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Editors:
Mladen Tomorad and
Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska

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List of Contributors

Marco Baldi (University of Pisa, Italy)
Guilherme Borges Pires (Portuguese Centre for Global History/Universidade Nova-Uaç, Portugal)
Bárbara Botelho Rodrigues (Portuguese Centre for Global History/Universidade Nova-Uaç, Portugal)
Gaëlle Chantrain (Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium)
Dan-Augustine Deac (Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania)
Eva Katarina Glazer (University of Zagreb, Croatia)
Cheryl Hart (University of Wales – Trinity Saint David, United Kingdom)
Lubica Hudáková (University of Vienna, Austria/Slovakia)
Alexander Ilin-Tomich (Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia)
Magdalena Kazimierczak (Jagiellonian University, Poland)
Agnieszka Mączyńska (Poznań Archaeological Museum, Poland)
Stefania Mainieri (University of Naples 'L'Orientale,' Italy)
Alicia Maravelia (Hellenic Institute of Egyptology & People's University of Athens, Greece**)**
Uroš Matić (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Germany/Serbia)
Susanna Moser (Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte - Trieste, Italy)
Asja Müller (University of Kiel, Germany)
Jean-Pierre Pätznick (Sorbonne - Paris IV, France)
Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska (Pułtusk Academy of Humanities, Poland)
Maria Diletta Pubblico (University of Napoli 'L'Orientale', Italy)
Carlo Rindi Nuzzolo & Irene Guidotti (Monash University, Australia/Italy)
Wael Sherbiny (Independent researcher, Belgium)
Steven Snape (Liverpool University, United Kingdom)
Magdalena Sobas (Jagiellonian University, Poland)
Danijela Stefanović (University of Belgrade, Serbia)
Helen Strudwick (Fitzwilliam Museum - University of Cambridge, United Kingdom)
Nigel Strudwick (University of Cambridge, United Kingdom)
Mykola Tarasenko (A.Yu. Krymskyi Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Ukraine)
Mladen Tomorad (University of Zagreb, Croatia)
Joyce Tyldesley (University of Manchester, United Kingdom)

Preface

In 2015 the *Seventh Central European Conference of Egyptologists*. *Egypt 2015: Perspectives of Research* was held at the University of Zagreb in Croatia. It was co-organised by two scholarly institutions: the Department of History at the Center for Croatian Studies of the University of Zagreb, Croatia (Assistant Professor dr. Mladen Tomorad), and the Department of Ancient Cultures of the Pułtusk Academy of Humanities in Pułtusk, Poland (Assistant Professor dr. Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska).

The first such conference took place in Warsaw in 1999. The idea came from Andrzej Ćwiek supported by Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska and Joanna Kociankowska-Bożek of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw. The Second and Third symposia were held in Warsaw in 2001 and 2004, and the Fourth conference was organised in Budapest in 2006 by dr. Andreas Gulyas. The Fifth Conference was hosted by the Pułtusk Academy of Humanities in Pułtusk in 2009, organised by dr. Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska, and the Sixth in Cracow by dr. Mariusz Jucha, dr. Joanna Dębowska-Ludwin and dr. Piotr Kołodziejczyk under the auspices of the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University. The next symposium will be hosted in June 2017 by the New University of Lisbon in Portugal, thanks to Prof. dr. Maria Helena Trindade Lopes.

The meetings are intended to present current research and its perspectives covering possibly all spheres of interest in present-day Egyptology.

This volume is divided into six sections in which thirty-two scholars from the fourteen different European countries cover various fields of the modern Egyptological research. The first group of five papers is devoted to language, literature and religious texts; in the second section three authors describe various themes related to art, iconography and architectural studies; the third group of papers contains four contributions on current funerary and burial studies; in the fourth (largest) section, ten authors present various articles about their recent studies on material culture and museum studies; the fifth is concerned with the history of Ancient Egypt; and in the last (sixth), two authors publish their papers about modern Egyptomania and the 19th century travellers to Egypt.

We acknowledge our sincere indebtedness to the Rector Magnificus of the Pułtusk Academy of Humanities for his support.

We would also like to thank the Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb and the Ministry of Sciences, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia for their financial support.

We express our true gratitude to Nigel Strudwick for proof-reading of the texts and his suggestions concerning the editing of this volume.

Last but not least we thank all authors for their co-operation.

21st January, 2017

Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska and Mladen Tomorad

Dedicated to the Croatian historian and Egyptologist Petar Selem
(1936-2015)

Dear professor you will be greatly missed

Section 1:
Language, Literature and Religious Texts

Time(s) in Ancient Egyptian: Perspectives of a Broad Lexical Study. The Case of *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ*

Gaëlle Chantrain

Université catholique de Louvain, Louvain, Belgium

Abstract: *I here propose to set out, by means of a case study, the first results and the further perspectives of my researches on the semantic field of time. I will thus highlight how to make a systematic lexical study on a broad corpus of texts by using the new tools, namely the online corpora. I will also explain the advantages and the difficulties of taking into account the diachronic dimension in lexical studies for a dead language like Egyptian, and the possibilities and limits of exploitation of the data.*

Keywords: *lexical semantics, linguistics, philology*

1. Introduction and methodology

The quest for meaning in Egyptian is a challenge. Indeed, lexical semantics is a new discipline in our field, and still needs a better-defined theoretical framework. The difficulty is to combine the particularities of the Egyptian language with a methodology from general linguistics.

Stéphane Polis and Jean Winand set out this difficulty and proposed a so-called 'lexical trail', in order to approach that kind of study in a more efficient way. This lexical trail is a multi-level approach, organised in five research axes: the graphematic axis, the phonematic axis, the morphematic axis, the syntagmatic axis and the semantic axis. (Fig. 1)

The methodology applied in this study observes the five axes. In the context of the present article, I shall mostly focus on the syntagmatic and the semantic axes, that is to say, on collocations, contextual and cotextual environment, and on decomposition in semantic features.

Another important point is the principle of 'exhaustiveness'. This term is, however, somewhat misleading. Indeed, when one deals with a dead language, one is totally dependent on the existing sources.

The 'exhaustiveness' must be understood in relation to a well-delimited corpus that we will take care to clearly define from the outset. It is important to always keep this reality in mind, for any scholar dealing with lexical semantics applied to Ancient Egyptian as well as for his/her readers.

However, this should not discourage us. Textual sources available for Ancient Egyptian are still numerous, and important progress has been made in the last few years in textual databases. It means that it is now possible to treat a large amount of data and to envisage broad lexical studies. Therefore electronic corpora have now become very precious tools. The two main ones are the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (TLA)[1] and *Ramses Online*[2]. If the *TLA* does not need any introduction anymore, a brief presentation of the *Ramses* database might be useful. This project, under development at the Université de Liège (Belgium), provides an annotated corpus of Late Egyptian texts. *Ramses* supplies hieroglyphic texts with a transliteration, a translation, a grammatical analysis, a bibliography and a reference list. It also comes with powerful searching facilities. Since August 2015, *Ramses* is gradually being released online[3].

Even if they remain long and quite fastidious, heuristics and the analysis of the data are nowadays greatly facilitated thanks to those electronic corpora. Indeed, it is now much faster and easier to look at a large panel of attestations, and to cross-check the data. Lexical studies on complete semantic fields, and not only on isolated lexemes, can thus now be successfully undertaken. I am using these tools in my doctoral thesis (still in progress) about the terminology of time in Ancient Egyptian.

2. Case studies

The case studies I will present here are part of the corpus I am working on within the framework of my doctoral thesis. They are the lexemes *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ*, associated to the translations 'dawn, morning, tomorrow'. I chose those cases, because their respective meaning is far from having been satisfactorily elucidated. The corpus taken into consideration here is made up of the texts from the Old until the New Kingdom; the data have been collected

[1] Dils and Feder 2013: 11-13.
[2] Winand, Polis and Rosmorduc 2016.
[3] Winand 2015a (unpublished communication).

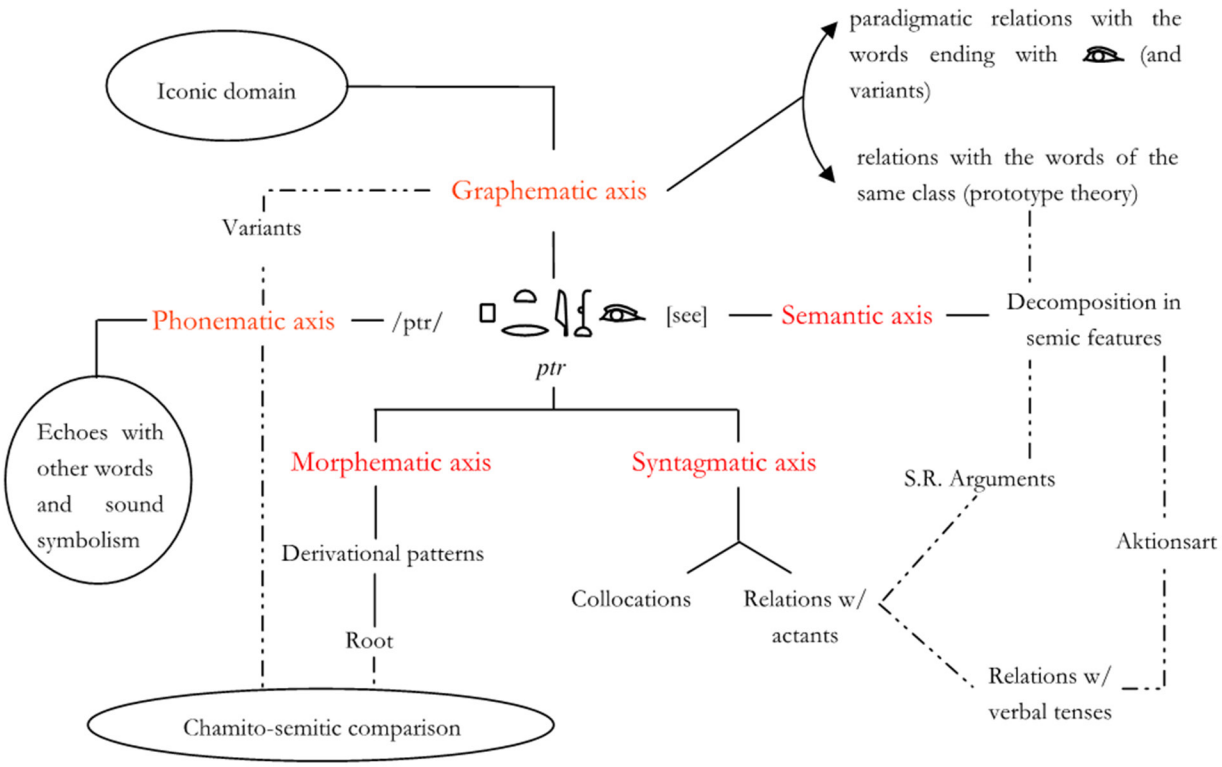


Fig. 1. Semantic Trail. After: POLIS, S. and WINAND, J. 2016: 1506.

from the *TLA* and *Ramses*. I also added the corpus of the *Coffin Texts*.

In the usual dictionaries, the following entries can be found for *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ*:

Hannig[4]:

- *dwꜣw*: 1) der Morgen, am Morgen, morgens; 2) der morgige Tag, das Morgen
- *dwꜣyt*: 1) der Morgen, die Morgenfrühe, morgens, am Morgen; 2) der morgige Tag

Faulkner[5]:

- *dwꜣw*: 1) dawn, morning; 2) tomorrow, the morrow
- *dwꜣy.t*: 1) morning

Lesko[6]:

- *dwꜣy.t*: 1) dawn, morning; 2) tomorrow

Wörterbuch[7]:

- *dwꜣ.w*: 1) Morgenfrühe, der Morgen; 2) der morgige Tag, das Morgen
- *dwꜣy.t*: 1) Morgenfrühe, der Morgen; 2) der morgige Tag

For the two entries, one mostly finds the same translations. According to those dictionaries, *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ* can mainly be translated in two ways: 'morning' and 'tomorrow'.

The translation 'dawn' has been added for *dwꜣy.t* by Hannig, for *dwꜣw* by Faulkner and for both entries in the Wörterbuch.

In the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* and in *Ramses*, the situation is the following:

TLA:

- *dwꜣ.yt*: der Morgen, das Morgen (morgiger Tag)
- *dwꜣ.w*: der Morgen, früher Morgen
- *dwꜣ.w*: morgen
- *dwꜣ.w*: das Morgen (morgiger Tag)

Ramses:

- *dwꜣy.t*: aube
- *dwꜣw*: matin, lendemain

[4] HANNIG 2006: 1043.
[5] FAULKNER 1962: 310.
[6] LESKO 1982-1989: 125.
[7] ERMAN A. and GRAPOW H. 1926-1963: 424-426.

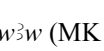
The situation is thus not clear in the electronic corpora either, as they reflect what we find in the dictionaries. In the case of *Ramses*, for practical purposes, the list of lemmas is basically the one that we find in Lesko's, with some additions.[8]

I will try to show, thanks to the analysis of the data, that one is indeed faced with two different lexemes, but also that the translations could be improved. Indeed, if some confusion exists in the dictionaries between the translations 'dawn', 'morning' and 'tomorrow', we will see how to disambiguate the situation, and what are the difficulties encountered. The study will establish that there are two lexemes, with two different and clear translations: *dw3(.t)*$_1$ 'morning' and *dw3*$_2$ 'tomorrow'.

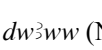
3. Graphematic axis

The graphematic axis is the one dealing with hieroglyphic spellings and, in some respect, with classifiers[9]. Here are some of the main spellings[10] attested for *dw3* and *dw3(y).t*:

dw3 (MK <)[11]

 *dw3w* (MK <)[12]

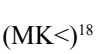
, *dw3y* (MK <)[13]

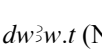
 *dw3ww* (NK<)[14]

dw3.t (OK <)[15]

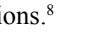
dw3.t (OK)[16]

dw3.t (MK <)[17]

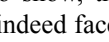
 *dw3.t* (MK<)[18]

 *dw3w.t* (NK<)[19]

dw3y.t (MK<)[20]

 *dw3y.t* (OK<)[21]

 dw3.t (OK)[22]

 *d(w)3.t* (OK)[23]

Looking at the spellings, what can we observe? First, when they have a classifier, *dw3.t* and *dw3* have the same classifier, the one with the solar disc. This classifier becomes in the New Kingdom the superordinate classifier (or second-level classifier) for the semantic field of time. Indeed, in the New Kingdom and mainly during the Ramesside Period, a reorganisation of the classifiers system took place, giving pride of place to broad semantic categories. The category of time is one of these, and the words belonging to this semantic field will adopt the same classifier, including the ones that were not initially written with the sign ⊙ (*wnw.t, grḥ*). This reorganisation has already been demonstrated for hieratic texts[24], and research is still in progress for the hieroglyphic texts.

For *dw3.t* and *dw3*, this situation holds for the New Kingdom, at least for hieratic texts, and one can find this classifier in most cases already in the Middle Kingdom (again, for hieratic texts). In epigraphy, the spellings seem at first glance more conservative, but this needs to be further investigated.

In the Old Kingdom, only *dw3.t* 'morning' is attested, usually with the spelling *dw3y.t*. The norm is to find it written with the sign of the star. This graphic association is of course interesting because we find the double dimension of light and obscurity. Osing mentions this double dimension of light and obscurity when he talks about the word *dw3.t* 'netherworld'.[25] He defines this *dw3.t* as 'the place where the sun and the stars rise'. Besides it, *dw3.t* 'morning' is the moment when the sun rises and most stars hide (except for *dw3.t*, the 'morning star'), the point of transition between night and day.

It is also sometimes written with the sign in the *Pyramid Texts*. It automatically evokes the idea of path, the travel metaphor, as a reminder of the journey of the sun in the solar boat across the sky; of course, one should not forget that the sign can also be there for phonetic reasons. One does not exclude the other though.

[8] Ramses is at present not a lexicon, even less a dictionary; it is only used to identify the lexemes present in texts. The semantic analysis will be dealt with later. An initial 4-year project focusing on the verbs of motion started in October 2015. WINAND 2015 b.

[9] Classifiers have to be considered in a multi-level approach, as they also make the link with the semantic axis.

[10] This list is not exhaustive and is given indicatively. The periods in the parenthesis indicate when the spelling is mostly attested.

[11] PARKINSON 1991: 31,5.

[12] CERNY 1957: pp.1, pl. I-Ia.

[13] KITCHEN 1983: 502, 14.

[14] GARDINER 1932: 65, 10.

[15] SETHE 1908: 211 (*Wenas*, PT 274, § 404a).

[16] SETHE 1910: 95 (*Pepi* , PT 504, § 1082b).

[17] P. Ebers, 40, 2-5 [http://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/UBLPapyri_schrift_00035080].

[18] KITCHEN 1982: 319, 7.

[19] ERICHSEN 1933 : 6, 16.

[20] KITCHEN 1979, 86, 13-14.

[21] KITCHEN 1979 , 86, 15.

[22] SETHE 1910: 279 (*Pepi*, PT 569, 1434c).

[23] SETHE 1910: 279 (*Pepi*, PT 569, 1434c).

[24] CHANTRAIN, 2014.

[25] OSING 1976: 266.

4. Phonematic axis

The phonematic axis deals with the study of the phonological structure of a lexeme, through its graphic variety. For each lexeme, one can single out several tendencies. For *dwꜣ.t*, five groups are attested:

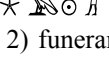
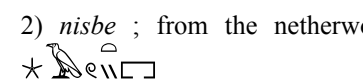
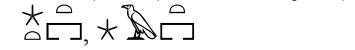
1. *dwꜣy.t*
2. *dwꜣ.t*
3. *dwꜣ*
4. *dwꜣw*
5. *dwꜣy*

The spelling *dwꜣy.t* is the most attested one in the Old Kingdom. The double yod is characteristic for this period; it declines afterwards to give place to the simplified spelling *dwꜣ.t*, but without disappearing. It is the spelling with the final *–t* that can be found in the great majority of the attestations coming from the Old Kingdom. We will see later that one should not mistake the defective spelling of *dwꜣ(.t)*$_1$ for the real masculine *dwꜣ*$_2$.

As for dwA, three groups of spellings are attested: *dwꜣ*, *dwꜣw* and *dwꜣy*. They seem to be equivalent, even if *dwꜣw* and *dwꜣy* are more frequently attested in adverbial use.

6. *dwꜣ*
7. *dwꜣw*
8. *dwꜣy*

The phonematic axis allows to connect *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ* with other phonologically close and semantically bound terms. Here are the main ones. I will not develop this point here, because I would rather focus on other axes, as already noted. What can at least be observed right now is that all those terms are semantically linked, related to the same idea of transition between night and day, or between the world of the living and the netherworld. As for *dwꜣ* 'to pray', the first meaning seems to be 'to pray in the morning', and evolved then into the more general meaning 'to pray', without specific nuance of time anymore[26].

- *nisbe* adjective *dwꜣy* 'morning'
- *dwꜣ.t* (subst): 'morning star'
- *dwꜣ* (vb.): 'to wake up (early)' 
- *dwꜣ.t* (subst.): 1) netherworld; 2) funerary room
- *dwꜣty* (subst.): 1) inhabitant of the netherworld ; 2) *nisbe* ; from the netherworld 
- *dwꜣt.t* (subst.): inhabitant (*fem.*) of the netherworld 

[26] MEEKS 2000: 12-13.

- *dwꜣ* (vb.): 1) to pray (in the morning), 2) to pray (general)
- *dwꜣ-nṯr* (vb.): 1) to pray the god; 2) to thank (the god for something)
- *dwꜣ.t* (subst.): prayer
- *dwꜣwt* (subst.): (*coll.*) hymns, prayers
- *dwꜣt-(nṯr)* (subst.): divine adoratrice

5. Morphematic axis

The morphematic axis serves to try and connect the lexeme to a broader family of words, for example, by finding its Chamito-Semitic roots. Unfortunately, in the scholarly literature, not much has been said about *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ*.

However, we find traces of *dwꜣ* in Coptic[27]. Osing[28] mentions '**ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ**' in Sahidic, translated by 'morning, dawn'. According to Westendorf[29], there would be traces of the lexeme *dwꜣ* in '**ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ**' in Sahidic and '**ⲛⲓⲧⲁⲩⲉ**' in Akhmimic, and we also find '**ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲓ**' in Bohairic. Other etymologies are also proposed for '**ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ**,' like *ḥḏ-tꜣ*, by Fecht[30], or *hꜣw dwꜣ* by Vycichl[31]. However, the last one does not appear very realistic. Indeed, there is no precedent in Egyptian of a locution *hꜣw dwꜣ*. Furthermore, the semantic implications of *hꜣw* do not seem to be compatible with the semantics of *dwꜣ*. Another possible hypothesis is *ḥr dwꜣ*. It makes sense as the locution *ḥr dwꜣ* is regularly attested in Egyptian, and actually attested only with *dwꜣ(.t)*$_1$ 'morning', as we will see.

6. Syntagmatic axis

The syntagmatic axis is instrumental in the quest for meaning. It deals with the study of the collocations, the argumental structure and the contextual environment.

We are thus now going to use this tool for a concrete case. As I wrote, there are two different lexemes: *dwꜣ(.t)*$_1$ 'morning' and *dwꜣ*$_2$ 'tomorrow'. However, they are not always easy to distinguish. Indeed, the feminine *–t* of *dwꜣ.t* tends to disappear from the spellings, which creates ambiguity, as can be seen when looking at the translations given in the dictionaries. (Fig. 2)

It is at this point that the use of a distributional semantic model can be helpful. It means that, for every attestation of *dwꜣ(.t)*$_1$ and *dwꜣ*$_2$, we shall systematically analyse the co-textual and the contextual environments; in brief,

[27] CRUM 1939: 727.
[28] OSING 1976: 72.
[29] WESTENDORF 1977: 401.
[30] FECHT 1960: note 346.
[31] VYCICHL 1984: 317.

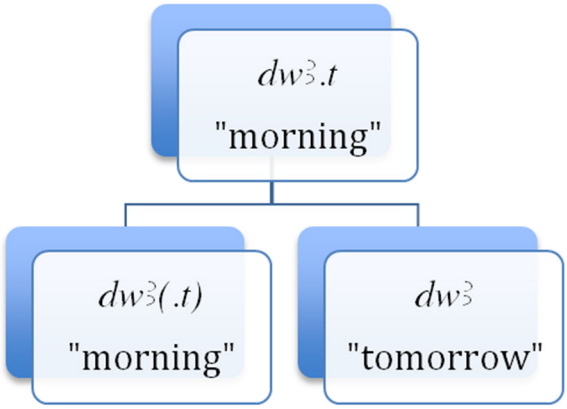


Fig. 2. Evolution of *dwꜣ(.t)*

all the information that can be relevant. The pattern of analysis here established is the following one: references (document and text), date of the document, date of composition (if different), genre, support (papyrus, ostracon etc), writing system (hieroglyphic, hieratic etc), classifiers, function of the word in the sentence (and correlated analysis), verbs and aspectual tenses, presence or absence of pronoun, article, adjective, quantifiers, adverbs, collocations, co(n)textual associations and oppositions with other lexemes from the semantic field of time, other co(n)textual associations, passage considered.

The following analysis will show how to differentiate the attestations of *dwꜣ(.t)*$_1$ 'morning' written without *–t* (which is a very recurrent phenomenon) from *dwꜣ*$_2$ 'tomorrow'.

7.1. *dwꜣ*$_1$

7.1. Co-textual environment

dwꜣ1 and *dwꜣ2* can be distinguished thanks to their association in context and co-text with other lexemes or locutions. I shall first expose the case of *dwꜣ*$_1$ 'morning'. Most attestations are very formulaic, especially the ones coming from religious and funerary texts. One can easily identify several co-textual associations where we are certainly faced with *dwꜣ*$_1$.

- Association with other lexemes from the semantic field of time: *dwꜣ* is in co-textual opposition with lexemes or locutions naming other parts of the day:
  1. *rdi.t šsp s pr.t-ḫrw n.f m dwꜣ m mšrw*
     'to make sure that a man receive an offering for himself, in the morning and in the evening' (*CT* III, 213a)

- Association with other lexemes (e.g. *ꜣḫ.t* (horizon), *wbn* (to rise), *iꜣbtt* (east), *bꜣḫ* (to rise) and *pśḏ* (to shine)) or divine names (Ra, Khepri, Aten etc) from the solar thematic:
  2. *ỉnk ḫprỉ m dwꜣw rᶜ ʿhʿy.f ỉtm m mšrw*
     I am Khepri in the morning, Ra at his zenith, Atum in the evening (*Legend of Isis and Rê*, P. Turin 1993, strophe 7, l. 3, 10)

- Co-textual association with one or several words from the solar thematic, like *ꜣḫ.t* (horizon), *wbn* (to rise), *iꜣbtt* (east), *bꜣḫ* (to rise) and *pśḏ* (to shine). Those recurrent associations can be found mostly in the religious and funerary texts, in the context of the re-birth of the deceased. There is here no real possible ambiguity, because the context is very explicit.
  3. *ḏd mdw: y nb ꜣḫ.t ḫnty ntr.w ỉrỉ n.f śnw m dwꜣ.wt*
     'O Lord of the horizon, the one who presides over the gods, for whom the Snw is made in the morning' (Neith, *PT* 758, § 2288a)

     Pepi II – funerary

  4. *wbn ḫr iꜣbtt m dwꜣy.t*
     'the one who rises in the East, in the morning' (P. Chester Beatty VIII = P. BM EA 10688, v 11,6)
     19th dyn. – magical

- *dwꜣ* as first term of a genitival-based construction. From the data, it seems that only *dwꜣ*$_1$ can be used in a genitival construction. Indeed, in our corpus, there are no attestations of it for *dwꜣ*$_2$.
  dwꜣ n X
  5. *ỉw šš̈m.n.k šb.w n wr.w (...) dwꜣ.t n.t wꜣg ḫr śšṯꜣ*
     'you brought food to the greats (…) in the morning of the Wag-festival, in secret' (P. Louvre 3092 + fragment Montpellier (P. Neferubenef), Tb. 169, l. 571)
     Thutmosis IV – funerary

- *dwꜣ* + suffix pronoun
  6. *rᶜ dwꜣ.t.k ỉm(y) pt dwꜣw.k n ny.t {pn} <tn> nb ḏ.t nb.t*
     'Ra, your morning, that belongs to the sky, your morning for this Neith, mistress of everything' (*Neith*, *PT* 50, § 37b)
     Pepi II – funerary

- *dwꜣ n* + infinitive
  7. *ky-ḏd tỉt pw n ỉr.t-rᶜ dwꜣ.t n.t mśỉ rᶜ-nb*
     'something else : it is an image of the eye of Ra, the morning of being born, every day' (P. London BM 10793, Tb 17, 5,6)
     Siamun – funerary

8. *ḫw n ꜥ3 dw3.t n.t pśš mw kmw*
   'the night of the big fight and the morning of dividing-the-black-waters' (*CT* IV, 67k)
   MK – funerary

- *dw3* with a definite article

In *Wenamun*, one can find the only attestation of $dw3_1$ with a definite article, the article *t3*. This example is particularly interesting because the article is here used in a clearly deictic function. Indeed, it highlights the fact that this occurrence of *dw3* is the marked term of an opposition between $dw3_1$ 'morning' and $dw3_2$ 'tomorrow'.Thus, if we consider the other attestations of *dw3* in the text, we find out that all of them should rather be translated 'tomorrow, the day after', except the one with the feminine article. There is thus here the wish to catch the reader's attention on a specific point. The general highly developed compositional frame of the text furthermore supports this interpretation.

Still in *Wenamun*, another similar case is attested, the one of *t3 dmi* and *p3 dmi*. Indeed, during the New Kingdom, *dmi* is usually present as a masculine (even if many attestations show the superfluous ending *–t*), and has the meaning 'town, village'. The feminine *dmi.t* is used with the first meaning of the word 'place, harbour', in recessive use. In this case too, the feminine is reserved to the first meaning of the lexeme, and is indicated clearly. It catches the reader's attention, and gives him the key to understand the play on words. The evolutional pattern is a bit different than for *dw3(.t)* though, even if, in both cases, the feminine ends up the marked term of the opposition. (Fig. 3)

9. *iw.i (ḫr) dwn m t3{y} dw3w*
   'I set off in the morning' (*Wenamun*, P. Moscou 120, 1,12 = *LES* 62,3)
   21st dyn. – lit. Fictional

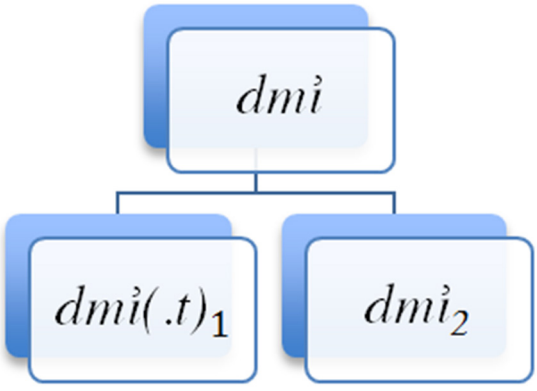


Fig. 3. Evolution of *dmi*(*.t*)

10. *iw n3y t3 dmi.t pr r.i r ḥdb.i*
    iw.i w3š<.i> iwd r p3 nty ḥ3tib3 t3 wr n p3 dmi{.t}im
    'Those of the harbour came to me to kill me, but I managed to find my way to the place where Hatiba was, the princess of the city' (Wenamun, 2, 75 = *LES* 75, 1-2)
    21st dyn. – fictional

- Temporal adverbs

Association from the Middle Kingdom, with the adverb of frequency *rꜥ nb*;

11. *pśḏ.k dw3w rꜥ nb*
    'When you shine in the morning, every day' (St. Berlin 23270,3 = *Urk*. IV, 1672,14)
    Amenhotep III – royal

7.2. Function of $dw3_1$ in the clause

$dw3_1$ can be used in different functions inside the clause. It can be the subject of a non-verbal preposition, the direct object of a verb, or it can appear as an adverbial complement. It can also be used as the second term of a genitival construction (therefore, see the paragraph about the collocations).

$dw3_1$ as subject

$dw3_1$ can be found as subject of a non-verbal clause. I have not found any attestation of $dw3_1$ as subject of a verbal clause in my corpus.

12. *rꜥ dw3t.k im(y) pt dw3t.k n wnis nb ḫ.t nb.t*
    'Ra, your morning belongs to the sky, your morning is for Unas, lord of everything'(*Unas*, *PT* 50, l. 47-48, § 37b)
    Unas – funerary

$dw3_1$ as direct object of a verb

$dw3_1$ can be used as direct object of a verb. One can find it with the verbs *mśi* and *wn*. The morning, or dawn (*tp-dw3*), can thus be opened or they can be given birth.

13. *ḏd mdw: iwr p.t m irp.s msi.n nw.t s3.t.s dw3.t*
    'the sky is pregnant with its wine, Nut gave birth to her daughter, the morning' (*Pepi* I, *PT* 504, § 1082b)
    Pepi I – funerary

14. *iw{.i}wn.n.i dw3.wt hrw*
    'I opened the mornings of the day' (*CT* II, 113b)
    MK – funerary

$dw3_1$ in adverbial use

$dw3_1$ is most frequently used as an adverbial complement. It can be used alone, or with the prepositions *m* and *ḥr*.

- *ḥr dw3*

Looking at the attestations, it comes out that the phrase *ḥr dw3* is found only with $dw3_1$ 'morning'. This observation is supported by the fact that the preposition *ḥr* is also used with the locutions *tr n dw3* (lit: morning time) and *tp n dw3* (dawn), both based on dwA_1. *ḥr dw3* seems to imply a more punctual period of time than *m dw3*.

15. *m33.i rˁ dỉ.f św ḥr dw3w ḫft ḥfty ḫr n nm.t*
    'I will see Ra when he appears in the morning, when the enemies are fallen on the battle field' (P. Leiden T2, Tb 15Alb, l. 12)
    19th dyn. – funerary

16. *śwḏ3-ỉb pw n nb ˁ, w, ś r-ntt wỉ śpr.kwỉ dmỉ n ḫw.t-nbś m 3bd 4 šmw św 5 ḥr tr n dw3*
    'this is a message for my lord, l.p.h.: I reached the city of Hut-Nebes, the 4th month of shemu, the 5th day, at morning time' (, P. UC 32201, 5)
    12th dyn. – letter

- *m dw3*

The situation is different for *m dw3* because the preposition m can be found with $dw3_1$ and with $dw3_2$. These are thus the most difficult cases to solve. Without other co-textual clues, some of them still remain ambiguous, mostly in fictional literary texts. As a middle way, one can also envisage the possibility that those attestations would be like 'intermediary' cases, that is to say, actualisations of the process that leaded from the meaning 'morning' to the meaning 'tomorrow', and thus to be translated by 'tomorrow morning'. I will come back to this point later.

17. *rdỉ.t šśp s pr.t-ḫrw n.f m dw3 m mšrw*
    'to make that a man receive an offering for himself in the morning and in the evening' (*CT* III, 213a)
    MK – funerary

    ỉw.ỉ (*r*) *šm n.ỉ m dw3w*
    'I will leave tomorrow/in the morning' (*Two Brothers*, P. Orbiney, 13,6 = *LES* 23,5-6)
    Seti II – fictional

7.3. Collocations

Besides the co-textual associations we have just seen, one can also find several collocations associating $dw3_1$ to other terms on a fixed basis.

- *tr n dw3*

The locution *tr n dw3* literally means 'morning-time'. This locution can be related to a similar one, also used only with $dw3_1$: *3.t n dw3.t*. But there are very few attestations of it, probably because of the semantic implications lowly compatible of the two words. Indeed, *3.t* is used to name a punctual event, the climax of an action, or, to the contrary, an indeterminate but generally brief period of time. It seems anyway that *3.t* has a very limited degree of compatibility with *dw3*, as well as with the other parts of the day.

18. *wn.ỉn 3ś.t ḥr šm.t ḫr t3 mtw.t n ḫr m tr n dw3 r p3 ḥśp n śtḫ*
    'and Isis went with Horus' sperm, in the morning, to the garden of Seth' (P. Chester Beatty I, 11,9 = *LES* 52,11)
    Ramses V – fictional
19. *ỉw ḫntỉ r bw ỉy.n.śn ỉm rdỉ n.śn t.w ḫnḳ.wt mỉ […m] ḥśb.t 3 3bd 4 pr.t św 8 ḥr tr n dw3*
    'One sailed southwards to the place where they went, bread has been given to them, and beer, like […] year 3, the 4th month of peret, the 8th day, at morning time' (*Semna dispatches*, P. BM 10752, r°, dispatch 1, x+10)
    Amenemhat III – letter

- *dw3 zp-sn ˁnd tp n dw3*

Both locutions *dw3 sp-śn* and *tp (n) dw3* mean 'early in the morning, at dawn'. *dw3 sp-śn* is mainly attested during the Middle Kingdom, and is then replaced by *tp n dw3* in the New Kingdom. There are parallels to this locution for other parts of the day, like *tp n grḥ* (beginning of the night) or *tp n ḫ3w* (early evening, cf. in French: '*entre chien et loup'*).

20. *ḥḏ.n rf t3 dw3w sp-śn ỉw ỉww ỉ3š n.ỉ*
    'when the earth became white, at dawn, they came to summon me' (*Sinuhe* (B), P. Berlin P 3022, 248)
    XIIth dyn. – fictional
21. *m3.k rˁ tp dw3y.t m ḫˁ.f m 3ḫ.t ỉ3bt.t*
    'may you see Ra at dawn, when he appears on the oriental horizon' (private Amarna tomb (n° 25), ceiling, central column)
    Akhenaten – funerary

- *dw3 ḥr-ś3 dw3*

Finally, there is also the case of the locution *dw3 ḥr-ś3 dw3* 'day after day, in the future', mainly attested in juridical context. This locution has, most likely, $dw3_1$ as basis, as $dw3_2$ does not seem to be involved in any collocation. Furthermore, some attestations of *dw3 ḥr-ś3 dw3* show the spelling with final *–t*.

22. *bn th3.i r sš ḳdw.t mnn m dw3w ḥr-s3 dw3.wt*
'in the future, I will not attack Menna, the scribe of the drawings' (P. Ashmolean 1933.810, v° 3-4 = K*RI* V,542,3-5)
Ramses III – juridical

23. *ʿḥʿ r-ḳr.ś m p3y.i mwt m dw3 ḥr-ś3 dw3*
'(and if) he stays on her side, after I die and in the future' (P. Ashmolean 1945.96, r° 6-7 = K*RI* VI, 736,1-2)
Ramses XI – juridical

7.4. Verbal tenses

The analysis of the aspectual tenses of the associated verbs does not seem to offer a sufficient criterion to choose between the two lexemes.

8. *dw3*$_2$ 'tomorrow, the morrow, future'

8.1. Co-textual environment

As already seen for *dw3*$_1$, there are several layouts that can help us to identify *dw3*$_2$.

- Co-textual association with/opposition to other terms from the semantic field of time expressing a relative time: *p3 hrw* (today), *śf* (yesterday) or *hrw pn*. Sentences like 'Today is like tomorrow' or 'Today, I am well; tomorrow is in the hands of God' (cf. *LRL*) are recurrent.

24. *y3 twi ʿnḫ.kwi m p3 hrw dw3w ḥr ʿ.wi p3 nṯr*
'indeed, Iam alive today, but tomorrow is in the hands of god' (P. Leyde I 369, l. 6 = *LRL* 1, 8)
Ramses XI – letter

25. *bw rḫ.i ʿ.n r dw3w*
'but I could not know our situation of tomorrow' (P. Leyde I 360, 9 = K*RI* III, 230,6)
Ramses II – letter

26. *nnk śf iw.i rḫ.kw(i) dw3w*
'yesterday belongs to me, and I know tomorrow' (*CT* IV, 192/193a)
MK – funerary

dw3$_2$ is often in contextual association with the god Thoth, whose protection is asked for the future:

27. *ink ḏḥwty rḫ ḫ.t dw3w*
'Iam Thoth, the one who knows tomorrow' (P. Vatican 63 (38600/1+2), Tb 182, l. 209)
Hatchepsut/Amenhotep II – funerary

28. *ḥ3-n.i ḏḥwty m-ḥ3[.i] dw3*
'May Thoth be behind me tomorrow !' (P. Sallier 1, 8,3-4 = *LEM* 86,2)
Merenptah – miscellanies

- time adverbs:

dw3$_2$ is compatible with durativity adverbs, like *ḥr-r3-ʿ* 'during'. It is however difficult to totally exclude *dw3*$_1$ in this case, as it seems to be characterised as having a certain length, and semantically delimited with the two poles [after night] and [before noon].

29. *iw.i (ḥr) di.t.w m mḏ3.t m-b3ḥ p3y.i nb r rdi.t in.tw pḥ.w ḥr-r3-ʿ dw3*
'and I gave them as books to my Lord, in order that the case would be worked out tomorrow' (P. Abbott, r° 6, 24, K*RI* VI,479, 12-13)
Ramses IX – juridical

8.2. Function of dw3$_2$ *in the clause*

8.2.1. dw3$_2$ *used as subject*

dw3$_2$ can be subject of a verbal clause:

30. *dw3 iw p3 hrw m śni*
'tomorrow came, today is going away' (*Amenemope*, P. BM 10474, 7,1)
20th-21st dyn. – wisdom text

Or of a non-verbal clause:

31. *y3 twi ʿnḫ.kwi m p3 hrw dw3w ḥr ʿ.wi p3 nṯr*
'indeed, Iam alive today, but tomorrow is in the hands of god' (P. Leyde I 369, l. 6 = *LRL* 1, 8)
Ramses XI – letter

8.2.2. dw3$_2$ *used as direct object of a verb*

dw3$_2$ can work as direct object of several verbs:

grg

The idea of 'building tomorrow' is present in the Eloquent Peasant:

32. *m grg dw3 n iy.t.f*
'Don't build tomorrow while it has not come yet' (*Eloquent Peasant* (B1) P. Berlin P 3023 + P. Amherst I, 214)
12th dyn – fictional

(neg +) *rḫ* and *ḫm*

The issue of knowing or not knowing tomorrow finds different answers, according to the literary genre. In

the funerary texts, the focus is put on the fact of knowing tomorrow. It is part of the traditional discourse.

33. *ỉw.ỉ rḫ.kwỉ dwꜣ*
'I know tomorrow' (P. Caire CG 51189 (P. Yuya), Tb 17, 37)
Amenhotep III – funerary

Wisdom texts and letters express the opposite opinion. We thus find neg. + *rḫ*, or *ḫm* 'to ignore'.

34. *bw rḫ.n ꜥ.n n dwꜣw*
'We could not know our condition of tomorrow (P. Leyde I 363, r° 4 = K*RI* III, 231, 6)
Ramses II – letter

35. *pꜣ s (ḥr) ḫm dwꜣw mỉ <ỉ>ḫ*
'The man ignores how tomorrow will be' (*Amenemope*, P. BM 10474, 19,13)
20th-21st dyn. – wisdom text

In the example from Amenemope we can also note the use of the interrogative adverb *mỉ-iḫ*, reinforcing *ḫm*.

Since the future is unknown, it is also feared. We thus find $dwꜣ_2$ in a genitival construction with *śnḏ(.t)* and *ḥry.t* (the fear).

36. *ỉw ḥbś.śn ḫnt{y}.śn n śnḏ n [dwꜣ]w*
'they hide their faces because of the fear of tomorrow' (*Ipuer*, P. Leiden I 344, 16,1)
MK (doc. 19th dyn.) – dialog

37. *ỉw.k m ḥry.t dwꜣw*
'while you are in the fear of tomorrow' (*Amenemope*, P. BM 10474, 19,11)
20th-21st dyn. – wisdom text

śiꜣ (envisage, consider)

One can consider tomorrow:

38. *n rḫ.n.tw ḫpr.t śiꜣ.f dwꜣ*
'one cannot know what can happen, while considering tomorrow' (*Ptahhotep* (P), § D343, P. Prisse, 11,2)
12th dyn. – wisdom text

kꜣỉ (think about)

Or simply think about it:

39. *nn śḫr.f kꜣỉ.f dwꜣ*
'he has no plan when he thinks about tomorrow' (*Ptahhotep*, § D345, P. BM 10371 + 10435 (L1), d,6)
12th dyn. – wisdom text

In all those cases, the *leitmotiv* is always the same: tomorrow is uncertain, and therefore we cannot pretend knowing it, or making plans. Tomorrow is 'in the hands of god'; the humans are submitted to their fate.

40. *śt ꜥnḫ m pꜣ hrw dwꜣ <m/ḫr> ꜥ.wỉ pꜣ nṯr*
'they are alive today, tomorrow is in the hands of god' (P. BM 10417,10-11 = *LRL* 27,15-16)
Ramses XI – letter

8.2.3. dwꜣ used as an adverbial complement

dwꜣ as adverbial complement can be used with the following prepositions: *m*/*n*, *mỉ*, and *r*.

- *m dwꜣ*

As we have seen above[32], there can be ambiguity in this case, as the preposition m can be used with $dwꜣ_1$ as well as with $dwꜣ_2$. However, in most cases, the other parameters taken into consideration permit to disambiguate the situation.

41. *ỉw.k (r) śḏm pꜣ <nty> nb {nty} ỉw.ỉ (r) ḏd twf m dwꜣw*
'you will learn everything I have to tell you tomorrow' (*Wenamun*, P. Moscow 120, 2,70 = *LES* 74,8)
21st dyn. – fictional

In the passage below, we are most probably dealing with $dwꜣ_2$, especially if we consider the hypothesis that *dwꜣ1* is explicitly signalled by the definite article *tꜣ*, used as a deictic.

- *mỉ dwꜣ*

In most cases, mi is used for expressing a comparison between today and tomorrow, between the present and the future. Depending on the genre, the perspective changes. Indeed, if in funerary and religious texts the focus is put on the fact of knowing tomorrow, in wisdom texts and in letters from the end of the New Kingdom, the vision is, on the contrary, much more fatalistic. Tomorrow is unknown, cannot be known, and we have to accept things as they come[33].

