bull scene in her 2015 analysis of the same imagery. In her revised thinking she writes, “Unless the crown is used carelessly, the figure should be an Egyptian pharaoh . . .”[26] Moreover, related to her earlier claim that the figure represents Vespasian, she admits that “the precise identity of the figure may be of less consequence than his station.”[27] She did not really address the significance of his “station” in the tomb.

Marković is in agreement with Venit in that he sees the image as commemorative of a specific individual and event. However, he questions the identification of the king as Vespasian. He argues that Vespasian was not as popular in Alexandria as his son Titus. He suggests that the image therefore represents Titus and is commemorative of his attendance in 70 CE at an Apis ceremony in Memphis, the year before he succeeded his father as Emperor.

The bigger question here is whether the image represents a specific individual at all, or instead, a king performing a role as king, which Hölbl refers to as a “cultic pharaoh”.[28] Even Marković notes that Hölbl’s interpretation is “relevant for most preserved relief scenes in Roman Egypt”,[29] and that his interpretation cannot be ruled out. Therefore, if the Venit-Marković interpretation is correct, and we see here the representation of a specific historical event, then it will need a great deal more evidence to support it than either has produced, since it is far from the norm. The onus of proof lies on them.

Among other things, Marković will have to explain why the scene would depict Titus wearing the double crown of a king, given that he was not yet Emperor at the time he visited the Apis. For Venit’s part, she does not produce any evidence to support the proposal that Vespasian actually visited the Apis during his short time in Egypt. Both of them must explain the numerous images of Roman emperors in the garb of pharaohs that adorn many Egyptian temples, none of which they ever visited.

24 Venit (2002), 142.
25 Venit, (2002), 148–9.
26 Venit (2015), 72.
27 Venit (2015), 76.
28 Günther Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich: Der Römische Pharao und seine Tempel* I, (Mainz: Zabern, 2000), 18, 117.
29 Marković,105.

In all of this, we cannot lose sight of what we are dealing with here. This is a tomb, not a temple or other public place, and it has a function. "For the dead, the tomb ensured the protection of the corpse and assistance in the passage to the other life."[30] Surely the imagery must be viewed in relation to the basic function of a tomb?
Let us see what the symbolism of the images can tell us about this, and what they say about why the king would be represented here.

The Symbolism

The central figure in the relief is a bull, specifically the Apis bull. The Apis was the earthly manifestation of the creator-god Ptah. There was only one Apis bull at a time, carefully chosen for bearing specific markings. The living Apis was closely connected with the Temple of Ptah at Memphis, where it was housed in the temple precinct, and when it died, it was buried with full honours in the giant catacombs at Sakkara known as the Serapaeum.[31] At death, the Apis bull became the Osiris-Apis, or Osar-Apis. This syncretistic[32] deity pre-dated the creation of the god Serapis and appears to have formed the Egyptian core of a god intended by Ptolemy I to be a state deity.[33] Pfeiffer has described how the cult of Serapis would become closely associated with the cult of the Ptolemaic kings.[34]

The priesthood of Ptah at Memphis maintained close relations with the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt.[35] The Serapaeum at Memphis was clearly named for the "new" god Serapis, as too was Alexandria's temple to Serapis, the largest temple in the capital of Ptolemaic Egypt. A life-sized statue to the Apis, today located in the Greco-Roman Museum in

30 Guimier-Sorbets et al, 54. They conclude that "these eminently religious and therefore . . . 'active' images assisted the dead to accomplish his happy destiny in the afterlife." 156

31 Stefan Pfeiffer, "The Pharaoh and the Apis Bull", in Paul McKechnie and Philipe Guillaume (Ed.), *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and His World*, (Leiden: Mnemosyne supplements, Vol. 300, 2008), 387-408. Pfeiffer writes in some detail of the Serapis cult, concluding that while Serapis may have been viewed as a Greek god by some Egyptians, "For the Greeks —and, later, the Romans—the god was an Egyptian god: the consort of Isis." (p. 392).

32 "Syncretism" is the theological practice of combining two or more deities into a single focus of worship. A useful discussion is in Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson, *Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003) 280 (among others). Egypt's gods and goddesses were combined and recombined over the long course of her history in various ways. A number of god-forms of a given deity might co-exist, and their characteristics could be fluid. To take a prominent example, the original Old Kingdom sun-god Re appeared in several variant forms including Amun-Re, Montu-Re, Re-Horakhty, and Atum-Re. Likewise, relevant to this article, Ptah was combined with the god Sokar during the Old Kingdom as Ptah-Sokar and in the Late Period (747–332 BC) as Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Ptah-Tatanen, Osar-Apis and, beginning with Ptolemy I, Serapis. These god-forms were not mutually exclusive.

33 Pfeiffer, 2008, 390.

34 Pfeiffer, 2008, 398. He concludes, "Thus, the Apis was a royal god to the fullest extent." He proceeds to describe in some detail how the Serapis cult developed under the Ptolemaic rulers who followed Ptolemy I.

35 See the previously cited article by Nenad Marković, where he identifies the strong linkages between the High Priests of Memphis and the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt.

Alexandria, was dedicated in the Temple of Serapis by the Emperor Hadrian in 130 CE. It underlines the connection between Ptah, Apis and Serapis[36] at a time close to the creation of the Principal Tomb, as do the bilingual dedication plaques of Alexandria's Serapaeum which document the equation of Osiris-Apis with Serapis.[37]

Just as Osiris had the goddess Isis as his sister-wife, so Serapis assumed the male role in the divine couple of Serapis and Isis, and the pair were worshiped widely beyond Egypt's borders.[38] In view of this, it is as no surprise that the goddess behind the Apis is the goddess Isis, an identification almost universally accepted by all who have written on the image. Her position behind her husband is the typical position of the female spouse of gods in Egyptian art. Whereas in other contexts Isis appears behind her husband Osiris on his throne,[39] in this scene she stands protectively behind the Apis, underlining that the bull is not merely the Apis, but her husband Osar-Apis/Serapis. The funerary relevance of the Apis is clear, as one would expect in a tomb.

As for the figure of the king, scenes where he is presented giving offerings to the gods are common in Egyptian temples of all periods. Hölbl has presented many examples from the Roman period.[40] However, the king's function is similar in both situations: in a temple he is giving the offerings on behalf of his people, so that ma'at will be maintained and the land prosper, while in a tomb, the offerings are being given on behalf of the deceased, so he/she will live on in the next life. An almost identical scene to that in the Principal Tomb comes from a stele found in 1929 by Robert Mond and Oliver Myers at Armant in the Montu temple. It is located in the British Museum, EA6194. The king wearing the double crown and a kilt is standing and presenting an offering to a bull. The bull is standing on a pedestal, in the same pose as in the Main Tomb. Between them is an identical offering table. Behind the bull we see, instead of an image of Isis with her wings spread protectively, a pair of wings that similarly protect the bull. Of course, the bull in this case is not the Apis, manifestation of Ptah, but rather the Buchis bull, manifestation of the god Montu. It dates to the time of Ptolemy II. Where the king appears in such scenes as this, it is not a glorification or memorial of a particular king, but the king in his symbolic, "cultic" role.