In Amenemope, there is a dialectic tension between stativity and dynamicity, reflecting a way of thinking the world:

42. *m ỉr ḏd pꜣ hrw mỉ dwꜣw*
'don't say : today is like tomorrow' (*Amenemope*, § 6,18 ; T. Moscow I 1 d 324, vs. 1)

[32] See the part $dwꜣ_1$: *m dwꜣ*.
[33] VERNUS 1995: 31-33.

XXVIth dyn. – wisdom text

43. *dw3w ỉw.w p3 hrw śnn*
'tomorrow has come, today is already gone' (*Amenemope*, § 7,1 ; T. Moscow I 1 d 324, vs. 2)
26th dyn. – wisdom text

- *r dw3*

The preposition group *r dw3* is always used in the same context of projecting oneself into the future. The preposition r seems to be used only with $dw3_2$.

44. *ỉmy.k ḥr.k m hrw pn r dw3 bw ỉw.f*
'don't prepare yourself today for tomorrow, it did not come yet' (*Prohibitions*, O. Petrie 11, r° 1)
19th-20th dyn. – wisdom text

In a general way, we can say that $dw3_2$ is regularly used as subject or object of a verb. This is much less often the case for $dw3_1$, mainly found in adverbial use.

9. Semantic axis of $dw3_1$ and $dw3_2$

$dw3_1$ and $dw3_2$ have common semantic features: they can be split in the following ones:

$dw3_1$: /time/ ; /day/ ; /part/ ; /after night/ ; /before noon/

$dw3_2$: /time/ ; /day/ ; /after night/ ; /+ future/

The common features are thus: /time/, /day/, /after night/ (Fig. 4)

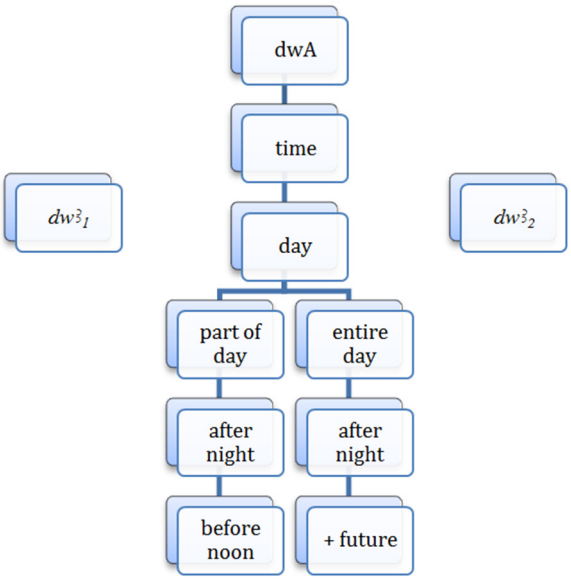


Fig. 4. Componential analysis of *dw31* and *dw32*

10. Distribution

10.1. Chronological distribution of $dw3_1$ and $dw3_2$

The analysis of the diachronic distribution of $dw3_1$ and $dw3_2$ shows that $dw3_1$ is attested from the Old Kingdom. The spelling *dw3(y).t* is almost the rule in the Old Kingdom, although the double yod becomes very scarce afterwards, followed by the final *–t*. The spelling *dw3.t,* however, remains attested, even if in a recessive use. As for $dw3_2$, it appears later, in the Middle Kingdom, in wisdom texts. It then tends to slowly spread to other genres. Finally, $dw3_1$ is attested until the Graeco-Roman Period, at least in religious texts, and seems to survive in Coptic. $dw3_2$, however, does not seem to be attested later than the Third Intermediate Period.

10.2. Distribution by genre of $dw3_1$ and $dw3_2$

$dw3_1$ is attested in all genres, but very rarely in wisdom texts. This distribution is interesting because $dw3_2$, on the contrary, is mainly found in wisdom texts and discourse. I thus think that this is where the, so to say, 'breaking point' between $dw3_1$ and $dw3_2$ occurs. Indeed, it is in those texts that *dw3* seems to have taken the more abstract sense of 'tomorrow' and, by extension, 'future'. It would be interesting to check if similar phenomena are attested for other lexemes, in the same genre. What we can say now, is that, in general, literary texts are a privileged place to observe experiments and new ideas in the semantic system, which can eventually lead to semantic changes or to the creation of derived lexemes.

11. Conclusions

The change of gender is well attested in Ancient Egyptian. It can be the result of the semantic evolution of a lexeme, leading to its split into two different lexemes. The change in gender is, in this case, a way to disambiguate the situation[34]. This difference, even if not always obvious because of the defective character of the spellings, can be used in a clearly deictic function, as is the case in Wenamun[35].

We can thus conclude that we are indeed faced with two lexemes: $dw3_1$ 'morning' and $dw3_2$ 'tomorrow'. It is clear that the two lexemes are etymologically linked, $dw3_2$ being derived from $dw3_1$, in the direction CONCRETE → ABSTRACT. This hypothesis is furthermore supported by the chronological repartition of the attestations.

$dw3_1$ and $dw3_2$ have common semantic features (time, day, after night) and the etymological process is still traceable.

[34] This phenomenon is also attested in other languages, e.g. in German: der Morgen and das Morgen.
[35] Cf. supra, dwA_1. Wenamun 2, 75 = *LES* 75, 1-2.

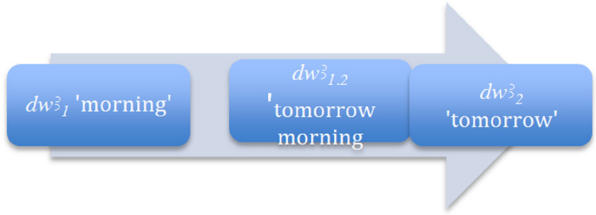


Fig. 5. Evolution path of *dw3*

The information that we find in dictionaries should be adapted. Indeed, as we have seen, *dw3*$_1$, means 'morning', and not 'tomorrow'. The translation 'dawn' is correct for *dw3 sp-śn* and *tp n dw3*, but not for *dw3*$_1$ itself. As for *dw3*$_2$, it means 'tomorrow, the morrow' or 'future'. (Fig. 5)

We can indeed postulate an intermediary stage 'tomorrow morning', making the link between the first and the second meaning. It might be this intermediary stage 'tomorrow morning' that is attested in some ambiguous cases, like in this example from the Two Brothers:

> *iw.i* (*r*) *šm n.i m dw3w*
> 'I will leave tomorrow morning (?)' (*Two Brothers*, P. Orbiney, 13,6 = *LES* 23,5-6)
> Seti II – fictional

Differences in the distribution of the attestations of *dw3*$_1$ and *dw3*$_2$ are visible on several levels. First, in the chronological distribution, since *dw3*$_2$ appears later, in the Middle Kingdom, and seems to be no longer attested after the Third Intermediate Period. Second, as we have seen, most of the attestations of *dw3*$_2$ are attested in the wisdom texts and in the Late Ramesside Letters, while *dw3*$_1$ is almost absent from the wisdom texts. The distribution by genres is thus highly significant as well.

As we have seen in details in the section dealing with the syntagmatic axis, *dw3*$_1$ and *dw3*$_2$ are usually not found in the same co-textual and contextual environments. Furthermore, *dw3*$_1$ seems to be productive, as it can enter some lexical expressions (*tr n dw3*, *tp n dw3* etc), which is apparently not the case for *dw3*$_2$.

To conclude, I would say that the perspectives of research in the field of lexical semantics and lexicography are numerous. As I mentioned in the beginning of this article, this is a new discipline in our field, and detailed studies are still very few. Of course, this kind of research, as many other ones, takes a lot of time, and requires a well-established methodological trail. But examining thousands of attestations is now possible and realistic, thanks to the electronic corpora, which allow us to conceive of the research differently and to complete more ambitious lexical studies.

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Nu, Continuity and Everlastingness in the *Pyramid Texts*

Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska

Department of Ancient Cultures, Pułtusk Academy of Humanities, Pułtusk, Poland

Abstract: *The author of the paper scrutinises, with reference to contextual arguments, the* Pyramid Texts *aiming to show notions of continuity, everlastingness and the primaeval waters Nu. The creator existed in Nu and there he created life. The pharaoh was born in Nu before the sky and the Earth had come into being, before anything else had come into being, whence he was to return to overcome death and the end of the world as well. The two-dimensional ways in which the Egyptians perceived eternity: as a circular one and a linear one, demonstrate their profound comprehension of nature and the functioning of the human world. The oldest and the deepest desire of human beings was to live eternally, to postpone the inevitable. The same desire was vividly important and inextricably linked to the ancient Egyptian concept of everlastingness and continuity as regards the pharaohs. However, eternity seems to begin in Nu, abide and endure there.*

Keywords: *Nu, continuity, everlastingness, the* Pyramid Texts, *Egyptian perception of Eternity, Primordial Matter*

1. Nu. An Introduction

Nu – the primaeval waters – is primordial matter where life had come into being. When scrutinising the oldest Egyptian religious records, there appear to be some doubts concerning the nature of Nu. Was Nu – as a primaeval essence, which provides an environment for the creator to let him commence the creation – concurrently a personified god, as is stated in a key article on Nu[1] written by R. Grieshammer in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*? Was Nu, as J.-F. Pépin argues, a place and a god simultaneously?[2] Or, did it assume a divine form only later, as many concepts did?[3]

2. Nu

R.O. Faulkner renders Nu in the *Pyramid Texts* as the Abyss.[4] This connotes void and chaos, which is much more a Greek concept, although it is something that J.-F. Pépin also considered.[5] Furthermore, the identification of Nu simultaneously with primaeval chaos and its pre-creation nothingness and creative potential and incentive does not provide evidence that Nu had elements of disorder in himself, as R.-G. Tatomir points out.[6] Chaos, when understood as Nu, was perceived by the Egyptians neither as destruction nor as disorder. Nu contains traits of nothingness but it is implicit to any primordial matter and does not indicate lack of order. It did though have some facets evincing danger, but again peril does not signify disorder or disorganisation, in contrast to *maat*. Moreover, it is Nu who saves the King from the gods of disorder, as the *PT* spell 607 § 1701 informs (see below). Nu is an incorporation of primordial matter and potential. It is an environment for creation and the creator. It is nothingness which contains everything. It is a void which is full of elements. But – according to the present author – the completeness is the feature of the creator and the pharaoh as the creator.

It is true that the state just before creation turns out to have had traces and roots of the dark side of nature, which was also marked by a lack of light. Especially so given that the creation had aspects of dawn and primordial existence in the city of the beginning that is Junu:

§ 1039a *j.nḏ ḥr.tn mw jnw šw wṯzw mndftj*
§ 1039b *wˁbw.n gbb ˁwt.f jm.sn*
§ 1039c *jbw m ḫt snḏ ḥ3tw m ḫt šˁt*
§ 1040a *j msjw m nw*
§ 1040b *nj ḫpr.t pt nj ḫpr.t t3*
§ 1040c *nj ḫpr.t smntj nj ḫpr.t ḫnnw*
§ 1040d *nj ḫpr.t snḏ pw ḫpr ḥr jrt ḥrw*
§ 1041a *ppj pw* [*wˁ n*] *ḫt tw ˁ3t msjjt m b3ḥ m jwnw*

'Hail to you, waters that Shu brought about and two begetters raised, in which Geb cleansed
his limbs when minds were permeated with awe and hearts were permeated with viciousness!
I was born in Nu while the sky had not yet come into being, while the Earth had not
yet come into being, while the endurance had not yet come into being, while confusion/disorder had not yet come into being, while the awe had not yet come into being for the eye of Horus had come into being.
Pepi is [the unique one of] that great body that was born formerly in Heliopolis.'[7] /PT spell 486 § 1039a-1041a (P338, N 548)/[8]

[1] *Wb*. IV: 534-535; Grieshammer 1982.
[2] Pépin 1989: 345.
[3] See for instance: on the concept of Kheprer and Khepri: Popielska-Grzybowska 2011: 229-233.
[4] Faulkner 1969: 116 and elsewhere.
[5] Pépin 1989: 344-345.
[6] Tatomir 2005: 185.
[7] Unless otherwise stated, the translations that follow are the responsibility of the author.
[8] See also below.

Nu consolidates in himself/itself and makes the background for the elements of creation. He/it welcomes both creation by the creator and birth giving by a woman, even if she was a goddess as was in the case of Nut, named in the quoted excerpt below, the mother of Pepi Neferkara. The birth giving was accompanied by the scream of pain (?) or joy:

§ *1964a [*šˁ mw* (*jmw nw*) *ḥr ḫrw sbḥ n mjwt nt*] *ppj* [*nfr kȝ rˁ pn nwt*
§ *1964b *ms.s sw*] *sšd.s ppj nfr kȝ rˁ*
§ *1964c *m nwrw pw wr jm.ṯn nṯrw*
§ *1964d *ȝwrw.ṯn n.f nṯrw m ḏd jst jr nw*

'*[The waters that are in Nu have been formed at the sound of] the scream of [the mother of this] Pepi [Neferkara, Nut, when she gave birth to him] and put the headband/ crown?/ on Pepi Neferkara, as the greatest cause of fear, amongst you, gods; the one whom you feared, gods, when Isis spoke to Nu.*' /*PT* spell 669 (N 347)/

All in all, Nu has been the subject of very few studies.[9]

All scholars, even when writing about the Old Kingdom and its religious accounts, transcribe the name of the deity/matter discussed here as 'Nun,' but in the *Pyramid Texts* his/its name has never been written as *nwn*. His/ its name is written as *nw*, *nwj*, *nnw*[10]or *njw*.[11] This name might have derived, as aptly noticed by J.P. Allen, from an antique word *n* for 'water'.[12] He confirms that the Coptic vocalisation 'noun' requires a different structure: *nnw*, plausibly associated with the verb *n*(*j*)*nj* 'to be inert'. Highly interesting is another fact mentioned by J.P. Allen concerning hieroglyphic writings of the name Nu and their determinatives, once being a sky in its natural position but on other occasions, as for instance in spell 570 § 1446a, being a picture of a sky upside down, which usually was the determinative of a feminine *nnt* (see below). Nenet the Under-sky may be a feminine counterpart of Nu[13] and a netherworld counterpart of the sky *pt*.

J.-F. Pépin describes the role or participation of Nu in the creation, its inhabitants as well as its topography, with a reference to ancient Greek beliefs. He presumes that Nu was linked to the passage of the dead and the night sun 'rejeté autour du monde crée, il s'apparente étroitement au Chaos'.[14] However, in the *Pyramid Texts* these aspects are hardly discernible. If they are present, it is not so often as they were later. The writings herein discussed are royal ones and the pharaoh was never put to the test; his life in the Beyond did not need to be questioned. It is not even obvious if he had to pass through Nu before reaching his final destination in the sky, though it is plausible as far as the following excerpt is concerned:

§ 392a *ḳȝjt nj dmm.s ˁrrwt nt nw*
§ 392b *j.n wnjs ḫr.ṯ j.m j.wn.tj n.f nw*
§ 392c *wnjs pj šrr jm*
§ 392d *jw wnjs pn tp šmsw rˁ nj wnjs pn tp nṯrw tḫtḫ*

''*Height that will not be permeated – portal of Nu! Unis has come to you: have this opened to him. Is Unis the little one there?*'
'*This Unis is at the head of the followers of Ra'*
this Unis is not at the head of the gods of disorder.'' /*PT* spell 272 § 392c (W 179)/

The above-quoted passage probably shows that Unis would be admitted to pass through Nu as one of the followers of Ra who traverses the pre-ocean, and in some sense 'permeates' it, but then leaves him/it to reach his predestined place in the sky as one of the Imperishable Stars. The King approaching the gate of Nu is a little one – a child – and hence is the son of the creator.[15] Thus he undergoes rejuvenation and comes back to a premature state of an embryo /see spell 294 (W 200)/, constantly but for a time.

Accordingly, following the *Pyramid Texts*, Nu is rather This-who-is but who is also apart. It remains, it lasts, albeit provides the background to the occurrences, but at the beginning he is active and even bears the King (see below).

However, Pépin notes that there is not so much attention paid to Nu in the *Pyramid Texts* if apart from mentions concerning its role in the genesis of life, while in the *Coffin Texts* the primaeval waters seem to play a more active role than that of the cradle.[16] Moreover, it appears to him that Nu generated the gods whom Atum created

[9] GRIESHAMMER 1982: 534–535; PÉPIN 1989: 339–343; ROTSCH 2005: 229-239 and ROTSCH 2010 (unpublished dissertation; personal communication with the author. The present author would like to express her indebtedness to Holger Rotsch for rendering accessible his unpublished dissertation.) and BICKEL 2005: 191-200; BORGES PIRES 2015: 5, 42, 76-81, 83, 85-87, 89-90, 95-96, 111; BORGES PIRES forthcoming. See also: POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA 2016: 158, 161-163 and 160, 164 (when inundation and waters originating from the Elephantine are concerned). A PhD dissertation on the relation between Nu and Atum in the *Coffin Texts* in the process of being written at the Université du Québec à Montréal (personal communication with the author – Cloé Caron).

[10] ALLEN 1989: 11-12.

[11] In the spell 222 § 207b FAULKNER (1969: 51) reads the hieroglyphic record as *niw* but Allen transcribes as *nwj* (personal communication with J.P. Allen) which seems more probable as far as the above-mentioned derivatives of the word are concerned. However, there is one more example of the writing *njw* in the spell 301 § 446a, which Faulkner (1969: 90) does not seem to associate with Nu and transcribes as Niu, most probably meaning just a masculine celestial counterpart of Nenet the Under-sky.

[12] ALLEN 1988: 4; ALLEN 1989: 11-15.

[13] ALLEN 1988: 4.

[14] PÉPIN 1989: 339.

[15] See the present author's discussion on this fragment: POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA 2013a: 537-546 and POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA 2014: 135-147.

[16] PÉPIN 1989: 339.

(see e.g.: CT II, 19-20 spell 78 or CT II, 4-8 spell 76; CT II, 24 spell 79). The same is true as far as the *Pyramid Texts* are concerned, but only in reference to the pharaoh (see below). As a matter of fact, this statement needs a further and much more profound consideration. As has been written elsewhere, Pépin remarks that Nu was not a demiurge, but in his opinion, he/it generated the gods. Even so, in the *Pyramid Texts* it is not apparent if it is the gods other than the pharaoh that are being referenced. Be that as it may, Nu – according to the oldest religious texts – himself/itself seems to take the form of the creator or conceivably the executor of the creator's will. If he/it gives an incentive, it is not ascertainable. In the *Pyramid Texts* the incentive comes from Atum as the one who incorporates every element of life and universe and possesses in himself the principles of every single being. By the same token, Nu does not turn out to have a motivating influence on the creator, if it were not for a passage mentioning that '*Nu has commended Teti to Atum*' /*PT* 361/ (or two other spells: 607 and 627B), alluding to a natural sequence of life, although this does not necessarily refer to a creation incentive but rather to other stages of the pharaoh's life and/or – even more probably – existence in the afterlife. Taking into consideration the facts discussed above and notwithstanding the comments by J.-F. Pépin, it turns out that Nu has an active role in the *Pyramid Texts*, for he/it – according to the writings, namely spell 607 (M 352) and 627B (N32) – begot the pharaoh:

§ 1701a *ms NN jn nw ḥr ḏrt.f j3bt*
§ 1701b (*NN*) *nḫn n*(*jj*) *s33.t.f*
§ 1701c *nḥm.n.f NN m ꜥ nṯrw tḫtḫ*
§ 1701d *nj rḏ.n.f NN n nṯrw tḫtḫ*

'*The King was begotten by Nu on his left hand when the King/he was young and inexperienced. He has saved the King from the gods of disorder, and he shall not give the King to the gods of disorder.*' /*PT* spell 607 § 1701 (M 352); spell 627B (N 32)/

Since Nu can save the pharaoh from the gods of disorder, this suggests that he should not be equated with the powers of disorder himself, as Pépin[17] or Tatomir[18] presume. Furthermore, passage through Nu or existence in Nu augured evolution of a being, a change so vividly crucial in the progressive metamorphoses of the pharaoh.[19] Thus, in the *Pyramid Texts* the emphasis is put on living and not destruction. It seems obvious that immersion into primordial non-existence, which simultaneously was the beginning of every element of life, was indispensable to undergo a final metamorphosis into the creator Atum and hence assume a final form:

§ 1465a *sḏm gbb rpꜥt nṯrw tm ꜥpr sw m jrw.f*

'*Hear, Geb, chief of the elite of the gods! Atum, equip him with his form!*' /*PT* spell 570B (P 510)/

That is why the King comes back to the age of a child, young and inexperienced but pure as was stated in spell 272 § 392c and thus:

§ 207a *j.fḫ.k ꜥbw.k n tm m* [*jwnw h3.k*] *ḥnꜥ.f*
§ 207b *wḏꜥ.k m3rw nnt ꜥḥꜥ.k ḥr swt nwj*
§ 207c *ḫpr.k ḥnꜥ jt.k tm ḳ3.k ḥnꜥ jt.k tm*
§ 207d *wbn.k ḥnꜥ jt.k tm j.fḫ n.k m3rw*

'*You shall obliterate your impurity for Atum in [Heliopolis; you shall descend] with him, that you may discern the needs of the Under-sky and stand in the places of Nu.*
May you come into being with your father Atum, may you become high with your father Atum, may you rise with your father Atum and discern the needs.' /PT 222 § 207 (W 155)/

Conforming to this conception, the deceased pharaoh reaches the places of Nu and there he – the child of the creator – rejuvenates and consequently comes into being continually and eternally.

According to Pépin, a lot of beings, gods, genies and the deceased lived in Nu. While analysing the *Pyramid Texts* this does not seem so self-evident, as in the discussed writings only some specific beings are mentioned, for instance: '*those-who-are-in-Nu*' /*PT* spells 358 (N 351), 512 (P 452), 574 (P 516), 603 (P 303), 694A (P 552)/.

Those-who-are-in-Nu turn out to be powerful to such an extent that they may guarantee and/or provide life. Added to this, it is connected with assuming the appearance of an akh:

§ 318a *dmḏ ꜥwt.f jmt št3w*
§ 318b *zm3.f jmw nw rḏ.f pḥw mdw m jwnw*
§ 318c *sk wnjs pr m hrw pn m jrw m3ꜥ n 3ḫj ꜥnḫ*
§ 319a *j.sḏ wnjs ꜥḥ3 bḥn.f ḫnw*
§ 319b *prj wnjs jr m3ꜥt jn.t.f s j.s ḫr.f*
§ 319c *rw n.f dnḏw pšr n.f jmw nw ꜥnḫ*
§ 320a *jw nht wnjs m jrt.f jw mkt wnjs m jrt.<f>*
§ 320b *jw nḫt wnjs m jrt.f jw wsr wnjs m jrt.f*

'*His limbs which were hidden are united so as he joins those-who-are-in-Nu and extirpates argument in Junu. Therefore, Unis has come out today in the true form of a living akh, Unis shall break up fighting and restrain commotion. Unis has come out to Maat, that he might fetch her, and she is with him. Ferocity departs for him, and those-who-are-in-Nu will benefit him with life, for the shelter of Unis is his eye, for the protection of Unis*

[17] PÉPIN 1989: 344.
[18] TATOMIR 2005: 185.
[19] POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA 2011a: 688-689; POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA 2014: 142-143.

is ‹his› eye, for the force of Unis is his eye, for the power of Unis is his eye.' /*PT* spell 260 § 318c-320b (W 170)/

Subsequently, whilst assuming – through becoming akh – the paramount and prerequisite power, the King will have authority over the towns and settlements and those-who-are-in-Nu. The following passage, a very meaningful, sententious fragment is informative about the akh – the realisation of the nature of akh – manifested itself as such,[20] or in other words, being the akh of the pharaoh, hence the monarch has power over everything and everybody:

§ *1676e *nḥnj nṯrw j.ḥꜥꜥ šmsw-ḥrw*
§ *1677a *j ꜣḫj m ꜣḫj.f jn psḏtj*
§ *1677b *ḏꜣ.n.f šj nm.n.f dꜣt*
§ *1677c [*nj ḏꜣ rd.f nj srḫ.f*] *ḫr sḫm pn ḏdd* [*rꜥ nb*
§ 1678a *j.n jt.j ḥḳꜣ.f nwwt sšm.f grgwt*]
§ 1678b *wḏ.f mdw n jmw nw*

'*The gods will rejoice; the followers of Horus will become elated. 'The akh has come as his akh,' say the Two Enneads, 'he has crossed the lake and traversed the Duat. [His foot cannot be restrained] and he [cannot] be denounced before this Controlling Power who endures [every day. He has come so that he might govern the towns, guide the settlements], and give orders to those-who-are-in-Nu.*' /PT spell 603 (P 303)/

Added to this, the King has the potency to place or put[21] the akh as his own akh:

§ 1165c *ḥms jr.k ḥr ḫnd.k pw bjꜣ*
§ 1166a *šzp n.k ḥḏ.k ꜣms.k*
§ 1166b *sšm.k jmw nw j.wḏ.k mdw n nṯrw*
§ 1166c *d.k ꜣḫj m ꜣḫj.f*
§ 1167a *jṯ.k gst.k ḫn.k ḥnt.k*
§ 1167b *mr rꜥ ḥr jdbw nw pt*
§ 1167c *ppj/jt.j ṯz ṯw j.z m ꜣḫj.k*

'*Sit on that your metal throne. Receive your mace and your ꜣms-staff and guide those-who-are-in-Nu, give orders to the gods and establish the akh as his akh. Follow your course and row your watercourse like Ra on the shores of the sky. Pepi/O my father, raise yourself! Go as your akh!*' /*PT* spell 512 (P 452)/

As one indubitably notes even those-who-are-in-Nu are subordinates of the pharaoh. Even though the King is created by Atum and begotten or engendered by Nu, he is the creator himself hence he is the essence of existence.

In another excerpt /*PT* spell 461 (M 284)/ '*you-of-Nu*', who shall govern those-whose-seats/places-are-hidden is invoked, henceforward one may assume that by means of this expression the King is invoked as well.

This is also corroborated by the fragments in which the pharaoh was summoned to govern 'those-whose-seats-are-hidden,' as for instance in spells 213, 461 and 677. This implies that he rules those to whom he himself belongs and he is the first and the most powerful, the one who came into being before anything else as a form of Atum. He rules subjects on Earth, gods in the sky, in the Beyond, living ones as well as the deceased.

§ 872d *nw nw zꜣ ṯw šj wr*
§ 873a *ḥms r.k ḥr ḫnd.k pw bjꜣ*
§ 873b *wḏ.k mdw n štꜣw swt*
§ 873c *wn n.k ꜥꜣwj pt jzn n.k ꜥꜣwj ḳbḥw*
§ 873d *jṯ.k ḥpt r sḫt jꜣrw*
§ 874a *skꜣ n.k / skꜣ.k jt ꜣzḫ n.k / ꜣzḫ.k bdt*
§ 874b *jr.k rnpwt.k jm mr ḥrw zꜣ tm*

"*You-of-Nu, you-of-Nu, beware of the great lake!" Sit on that your metal chair and give orders to those-whose-places-are-hidden!*
The door of the sky has been opened for you, the door of the Cool Waters has been laid open for you. You shall take the boat to the Field of Rushes, that you might farm emmer, reap barley and make your yearly provisions from there like Horus, a son of Atum.' /*PT* spell 461 (M 284)/

It is also explicitly said about the King that he originates in Nu and belongs to Nu, hence he is the one of Nu, as Atum claimed regarding the King as Osiris:

§ 1525 *j nwjj jn tm j n.n jn.sn jn nṯrw jr.k wsjr*
§ 1526a *j sn.n smsw tp n jt.f wtwtj n mjwt.f*
§ 1526b *jn.sn jn nṯrw*
§ 1527a *jwr.n sw pt ms.n sw dwꜣt*
§ 1527b *jwr NN pn ḥnꜥ.f jn pt*
§ 1527c *msjw NN pn ḥnꜥ.f jn dwꜣt*

"*Welcome, my one of Nu,' says Atum. 'Welcome to us,' say the gods about you, Osiris. 'Welcome, our senior brother, first one of his father, firstborn of his mother,' say the gods.*
For it is the sky who conceived him and the morning star/dawn gave him birth, this Pepi has been conceived with him by the sky and this Pepi will be given birth with him by the morning star/dawn.' /*PT* spell 577 (P 519)/

Still, there exist as well the Two Lords of Nu, who loosen the ties of the firstborn son of Shu – in this case – the pharaoh. These might be the ties which could bind him to the Earth, which were undone to detach the deceased from his earthly life:

[20] *m* of predication to identify two beings is used. On the use of this grammatical construction see for instance: Gardiner 1957: 40–41 § 38; 46 § 44, 2; 92–4 § 116–17; 125 § 162, 6; 151, § 200, 8; Edel 1964: 389, § 758h; Grapow 1924: 3, 73, 179; Shehab el-Din 1998: 15–24; Scalf 2008: 135–51 and Popielska-Grzybowska 2011a: 688-689.
[21] Allen 2005: 154.

§ 593a (*ppj nfr kꜣ rˁ*) *wtw/wtjtj šw*
§ 593b *wḥˁ tzwt.k jn nbwj nw*

'(Pepi Neferkara), you are the firstborn of Shu, your ties have been eased by the Two Lords of Nu.' /PT spell 358 (T 147)/

The Two Lords of Nu are Atum and Osiris, for they both overcome death and the end of the world in Nu.[22]

On the one hand, monsters or other dangerous creatures inhabit Nu and, better still, shall stay in Nu and not on the Earth, as they are frightening and perilous. They must come back to Nu instead of exposing the deceased to danger, for instance:

§ *1074d *ḥjw sḏr ḥpnj zbn*
§ *1074e *jm nꜣwt.f* [*zbn*] *ḥr nw ///.k n nw*

'*Monster, lie down! ḥpnj snake, crawl away! You who are in his wilderness, you shall [crawl] through Nu [...] in Nu.*' /PT spell 502E (P 403)/

All the dangerous creatures, as for instance serpents and monsters, must be in Nu or must come back to Nu, which makes us think that Nu is their place of origin and/or a usual abode.

In this way, the dark side of nature, perhaps the abysmal nature of Nu, is demonstrated. That which had a dangerous, perilous nature shall find its abode in Nu.

Fire comes from Nu likewise:

§ 237a *ḥr ḏt prt m tꜣ ḥr sḏt prt m nw*
§ 237b *j.ḥr zbn*

'*Fall, O cobra which came out from the Earth has, fall, O fire which came out from Nu. Fall down, crawl away!*' /*PT* spell 233 (Nt 268a)/

There appears then a suggestion that this fire or flame was visualised as a serpent.

On the other hand, even hunger shall go to Nu (envisioned as the flood) and cannot affect the deceased monarch:

§ 551a *ḥḳr m jw jr NN*
§ 551b *j.z r.k jr nw šmꜣ r.k jr ꜣgbj*
§ 551c *jw NN sꜣ*
§ 551d *nj ḥḳr NN m ḳmḥw pw n ḥrw wnm.n.f*
§ 551e *jr.n n.f zt wrt j.sꜣ.f jm jt.f zp.f jm*
§ 552a *nj jb NN m šw nj ḥḳr NN m tfnt*
§ 552b *ḥpwj dwꜣ-mjwt.f ḳbḥ-snw.f jmstj*
§ 552c *j.dr.sn ḥḳr pn ntj m ḥt nt NN*
§ 552d *jbt tn ntt m sptj.f*

'*Hunger, do not come to the King! Go to Nu, travel off to the flood, for the King is satiated.*
The King is not hungry because of this wheat bread of Horus which he has eaten, which his great woman has made for him so that he might become satiated with it and acquire his mien through it. The King will not be thirsty as Shu, the King will not be hungry as Tefnut.
Hapi, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef and Imseti will remove this hunger which is in the belly of the King and this thirst that is on his lips.' /*PT* spell 338 (T 148)/

From the above-quoted excerpt it appears that Nu is the flood, too. However, allegedly its productive form, for embodied in the god Ageb/Ageby (*ꜣgb*/*ꜣgbj*)[23] – the great flood which comes from the great goddess (*wrt*). For when Nu as flood is referred to, concurrently fertility, meaning food supplies, is adduced.

When Nu is studied by scholars it is most often in connection with fecundity and inundation:[24] This aspect is also discernible in the *Pyramid Texts*, as for example in spell 493 (P 376, M 320, N 473, Nt 253), but it is not a prevalent theme therein and this is only one property of the pre-waters.

S. Bickel in her book on Egyptian cosmogony recognises Nu as pre-existence.[25] She also describes the relationship between Nu and Atum.[26] The author states, in contrast to J.-F. Pépin, that Nu had an active role in the process of creation, but she justifies her assumption with a fragment of the *Coffin Texts*: CT 335 IV 188-9a (B9C, BH1Br), and not with words from the oldest Egyptian religious texts. All in all, the *Coffin Texts* are much more opulent in descriptions of the mutual relation and the dialogue of Nu and Atum. Nevertheless, the *Pyramid Texts* seem to accentuate primaeval and everlasting eternity as an implicit trait of Nu.

In her other publication, S. Bickel remarks:

'*The primordial Nun with its life-giving potential exists in the created world: it brings flood and regenerates the land, it is the element out of which the dead reappear to a new form of life and even the element in which people in their sleep drop down, in order to wake up renewed and regenerated in the morning. The identification of the real Nile and its annual flood with the speculative and imaginary element Nun is characteristic of the Egyptian world view, which consciously combined the two spheres*.'[27]

[22] Popielska-Grzybowska 2013b.

[23] *PT* spells 249, 311, 317, 338, 348, 403, 406, 513 – great flood in Nut, 662 – in this case perhaps a synonym of ampleness and prosperity.
[24] Bickel 2005: 191; Rotsch 2005: 229-232.
[25] Bickel 1994: 23-31.
[26] Bickel 1994: 46-49.
[27] Bickel 2005: 191.

In line with the regenerative potency of Nu, one might object to calling Nu speculative and imaginary as he/it was one of the main elements of the Egyptian concepts concerning the world and its creation, as well as its existence. Nu was a part of a set of beliefs constituting the fundamentals of Egyptian religion and not of its imagery, inhabited by fictitious figures.

S. Bickel states that 'In the Egyptian culture water was entirely positive.'[28] It seems not to be totally true as she herself demonstrates destructive powers ascribed to water. However, she believes that even the destructive powers of water were treated and understood as a gift and it was due to '*the supreme value attributed to the creative and life-giving element of water which could just not be conceived as being destructive*.'[29] Conforming to this, even Nu – who had a creative potential – was not entirely positive (see above on spell 486). Added to this, even Atum the creator was not entirely positive. Every god had its 'shadow' with which Nu and Nenet were uniting him or her, for every god had elements which – in binary opposition – were meant to reach their completeness, the final completeness of the creator and creation being an implicit trait of the discourse of religion, religious language, and the creation of religious reality.[30] Furthermore, one is dealing here exclusively with paradoxes complementing each other to create a wholeness and completeness. Destruction, nothingness and luck, and a/the void were natural elements of creation, of the creator himself and thus of life and living; consequently, any magical spells could have power to annihilate them, while dangerous creatures such as serpents or others came from outside and were neither comprehensible nor understood the Egyptian reality, for they did also not perceive the Egyptian language.[31]

These apparent paradoxes actually complement each other[32] were also noticed by R.-G. Tatomir. Moreover, the author wrote that Nu had contained germs of creation and 'before another creator would be appeared (*sic – J.P-G.*), the water was already there.'[33] However, contrary to R.-G. Tatomir's opinion and according to the oldest religious accounts of Egypt, Atum did not have to appear in Nu, as he was there always for the limitless continual course of eternity. If Nu was primordial chaos, it certainly was not chaos as understood by R.-G. Tatomir: '*For the Egyptians, the chaos meant every time destruction, so every pharaoh identifying himself with the supreme god has tried to reorganize the universe, to (re)establish the creation, the perpetual life, by using the law of Maᶜat, the Divine Order*.'[34] Completely on the contrary, as the quoted author showed herself in other parts of her discussion, Nu – being primaeval chaos – had creative potential and destruction that could occur solely at the end of the world.[35] Still, destruction was again a matter of the creator and not Nu.

The most exhaustive studies of Nu are written by H. Rotsch.[36] This scholar notes that: 'Already in the *Pyramid Texts*, the eldest Egyptian religious texts surviving, we are instructed of a water term called Nun. The basic meaning of this term does not change substantially in the whole elder funerary literature, which is developing from the *Pyramid Texts* over the *Coffin Texts* to the *Book of the Dead*. It is basically denoting a subterranean watery abyss, which wins with time an even more explicit primeval aspect.'[37] Besides this, however, in the *Pyramid Texts* one cannot avoid the implicit and inextricable link of Nu with eternity. It may be ascertained that this was much more discernible than in later religious texts. Different aspects may be visible in non-religious texts, although this would require a detailed analysis. H. Rotsch notes that in the New Kingdom Nu becomes a synonym of Hapy as an annual Nile flood,[38] but – as it has already been shown above – Nu was termed a flood in the *Pyramid Texts*' spell 338 as well.[39]

In concordance with this concept, and having in mind his/its implicit creative potential, as the years went by Nu became increasingly equated with the conceit of vegetation originating from water and usually perceived as inundation waters.

Anyhow, if the flood is perceived as an emanation of Nu, Nu is the guarantee of fertility of the Egyptian sole, of fecundity and hence of food. In the *Pyramid Texts*, though, Nu is supplying food for the deceased pharaoh in the Hereafter, rather not on Earth.

Thus, quite often it was written that the victuals of the King had come from Nu:

§ 309e *wnjs pj ḥr wᶜ.f smsw nṯrw*
§ 310a *jw pꜣḏ.f jr ḥr ḥnᶜ rᶜ*
§ 310b *jw ᶜꜣbt.f m nw*

[28] BICKEL 2005: 192.
[29] BICKEL 2005: 200."
[30] POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA, forthcoming; POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA 2011a.
[31] STEINER 2011: 3-4, 80-82; POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA 2015: 90-91.
[32] This phenomenon has been studied by the present author in her doctoral dissertation and see also: POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA 2009: 157-163 and 2011a: 685-687.
[33] TATOMIR 2005: 182.
[34] TATOMIR 2005: 185.
[35] POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA 2013: 258-259.
[36] ROTSCH 2005 and the above-mentioned unpublished dissertation of the same author.
[37] ROTSCH 2005: 229.
[38] H. Rotsch discusses later associations of Nu: ROTSCH 2005: 230-239. In Ptolemaic-Roman times, Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* Book I is invoked as the one which relates that the Egyptians called the river Nile Nu. For this mention see: ROTSCH 2005: 231. Interesting as it may be, it can also be a Greek over-interpretation of something that occurred quite often in Horapollo's writings.
[39] However, the great flood in the Pyramid Texts is neither connected with Nu nor with Hapy (the latter, as is known, does not appear in the Old Kingdom religious texts), but emerges from the great goddess, see: *PT* spells 249, 311 or in Nut – spell 513 and happens to be identified with the King Pepi in the spell 710A.

'*Unis is upon his uniqueness, the oldest of the gods: his bread is for above with Ra, his nourishment is from Nu*.' /*PT* spell 258 (W 169)/

In a very similar fragment of Teti's text /*PT* spell 259 (T 194)/, this pharaoh is also the oldest of the gods and thus – this information was added in comparison with the Unis' spell – shall not be judged. Because his food originates from Nu, his bread may thus be for the gods in the sky, as for instance for Ra. The victuals that originate from the principles of the creation feed the gods in the sky, furnishing them with life.

Coming back to the aforesaid publication, and along with identification of the flood waters with Nu, one also notes that H. Rotsch concludes[40] that the later texts tell of flooding of the channels by Nu and hence they imply that Nu is the Nile flood. However, it seems far more plausible that Nu was understood as water – or still better – as the source of water, every kind of water in the universe, as is well demonstrated in the *Pyramid Texts*. The remarks made by H. Rotsch confirm the above statement. The author noted that Hapy and Nu, as designations of the rain in later times, were substituted by a simple word 'water' *mw*.[41]

Furthermore, in the *Pyramid Texts* there are other intriguing associations of Nu. It is thought-provoking that Nu in many instances appears along with the Under-sky. The sky and Nu appear to be inextricably linked in the Old Kingdom religious texts, or rather they constitute inextricably linked parts of the celestial world:

§ 446a *pꜣt.k n.k njw ḥnᶜ nnt*
§ 446b *mšnmtj nṯrw snmtj nṯrw m šw.sn*

'*You have your loaf of bread, Nu together with Under-sky, you pair of the gods, who unified the gods with their shadow.*' /*PT* spell 301 § 446-450 (W 206)/

Yet, this relationship is much more profound than seems at first sight and not accidental at all, for even their names, *njw* and *nnt*, turn out to constitute a wordplay, a phonetic mix-up, delimitating the extremes of the created world. Both Nu and Under-sky appear along with Shu and Tefnut. Thus, they all constitute the world at the dawn of creation.[42]

§ 1689a *jṯ n.k jwᶜt jt.k gbb m bꜣḥ ḫt psḏt m jwnw*
§ 1689b *m twt n.f*
§ 1689c *jn psḏtj wrt ᶜꜣt ḫntt bꜣw jwnw*
§ 1690a *wdn ṯw nṯrwj jpw wrw ᶜꜣw*
§ 1690b *ḫntw sḫt jꜣrw ḥr nst ḥrw*
§ 690c *wtwt.sn js*
§ 1691a *d.n.sn n.k šw m gs.k jꜣb tfnt m gs.k jmnt*
§ 1691b *nw m gs.k rsw nnt m gs.k mḥt*
§ 1692a *sšm.sn ṯw jr swt.sn jptw nfrt wᶜbt*
§ 1692b *jrt.n.sn n rᶜ m wdt.sn sw ḥr nswt.sn*
§ 1693a *NN pn ḏ.sn ᶜnḫ.k*

'*Gain the inheritance of your father Geb in the presence of the Ennead in Junu, as an appearance of him,' say Two Great and Big Enneads which are at the head of the ba-souls of Junu. The two great and big gods foremost of the Field of Rushes have introduced you, as their firstborn, to the throne of Horus. They have established Shu for you at your east side, Tefnut at your west side, Nu at your south side, and the Under-sky at your north side, so that they might direct you to their beautiful and pure places which they had made for Ra when they placed him on their thrones. This King will make you live.*' /*PT* spell 606 (M 336)/

Nu – similarly as the Under-sky – certainly is a place, for it had the portal/s, gates (e.g. opened by the Queen Neith as manifested in the *PT* spell 585) and a/the cavern/s. Its portal might have banned access to the source of primaeval matter to these who were not allowed to benefit by it, as for instance the pharaoh was. The King was the one who was admitted there even when still inexperienced withal being a pure child, as has already been shown above:

§ 392a *ḳꜣjt nj dmm.s ᶜrrwt nt nw*
§ 392b *j.n wnjs ḫr.ṯ j.m j.wn.tj n.f nw*
§ 392c *wnjs pj šrr jm*

'*Height that will not be permeated – portal of Nu! Unis has come to you: let this be opened to him. Is Unis the little one there?*' /*PT* spell 272 § 392a-c (W 179)/

As it was mentioned above, there are caverns[43] in Nu:

§ 268c *wnjs pj wnjs pj sjꜣ jmnt rᶜ*
§ 268d *snk jb ḫnt ṯpḥt nw*

'*This is Unis: Unis is Perception, west of Ra, reserved of heart, foremost of the cavern of Nu*.' /*PT* spell 250 § 268 c-d (W 161)/

Additionally, some actions or movements of Nu, or maybe his strides, are depicted, too:

§ 1078a *wn pt wn tꜣ*
§ 1078b *wnjj ṯpḥwt ptr*
§ 1078c *wnjj nmtwt nnw*
§ 1078d *sfḫḫjj nmtwt jꜣḫw*
§ 1078e *jn wᶜ pw ḏd rᶜ nb*

[40] Rotsch 2005: 239.
[41] Rotsch 2005: 235.
[42] For further discussion on the subject see: Popielska-Grzybwska forthcoming.
[43] Pécoil 1993 and Bickel 2005: 193.