The king is presenting a necklace to the god. It is a u-shaped form of the wesekh necklace that is commonly depicted in Greco-Roman times. Riggs writes of the significance of this collar, examining examples of appearances of the wesekh in Greco-Roman funerary art. She observes that it had a "strong Osirian association which made it

36 "The statue is proof of the durability of the cult of the old pharaonic deity of Memphis, still venerated in this Alexandrian sanctuary in the middle of the second century AD." Jean-Yves L'Empereur, 1998, 90.
37 Pfeiffer, 2008, 390. The name of the god is written "Osar-Apis" in hieroglyphs in the inscriptions.
38 Temples to Serapis and Isis existed (among others) in Delos, in Rome itself, Spain and as far away as England
39 As a couple of examples, see EA184 and EA188 in the British Museum.
40 Günther Hölbl, 2000. I counted some 20 photos of such scenes in Hölbl's volume.

particularly appropriate for funerary use."[41] This further suggests the cultic nature of the scene. In particular, the wesekh is referred to in chapter 158 of the Book of the Dead, which is to be recited over "a broad collar of gold, on which this spell is inscribed, placed at the throat of this akh (the glorified deceased) on the day of joining the earth."[42] The primary purpose of the collar was to protect the wearer. Riggs cites instances of this form of the wesekh collar appearing in scenes of offerings brought to Osiris, including the two reliefs in the Principal tomb.[43] Scheel makes a specific connection of the collar to the god Ptah, who is often shown wearing it, and who offers protection through it to the deceased.[44]

The Offering Formula

We have seen that the Principal Tomb image of the king presenting an offering to a god is one of a common "type", adapted for a funerary setting. The use of it in this setting brings to mind the age-old offering formula, "an offering which the king gives . . ." The notion that the Principal Tomb reliefs may be a pictorial presentation of the offering formula seems to demand closer examination.

In the offering formula, the king is presented as giving offerings to the gods on behalf of the deceased. It begins with the phrase *ḥtp di nsw*, "An offering which the king gives . . ." Sometimes the offering is to Osiris, sometimes to Anubis, and occasionally other deities. Leprohon states that it first appears on the architrave of the false door and goes on to note that it "was later written on offering tables, coffins and statues, and from the Middle Kingdom became a standard inscription written on funerary stelae."[45]

It is the king who gives the offerings because he is himself semi-divine, the living Horus on earth. As such he is on a par with the other deities, his brothers and sisters. In the phrasing of the offering formula, the essential role of the king is that of intermediary between the gods and mankind, interceding on behalf of the dead to ensure them a continued afterlife.[46] As Thomson writes, "Since in Egyptian theology only the king was able to make offerings to the gods, every time an offering was made, the offerer claimed that it had been made by the king to a god . . ."[47] Since the purpose of the tomb was to ensure the successful transition of the deceased to a new, eternal life with the gods, it is logical for the king to play this role.

41 Christina Riggs, "Forms of the Wesekh Collar in Funerary Art of the Greco-Roman Period", in *Chronique d'Egypte* #76, 2001, 62.
42 Riggs, 63.
43 Riggs, 63–64.
44 Berndt Scheel, "Ptah und die Zwerge", in Hartwig Altenmüller and Renate Germer (Eds), *Miscellanea Aegyptologia: Wolfgang Helck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Hamburg: Archäologisch Institut der Universität Hamburg, 1999), 159–164.
45 Ronald J. Leprohon, "Offering Formulas and Lists", in Donald B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Essential Guide to Egyptian Mythology,* (New York: Berkley Books 2003), 287.
46 Leprohon, 287.
47 Stephen E. Thomson, "Cults", in in Donald B. Redford (ed.). *Oxford Essential Guide to Egyptian Mythology* (New York: Berkley Books 2003), 69.

Leprohon also observes that while the word "offering" as used in the formula usually signified food offerings, "the king was regarded as the source of all goods in ancient Egypt" and other things were also prayed for to "guarantee success in this life and the next."[48] So, the key point is that the king is presenting offerings to the principal funerary gods, typically Osiris and Anubis, in order to ensure that the deceased will live on in eternity.

Scenes from the life of the deceased individual are often present in pharaonic non-royal tombs going as far back as the Old Kingdom. Prominent tombs such as that of Rekhmire, TT100, are well known for their depictions of daily life, but the scenes are each unique in a given tomb. In contrast, there are two Principal Tomb presentation reliefs, and they are virtually identical. Moreover, in tomb scenes from the life of the deceased elsewhere, we see a variety of activities from the life of the deceased; they form part of a decorative scheme. That context is lacking in the Principal Tomb, another reason why it is unlikely that the Kom el-Shoqafa scenes depict an actual event.

The King in Non-Royal Tombs

We saw earlier that the king is not commonly depicted in Alexandrian tombs. Does he appear in non-royal tombs elsewhere in Egypt, and in earlier times? If not, it implies that the reliefs are a Roman/Alexandrian innovation. And if he does appear earlier, what exactly is his role in such private tombs? In other words, is his appearance in the Principal Tomb consistent with the role he plays in other non-royal tombs in Egypt, and are there pharaonic precedents for depicting the king as offerer in non-royal tombs?

To answer these questions, and explore the king's funerary role further, an analysis of 26 private tombs where the image of a king appears was carried out.

a. Before Dynasty 18

The walls of the very earliest non-royal tombs, before Dynasty 3, contained no writing or images of kings.[49] In Dynasty 3 tombs we find both writing and early relief images, such as in the tomb of Hesy-ra, but none with the king's image. This continues in Dynasty 4, where despite extensive relief carvings and accompanying text, there are still no images of the king. However, the king does begin to make a textual appearance. In this Dynasty are found the earliest usages of the offering formula. Barta says the first attestation is from the tomb of Rahotep at Meidum (ca. 2613–2589 BCE).[50] Similarly, the lintel of a false door of tomb of Ankh-haf at Giza has an offering formula with the king presenting offerings to Anubis,[51] also without an actual image of the king.

48 Leprohon, 288.

49 Decorated Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis may be mentioned as a possible exception. However, there are many uncertainties surrounding it, including its dating, whether it even was a tomb, and who the owner was. If it was a tomb, its owner seems likely to have had chieftain status, as there was no King of the Two Lands at this stage in Egypt's history.

50 Winfried Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altaegyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt, J.J. Augustin, 1968) 3. Thanks to Ron Leprohon for bringing this to my attention.

51 Ann Macy Roth, "Funerary Ritual", p. 148, in Donald Redford (Ed.) 2003, 147 - 154.

In the Sakkara mastabas of Dynasty 5–6 officials the offering formula becomes common. For example, while the tombs of Mereruka, Kagemni, Ti, Ptah-hotep, Ankhmahor, Idut, and Neferirtenef all have extensive carved reliefs, none show the king. However, they contain the king in the offering formula, some in more than one location.

As at Sakkara, the tombs of prominent Egyptians of the Old and Middle Kingdom at Qubbet el-Hawa (Harkhuf, Sarenput I and II, Mekhu and Sebni, Hekaib and others) have no images of the king, even though the governor Harkhuf of Dynasty 6 was well known to the king, as the extensive inscription outside his tomb makes clear.

b. After Dynasty 17

Starting in Dynasty 18, the king's image begins to be seen with some regularity in non-royal tombs, although in only a small minority. The author identified 26 non-royal tombs where the king's image appears, and considered the role he is shown fulfilling (Table 3).[52]

For these 26 non-royal tombs, the following information was gathered:

- Tomb number/reference (all are in the TT tomb sequence)
- Dynasty (usually undisputed, and typically based on the tomb's inscriptions)
- Ruling king (often named in the tomb)
- Role of the king depicted

The role of the king was grouped into one of four categories according to the actions in which he is involved:

1. Interacting with the deceased. This could include such events/actions as giving a reward to or otherwise honouring the deceased, or receiving tribute or taxes from the deceased.
2. King Amenhotep I & Queen Ahmose-Nefertari as patron deities of Deir el-Medina.
3. Presenting offerings on behalf of the deceased (*ḥtp di nsw*).
4. Other: The King as an infant being nursed by the goddess.

The results are summarized below in Tables 1 and 2, summarizing the data. The full table with the raw data, Table 3, is appended to this paper.

[52] Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor, *The Theban Necropolis: Past Present and Future* (London: British Museum Press, 2003, p. 250) give the number of 414 numbered, private (non-royal) tombs in the Theban necropolis and an additional number of Kampp and MMA tombs. A personal communication in March 2020 from Dr. Kent Weeks of the Theban Mapping Project gave the following private tomb numbers in the Luxor area:

Tombs of the Nobles:	425
Kampp tombs:	520
In outlying valleys:	150
Tarif tombs:	about 100

The total number is subject to change as new tombs are located. Many tombs are undecorated or have seriously damaged decoration making the images difficult to interpret. Sources used for identifying the tombs for this study were tombs described in: George Steindorff, *Baedeker's Egypt* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1929); Sigrid Hodel-Hoenes (2000); and a few supplementary excavation reports, as available. The author would welcome hearing of any additions to the list of tombs picturing the king.

Table 1. Distribution of Tombs by Dynasty		
Dynasty	No.	Percent
18	20	76.9%
19	2	7.7%
20	3	11.5%
26	1	3.8%
Total	26	100%

Table 2. Distribution of Images by King's Role*		
Role	No.	Percent
Interacting with the deceased	18	62%
King & Queen as Patron Gods	6	21%
Presenting offerings on behalf of the deceased	4	14%
Other	1	3%
Total	29	100%

*NOTE: Some tombs have more than one image of the king so the number is less than 26.

From this brief analysis we can conclude that:

- The king appears most frequently in the New Kingdom, particularly Dynasty 18. His image is used less often after Dynasty 20.
- The king primarily appears in order to lend prominence to the deceased, giving the deceased awards or interacting publicly with him.
- The next most frequent depiction is of Amenhotep I, in some cases including Ahmose-Nefertari, as patron deities of Deir el-Medina; in other words, as god, not as king. These instances come from reigns subsequent to Amenhotep I (i.e. after ca. 1500 BCE).
- Third most frequent is the king making offerings on behalf of the deceased.

From this we can say that indeed, the king does appear in non-royal tombs from the pharaonic period, that he often appears to enhance the status of the deceased, and when he acts in a strictly funerary role, it is to give offerings on behalf of the deceased, to support his claim to a happy afterlife.

While this analysis applies to one part of Egypt during pharaonic times, it must be asked if this can be applied to Roman Egypt. Had the role of the king (Roman emperor) changed in such a way as to make any comparison with Alexandrian tombs invalid?

Roman vs. Pharaonic Kingship

With regard to Greco-Roman rule Bowman notes, ". . . as the exiled poet Ovid candidly and acerbically stated it, "Caesar is the state" ("res est publica Caesar"). Simon Ellis comments that having decided that Egypt was his personal possession, Augustus was able to assume the position previously occupied by the king,[53] while Shaw and Nicholson observe that Augustus and subsequent emperors treated Egypt as an imperial estate.[54] Senators and leading equestrians were forbidden to enter Egypt without the emperor's express permission.[55] While all land in Egypt had belonged to the king in pharaonic times through to Ptolemaic, this was modified somewhat under Rome, as private land became more common. However, this did not change instantly, and it appears that even under Rome the percentage of private land was relatively small, no more than one-third of the total land.[56]

Bowman summarizes, "The advent of Roman Emperor-worship brought no fundamental change here . . ."[57] and in terms of the king's divinity, he points to the example of Vespasian who, when acclaimed emperor in late 69 CE, accepted acclamation "in the hippodrome at Alexandria as benefactor, son of Ammon, Sarapis incarnate."[58] Roman emperors were depicted on temple walls such as the temple of Hathor at Denderah, wearing traditional royal headgear such as the nemes head-dress and the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, both of which also had associations with divinities.[59] On coinage, the emperor was "divus," the god, and had his own cult. Adopting pharaonic epithets, Octavian was the "beautiful child, beloved for his amiability, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of the Sun, eternally living Caesar beloved of Ptah and Isis."[60] Also like the Pharaoh, the Emperor was chief priest or pontifex maximus.

In all these ways, then, it was just as appropriate for the king to intercede on behalf of his people under Rome as it had been under the earlier pharaohs. His role had not changed in the relevant aspects. We have already seen that the Roman emperor-as-pharaoh frequently appears presenting offerings to the gods in temples.

53 Simon P. Ellis, *Graeco-Roman Egypt*, (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 1992) 13.

54 Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson, *The Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, "Romans", (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003) 246.

55 Bowman, 38; Ellis, 13; Shaw and Nicholson, 246.

56 For example, Jane Rowlandson, "The Organisation of Public Land in Roman Egypt", *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et de l'Egyptologie de Lille* 25 (2005), 173-196. Bowman (1989), 77, quotes percentages of privately held land in a couple of specific areas in Egypt. For land tenure in Egypt before the Roman period, see Sally L. D. Katary, "Land Tenure (to the End of the Ptolemaic Period)," in Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich, chief eds., The *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, online edition, 2012

57 Bowman, 217.

58 Bowman, 42

59 For a detailed discussion of the *nemes* head-dress see Katja Goebs, "Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des *nms*", *ZÄS* 122 (1905), 154–181. While Goebs' discussion uses examples from pharaonic times, there is every reason to believe that this traditional apparel of kings continued to be a royal/divine attribute under Roman rule.

60 As quoted in Edith Flammarion, *Cleopatra: The Life and Death of a Pharaoh*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997), 105.

Therefore, we can conclude that it was just as meaningful under Roman rule to have the emperor-as-king advocate on behalf of the deceased as it had been in pharaonic times.

The Principal Tomb Reliefs in Context

The theory presented here is that the images of the king in the Principal Tomb are a visual presentation of the offering formula. To verify this, we must be able to show that it applies consistently within the overall context of the Principal Tomb reliefs and then confirm that it also applies to other Roman period examples, specifically the images of the king in the Tigrane Tomb and the Persephone Tomb in the Nebengrab, or Hall of Caracalla. The Nebengrab is immediately adjacent to the Catacombs, and often considered a part of the complex; the Tigrane Tomb is located in the grounds of Kom el-Shoqafa, where it was relocated from its original site in Alexandria’s Tigrane Pasha Street.

Figure 3b is a composite image that shows the layout of all the reliefs in the Principal Tomb area, so they can be viewed as a whole. The rationale for this is that the decorative scheme of the Principal Tomb gives clear evidence of having been designed not as individual scenes but as a unity, executed by a single team of sculptors. Therefore, to the extent that the images do not conform to Egyptian pharaonic traditions, it can at least be expected that the imagery will show some consistency from panel to panel, and Figure 3b will hopefully make this clearer.

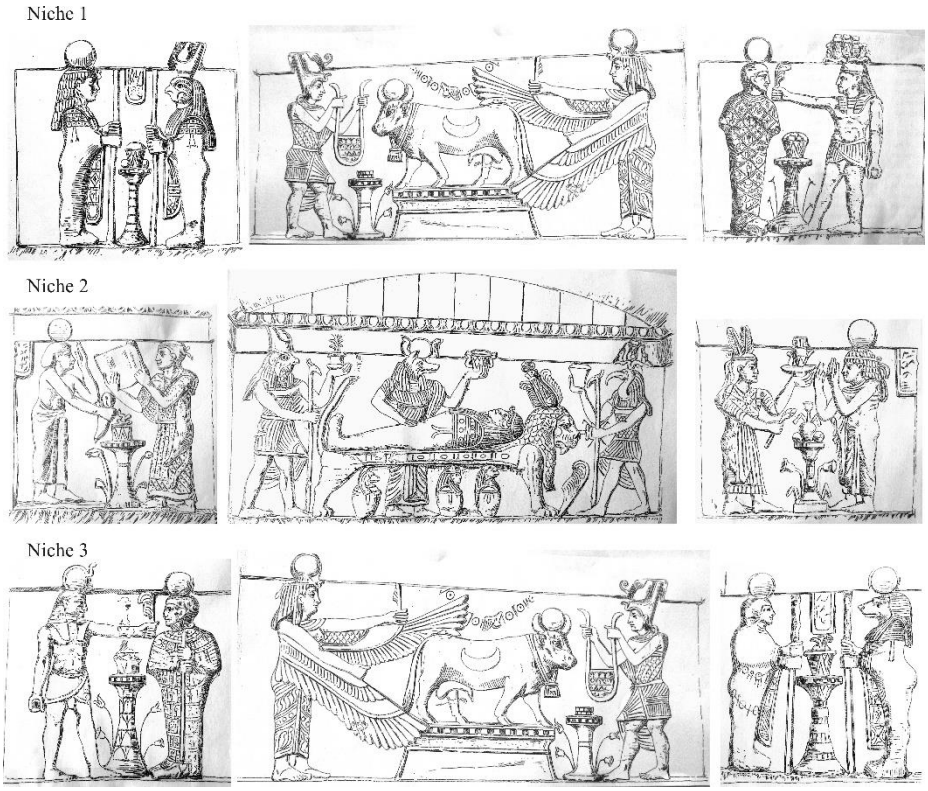


Figure 3b: The Principal Tomb reliefs

Looking at the two opposing niches that feature the Apis bull/Serapis (Niches 1 and 3), the symmetry of the design is clear. Each of these main scenes is flanked by lateral walls that appear complementary, and one of the lateral panels on each side features the king, presenting a feather. The feather is the feather of ma’at and it emphasizes that the deceased has been judged “true of voice” or “justified,” worthy of joining the gods in the afterlife.