'*The sky has been opened, the Earth has been opened, the caverns of the Seeing One have been opened, the flows of Nu have been freed, the flows of the sunlight have been loosed by this one who is everlasting every day*.' /*PT* spell 503 § 1078a-1078e (P 457; Nt 272a)/

Therefore, it seems that Nu not only guarantees everlastingness in the Beyond but also assures the continuity of life on Earth.

Nu is the one who commands the King to Atum and the latter commands him to Shu and in this way the natural consequence is shown and that he may go to and stay in the sky (see also *PT* spell 493). However, as the pharaoh was born at night, before anything else, one day he will come back to that state, to his father in darkness, to Atum in Nu:

§ 605a *jt n ttj jt n ttj m kkw*
§ 605b *jt n ttj tm m kkw jn n.k ttj jr gs.k*
§ 606a *st.f n.k tkꜣ zꜣjj.f ṯw*
§ 606b *mr zꜣjt nw fdt jptw nṯrwt*
§ 606c *hrw zꜣ.n.sn ḫnd*
§ 606d *jst nbt-ḥwt nt srḳt-ḥtw*

'*Father of Teti! Father of Teti in the darkness! Father of Teti, Atum in the darkness! Fetch Teti to your side, and he will make light for you and secure you like Nu is securing these four serpent goddesses on the day when they secured the throne, namely Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Serket-Hetu*.' /*PT* spell 362 (T 184)/

Interestingly Nu had its court of officials as well:

§ 1172b *ḫpr.k m ꜣḫj jm dwꜣt*
§ 1172c *ꜥnḫ.k m pw nḏm ꜥnḫw nb ꜣḫt jm.f*
§ 1173a *ꜣgbj wr jm nwt jn m tj jr n.k nn*
§ 1173b *jn nṯrw šmsw tm*
§ 1174a *jn wr r.j jr n.j nw mḥt ḥnt ḥnt nwt*
§ 1174b *sḏm.n.f njs.j jr.n.f ḏdt.n.j*
§ 1174c *jṯ.n.f n.j ḏt.j m ḏꜣḏt srj nw*
§ 1174d *ḫnt psḏt ꜥꜣt*

'*Become akh in the Duat. May you live this sweat living in which the Lord of Akhet lives, namely the great flood in Nut. 'Who has done this for you?' say the gods who sustain Atum. It is the One Greater than I am who has done this for me, the one at the north of the waterway which Nut controls. He has heard my invocations and has done what I had said, and [he] has assumed my body for me in the Court of Officials of Nu at the head of the Great Ennead*.' /*PT* spell 513 (P 453)/

The truly enthralling fact is that the pharaoh has his body fetched by Atum the creator in the presence of the Officials residing in Nu. The members of the body of the pharaoh are made complete by means of identification with the equivalent body parts of different gods (see below).

Finally, since we call Nu pre-ocean, it would be worth considering whether he/it had been understood by the Egyptians as the ocean and the sea named *šn-wr* or *ꜥꜣ-sk*,[44] or perhaps they had been emanations of Nu entering into the human world.

To sum up, Nu is water, primaeval, surrounding everything, giving life and assisting in maintaining order but he is also continual and eternal everlastingness – the embodiment of eternity. Nu is eternal, has neither beginning nor end. In his/its appearance of continual and everlasting endurance he/it is incarnation of eternity, that is a lifetime of the pharaoh. And continuity shall be fetched for the King.

3. Continuity (*nḥḥ*)

Continuity **(***nḥḥ***)** is mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts* only twice (*PT* 257 W 168; *PT* 274 W 180).

§ 304a *ḫnnw m pt*
§ 304b *mꜣ.(n).n mꜣt jn.sn nṯrw pꜣwtjw*
§ 304c *psḏt ḥrw m jꜣḫw*
§ 304d *snhd n.f nbw jrw*
§ 304e *pšr n.f psḏtj tm*
§ 305a *ḥms r.f m st nb tm jṯ wnjs pt pšn.f bjꜣ.s*
§ 305b *sšmw wnjs wꜣwt n ḫpr*
§ 306a *ḥtp wnjs m ꜥnḫ m jmnt šms sw dꜣtjw*
§ 306b *psḏ wnjs mꜣj.j m jꜣbt*
§ 306c *jw.t n.f wp ḫnnw m ksw*
§ 306d *snhd.n wnjs nṯrw smsw r wr*
§ 306e *jn sw sḫm m st.f*
§ 307a *jṯ wnjs ḥw jn.t n.f nḥḥ*
§ 307b *smn.t n.f sjꜣ jr rdwj.f*
§ 307c *ḥjj n wnjs jṯ.n.f ꜣḫt*

'*Confusion in the sky! 'We see something new,' say the primordial gods.*
O Ennead, Horus is in the sunlight. Let these who have forms menace for him, let the Two Enneads of Atum serve him as he sits in the place of the Lord of All.
Unis will assume the sky and hewed its basin; Unis will conduct the paths of This-who-is-coming-into-being.
When Unis rests in life in the West, these-of-the-Duat accompany him; when Unis shines afresh in the East, he who distinguished the confusion will come to him kowtowing.
Menace for Unis, you gods, since he is older than the Great One and to him belongs the power in his seat.
Unis will assume Authoritative Utterance, Continuity is fetched for him, and Perception is made perpetual for him at his feet.

[44] On this issue see some remarks in: ROTSCH 2010: 48-49.

Extol for Unis, for he has assumed the Akhet!' /PT 257 § 304a – 307c (W 168)/

4. Everlastingness (*ḏd*)

Under the circumstances scrutinised above, limitless everlastingness *ḏd* has its constant impact on the pharaoh as an incarnation of eternal existence in the Hereafter.

§ 412a *ʿḥʿw pj n wnjs nḥḥ ḏr.f pj ḏt*
§ 412b *m sʿḥ.f pn n mrr.f jrr.f msḏḏ.f nj jr.n.f*

'*The lifetime of Unis is continuity,*
His limit is everlastingness
In this his dignity of
If-he-likes-he-does
If-he-dislikes-he-does-not'

Which is at the limits of the horizons for ever and ever continually.
For their bas are in Unis's belly and their akhs are with Unis as the lavishness of his meal as regards the gods, which was cooked for Unis by means of their bones. Behold, for their ba is with Unis, and their shadows are with their owners, because Unis is as this truly visible, truly endurable.
Those who do deeds will not have power to hack up the place of the heart of Unis as the living in this land for ever and ever continually.' /PT 274 § 412-414 (W 180)/

5. The pharaoh

The *Pyramid Texts* reveal, confirm and prove how primaeval was the pharaoh, which was always emphasised by his identification with the creator god Atum. However, the verbatim identification does not exclusively reveal the subject under discussion. There exist many more hints indicating this equation.[45]

Unis was conceived at night, before dawn and this fact identifies him even more visibly with Atum who was the first living being possessing will to create:

§ 132a *jwr wnjs m grḥ ms wnjs m grḥ*
§ 132b *n sw jmw ḫt rʿ tpw ʿwj nṯr dwꜣ*
§ 132c *jwr wnjs m nw ms.f m nw*
§ 132d *j.n.f/wnjs jn.n.f n.ṯn t n gmw.n.f jm*

'*Unis was conceived at night, Unis was born at night. He belongs to those who are in the wake of Ra and who are in front of the Morning Star. Unis was conceived in Nu, he was born in Nu: he has come having carried for you bread of those he found there.' /PT 211 §132 (W 144)/*

Unis unites those who are in Nu /e.g. PT spell 574 (P 516)/. The King belongs to Nu, he informs about his affiliation to the pre-waters affirming that he has sufficient knowledge about it: 'I belong to Nu. [Monster, it is ///] I say. I am experienced, I am not [ignorant].' /PT spell 502G (P 405)/

He was born there before anything else came into being and consequently existed before anything else and will exist continuously and forever. The monarch is the eldest son of the creator:

§ 213a *tm sjʿ n.k NN pn šn n.k sw m ḫnw ʿwj.k*
§ 213b *zꜣ.k pw n ḏt.k n ḏt*

'*O Atum, raise this Unis up to you, enclose him within your embrace, for he is your son of your body forever.*' /*PT* spell 222 §213 (W 155)/

This exceptional father will guarantee the King his limitless existence in the eternity of Nu:

§ 605a *jt n ttj jt n ttj m kkw*
§ 605b *jt n ttj tm m kkw jn n.k ttj jr gs.k*
§ 606a *st.f n.k tkꜣ zꜣjj.f ṯw*
§ 606b *mr zꜣjt nw fdt jptw nṯrwt*
§ 606c *hrw zꜣ.n.sn ḫnd*
§ 606d *jst nbt-ḥwt nt srḳt-ḥtw*

'*Father of Teti! Father of Teti in the darkness! Father of Teti, Atum in the darkness! Fetch Teti to your side, and he will make light for you and secure you like Nu is securing these four serpent goddesses on the day when they secured the throne, namely Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Serket-Hetu.*' /*PT* spell 362 (T 184)/

The King is the first being that came from Atum, that derives from Atum thus is his first son but he is the creator himself concurrently, being various manifestations of Atum.

§ 603a *ḳꜣt nj dmm.s rwt nwt*
§ 603b *ttj pw šw pr m tm*
§ 603c *nw ḏ j.wn.tj nw n ttj*
§ 603d *m-k sw/ttj jj.j bꜣ.j nṯr.j*

'*Height that will not be permeated – gate of Nut! Teti is Shu, who came from Atum.*
Nu, make this be opened to Teti: look, Teti has come, being ba, being divine.' /*PT* spell 360 (T 182)/

The King is that who was born before anything else had come into being, even before death started to exist, as the *Pyramid Texts* ascertain:

§ 1466a *jwr mjwt nt NN jm.f jm nwt*
§ 1466b *ms NN pn jn jt.f tm*
§ 1466c *nj ḫpr.t pt nj ḫpr.t tꜣ*
§ 1466d *nj ḫpr.t rmṯ nj ms.t nṯrw nj ḫpr.t mt*

[45] POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA 2001.

'*The King's mother was pregnant with him, who is in the Under-sky, the King was born by his father Atum while the sky had not yet come into being, while the Earth had not yet come into being, while people had not yet come into being, while the gods had not been born yet, while death had not yet come into being.*' /*PT* spell 571 § 1466 (P 511)/

Pepi is a unique one and the gods will support him when he goes where the god is. The pharaoh is primaeval to the extent of only the creator and Nu are:

§ 1040a *j msjw m nw*
§ 1040b *nj ḫpr.t pt nj ḫpr.t tȝ*
§ 1040c *nj ḫpr.t smntj nj ḫpr.t ḥnnw*
§ 1040d *nj ḫpr.t snḏ pw ḫpr ḥr* [*jrt*] *ḥrw*

'*Pepi was born in Nu while the sky had not yet come into being, while the Earth had not yet come into being, while the endurance had not yet come into being, while confusion had not yet come into being, while the awe had not yet come into being for the [eye] of Horus had come into being.*' /*PT* spell 486 § 1040 (P 338)/

Curiously enough in the above-quoted passage, the portal of Nut is referred to. Nut as the sky can have its portal, but she is also personified as a woman, hence Nu for sure has a comparable status. Added to this, and this seems a weighty argument, the name of Nu in some of the *Pyramid Texts* (not in Unis' pyramid but in later versions, e.g. for instance § 310b of Teti texts or § 1964d in Pepi Neferkara's writings) is followed by the determinative of a falcon on a standard thus pointing to his divine nature and to the fact that at least later he was understood as a god.

Thus, as has been noted many times elsewhere by the present author, the King did not die the death, but he has gone away alive. Simply, he did not submit to death – none of them: neither the first death, which was human one, nor the second one, which was final and destructive to all elements of a being.

§ 604a *wḏ.n nw ttj n tm*
§ 604b *wḏ.n pgȝ ttj n šw*
§ 604c *ḏ.*(*f*) *j.wn.tj ꜥȝwj pt jpf n ttj ḫr rmṯ*
§ 604d *nj rn.sn js*
§ 604e *nḏr n.k ttj ḥr ꜥ.f šd n.k ttj jr pt*
§ 604f *jm.f mt jr tȝ mm rmṯ*

'*Nu has commended Teti to Atum, This-of-wide-arms has commended Teti to Shu, that he may make the yonder door of the sky opened for Teti, who is with people, the name of whom does not exist.*
Thus, hold Teti by his arm, take Teti away to the sky, that he may not die on Earth among people.' /PT spell 361 (T 183)/

Although there is probably no other culture all over the world and over time that has been associated with death to such an extent as the ancient Egyptian one was, but the Egyptians loved life and were able to manifest an omnipresent joy of life. Nu – the primaeval waters depicted in the *Pyramid Texts* – is a place of the beginning as well as of the end.

Furthermore, the monarch – as one of the oldest or simply the oldest and the most powerful god – was identified with other gods to reach his destination in the sky. These identifications enabled him to overcome various difficulties and stages on his way up. Added to this the most crucial and final identification ensuring completeness for the King is the identification with the creator god Atum and his return to Nu, as the oldest religious texts inform. Still, it was Nu who was summoned to witness this crowning metamorphosis of the pharaoh:

§ 1446a *nw sḏm sw mdw pn j.ḏdw n.k nmtjj m zȝf mr n rꜥ*
§ 1446b *wḏȝ n.f jb.k jr nmtjj m zȝf mr n rꜥ swt wr zȝ wr*
§ 1446c *jj nmtjj m zȝf mr n rꜥ ḥnꜥ.k šd nmtjj m zȝf mr n rꜥ ḥnꜥ.k*

'*Nu! Hear it, these words said to you (by) Nemtiemzaf Merenra. Become informed through it as this Nemtiemzaf Merenra is a Great One, truly the son of the Great One. Nemtiemzaf Merenra is with you, so take Nemtiemzaf Merenra with you.*' /*PT* spell 570A (P 509)/

Death and eternity are inextricably linked in the Egyptian worldview. There was neither one death nor one eternity. The concept of duality in most aspects of life was a very Egyptian way of thinking, the Egyptian way of understanding the world. Consequently, every concept was not only two-dimensional but was multi-faceted and internally linked as well constituting binary opposition within it, with seeming paradoxes complementing each other. The ancients who lived on the Nile believed in death, which was actually a part of life, being an end of life on Earth, which was exclusively a transition to another form of life in the Beyond. However, as was mentioned earlier, they also believed in a second death, which was final and thus completely destructive, annihilating every manifestation of life.

Eternal continuity of life on Earth guarantees everlastingness in the sky and only they together realise eternity, and eternity is the lot and privilege of the King.

6. Eternity

§ 412a *ꜥḥꜥw pj n NN nḥḥ ḏr.f pj ḏt*
§ 412b *m sꜥḥ.f pn n mrr.f jrr.f msḏḏ.f nj jr.n.f*
§ 412c *jm ḏr ȝḫt ḏt r nḥḥ*

'*The lifetime of the King is continuity,*

His limit is everlastingness.
In this his dignity of
If-he-likes-he-does
If-he-dislikes-he-does-not
Which is at the limits of the horizons for ever and ever.'
/PT 274 § 412 (W 180)/

At the beginning of the world and of the beings, and as well as at the end of the world and the living creatures, there were in Nu exclusively Atum and Osiris, and consequently the pharaoh as well was there and thus was not to die the death.

All the body parts of the King are equated with the equivalent body parts of the gods, although curiously regarding the monarch it is said that his ears were those of Nu /*PT* spell 539 (P 486)/ but, thus equipped, he was to reach the sky and there final and eternal completeness of Atum to 'become complete of every god' – *ka* of every god:

§ 147b *ṯn kw jn.sn m rn.k n nṯr ḫpr.k j.tm.t* (*m*) *nṯr nb*
§ 148a *tp.k m ḥrw dȝt j.ḫm-sk*
§ 148b *mḫnt.k m ḫntj-jrtj j.ḫm-sk*
§ 148c *msḏrwj.k zȝtj tm j.ḫm-sk jrtj.k zȝtj tm j.ḫm-sk*
§ 148d *fnḏ.k m zȝb j.ḫm-sk jbḥw.k spdw j.ḫm-sk*
§ 149a *ʿwj.k ḥp dwȝ-mjwt.f dbḥ.k pr.k r pt prr.k*
§ 149b *rdwj.k jmst ḳbḥ-snw.f dbḥ.k hȝ.k jr nwt hȝȝ.k*
§ 149c *ʿwt.k zȝtj tm j.ḫm-sk*
§ 149d *nj sk.k nj sk kȝ.k ṯwt kȝ*

'*You are distinguished – say they, in your name of god become complete of every god:*
Your head is that of Horus of the Duat, O Imperishable!
Your face is that of Khentj-jrtj, O Imperishable!
Your ears are those of the Twins of Atum, O Imperishable!
Your eyes are those of the Twins of Atum, O Imperishable!
Your nose is that of the Jackal, O Imperishable!
Your teeth are those of Sopdu, O Imperishable!
Your arms are those of Hep and Duamutef, which you need to ascend to the sky – and you shall ascend
Your legs are those of Jmsetj and Kebehsenuf,
which you need to descend to the lower sky – and you shall descend.
All your (body) members are the Twins of Atum, O Imperishable!
You shall not perish and your kȝ shall not perish – you are kȝ.' /PT spell 215 § 148a-149d (W 148)/

The above-discussed relationship between Nu and the King proves and confirms the pharaoh's truly primaeval character and emphasises his identity – manifested in all aspects – with the creator as well.

Consequently, the pharaoh, as the one who derives from Nu and belongs to Nu, was eternal and existed in eternity of the pre-waters Nu before existence and after the end – he was the quintessence of existence – the essence of every gods' essence – the *kȝ* of every divine *kȝ*.

7. Conclusion

According to the *Pyramid Texts*, Nu is the guard of the primordial creatures that might endanger the created world and its *maat*. However, it is the pharaoh who has control over 'those-who-are-in-Nu'.

Nu also connotes fecundity or supplies of food for the King. There appears then an issue to consider whether providing fecundity is a repetition of creation in order to satisfy the needs of a divine and a human being, those needs which are released while coming into being with and as the creator:

§ 207c *ḫpr.k ḥnʿ jt.k tm ḳȝ.k ḥnʿ jt.k tm*
§ 207d *wbn.k ḥnʿ jt.k tm j.fḫ n.k mȝrw*

'*You shall come into being with your father Atum, you shall become high with your father Atum, you shall rise with your father Atum and discern needs.*' /PT 222 § 207 c-d (W 155)/

Scholars quite often seem to presuppose that Nu comes from the ground as flood or inundation and consequently vaporises to become the clouds to produce rain.[46] Still, Nu is a watery matter which surrounds the Earth everywhere, fills every reservoir of water. Moreover, this apparent allusion to surroundings and hence circulation is also a characteristic of continual existence (*nḥḥ*) which comes from Nu and replenishes life on Earth and becomes everlastingness (*ḏḏ*) in the eternity of Nu.

Nu unites everything and consequently he is an embodiment of eternity. The beginning and the end of the world meet in Nu. Moreover, continuity (*nḥḥ*) and everlastingness (*ḏḏ*) constitute eternal existence, eternal being, eternal endurance, which is an indispensable element of the life of the pharaoh. The King was conceived and came into being before anything else in Nu. He emerges from Nu as an expression of the creator's will, as the quintessence of the creation, and then – at the end of time – immerses into Nu, which signifies eternal existence as well. However, this poses a question: is Nu the source of eternity? This is dubious. Nu is the abode of eternity, but its source is Atum.

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[46] Compare ROTSCH 2005: 234 but when Nu concerned without a reference to particular texts.

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‘Children of Weakness’ in the *Book of Gates*

Mykola Tarasenko

A.Yu. Krymskyi Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine

Abstract: *The image of ‘Children of Weakness’ (mś.w Bdšt) in the text and figure of the 11th Hour of the Book of Gates (Scene № 69) is investigated in the article. In this source mś.w Bdšt are shown in groups of four, and the Sons of Horus face them. This motif has echoes in the Cosmogony of Hermopolis and is also known in some other textual sources, such as BD 17 (Urk. V, Abs. 1, 6–7) and papyrus from New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 47.218.84, indicating that mś.w Bdšt are the four fingers of a creator-god that rebelled against him (IV,5–V,4). This motif is known from the Middle Kingdom pRamesseum XV verso as well. Reminiscences of the Hermopolitan myth with mś.w Bdšt can possibly be seen in the details of BD 30B/125 and BD 110 vignettes.*

Keywords: *‘Children of Weakness’,* Book of Gates, *Hermopolis, cosmogony,* Book of the Dead *chapter 17*

The subject of the present article[1] is the image of *mś.w Bdšt* which is given in the upper register of the 11th hour of the *Book of Gates*.[2] Scene No. 69 (after E. Hornung) shows its only extant examples (Fig. 6,[3] 7[4]).

This composition depicts the large fist of the deity *Ỉmnw-ḫ3.wt* – ‘Those-who-hide-corpses’ – that is rising above the earth and clasping the rope (according to the text it is named *iḥ nik.w* – ‘the punishing rope’). On the left, the rope controls the throat of Apophis and to the right it extends over four serpents; in the tomb of Ramses VI (KV 9), the serpents are painted in blue. On the extreme right of the image is the head of the fifth serpent emerging from the earth. Papyrus New York: *Brooklyn Museum of Art*, 47.218.84 indicates that *mś.w Bdšt* came from the right-hand fingers of the creator-god (or the goddess Hathor), and so the presence of the fifth serpent is naturally explicable; scholars have tended to overlook this. We will return to this below.

The picture shows that the main rope is connected to the serpents with four separate yellow ropes, tying together their necks. Shown above are five deities labelled as Geb and the Children of Horus, holding in their hands the other end of the ropes that bind the serpents. There is a postscript ‘*W3mmtj*’ next to the first serpent and ‘*mś.w Bdšt*’ above the other three.[5]

The composition is complemented by a text under *Ỉmnw-ḫ3.wt*’s fist and by sixteen gods holding the rope, *W3mmtj* and *mś.w Bdšt*:

(40) *wnn=sn m sḫr pn* (41) *m s3w.t nt mś.w Bdšt* (42) *s3w=sn m iḥ nik.w* (43) *imi ḏr.t Ỉmnw-ḫ3.wt* (44) *(r)dd.tw m(w)t.w m šmtw.t=f* (45) *r sbḥ.wt Ḥntj-imntjw* (46) *in*[6] *nn (n) ntr.w* (47) *kk.w n ḥr=k W3mmtj* (48) *ḥtm n=ṯn mś.w Bdšt* (49) *m*[7] *ḏr.t imn.t (r)di=s ḏw.t=ṯn* (50) *m iśh nik.w im=f* (51) *Gb s3w=f ntt.w=ṯn* (52) *mś.w ḳ3s.w (r)di=sn ṯn (n) iḥ(k)w* (53) *s3w=ṯn m [śip (n) Ḥntj-]imntj.w* (54) *[wnn=śn]*[8] *m śḫr [pn* (55) *wdn]=sn ḳ3ś.w*[9] *mś.w Bdšt* (56) *iw wi3 ntr ʿ3 š3(t)=f r h(3).w pn n ʿ3pp* (57) *nʿʿ=f m-ḫt wdi.t nt(n)ṯ.wj=śn*

(40) They exist in that form, (41) as the guard of Children of *Bdšt*. (42) They guard the punishing rope, (43) in the hand of ‘Those-who-hides-corpses’. (44) The deceased[10] are placed around him (45) next to the Khentiamentiu gates. (46) These gods say: (47) – Darkness on your face, *W3mmtj*! (48) – Destruction to you, Children of *Bdšt* (49) in the Hiding Hand! It returns back your evil (50) in the rope of punishment,[11] (51) Geb guards your shackles. (52) Children of Fetters,[12] they give you to

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[1] I am deeply thankful to Dr. Daniele Michaux-Colombot (Orleans) for checking my English.

[2] Piankoff 1954: 75–81; Zandee 1960: 127, 294–295; 1969: 318; Hornung 1979: 356–360; 1980: 246–247; Zeidler 1999: 306–313; Wiebach-Koepke 2002 II: 334–337.

[3] Piankoff 1954: pl. 58–59 (Ramses VI; KV 9).

[4] Hornung 1980: 247; 1999: 75, fig. 39.

[5] Hornung 1980: 248–249 (24–29).

[6] In the tomb of Ramses VI the signs *i* and *n* are mixed, in the tomb of Seti I and ‘Osireion’ it is given correctly as *in*. Hornung 1979: 359.

[7] In the text of Seti I it is incorrectly written out instead of ; in ‘Osireion’ it falls in *lacuna*.

[8] Here and other places in square brackets the text is damaged in the tomb of Ramses VI and restored after the text of Seti I. Hornung 1979: 360.

[9] The word *ḳ3ś.w* ‘fetters’ in the tomb of Ramses VI is incorrectly written as *t* instead of *ḳ*. In the tomb of Seti I *ḳ* is written correctly, but for ‘quail’ instead of the sign for ‘kite’ (G1, phonet. *3*) is written the sign for ‘quail’; (G43, phonet. *w*).

[10] In Cl. Carrier’s translation: ‘*C’est à la périphérie que l’on place les morts (?) vers lesportes qui sont devant l’Occident*’. Carrier 2009: 260. E. Hornung gives the following translation: ‚‘*Mit verborgenem Liechman’ ist Stricke warden um ihn berumgewunden beim Tor des Chontamenti*‘. Hornung 1980: 248–249). ‘*Ropes are wound around him at the Gate of Khentamenti*’. Hornung 2005: 173. Believing that *m(w)t.w* should be understood as ‘Stricke’. Hornung 1980: 250, Anm. 17.

[11] Lit. ‘The punishment is in the rope’.

[12] I.e. Children of Horus.

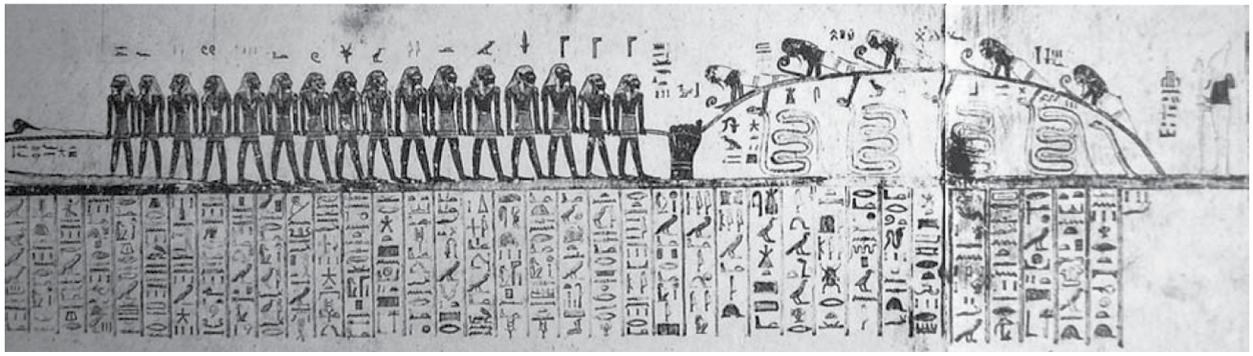


Fig. 6. Scene No. 69 of the 11th hour of the *Book of Gates*. Tomb of Ramses VI (KV 9), 20th dynasty.
After: PIANKOFF 1954: pl. 58–59.

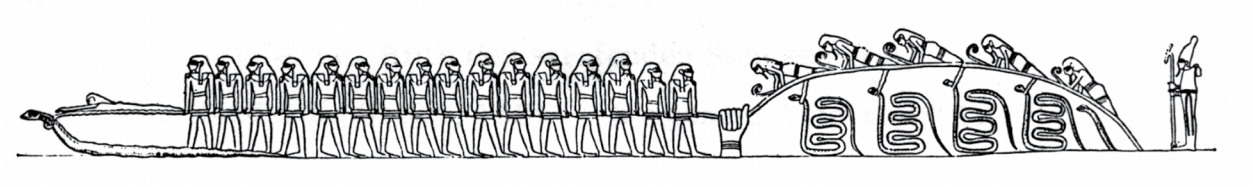


Fig. 7. Scene No. 69 of the 11th hour of the *Book of Gates*. Drawing after: HORNUNG 1980: 247; HORNUNG 1999: 75, fig. 39.

decrepitude (?)[13] (53) They are guarded under [the order of Khentiamentiu]![14] (54) [They exist] in [that] form, (55) they [puts] fetters on the Children of *Bdšt*. (56) This is the boat of the Great God, he travels[15] across this outskirts of Apophis. (57) He is going (forward) after he has put their fetters.[16]

Commenting on this scene, J. Zandee and E. Hornung literally understand that *W3mmtj* and three *mś.w Bdšt* are depicted here in the form of serpents[17]. But the scene may have another explanation. In 1965, H. Altenmüller in his doctoral thesis described the early form of Hermopolitan Cosmogony[18] (pre-existing before the *Ogdoad*'s four pairs of deities of Primaeval Chaos become dominant).[19] Among others, he suggested that this myth can be depicted in the Cosmogonic fragment of BD 17.

(3) […] [*ink*][20] *Rᶜ m ḥᶜ.w*[*=f*][21] *m* (4) *š3ᶜ=f ḥḳ3.t iri.t.n=f ptr r=f sw Rᶜ pw m š3ᶜ=f*[22] *ḥḳ3.t iri.tn=f m šᶜ Rᶜ pw ḥᶜj.t m nswt iti ir.tn=f*[23] *m wnn*[24] *n* (5) *ḫpr.t sṯs.w Šw iw=f ḥr=f ḳ33 imj Ḫmnw ist rdi n=f mś.w Bdšt im.jw Ḫmnw*[25]

'(3) [...] (I am) Re in his (first) rising, (4) (when) he began to reign over his creation. What is that? It is Re, (when) he began to reign over created by him. It is Re who ascended to the kingship over created by him before

[13] J. Zandee believes the word *ḏw.t* 'evil' is missing in the text and should be read as *rdi=śn ḏw.t=ṯn* – '*the fetters cause your evil*'. ZANDEE 1969: 318; HORNUNG 1980: 249 (36); 250, Anm. 21; WIEBACH-KOEPKE 2002 II: 337 (2242) ('Schwahen'); ZEIDLER 1999: 313, Anm. 4 ('Altersschwäche'); CARRIER 2009: 260 ('*(puisqu')ils vous ont donné la faiblesse*').

[14] The text does not give a clear translation: '*Take heed of the verdict of the First of Westerns*'. ZANDEE 1969: 318. *‚Hütet euch vor Verdammung (durch) Chontamenti*'. HORNUNG 1980: 249 (37); 250, Anm. 22. *‚Möget ihr euch vor der Revision Chontamentis hüten!*'. ZEIDLER 1999: 313 (53). *‚Möget ihr euch vor der Prüfung des Chontamenti*'. WIEBACH-KOEPKE 2002 II: 337 (2243). *‚Gardez-vous de [la condamnation de Celui qui est à la tête de] l'Occident!*'. CARRIER 2009: 260.

[15] J. Zandee, however, understands that the boat of Re here runs aground, and continues to move after the fetters are imposed on Children of *Bdšt*: 'The boat of the great god runs aground in this neighbourhood of Apophis, but it sails after they have been fettered'. ZANDEE 1969: 318.

[16] *Book of Gates* (Ramses VI; KV 9), 11th hour, upper register, Scene 69. PIANKOFF 1954: 75–81; HORNUNG 1979: 358–360.

[17] ZANDEE 1960: 127, 294–295; HORNUNG 1980: 247.

[18] ALTENMÜLLER 1965: 101–103.

[19] LEITZ 1994: 70, Anm. 18.

[20] Independent Pronoun *ink* is missed in this document by mistake. cf. LAPP 2006: 12–13.

[21] In p *Nb-snj* the sign of 'cobra' is mistakenly written instead of Suffixal Pronoun sign =*f*.

[22] U. Rößler-Köhler reads as *ḥᶜ=f*. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER 1979: 165, Anm. 7*.

[23] In part of the documents the specification is given that this 'ascending' took place in Heracleopolis Magna. LAPP 2006: 15 (pLe1, pL5, pL13, pDu). For example: – *ḥᶜj*(*.t*) *m Nn-nswt m nswt* (after p*3nj* London: *British Museum*, EA 10470.

[24] In some documents *Ỉwnw* 'Heliopolis' is written. LAPP 2006: 17 (pL4, pLe2, pLe13).

[25] The ending of the sentence have variants in the documents: … *ḥr ḳ33 n im.jw Ḫmnw* '… on the Hill which is in Hermopolis'. cf. p*3s.t-m-3ḥ-bit* London: *British Museum*, EA 9904; SHORTER 1938: 111. Or … *m nṯr.w im.jw Ḫmnw* – 'as the gods which are in Hermopolis'. LAPP 2006: 18–19).

Fig. 8. A 'hare' sign on the standard in the middle of *Ouroboros*, coffin of *Mn-ḫprw-Rᶜ*, 21st dynasty. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* J.E. 29628; CG 6271. Drawing after: Niwiński 1989a: 56, fig. 3.

(5) the Supports of Shu appeared, when he was on a Hill, which is in Hermopolis, (and) when the Children of *Bdšt* were given to him in[26] Hermopolis'.[27]

The Hermopolitan myth of Creation has several phases: the emergence of the Primaeval Hill on the place of the city, the emergence of a lotus on this hill, and the birth of a sun god-child – the creator of the world, people and gods, thus completing the Cosmogony.[28] The Hermopolitan myth of Creation appears also on the coffin of *Mn-ḫprw-Rᶜ* [Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 29628; CG 6271 (21st dynasty)], where in the middle of *Ouroboros* there is a 'hare' sign on the standard – the symbol of the goddess Unut (*Wnw.t*) and the 15th Upper Egyptian (the so-called 'Hare') Nome (Fig. 8).[29] Here we can see a graphical display of the most important feature of the Egyptian Cosmogenesis, according to which the large Nome centres (their temples) are claimed to be the region where the first rise of the Terrestrial Hill, perceived as the centre of the world, from the Primaeval Ocean occurred *in illo tempore*. Here the role of *Ouroboros* is related to the spatial perception of the world – in the mythological model of the Cosmos, the *Ouroboros* serves as the proven border of the created world (the property of Re) in the endless waters of the Primaeval Chaos of Nun, beyond which is Nothingness.[30] Thus, placing the Nome sign in the middle of the serpent surrounding the Universe may indicate that this region is the place where the act of Creation took place, the centre of the Cosmos – its *axis mundi*.

According to H. Altenmüller, the battle described in BD 17 with the forces of Chaos, personified in *mś.w Bdšt*, takes place immediately after the birth of the Sun god-child from the lotus, when creation was not yet over, and the evil forces had good (and unique) chances to prevent its completion while the divine child was not yet strong. H. Altenmüller points out a connection between this plot and the message of later texts concerning the combat of the young Re, who emerged from the Primaeval Ocean, with four hostile gods or serpents in Hermopolis.[31] Similar conclusions have been proposed by E. Jelinkova-Reymond and J.-C. Goyon,[32] who paid special attention to the similarity of Cosmogonies from Hermopolis and Edfu, where the second one seems to date back to an earlier prototype.

Chr. Leitz developed and supplemented these ideas,[33] noting that in the picture in the *Book of Gates* the name *W3mmtj* is placed vertically, whereas *mś.w Bdšt* appear horizontally, suggesting that *W3mmtj* here is not the name of the first snake, but rather a sign of the 'the leader' (*Anführer*) of all four serpents.[34] Thus, all four serpents, *mś.w Bdšt*, are acting as manifestations of *W3mmtj*, who himself was identified as Apophis. Although *W3mmtj* was considered as one of the names or epithets of Apophis,[35] sometimes he could play an independent role, as in the Medamud inscription where he was placed among the four serpents hostile to Re: *Ḏw-ḳd*, *W3br*, *Hmhmti* and *W3m*(*m*)*t*(*y*).[36]

A close parallel to this confrontation is shown on fragment No. 10 of the papyrus of *Ḥnmw-m-ḥb* London: *Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaelogy*, UC 32365 (19th dynasty) (Fig. 9),[37] reporting on the destruction of four Apophis serpents ( ) by four gods of the solar circle. In this quadruple image of Apophis in the p*Ḥnmw-m-ḥb*, A. Shorter sees special forms of serpents that oppose Re in the most crucial phases of his daily motion – sunrise, noon, sunset and midnight;[38] this, however, is more a product of late, secondary Cosmogonic myth-processing.[39]

[26] Cf. the understanding of the Preposition *m* here by J. P. Allen. Allen 1988: 32.
[27] After p*Nb-snj* London: *British Museum*, EA 9900, 18th Dynasty (*Urk.* V: Abs. 1, 6–7 (3–5); Naville 1886 I: Taf. XXIII, 3–5; Lapp 2006: 12−19).
[28] For Egyptian Cosmogony see: Sethe 1929; Allen 1988; Bickel 1994a.
[29] Niwiński 1989a: 56, fig. 3.
[30] Hornung 1996: 161. On the combination of temporal and spatial elements in the image of *Ouroboros* see: Niwiński 1981: 41–53.
[31] Altenmüller 1965: 103. Cf. Jelinkova-Reymond 1956: 39.
[32] Jelinkova-Reymond 1956: 42, 43, fn. 3; Goyon 1985: 9, 154.
[33] Leitz 1987: 50; 1994: 99–101.
[34] Leitz 1994: 99.
[35] *Wb* I: 251.
[36] Borghouts 1973: 118, fn. 4.
[37] Shorter 1937: 36, pl. X; drawing: Quirke 2001: 60, fig. 23.
[38] Shorter 1937: 38.
[39] Leitz 1994: 100, Anm. 36.

Fig. 9. Fragment No. 10 of the papyrus of *Ḫnmw-m-ḥb,* 19th dynasty. London: *Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaelogy*, UC 32365. After: Shorter 1937: 36, pl. X.

There are numerous mentions of the combat with quadruple representation of evil.[40] In the papyrus of *Ns-Mnw* p*Bremner-Rhind* (London: *British Museum*, EA 10188), the formula is aimed against Apophis, enemies and rebels, with *mś.w Bdšt* among them; it requires quadruple repetition, i.e. 𓇳𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺 – *ỉfdw spw*: '(repeat) for four times':

(18) *ỉw Rꜥ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw=f*[41] *mꜣꜥ.t ỉrt n.w ꜥꜣpp mś.w Bdš wr.w Bdš mꜣꜥ-ḫrw Rꜥ r ḫftj.w=f ỉfdw spw* […] (19) *ỉw śḫr.n=ỉ ꜥꜣpp śbỉ.w štyw Dw-ḳd mś.w Bdš m ś.t=śn nb.t m bw nb.t ntj ỉw=śn ỉm*

(18) 'Re triumphs and (restore) justice over Apophis, great Children of *Bdš* (and) *Bdš*-serpent.[42] Re triumphs over enemies – '(repeat) for four times […]. (19) I've

[40] See: Faulkner 1933: 54 (25,18–19); 1937, 171; Parker, Leclant, Goyon 1979: 61–65; 62, fn. 9.

[41] Writing of *mꜣꜥ-ḫrw* in this context corresponds to 'triumphiren' (*Wb* II: 15.1 (II)).

[42] R.O. Faulkner translates as '*Apep and Ye Children of Revolt, Ye Greatly Rebellious*'. Faulkner 1937: 171. However, a qualitative adjective, as definition in the sentence, written after the noun and agrees in gender and number. In our case qualitative adjective-epithet *wr* 'great' follows *mś.w Bdš* in plural form *wr.w*, i.e. it may be associated with *mś.w Bdš*, rather than the name of serpent *Bdš* (singular) as R. O. Faulkner thought.

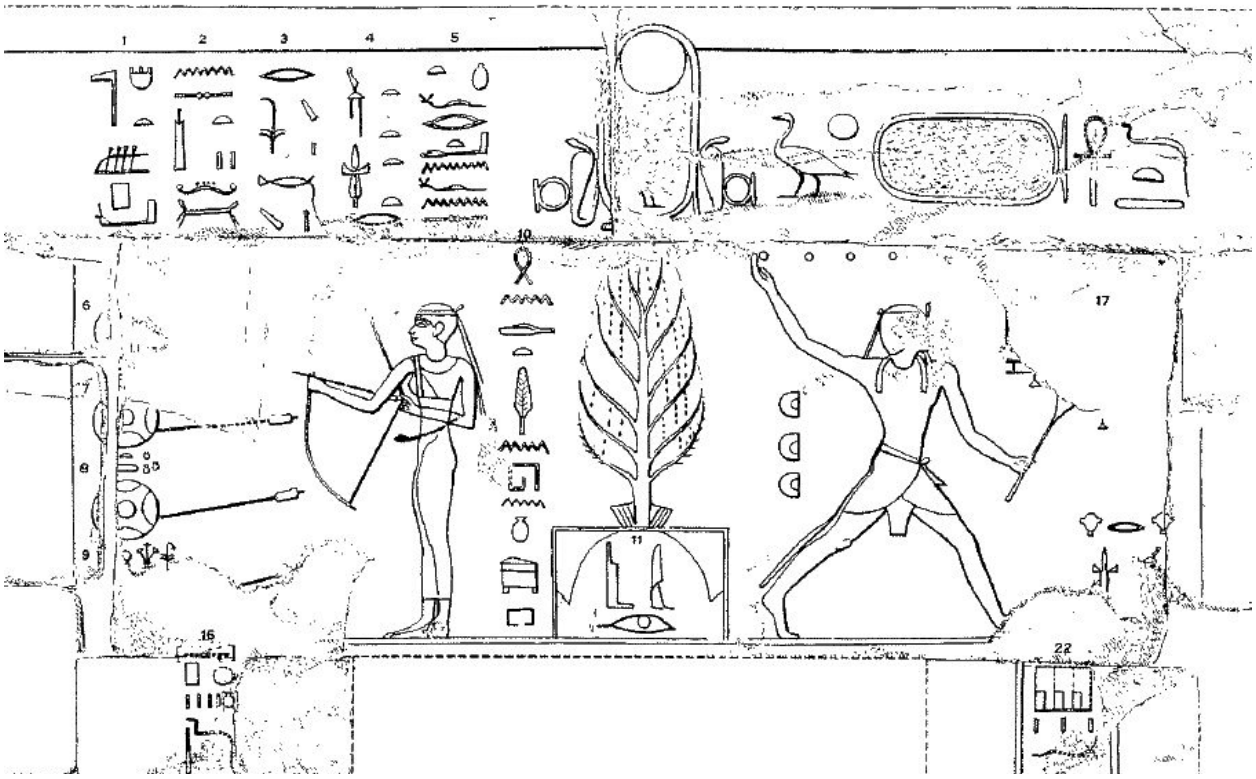
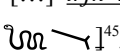


Fig. 10. The ritual of protecting the tomb of Osiris, scene on the east wall of the chamber 'E' of the Taharqa's cenotaph at Kom Jem, 25th dynasty. Drawing after: Parker, Leclant and Goyon 1979: pl. XXV.

overthrown Apophis, rebels, turtle, the Unhealthy (?)[43] (and) the Children of *Bdš* from each and every throne and place, wherever they have been'.[44]

The same text describes the procedure of producing and further destruction of four statues (*twt*) of enemies with faces of serpents (or birds), labelled as *mś.w Btš* (= *Bdšt*), embodying the king's enemies:

(46) […] *irj.t n ky.w twt.w n ifdw ḫfty.w m ḥr.w n* [][45](47) *snḥ.w ntt ꜥ.wt=śn n ḫ3=śn mś.w Btš* […] (53) *tw ky twt(.w) n ifdw ḫfty.w m ḥr.w n 3pd ntt m ꜥ.wt=śn rd.wt=śn* (54) *ḫ3=śn m-ꜥ=śn nw.w* (*m*) *dd mś.w Btš.w*

'(46) […] Make other statues (*twt.w*) of four enemies with faces [of serpent], (47) their hands shall be tied with fetters − (these are) the Children of *Btš*. […] (53) (And) other statues of four enemies with faces of birds (which shall have) tied their hands (and) legs (54) with fetters in front of them (and) called 'Children of *Btš.w*".[46]

On the question of the fourfold repetition of magical destruction of the enemies of the king and of the gods, it is interesting to recall the ritual of protecting the tomb of Osiris. The defeat was acquired via shots from the bows of four balls symbolising enemies and traitors of four countries – Nubia, Asia, Libya and Egypt. In particular, it is displayed on the east wall of the chamber 'E' of the Taharqa's cenotaph at Kom Jem (25th dynasty) (Fig. 10).[47]

Moreover, of crucial importance is the correlation of *mś.w Bdšt* with the Supports of the Sky in CT Sp. 60. As it is known, there were four such supports.

wr.t pr=k m ḥw.t-nṯr.w m irì.t n Rꜥ m śȝ=k n=k im=ś r ḥḏt śbḫ.t(*w*) *ȝḫ.t ḥśb.t ꜥȝ.w* (*pr*)[48] *wnn.t m śȝ Wśir* (N *pn*)[49] *śȝ*

[43] R. O. Faulkner suggests that *dw-ḳd* is '*Ill-disposed One*'. Faulkner 1937: 171; 1962: 282). The same name is written underneath the 29 names of Apophis. Faulkner 1933: 89 (32.18); 1938: 52).