These two lateral panels show the mummy on the right (Niche 1) and the king on the left (Niche 3), both with solar disks above their heads. The solar disk indicates that just

as the king is a deity—Horus on earth—the deceased is also a god now that he has been justified.

The solar disk also appears in the two other scenes on the lateral walls of Niche 1 and 3. Again, the solar disks indicate deification, and are being used almost in the same way as Christian halos centuries later were used to indicate sanctity.[61] On the left side, Niche 1, the deceased faces the Son of Horus, Hapi, while opposite this in Niche 3, he faces another of the Sons of Horus, Qebehsenuef.

We noted above that the king in the lateral panel of Niche 3 also has a sun-disk with a uraeus above his head. While this is similar to the same symbol worn by the god Horus in some circumstances, Horus appears in the central Niche 2 scene, beside the Niche 3 panel, in his typical form of a hawk-headed, not human-headed, man and wearing a tripartite wig surmounted by the pschent or double crown instead of the expected nemes head-dress. Therefore, it is clear that the figure in Niche 3 is the king, not Horus. Further, there are a number of pharaonic precedents for the sun-disk appearing over the head of the king. Two such examples date to the reigns of Seti I and Rameses II while another dates to Ramesses III.[62]

The King as Offerer: The Tigrane Tomb

The Tigrane Tomb offers a test of the theory that the king appears as a visual offering formula, to present offerings to the gods on behalf of the deceased. The Tigrane Tomb, now located in the grounds of the Kom el-Shoqafa catacombs, appears to date to approximately the same period as the Principal Tomb in the catacombs (late 1st to early 2nd century).

It was noted earlier that Venit (2002) questioned the association of the nemes head-dress with the king in Roman times, giving her view that two male figures in the Tigrane Tomb who wear the nemes actually depict not a king but rather initiates of the Isiac rites (Fig. 4).[63] The two images are located on pillars facing each other before the burial chamber. In favour of this, Venit argued that the two figures are garbed

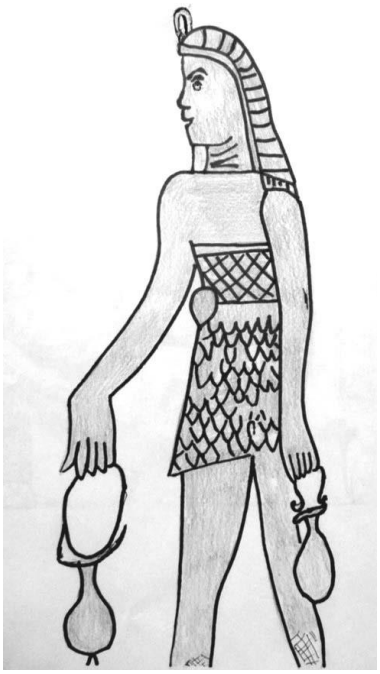


Fig. 4: Tigrane tomb figure, line drawing by E. Crabtree

61 The author is far from being the first to observe this connection. See e.g. G. Gietmann, "Christian Halo", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume XI, Nihil Obstat, February 1, 1911. Online at http://mb-soft.com/believe/txw/halo.htm**,** accessed 29-02-2020.

62 I am indebted to Prof. Ed Meltzer for bringing these examples to my attention. One is published in Ed Meltzer, "Getting to Know the Museum's Collections", in *Ancient News*, California Museum of Ancient Art, 7. Another (Seti I) can be seen in Nicholas Reeves, *The Complete Valley of the King*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996) 136. The king has the identical sun-disk with uraeus curled around it. A third shows Rameses III and appears in Aidan Dodson and Dyan Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004) 175.

63 Venit (2002), 148.

in nemes headdresses fronted with loops that might be intended as uraei and wear short garments bound about their pectorals and tied with a sash around their waists. Small lines at their chins indicate false beards. In each hand they carry round, footed vessels with bale (or "bail") handles, painted a thinned black that may have been intended to represent silver.

There are several reasons for doubting that the figures represent anything other than a king. First, as noted previously, the nemes is always worn by either a divinity or by the king (who is himself a divinity). This association firmly establishes the nemes as one of the standard royal headdresses. Famously, Hadrian had his deceased favourite Antinous depicted wearing the nemes to signify his deification.[64] Further, many Roman emperors were depicted wearing it on Egyptian monuments. It is hard to imagine any of the early emperors—Augustus, Vespasian, Hadrian—accepting depictions of the common man sporting a royal attribute.

Secondly, initiates of Isis are both pictured and described at the same period in which the Catacombs were active. Apuleius (ca. 124–170 CE) described an actual Isiac procession, "a great crowd of the Goddess's initiates . . . their pure white linen clothes shining brightly . . . the men's heads were completely shaven representing the Goddess's bright earthly stars, and they carried rattles of brass, silver and even gold . . ."[65] They were not wearing the nemes. A famous fresco from the Temple of Isis at Pompeii, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, likewise shows her worshipers wearing white and with shaven heads. There is no contemporary evidence found that shows Isiac initiates wearing the nemes.

On the other hand, there is indeed a connection with Isis in these two images, namely the situla that both the figures carry. To refer again to Apuleius, he notes that this vessel was sacred to Isis and carried in procession by the high priest (again, not by a mere initiate).

In her 2015 follow-up book, Venit seemed to have modified her "Isis Adherent" hypothesis. In it she no longer claims that the figures represent initiates of Isis. Rather, she says, "the figures in the much smaller Tigrane Tomb . . . represent an 'Egyptian figure' coupled with intimations of royalty . . ."[66] Venit cannot quite bring herself to admit that the figure is a king.

If one accepts that these figures with kingly attributes are indeed representations of the king, as they appear to be, it is clear that once again the king is carrying offerings, this time the situlae, objects that are pleasing to Isis. The intention once again is to curry favour with the gods in order to assist the spirit of the deceased in becoming one with the gods and he does this in his role as intermediary between men and gods. That they are being presented by the king is also consistent with what is known, since just like the high priest in Apuleius, the king is pontifex maximus.

In summary, the artists were in reality depicting the king in a role that he had carried out for millennia, irrespective of their depth of understanding of Egyptian traditions and beliefs.

64 Currently in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio, the statue has been pictured many times. One can be seen in James Stevens Curl, *The Egyptian Revival,* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 50.
65 Apuleius, trans. Robert Graves, *The Golden Ass* (New York: Penguin, 1980), 232.
66 Venit (2015), 79.

A Final Question

Why, it must be asked, would the offering formula not simply be written? After all, that was the most common way of communicating it in previous times.

Underlying this may be the fact that, at least in this late period and in Alexandria, literacy in hieroglyphs was limited. Curl notes that as early as the reign of Claudius, meaningless hieroglyphs were being used by Romans to suggest Egypt.[67] There is little text anywhere in the catacombs, of any kind, and what there is strongly suggests that the sculptors knew little of hieroglyphs.[68] An example of what passes for hieroglyphs can be seen several places in cartouches. Figure 5 shows two examples from the Principal Tomb. Others appear in the Persephone Tomb in the Nebengrab.[69] The cartouches have been referred to as "pseudo-hieroglyphs."[70] It appears that while the artist knew that there ought to be cartouches in Egyptian-style scenes, and that there should be script inside them, just what that script should look like was beyond his ken. In this the artists of the day did not always have help from their Ptolemaic predecessors, whose monuments sometimes bore cartouches that were left empty, presumably due to the tumultuous and uncertain nature of the reigns of the later Ptolemies.[71]

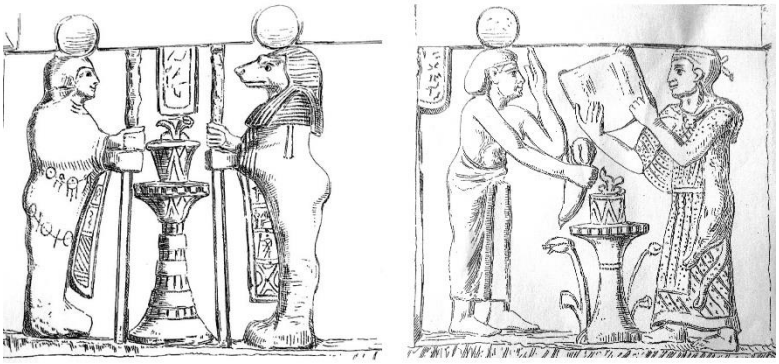


Fig. 5: Cartouches with pseudo-hieroglyphs, drawings by Gilliéron, in F. von Bissing (1901)

There is another aspect of this. In a recent presentation, Heather McCarthy noted that text was not necessarily included in all tomb representations.[72] As an example, she notes that Chapter 180 of the Book of the Dead is illustrated with images accompanied by text in QV 66, the tomb of Nefertari, while in the contemporaneous tomb of Neferrenpet, TT335, the same scene appears without text. Clearly, with or without the text, the image was seen as just as efficacious for the spirit of the deceased. Similarly, Guimier-Sorbets et al. conclude that those commissioning the Principal Tomb and the painted tombs in the

[67] Curl (2003) 11.

[68] Empereur (1995), 11 refers to them as "crude squiggles by an artist who was ignorant of the script".

[69] Guimier-Sorbets et al., show at least two examples, Figures 89 and 94, pages 60 and 63 respectively.

[70] Guimier-Sorbets et al., use the term, 64, 70, 75, 111

[71] Commented on e.g. by Richard H. Wilkinson regarding the temple of Denderah in *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000) 149.

[72] Heather L. McCarthy, "The Book of the Dead at Deir el-Medina: Preliminary Observations and Findings", presentation to ARCE Symposium, April 18, 2020, and brief written summary of these details: "Ramesside Queen's Tombs", *Scribe*, Spring 2020, ARCE, 56–57.

Hall of Caracalla must have been “much less concerned with the authenticity of signs that they could not read than with their formal presence within the religious imagery.”[73]

And an Exception

There is one example in the Catacombs for which there does not seem to be any pharaonic precedent. This is an image in the so-called Persephone Tomb in the adjacent complex, the Hall of Caracalla or Nebengrab that we have referred to. The scene is a traditional Egyptian funeral scene: the mummified deceased lies in the centre on a funerary bed, while Anubis performs rituals over the body. One goddess stands at the head of the body, another at the foot, although they are not wearing their usual hieroglyphic signs on their heads. The god Horus appears at the right side of the scene. However, in the Catacombs version of what is otherwise a traditional funerary scene, the king is depicted on the far left, balancing Horus.

This is unusual because here the king is actually filling a funerary role that is outside of the bounds of tradition. It is the only example the author is aware of, showing the king in a newly minted role as a funerary deity. This appears to be a unique example, peculiar to this Romano-Egyptian tomb.

Summation

To return to the initial question, the reason that the king appears in the Catacombs is to help the deceased gain admission to the afterlife. He does this by virtue of his godhood, which enables him effectively to offer gifts to the other gods on the behalf of the deceased, just as he does in the offering formula. The king also attests to the merits of the deceased. In the New Kingdom examples, he is depicted praising, rewarding, and otherwise showing the worthiness of the deceased for the gods to see. Similarly, in the Principal Tomb he is depicted presenting the Feather of Truth, as testimony that the deceased is *mꜣʿ ḫrw*, true of voice.

Far from being a Roman-era innovation, a commemoration of some Roman emperor, or merely random Egyptianizing decoration, this is evidence of the tenacity of pharaonic funerary traditions. The fact that traditions such as the divinity of the king and the king as chief priest and intermediary with the gods was consistent with the beliefs surrounding the Roman emperor, may have helped ensure that related practices endured.

This is not to say that all the nuances of the symbolism were understood by Alexandria’s citizens; there are many examples throughout the imagery in Alexandria’s tombs that clearly demonstrate some loss of knowledge of the pharaonic symbolism and traditions, not to mention the loss of the old artistic canons. What is perhaps more remarkable than this is the extent to which they continued, despite hundreds of years of foreign occupation.

Finally, it should be added that there are many aspects of the imagery in the Catacombs and other Alexandrian tombs that require further study. The present analysis has been deliberately kept to a narrow focus. Hopefully, a broader study can be carried out

[73] Guimier-Sorberts et al., 112–113

in the context of pharaonic traditions, not with the starting assumption that under Roman rule, everything was suddenly remade and no longer Egyptian.

Much 20th century Egyptological scholarship tended to regard Greco-Roman Egypt and its monuments as not quite Egyptian enough, less worthy of study. Aldred considered Greco-Roman era reliefs "deplorable" from an artistic standpoint.[74] Books on ancient Egypt often took the reader no further than the end of the Late Period.[75] Museums have tended to place artefacts from the Greco-Roman period in a separate department from ancient Egyptian items,[76] mirroring the divide in academia where universities still locate "Classics" in one department and Egyptology in another. It is unsurprising that, in this intellectual climate, scholars taking an interest in the remains of Alexandria have more often been trained in Classics and less in ancient Egypt.[77] Bowman alluded to this in his 1988 preface to *Egypt After the Pharaohs*, where he made a point of commenting on the continuity between pharaonic Egypt and Greco-Roman,[78] and that ". . . there is no recent account in English which tries . . . to see the impact of the presence of the Greeks and Romans in Egypt against the backdrop of the Egyptian tradition."[79] The prevailing thinking seems to be shifting, and my hope is that this article may stimulate further reappraisal.

74 Cyril Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 240.
75 To name two: Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961); Cyril Aldred, *The Egyptians* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987).
76 One example with which I am personally acquainted is the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Canada, which opened in 1914.
77 As two examples, Evaristo Breccia, professor of Roman and Classical History, and Achille Adriani, not even mentioned in the 1977 edition of *Who Was Who in Egyptology*.
78 Bowman, 234.
79 Bowman, 7.