[44] London: *British Museum*, EA 10188 = pBremner-Rhind, 25, 18–19. Faulkner 1933: 54−55).

[45] I agree with R. O. Faulkner's contextual reconstruction of this illegible writing as *ḥfȝw* – 'serpent'. Faulkner 1933: 91, fn. 'e'; 1938: 52 (32.46).

[46] London: *British Museum*, EA 10188 = pBremner-Rhind, 32, 46–47; 53−54. Faulkner 1933: 91, 92.

[47] Parker, Leclant, Goyon 1979: pl. XXV; 63–65.

[48] After B10C^{D}.

[49] After B14.

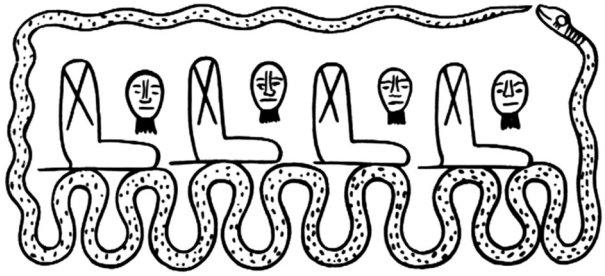


Fig. 11. The scene with a body of four beheaded enemies of Re surrounded by *Ouroboros*-serpent, p*D̲d-Ḥnśw-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* II, 21st dynasty. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* S.R. VII. 10266. Drawing after: PIANKOFF 1957: 174, fig. 67.

ꜣ.w=ś (/ n)[50] *mś.w Bdšt wnn m śꜣ r*[///][51] *Wśir*[52](N)[53] *pn śrḫt=ś ꜥ.wy Nw.t* […].

'Your great house is in the temples, created by Re for your protection, (for you to be) here in the sunset. The horizon is closed (?),[54] the supports (of the house) are counted (?),[55] for protecting Osiris (N.)', protection of his[56] Supports, – the Children of *Bdšt*, – existed for protecting Osiris (N); his beam is Nut's hands […]'.[57]

It is typical that all six coffins that record this spell originate from the Hermopolitan necropolis (el-Bersha), which may indicate the local character of the notions set forth therein. The association of *mś.w Bdšt* with the Supports of the Sky finds parallels in the myths of the Hermopolitan *Ogdoad*, formed in the time of the Middle Kingdom and according to which each of the four pairs of the *Ogdoad*, often referred to as the Eight *ḥḥ*-gods, acted as the preserver of one of the celestial supports at each four cardinal points, as described in CT Sp. 80.[58] This spell is known from five coffins from el-Bersha, and only two examples come from other regions (G1T, A1C). Therefore, its Hermopolitan origin, as well as that of CT Sp. 60, seems plausible.

In general, the image of four enemies of the god is quite common in Egyptian religious art. In particular, this motif is placed in the mythological papyrus of *D̲d-Ḥnśw-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* II Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, S.R. VII. 10266 (21st dynasty) (Fig. 11).[59] Here, the body of four beheaded creatures (obviously enemies of Re) are surrounded by the *Ouroboros*-serpent, in other words, they are given the chthonic functions of the serpent devoted to the Underworld. In fact, the semantics of the composition refer to the fate of *mś.w Bdšt,* according to the text of the aforementioned Scene No. 69 of the 11th hour of the *Book of Gates*. The latter indicates that Geb and the Children of Horus 'follow' the fetters of *mś.w Bdšt*, held by 'Those-who-hide-corpses' (*Jmnw-ḫꜣw.t*) (25–29)'; according to J. Zandee: 'they (*mś.w Bdšt* – M.T.) are locked on earth'.[60] Therefore, attention must be given to the reference in *Pyramid Texts* Utterance 258 about the reluctance of the king to be 'locked up' in Geb (i.e. Earth).[61]

Thus, the Sons of Horus confront four *mś.w Bdšt* as a quadruple form of *Wꜣmmtj*/ Apophis in the *Book of Gates*. Chr. Leitz rightly believes it to be the principle of symmetry, when Apophis, who takes the form of four serpent-like embodiments to fight Re, is opposed by an equal number of deities − the Children of Horus (or four falcons in Edfu mythology) acting as quadruple solar manifestation of the creator-god.[62]

This myth might pick up a controversial image in the vignettes of BD 30[B] and BD 125 (the so-called *Judgment scene*/*Totengerichtszene*), where the four Sons of Horus are depicted next to the throne of Osiris on a lotus flower growing out of the pond symbol.[63] Identical images were widespread and found at other sites: in tomb paintings,[64] on stelae,[65] and so on. From the 18th dynasty onwards, these scenes became popular. Fr. Servajean collected forty-seven examples of them.[66] They take several different forms.[67]

1. The lotus flower grows directly from the pond symbol. Example: the papyrus of *Hw-nfr* London: *British Museum*, EA 9901, 19th dynasty (Fig. 12).
2. The lotus flower grows from beneath the throne of Osiris. Example: the papyrus of *ꜣnj* London: *British Museum*, EA 10470, 19th dynasty (Fig. 13).

[50] After B10C[D].
[51] After B10C[B].
[52] is a rare form of writing the name of Osiris, found exclusively in the *Coffin Texts*.
[53] Only in B10C[B].
[54] Due to existing differences in reading of determinatives, *śbḫ.t ꜣḫ.t* can be understood as 'the gates of Horizon' FAULKNER 1994 I: 55, fn. 9.
[55] Possible translation: '*destroyed*'. FAULKNER 1994 I: 55; fn. 10. P. Barguet reads the phrase: '*le porche (de l'horizon est l'evaluation de l'excès et) c'est la protection d'Osiris*'. BARGUET 1986: 199). Cl. Carrier: '*Le portail de l'horizon étant considérablement ruiné, ce qui existe est la protection d'Osiris*'. CARRIER 2001 I: 141.
[56] As indicated by R. Faulkner, suffixal pronoun 3 person singular *=ś* here refers to 'horizon' (*ꜣḫ.t* – female) in *CT* I: 253d. FAULKNER 1994 I: 55, fn. 14.
[57] *CT* I: 253a–254a (B10C[C]; Sp. 60).
[58] *CT* II: 27–28; ALLEN 1988: 21–27; BICKEL 1994b: 82–97; WILLEMS 1996: 293–297, 469–473.
[59] PIANKOFF 1957: 174, fig. 67; pl. 22.
[60] ZANDEE 1960: 127.
[61] *Pyr*. § 308.
[62] LEITZ 1994: 100–101.
[63] B. Stricker sees in the image of the Sons of Horus the four primaeval elements of the world – fire, air, water and land. STRICKER 1992: 53, fn. 34.
[64] See: SALEH 1984: 66, Abb. 77 (TT 296); 67, Abb. 79 (TT 305); Abb. 80 (TT 296).
[65] See: BILLING 2003: 394, fig. D.4. London: *British Museum*, EA 796); 396, fig. D.8 (Naples: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1000).
[66] SERVAJEAN 2001: 280–289. I'm deeply thankful to Dr. Nadine Guilhou (Montpellier) for the copy of this paper.
[67] Cf. SERVAJEAN 2001: 293–294, Tab. IV.

Fig. 12. The *Judgment scene* in the papyrus of *Hw-nfr*, 19th dynasty. London: *British Museum*, BM EA 9901. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 13. The *Judgment scene* in the papyrus of *ỉnj*, 19th dynasty. London: *British Museum*, BM EA 10470. © Trustees of the British Museum.

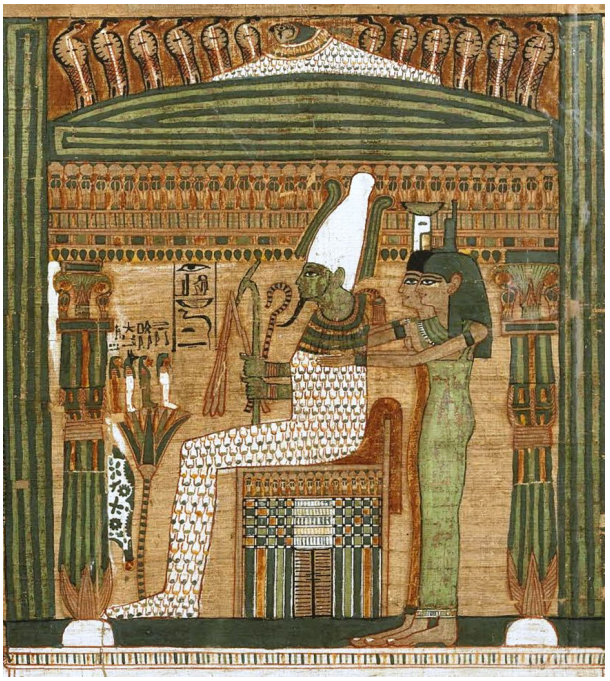


Fig. 14. Another *Judgment scene* in the papyrus of *ỉnj*, 19th dynasty. London: *British Museum*, BM EA 10470. © Trustees of the British Museum.

3. The lotus flower grows out of the floor in the palace in front of the throne of Osiris. Example: the papyrus of *ỉnj* London: *British Museum*, EA 10470 (Fig. 14). [68]

According to Chr. Leitz, it is possible to find the illustration of the Hermopolitan myth of Creation in these compositions: the scene of the sun god arising in his *'warlike' quadruple form* from the Primaeval Waters on the lotus flower.[69] In my view, this parallel can be supplemented with another possible illustration of this myth among the vignettes of the *Book of the Dead*. I refer to BD 110, the spell that represents the vignette-map of the Egyptian 'paradise' – *sḫ.t-ỉ3r.w* ('Field of Reeds') and *sḫ.t-ḥtp* ('Field of Offerings')[70] (Fig. 15). In the lower register of this composition is depicted the scene '3b' (or *Treppen-Szene*) in J. Gesellensetter's classification.[71] On this scene is shown the island (*wnm sw*) surrounded by channels, where figures of four deities are placed (Fig. 16 – papyrus of *Nb-snj* London: *British Museum*, EA 9900; Fig. 17 – papyrus of *Jwj3* Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 51189, 18th dynasty[72]).[73] In the papyrus of

[68] The fact that the lotus grows out of the floor does not change the semantics of the pictures, since the floor of the palace of Osiris was identified with waters of the Primaeval Ocean of Nun. Milde 1994: 23.
[69] Leitz 1994: 101.
[70] Gesellensetter 1997: 20–25.
[71] Gesellensetter 1997: 26, 178–192, 329, Taf. I.
[72] Davies 1908: pl. XVIII; Gesellensetter 1997: 184, Abb. 28.
[73] Besides these two examples, the image of four deities in this segment of BD 110 also appears in Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, S.R.

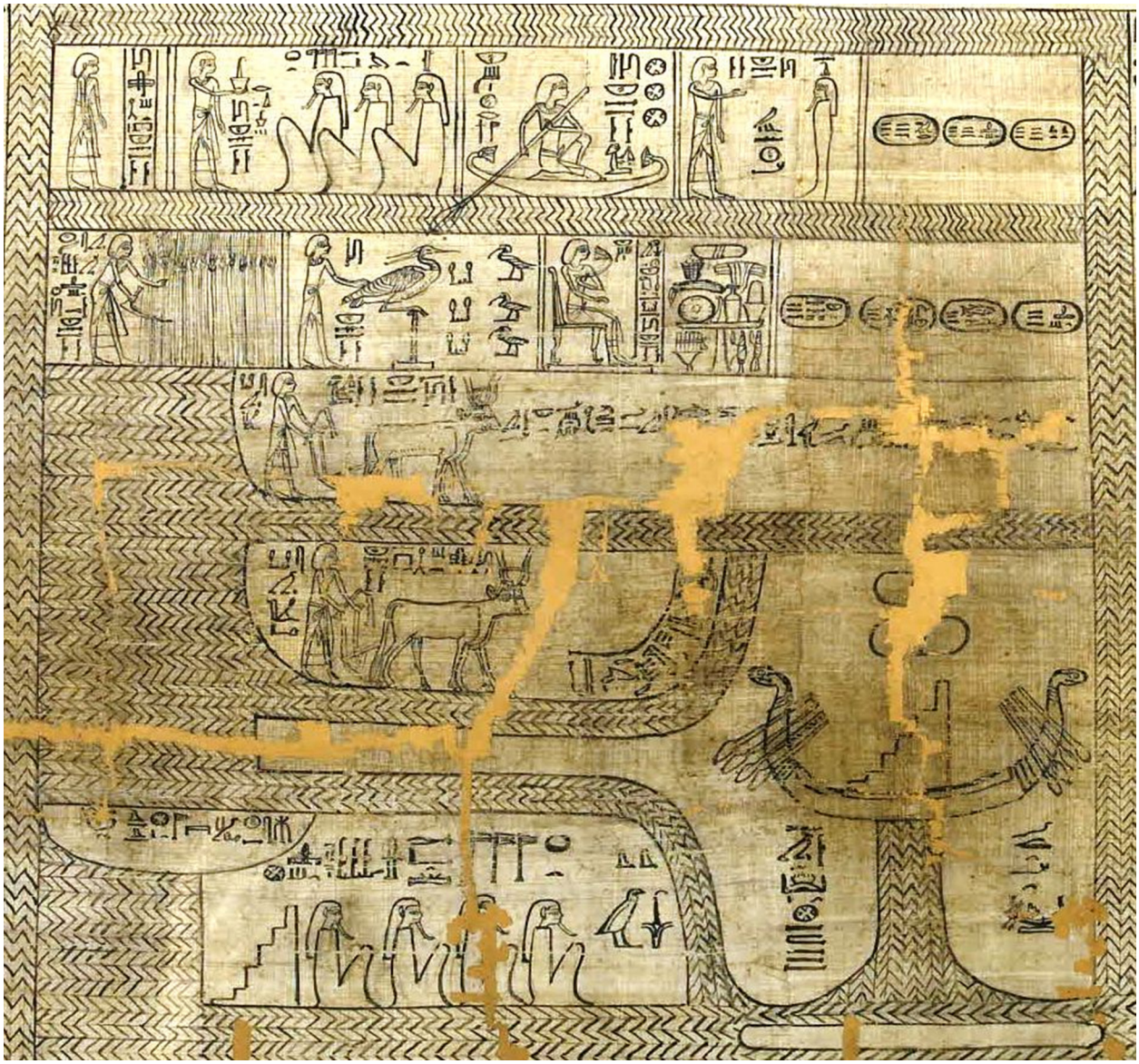


Fig. 15. The *Book of the Dead* 110 vignette in the papyrus of *Nb-snj*, 18th dynasty. London: *British Museum*, BM EA 9900. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 16. The detail of The *Book of the Dead* 110 vignette ('scene 3b') in the papyrus of *Nb-snj,* 18th dynasty. London: *British Museum*, BM EA 9900. © Trustees of the British Museum.

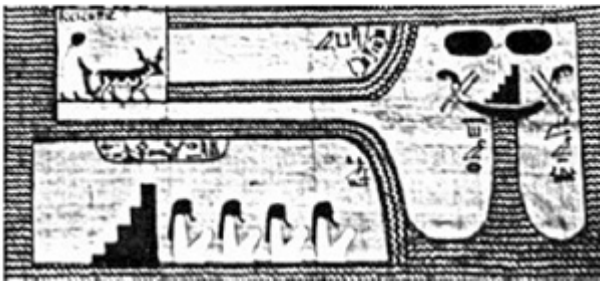


Fig. 17. The detail of The *Book of the Dead* 110 vignette ('scene 3b') in the papyrus of *Jwj3,* 18th dynasty. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* CG 51189. After: Davies 1908: pl. XVIII.

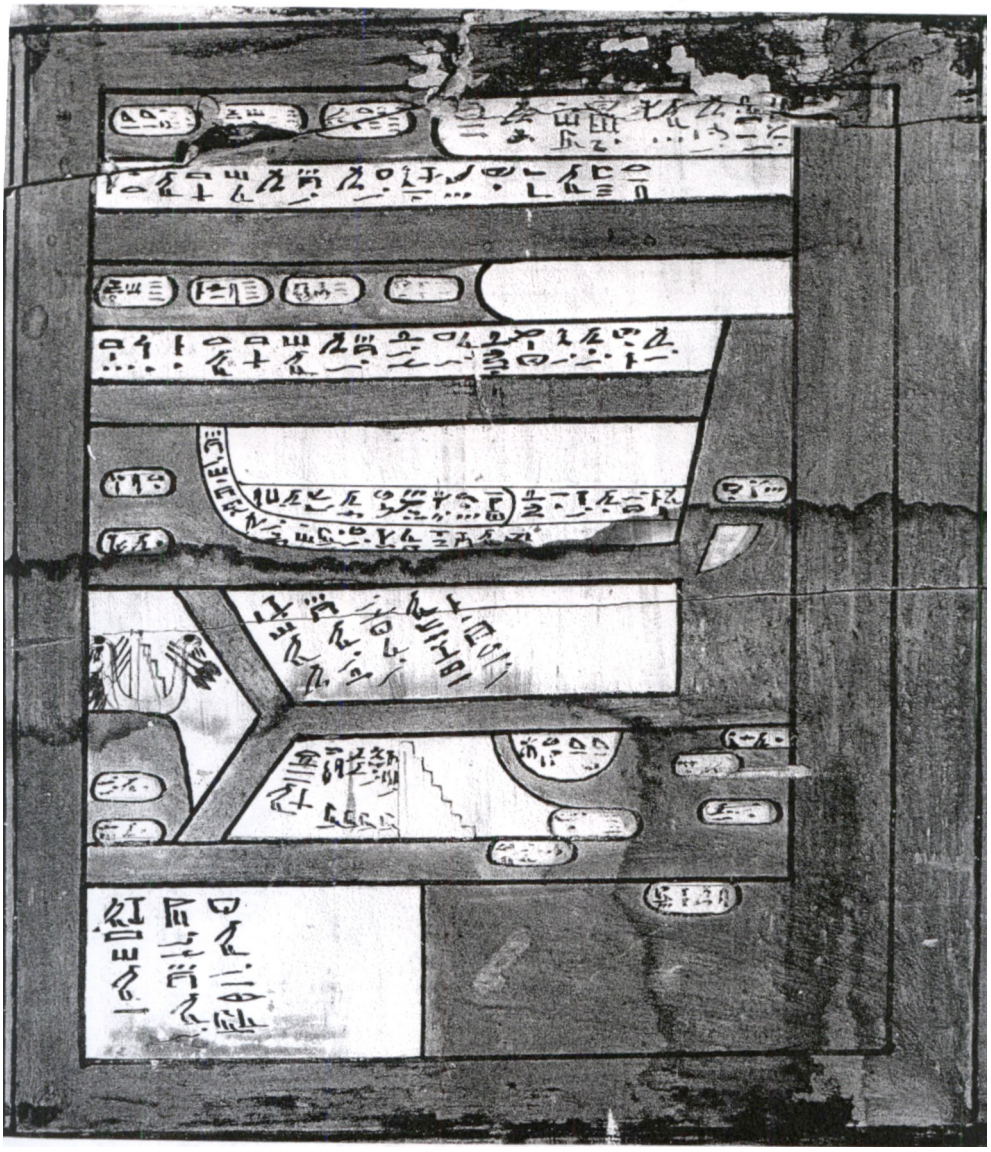


Fig. 18. The scene of the *Coffin Texts* Spell 465 (CT V: 361 (B1C). After: Piankoff 1972: fig. 1.

Nb-snj these gods are defined as *pśḏ.t ʿ3 imj*(*.t*) *sḫ.t-ḥtp* – 'Great Ennead in the Fields of Offerings'.[74]

CT Sp. 465 bears an image that is clearly the forerunner of BD 110 in that the four Sons of Horus were believed to be inhabitants of the neighbourhood (*ḫnww sw Jmst, Ḥpj,Kbḥsnw=f, Dw3mwt=f*)[75] (Fig. 18).[76] The staircase / O40[77] is displayed in front of the deities, possibly symbolising, along with / O41, the Primaeval Hill (*ḳ33*).[78] But curiously two area names directly adjacent

VII. 10652 (Gesellensetter 1997: 335, Taf. 7.2); London: *British Museum*, EA 10472 (Gesellensetter 1997: 336, Taf. 8.1); London: *British Museum*, EA 9911 (Gesellensetter 1997: 337, Taf. 9.2); Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, S.R. IV. 981(Niwiński 1989: pl. 16a). However, the number of deities may vary. Many sources have **three** gods: Leiden: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, AMT 1-35, AP 52, tomb of *Pȝ-jtn-m-ḥb* at Saqqara (Gesellensetter 1997: 330, Taf. 2.1); London: *British Museum*, EA 10471+10473 (Gesellensetter 1997: 331, Taf. 3.2); tomb of *Pn-Nw.t* at Anib (Gesellensetter 1997: 333, Taf. 5.1); mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet-Abu (Gesellensetter 1997: 333, Taf. 5.2); Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, S.R. VII 10249 (Gesellensetter 1997: 335, Taf. 7.1); Chicago: *Oriental Institute Museum*, 10486 (Gesellensetter 1997: 337, Taf. 9.1); Paris: *Museé du Louvre*, E 3911 (Gesellensetter 1997: 339, Taf. 11.2); Torino: *Museo Egizio*, 1791 (Gesellensetter 1997: 340, Taf. 12.1); St. Petersburg: *State Hermitage*, № 3531 (Mathieu 1956: Tab. XXIV) (unaccounted in the J. Gesellensetter's work); Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, S.R. VII. 10244; CG 10014 (Niwiński 1989: pl. 24c). In other case there may be **two** gods: Torino: *Museo Egizio*, 1837 (Gesellensetter 1997: 340, Taf. 12.2) sometimes **one**: London: *British Museum*, EA 10479 (Gesellensetter 1997: 338, Taf. 10.1); Paris: *Museé du Louvre*, 3084 (Gesellensetter 1997: 338, Taf. 10.2); or even **five**: Leiden: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, T 3 (Gesellensetter 1997: 335, Taf. 7.3). In several papyri (especially in the later documents) there are no images of the gods in this segment of the vignette at all (Gesellensetter 1997: 330, Taf. 2.2; 331, Taf. 3.1; 336, Taf. 8.3).

74 Zayed 1977: 14; Gesellensetter 1997: 181.

75 *CT* V: 357 (XVII), 361 (XVII).

76 *CT* V: 361 (B1C); Piankoff 1972: fig. 1.

77 Gesellensetter 1997: 182–185.

78 Saleh 1969: 119. Cf.: Zayed 1977: 13–14.

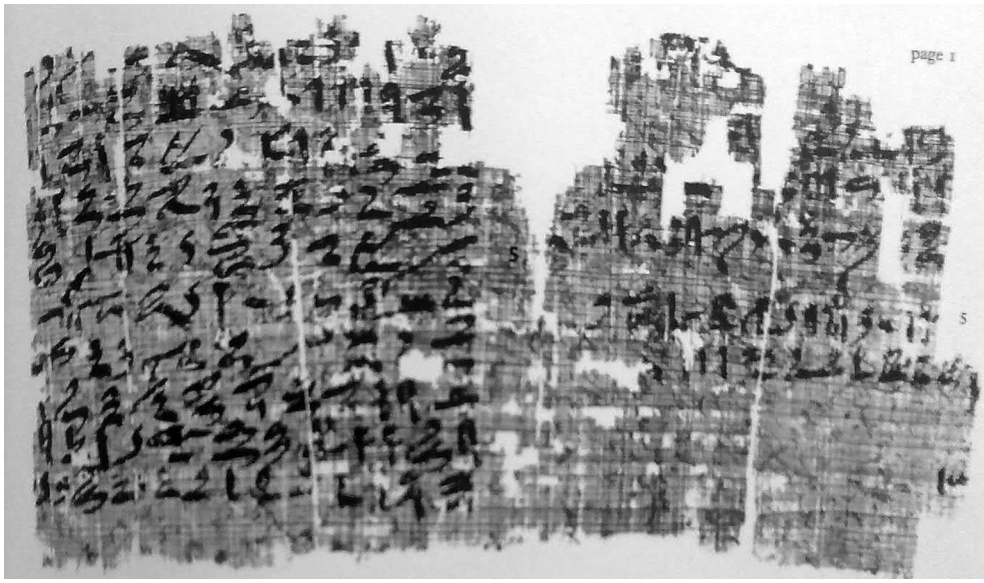


Fig. 19. pRamesseum XV recto I, 5, Middle Kingdom. After: GARDINER 1955: pl. XLVII.

to this island (upper left)[79] are designated as *mśḫn* (*nṯr*) – 'Birth place (of the god)'[80] and *ḳnḳn.t* – 'Battlefield'.[81]

J. Gesellensetter perceives these images as more Cosmological than Cosmogonic and believes that *msḫn* (*nṯr*) and *ḳnḳn.t* should be understood as identifications of the Eastern and Western Horizons – the places of sunrise and sunset.[82] But in my view, this area, according to the totality of its mythological designations, undoubtedly going back to the Cosmogonic legend, can be understood as a place of the (self-) appearance of the Primaeval Hill, the place of birth of the creator-god and of the cosmic battle of the four sons of Horus, displayed here with the forces of Chaos (possibly in the quadruple form of *mś.w Bdšt*?). Its semantics can be directly associated with the aforementioned subject.

In sum, the text and picture of the 11th hour of the *Book of Gates* (Scene No. 69) contain crucial references to *mś.w Bdšt*, which can be associated with the 'Hermopolitan' version of the myth, according to BD 17. Characteristic for the visual display of this mytheme is the representation of *mś.w Bdšt* in quadruple serpent form, contrasting them with four Sons of Horus. Echoes of this little-known Hermopolitan myth can be found in the semantics of vignettes associated with the *Judgment scene*, as well as on one of the scenes of BD 110/ CT Sp. 465.

This motif is also reflected in the story of papyrus from New York, *Brooklyn Museum of Art*, 47.218.84 (Saite Period – 30th dynasty), indicating that *mś.w Bdšt* were the four *fingers* of the creator-god, who rebelled against him (IV, 5 – V, 4).[83]

(IV, 4) *ȝbd 1 šmw wnn nbtt nṯr ḏrt nt Rᶜ bkȝ.t* (IV, 5) [*w m*] *Šw Tfnw.t śḫpr=śn m ȝbd pn wn in ḏbȝw nt nṯr pn ḫpr r=sn m mś.w bdšw m sḫtw snḥmy ntt rsj n* (IV, 6) *Ḥtp.t ḫpr*[84]*=śn m ḥfȝ.wt ir śbiw r nb=w m ȝbd pn sii=tw nȝ iȝw.w ḥr nn ḳnw=śn n nb=śn m ḥb ḏrt*

'(IV, 4) The 1st month of *šmw* season. The Golden divine hand of Re come into being, pregnant (IV, 5) with Shu and Tefnut. They appeared[85] in this month. The fingers of this god turned for them into the Children of *Bdšw* in the Fields of Grasshoppers, located to south of (IV, 6) Hetepet.[86] They turned into snakes. (They) arranged the rebellions against their Lord in this month'.

The connection between *mś.w Bdšt* and the fingers of the creator-god (?) is indicated by the Middle Kingdom

[79] *CT* V: 358 (XXI); GESELLENSETTER, 1997: 26 (szene '3b/1').
[80] Cf. *CT* V: 349–351 (Sp. 465).
[81] 'Kampfplatz' (HORNUNG 1979: 217), 'Battle (field)' (MILDE 1994: 25). Derivate from the verb *ḳnḳn* 'züchtigen', 'prügeln', 'zerschlagen' (*Wb* V: 55; GESELLENSETTER 1997: 40).
[82] GESELLENSETTER 1997: 40.
[83] MEEKS 2006: 10–12 (§ 10).
[84] The form is given; the similar graphics for *ḫpr* or *ḫpi* is known starting from the Middle Kingdom (*CT* II: 334c; IV 184b (B1Y)). MEEKS 2006: 68, fn. 117.
[85] I.e. '*were born*'. MEEKS 2006: 67, fn. 113.
[86] The mythological region of Hetepet was located in the north of Heliopolis. VANDIER 1964: 55–146 (especially: 61–65); 1965: 89–176). For localisation of 'Fields of Grasshoppers' (*sḫtw snḥmy*) see: MEEKS 2006: 67–68, fn. 116. In BD 125B the 'Fields of Grasshoppers' are situated to the north of Heliopolis: *ḥtp.n=i m niw.t mḥty.t m sḫtw snḥm.w* – 'I found rest in the northern city, in the Fields of Grasshoppers' (LAPP 2008: 198–201), whereas in our text they are located to the south of Hetepet (cf. VANDIER 1964: 62–63). Thus, in the sacred topography of the Heliopolis environs, the Fields of Grasshoppers could be located between Hetepet and the central part of the city.

pRamesseum XV recto I, 5 (Fig. 19),[87] showing the ancient nature of the myths.[88] For that reason, D. Meeks doubts the parallelism of these sources.[89]

Based on this, in the context of written sources given above, the presence of the fifth serpent indicating the fifth finger of the right hand of the creator-god on the image of *mś.w Bdšt* in the *Book of Gates* Scene No. 69 seems to be absolutely logical.

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[87] Gardiner 1955: pl. XLVII.

[88] Gardiner 1955: 15 ('… *Then will he die; he does not for them a second time … My fingers with (?) the Children of Impotence (dbꜥ. w=j m mś.w n (?) Bdšt – M.T.) … To me my arm and my fingers*' – translation by A. H. Gardiner).

[89] '*L'état très fragmentaire du texte ne permet de saisir que quelques bribes, mais celles-ci sont suffisantes pour comprendre que les faits relatés devaient être assez proches de ceux rapportés par notre papyrus. Un dieu dont le nom est perdu, de toute évidence le dieu créateur, parle à la première personne de ses doigts et des Enfants de l'Impuissance, de sa main et de ses doigts, de sa copulation et d'un combat mené contre Apopis*'. Meeks 2006: 200.

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Is There an Egyptian Hero? – the Contributions of Mythological and Literary Studies to an Egyptological Subject

Bárbara Botelho Rodrigues

CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Universidade dos Açores, Lisboa, Portugal

Abstract: *When one thinks of heroes the images that come to mind are usually those of great warriors and of founders of civilisations. These men cause ruptures and introduce changes in their surroundings. Except in some specific periods of Ancient Egypt's History, the idea of rupture and change is not a favourable one to the Egyptian mindset and political ideology. This reason led some Egyptologists to believe that there is not an Egyptian hero. There is, however, a broader way to perceive this 'hero figure'. For decades, the scholars of mythology and literature have been studying the mythical hero. What they advocate is that this figure can be found in the accounts and narratives of practically every civilisation, which leads us to the question: is there an Egyptian hero?*

Keywords: *Hero, mythology, literature, Joseph Campbell, David Leeming, Horus, miraculous conception, quest*

The aim of this paper is to discuss the Egyptian hero or, rather, if there is – or there is not – a hero in the Ancient Egyptian culture. In other words, our goal is to take a look at a subject that has been relatively neglected by Egyptologists and, at the same time, to take a different approach to it. To do so, we will make use of the works of mythologists such as Joseph Campbell and David Leeming.

The hero figure is not one that receives a lot of attention by Egyptologists. The books and articles written about it are scarce and they generally refer to deified humans or magicians. One of the few articles that specifically analyses the subject of the hero in Ancient Egypt was written by Andrey Bolshakov and Andrey Soushchevski.[2] In this article, the authors start by stating that in Ancient Egypt the notions of heroism and hero are very residual.[3] They also declare that this is a widely-accepted idea between specialists and non-specialists and that their main focus on the article is to understand and explain this phenomenon.[4]

Bolshakov and Soushchevski do not reject the existence of an Egyptian hero. However, they believe that the notion of hero was present in Egypt before the territorial unification and the emergence of a centralised state and after that the hero figure – although still existent – becomes obsolete, because it is not fitting with the moral values of the pharaonic institution.[5]

In our opinion, what led the authors to this conclusion was a narrow understanding of what a hero is or can be. For the two Egyptologists, the hero is either a warrior or a founder, may it be of cultures or laws. Sometimes, both types of hero are assimilated in a single figure. Either way, what the author's stress the most about this character is its destructive nature. And this is one of the main arguments they use to justify the danger that a hero could represent to a culture and a mentality such as the ancient Egyptian.[6]

What we intend to do is to take a look at this question having in mind a broader perception of the hero figure. The first significant studies about the hero date from the twentieth century, with Lord Raglan and Joseph Campbell being two of the most influential pioneers in this field. What these scholars advocate is the existence of a universal pattern that can be identified in the myths of every civilisation. The emergence and development of psychology contributed widely to this notion, with the works of Sigmund Freud, Otto Rank and Carl Gustave Jung playing an important role in the establishment of theories regarding the hero myth.

In 1949 Joseph Campbell published a book called *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* in which he makes a comparative study of several hero myths. The influence of psychology and anthropology on Campbell's thought is quite visible in this work, which is a result of interdisciplinarity and comparative mythology.[7] Campbell came to the conclusion that there is a universal hero that is based on a pattern which he called 'monomyth', a term first used by James Joyce.[8] Campbell elaborated a theory on the hero myth in which the hero is compelled to make a journey. In this journey, he has to face his own fears and fight against evil forces. By doing so, the hero becomes stronger, wiser and complete.

[1] I would like to thank my tutor, Professor Maria Helena Trindade Lopes, whose constant encouragement made this paper possible.

[2] Bolshakov and Soushchevski 1998a; Bolshakov and Soushchevski 1998b.

[3] Bolshakov and Soushchevski 1998a: 7.

[4] Bolshakov and Soushchevski 1998a: 10.

[5] Bolshakov and Soushchevski 1998a: 11-12.

[6] Bolshakov and Soushchevski 1998a: 7-12.

[7] Spitzer 2014: 278.

[8] Leeming 2014a: 1124.

When the hero returns from his voyage, he usually brings something useful to the community.[9]

The *monomyth* is composed by three essential stages: the Departure from the hero's home; the Adventure (or quest), and the Return.[10] According to this mythologist, the quest always takes place far away from the hero's home and, even though he might receive the help of a character such as a wizard or a fairy, when the time to perform the quest comes, he is always alone.[11]

In 1973 David Adams Leeming wrote *Mythology. The voyage of the hero* in which he makes a reworking of the hero myth theory created by Joseph Campbell. The author describes this book as a simplified version of the *monomyth*, organised in eight stages.[12] For a character of a myth or narrative to be considered a hero, it has to go through some of these stages. However, the essential factor that turns a mere character into a hero is having a quest to fulfil. In Leeming's hero myth theory, the stages are:

The miraculous conception and birth and the hiding of the child:

One of the ways of setting the hero apart from the others is him having a miraculous origin. Most heroes are born of virgin mothers or have a conception that, in some way, is miraculous or extraordinary. The birth of the hero usually takes place in an isolated place, a symbol of the Great Mother, for the hero represents the human race, the collective.[13]

Usually the hero faces great dangers as soon as he enters the world. This reality has two different explanations: on the one hand, the hero must prove himself since the beginning; on the other hand, he represents a change, a break with the *status quo*, and the elements that embody this *status quo* will try to eliminate the hero as soon as they know about its existence.

Childhood, initiation, and divine signs:

According to David Leeming, this stage is not usually found in the myths of the most ancient cultures. In it, the young hero becomes aware of himself and of his identity. He has to go through a first rite of passage, in which he will face the unknown, in order to become an adult.[14]

Preparation, meditation, withdrawal, and refusal:

Although it is not one of the most common stages in the hero myth, Leeming explains that it appears in myths of the Near East and also in the ones from older chronologies. In this stage, the hero moves away from his community in an act of seclusion and meditation. This moment of solitude and isolation functions as a new rite of passage, in which the hero is reborn after thinking about who he is and what is his role in the world.[15]

Trial and quest:

One of the main arguments in Leeming's work is that the quest is the central episode of every hero myth. In his opinion, every other stage acts merely as a detail, an aspect that leads to or derives from the quest. Nevertheless, it is the knowledge gained during the other stages that allow the hero to complete his quest successfully.[16] It is also important to stress that the quest is not always completed. Sometimes the hero acts selfishly and the mission he is trying to accomplish will only benefit him. In cases such as this, the hero usually fails but ends up learning a valuable lesson. These are called illegitimate quests.

Death and scapegoat:

This is the stage in which the hero dies. It is usually a violent death and can be self-inflicted. This death can also be psychological, in the sense that the hero does not have to literally die. The loss of the hero represents a period of barrenness and infertility but, at the same time, the promise of new life. The beginning of a new cycle is made possible through his sacrifice.[17]

The descent to the Underworld:

Usually a continuation of the previous stage, the descent to the Underworld has the function of making the hero aware of the unknown – the realm of the dead, the afterlife. It is common for the hero to perform some kind of task while in the Underworld, such as attaining some important knowledge or retrieving something or someone. Going through this journey in the Underworld is what makes the hero able to be reborn, for it allows him to become a new being, that is wiser and that has seen and experienced more than his peers, standing out from the others once again.[18]

Resurrection and rebirth:

This is the closing moment of the cycle. The hero died, journeyed across the Underworld, and, finally, he was reborn. The rebirth of the hero is a repetition of the miraculous birth, the first stage of the hero myth. The ability of the hero to be reborn represents the universal desire of an existence in the Afterlife.[19]

[9] Leeming 2014b: 1455-1456.
[10] Leeming 2014a: 1124.
[11] Campbell 2008: 57-60.
[12] Leeming 1998: 7.
[13] Leeming 1998: 39-40.
[14] Leeming 1998: 65.
[15] Leeming 1998: 97.
[16] Leeming 1998: 152.
[17] Leeming 1998: 180-181.
[18] Leeming 1998: 213-214.
[19] Leeming 1998: 239.

Ascension, apotheosis, and atonement:

The hero is removed from the worldly level and is either integrated into the Cosmos, or returns to the Void or the Creator from whence he came. This stage represents the conclusion of the hero's adventures. The hero is now part of the world of myth.[20]

As we already mentioned briefly, although David Leeming elaborated this eight-stage hero myth theory that he calls 'The voyage of the hero', he explains that the myths do not have to include every single one of them for the protagonist to be considered a hero. In fact, there are cases of heroes that only fulfil one or two stages. It is important to stress that, for both Campbell and Leeming, the determining factor is for the hero to have a quest to undertake, even if in the end, he is not able to achieve his goals.

These mythologists believe that the hero is a universal figure, because his adventure is made of universal themes and motifs.[21] Their theories emerge from the comparison of several myths from different civilisations, chronologies and geographies that, in its turn, results in the discovery of universal archetypes.[22]

In other words, the mythologists analyze several myths from all over the world, compare them, and then formulate theories regarding the patterns and motifs that emerge from that comparison. Our proposal is that we now make the reverse exercise, i.e. that we take a look at an Egyptian example having in mind the hero myth theories that have been exposed in this paper thus far.

The character from the Egyptian mythology chosen to be analyzed and interpreted in the light of the hero myth theories is Horus,[23] a member of the Heliopolis cosmogony, and the son of Osiris and Isis. According to Plutarch's account of the Osiris' Myth, Seth killed his brother Osiris in order to obtain the throne of Egypt.[24] However, being a goddess closely linked with magic, Horus' mother, Isis, is able to fabricate a replica of her husband's sexual organ.[25] It is with that replica that Isis becomes pregnant with Horus.[26] Clearly, this is a case of a miraculous conception, since Osiris was dead and the pregnancy of Isis was only made possible through the use of magic.[27]

Isis flees to the marshes, in an attempt to keep herself and the baby safe from Seth.[28] The goddess ends up giving birth to Horus in the marshes, a secluded place that is both safe and dangerous.[29] It is safe because it enables Isis to hide the baby from its uncle, but dangerous because it puts Horus in direct contact with nature and the dangers that it represents, such as poisonous or ferocious animals. Despite all the hazards, Horus is watched and protected by several feminine deities that embody the Great Goddess.[30]

Horus is born in a period of darkness, with his uncle Seth, a deity associated with chaos, disaster and infertility, occupying the throne.[31] He needs to be protected while still a baby because he epitomises the chance of a new beginning and the restitution of Order to the world.[32]

When Horus grows up, he is finally ready to undertake his quest, the reason he was conceived in the first place and for what he spends his childhood preparing for: to avenge his dead father, Osiris, and to reclaim the throne.[33] This was a long and arduous quest, but Horus was able to conclude it successfully.[34] The deity was able to avenge Osiris by taking the throne off the hands of Seth, which had wrongfully occupied it. By becoming king of the living, Horus was now able to continue his father's legacy of Order, balance and prosperity – in one word, Maat.[35]

According to Maria Helena Trindade Lopes, the episode in which Seth steals Horus' left eye signifies a temporary death of the falcon god, from which he is only able to escape due to the intervention of Thoth.[36] In this case, but also in other myths as well,[37] Thoth assumes himself as the helper figure that Joseph Campbell tells us about.

[20] Leeming 1998: 257.
[21] Leeming 2014a: 1125.
[22] Leeming 2002: 10-11.
[23] Wilkinson 2003: 132, 200-203.
[24] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 356-357.
[25] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 358.
[26] Sales 2009: 66-67.
[27] *Great Hymn to Osiris*, 10-20 in Lichtheim 1976: 81-86; *CT*, spell 148 in Barguet 1986: 434-436; Faulkner 1968: 40, 43; Lopes 1990: 11.

[28] The Metternich Stela contains a myth that tells us about the birth and childhood of Horus. In this myth, Thoth advises Isis to hide herself and the baby from Seth. The goddess takes refuge in the marshes of Khemis, where Osiris' heir is born. *Metternich Stela*, 48-50, 168-169 in Borghouts 1978: 59-60, 62.
[29] Campbell 2008: 278, 280-281.
[30] Clark 1978: 186-188. The Metternich Stela contains an episode where Horus is bitten by a scorpion. Petrified by fear, Isis is unable to help her child. It is Toth who saves the small Horus, making use of magical words. See Borghouts 1978 and Remler 2010: 95-97, 121-123.
[31] Clark 1978: 213.
[32] Clark 1978: 188. There are several references to Horus as his father avenger in Egyptians sources, for instance in *Hymne à Osiris*, 12-13 in Barucq and Daumas 1980: 82; *BD*, chapters 128, 173, 181, 183 in Barguet 1967: 167, 257-260, 267, 270.
[33] Lopes 1990: 12.
[34] The most significant Egyptian texts that deal with this subject are, on the one hand 'The triumph of Horus over Seth', a text found in the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus and also on the walls of the Edfu temple, and, on the other hand, 'The contendings of Horus and Seth', preserved on P. Chester Beatty I.
[35] Assmann 2010.
[36] Lopes 1990: 12.
[37] See Plut. *De Is. et Os*. 355-356 for another instance where the god Toth acts as a helper figure.