Table 3 IMAGES OF THE KING IN PRIVATE TOMBS							
TOMB	**OWNER**	**DYNASTY**	**REIGN**	**KING'S ROLE**			
				As Part of the Deceased's Life	**As the Founder God**	**Offering on Behalf of Deceased**	**Other**
TT5	Neferabet	20	Not known		Amenhotep offering to Meretseger		
TT23	Tjay	18	Amenhotep III	D. being decorated with gold chains by the king			
TT40	Huye	18	Tuthmosis III	D. presenting Syrian tribute to enthroned king			
TT42	Amenmose	18	Not known	D. displaying Asiatic tribute to the king			
TT48	Surer (Amenemhat)	18	Amenhotep III	King enthroned			
TT49	Neferhotep	18	Aye	Aye leans out of Window of Appearances, confers gold of honour on D.	D. worshiping deified king Amenhotep I and Queen as town patrons		
TT50	Neferhotep	18	Horemheb	D. being decorated by king			
TT51	Userhat	19	Tuthmosis I	D. standing in the presence of King Tuthmosis, for whom he was First Prophet			
TT56	Userhet	18	Amenhotep II	D. offering gifts to the King			
TT55	Ramose	18	Amenhotep IV	D. being decorated by king			
TT57	Khaemhet	18	Amenhotep III	D. presenting a report on the harvest to Amenhotep III			

Table 3 IMAGES OF THE KING IN PRIVATE TOMBS, continued							
TOMB	**OWNER**	**DYNASTY**	**REIGN**	**KING'S ROLE**			
				As Part of the Deceased's Life	**As the Founder God**	**Offering on Behalf of Deceased**	**Other**
TT65	Imisib	20	Rameses IX			King sacrificing to the sacred bark of Amun	
TT76	Tjema	18	Tuthmosis IV	D. bringing representatives into presence of Tuthmosis IV			
TT78	Horemheb	18	Tuthmosis IV	D. bringing tribute and contributions from peasants to the king			
TT84	Emunedjeh	18	Tuthmosis III	Representatives bringing tribute to King			
TT85	Amenhab	18	Tuthmosis III	D. describing his role in Syrian campaign to King under a canopy			
TT89	Amenmose	18	Amenhotep III	D. in the form of an ankh-shaped fan-bearer presenting a fan to the king. Scene 2: D. presents tribute from the Aegean, Nubians and Syrians to enthroned king			
TT93	Kenamun	18	Amenhotep II	King enthroned, receiving gifts			King as an infant being nursed
TT100	Rekhmire	18	Tuthmosis III	King as attired as Osiris, telling Rekhmire his duties as Vizier			

Table 3 IMAGES OF THE KING IN PRIVATE TOMBS, continued							
TOMB	**OWNER**	**DYNASTY**	**REIGN**	**KING'S ROLE**			
				As Part of the Deceased's Life	**As the Founder God**	**Offering on Behalf of Deceased**	**Other**
TT181	Nebamun & Ipuki	18	Not known		D. worshiping deified king Amenhotep I and Queen as town patrons		
TT192	Kheruef	18	Amenhotep III, IV	D. awarded a gold collar by king		King offering incense to gods, in text and images	
TT250	Ramose	18			D. praying to Amenhotep I		
TT279	Pabasa	26	Psamtek I			D. and king offering to Re-Harakhte	
TT359	Inher-kha	20	Rameses III/IV		D. worshipping Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari and other kings as deities		
TT409	Samaut	19	Rameses II			King pictured on a shrine offering to Amun-Re	
TOTAL TOMBS		**# Dyn 18**					
25		**19 / 76%**		**18 / 72%**	**5 / 20%**	**4 / 16%**	**1 / 4%**

Book Reviews

J. Fr. Quack and K. Ryholt
Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond, The Carlsberg Papyri 1

CNI Publications 36
Copenhagen. 2019. Text: V–XIV, 535 pages + 55 plates

The publication presents 49 papyri to the scientific community, most of which are edited for the first time. The mostly Demotic material was divided into religious, literary, divinatory, astronomical, medical, ethnographic, onomastic, wisdom, and narrative texts. The main mass comes from the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection, with fragments and parallels from other collections being added. Most of the texts belonged to the Roman temple library of Tebtunis, which were completed by four manuscripts from Soknopaiou Nesos. The origin of 8 manuscripts could not be determined. The chapters were either written separately or together by the two authors under content headings, the texts being numbered according to the following scheme:

Text 1: P.Carlsberg 416+PSI Inv. D. 86 (Tebtunis, 2. cen. AD, verso; recto: Greek tax payments to state administration): theological tractate
The writing of "*ḫpr*" "to come into existence" with the determinative "Man with hand on mouth" in Fragment 2 (8) deserves an extra mention. The plant world and the effects of the sun on it seems to play an important role (11). The teaching of the four elements is evidently developed speculatively (22).

6: in the case of the word "*šwy*" it can also be "*šwiṯ*" "grass", for this writing cf. G. Fecht, Der Vorwurf an Gott in den Mahnworten des Ipu-wer (Pap. Leiden I 344) (Heidelberg, 1972), 231; J. Janssen, Three Mysterious Ostraca, in: M. Collier/St. Snape (Eds.), Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen (Bolton, 2011), 266.

Text 2: P.Carlsberg 652 (Tebtunis, 1./2. cent. AD, verso; recto: Demotic dekanologion (?)): praise of Isis, manuscript 1
Text 3: PSI Inv. D 79+P. Tebtunis Tait 14+P.Carlsberg 130+P.CtYBR inv. 4390(19)+ 4805(18) (Tebtunis, 1./2. cent. AD; recto; verso: text 48): praise of Isis, manuscript 2
Fragment 4 of text 3 indicates that the praise of the goddess was triggered by her intervention in a happy navigation (57).
Text 4: P.Hamburg D 33 (Fayum (?), 1./2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Demotic school text (?): praise of Isis, manuscript 3
Text 5: P.Carlsberg 79+PSI Inv. D 80 (Tebtunis, 1. cent. BC.-1. cent. AD.; recto; verso: Demotic accounts): Isis, Thot and Arian, manuscript 1
The text is written with an extremely thin tube spring, which can be traced for Demotic literary texts, especially from the middle of the 1. cent. AD (78). The palaeography shows similarities to Papyrus Berkley U.C. 1826 (Tebtunis 227) from the 1. cent. BC (78). The

letters presented in the wording form an essential structural element of the composition (113). The layout with section starts clearly marked by blank lines can be found also in the Sakkara papyri from the 4.-3. cent. BC (113). In nature, the death of Osiris involves a reaction of cosmic sympathy, which manifests itself in the destruction of the order of heavenly phenomena (114). The person of Arian is apparently interpreted as foreign supporter of Isis (120–122).

Text 6: P.Carlsberg 621+PSI Inv. D 81+pMichigan 6397h (Tebtunis, 1./2. cent. AD., recto; verso: empty): Isis, Thot and Arian, manuscript 2

The god Thot occurs as father of Isis, which is more common, especially for the Roman Period (115). The text could offer the first Egyptian evidence for the Afghan city of Kabul (123). The "Land of Women" appears, which was previously mostly documented in the Amazon tale (124).

Text 7: P.CtYBR inv. 4418 (1) (Tebtunis, 1./2. cent. AD, verso; recto: Greek file): Isis, Thot and Arian, manuscript 3

Text 8: P.Carlsberg 887+P.CtYBR inv. 484 (Tebtunis, 1./2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Greek census declaration): adultery at an orgy

The stichic writing of the text seems to speak for a poetic content (140). The sexual episode between a woman and a man could refer to the affair between Nephthys and Osiris (146).

Text 9: PSI inv. D 67 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: written in Greek): catalogue of ritual manuals

Text 10: P.CtYBR inv. 422vo (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: written in Greek): astrological manual

Among other things, the text deals with the signs of the zodiac (171). The age of the composition can be dated to Necho II. (610–595 BC) (171).

Text 11: P.Lund inv. 2058 vo (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: written in Greek): astrological manual

Text 12: P.Carlsberg 490+PSI inv. D 56 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD, recto; verso: empty): handbook for dream interpretation

The writer jumps back and forth between the Hieratic and Demotic writing of "*pr-ꜥ3*" (186).

Text 13: P.Carlsberg 649+P. CtYBR inv. 1154+PSI inv. D 78 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD, verso; recto: written in Greek): handbook for dream interpretation

210: for the word "*ḫf3w*" "snake-like fish" cf. Chr. Leitz, Tagewählerei, Das Buch *ḥ3.t nḥḥ pḥ.wy ḏ.t* und verwandte Texte, Textband, ÄgAb 55 (Wiesbaden, 1994), 295.