R. T. Clark speaks of accounts that mention a descent to the Underworld made by Horus, in order to tell his father the good news, after the gods decided he was the legitimate heir of Osiris' throne.[38]

In this brief enumeration of some of the elements of Horus mythology it becomes clear that this deity goes through at least two stages of the hero myth theory elaborated by David Leeming, namely the miraculous conception and hiding of the child – since Horus is conceived after his father's death and spends his childhood hidden in a swamp – and the quest – that consists of avenging his father Osiris, becoming king and restituting Maat.

Like myths in general, hero myths express the doubts and concerns of humankind, and – at a smaller scale – of specific groups or cultures. The mythology surrounding Horus, as well as Osiris and Isis, gives important clues to what the Egyptians regarded as pillars of their civilisation: the sacred kingship, the Afterlife, the cycle of life and Maat.[39]

In the preface of his work *Myth and symbol in Ancient Egypt*, a book first published in 1959, R.T. Clark wrote:

'*In recent years psychologists and anthropologists have been showing with increasingly convincing evidence that the major psychic, religious and social problems are common to all mankind. If, then, the thinking of any people makes no sense to us it must be that we have not yet understood the unfamiliar terms in which it is presented.*'[40]

It is interesting to note that the author wrote these words around the same time the hero myth theories were taking shape and the studies in comparative religion and mythology were starting to become more complex and developed. In our opinion, Clark advocates the same things comparatists do: he impels us to look at Egyptian mythology as something that can be understood in a universal context, in the sense that it has its origins in the collective unconscious, and is a result of the human psyche, not being constituted of themes and motifs exclusively Egyptian.

So, to conclude, if we position ourselves according to Bolshakov and Soushchevski we might come to the conclusion that there is no space for heroes in the Ancient Egyptian society and culture. However, if we find ourselves willing to see the hero as someone that represents the collective and the cultural values of a given group, and myths as an expression of human psychology but also of a specific culture, then we will probably accept the possibility of the existence of a hero in such a peculiar civilisation as the Ancient Egyptian.

Our suggestion is for Egyptologists to adapt a position of dialogue and exchange with other sciences and fields of knowledge in order to take a new look at Egyptian literature and mythology while making use of the theories elaborated by specialists of mythology but also of our own knowledge of Ancient Egyptian values, symbols and motifs, because the result of such an attitude will necessarily be the enrichment and development of both disciplines.

[38] CLARK 1978: 110-111. See also LEEMING 2004: 74-75.
[39] LEEMING 2004: 76.
[40] CLARK 1978: 11.

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The Study of Sacred Space in Ancient Egypt: an Example of Interaction Between Egyptology and Other Fields of Knowledge

Guilherme Borges Pires

CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Universidade dos Açores, Lisboa, Portugal

Abstract: *Facing the Egyptology's history, we must recognise the fundamental contributions of natural sciences, philology and archaeology to the progress of our knowledge about the Pharaonic civilisation. We should also not obliterate the input offered by social sciences to our research. In this paper, the author intends to demonstrate how these domains of knowledge, such as philosophy, anthropology or history of religion, can be very profitable to Egyptology, more specifically to the study of the Sacred Space in Ancient Egypt. Thus, the aim of this paper is to acknowledge the importance of studying the sacralisation of space by the Nilotic people from the perspective of the social sciences and to understand its benefits in the construction of a more solid and coherent model of Egiptological studies.*

Keywords: *sacred space, water, land, Egyptology, Rudolf Otto, Gaston Bachelard, Mircea Eliade*

In 1798 the French despot Napoleon invaded Egypt, claiming to be the new Alexander who would establish a new imperial order. In his '*Mission*', he was accompanied by more than 100 civilian scholars and scientists, the so-called '*savants',* as well as by a large number of artists and technicians. The outcomes of this expedition are crucial for both the birth and the development of Egyptology. The compilation and publication of the collaborative work *Description de l'Égypte* (1809-1829) offered a scientific description of ancient and modern Egypt. Simultaneously, the discovery of the Rosetta Stone opened the path to the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs by Jean-François Champollion. The Napoleonic invasion of Egypt was '*the inception of the organised study of Egypt on a vast scale*'[1].

Egyptology is thus a science built on a co-operative basis. From the 19th century until now, the contributions from natural sciences, philology and archaeology have been essential to the continuous improvement of our knowledge about the Nilotic civilization.

However, when one considers new perspectives of research, one should also search outside Egyptology and look into the works of outside authors, who are often more inspired than Egyptologists (as noted by Erik Hornung[2]). In particular, this includes those from social sciences, such as psychology and anthropology, since the social and religious questions are the same for all human contexts, as stated by Clark[3].

In this paper, I intend to demonstrate how these fields of knowledge, such as philosophy, anthropology or history of religions, can be very profitable to Egyptology, more specifically to the study of the sacred space in Ancient Egypt. It is important to clarify that here the concept of '*sacred space*' will be regarded in a broader sense, referring to both the water surfaces and the land-base of Egypt and not to a specific space such as '*the house*' or '*the temple*'.

We chose to focus on three selected authors: the German scholar of comparative religion Rudolf Otto (1869-1937), the Romanian historian of religion Mircea Eliade (1907-1986) and the French philosopher Gaston Bachelard (1884-1962). Exploring briefly the theoretical notions developed by these scholars, we hope to demonstrate how useful they can be to the study of sacred space in ancient Egypt.

Otto was not indeed the first author to study the sacred[4]. Nevertheless, his work *Das Heilige,* first published in 1917, played an important role in the rethinking of this subject. According to the German scholar, the sacred – or the holy - is a complex interpretative category limited to the religious domain as such, which escapes any kind of rationality. Its main object is outside the self, being the 'total otherness' (*das ganz Andere*). Otto qualified this non-rational and non-sensory feeling as 'numinous'.[5]

Since it is not rational, the 'numinous' can only be observed through the reactions that it causes in the

[1] Meltzer 2001: 448.
[2] 'Les égyptologues se sont souvent montrés moins bien inspirés que des non-spécialistes'. Hornung 1986: 9.
[3] Clark 1978: 11.
[4] By the end of the 19th century, the sociologist Durkheim, in his article 'La prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines', published in the *Année Sociologique*, explained the opposition between sacred and profane. Borgeaud 1994: 402.
[5] Otto 1992: 13-15.

human being. On the one hand, the 'numinous' and therefore the 'sacred' instigates a sense of terror that grows within the person who experiences it (*mysterium tremendum*)[6]; on the other, this repulsive component does not prevent or diminish the experience of attraction of the subject when faced with this non-rational existence (*mysterium fascinans*).[7] One feels involved by this 'enormous' (*majestas*)[8] in a contradictory mix of love and fear. As stated by Roger Caillois, a disciple of Otto, the holy acts in the human being like the fire: one cannot help approaching it even though everyone knows how dangerous it can be.[9]

Following the works of Rudolf Otto, Mircea Eliade greatly improved the theoretical routes for adressing the sacred, introducing a new lexical apparatus for understanding the antagonism between sacred and profane. According to the scholar, the sacred is revealed in a specific historical moment. This revelation is called 'hierophany'[10] and so the history of religions would correspond to a succession of '*hierophanies*'.[11] Eliade agrees with Otto by supporting the idea that the sacralised being is the one in which we recognise the *das ganz Andere* element, which can be a stone or a tree. Indeed, even the whole Nature can be regarded as cosmic sacredness.[12] Thus the sacred manifests itself in the cosmos and its instable and inconstant structure[13] appears globally as crucial to the religious man.[14]

Since the world of the *homo religiosus* is not homogenous, Eliade identifies the conceptual binary sacred/profane in the spatial reality. Opposite to a durable and positive space there is a harmful and chaotic one. The landscape is therefore constructed by the experience of the conflict between sacred and profane space(s).[15] This consciousness of the non-homogeneity of the space precedes every reflection concerning the world and instigates in the human being a will to establish his home in the '*Centre*' of it, revealed by a hierophany and subsequently founded. So the projection of this '*Centre*' is equivalent to the Creation.[16] This place is the most sacred on earth and so it is completely different from the ones that surround it. It is separated from the others. It is singular. It is special. It is the only one valid.

Since it is unique, those who live in it appreciate this space and feel the need to protect it from the evil forces that threaten it. This sentiment towards the space was fixed by the philosopher Gaston Bachelard, in his book *La poétique de l'espace*, as '*topophilie*', which we can translate as 'the love of the place'.[17] This space is acknowledged as belonging to the self. This idea of Bachelard somehow harmonises with the thesis of the non-homogeneity of space defended by Eliade, since it fixes a spatial reality that is loved and thus superior to the others. Concerning the waters, Bachelard states that the human being establishes a relationship of intimacy with these spaces,[18] mainly with freshwater flows, such as the river.[19]

Having concisely exposed the concepts proposed by these three scholars, we are now able to begin to view them from an Egyptological perspective.

Firstly, we observe that the Egyptian's closest word to 'sacred', as defined by Rudolf Otto, that is, as '*das ganz Andere*' is *ḏsr*, according to Hoffmeier in his fundamental book – *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt*.[20] It is interesting to note that, among the various senses that this word conveys, there are the meanings 'separate' or 'segregate'.[21] Somehow, the Egyptians linguistically understood the sacred in a similar manner to the way in which Otto and Eliade did. The 'sacred' is something or some place that is apart, separated. It seems that Egyptian vocabulary confirms the theoretical approaches of the Social Sciences to this subject.

Thus, the isolation of Egypt may have contributed to the manner in which it was regarded as sacred by its people. Subscribing to Eliade's thesis, we can say that nature is, for the Nilotic people, a cosmic sacredness in which '*numinous*', as defined by Otto, is permanently revealed. In fact, as stated by Maria Helena Trindade Lopes, Egypt's geography is a '*blessed*' one.[22] The two deserts (Eastern and Western) that limited and somehow isolate the main territory of Egypt encompassed images of death, isolation, silence and solitude, assembled in the divine figure of Seth, the fratricidal god who killed Osiris. This negative imagery is supplanted by the Nile, the foremost source of life, mimetic of the primordial waters – the Nun –, which provides all existence. The proximity of the Nile, along with the continuous presence of the sun,

[6] OTTO 1992: 22.
[7] OTTO 1992: 56.
[8] OTTO 1992: 61-63.
[9] 'Au fond, le sacré suscite chez le fidèle exactement les mêmes sentiments que le feu chez l'enfant: même crainte de s'y brûler, même désir de l'allumer; même emoi devant la chose prohibée, même croyance que sa conquête apporte force et prestige – ou blessure et morte en cas d'échec.' CAILLOIS 1988: 48.
[10] ELIADE 1977: 24.
[11] ELIADE 1992: 13.
[12] ELIADE 1992: 13.
[13] ELIADE 1977: 30-31.
[14] 'La religion y est inhérente à tous les secteurs de la vie sociale. (...) elle informe la vie économique, politique, juridique et parentale au point qu'il n'est pas possible de la traiter uniquement pour elle-même'. BUREAU 1984: 539.
[15] ELIADE 1992: 17.
[16] ELIADE 1992: 17.
[17] This particular kind of love is defined by the author as the action of '(...) déterminer la valeur humaine des espaces de possession, des espaces défendus contre des forces adverses, des espaces aimés'. BACHELARD 1957: 26.
[18] BACHELARD 1942: 8.
[19] BACHELARD 1942: 204-212.
[20] HOFFMEIER 1985: 1.
[21] *Wb* V: 609-611; BONNAMY 2013: 773.
[22] LOPES 2003: 41.

defines the way the Egyptian feels and understands his space.[23]

Nevertheless, not all waters are regarded as divine. For instance, the Egyptians never magically appropriated the northern border, the Mediterranean Sea[24]; on the contrary, it was seen as the open door to the world, an economical opportunity to increase resources and wellbeing, but also a political challenge since it could be a way in for an invader. From the Saite Period, we see the emergence of Egypt as a Mediterranean Power, according to Agut-Labordère.[25] Yet religiously and symbolically speaking the waters that really mattered to the inhabitants of the 'Two Lands' were the Nilotic ones.[26]

As we can see, the non-homogeneity of the space can be applied to the Egyptian geographical reality. In fact, according to Richards, Egyptian geography is characterised by several 'dramatic transitions'[27], such as the contrast of Lower and Upper Egypt, or the 'Black Land' (*km.t*) and the 'Red Land' (*dšr.t*). Space and place are, in Egypt and everywhere else, a construction based on observation of the landscape, corresponding either to a greater or lesser attachment felt by humans.[28]

In this context of Egyptian 'existential space', built on the particular experience of the individuals and in which the frontiers as well as the natural elements play a very significant role[29], the Nile, the sacred water, is a sacred space *par excellence*. This contrasts with the waters of the Mediterranean that can be considered as '*profane waters*', as can those of the Red Sea. This also agrees with the principle of the supremacy of fresh waters proposed by Bachelard: the freshwater of the Nile is more religiously valued and appreciated than the salt waters of the seas.[30]

The very same philosopher contends that the water is primarily feminine – a mother who feeds her children[31] – although its sporadic violence masculinises it.[32] It is very interesting to perceive this aspect in terms familiar to the Egyptologist.

Given the nurturing nature of the annual Nilotic flood, a female symbolical image might be expected, related to the great '*Mother Water*'.[33] However, if we consider the iconographical representation of Hapy, the god that personifies the inundation, we see permanent – we can say '*canonical*' – traits that relate to an androgynous nature, rather than to a female aspect: he is a male deity but with full breasts and adipose fat. Thus Hapy, according to Danielle Bonneau, has no female counterpart: '*(...) il a en lui les deux natures*'.[34] This double gender nature, or perhaps gender blurring, perfectly embodies the god's ability to feed both humans and gods and his/her predominant colouring, in green and blue, affirms his qualities of fertility and abundance.[35] Hapy can then be linked to both genders but is named manly. This perfectly harmonises with the thesis of Roth, to whom the fertility in ancient Egypt is a masculine phenomenon with androgynous features.[36] Happy, god of fertility and fecundity, seems to be inscribed in this perspective.

As stated before, for Bachelard, as well as for Eliade, the waters convey a female imagery: a mother who feeds her offspring.[37] Conversely, the sudden violence of the waters indicates masculinity.[38] The androgyny or gender indefiniteness[39] in the graphic depiction of Hapy seems to encapsulate the Egyptian collective perception of the watery Nilotic phenomenon.[40] Moreover, the Egyptian god who *par excellence* embodies the rain, that is, a violent manifestation of water, is Min, an ithyphallic god, whose masculinity no one can deny, a deity who is also associated with the fertility of animals and plants.[41] We can read in an inscription in the Wadi Hammammat that Min is '*the one who sends the rain-clouds*', while being simultaneously '*Lord of the Eastern Desert*'.[42] On the subject of the desert, we observe that the stormy dimension is also connected to a male protagonist, the god Seth.[43]

This binomial issue (generation/violence) can be seen in *The Great Hymn to the Nile*, translated by van der

[23] Lopes 2003: 45.
[24] Lopes 2003: 45.
[25] Agut-Labordère 2013: 965-1027.
[26] 'For the ancient Egyptians, the waters that mattered most were neither the Mediterranean nor the Red Sea, but the Nile; the Mediterranean was their horizon (...) they drew on the resources of the eastern Mediterranean'. Abulafia 2011: 37. According to Hornung, the single divinity related to the sea attested in Egypt is a foreign one – Yamne – and it only appears in one source, the Astarte Papyrus. Hornung 1986: 251.
[27] Richards 1999: 85.
[28] Cauquelin 2000; Cauquelin 2007.
[29] Tilley 1994: 15-17.
[30] Abulafia 2011: 37.
[31] Bachelard 1942: 155-179.
[32] Bachelard 1942: 21.
[33] Eliade 1977: 236.
[34] Bonneau 1964: 223. Sauneron and Yoyotte seem to agree with this perspective, since they consider Hapy as half male and half female. Sauneron and Yoyotte 1959: 67.
[35] Sales 1999: 313-314.
[36] Roth 1999: 187-201.
[37] Bachelard 1942: 155-179; Eliade 1977: 293-317.
[38] Bachelard 1942: 21.
[39] For an introduction to the gender issue in the Egyptian religion see Onstine 2010: 1-10.
[40] However, not all authors agree with this perspective. Baines, for instance, argues that Hapy's iconography is connected to maturity (deriving from representations of successful officials) and not to androgyny. Baines 1985: 118-123, 126).
[41] Frankfort 1978: 185; Barucq and Daumas 1980: 367-369.
[42] Kees 1978: 47.
[43] According to Ostigard, this divinity was originally connected to the rain. Nevertheless, his dispute with his nephew Horus made him loose a testicle, and therefore become impotent, transferring his powers to Horus. According to the scholar, this would be a reason for the leading position of the sun cult in a civilization so dependent of the water. It is interesting to notice that, once again, the superintendence over the precipitation seems to be linked to the gender issue, in processes of masculinisation and demasculisation. Ostigard 2008/2009: 3. See also: Te Velde 1977: 53-58.

Plas.[44] Here the flood is referred to as '*Qui apporte la nourriture, qui est fertile en aliments*'[45]. But we also see how violent the absence of the flood can be: '*Lorsqu'elle tarde (...) [alors] tout le monde est pauvre [...] alors des millions périssent parmi les hommes*'.[46] In fact, Hapy is described as a demonic ruler: '*[Qui rend l'un riche], qui rend [l'autre] pauvre,/[il n'y a personne qui puisse lui faire un process]*'.[47]

Having analysed Eliade's non-homogeneity of space concerning the waters, we must not omit to use this perspective in reference to the land.

We have already mentioned the contrast between the land next to Nile river and therefore fertile and abundant ('*Black Land*', *km.t*) and that distant from the waters where life is harsh ('*Red Land*', *dšr.t*). Although we may regard the first one as sacred and the second as profane is it important to rethink this perspective. In fact, both the 'Black' and the 'Red Land' constitute sacred landscapes. Both form part of the construction of what we can term 'Egyptian identity', being dynamically interconnected in the daily task of the protection of the cosmos against the forces of disorder that continuously threaten it.[48] The Western Desert, particularly the narrow section at Thebes, was the place of the development of mortuary landscapes: '*The unruly desert was colonised, domesticated, and ordered by its subordination to these activities*'.[49] Alexandra von Lieven even refers to a positive cult of Seth in the temples dedicated to that god.[50] Therefore, if the Egyptian 'national' space does not forcibly point to both a sacred and profane space, it is plain that its different units lead us to confirm a lack of homogeneity in the collective perception of the spatial reality, as theorised by Eliade.[51]

We should now consider a broader perspective, in which the Egyptian space is contrasted with the non-Egyptian one.

As we have explained before, the place where the sacred is revealed corresponds to the foundation of the world and so Eliade calls it '*the Centre*'. Consequently, those who live in the spot that saw the Cosmos's birth feel something that can be tagged as '*anthropological superiority*': I live in the place of genesis so I live close to the sacred. To the ancient Egyptians this marvellous place is Egypt.

According to James Allen, the initial act introduces the spatial dimension: the non-created world has no '*place*' – it is only *Śhʿqs* (*tnmw*).[52] The concept of space is also conveyed in Atum's initial manifestation on the Primaeval Mound.[53] Therefore, the non-created world has no 'place' and so we can extrapolate that the foreign lands are like a non-created universe, with no space where Maat – the balanced order that sustains Egypt – can rule.[54] This ideological manipulation of reality can be related to Antonio Loprieno's theory, which argues that the Egyptians regarded foreign people between *topos* and *mimesis*, something that would have an impact in the Nilotic literature. The *topos* would correspond to an idyllic worldview; the *mimesis* would replicate the quotidian, though obviously filtrated by the Egyptian cultural conceptions. Hence, the Egyptian *topos* celebrates the fact that the '*Two Lands*' are located in the cosmic '*Centre*' so all foreign peoples must subject themselves to the pharaoh, since they inhabit a place contrary to the order.[55]

This idea of Egypt as a sacred space, superior to the foreign countries, can also be inferred from *The Story of Sinuhe,* '*widely considered the greatest of all Middle Kingdom literary compositions*'.[56] When the protagonist arrives at the island of the Great Black, in Peten in the Asiatic regions, Sinuhe feels the taste of death:

'*At dawn I reached Peten,/and landed at an island of the Great Black./Thirst fell and surprised me,/so that I was seared, my throat dusty. I said, 'This is the taste of death*'.[57]

The arrival into this new space is experienced in bad terms. Somehow the distance from Egypt, the sacred land, negatively affects Sinuhe, although the local inhabitants will rescue him. According to Pérez-Accino, this movement of the main character to the East is inappropriate, since it is contrary to the sun and consequently contrary to the pharaoh himself, which causes Sinuhe to face a symbolic death.[58] To exit the Nilotic territory, Sinuhe passes through the Egyptian territorial border, guarded by sentries: 'I touched the Ruler's Walls,/made to bar the Asiatics'.[59] A wall thus guarantees the integrity of the political territory, where security forces operate in order to prevent the 'Asiatics', that is, foreign people who do not live according to *maat*, from entering into Egyptian space. Though the political motivations are undeniable, we should underline the link between this pragmatic aspect and the idea of the protection of thresholds by guardians,

[44] VAN DER PLAS 1986: 159-162.
[45] *The Great Hymn to the Nile*, IV, 1 in VAN DER PLAS 1986: 159.
[46] *The Great Hymn to the Nile*, II, 5-6; 8 in VAN DER PLAS 1986:: 159.
[47] *The Great Hymn to the Nile*, VII, 7-8 in VAN DER PLAS 1986: 160.
[48] RICHARDS 1999: 87.
[49] BUTZER 2001: 385-386.
[50] VON LIEVEN 2006: 141-150.
[51] ELIADE 1992: 17-37.
[52] ALLEN 1988: 25.
[53] ALLEN 1988: 25.
[54] To know more about this fundamental notion in the Egyptian civilisation see: ASSMANN 1989.
[55] LOPRIENO 1988.
[56] ALLEN 2015: 55.
[57] *Sinuhe* B 20-23 in ALLEN 2015: 72.
[58] PÉREZ-ACCINO 2009: 170-172.
[59] *Sinuhe* B 17 in ALLEN 2015: 70.

proposed by Eliade.[60] Although the historian of religion has developed this notion by observing particular spaces, such as the temple, we believe it is relevant to convene it in this context: Egyptian space in its sacred character can be understood as an immense temple – the place where the world was brought into existence must be perpetually protected.

But perhaps what is more representative of the importance of the Egyptian land in this narrative is the fact that, even though Sinuhe is accepted and integrated into the local society – he even marries Ammunanši's eldest daughter – he never stops longing for home and he is very eager to be buried in Egypt. He asks the god: '*What is more important than interring my corpse/in the land you have me birth in?*'[61] Afterwards when he receives the royal decree that establishes his return to Egypt he yells:

'*How was this done for a servant/whose mind went astray to strange countries? / And the determination that saved me from death has to be good,/ for your ka is to let me make my body's end at home?*'[62]

Sinuhe experiences the sacredness of the Egyptian land: the place where everything begins and finishes, the most sacred space, completely different and separated from the others. In his return to Egypt, Sinuhe goes west and therefore acts in a good and proper manner. Sinuhe's actions are coloured by a profound ethical dimension.[63] It looks as if this text presents us an Egyptian 'moral geography', in which the 'Two Lands' occupy a top axiological position.

By the end of this brief paper we recognise that there are many questions that we did not answer. For instance: is there a relationship between sacred space – or nature – and sacred kingship?[64]; how are the natural elements – earth and water – pictured in Egyptian's cosmogonies? what are the daily consequences of the sacralisation of space in the ancient Egyptian's daily life?

However, the very purpose of this paper was to demonstrate that the study of sacred space in ancient Egypt requires the assessments of non-Egyptological authors, such as Otto, Eliade and Bachelard, in order to improve our interpretation of this complex reality. At the same time, preparing for the future must not involve forgetting previous contributions, nor those from other sciences. Since the 19th century, Egyptology has been a science built on a co-working basis and so it is vital that this multidisciplinary proceeds in the forthcoming works. This interaction between Egyptology and other fields of knowledge can be a very valid and profitable perspective of research, as we hope to have made clear. A perspective which has to be continuously renewed.

[60] According to Eliade, these 'guardians' are gods and ghosts who forbid the entrance of not only humans but also demonic forces. The threshold shows the immediate solution to the problem of the space continuity. The threshold is then, at the same time, a symbol and a crossover vehicle. Eliade 1992: 19.

[61] *Sinuhe* B 159-160 in Allen 2015: 111.

[62] *Sinuhe* B 202-204 in Allen 2015: 123.

[63] Pérez-Accino 2009: 170.

[64] To explore this question, see: Frankfort 1978: 57-59.

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Section 2:
Art, Iconography and Architecture Studies

An Examination and Analysis of the Role of the Iconographic Rosette Motif in the Egyptian Artistic Repertoire: a Case Study

Cheryl Hart

School of Archaeology, History and Anthropology
University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter, United Kingdom

Abstract: *My doctoral research comprises a detailed analysis of the iconographic rosette motif within the artistic repertoire of the Eastern Mediterranean region during the Fourth to First Millennia BC. Utilising a multi-disciplinary approach to visual interpretation, under-pinned primarily by semiotic theory, I perceive the motif to act as a means of non-verbal communication. I intend to demonstrate in this paper, through comparative data derived from the prolific visual depictions of the rosette, similarities in its cultural and contextual use within Egypt, the Near East, and the Aegean. By analysing this evidence, I aim to show that, as a means of non-verbal communication, the rosette motif represents a concept rather than simply an 'image', illustrating this with a specific case study which, although is currently 'work in progress', has revealed some particular points of interest.*

Keywords: *rosettes, breast symbolism, non-verbal communication, semiotics, visual interpretation*

1. Theoretical background to research

My research utilises a multi-disciplinary approach to visual interpretation – including archaeology, anthropology, art history, and even studies in human perception and cognition – in which signs and symbols are used as a means of non-verbal communication.

Art has long been investigated as a visual code of communication,[1] Panofsky having proposed the term 'iconography' to describe that branch of the history and study of visual images that concerns itself with the meaning of works of art rather than their form (as distinct from the term 'iconology' which he defined as the underlying cultural beliefs from which an artisan's work evolved).[2] Tilley, in particular, has further promoted the perception of material culture and its associated iconography as a means of non-verbal communication,[3] with symbols found on material forms being vehicles via which complex ideas are communicated to others.[4] Braithwaite, being primarily concerned with non-verbal systems and their symbolic qualities, states that symbols and symbol-systems have the capacity not only to express and communicate but, through their political and ideological dimension, can also be used covertly to disrupt established relations of dominance.[5] The use of material culture as symbols of power provides archaeologists with access to the strategic patterns involved in the creation, maintenance and collapse of power among cultural groups.[6]

In semiotic interpretations of art, the form of the image is particularly emphasised, with ascription of meaning being based on the interpretation of images as visual symbols.[7] The visual dimensions of material culture have a cognitive influence due to their decorative or aesthetic immediacy; that is, their immediate effect on the 'audience' who view it and, as images are a means of 'materialising remembrance', the efficacy of this process is determined by the manner in which it is retained in memory.[8] Ohnuki-Tierney suggests that memory codes are established during the initial processes of perception and cognitive conception or understanding.[9] In order to justify the interpretation of visual images it is important to address questions of cultural meaning and power through a 'critical visual methodology' which considers the visual in terms of cultural significance, social practices and power relations in which it is embedded.[10] Material culture studies owe much to semiotic theory which views all cultural processes as being those of communication;[11] semiotic approaches stressing how fundamental concepts could be visibly encoded in artefacts, objects and art. The communicative function of concepts in visual art is actualised due to relations of concepts with non-verbal elements of the work.[12]

[1] Hoskins 2006: 82.
[2] Panofsky 1962.
[3] Tilley 1999.
[4] Hodder 1987: 1-10; Tilley 2006a: 7; Tilley 2006b: 61.
[5] Braithwaite 1982: 80.
[6] Clarke et al 1985: 4.
[7] Jones 2007: 196.
[8] Jones 2007: 25, 155, 196.
[9] Ohnuki-Tierney 1981: 463.
[10] Rose 2007: xiv-xv.
[11] Eco 1977: 8; Thomas 1998: 97.
[12] Somov 2010: 476.

GODDESS	DATE	COLLECTION
Neith	1390-1352 BC	Musée d'Archéologie, Marseille 206
Hathor	1390-1352 BC	Egyptian Museum, Turin C.694
Nephthys	1390-1352 BC	Louvre E25389
Sekhmet	1390-1352 BC	Brooklyn Museum 1991.311
Sekhmet	1390-1352 BC	Neues Museum, Berlin
Sekhmet	1390-1352 BC	British Museum EA57
Sekhmet	1390-1352 BC	British Museum EA87
Sekhmet	1390-1352 BC	Metropolitan Museum of Art 15.8.3
Sekhmet	1390-1352 BC	Metropolitan Museum of Art 15.8.2
Sekhmet	1390-1352 BC	Egyptian Museum, Turin C.253

Table 1. Table of Egyptian goddess statues used for analysis of rosette motifs on breasts. Compiled by C. Hart.

2. Case study: An examination and analysis of the use of the rosette motif on depictions of breasts in the Ancient Egyptian iconographic repertoire

The case study presented in this paper is only a small part of my research overall but one which I believe will offer a significant contribution to the wider understanding of the role of the rosette motif as a means of non-verbal communication. Although primarily discussing evidence from the ancient Egyptian iconographic repertoire, I will also discuss *comparanda* taken from the wider Eastern Mediterranean region.

In ancient Egypt, rosette motifs of various types were commonly depicted – either engraved or painted – on the breasts of statues of several goddesses including Hathor and Sekhmet, and also royal women – Tiye, Tuya and Merytamun, to name but a few, and also extensively on coffins, mummy boards and masks.

Looking first at statuary of goddesses and royal or elite women, I have analysed the depictions of rosettes on the breasts of ten statues – one each of Neith, Hathor, and Nephthys, plus seven of Sekhmet (Table 1). This bias towards Sekhmet in extant statuary is probably influenced by the vast number of Sekhmet statues commissioned by Amenhotep III. The rosettes depicted on the breasts of these statues all indicate large numbers of petals – each one consists of between 16 and 20 petals (Fig. 20). The motifs on the statues of Sekhmet – apart from two which are unclear on the images I have, so cannot be definitively typed at this time – all comprise 16 petals (Fig. 21); these particular rosettes are also being of an identical type, as are those shown on the breasts of the Hathor statue. It has been suggested by some scholars that the rosette design on the breast of some of the Sekhmet statues may allude to the swirled rosette on the shoulders of some lions;[13] however, in my opinion, this is highly debatable as the breast rosettes share no resemblance to the swirled shoulder rosettes and, furthermore, this suggestion fails to acknowledge the contemporaneous appearance of breast rosettes on other statuary, as well as on burial equipment.

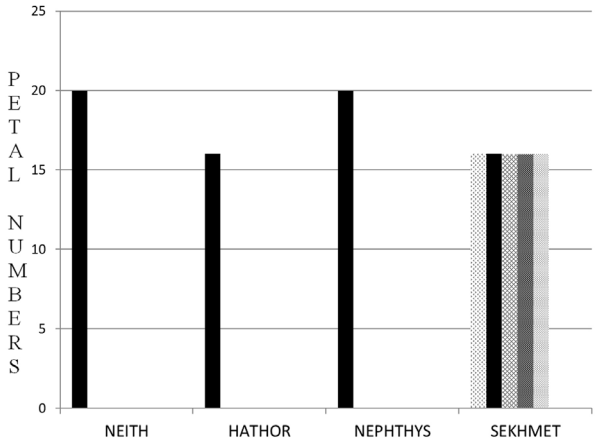

Fig. 20. Bar-chart showing rosette petal numbers on breasts of statues of royal or elite women. Compiled by C. Hart

Fig. 21. Statue of Sekhmet. London: *British Museun,* EA57. Photograph: © C. Hart.

In the case of royal and elite women, statues depicting rosettes on the breasts are known for Tiaa, wife of

[13] Wilkinson 2005: 182; Eavis and Ikram 2013: 6118-6119.

Amenhotep II (Fig. 22); Tiye wife of Amenhotep III; Henuttaneb daughter of Amenhotep III; Manana, wife of a high official in the court of Amenhotep III; Tuya mother of Rameses II, this statue according to Kozloff having been cut from one originally ascribed to Tiye;[14] Merytamun daughter of Rameses II; and also a unknown Ptolemaic queen or princess (Table 2). Again, with the exception of the Ptolemaic figure, all the rosette motifs have between 16 and 20 petals, the majority this time depicting 20 petals (Fig. 23). It should be noted at this point that, with the exception of the Ptolemaic figure which is clearly of a different type to all the other examples of statuary, all the statues exhibiting rosettes on the breasts date to the New Kingdom. It may be worthy of note – given some of the naturalistic aspects of Amarna art – that this device was never used by Nefertiti;[15] however, it has conversely been claimed by Russmann that, at Amarna, breasts were *only* depicted on royal images, further stating that this must have been on the orders of Akhenaten – renderings of anatomy being transformed into symbols of royalty.[16]

If we turn to burial assemblages, there are vast numbers of rosette/breast depictions on coffins, mummy boards and masks (for example, Fig.. 24 & 25). Working with a corpus of 59 such examples, preliminary analysis quickly showed that the use of rosettes on the breasts depicted on burial equipment was defined to specific periods (Fig. 26) – from the 59 examples, 3 were dated to First Intermediate Period or very early Middle Kingdom; 17 to New Kingdom; 29 to Third Intermediate Period; 3 to Ptolemaic Period; with seven of unspecified date. Looking at the rosette types themselves, those on First Intermediate Period examples consisted of purely dot rosettes; those of the New Kingdom included a variety of petalled types but predominantly with higher numbers of petals; the Third Intermediate Period examples – clearly in the majority here – for the most part were rosettes with 8 petals (this point is significant and will be returned to later); whilst those of the Ptolemaic Period were of various types with no clear pattern to their use, possibly due to such a small number of examples known.

Interestingly, many of the funerary artefacts displayed identical – or very similar - rosette motifs on both the breasts and earrings of the 'deceased' (Fig. 27); however, at the present time analysis of these particular associations has not revealed any specific pattern to their occurrences, although that may possibly change by examining a larger number of artefacts. It was also apparent that a number of the coffins depicting rosettes on the breasts belonged to the mortuary equipment of women who held the role of Chantress of Amun, so I wanted to examine whether there was any potential

Fig. 22. Statue of Tuthmose IV and his mother, Tiaa. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE36336. Photograph: © C. Hart.

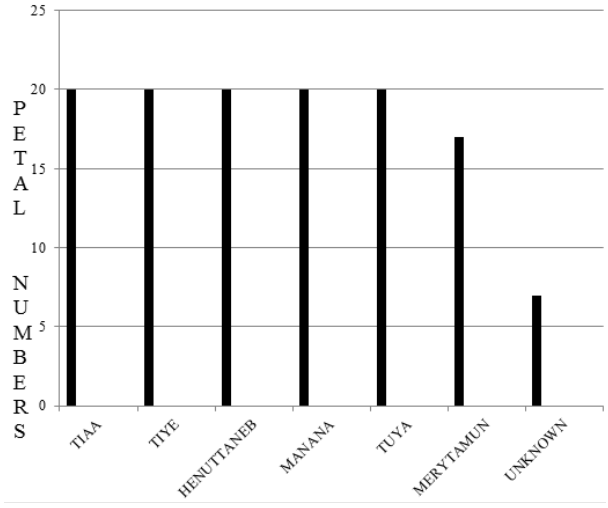

Fig. 23. Bar-chart showing rosette petal numbers on breasts of statues of royal or elite women. Compiled by C. Hart.

[14] Kozloff 1996: 484.
[15] Kozloff 1996: 482.
[16] Russmann 2001: 32.

ROYAL/ELITE WOMAN	DATE	COLLECTION
Queen Tiye	1390-11352 BC	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE99281
Princess Merytamun	1271-1224 BC	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE31413
Unknown Ptolemaic queen or princess	200-100 BC	Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 27471
Queen Tuya	1271-1224 BC	Vatican Museum
Tiaa, mother of Tuthmose IV	1390-1352 BC	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE36336
Manana, wife of Khaemwaset	1403-1365 BC	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE87911
Princess Henuttaneb	1390-1352 BC	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE33906

Table 2. Table of Statues of Royal or Elite Egyptian women used for analysis of rosette motifs on breasts. Compiled by C. Hart.

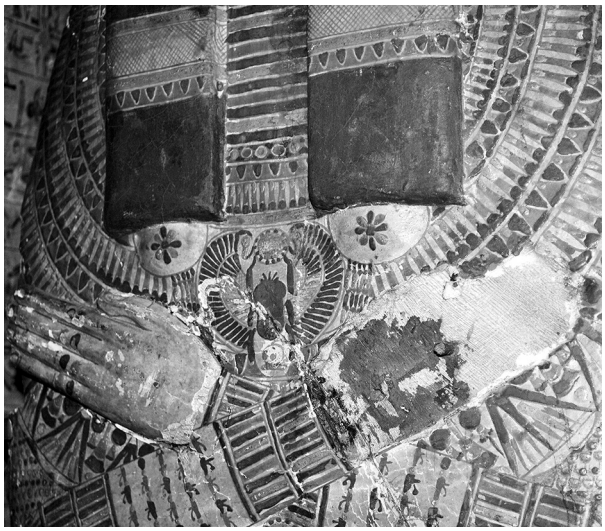

Fig. 24. Detail from coffin of Taweseretempernesu. London: *British Museum*, EA90023. Photograph: © C. Hart.

Fig. 25. Detail from outer coffin of Ta-ahuty. London: *British Museum*, EA24793. Photograph: © C. Hart.

link between the two (Fig. 28). The New Kingdom artefacts indicated that two out of seventeen could be positively assigned to Chantresses of Amun – of the other fifteen I have no definitive evidence of titles, so it cannot be said for certain whether or not they held this role. However, looking at the Third Intermediate Period examples, fifteen out of twenty-nine were attested as Chantresses of Amun, with a further five known to have been found in the mummy cache of the Theban priests found at Deir el Bahari suggesting that these were, at least, members of the families of the temple elite. For this period, nine artefacts have no definitive attestation as to the role of the deceased. This can potentially be explained by the predominance of elite women bearing the title of Chantress of Amun in the Third Intermediate Period; however, although this obviously needs to be taken into account, it would be negligent, in my opinion, to disregard this data in respect to such women, and further examination is necessary in order to attempt verification of the data either for or against a symbolic link. Furthermore, in relation to the Chantress of Amun, the question has been raised in a personal discussion[17] as to whether the breast rosettes could possibly be tattoos. Centred on a paper of Bianchi,[18] the discussion focused on the supposed fact that, although there are no apparent links with rosette-breast symbolism, early tattoos of the Middle Kingdom were, for the most part, combinations of dots and dashes; and in later periods, tattooing appears to have a strong link with temple chantresses and musicians. One point which was highlighted in this discussion was that tattooing did not commonly appear to have been in widespread use; thus where it was used, it presumably had a special significance. Obviously, as regards rosette-breast symbolism this is somewhat speculative; however, it is certainly food for thought and worthy of further examination.

At this point in the paper, however, I want to pose some questions, and indicate what appear to be contradictions in these depictions. If we consider the significance of the rosette motif being depicted on the breast in this way –

[17] I would like to thank Eric Olijdam, Leiden University, for his discussion on these points.
[18] Bianchi 1988.

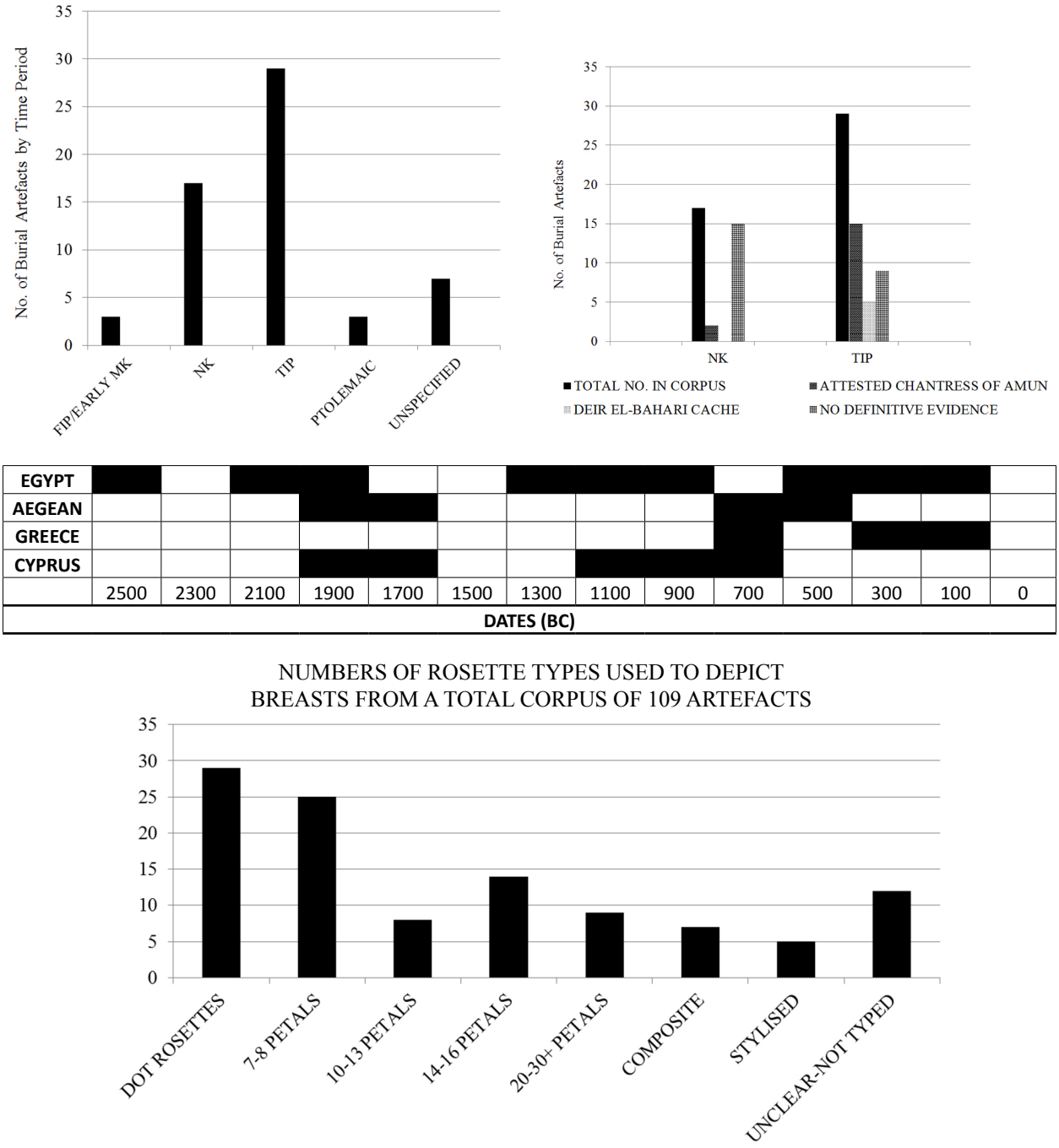

Fig. 26. Bar-chart showing numbers of burial artefacts from different time periods used for analysis from a total corpus of 59. Compiled by C. Hart.

particularly from the theoretical perspective of the motif being used as a means of non-verbal communication which, as I stated above, underpins my research –the first reaction would usually be that the rosettes being depicted on the breasts indicated a fertility aspect. It is known that, at Mirgissa and Timna for example, offerings of pebbles resembling breasts and models of breasts, were offered as votives to Hathor, the goddess of sexuality.[19] C. Andrews noted the use of modelled breasts adorned with 'flowers';[20] Llewellyn-Jones remarked that the 'large nipples suggested abundant fertility';[21] whilst Riggs stated that the gilded or painted rosettes on the breasts, both protected and 'called attention to them',[22] 'charging the funerary image with fertility'.[23] It is also of interest that, in some instances, the breasts

[19] MESKELL 2004: 140-141.