212: to derive the "*grš*"-Schlange cf. the alternative from the Northwest-Semitic root "*grš*" "to drive out" at R. C. Steiner, Early Northwest-Semitic Serpent Spells in the Pyramid Texts, Harvard Semitic Studies 61 (Winona Lake, 2011), 14 n. 68.

Text 14: PSI inv. D 61 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD, recto; verso: empty): handbook for dream interpretation

The protaseis of the conditional sentences obviously allude to the sky (218).

Text 15: P.Carlsberg 13 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD, recto; verso: empty): handbook for dream interpretation

Text 16: P.Carlsberg 14+P.CtYBR inv. 4530+PSI Inv. D 76 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD, verso; recto: written in Greek): handbook for dream interpretation

Text 17: P.Carlsberg 677 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. BC, recto and verso): sand divination
Text 18: P.Carlsberg 253 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. BC, recto; verso ?): sand divination
Text 19: P.Carlsberg 611 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. BC, recto; verso: empty): sand divination
Text 20: P.Bodleian MS. Egypt.d.16(P)+P.Bodleian MS. Egypt.e.2(P) (?, 3./2. cent. BC ?, recto; verso: empty): sand divination
Text 21: P.Mil.Vogl.inv.Dem 93 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD, recto; verso: empty): handbook for animal omina
The text reports about the involuntary contact of women with geckos and is therefore close to P. Berlin P. 15680 (271)
Text 22: P.Carlsberg 666+PSI Inv. D 87 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD, verso; recto: written in Greek): forecast for a disaster year
The main importance concerns apparently heavenly phenomena (280). The text shows parallels to Papyrus Fayum ined. 24/19, where there are also forecasts for numbered years (281).

275: in view of the lack of evidence for the connection of "*ṯni*" "excellent" and the Nile, it should be considered, whether it is not a writing for "*ṯśi*" "to rise", for the writing "*ṯni*" for "*ṯśi*" cf. K. Jansen-Winkeln, Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie, Teil 1: Übersetzung und Kommentar, ÄAT 8 (Wiesbaden, 1985), 146, the combination of "*ṯśi*" "to rise" and the Nile is very common.

Text 23: P.Carlsberg 585+PSI Inv. D 83+P. Florence MA 11918 (Tebtunis, early 2. cent. AD, recto; verso: empty): "Losorakel", manuscript 1
The hand shows great similarities to pCarlsberg 448 (286).
Text 24: P.Berlin P 23499 (Fayum, 1./2. cent. AD, recto; verso: written in Greek): "Losorakel", manuscript 2
Text 25: PSI Inv. D 85 (Tebtunis, 1./2. cent. AD, verso; recto: Greek documents): "Losorakel", manuscript 3
Text 26: P.Carlsberg 143 (Tebtunis, 1./2. cent. AD, verso; recto: Greek accounts): "Losorakel", manuscript 4
The angular typeface indicates the same writer as the one in P.Carlsberg 416 (304).
Text 27: P.Carlsberg 694+PSI Inv. D 84 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD, recto; verso: empty): "Losorakel", manuscript 5
Text 28: P.Wien D 6117 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 1./2. cent. Ad; recto; verso: empty): "Losorakel", manuscript 6
Text 29: P.Michigan inv. 6124+6131 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Greek customs register): "Losorakel", manuscript 7
The earlier interpretation of the Old Coptic text as horoscope has become obsolete due to the Demotic fragments published in parallel (315). The lambdacisms of the text speak for a Fayyumic origin (327).
Text 30: P.Berlin P. 23701 (Elephantine, Ptolemaic or Roman; recto; verso: empty): "Losorakel", objects of the practice
Text 31: P.Carlsberg 31+PSI inv. D 58 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; recto; verso: Demotic text): astronomical text and table

The text can be compared with P.Carlsberg 32 and an unpublished Berlin Papyrus regarding the use of red ink (356). The text uses the sign "*w*" instead of the usual vertical line for writing the number "1" (357).

Text 32: P.Carlsberg 310+311, + PSI inv. I 91+110,+P. Firenze ME 11922+11925,+P.Berlin P 2351 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Hieratic): indexed herbal

The text emphasises the colour and smell of the plants (375).

374: for the identification of the "*bb.t*"-plant with Inula from the daisy family cf. W. Westendorf, Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin, 1. Band, HdO, Erste Abteilung, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, Sechsunddreißigster Band (Leiden–Boston–Köln, 1999), 498; Chr. Theis, Magie und Raum, Der magische Schutz ausgewählter Räume im alten Ägypten nebst einem Vergleich angrenzender Kulturbereiche, ORA 13 (Tübingen, 2014), 319.

Text 33: PSI inv. D 88+P.Carlsberg 827 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Greek): ethnographic tract

The content, so far unique for Egypt, refers to the natural resources of the countries as well as clothing, language and burial customs of the population (380).

Text 34: P.Carlsberg 594+P.CtYBR inv. 1173+4922,+PSI inv. D 62 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Greek): onomasticon to professions

Text 35: P.Carlsberg 140 vo (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso: Greek): onomasticon to professions

Text 36: P.Carlsberg 595+PSI inv. D 63 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Greek): onomasticon to plants

Text 37: P.Carlsberg 43+PSI inv. D 64 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; recto; verso: empty): onomastikon to plants

Text 38: P.Carlsberg 204vo (Tebtunis, 1./2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Hieratic): list of gods

Text 39: P.Carlsberg 2+pBerlin 23824+23825+pLille IPEL o. Nr (Soknopaiou Nesos ?, 1./2. cent. AD.; recto; verso: empty): wisdom text

Text 40: P.Carlsberg 3+PSI Inv. D. 97 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Greek): wisdom text

Text 41: P.Carlsberg 4 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso, recto: Demotic): wisdom text

Text 42: P.Carlsberg 5+PSI Inv. D 98+P.Florence MA 11928+P.CtYBR inv. 4403 (11)+ P.Berkeley 39+40+41 (Tebtunis, 1. cent. AD; recto; verso: Hieratic, empty): wisdom text

Text 43: P.Carlsberg 560+P.Florence MA 11928 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Greek): wisdom text

Text 44: P.Carlsberg 561 (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Greek): wisdom text

Text 45: P.Michigan inv. 3854a+pBerlin P. 29007+P.Aberdeen inv. 178 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 1./2. cent. AD; recto; verso: Greek): wisdom text

Text 46: PSI inv. 1439+2185,+PSI inv. 15 add+P.Carlsberg 304 add (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Greek): story of Chasheshonqy

Text 47: PSI inv. 1730vo (Tebtunis, 2. cent. AD; verso; recto: Greek): narrative text

Text 48: PSI Inv. D 79+P.Tebt. Tait 14+P.Carlsberg 130+P.CtYBR inv. 4390(19)+4805(18) Tebtunis, 1./2. cent. AD; verso; recto: text 3 in this book): story about priests from Heliopolis
Text 49: P.Carlsberg 470 (Fayum?, 1. cent. BC-1. cent. AD, verso; recto: Greek and Demotic): Inaros story

The reviewer´s final impression can be summed up as follows: The book fulfils all the demands that are required of a good text edition. The translations are characterized by great accuracy. The readings leave nothing to be desired.

–Stefan Bojowald

Daniel von Recklinghausen et Martin Andreas Stadler (éd.) *KultOrte. Mythen, Wissenschaft und Alltag in den Tempeln Ägyptens*

Manetho Verlag. 2011. 255 pages, 83 photos des pièces exposées, 81 figures.

Bien qu'il s'agisse du catalogue d'une exposition, sa présentation déroge aux règles encore souvent en vigueur dans ce domaine, mais qui paraissent aujourd'hui de plus en plus désuètes. Le volume propose en fait une progression pédagogique qui, de chapitre en chapitre, expose les principales facettes du temple égyptien, dans ses activités religieuses, ses activités économiques, tout comme dans sa conception architecturale ou la conception matérielle de son décor. Les objets présentés viennent ici en appui de l'exposé; ils s'insèrent dans le texte sans géométrie rébarbative et font, quantitativement, part égale avec d'autres illustrations venant éclairer le propos. Cette mise en écho, en quelque sorte, de ces objets souvent modestes leur restitue, outre un contexte culturel, une importance qu'ils n'auraient pas aux yeux du visiteur d'un musée où leur alignement, parmi bien d'autres, n'accrocherait guère le regard. Les musées comme les expositions ont souvent la tentation, après tout légitime, de mettre en exergue ce qui est le plus beau ou le plus étonnant. Le mérite du présent catalogue est de montrer que des vestiges modestes, voire mal conservés, peuvent souvent nous en apprendre autant sur les gestes, les pratiques ou la mentalité d'une civilisation, d'une culture, que les chefs-d'œuvre.

Chaque chapitre est rédigé par un spécialiste de la question traitée ce qui donne à l'ensemble une assise solide et variée. L'introduction, signée par les deux éditeurs du catalogue, rappelle que les deux villes où l'exposition est présentée, Würzburg et Tübingen, abritent des équipes d'égyptologie travaillant activement sur des projets dont le temple égyptien, sa décoration, ses textes et son fonctionnement, forment l'objet central. Le premier chapitre (pages 18–45), rédigé par Holger Kockelmann, expose les principes directeurs de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler « la grammaire du temple ». Le temple, à la fois modèle réduit du cosmos et théologie de pierre, ne livre au visiteur qui le parcourt que des bribes de ce qu'il est dans sa totalité. La structure architecturale, tout comme la

décoration, obéissent à un schéma minutieusement pensé dont les éléments se répondent ; elles reflètent pour qui sait les lire aujourd'hui les moments du culte et informent sur la fonction des différents espaces du temple. C'est précisément aux rituels et aux fêtes qui s'y déroulent que s'intéresse Martin Andreas Stadler (pages 48–71). Le Rituel journalier, complexe, nous est connu par de nombreuses versions qui en décrivent les étapes, tout en présentant des variantes selon les lieux et les époques. L'essentiel consiste, tout d'abord, à ouvrir le naos scellé où la statue divine a passé la nuit. On commence par lui adresser diverses prières en se prosternant devant lui. On procède ensuite à sa toilette et on lui change ses vêtements. Suivent des libations, des fumigations et une copieuse présentation d'offrandes. Il s'agit là d'un schéma général susceptible d'adaptations diverses. La vie du temple, bien que fortement impliquée dans ce rituel qui se déroulait normalement en trois étapes (matin, midi et soir), n'était pas refermée seulement sur le dieu et ses prêtres-serviteurs dans un isolement sacralisé. L'ensemble des fidèles, qui n'avaient pas accès aux parties ritualisées du temple, devait participer à la vie religieuse. À cet effet la divinité devait paraître hors de l'espace qui lui était réservé à l'occasion de différentes fêtes et lors de processions donnant lieu à des réjouissances populaires. L'Auteur rappelle également que l'exercice des charges sacerdotales pouvait générer des conflits entre différents titulaires, litiges qui se réglaient par une consultation du dieu lui-même qui rendait son oracle. Les temples des époques tardives (Dendara, Edfou, Kom Ombo, Esna, entre autres), les mieux conservés et les plus abondamment décorés, nous font connaître une quantité de textes dont la variété est résumée par Christian Leitz (pages 73–89). Hymnes, récits mythiques, encyclopédies religieuses nous révèlent une riche littérature dont, malheureusement, peu de témoins ont survécu. Les tableaux d'offrande décorant les parois des temples, peu prolixes aux époques anciennes, livrent maintenant une quantité d'informations théologiques expliquant et justifiant le geste d'offrande de façon pérenne. Plus durable, moins fragile que le papyrus, la pierre des murs a contribué à la conservation d'un savoir sacerdotal dont la masse reste encore largement à exploiter. Le personnage du prêtre, à la fois officiant et érudit, intéresse Daniel von Recklinghausen (pages 91–115). En tant que lettré, il appartient à une petite élite minoritaire qui détient et perpétue le savoir écrit dont il est, finalement, le gardien. Il peut étudier les textes, les transmettre, mais aussi les utiliser, tant pour sa pratique professionnelle que pour l'élaboration d'un nouveau savoir. Grâce à ses travaux de copie et de compilation nous pouvons aujourd'hui étudier et mieux connaître les principaux aspects de la culture égyptienne. À ce titre, au-delà de ses compétences religieuses, il finit par détenir un véritable pouvoir politique et économique. Le temple est aussi le lieu où se transcrit la légitimité du souverain puisqu'il est le seul à pouvoir approcher des dieux, les prêtres ne le faisant que par procuration. C'est donc aussi là que le culte royal peut avoir sa place. Stefen Pfeiffer (pages 117–141), en s'appuyant sur des exemples de la 18^{e} dynastie, analyse la façon dont les « pharaons » ptolémaïques et romains ont bénéficié d'une pratique ancienne qui a pu les installer dans l'espace politico-religieux égyptien. Friedhelm Hoffmann et Dieter Kessler s'intéressent à un des aspects les plus curieux des cultes tardifs, celui rendu aux animaux (pages 143–159). Modeste à l'origine, mais déjà bien attesté dans le milieu populaire de Deir el-Médineh, par exemple, il finit par prendre une ampleur nationale dont témoignent les nécropoles d'animaux

momifiés. Il est l'aboutissement, à la fois, de réflexions théologiques et de pratiques cultuelles révélatrices du rôle complexe que le monde animal joue dans la culture et les croyances égyptiennes antiques. En s'attardant sur des figures divines comme Bès, Thouéris et Harpocrate, Martin Fink (pages 161–181) montre comment des personnalités mineures du panthéon, cantonnées au domaine de la religion domestique, celle de tous les jours, ont vu leur faveur croître au fil du temps au point d'envahir toutes les couches de la société. La piété personnelle ne pouvant s'exprimer dans le secret des temples se ménageait ainsi un accès à la divinité. Toutefois il ne s'agit pas là d'une pratique s'exerçant à l'encontre de celle des temples, mais plutôt une extension, voire un complément à l'activité des prêtres. Le clergé, d'ailleurs, ménageait des espaces où la piété personnelle pouvait s'exprimer librement. Une chapelle adossée à l'arrière du sanctuaire pouvait servir à cet effet et des graffitis, laissés par les fidèles dans certains secteurs, témoignent de leur désir de contact avec les divinités du temple. Reste qu'une frontière claire entre les pratiques officielles et les pratiques privées ne peut être véritablement définie. Le temple était également au centre d'une importante activité économique. Carolin Arlt (pages 183–199) rappelle qu'il faisait fonctionner différents ateliers de production que ce soit dans le domaine alimentaire ou l'artisanat. Le texte des donations inscrit sur les parois du temple d'Edfou donne une idée de l'étendue de ses propriétés foncières à la fin de l'époque dynastique et donc de sa richesse. Jitse H.F. Dijkstra évoque enfin le destin de ces temples durant l'Antiquité tardive (pages 201–217). Le déclin progressif du paganisme égyptien a entraîné un réaménagement des sanctuaires, voire leur réaffectation avant leur abandon complet. Le temple de Louxor, par exemple, fut transformé sous Dioclétien en un fort militaire et certaines de ses parties adaptées au culte impérial. Plus tard, un culte chrétien s'installe dans l'ancien saint des saints, comme cela a été le cas dans bon nombre d'autres temples. En appendice, on trouve un glossaire de certains termes (pages 220–229) et une bibliographie (pages 230–251).

Il est difficile de rendre pleinement justice à un catalogue d'exposition, fut-il de qualité comme celui-ci. Les textes qu'il comporte s'adressent à un public très ouvert, mais restent d'une haute tenue quant à l'information contenue. C'est donc bien plus qu'un simple catalogue, c'est un ouvrage pédagogique à part entière qui peut servir de manuel d'introduction au fonctionnement et à la vie des temples égyptiens tardifs.

–Dimitri Meeks

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