[20] ANDREWS 1998: 55.

[21] LLEWELLYN-JONES 2002: 18.

[22] RIGGS 2005: 78.

[23] RIGGS 2005: 34.

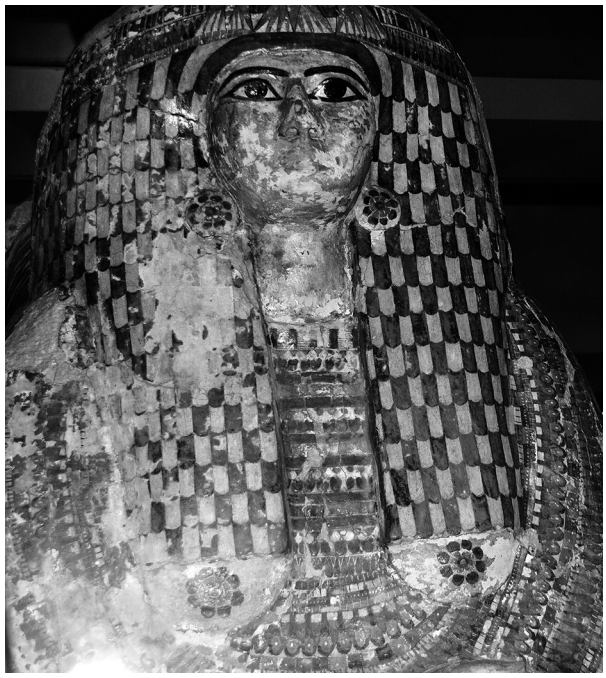

Fig. 27. Detail from coffin of Tanethenaef indicating close similarity between rosettes depicted on breasts and earrings. London: *British Museum*, EA24791. Photograph: © C. Hart.

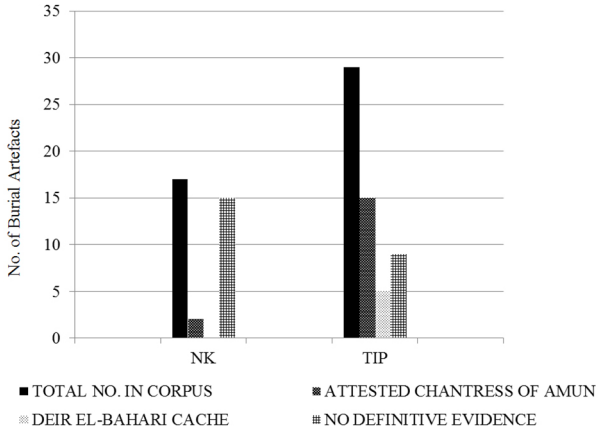

Fig. 28. Bar-chart showing numbers of burial artefacts which could be positively assigned to Chantresses of Amun. Compiled by C. Hart.

bearing the rosettes appear to be exposed – that is, the breast seems to be naked, the rosette directly adorning the breast itself; whereas in other cases the female is fully dressed and the rosette is applied to the breast area of the costume. Preliminary analysis of this particular phenomenon seems to indicate that the naked breasts feature simpler rosette types than the clothed examples, leading me to hypothesis whether the more elaborate types were used to further emphasise or highlight the

Fig. 29. Detail from coffin of Taminis depicting rosette on breast of costume. London: *British Museum*, EA29586. Photograph: © C. Hart.

breast region despite being hidden by clothing. In the wider cultural sphere, richly ornamented surfaces were frequently focussed on the areas of the costume covered the reproductive organs.[24] Embroidery and other embellishments were, and still are in some cultures, commonly added to the areas of costume covering the breasts and reproductive organs, thereby protecting the wearer's fertility.[25] As I have indicated, in ancient Egypt, particularly in the Third Intermediate Period, women's upper body garments, as depicted on mummy cases / coffins, featured multi-petalled rosettes covering the breasts. (Fig. 29) A similar phenomenon can still be seen today in some regions of India and Pakistan where eight-petalled lotus or solar symbols can be seen embellishing the costume covering the breasts.[26] Eight-pointed stars, eight-petalled lotus, and rosettes are claimed to be ancient solar symbols connected to the rising and setting sun, and to the sun's life-giving energy; such motifs supposedly, according to Rivers, having been utilised originally in ancient Mesopotamia, then, being adopted by later Zoroastrians in Central Asia, before gradually migrating into northwest India and Pakistan.[27]

Breasts certainly have a fertility aspect in respect to female sexuality and also as a mode of regeneration in the feeding of the next generation, possibly exemplifying the concept of binary opposition so prevalent in Egyptian belief systems – in this case, the deceased and coffin representing death, but life being symbolised by the ability to feed and sustain the new-born. However, if

[24] RIVERS 2004: 51.
[25] RIVERS 2004: 60.
[26] RIVERS 2004: 61.
[27] RIVERS 2004: 61.

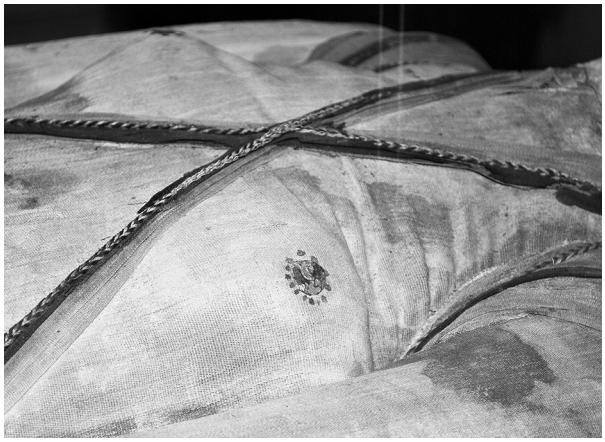

Fig. 30. Detail from male mummy depicting gold-leaf rosette. London: *British Museum*, EA6704. Photograph: © C. Hart.

Fig. 31. Detail from koré statue from the Acropolis, Athens depicting 16-petalled rosette on breast. Athens: *National Archaeology Museum*, 4889. Photograph: © C. Hart.

we take the perspective that the rosettes on the breasts signified fertility, how do we explain similar use in funerary examples of which the mummies or owners of funerary masks are male? It may also be significant that the rosette on the left breast of one mummy from the collection of the British Museum (EA6704) is adorned with a gold-leaf centre disc (Fig. 30).

In order to consider this evidence from a more complete perspective, I have examined *comparanda* from the wider geographical context of my research. In this respect, it must firstly be noted that I have found no indication of such usage in the Near East, so all the following data derive from the Aegean, Greek mainland and Cyprus. Such *comparanda*, although having many similarities, mainly differs in the respect that, as anthropoid coffins and associated artefacts were not used in the ancient Aegean world, there are no mortuary parallels with those of Egypt. Aegean and Greek exemplars derive from figurines, jewellery, and statuary. Of particular note is a *koré* from the Acropolis at Athens on which the rosette on the breast comprised sixteen petals identical to those noted earlier on the examples of the statues of Egyptian goddesses Sekhmet and Hathor (Fig. 31).

However, what are probably the most numerous Aegean depictions of rosette motifs in association with breasts derive from what are known as 'Nippled or Breasted Ewers' originating, for the most part, from Akrotiri on ancient Thera (for example, Fig. 32). They all evidence the use of similar dot-type rosettes, clearly intended to be breasts by the shape and form of the ewers themselves, with eyelets further enhancing their personification. A modelled ewer, originating from Cyprus, although similar in portrayal, differed by its more rustic form, with other painted examples from the Cypriot repertoire, although clearly different in their form, seeming to replicate the same concept; that is, the rosette motifs appear to be

Fig. 32. 'Nippled' or 'Breasted' ewer. Athens: *National Archaeology Museum*, inv. no. unknown. Photograph: © C. Hart.

suggestive of breasts. Marinatos claims that these were all cult vessels; further stating that there 'can be no clearer indications of the associations with fertility'.[28] However again, in Greek iconography in particular, there is evidence of similar use of rosette/breast iconography in association with males, particularly warriors or heroic figures, which are commonly depicted on vase paintings or as warrior figures. Such depictions are also known from the actual breast-plates worn by warriors. Hitchcock has argued that, in Minoan iconography in particular, 'gender ambiguity may have been part of the sanctioned social order in palatial Crete',[29] with Alberti similarly claiming that there was sharing of gender attributes in relation to portrayals of male and female figures;[30] whilst Dikaios has stated that male figures on Cypriot pottery of the early Iron Age generally had similar indications of breasts to female figures.[31] Furthermore, although obviously deriving from beyond both the geographic and temporal parameters of my own research, it is noteworthy that, even within the last two centuries, exemplars derive from the Miji Kenda peoples, in the region of Kenya, where carved wooden grave sculptures were erected on which breasts were marked by rosettes.[32]

As I wrote at the beginning of this paper, this is very much work in progress, so I am not going to offer any definitive conclusions to this phenomenon, but I do believe that, based on such use for both males and females, together with other evidence from my wider research, the idea of the rosette motif in association with breast depictions as being symbolic of fertility is, even at best, far too simplistic. Furthermore, what I believe is a total disregard for the widespread evidence of breast symbolism, derives from the suggestion of French that the depiction of nipples on what is a clearly male figure at Phylakopi, implies that those seen on other male figures, or possibly even female figures, such as those from the Cult Centre at Mycenae, can be considered as 'nothing more momentous than realism'.[33] In the 1970s, anthropological theorist Leach, backed to some extent by Douglas, held the basic premise that humans are interested in what distinguishes the inside and outside of their bodies and with links between the two; citing, amongst others, the nipples. Leach claimed that in all known religions such links have symbolic significance, even if their meaning is not understood;[34] however, although this idea may be worthy of further consideration, at this point it is speculative. It has been asked of me, however, whether I thought that the petals of the rosettes could have an anatomical basis in that they could signify the milk ducts radiating inside of the breasts and joining at the nipple, symbolised by the centre ring of the rosette. Although I had not considered the rosette motif from this perspective, it would, to some extent, fit with the view of Leach regarding interest in the inside and outside of human bodies. Furthermore, a suggestion was made that the simpler rosettes could signify a 'bud' in respect to male breasts which 'blossom' to form more complex rosettes for female breasts.[35] It should also be mentioned that female fertility symbols are known on male figures in other contexts. A paper by Tallay Ornan which discusses, amongst others, Levantine female fertility symbols on male figures, and *vice versa*, has recently been brought to my attention.[36] The fertility aspect is presented via the concept of the abundance of nature so that, although there is no association with breast symbolism, this indicates a further context in which there is a cross-over of male or female fertility symbols, that is, either those which are explicitly related to fertility, or those in which the symbolism is implied and is, thus, more conjectural.

Consideration of the temporal use of rosette motifs as breast depictions for the ancient Egyptian, Aegean, Greek, and Cypriot repertoires indicates that in all the cultures there were breaks in such usage with intermittent renewal in the use of the symbolism (Fig. 33). In ancient Egypt, the rosette was used in association with breast depictions approximately six hundred years prior to similar use in the Aegean and Cyprus. The first evidence for this type of depiction in the Aegean is almost exclusively based on evidence from the Breasted Ewers from Thera; the early use too in Cyprus (c 2000-1600 BC) is based on the modelled and painted breasted ewers – this use being somewhat unusual as the rosette as a whole was not in general use in Cyprus until the Iron Age around 1000 BC. This particular contextual use of the rosette motif on the Greek mainland clearly comes much later than that of other regions (post-800 BC).

Analysis of rosette type across all the artefactual data highlighted in this paper indicates some points of significance (Fig. 34). The rosette type used most prolifically in this corpus of breast depictions is the dot-type, followed closely by the 8-petalled type. The predominance of the dot-type is to be expected to a large extent as it clearly replicates the form of the nipples in both males and females. However, across the entire corpus, the dot-type of rosette accounts for only 26% of the total depictions, obviously indicating that the majority of breast imagery was signified by more complex rosette types. As just noted, the most frequent of the petalled type rosettes used in this context are those with 8-petals; probably unsurprising as this is the most common rosette type in general. In relation to the corpus of data analysed

[28] MARINATOS n/d: 46, 40.
[29] HITCHCOCK 2000: 79.
[30] ALBERTI 2002: 98-117.
[31] DIKAIOS 1936/1937: 60.
[32] BROWN 1980: 36-39.
[33] FRENCH 2002: 130.
[34] LEACH 1977: 169-171; DOUGLAS 1973, cited in PEARSON 1999: 46.

[35] Many thanks to the two unknown conference delegates who raised these discussion points.
[36] ORNAN 2011. Many thanks to Liat Naeh, graduate student at the Archaeology Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for bringing this paper to my attention.

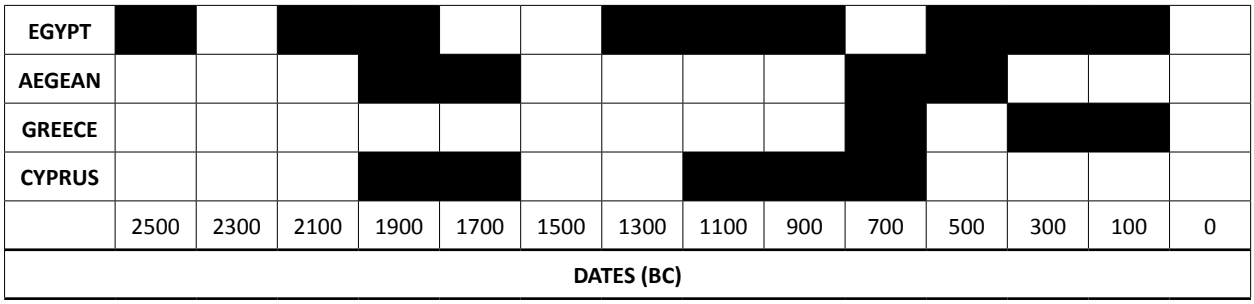

Fig. 33. Bar-chart indicating temporal use of the rosette motif on breast depictions for various geographic regions. Compiled by C. Hart.

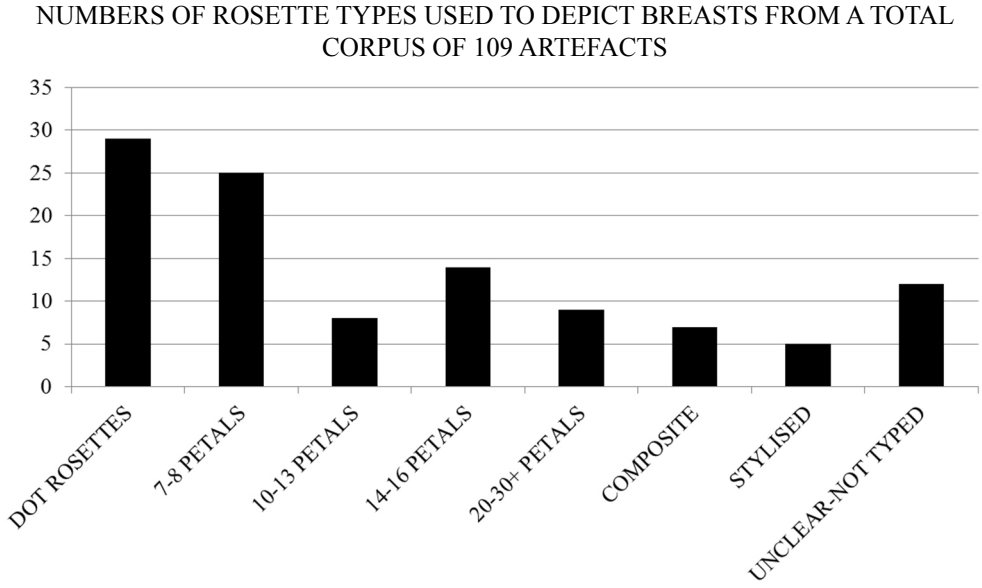

Fig. 34. Bar-chart showing numbers of rosettes types used in association with breast depictions from a total corpus of 109 artefacts. Compiled by C. Hart.

for this paper it should be noted that there do not appear to be any significant variations in region or time for the use of specific rosette types.

As this work on this particular aspect of rosette symbolism is ongoing, I am not offering any definitive explanations or claims at this point as to trends in the depiction of the rosette motif on breasts, nor do I want to propose any theories in respect to the semiotic value of the message being communicated by such depictions at this point. Over the coming months, I intend to examine further aspects of this phenomenon including:

- Other coffins/mummy boards/masks to attempt a proportional analysis of extant artefacts with and without breast depictions in order to determine the extent of the role of the rosette motif in this context
- Similarly, to examine other New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period burial equipment to attempt a proportional analysis of extant artefacts, both with and without breast depictions, belonging to women attested as being Chantresses of Amun – again to determine whether there is any significance between the rosette/breast associations for these particular women
- To extend the corpus examined of non-funerary artefacts bearing rosette / breast depictions.

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A Note on the Late Middle Kingdom Stelae 'Workshop' at Thebes

Danijela Stefanović

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract: *The present paper addresses prosopographic and socio-historic aspects of one of the Theban stelae workshops dating to the end of the 13th dynasty/beginning of the Second Intermediate Period. To the list of attestation of the objects that have been already assigned to the production group, five more objects should be listed: Berlin: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, inv. no 8802, Turin: Museo Egizio, inv. no S. 01298, the stela from the McCorkell collection, London: British Museum, inv. no EA 1747, and Berkeley: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, inv. no 3-348. The Theban origin of the workshop has been advocated for by the titles of the persons attested on the stelae themselves. The 'temple titles', attested on the stelae, may indicate that their holders, both male and female, were associated with the local cults of Sobek and Anubis, and would also advocate for the Theban origin of the whole group.*

Keywords: *stelae production, Thebes, 13th dynasty, iconography, prosopography, titles*

An extensive Theban stelae production group, dating to the end of the 13th Dynasty/ beginning of the Second Intermediate Period, has been extensively analysed by several authors.[1] Apart from E. *Schiaparelli'*s notes in the Florence Museum catalogue, since many of the stelae are presently in the collection of the Florence Archaeological Museum, the initial work on the affiliation of the objects was done by Marcel Marée.[2] Further research has been conducted by Detlef Franke,[3] the present author,[4] A. Ilin Tomich,[5] and Abdalla Abdel-Raziq.[6]

In addition to the stelae already attributed to the cluster,[7] five more objects should be included: Berlin: *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung*, 8802, Turin: *Museo Egizio*, S. 01298, the stela from the McCorkell collection,[8] London: *British Museum*, EA 1747,[9] and Berkeley: *Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*, 5-348[10].

The stelae produced by the cluster in question were found (or bought), so far as the data are known, based on museum records, at Thebes (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20647, Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 6372, 6377, and 7601) and in the Theban nome (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20110 from Rizeiqat). However, the Theban origin of the workshop is suggested by the titles of the persons attested on the stelae themselves.

On the stela Berkeley: *Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*, 5-348 one of the persons, *snb-mj-ȝw*, was identified as the *wˁb n sbk nb-swmnw*: the *wˁb*-priest of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu (Rizeiqat).[11] Stela Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20642 mentioned a *nfr-ḥtp* who was as *n jw-m-jtrw*: a man of Imiotru (Rizeiqat).[12] Another indication of Theban origin may come from stela Berlin: *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung*, 8802 where the female name *mwt-snt*[13] is written with the sign Gardiner D39 (), instead of G14 (), anepigraphic feature characteristic of the Theban region.[14]

Despite the very prominent stylistic, iconographic, and epigraphical features,[15] the *socio-historical context* of

[1] For an overview see Ilin-Tomich 2012: 69-84.
[2] Marée1993: 13, n. 41.
[3] Franke 2003: 83, Anm. 275.
[4] Stefanović 2010: 214; Stefanović 2012: 17-23.
[5] Ilin-Tomich 2012: 69-84; Ilin-Tomich 2014: 140. The Stela Christie's London April 20, 2005, lot 382/73, should be, in my opinion, excluded from the group (based on the appearance of the human figures, arrangement of the text, as well as the shape of the object).
[6] Abdel-Raziq 2014: 1-16. See also Abdel-Raziq 2013 and Mahfouz 2013: 161-201. It should be noted that stelae Assiut 201, 202, 207, and 208 were independently recognised by D. Stefanović as elements of the same cluster. See Stefanović 2015: 113-126.
[7] Assiut: *Madrasat el-Salam*, 201, 202, 207, 208; Athens: *National Archaeological Museum*, 4053α, L155; Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20110, CC 20319, CG 20372, CC 20403, CC 20413, CG 20403, CG 20642, CG 20647, CG 20660; Florence: *Museo Archeologico*, 6372, 6373, 6377, 7601, 7605; London: *Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*, UC 14417; Toledo, Ohio: *Museum of Art*, 1906.23.
[8] Leprohon 1987: 78-85.
[9] Noted by A. Ilin-Tomich in his dissertation. Ильин-Томич 2011: 159.
[10] Lutz 1927: no 87.
[11] Fischer 1985: no 682a; cf. *LGG* III, 727.
[12] Gomaà 1986: 122-125; Quirke 1991: 146; Morentz 2001: 89-90.
[13] Ranke 1935: 311/19.
[14] Cf. Ilin-Tomich 2011: 129-140.
[15] It seems that the entire production's output derives from at least four draughtsmen and four sculptors (whether or not draughtsman and sculptor may have been a single individual), and there is no doubt that the whole group belongs to the same artistic dossier, or the same production spot. The objects can be assigned to several subgroups, based on artistic and epigraphic similarities. Most of the objects from the cluster are rectangular, round topped stelae; just few of them are slabs. The lunette of the stelae in most cases contains only the *wedjat* eyes, and sometimes a *shen* ring, with just a few examples adding recumbent jackals or being empty. Many of the objects are framed around the edge, with incised squares which were originally painted with three stripes in different colours. The workmanship of the stelae

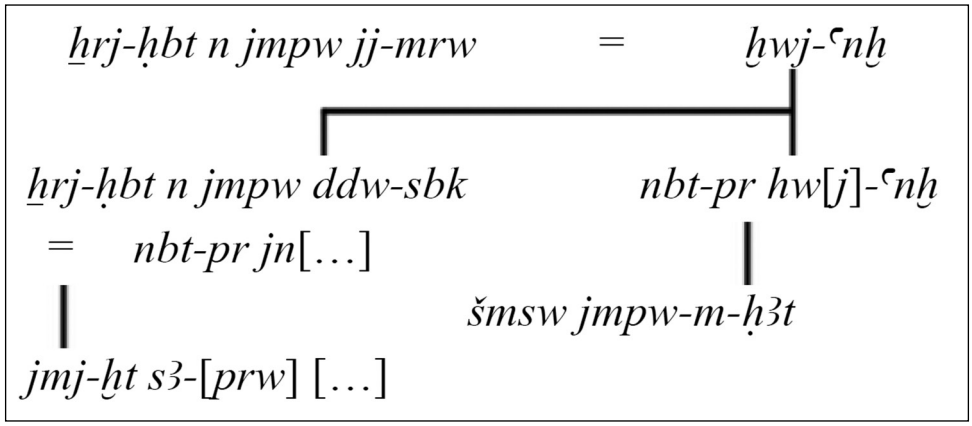

Table 3. London: *British Museum*, EA 1747, the hypothetical family tree.

the group is rather limited. The objects record eighty-one individuals, fifty of them with titles (both male and female).

The best attested title on the stelae is *ʿnḫ n njwt* (five attestations).[16] The title is not revealing as this designation is one of the most common of the Middle Kingdom /Second Intermediate Period, and most probably designates ordinary, agricultural or town inhabitants who could be assigned to various institutions (granary, treasury, temple), employed as *corvée labour* on public works projects, or used as combat forces (since they were grown-up males, capable of bearing arms).[17]

The objects also record four holders of the title *šmsw,*[18] three *ḥrj n tm,*[19] and three *nḫt-ḫrw.*[20] The most prominent female title is the *nbt-pr* (fifteen attestations), the commonest designation of women in the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period.[21]

In respect of the institutional aspect of the attested titles, the most numerous are temple titles.[22] Eight individuals are thus attested: *wʿb ddj* (Berlin: *Ägyptisches Museum und*

is mostly rather crude and the relief is always sunk. The figures are not very carefully executed; there are also similarities between the general appearance of the objects (such as the ways of rendering the human figures), in terms of appearance, type of dress (both male and female), wigs, and the shape of the limbs, with long arms and in some cases almost identical rendering of the feet.

The arrangement of the iconographic elements allows identifying several subgroups, such are for example Berlin: *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung*, 8802, the McCorkell collection, Assiut: *Madrasat el-Salam*, 201 and 202, Berkeley: *Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*, 5-348, and Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20372 (note that Berlin: *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung*, 8802 and Assiut: *Madrasat el-Salam*, 202 are produced by the same artist), or Athens: *National Archaeological Museum*: Λ155, Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20403, and Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 6372 (the most prominent subgroup, probably also produced by one sculptor).

The offering formulae are composed in an almost identical manner, mentioning Osiris, and in a several cases Anubis, with epithets and gifts arranged in the same order. Other shared features include: the identical writing of the *ḥtp dj nswt* group, with the *t* above *ḥtp* and no phonetic complements after the *ḥtp* sign; the consistent spelling of *nṯr ʿ3 nb 3bḍw* with an horizontal sign Gardiner O29 (𓊃); the writing and arrangement of the elements of *prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw*; the separation of the *ḥnḳt* sign from the *prt-ḫrw* group (Assiut: *Madrasat el-Salam*, 206, 210, Athens: *National Archaeological Museum*, 4053α and Λ155; Toledo, Ohio: *Museum of Art*, 1906.23; Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 6372, 6373, and 6377; on many of the Cairo stelae); the spelling of *ḏḏw* with linked *ḏḏ* columns; introducing the name of the owner with *n kꜣ n*; incomplete bird hieroglyphs, particularly Gardiner G17 (𓅱 → 𓅱) which is carved without legs in all these stelae; the use of the phrase *ddt pt ḳmꜣt tꜣ* (Turin: *Museo Egizio*, S 1298, Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, 20403 and CG 20660, New York: *Brooklyn Museum of Art*, 07.471, McCorkell, London: *Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*, UC 14360 and UC 14417); the identical orthography of the title *ḫrj n tm* (Athens: *National Archaeological Museum*, Λ155, Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 6377, Toledo, Ohio: *Museum of Art*, 1906.23) etc.

[16] Stelae Athens: *National Archaeological Museum*, 4053α (two individuals), Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20413, Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 7605, and McCorkell coll. See STEFANOVIĆ 2006: nos. 108, 125, 186, 189, 194.

[17] See BERLEV 1971: 23-48; WARD 1982: no. 614; QUIRKE 1986: 113; QUIRKE 1990: 78-79ff; QUIRKE 2004: 112-113; CHEVEREAU 1991: 46-56; STEFANOVIĆ 2006: 1-48; STEFANOVIĆ in preparation.

[18] Stelae Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 6372; Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20372; Assiut: *Madrasat el-Salam*, 208; Leiden: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, F.1939/2.48. See STEFANOVIĆ 2006: nos. 563, 539. БЕРЛЕВ 1978: 178-190; WARD 1982: no. 1517; QUIRKE 1990: 82; STEFANOVIĆ 2008: 233-248. Without more precise determinations, which could also be iconographic, the title *šmsw* can be interpreted in different ways (WARD 1982: nos. 1517-1529; STEFANOVIĆ 2008: 233-248).

[19] Stelae Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 6377; Toledo, Ohio: *Museum of Art*, 1906.23; Athens: *National Archaeological Museum*, Λ155. See БЕРЛЕВ 1978: 265; WARD 1982: nos. 1087-1088; QUIRKE 1986: 121, n. 42; QUIRKE 2004: 95. Note also BERLEV 1995: 641, who proposed the interpretation 'land surveyor'.

[20] Stelae London: *Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*, UC 14417; Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 6373 and 6372. See WARD 1982: no. 837; FRANKE 2001: 29 [d]; QUIRKE 2004: 96.

Other masculine titles attested in the group, most of them middle ranking, are: *ʿnḫ n ṯt ḥḳꜣ* (Assiut: *Madrasat el-Salam*, 201; Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CC 20319); *ꜣḫw aA n njwt* (Turin: *Museo Egizio*, S. 01298); *jrj-pḏt* (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20660); *mnjw* (Assiut: *Madrasat el-Salam*, 202) *mrpr* (Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 7601); *sAb r nḫn* (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CC 20403); *smsw hꜣjjt* (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20647); *šmsw ʿrrjt* (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20660); *wr mḏw šmʿ* (Toledo, Ohio: *Museum of Art*, 1906.23). Although it may appear that many of them belong to the so-called 'military titles', or security sector, referring to the 'troops of the town' (see QUIRKE 1986; STEFANOVIĆ 2006), they should rather be treated as indicators of the city population engaged in various activities either on a local or the national level.

[21] STEFANOVIĆ and SATZINGER 2015: 333-338.

[22] See QUIRKE 2004: 121-131.

Fig. 35. Stela. London: *British Museum*, EA 1747. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Papyrussammlung, 8802), *wꜥb n jnpw rn-snb* (Berkeley: *Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*, 5-348), *wꜥb n sbk sw-mꜥj* (Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 7601), *wꜥb n sbk nb-swmnw snb-mj-ỉw* (Berkeley: *Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*, 5-348), *ḫnrjjt n jnpw*[23] *jt.f-sꜥnḫ* (Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 7601), *ḥrj-ḥbt n jnpw*[24] *ddw-sbk* (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20372), *ḥrj-ḥbt n jnpwjj-mrw* (London: *British Museum*, EA 1747), and *kwrr n ḥtpw-nṯr* ? (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, 20110). The 'temple titles' may indicate that their holders, both male and female, were associated with the local cults of Sobek and Anubis, and would also argue for the Theban origin of the whole group.[25]

On prosopographical grounds, the group is rather weak. No clear societal relationshipcanbe established between the people recorded on the objects. Still, there is a possibility, for example, that the *ꜥḥꜥ jw-n.f*, recorded on stela Toledo, Ohio: Museum of Art, inv. no 1906.23, is the same person as *jw-n.f*, the son of *nḫt-ḫrw* attested on stela Firenze: *Museo Archeologico*, 6373.[26]

Another dossier may belong to the *nbt-pr fd.nwt* since she is attested on two stelae: Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20319 and CG 20403. On both objects she is called the mother of the respective dedicator: *ꜥnḫ n ṯt ḥḳ3 nfr-ḥtp* (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20319), and *sȝb r nḫn ꜥnḫw* (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, 20403). Although there is a slight orthographic difference, the fact that both objects belong to the same artistic dossier, as well as that the name is otherwise unattested, would advocate in favour of her identification.[27]

The stelae London: *British Museum*, EA 1747 and Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20372 can provide further links. The stela London: *British Museum*, EA 1747 commemorates five individuals. The main dedicator was [….*d*]*dw mȝꜥ-ḫrw*, conceived of *ḥrj-ḥbt n jnpw jj-*

[23] Ward 1982: no. 1130; Ward 1986: Ch. 4.
[24] Ward 1982: no. 1205.
[25] Morenz 2010: 125; Fiore Marochetti 2013.
[26] Grajetzki-Stefanović, no 17.
[27] Stefanović 2015: 114; Stefanović and Satzinger 2015: 333-338

mrw, and born of *nbt-pr ḫwj-ʿnḫ*. The name of his wife is partly preserved (*ḥmt.f nbt-pr jn*[….]), while the name of the son is completely lost (*sꜣ.f jmj-ḫt sꜣ* [….]).

The stela Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20372 records three persons: *šmsw jnpw-m-ḥꜣt*, his mother *nbt-pr ḫwj-ʿnḫ*, and his maternal uncle (*sn.f n mwt.f*)[28] *ḫrj-ḥbt n jnpw ddw-sbk.*

If we suppose that the *nbt-pr ḫwj-ʿnḫ*, recorded on both objects (and having in mind that the name is rather rarely attested),[29] could be the 'link' between the two stelae, and that the partly preserved name [….*d*]*dw* on London: *British Museum*, EA 1747 may be restored as *ddw-sbk*, and thus identified as *ḫrj-ḥbt n jmpw ddw-sbk*,[30] the hypothetical family tree may appear as:

The various elements and aspects of the Theban stelae production group (style, iconography, layout and epigraphy) would advocate for identifying the artistic output of the persons involved in their production. There is almost no doubt that at least several of these stelae were commissioned at approximately the same time and most probably by the members of the local Theban community living nearby.

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[28] FRANKE 1983: 113.

[29] RANKE 1935: 266/1.

[30] Another lector of (?) Anubis D(ed)usobek is attested on stela London: *Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*, UC 14418. In respect to its style the object does not belong to the Theban group discussed above.

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Domestic Architecture and Daily Life in Meroitic Nubia

Marco Baldi

ISMEO, Centro Studi Petrie, University of Pisa, Pisa, Italy

Abstract: *This paper offers a picture of residential architecture and domestic customs in the Meroitic world (3rd century BC – 4th century AD), paying particular attention to the daily life of the low and middle social classes. It will highlight the heterogeneous character of contemporary buildings in respect of dimensions, plans, materials and techniques, suggesting social hierarchies and regional specificities. The suggestions regarding the daily activities of the population, especially the cooking of food, will be supported by archaeometrical inquiry from pottery and its source clay, animal bones, vegetal remains and charcoal. The paper will consider several past significant excavations, in sites as Ash Shaukan and Gezira Dabarosa, and several missions, mainly at Meroe, Hamadab and Muweis, that have been working in Sudan to enrich the known picture of Meroitic society. Further evidence for vernacular architecture will be offered using ethnoarchaeological comparisons.*

Keywords: *Nubian kingdoms, Meroitic Period, domestic architecture, Hamadab, Abu Erteila pottery, building techniques, archaeometry, etnoarchaeology*

1. Introduction

Domestic architecture is a fundamental field of study for a possible reconstruction of the ancient human landscape, because dwellings of the low and middle social classes represent the most common structures of cities and villages, and held most of the population. Although archaeological research generally gives greater attention to monumental buildings, such as temples and palaces, the present research offers a preliminary picture of domestic architecture in Meroitic Nubia (3rd century BC – mid-4th century AD) (Fig. 36). In addition to the analysis of the ancient ruins, a very important contribution, especially regarding building techniques, can be made from ethno archaeological inquiries; changes over such a long period of time mean that great caution is necessary, but the study of coeval vernacular structures can be very useful for archaeologists in a country which has proudly preserved the traditions of millennia.

Many different ground plans of the domestic buildings are possible, dictated by functional needs of the local social group, and limited by specific economic activities. In contrast to the official constructions, the humbler houses were not usually subject to strict rules imposed by traditions or royal wishes, and a range of building solutions were therefore produced. Nevertheless, some distinct types were particularly widespread, following local traditions or being influenced from abroad, especially from Egypt. The erection of bipartite units, made from two rooms, was particularly recurrent throughout the Meroitic world: an entry room and another bigger space including a hearth. As in the example of Meili,[1] these units probably held a single family each, but in some cases larger residential complexes were made from the combination of two or more bipartite units, each usually keeping independent gates.

The best-known example of such an arrangement has been brought to light at the island of Gaminarti, few kilometres to the south of the second cataract (Fig. 37). Its Meroitic occupation has been dated to the early centuries AD. The site yielded two domestic complexes, eleven-roomed and twenty-one-roomed respectively, set a few meters from one another. Every bipartite unit was nearly 18 m^2 broad and did not directly communicate with adjacent ones. The hearth and the cooking pots were generally set in the bigger room, whereas the smaller one held the storage containers.[2]

Great domestic complexes developed through the gradual addition of single heterogeneous units. These complexes had numerous hearths and were therefore probably inhabited by several families. On present knowledge, at Gezira Dabarosa, at the southern boundary of Lower Nubia, the core of the settlement was a longitudinal twenty-four-roomed building, dated between the 2nd and 1st century BC; its rooms held one or more hearths each. The sandstone central part was the first structure of the complex; the other rooms were built in succession in a short time (Fig. 38).[3]

In the island of Umm Muri, close to the fourth cataract, the excavators found a thirty-seven-roomed residential structure, built in six phases,[4] whereas in Abu Geili, one of the southernmost Meroitic sites, a larger late Meroitic domestic complex, made of more than eighty irregularly interconnected rooms, was brought to light.[5]

[1] Adams and Nordström 1963.

[2] Adams and Nordström 1963: 24-28, fig.4/a; Adams 1977: 58.

[3] Hewes 1964: 176-180; Edwards 1996: 66.

[4] Payne 2005.

[5] Crawford and Addison 1951; Adams 1984: 273.

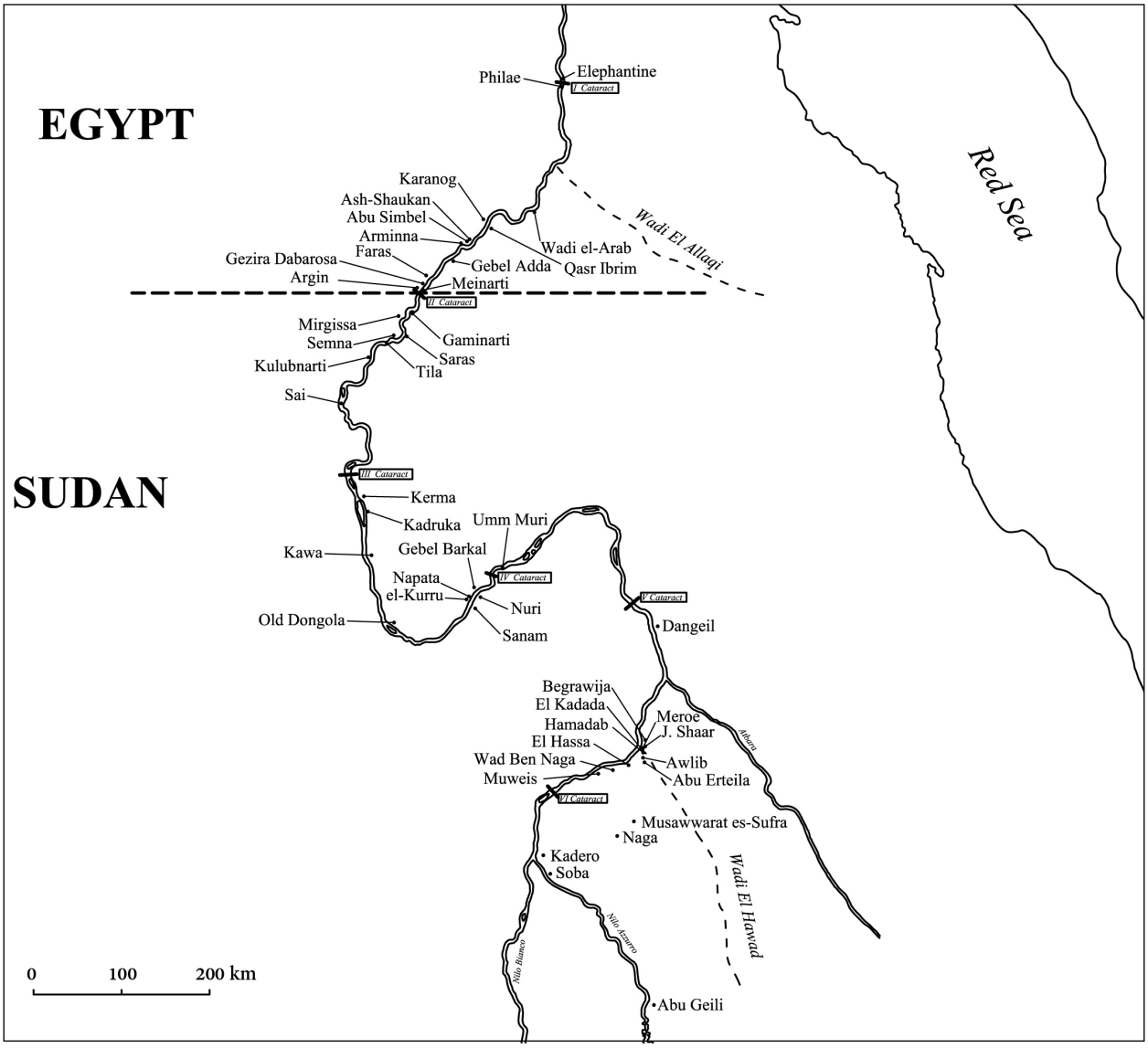

Fig. 36. Map of Nubia showing sites quoted in the text.

It is unclear if these great structures that suggest a deep social integration were houses of extended families or were organised in independent units. In Gaminarti, a single family probably lived in every bipartite unit that was secluded and independent; Adams and Nordström suggested that the new domestic units of Gaminarti, connected to the original ones, had been built to hold the wives of polygamous men or their sons after the latter had married.[6]

Such complexes have sometimes yielded some wares, especially tubular jars, which were buried up to the shoulder into the ground along the internal perimeter of the walls, according to a custom widespread throughout the Meroitic territories. We found similar wheel-made jars at Abu Erteila, inside a late Meroitic building made of re-employed materials. Their good preservation and the upright position suggest that these ceramics had been buried into the ground before the collapse of the structure. They were originally produced for this function, judging by the common pointed bottom that made the insertion easier.

The exact function of these buried pots is still unclear, although the recurrent occurrence of ash and charcoal inside them, as well as the burning traces on the surfaces, indicate the use of some of them for heating or cooking foods; burnt animal bones, bearing marks of butchery, were sometimes found inside the pots. The other ones were probably employed for storage. A peculiar cooking system observed in many Meroitic sites required the use of two vessels, one inserted inside the other, food was in the upper pot and was cooked through contact with the embers inside the lower one.

[6] ADAMS and NORDSTRÖM 1963: 26.

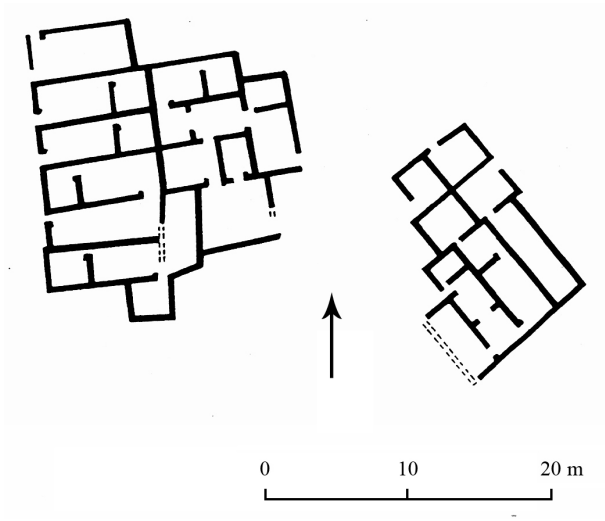

Fig. 37. Gaminarti, Dwellings plan. After: Adams 1977: fig. 58.

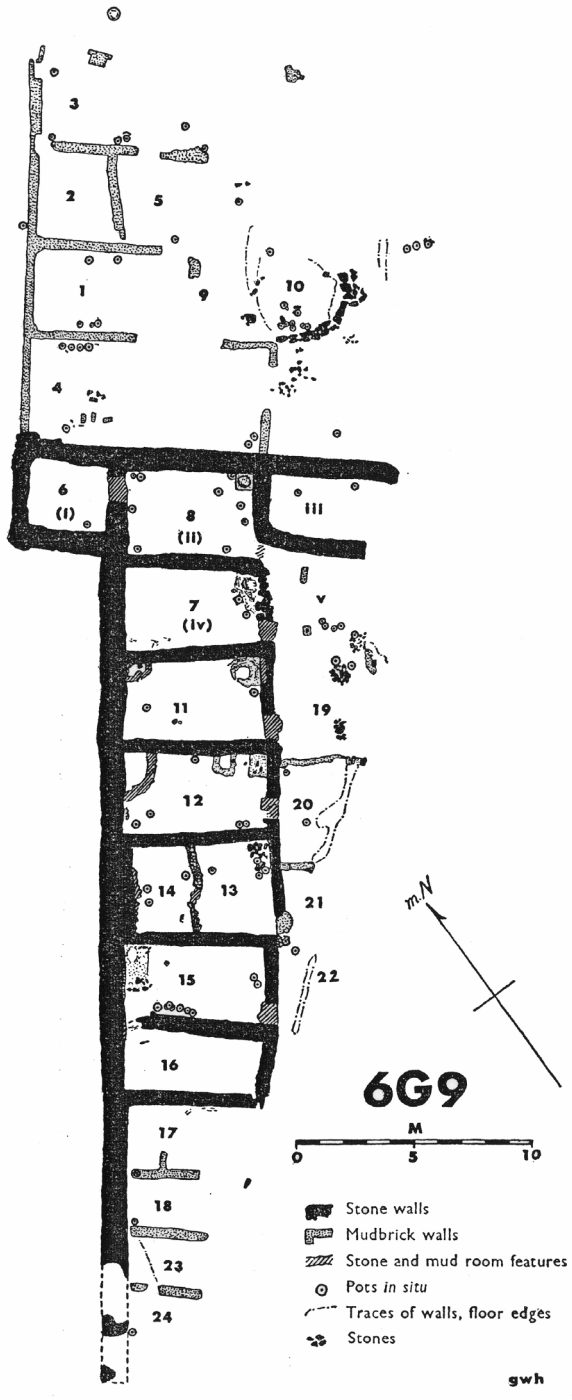

Fig. 38. Gezira Dabarosa, Dwelling plan. After: Hewes 1964: fig. 2

Cooking pots were usually undecorated, with a few exceptions, for example, a sherd from Abu Erteila showing a white semicircular motif. The latter was analysed using Raman spectroscopy, and the white decoration has showed the only presence of anatase, suggesting the use of a white clay, probably kaolin, as pigment. This suggests that the ceramist had access to kaolin, sometimes employed as temper because it absorbs little water and has little shrinkage during cooling. In an elitist context kaolin was used for making egg-shell pottery.

Cooking pots can be sometimes recognised from their fabric, as it is clearly illustrated by thin section and Scanning Electron Microscope images of a potsherd from Abu Erteila. The fabric is very porous and includes a few iron oxides, probably limited to those that were naturally present in the paste, confirming the skill of Meroitic ceramists. In fact, iron lowers the melting point of the ware, and the occurrence of many iron oxides would cause the breaking of the pot on contact with fire or embers; at the same time the high porosity, mainly due to the very coarse grained fabric and to the addition of organic materials, offers extra strength to the pot during the variations in temperature. The so-called black core is frequent, manifesting itself as a carbon streak resulting from incomplete oxidation.[7]

Archaeologists can recognise an urban fabric in a few Meroitic settlements, especially in Lower Nubia[8] and in the so-called 'island of Meroe',[9] modern Butana that was the core of the kingdom. In addition to dwellings, the cities sometimes held public buildings, workshops,

[7] Baldi, Bellatreccia, Sodo, Casanova Municchia, *et al.* forthcoming; Baldi, Fantusati, Bellatreccia, Sodo, *et al.* 2016: 141-142; figs. 9-12.; Casanova Municchia, Baldi, Fantusati, Sodo, *et al.* 2015.

[8] For Karanog see Woolley 1911: 26-40, pls. 26-29; for Wadi el-Arab see Emery and Kirwan 1935: 108-122; pl. 17; for Arminna see Trigger 1967: 35-70, fig. 23; for Ash-Shaukan see Klasens 1963: 57-66; Klasens 1967: 80-82; Jacquet 1971; for Tila island see Edwards 1996: 106-114.

[9] For Meroe see Näser 2004. For Hamadab see Wolf, S., Wolf, P., Onasch, Hof, *et al.* 2009: esp. 246-249; Wolf, S., Wolf, P., Onasch, Hof, *et al.* 2011: esp. 230-234; Wolf and Nowotnick 2013: esp. 437-439. For Muweis see Millet 2013.

storehouses, granaries and eventually temples. The settlements were sometimes bounded by walls made from several materials, mainly stone, mud bricks and red bricks, often combined.[10]

The northern cities do not usually show true urban planning, but buildings were scattered in an irregular way along the area, where the variety of the architectural solutions adopted suggest social differentiation within the population. In fact, if additive complexes, as in Gaminarti, highlight a substantial social homogeneity, some large communities of Lower Nubia offer a clear impression of class differentiation. Settlements such as Ash-Shaukan, Karanog, Wadi el-Arab, Arminna, Argin and Meinarti show an heterogeneous human landscape crowded with wealthier houses surrounded by an irregular cluster of less pretentious dwellings.

2. Building materials

The choice of materials for ordinary Meroitic houses was dictated by local availability, climatic conditions and cost. Mud brick was very commonly employed throughout the Meroitic kingdom, because it is cheap and easily made by non-professional builders with easily available raw materials, especially in the rivers and *widan*, close to which settlements were generally placed. Moreover, it was extensively used (and is still employed) in rural building because it is fireproof, can be used for many building elements and is a good thermal insulating material. The walls were made from single rows of mud bricks laid with a very adhesive mud mortar enriched with dung, usually with alternating stretcher and header courses, and very often without foundations.

However, mud brick walls do have a short average lifetime without regular maintenance, as they are very sensitive to the elements, such as rain and wind. As confirmed during ethnoarchaeological observations, a smooth plaster made from mud and dung as mortar, now called *zibala*, was applied and periodically renewed to protect the buildings. In the southern regions, the driving seasonal rains brought the use of water-resistant red brick upper courses in perimeter walls; in some cases the wall was widened with external red brick facings,[11] often made from the cheapest re-employed materials. Red bricks were sometimes used for foundations and critical building parts;[12] however, in Meroitic domestic architecture, as well as in modern Sudanese villages, red brick was rare as the sole building material, as it is too expensive and a bad thermal insulator.

With the exception of Musawwarat es-Sufra,[13] stone was used only for specific components such as foundations, thresholds and jambs. In a few structures sandstone slabs were also used for floors that were more usually of stamped mud. On the contrary, there is little evidence for the use of easily perishable organic material. The narrow walls could likely carry only light vegetal roofs, information on the existence of which has to be left to ethnoarchaeological studies;[14] no Meroitic roof is in fact preserved, but the finding of burnt trunks, hypothetically referred to original covering systems, suggest that the Kushite houses were generally roofed as the present rural Sudanese dwellings. In a traditional way the flat covering is made from a load-bearing timber, sometimes supported by a pier, on which equally-spaced rafters are placed; an upper wattle of reeds sustains a thatch that is finally plastered with *zibala*. Wood was used for doors and locks.

Ethnoarchaeology is likewise our best source of knowledge about dwellings entirely made from grass and wooden materials.[15] Although these structures are obviously very rare in the archaeological record,[16] they surely held the humblest segment of the population, both inside and outside the urban centres, as suggested by iconographic, epigraphic[17] and literary[18] sources.

A late Meroitic bronze bowl from a tomb at Karanog bears incised decoration showing the daily activities of a herder community between two circular-planned grass huts with conical thatch roofs surmounted by a spherical element. According to Shinnie, this sphere could represent an ostrich egg, which is a symbol of luck and fertility and is still placed on some African houses and huts.[19]

Such very simple huts have their actual counterpart in the so-called *guttiya*, a very widespread building type in rural Sudan, the making of which can give us an idea of the grass houses in Meroitic Nubia. Its plan is defined from framing posts placed into the ground in a circle; the posts are forked on the top to receive flexible branches that are tied on in order to assure a base to the roof. Similar branches are then tied to and interlaced between the framing posts, at various distance from the ground,

[10] For Tila island see EDWARDS 1996: 106, fig. 29; for Saras see MILLS and NORDSTRÖM 1966: 12, fig. 4; for Qasr Ibrim see ALEXANDER and DRISKELL 1985: 18, fig. 3; for Faras see GRIFFITH 1926: 25 ff..; for Gebel Adda see MILLET 1981: 109-111; for Hamadab see WOLF *et al.* 2009: fig. 27.

[11] This technique, now called *gishra*, was common in monumental Meroitic architecture, and has been still used in vernacular Sudanese houses.

[12] When made, foundations were usually reserved to perimeter walls.

[13] EIGNER 2002.

[14] ADAM and AGIB 2002: 8.

[15] BRADLEY 1992.

[16] For Meroe see SHINNIE and BRADLEY 1980: 28-29; for Soba East see WELSBY 2002: 166. Shinnie wrote that, when his workers saw post holes at the site, they told that 'this was exactly how they arranged the posts when making a hut for themselves'. SHINNIE 1974: 261.

[17] For the inscription of the Axumite king Ezana, commemorating his campaign against Meroe and Noba, see ARKELL 1961: 172.

[18] STRAB. XVII.2.2.

[19] WOOLLEY and RANDALL-MCIVER 1910: pls. 26-27; SHINNIE 1967: 18-19.

to make a plate for the thatch walls, which are secured by palm ropes. The roof is made from a series of rafters bound together with ropes at one end, and extending from this point to the base defined by the posts. The roof is often assembled on the ground and then placed and tied to the hut frame.[20]

3. 'De luxe' houses

The richest, but probably non-aristocratic people of Lower Nubian communities, lived in the so-called 'de luxe' houses, according to a term coined by Adams.[21] This refers to extremely well built dwellings, perhaps by Egyptian professional builders. Well-preserved examples have been found in the Lower Nubian Tila island and especially in Ash-Shaukan, inhabited between the 1st and 3rd century AD, nearly 2.5 km to the north of Abu Simbel.[22] The local houses have a square or rectangular plan including a variable number of rooms in addition to a courtyard, sometimes partially covered.[23] The 70 cm wide perimeter walls, set on stone foundations, are made of two walls of red brick with a narrow mortar core. The bricks were laid according to the usual alternation of header and stretcher courses, and were covered, on internal and external faces, by a very smooth plaster, sometimes painted. The internal walls are narrower and often made from a single wall of brick.

In 'de luxe' houses, the use of barrel-vaults was common, made without centring but from rings of mud voussoirs, each one laying against its neighbour, whereas the first one was put against the face of a wall (Fig. 39).[24] In Ash-Shaukan the good state of the walls allowed the identification, under the vaults, of windows as long vertical slits,[25] in addition to different-shaped niches with a practical or decorative function.

The wideness and sturdiness of the walls, as well as the remains of stairways, indicate that the broadest Meroitic houses had two or more floors, as suggested by Woolley for Karanog.[26] Nevertheless, according to Adams, Nubian vaults were not strong enough to carry the weight of a wall, therefore the second floor had to reproduce the plan of the ground floor.[27]

4. The case of Hamadab in the core of the kingdom

In the island of Meroe, nearly 3 km to the south of the capital, the so-called 'upper city' of Hamadab (mid-3rd century BC – third-4th century AD), where a German

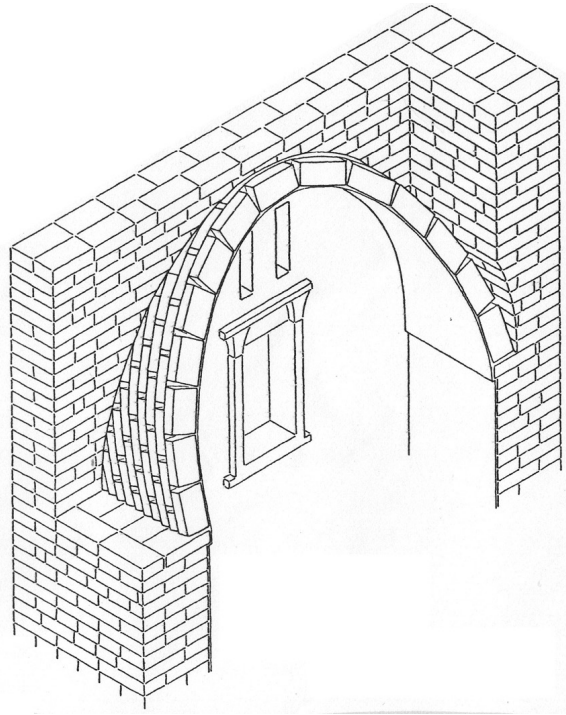

Fig. 39. Ash-Shaukan, Barrel vault. After: Jacquet 1971: fig. 29

mission has been working since 2000[28], had a more regular fabric than northern sites; it represents the best-preserved example of non-royal city of the Meroitic kingdom, and offers therefore insights into on domestic architecture and the daily life of the low and middle social classes.

The built-up area, composed from several structural complexes, was divided within the walls in two halves by the E-W main road and by the square before the city temple. The boundaries of the city were defined by walls in an irregular square plan, due to the slight eccentricity of the eastern and western sides (Fig. 40). The walls, 2.90 m wide, are made from a mud brick core with red brick facings,[29] and are placed on similar broad red brick foundations.[30] It is unclear if this boundary wall had a specific defensive role; most of the known Meroitic settlements were unwalled, especially in the south. One cannot exclude that it isolated an elite zone of the settlement inhabited by the high social classes, or divided the built-up area from the cemeteries and spaces reserved for economic activities, as in other Meroitic sites.[31] Moreover, as suggested for Meroe[32] it is possible that the walls had to protect the buildings from the floods

[20] Lee 1967: 75-78.
[21] Adams 1977: 357.
[22] Jacquet 1971.
[23] Klasens 1963: fig. 15a.
[24] Woolley 1911: 11-13; Jacquet 1971: 122, fig. 29;
[25] They had to assure the ventilation of the rooms according to a system still employed by Kenzi people.
[26] Woolley 1911: 6, pls. 21-23.
[27] Adams 1984: 277.
[28] See esp. Wolf *et al.* 2008; 2009; 2011; Wolf and Nowotnick 2013.
[29] This building technique, very common in the Meroitic world, has found here its more ancient evidence, and dated to the 2nd century BC
[30] Wolf and Nowotnick 2013: 435, abb. 4; Wolf *et al.* 2009: 238-240, abb. 29-30; Wolf *et al.* 2011: 224-227, abb. 14-16.
[31] For example, the boundary wall of Royal city of Meroe and the so-called Great enclosure in Musawwarat es-Sufra.
[32] Bradley 1982: 169.

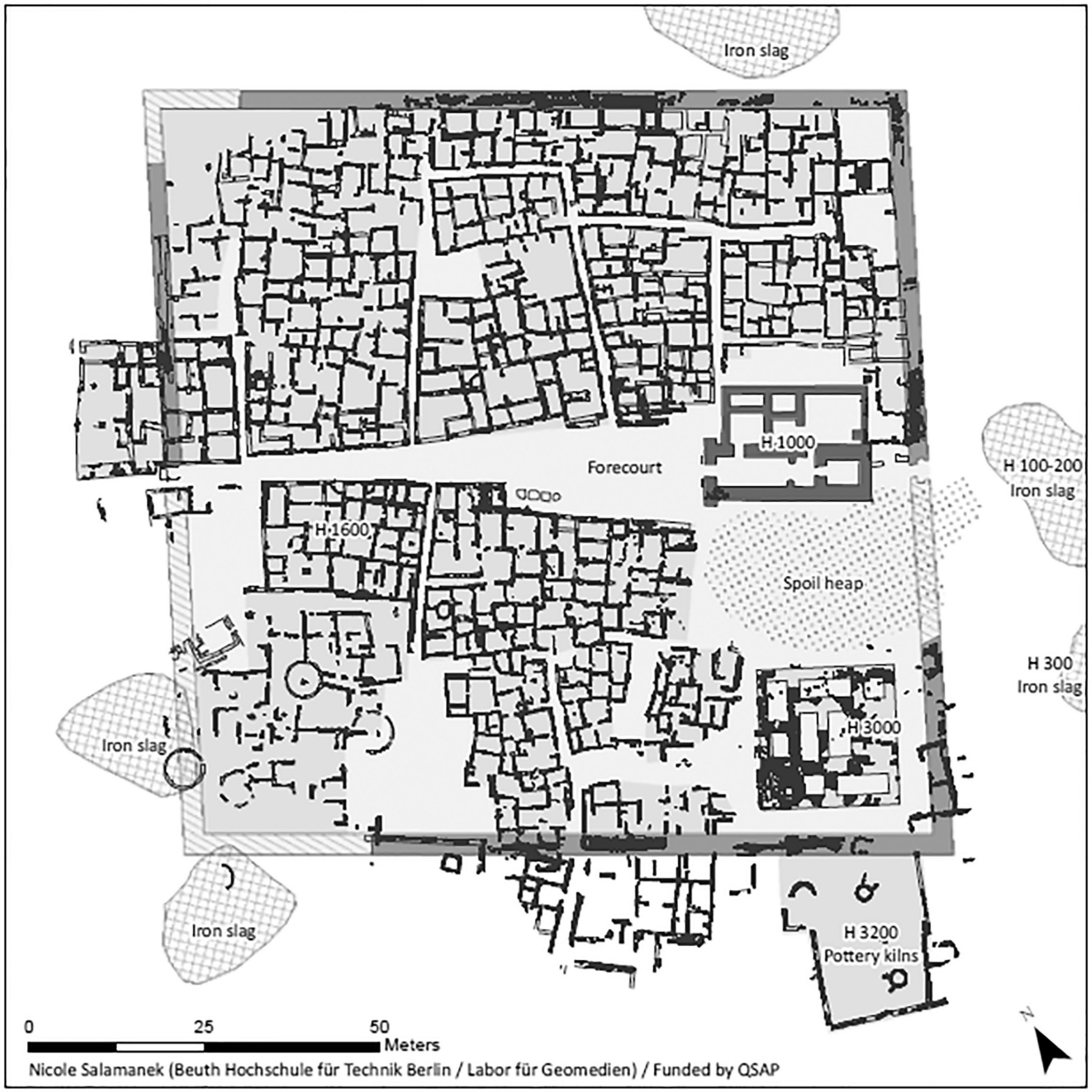

Fig. 40. Hamadab, City plan. After: WOLF 2014: fig. 1.

of the Nile, which in the Meroitic Period was closer to the settlement than now.

The boundary wall, the main road and the temple were the cornerstones of the city plan, forming the original framework around which the city was born and expanded. According to a well-known Meroitic custom that considered the temple as the core of the urban fabric, in Hamadab, the development of the city, probably led by a high institution, was strongly influenced by modifications of the sacral area, including the temple but also the square and the main road that doubled as a processional avenue.

The architectural complexes of the site had different plans, dimensions and functions, in order to satisfy all needs – residential, economic, administrative, and military – of the population. The irregularity of the plans of the building groups, made from a variable number of different-sized rooms, suggests that their internal arrangement had not been decided by a high institution but was left to the initiative of the inhabitants. So far, the findings have allowed to recognise for sure the domestic purposes of two complexes, called H 1200 and H 1600 that had kitchens, storage rooms and spaces reserved for such economic activities as weaving. They probably accommodated several families in the same time,

including all their members, as suggested from goods – pottery, grindstones, arrow heads, jewels, and toys.

5. Conclusions

Though their importance is often underestimated by scholars, domestic architecture and daily customs should be the cornerstones of archaeological research. Understanding the daily life of common people, who made the greatest part of the population, is an essential step towards the comprehension of the ancient population. Meroitic Nubia has yielded manifold examples of dwellings and urban fabrics throughout its territories, reflecting social differentiation among non-aristocratic people but also indicating the dependence on the environment, climate and availability of materials. Excavation, supported by archaeometry and ethnographic comparisons, throw light on ancient local life, thus improving our knowledge of the Meroitic world.

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Section 3:
Funerary and Burial Studies

The Earliest Source of the So-called *Book of Two Ways* as a Coffin Floorboard Decoration from the Early Middle Kingdom

Wael Sherbiny

Independent Scholar, Leuven, Belgium

Abstract: *Although some segments of the textual and pictorial material of the so-called Book of Two Ways are attested outside the Hermopolitan nome, the entire composition as integral and standard decoration of the coffin floorboards has not yet been found elsewhere. This state of affairs points to a regionally conceptualised tradition of decorating the coffins of the elite from Hermopolis. A good example is the composition of the so-called Book of Two Ways on the floorboard of coffin CG 28094 (termed B6C by the Coffin Texts editors). Only 35% of the composition attested on this coffin was published, and these were exclusively texts. This paper will show that this is the hitherto earliest surviving coffin with this type of floorboard decoration from the early Middle Kingdom.*

Keywords: Book of Two Ways*, chisel marks,* Coffin Texts*, hieratic, Hermopolis*

The modern history of the so-called *Book of Two Ways* goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century. It is also around that time when the religious texts termed as the '*Coffin Texts*' started to attract the attention of Egyptologists.[1]

In 1903, Count Hans Schack-Schackenburg, who had made important contributions to the world of ancient Egyptian religious texts such as the *Pyramid Texts*, published a floorboard of a Middle Kingdom coffin that has an intriguing, and at that time unique, pictorial-textual composition. He baptised this composition the *Zweiwegebuch*; a catchy appellation that found great appeal among theological and Egyptological circles alike.[2]

A few years earlier, excavations carried out in the principal cemetery of the Fifteenth Province of Upper Egypt, known for its capital Hermopolis, had already resulted in the unearthing of more coffins with different versions of this so-called *Zweiwegebuch*. Several more official and illicit excavations over the next two decades increased the number of known coffins from this site that are characterised by special decorations on the interiors.[3] Qualitatively and quantitatively the textual and iconographic material documented on the insides of these Hermopolitan coffins generated great interest among Egyptologists in the first half of the twentieth century. In addition, a great number of coffins inscribed with *Coffin Texts* started to surface from the Middle Kingdom cemeteries all over Egypt.

Due to the great philological interest among the giants of Egyptology at that time, the texts on the coffins received much more attention than the coffins themselves as archaeological objects. This state of affairs had its far-reaching effects on the specific studies related to these religious texts.

It should be stated here that we owe a great debt of gratitude to Pierre Lacau whose keen interest in Middle Kingdom coffins and their religious texts paved the way to all later studies. Soon after his arrival in Egypt, Lacau embarked on publishing a considerable number of the Cairo Middle Kingdom coffins in the *Catalogue Général* of the Cairo Museum.[4] In the first volume, a few texts from the so-called *Book of Two Ways*, together with three coffin floorboard plans, saw the light of day for the first time.[5] Lacau made some arrangements for a great enterprise to copy and publish all the religious texts on the Middle Kingdom coffins inside and outside Egypt. The outbreak of the World War I, together with Lacau's administrative duties as successor of Gaston Maspero as the head of the Service of Egyptian Antiquities, hindered him from realising this dream.[6]

After the war, the project was revived again by Breasted and Gardiner, who both felt it was essential systematically to copy and publish all the *Coffin Texts*.

[1] It was Breasted who first introduced the term '*Coffin Texts*' in the Egyptological literature, see Breasted 1912: 273, n.1.

[2] Schack-Schackenburg 1903. This coffin bottom belonged to a man named *Sn* . Its texts were republished (but without photographs or facsimile) in de Buck 1947; de Buck 1956; and de Buck 1961. For further documentation and overview of the texts, see Lesko 1979: 7 and 15.

[3] Daressy 1900; Kamal 1901a; Kamal 1901b; Kamal 1902. For some of the coffins discovered by Reisner, see Terrace 1968; Freed *et al*. 2009. For a survey of the history of the excavation in the cemetery, see Willems 1988: 68-70; Willems 2007: 3-4, and specially 19-22; Willems *et al*. 2004: 237-243.

[4] Lacau 1904; Lacau 1906.

[5] Lacau 1904: pls. LV-LVII.

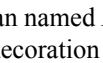
[6] A detailed presentation of the modern history of the *Coffin Texts* publication is given in the first chapter of my book about the so-called *Book of Two Ways* (Sherbiny in press). The brief remarks made here are based on a wider documentation that cannot be given here due to space limitations. For the time being, the reader may consult Breasted 1933: 149-168; de Buck 1935: ix-xv.

Soon an editorial committee consisting of Breasted, Gardiner, and Lacau was formed. Breasted managed to obtain finances for this great enterprise, and the work started after a few editorial meetings. The coffins, which had already been dismantled for Lacau's publication of the *Catalogue Général*, had to be photographed again. The religious texts were then copied and collated by scholars in the Cairo Museum. The majority of the work was done without Lacau's actual participation due to his demanding post, but he offered all the facilities necessary for the group to work in the Cairo Museum.

Soon the young Dutchman Adriaan de Buck was hired to assist Gardiner, when Breasted's other responsibilities and commitments made it difficult for him to continue the work. This was a task that would keep de Buck busy until the end of his life. The major seven-volume edition of the *Egyptian Coffin Texts* was subsequently published over a period of 25 years.[7] All the material related to the so-called *Book of Two Ways* was relegated to the last volume, which was published in 1961. All versions published earlier by Schack-Schackenburg and Lacau were integrated after a meticulous process of copying and collation. Moreover, fifteen plans of this pictorial textual composition were added, eleven of which were completely new to the world of Egyptology.[8]

It was not long thereafter that this intriguing composition received its first detailed scientific treatment at the hands of Lesko and formed his doctoral thesis submitted in 1969. This was later followed by his translation which appeared in 1972.[9]

All these publications formed the cornerstone of all the subsequent studies of the so-called *Book of Two Ways* until now. However, these pioneering publications are not without problems, and since the coffins were never methodologically published according to modern scientific standards, many facts remained in the darkness until now. This has concealed and distorted our picture of many details related to these coffins. The coffin floorboard we will discuss here testifies to this issue. So what do we know about this coffin in the Egyptological literature so far?

In the spring of 1900 and during his excavations in the Hermopolitan cemetery – Deir El Barsha – the pioneer of Egyptian Egyptology, Ahmed Kamal, cleared one shaft that contained three burials.[10] One of these burials was for a lady by the name *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt* whose mummy was placed in two nested coffins.[11] Kamal had already noticed that the inner coffin originally belonged to another person; a man named *Kȝy*  . Moreover, it turned out that the decoration of this coffin had been already made for a third person.[12] The outer coffin was clearly made for the lady *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt*, and, according to Kamal, it was rather simple in execution and was in a fragmentary state.[13]

When Lacau published the inner coffin in the *Catalogue Générale* and gave it number *CG* 28094,[14] he mistakenly thought that the coffin was re-used only once. Therefore, he suggested that *Kȝy* was the original owner, and the lady *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt* was the usurper of the coffin.[15] The coffin was already in a bad condition when it was discovered and its wooden planks were stored in dismantled form in the Cairo Museum.

It was only during Adriaan de Buck's copying of the texts of this coffin that the name of the original owner of the coffin was revealed. This was a man named *ʿḥȝ-nḫt* . Here we should notice that this name was only found in the *Coffin Texts*[16] and not in the large hieroglyphic horizontal bands, whether on the interior or the exterior of the coffin. These bands were the focus of both Kamal's and Lacau's examinations of the coffin and its successive occupants. Although Lacau published a few lines of the *Coffin Texts*, his reproductions of the text are not always accurate. With the appearance of the *Egyptian Coffin Texts* the *Coffin Texts* of this coffin became available for the first time and it was given the reference code B6C.

Hence nothing was mentioned in the literature about the so-called *Book of Two Ways* of B6C before 1961. A decade later Lesko published an important article about the composition and its arrangement.[17] This short study gathered some of his findings from his doctoral dissertation. Lesko added here documentary details about the arrangement of the texts on the different coffins.

Although most of the sources of the so-called *Book of Two Ways* show a certain plan in which both textual and pictorial elements are intertwined (Fig. 41), some deviated from this rule. Lesko stated that three coffins were not arranged in the form of a plan and offered

[7] De Buck 1935; De Buck 1938; De Buck 1947; De Buck 1951; De Buck 1954; De Buck 1956; De Buck 1961.

[8] De Buck 1961: 252-521, and plans 1-15.

[9] Lesko 1972, and the preface on p. vii.

[10] For a description of the find, see Kamal 1901a: 35-37; and for a cross section of the burial shaft, see Kamal 1901a: 33, fig. 9.

[11] Kamal 1901a: 35. Remains of this outer coffin have been recently identified and given the siglum B12Bo, Willems 2014: 151f. No matter how convenient it might seem, the process of adopting the numbering system of *Coffin Texts Chicago Project* with the material that was *not* already treated by the Chicago team is too risky and may lead to a great deal of confusion.

[12] Kamal 1901a: 36.

[13] Kamal 1901a: 35f; Willems 2014: 151-152, n. 99.

[14] Lacau 1904: 65-71.

[15] Lacau 1904: 65, n. 1.

[16] De Buck 1935: xvii n. 2; similarly in De Buck 1938: xii, n.2; De Buck 1947: ix, n.2; De Buck 1951: ix, n.2; De Buck 1954: ix, n.4; De Buck 1961: ix, n.4. Strangely enough, Lapp refers in his catalogue of sources (Lapp 1993: 267-277, see p. 277 last line) *solely* to de Buck 1954: ix, n.4. Hence he ignores the references from other *Coffin Texts* volumes that appeared before and after de Buck 1954 that also present the same information.

[17] Lesko 1971.

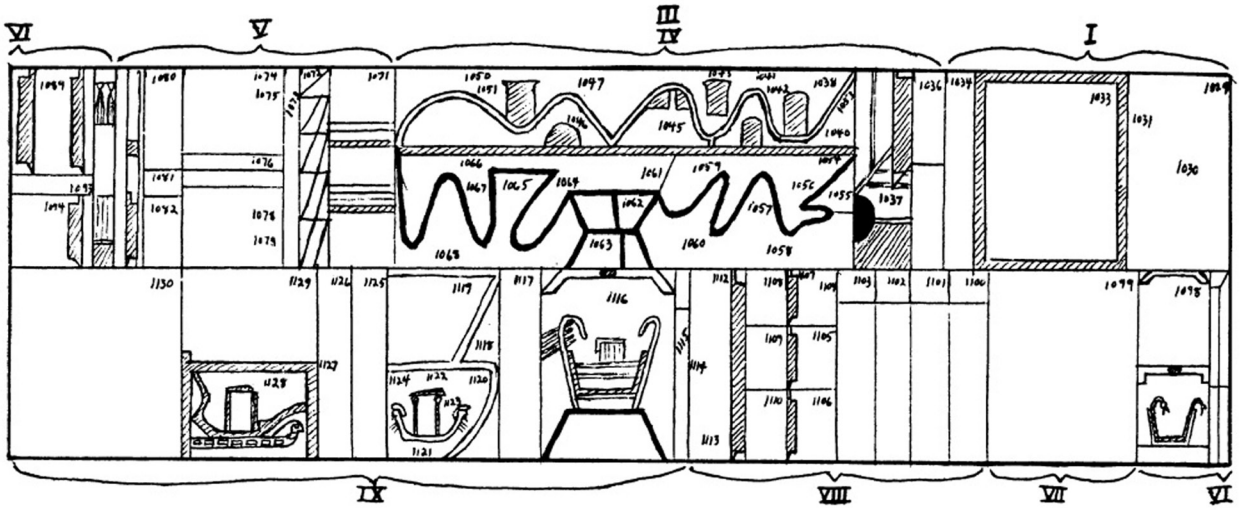


Fig. 41. Lesko's proposed sections of his long version of the so-called *Book of Two Ways* to which B6C belongs. After: Lesko 1971: 31, Fig. 1.

a continuous text instead. These are B1Bo, B4Bo, *and* B6C. In the case of the coffin B2Bo, it was only partially iconographical but otherwise textual. He further declared that B6C lacks considerable sections of the composition itself.[18] In fact de Buck did not even copy most of the texts on this coffin floorboard and declared them too difficult to read.[19] This is because the hieratic text was traced by a pointed object that rendered the texts themselves illegible in different places.

During my research on the so-called *Book of Two Ways* that started in 1998,[20] I had many difficulties with Lesko's statement concerning the composition on the floorboard of B6C. The sequence of the texts as published by de Buck shows a similarity with arrangement of the textual elements in the sources that are in the form of a plan. A good example that I could not explain was the sudden appearance of the word 'Osiris' in B6C, published as part of CT spell 1121.[21] This is not a spell in the real sense of the word, but rather a collection of legends to a drawing. A better-preserved example of this drawing is found on the coffin floorboard B1C (Fig. 42)**.** Here we see a representation of a human being in royal attire standing inside a cabin on a barque.[22]

As it is the custom in B1C, the legends were usually dispensed with for the sake of the images. The parallel scene (Fig. 43) on the coffin floorboard of B9C did not survive but the text which was also incised here clearly has the word 'Osiris' in the parallel place occupied by the human figure in B1C.[23] This raised so many questions, since this word is merely a legend accompanying a drawing, or at least occupies the place of an image in a larger vignette as in the case of B9C. Then why all of a sudden does it occur in B6C which, according to Lesko, does not have any iconography?

In fact de Buck announced after he copied CT spell 1107 on B6C that: 'after this point the chiselmarks become increasingly illegible until the final text of the bottom is reached'.[24] This enigmatic appearance of the word 'Osiris' apparently in the middle of nowhere started to raise my doubts about Lesko's statements concerning this coffin. The number of such observations gradually increased together with my uncertainty about the actual arrangement of the material on the floorboard of B6C. After more than three years of working on the material of the so-called *Book of Two Ways*, I decided to have a look at the original black and white photographs made for the *Coffin Texts* Project in the 1920s.[25] At this juncture, a few surprises were waiting for me.

At first glance, it turned out – and contrary to Lesko's report – that B6C is completely arranged in the form of a plan. Moreover, it has a highly comparable arrangement to the other coffins with standard pictorial-textual composition. The plan of B6C belongs to what de Buck called 'Group I',[26] and Lesko the 'Long Version'.[27] This fact gains more weight when we look at the dating of this coffin, as suggested by the scholars who carried out

[18] Lesko 1971: 35.
[19] De Buck 1961: 286, n. 2; and 436, n. 1.
[20] This was in the framework of my doctoral studies in the KU Leuven. The PhD was then defended in 2008 and its publication is expected to appear soon. Sherbiny, in press.
[21] De Buck 1961: 453i/B6C.
[22] For the arrangement of the textual material and discussion of the drawing in the different sources, see Sherbiny 2009.
[23] De Buck 1961: 453i/B9C.
[24] De Buck 1961: 436, n. 1. This final text is the celebrated *Coffin Texts* spell 1130.
[25] Almost all the photographic material of the *Chicago Coffin Texts Project* is now kept in de Buck's archive in the Dutch Institute for the Near East (NINO) at Leiden University in the Netherlands.
[26] De Buck 1961: xvi.
[27] Lesko 1971: passim.

Fig. 42. Detail from the so-called *Book of Two Ways* composition on the floorboard of B1C showing the representation of Osiris inside a cabin on the middle of a bark. © The Egyptian Museum - Cairo.

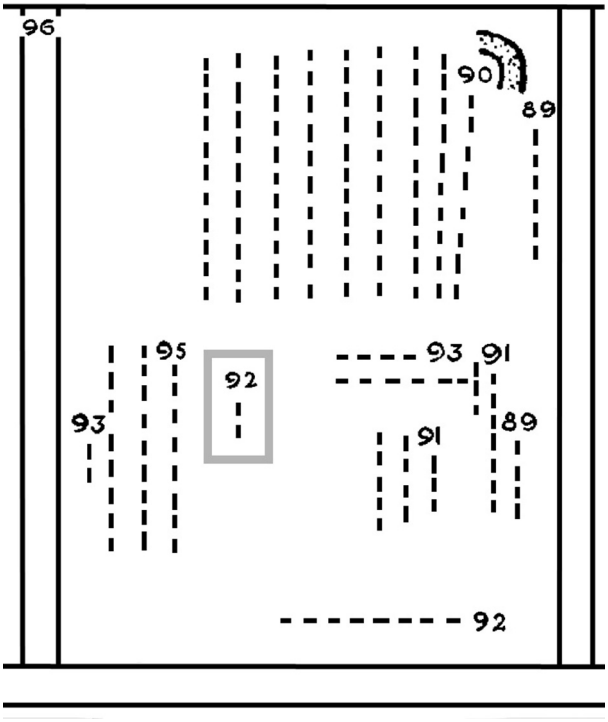


Fig. 43. Detail from the outline drawing of a map of the coffin floorboard of B9C (after: DE BUCK 1961: Plan 4). The position of the word 'Osiris', which published as part of *Coffin Texts* spell 1121 by DE BUCK 1961: 453i, is indicated by a grey rectangle.

typological studies on the Middle Kingdom coffins and their decoration. These studies assign an early date to this coffin towards the end of 11th dynasty or early 12th dynasty, and it belongs to the earliest group of decorated coffins that came from the cemetery of the Hermopolitan nome.[28]

The other coffins from the same early group that have the so-called *Book of Two Ways* are the ones belonging to the nomarch *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt* and his wife, namely B1Bo, B2Bo, and B4Bo. These three coffins diverged from the rest of the coffins with regard to the position and the material selected from the so-called *Book of Two Ways*.[29]

None of these three early sources transmitted *all* the standard textual material we know from the other coffins, roughly CT spells 1029-1130. Moreover, the proposed dating of the previous typological studies on

[28] WILLEMS 1988: 70-74, and specially 72; LAPP 1993: 276-277 (= Lapp's code B24); SHERBINY in press (chapter 1).

[29] B1Bo has a special choice of spells in a running text on the lid, while B4Bo offers more textual material on the backside but again without iconography. B2Bo has part of the composition in the form of a plan and the rest only texts. It also has the composition on its backside. For general description, see DE BUCK 1961: xvi; LESKO 1971: 35-36. For a detailed documentation, discussion and integrated analysis of pictorial and textual elements of all these early sources, see SHERBINY in press.

Middle Kingdom coffins[30] did not take into account the peculiarities of the *Coffin Texts* proper. The evidence from the *Coffin Texts* of B6C for *ʿḥ3-nḫt* was largely overlooked in this respect. This also holds true for the pictorial-textual compositions that were used as part of the coffin decorative programme, such as the so-called *Book of Two Ways*.[31]

After the Chicago *Coffin Texts* Project team finished working on the Cairo coffins, different coffins were treated differently. Some were re-assembled, while others were left dismantled. The latter were either left (partially or as a whole) on display or stored in the basement of the museum and/or the subsidiary storerooms of the museum galleries. This proved tragic for some coffins, because their constituent pieces were not stored in the same place.

Due to these unfortunate circumstances, all the parts of B6C, which were supposed to be in the museum basement, were missing from the 1950s. They were moved from their original place in the basement without recording their new location.[32] This sealed the fate of further enquiries regarding this coffin.

By a stroke of luck, and in the course of cleaning operations in the basement of the Cairo Museum as part of the preparations for its centenary festivities ten years ago, the fragments of B6C were accidentally re-discovered. I had then the opportunity for the first time to have fresh colour photographs of the version of the so-called *Book of Two Ways* on the floorboard of this coffin.[33] This experience proved very rewarding and furnished answers to many questions that were left answered for a long time.

My study of B6C revealed that the coffin was probably not used twice as it is generally assumed. The entire *Coffin Texts* were written for *ʿḥ3-nḫt*. That process included writing all the texts and drawing all the images. The hieratic signs were incised by a chisel or a pointed tool after the entire text and drawings had been executed. In short, the so-called *Book of Two Ways* composition was finished from A to Z for *ʿḥ3-nḫt*. Then, later, most examples of the name of *ʿḥ3-nḫt* in the text were changed into *K3y* (Fig. 44). Nevertheless, in several places the original name was mistakenly left unchanged (Fig. 45). This indicates that the entire composition together with

Fig. 44. Detail from the coffin floorboard of B6C showing the name of *K3y* written over the original name of *ʿḥ3-nḫt*. © The Egyptian Museum – Cairo.

the rest of the *Coffin Texts* of B6C were conceptualised and finished for *ʿḥ3-nḫt*, and for an unknown reason he never used the coffin. Contrary to Kamal's suggestion,[34] it seems now that the constituent parts of the coffin were only assembled together for *K3y*. The coffin parts, already inscribed with the *Coffin Texts*, were probably still in the workshop as separate pieces.

[30] Willems 1988 and Lapp 1993.

[31] Note also that further investigation of the archaeological context of the coffin B6C, as referred to by Willems 2014: 151-152, is irrelevant to the current question. This can only tell us more about the lady *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt* and possibly about *K3y*, but not about the first person to whom the *Coffin Texts* were originally conceptualised and finished. That *ʿḥ3-nḫt* is the original name found in *all* the *Coffin Texts* of this coffin is a fact that has been already noticed long time ago, see footnote 16 above; Lapp 1993: 276-277; Willems 1988: 72, n. 59 and n. 62.

[32] For a discussion, see Sherbiny in press (chapter 1).

[33] The full photographic documentation in colour for B6C and other coffins will be published in Sherbiny in press.

[34] Kamal 1901a: 35-36.

Fig. 45. Detail from the coffin floorboard of B6C showing the original name of *ʿḥ3-nḫt* left unchanged. © The Egyptian Museum – Cairo.

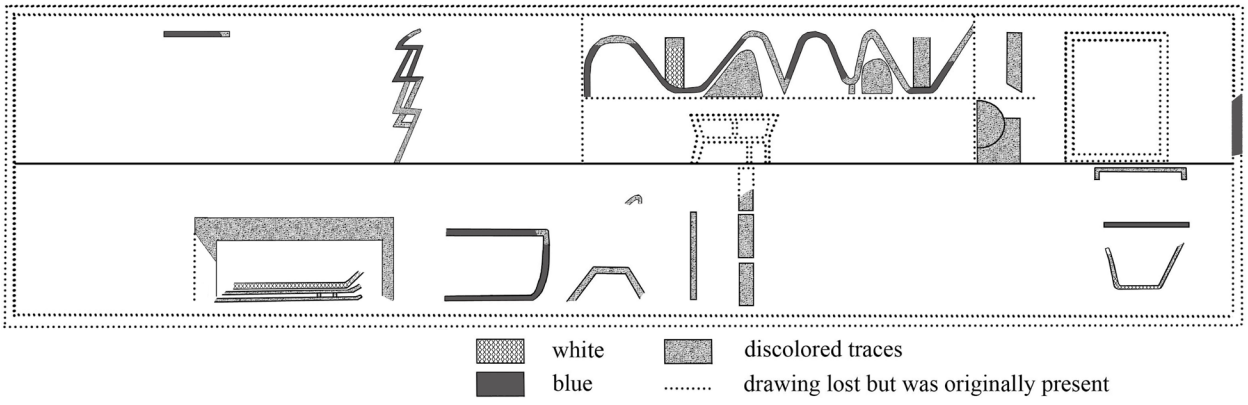


Fig. 46. Plan of the coffin floorboard of B6C (made by J. Wiśniewska) indicating the still preserved pictorial details. © W. Sherbiny.

Incising the name of *K3y* over the name of *ʿḥ3-nḫt* on most occurrences of the latter's name in the *Coffin Texts* of B6C testifies to the easy access the scribes had while performing this process. Then the coffin was most probably assembled *for the first time* for *K3y*. This is clear from the fact that the name of *K3y* was left intact in the large hieroglyphic bands.[35] *K3y*'s name was only deliberately changed into the lady's name *Ḏḥwtj-nḫt* in the exterior hieroglyphic band. She apparently used or re-used an existing coffin, the constituent parts of which were assembled for *K3y*, and its *Coffin Texts* (including the so-called *Book of Two Ways*) had been already finished for a certain *ʿḥ3-nḫt*.

The floorboard of B6C furnishes us with a complete plan of the so-called *Book of Two Ways* (Fig. 46). Here some drawings still retain their original colour. Other pictorial details are now gone but the dark traces left in the places of the original colour indicate their presence. There are also some novelties in arranging some textual elements and their disposition on the drawing.

Moreover, I was able to read most of the textual material that survived here, thanks to the chiselling technique which was done with a certain degree of carefulness. In fact, the tradition of incising the already-written hieratic signs on the coffins with a pointed object at a later time was known in the Hermopolitan nome only from the

[35] This is clear from the large ornamental hieroglyphic texts written on both the exterior and interior bands, Lacau 1904: 65-70.

Fig. 47. Details from the coffin floorboard of B1C showing the giant snake Apopis while he is being attacked by divine soldiers. © The Egyptian Museum – Cairo.

very early coffins until mid-12th dynasty.[36] This is an additional indication of an early date for B6C.

The chiselling technique is really problematic for various reasons. Several signs were at times left without chiselling, and most of the time only few lines or parts of the lines of a hieratic sign were only incised. The matter gets highly complicated, especially when the hieratic text in ink is completely gone. Then we are only left with a set of enigmatic chiselmarks. Although the chiselmarks as they stand now in B6C are difficult to read, they are still better than incised texts on other coffins, such as B3C. The latter is the inner coffin of the lady *Z3t-ḥḏ-ḥtp* and is dated to the second half of the reign of Senwosret I, from early 12th dynasty.[37]

To give an example for the difficulties in deciphering these incised hieratic texts we may compare here the speech of *Ḥk3-smsw* as cited in CT spell 1127 as part of a highly dramatic scene.[38] This scene with its vivid representation is found in B1C (Fig. 47).[39] Here we see the oldest representation of Apopis yet known from ancient Egypt. He is represented here as a giant serpent obstructing the course of the solar barque. The strong magical charm of *Ḥk3-smsw* against Apopis was only transmitted in B3C and B9C, in addition to a highly fragmentary version in B4C.[40] In fact, B6C offers a completely preserved variant of this spell that was unfortunately left unpublished until now.[41]

In fact, the chisel marks of this *Coffin Texts* spell 1127 in B3C are too difficult to read, yet we are fortunate that the hieratic text in ink is still clearly visible on the original. Therefore it was fairly easy for the Chicago *Coffin Texts* Project team to copy the text without the need to depend on the careless chisel marks (Fig. 48).[42] In B6C, we do not have this luxury, but at least the manner in which the scribe incised the text was more faithful to the original lines of the hieratic signs. This made the texts more accessible than it would appear at first sight (Fig. 49).[43]

[36] Willems 1988: 56.

[37] Willems 1988: 74; cf. Lapp 1993: 276-277 (= Lapp's code B14b). For new insights on the shaft contained the coffins of this lady based on the new excavation work, see Willems *et al.* 2004: 256.

[38] De Buck 1961: 457j-n.

[39] Lacau 1904: pl. LV; De Buck 1961: plan 1. A rendering and textual analysis of this spell will appear in Sherbiny in press (chapter 3). Some important previous translations are found in Faulkner 1978: 166; Lesko 1972: 127; Piankoff 1974: 34; Barguet 1986: 661; and Backes 2005: 116.

[40] De Buck 1961: 457j-n/B4C.

[41] This and a considerable number of the texts on the coffin bottom of B6C are edited for the first time by Sherbiny in press.

[42] The *Coffin Texts* of B3C were copied by Gardiner from the original, and then collated by Breasted on the original as well. In fact working on this coffin was completely finished before de Buck joined the *Coffin Texts* project. Further information on this state of affairs is found in Sherbiny in press (chapter 1).

[43] It should be noted here that the linguistically correct term to describe the conversion of the hieratic into hieroglyphic script is *transliteration*, not 'transcription'. The latter was inaccurately used by Gardiner to describe this process of conversion (Gardiner 1957[3]: § 19 and § 63A), while it actually stands for the phonetic reproduction. Hence, from a linguistic point of view Gardiner's 'transcription' is, in fact, the transliteration, and his 'transliteration' is the transcription. For this

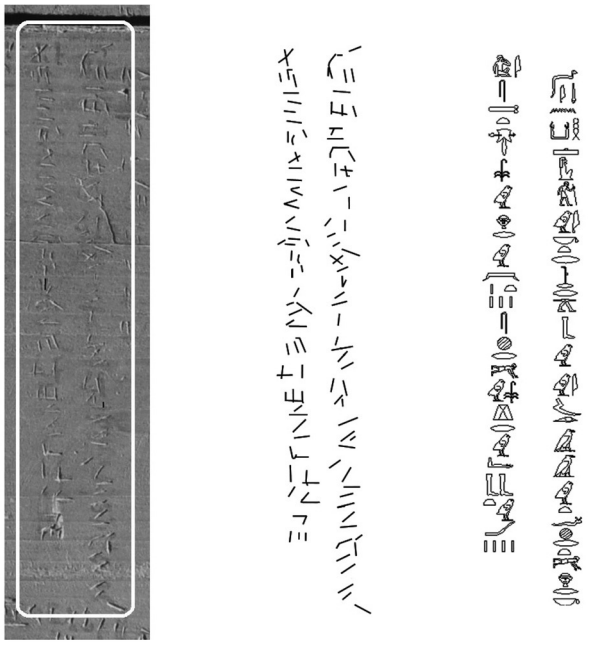


Fig. 48. The hieratic text of Coffin Texts spell 1127 in B3C (© The Egyptian Museum - Cairo), a facsimile of the chisel marks (reproduced by J. Wiśniewska), and text converted into hieroglyphic script (© W. Sherbiny).

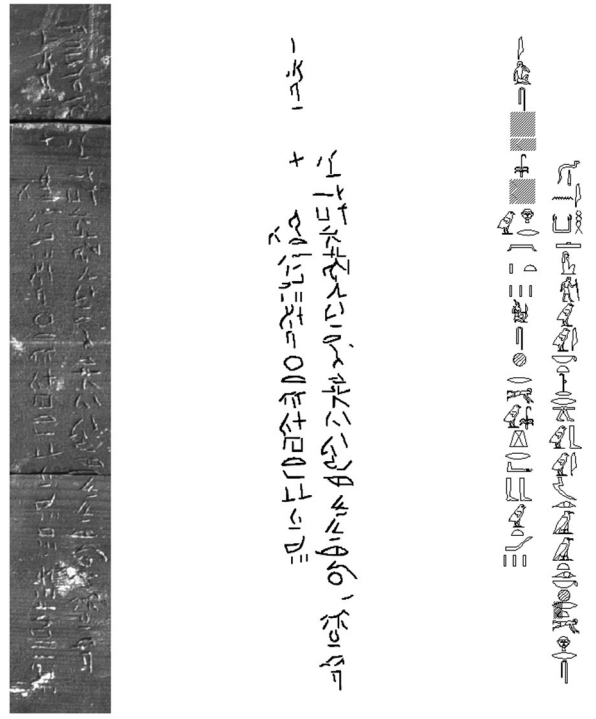


Fig. 49. The chisel marks of the now-lost hieratic text of Coffin Texts spell 1127 in B6C (© The Egyptian Museum - Cairo) together with a facsimile (reproduced by J. Wiśniewska) and a converted version into hieroglyphic script (© W. Sherbiny).

It will suffice to compare the incised parts of the hieratic sign of (the determinative of the verb *sḫr*) in the second column in B3C. Here we have three marks representing part of the shoulder with the right arm, the left arm, and one leg respectively. In B6C, however, all the lines of the same sign are incised. This undoubtedly increases our chances of recognising the original hieratic sign. The impression here is that the chisel marks in B3C mainly trace parts of the hieratic sign (sometimes only one small stroke), while an attempt was made to produce most of the lines of the hieratic signs in B6C. The chisel marks are short and mostly unconnected in B3C, while they are linked together for each sign in B6C. The former were probably executed rapidly contrary to the latter.[44]

Studying the techniques of these chisel marks on the Middle Kingdom coffins has not yet attracted the attention of researchers.[45] This is due to the regrettable fact that most of hieratic texts of these coffins have not yet been published. The absence of facsimiles and photographs testifies to this great gap in our hieratic studies as far as palaeography is concerned.[46]

As stated above, the Middle Kingdom coffin *CG* 28094 (B6C) belongs to the chronologically oldest group of coffins that came to us from the nomarchal cemetery of Hermopolis according to the typological studies.[47] Since it is the only coffin from this group, which has the entire plan of the so-called *Book of Two Ways* attested on its floorboard as we have just shown above, it follows that it hitherto has the earliest complete example of this pictorial-textual composition that came to us from ancient Egypt.

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issue, see Schenkel 2012:[5] 19 *Anmerkung* and the references there cited.

[44] This may be roughly likened to the difference in the audible effect between the *staccato* and *legato* in the world of music.

[45] Even the most recent studies about the chisel marks completely ignore the chiseled hieratic texts on the Middle Kingdom coffins. They rather focus on the chisel marks on stone and rocks, see for instance CHUDZIK 2015: 29-38.

[46] Both MÖLLER 1909 and GOEDICKE 1988 depended on a small group of sources comparing to the rich hieratic material written on a great number of the Middle Kingdom coffins (not to mention other kinds of *Textträger* as well). Note also that the paleographical study of Hannig 2006 is principally devoted to the *hieroglyphic* texts attested (i.e. the so-called ornamental hieroglyphs, WILLEMS 1988: 188ff) on a group of Middle Kingdom coffins, which are not part of the *Coffin Texts* proper. I have been preparing a large project for publishing a hieratic paleography of the *Coffin Texts* attested on a number of Middle Kingdom coffins for more than fifteen years. The preliminary results of this extensive project will see the light in the near future.

[47] WILLEMS 1988: 70-74, and specially 72; LAPP 1993: 276-277 (= Lapp's code B24); SHERBINY in press (chapter 1).

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Egyptian Coffins at the Fitzwilliam Museum: a Case Study in Collection Formation

Helen Strudwick

The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, United Kingdom

Abstract: *Since 2006, the Fitzwilliam Museum has been carrying out a major programme of research investigating every aspect of the history of the coffins in its collection. This has included technical analyses of the construction methods, creation of the decorative programme and, as far as possible, the history of the coffins and their owners. A comprehensive catalogue of the entire collection of coffins at the Museum will be published in the future, including full results of all the technical analyses, such as X-radiography, CT scanning and scanning electron microscopy. The 2016 exhibition Death on the Nile, with its accompany exhibition catalogue, has also highlighted the results of this research and traces the development of coffins and burial practices from c. 4000 BC to c. AD 300. This paper (which is a revised and extended version of the introductory chapter of the catalogue accompanying the exhibition Death on the Nile: Uncovering the Afterlife of Ancient Egypt [Strudwick and Dawson 2016]) provides an introduction to the history of the Fitzwilliam Museum's collection of coffins.*

Keywords: *Fitzwilliam Museum, history of Egyptology, coffins, Beni Hasan, partage, division*

In 1822, the first ancient Egyptian objects were presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum (only recently founded, in 1816, through a bequest from Richard, 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion). These comprised a set of 21st dynasty yellow coffins (Fitzwilliam Museum, E.1.1822),[1] made for a man named Nespawershefyt (Fig. 50). His job titles on the coffins show that he was a supervisor of craftsmen's workshops and supervisor of temple scribes at the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak at the time of his death. However, there is clear evidence that, when his coffins were originally decorated, he held another, presumably lower ranking and otherwise unattested, title: Great One of the Water of the House of Amun. The coffin set was given to the Museum by two Cambridge alumni, Barnard Hanbury and George Waddington, who published an account of their travels up the Nile and as far as Ethiopia in 1822[2], but this publication provides no information about where they acquired these coffins, and nor does it mention other antiquities they brought back from Egypt. The latter included a granite sarcophagus of a man called Hunefer (Fitzwilliam Museum, E.1.1835, discussed further below) and a fragment from the lost tomb of Nebamun now at the British Museum (EA37981).

The following year, the famous adventurer, Giovanni Battista Belzoni visited Cambridge in a bid to raise funds for his next expedition. On this occasion, he was intending to be the first Westerner to reach the fabled city of Timbuktu in West Africa and thus to win a prize of 10,000 francs. He did indeed set out, but died en route on 3 December before reaching this goal. Shortly after his visit to Cambridge, he made a gift to the University of the lid of the sarcophagus of Ramesses III (Fig. 51). He had apparently discovered it in a tomb, possibly not that king's own tomb, in the Valley of the Kings on 13 August 1816.[3] Returning to the tomb in March the following year, he retrieved it with 'much trouble'.[4] He finally transported it, together with other antiquities to Rosetta in the spring of 1819, describing the lid as 'the best piece I accumulated on my own account'.[5]

It was delivered to the Fitzwilliam Museum on 31 March 1823. A local newspaper, the Cambridge Chronicle and Journal, reported in its edition for Friday 4 April 1823 that the 'celebrated Mr. Belzoni has presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum the lid of a sarcophagus found by him in one of the tombs of the kings at Thebes in Upper Egypt; this interesting relic arrived here on Monday and after considerable difficulty (its weight being upward of three tons) was placed in the Court of the Museum'. Belzoni is not remembered for giving away antiquities and this led Janine Bourriau (former Keeper of Antiquities at the Fitzwilliam Museum) to speculate, in correspondence in the Museum's archives, that Belzoni may have been prompted to give the lid to the Museum because he hoped that he would receive an honorary degree from the University in return. His death later that year, however, precluded that possibility from becoming a reality.

Napoleon's Egyptian expedition had kindled an interest in ancient Egypt, which was fuelled by the beginnings of an understanding of the ancient Egyptian language in 1822. For those who could afford to travel there, as Hanbury and Waddington had done, it became a fashionable destination and numerous antiquities found

[1] Strudwick and Dawson 2016: 182–189.
[2] Waddington and Hanbury 1822.
[3] Belzoni 1820: 51–54.
[4] Belzoni 1820: 184-185.
[5] Belzoni: 1820: 373–374.

Fig. 50. The coffin set of Nespawershefyt (c. 1000 BC). Cambridge: *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.1.1822.

their way into private collections in Europe in the 18th century. These were sometimes passed on to museums in Britain on their return or after their deaths. Hanbury and Waddington's collection remained in their possession until 1833, when it seems to have been dispersed following the death of Hanbury. For example, the granite sarcophagus of Hunefer (Fig. 52) was donated to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1835 and thus bears the number E.1.1835. Hunefer was a mayor of Thebes, overseer of the two treasuries and overseer of the two granaries of Amun, probably in the reign of Ramesses II. Like Nespawershefyt's coffins, however, Hanbury and Waddington left no indication about where they acquired the sarcophagus. Both items are likely to have originated in Thebes.

In 1868, the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) and his wife Alexandra made a tour of the eastern Mediterranean, which included a visit to Egypt. While in Luxor, the Prince received a gift of a group of coffins from a pit on the west bank of the river.[6] These twenty coffins were distributed to museums around Britain, while a further ten went to a newly established museum in Boulaq, later to become the Egyptian Museum in Tahrir Square, Cairo.[7] Two coffins from this group came to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1869, both belonging to an official from 25th dynasty Thebes, named Pakepu (Fig. 53), and currently registered in the collection under the accession number E.2.1869.[8] He had been a *wah-mu* on the west of Thebes. It is not clear whether a mummy was found inside them but the account of the Honourable Mrs Grey, who travelled with Their Highnesses, records that there were a number of bodies within the coffins presented to the prince and princess: she recounted that she could not 'bear the idea of disturbing, and still less of removing these corpses, especially when you see, from the careful way in which they are wrapped up, and the very out-of-the-way places chosen for their family tombs, that their wish was to remain there undisturbed forever'.[9] The Museum's own records, however, make no mention of a mummy being included.

[6] Birch 1884.

[7] Sheikholeslami 2014: 465–469.

[8] Strudwick and Dawson 2016: 216–221.

[9] Grey 1870: 107.

Fig. 51. Sarcophagus lid of king Ramesses III (1183-1152 BC). Cambridge: *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.1.1823.

After Mariette's appointment, as first director of the Service des Antiquités (created in 1858), he actively sought to improve the protection of Egyptian antiquities. In 1835, Mohamed Aly had already enacted a law preventing the unauthorised removal of antiquities,[10] and this was strengthened in 1869 by a by-law to control the disposition of finds from excavations in order to prevent them from being smuggled out of Egypt illicitly. However, in order to compensate foreign excavators for the expense of working in Egypt, with the authorisation of the Service, a system of compensation was introduced in 1884 that granted them any antiquities not required for the museum in Cairo, especially duplicate objects.[11] This system came to be known as division or, in French, 'partage', and was subject to the approval of the Egyptian authorities. Over time, it became a formalised part of a permit granted by the Service that excavators received a half share of the finds from each season's excavations. However, this division excluded unique or particularly significant objects, and also all objects from intact tombs. This is exemplified by Lord Carnarvon's permit to excavate in the Valley of the Kings, dated April 18th, 1915. Article 10 of this document states 'In the case of tombs which have already been searched, the Antiquities Service shall … reserve for themselves all objects of capital importance from the point of view of history and archaeology, and shall share the remainder with the Permittee. As it is probable that the majority of such tombs as may be discovered will fall within the category of the present article, it is agreed that the Permittee's share will sufficiently recompense him for the pains and labour of the undertaking'.[12]

These restrictions meant that spectacular items were excluded from divisions and had to remain in Egypt. This had a profound effect on the attitude of many major museums in Britain and America to being partners in excavations undertaken in Egypt. Previously, when excavations had been much less regulated by the authorities, they had provided funding for expeditions on the basis that they would receive some or all of the finds for their collections.

The Fitzwilliam Museum was never a major partner in excavations, although it did support the work of W.M.F. Petrie. The latter funded much of his work through a system of subscription. In return for financial support, an individual or organisation, such as the Fitzwilliam, would receive items from his share of the division. In this way, too, the Museum supported the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), later the Egypt Exploration Society (EES); and it also contributed funds to the Egyptian Research Account (ERA) and the British School of Archaeology, which were both established by Petrie.

It was as part of ERA excavations at the Ramesseum in 1896 that J.E. Quibell uncovered the undisturbed burial of Nakhtefmut,[13] the bulk of which came to the Fitzwilliam in the same year.[14] Nakhtefmut was an 'opener of the two doors of heaven at Karnak' during the reign of Osorkon I. His coffins, including a striking cartonnage mummy case (Fitzwilliam Museum, E.64.1896) (Fig. 54), were found below a disturbed burial, including two coffins that had clearly been robbed at some point in the past. The mummy case was found within three wooden coffins, according to Quibell's description, but no mention is made of what happened to them; it is likely that they would have been plainer in their decoration than the cartonnage case, consistent with coffins of that period, and perhaps they were remained in Egypt following the process of division of the excavation finds. The relative positions of the objects found around the coffins and

[10] For a complete summary of legislation covering Egyptian cultural heritage, see *International Council of Museums* 2011.
[11] O'Keefe and Prott 1984: 45–46.
[12] James 1993: 414.
[13] Quibell 1898: 10–11.
[14] Strudwick and Dawson 2016: 198–199; 202–213.

Fig. 52. Granite sarcophagus of Hunefer (c. 1225 BC). Cambridge: *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.1.1835.

Fig. 53. The coffin set of Pakepu (c. 680–664 BC). Cambridge: *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.2.1869.

Fig. 54. The cartonnage mummy case of Nakhtefmut (c. 892 BC). Cambridge: *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.64.1896.

other finds in the shaft is noted in the publication, as well as the position of the amulets and other items found on Nakhtefmut's body.

From the same division, the Museum also received a second cartonnage case, made for a priest named Hor (Fitzwilliam Museum, E.8.1896). This came from a disturbed burial, but the context is only briefly described in the excavation report.[15] The decoration of the mummy case is unusual, with an overall greenish blue colour and with hieroglyphs and scenes of gods, from the Amduat, painted in yellow. The cartonnage itself had suffered considerable damage at some point in the past and the face, which was gilded, had been torn off. Recent conservation work has managed to restore the original shape of the cartonnage (Fig. 55).

Excavations at Abydos were undertaken by John Garstang in 1900, again for the ERA. At the end of the season, the remains of an unusual rectangular box coffin, found in a disturbed pit tomb[16], came by division to the excavators, who, in turn, gave them to the Fitzwilliam Museum (accession number E.283.1900).[17] Although in a very fragile condition, large parts having been eaten by termites, sufficient survives to show that the coffin was decorated with scenes of a funeral procession, including the distinctive figure of a woman bent over with grief. (Fig. 56) The coffin dates to the end of the Second Intermediate Period to the early 18th dynasty (c. 1680–1510 BC).

In 1903, the Museum received a very well-preserved Roman mummy, of the red shroud type and with a portrait panel, from EEF excavations at el-Hiba[18] (accession number E.63.1903),[19] while two further Roman objects came to the Museum in 1911 from EEF excavations, in the form of a cartonnage mask and foot-case (numbered E.103a.1903 and E.103b.1903 respectively) found at Hawara.[20] From Petrie's description, it seems these were found on a mummy lying in an above-ground chamber with a number of other mummified bodies. The chamber's roof had at some point fallen in, covering the contents.[21]

In 1903, between these last two acquisitions, the Museum received several complete coffins, as well as fragments, of Middle Kingdom date from the excavations of Garstang at Beni Hasan.

The mechanism by which excavation finds were shared between interested parties is well illustrated by an example of the distribution of artefacts from these excavations. To fund his work, Garstang created an excavation committee and syndicate; the Fitzwilliam's director at the time, M.R. James, was a syndicate member, both as a single shareholder and having a second share in partnership with three other people. On 20 July 1903, James received a letter from Garstang[22]

[15] Quibell 1898: 12.
[16] Garstang 1901: 8–9.
[17] Strudwick and Dawson 2016: 168–171.
[18] Grenfell and Hunt 1906: 4.
[19] Strudwick and Dawson 2016: 182–189.
[20] Petrie 1911: 3–4; Strudwick and Dawson 2016: 242–243.
[21] Petrie 1911: pl. xxiii, 6.
[22] Correspondence in the archives of the Antiquities Department at the Fitzwilliam Museum has not been catalogued yet. Transcriptions of the

Fig. 55. Cartonnage mummy case of Hor after conservation. Cambridge: *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.8.1896.

(Document 1) inviting him to attend a meeting of the excavation committee to share out the finds from the previous season. The objects were to be displayed at the Society of Antiquaries, for viewing by the shareholders, two days before the committee meeting, which was to be at the same venue. Garstang had grouped the objects into eight shares of approximately equal value (Document 1) and, on the day of the meeting, lots were cast to establish the order in which shareholders made their selection. James seems to have been fourth to choose and opted for 'The complete tomb deposit of Khety', which consisted of a rectangular coffin and the group of models of daily life that were found with it. After all the choices had been made, one share remained, which went to James and his three partners. This included the coffins of a warrior named Userhet, whose inner coffin came to the Fitzwilliam (E.88.1903),[23] while the outer coffin went to the University of Liverpool, where it is now displayed in the Garstang Museum (accession number E.512).[24]

In the same letter of 20 July 1903 (Document 1, page 1, final paragraph), there is mention of finds 'distributed previously by arrangement', although the nature of the arrangement is not explained. Several other coffins from this season of Garstang's excavations are now in the Fitzwilliam's collection, including the coffin of Nakht (E.68.1903)[25] and also the cartonnage mask of Tjay (E.198.1903).[26] Since they do not appear in the list for consideration by Garstang's syndicate members, they must have been among the finds 'distributed previously' (see above, Document 1). Additionally, in the Fitzwilliam's archives is a letter dated 17 July 1903 (Document 2) from an architect called Edward Towry Whyte, written to M.R. James, offering the Museum 'a wooden coffin from the Garstang find at Beni Hasan' (Fig. 57) (Fitzwilliam Museum, E.70.1903). In a second letter from Whyte, dated 20 July (Document 3), he explained that the coffin was given to him by F.G. Hilton Price, the director of the Society of Antiquaries at the time and also a syndicate member. From the dates of Whyte's letters (see Documents 2 and 3), it appears that this coffin too was one of the finds distributed 'by arrangement' (referred to above in Document 1) before the syndicate chose their share.

James obviously accepted the offered coffin and it was sent to the Museum on 29 July 1903, Whyte writing a third letter to James (Document 4) saying 'I did not pay carriage as I have a strong idea that much greater care is taken of a thing when that is not done.' The coffin in question, although registered under a single accession number, is in fact made up of parts of two coffins, made

documents cited are included at the end of this paper and all references are to those transcriptions.

[23] STRUDWICK and DAWSON 2016: 162–165.
[24] BOURRIAU 1988: 90–91.
[25] STRUDWICK and DAWSON 2016: 152–155.
[26] STRUDWICK and DAWSON 2016: 160.

Fig. 56. Coffin of the mourning women (c. 1680–1510 BC). Cambridge: *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.283.1900.

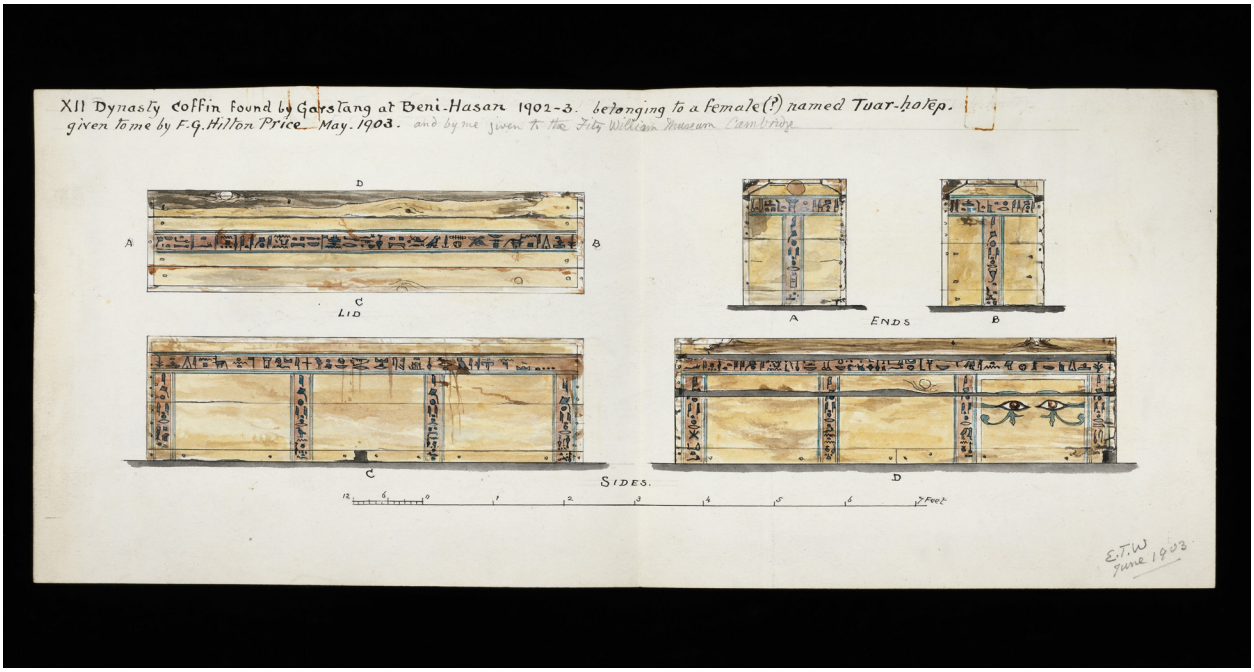

Fig. 57. Towry Whyte's drawing of a wooden coffin (Cambridge: *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.70.1903) from Garstang's excavations at Beni Hasan in 1902–1903.

for people named Senuitef and Warethotep. In his first letter (Document 2), Whyte says: 'it came to me in planks and I have put it together with deal pins so that it can be easily taken to pieces again'. So, it appears to have been found in pieces; perhaps Garstang's workmen confused planks from the two coffins during excavation.

The last significant addition to the Fitzwilliam Museum's collection of Egyptian coffins arrived in 1926. It consisted of parts of a *qersu* coffin, which now only exists as a number of panels of acacia wood and a large corner post, all with incised hieroglyphs filled with a white paste, registered under the number E.14.1926.[27] The panels were originally pegged on to an inner carcase. The coffin was discovered by Petrie at Abydos[28] and, although he described it as being complete, it is clear that only a small proportion of the original, very large coffin was recovered. The owner was Irethereru, governor of Abydos, overseer of priests of Osiris at Abydos, and a priest of Hathor, 'mistress of Dendera', who lived around 745–650 BC.

[27] Strudwick and Dawson 2016: 222–223.
[28] Petrie 1925: 12, 19–20.

In 1925, the system of division was changed fundamentally and it was finally abolished altogether in 1983.[29] As a result, museum collections outside Egypt increased mainly through gifts and bequests. At the Fitzwilliam, these included objects from Towry Whyte, who had written, in one of his 1903 letters to M.R. James: 'I am an old Pembroke man and am interested in the Museum as from it I got my first Knowledge of Antiquities' (letter dated 17 July 1903). When he died in 1932, he left over 450 objects from his collection of Egyptian artefacts to the Museum.

For many years, the display of coffins from ancient Egypt has been a spectacular feature of the Fitzwilliam's galleries on the lower floor. The sarcophagus lid of Ramesses III was for many years exhibited lying on its back, as the centrepiece of the gallery, but in 1968 it was raised into its now vertical position in the centre of Gallery 20. In 2005–6, the Egyptian galleries were redisplayed, with Ramesses remaining in the same place and the Museum's first ancient Egyptian acquisition, the coffin set of Nespawershefyt, in a central position in Gallery 19, where it forms an important focus for the Museum's education programme.

As part of the celebrations of its bicentenary, the Fitzwilliam Museum took the opportunity to celebrate the importance of its ancient Egyptian coffin collection, and to highlight the results of a major research project into them, through an exhibition entitled *Death on the Nile: Uncovering the Afterlife of Ancient Egypt*.[30]

[29] *International Council of Museums* 2011.

[30] STRUDWICK and DAWSON 2016.

Transcriptions of relevant documents

Document 1[31]

[in pencil] 1

Society of Antiquaries.
Burlington House,
Piccadilly. W.
July 20th 1903.

Beni Hasan.
Beni Hasan Escavations (*sic*) 1902-3.

Sir
I have the honour to remind you that a meeting of the Committee
is convened at this place for Wednesday next at four o'clock in
the afternoon, the business being the final division of objects
between the Members of the Syndicate. I beg leave to recall
the resolution in the deed of agreement with the subsequent amendment
which includes an eighth share, which reads as follows: -
'The objects escavated (*sic*), with the reservation of those legally
'selected by the Cairo Museum, shall be the absolute and sole
'property of the shareholders. For the purpose of final division
'the objects shall be arranged by the excavator with eight approx-
'imately equal and representative groups, which may be revised or
altered by the Committee, lots shall be drawn to decide the order
'of selection'
All the objects with a few unimportant exceptions (excluding
also, those distributed previously by arrangement) are on view in
the Exhibition.

1.

[31] Note that all the pencil annotations are very difficult to read and it is likely that there are errors in this transcription.

[in pencil] 2

The Shares are held as follows: –

Share 1. Mr.H. Martyn Kennard.
2. Mr.W. MacGregor.
3. Mr.J. Rankin.
4. Mr.A.J. Evans.
5. Mr.M.R. James.
6. Mr.Kennard and Mr. Rankin, jointly and equally in half shares
7. The Lady O'Hagan and Mr. Hilton Prince, jointly and equally.
8. Mr.Kennard, Mr. MacGregor, Mr. Rankin, Mr. James jointly and equally in quarter shares.

On account of the method of procedure, it is hoped that each member if unable to be present personally will ensure that attendance of some fully authorised independent representative. I beg leave to advise the Committee to proceed at once and deliberately by the rule, leaving it to individuals subsequently to make such exchanges as may be found desirable.

The excavator's division lists will be ready from mid-day on Tuesday, and will be based upon the following.

1. Boat, sailing, with canopy, No.1.
Girl with geese, No.1.Granary No.1.
A Flute. Best Stela of Heny.
An inscribed Coffin.
11. Rowing Boat, No.1.
Bakery and Brewery No.1.

[In pencil]
+ boat (?something illegible?)
bed
beads
?something illegible? (?glass)
mummy boat
collapsible headrest
alabaster
papyrus maker
headdress
etc.

2.

Man leading Ox No.1.
Coffin of Antef, No. 1.
A flute. A good stela.

III. The armoured Boat.No.186.
An inscribed coffin.
The five stringed lute.
Long haired stringed doll.
A stela, complete but broken.

1V. The complete tomb deposit of Khety, No.366.
Two Boats, rowing and sailing.
Granary. Mask.
Sacrifice. Bakery.
Coffin of Khety.

V. The complete tomb deposit of Jawy, No.275.
2 Boats, rowing and sailing.
Granary, Sandals Bakery.
Miscellaneous figures, leather worker,
Man with hoe, woman with basket
The large basket, with chair legs.
A broken (but complete) stela
The coffin of Jawy.

[In pencil]
Not in good condition.
Sailing boat. bed beads
feeding ox, headrest ?illegible?

[In pencil]
?illegible? group
amethyst scarab
implements bronze
kohl box
pottery dish. pallet. mat
5 agricult. impl.
roll of cloth

[In pencil]
mask
amethyst scarab
model implements painted oar and pole
kohl box dish. boomerang. mat?
?statue? jackal coffin

[In pencil]
mask
Lily wooden capital
glazed cup kohl pot
toilet box ~~roll of cloth~~
mason's level. Isis & Nephthys
boomerang

2. (*sic*)

[in pencil] 4

V1. Two long rowing boats and pinnace 394.

Granary, 394

The bronze private figure.

The 'Dwarf Coffin'.

The best Ptah -Sekher figure.

[In pencil]
model implements
kohl box *sandals*
4 alab: vases
wooden box plain?
early Ushabti
boomerang *roll of cloth*

V11. Three boats No.203.

The wooden figure of foreign woman and child.

The Great stela

An inscribed coffin.

The canopic box.

[In pencil]
small glazed fig *bow*
hawk spoon *Ushabti*
inlaid box
chairs. slung? basket ~~*bowl*~~

[In pencil] *Bakery* *Oarsmen*

V111.The large boat 287 and another.

[In pencil] *Early Ushabti* *bow.*

The painted coffin and cartonage of the warrior User Het

[In pencil] *inlaid shaft* *axe*

Ptah-Sekher figure before the altar.

[In pencil]
alabaster
model
wall? illegible? scene . *glazed dish.* *doll.* *ivory box*

Subsequently the Patrons and other Egyptologists will be entertained to dinner by the Hon.Treas, Mr.F. G. Hilton Price, Dir. S.A., at his residence 17 Collingham Gardens.W.

Yours very truly,

John Garstang.

On reverse of p. 1, in pencil:

Mr Rankin chooses[32]
No. 1
AJ Evans chooses
3
Mr Kennard chooses
5
M R James chooses
4
McGregor chooses
2
Mr Price chooses
7
Kennard Garstang chooses
6

[32] This line is unclear as there is another piece of paper pasted over the top.

Document 2

31, Lansdowne Road
Clapham Road,
S.W.

July 17th 1903

Dear Sir

The enclosed drawing is of a wooden coffin from the Garstang find at Beni Hasan, which I have, and which I am willing to give to the Fitz William Museum, should you like to have it, but I think that in all probability you will have better ones from the same find. it came to me in planks and I have put it together with deal pins so that it can be easily taken to pieces again, it has no bottom, and as you will see by the drawing part of the edge of the lid is decayed and a small strip is wanting on the side where the eyes are, otherwise it is in fairly good condition. If you consider it is one that the Museum would like. I will send it. would you kindly return the drawings, Perhaps I may have the pleasure of meeting you at Dr. Hilton Price's next Wednesday evening. I may add that I am an old Pembroke man and an interested in the Museum as from it I got my first Knowledge of Antiquities

I remain
yours faithfully
E. Towry Whyte

Dr. W. James

Document 3

31, LANSDOWNE ROAD
CLAPHAM ROAD,
S.W.

July 20th 1903

Dear Sir

I gather from your letter that you will not be at Dr. Hilton Price's dinner, and as I do not belong to the Syndicate of course I will not be present at the division on Wednesday afternoon, I do not know whether you have seen the exhibition, but in the Hall are two coffins almost identical with the one I have offered but in much better condition. and as there are three or four more in the room I was uncertain how many you might have got or hope to get, the one I have was given me by Dr. Hilton Price and he understood at the time that it was likely that I would offer it to the Museum. if you would like to see it and could manage to come over on Wednesday morning before your meeting at the Soc of Ant, I would be very pleased to show it to you so that you might be able to judge for yourself what it is like, a drawing is always somewhat misleading as regards colour, when done to a small scale. You can easily get here from Liverpool Street by the City & South London electric from the Bank to Stockwell and my house is only about 3 minutes from that station, if you think of coming please send me a line, so that I may be at home

Believe me
yours very truly
E Towry Whyte

Document 4

31, LANSDOWNE ROAD
CLAPHAM ROAD,
S.W.

July 29th 1903

Dear Sir

I have sent off the coffin this afternoon, and hope it will arrive safely. I did not pay carriage as I have a strong idea that much greater care is taken of a thing when that is not done. I also hope that you will not be disappointed with it.

Believe me
Yours very truly

E Towry Whyte

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The History of the Main Burial Shaft of Theban Tomb 99 from 1450 BC to the Present Day

Nigel Strudwick

University of Cambridge, Cambridge, United Kingdom

Abstract: *Much of my research over the past two years has been on the practices and effects of the robbery of the Theban tombs, both in ancient and modern times. This research came about directly as part of the writing-up of the fieldwork on the tomb of Senneferi (TT99). Research has shown much about the mechanics and differing aims of robbery at the different periods. This paper takes these results and applies them to TT99. Senneferi and members of his family were buried in three chambers at the end of a 20m long corridor accessed from a 14.25m deep vertical shaft in the courtyard. I will examine the occupants of the chamber, and consider on how many separate occasions the tomb was opened in the 18th dynasty. Evidence for openings of the tomb for robbery in the remainder of the New Kingdom will be considered. The chambers were then likely to have remained without further significant disturbance until the arrival of European explorers, when burials were (re-)robbed in the hunt for antiquities. The final ingress into the tomb before the arrival of the University of Cambridge Mission in 1992 was probably that of Robert Mond in 1903, and the extent to which he undertook work in these chambers will be discussed. Particular attention is paid to the likely level of disturbance to the burials each time, and how considerable quantities of broken limestone debris found their way into chambers some 20m from the vertical shaft.*

Keywords: *Thebes, Qurna, Senneferi, TT99, burial, family*

1. Introduction

Theban Tomb 99 is that of Senneferi, seal-bearer or chancellor of Thutmose III and is located in the Upper Enclosure of Sheikh Abdel Qurna. The tomb, built about 1420 BC, has been the focus of field study by the University of Cambridge Theban Mission from 1992 to 2002. The aim of this sort paper is to give an overview of the history of the tomb from construction through robbery to 1992.[1]

TT99 is a typical large tomb of the earlier 18th dynasty, with its principal shaft in the courtyard, a later 18th dynasty shaft also in the courtyard, and six Third Intermediate Period shafts inside the offering chapel.[2] This paper concentrates on the principal funerary context in the courtyard termed Shaft I. This shaft descends approximately 14.25m below the courtyard of the tomb, and gives access to corridor 1 which turns 90° into corridor 2. At that point there is a room off to the right (room 1) above a stepped shaft, termed the 'staircase' shaft, at the bottom of which are rooms 2 and 3. (Fig. 58)

Excavation of this area required the removal of a large quantity of debris from the whole area. This will present a familiar picture to excavators of tombs in Thebes and elsewhere, but it is worth considering how much of the rubble was originally intended to be there and how it came to be so widely dispersed.

The contents of the principal shaft were a mixture of all sorts of material from the tomb area, ranging from some 18th dynasty to Late Roman/Coptic material and the period of modern occupation prior to 1907. In contrast, finds from corridor 1 and beyond were almost wholly of 18th dynasty date. The 18th dynasty material is presented in volume I and the second volume of the publication will cover the post New Kingdom finds.

This paper will review the evidence and propose a history for the Shaft I context from its construction until the completion of modern investigation in 1998, including examination of the possible different phases of robbery. Much of what follows is well-informed speculation, based on the notes of the 1998 excavations and the wider study of TT99, but also based on comparison with studies of intact tombs of the New Kingdom, and also insights from my recent studies of the history and mechanisms of robbery from ancient to modern times.[3]

[1] An earlier version of this section was presented at the American Research Center in Egypt's annual meeting in Houston in April 2015. This paper forms the basis of the conclusion to the account of Shaft I in Strudwick N. 2016: 77–83. The original public version was written in collaboration with Helen Strudwick, and I would like to thank her as ever for helping with it and for producing the 3D reconstructions of the tomb.

[2] For an overview of research here, see Strudwick N. 2000 and the web-site 'Theban Tomb 99'. [http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/er/], accessed 6 August 2015. For the New Kingdom elements, see Strudwick N. 2016.

[3] Strudwick N. 2013a and Strudwick N. 2013b.

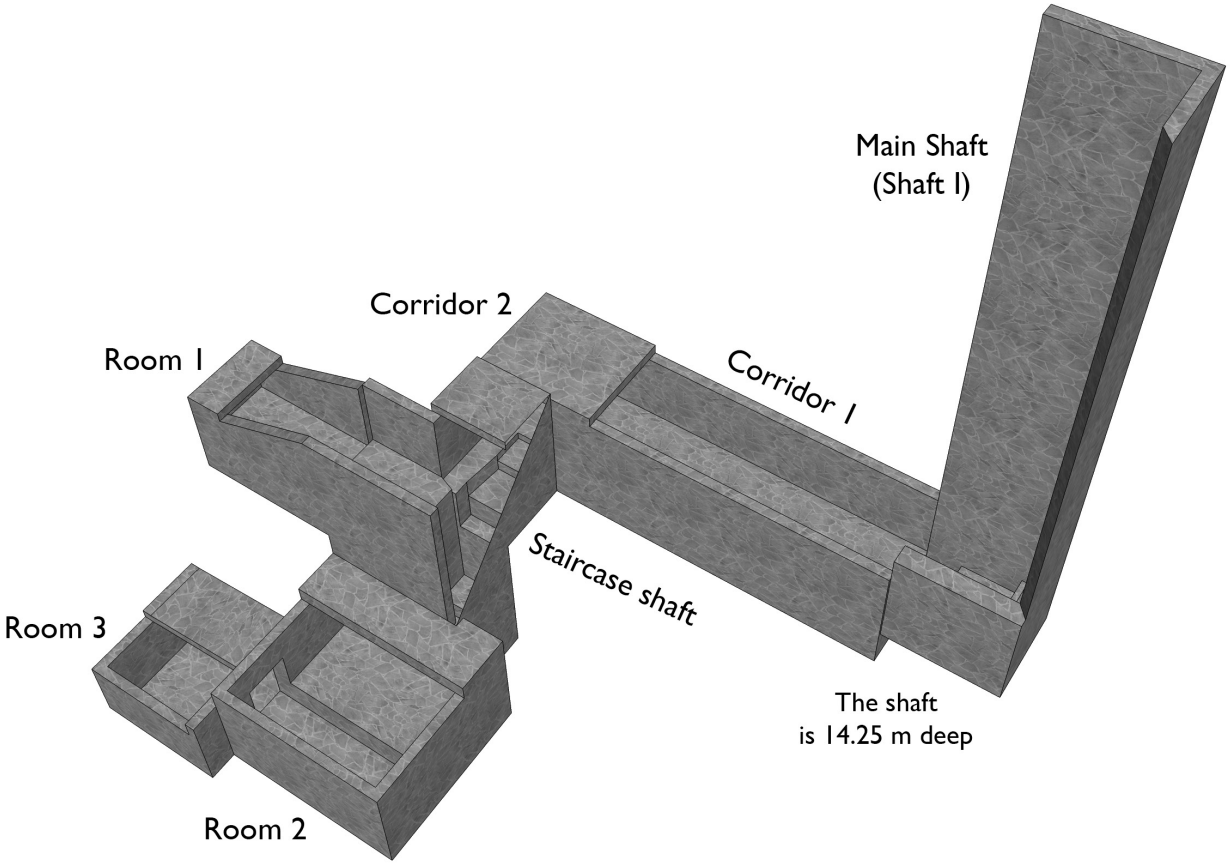

Fig. 58. Schematic layout of Shaft I with components marked. © H. Strudwick.

2. Phase 1: The original form of the context, subsequent expansion and burials

2.1. Development of the context and identity of occupants

It is suggested that the original plan was for one burial area at the end of corridor 2. At some point the latter room was enlarged to become a larger burial room, and then the floor of the remainder of the original burial chamber was cut through to create a descent to a set of lower rooms (rooms 2 and 3). (Fig. 59-61)

No artefacts found in the burial areas of Shaft I were later in date than the 18th dynasty, and the only name indicating ownership discovered among the finds was that of Senneferi. Thus, Shaft I must be Senneferi's burial place. However, at least five adults were buried in this area, two male and three female. The body of one of the females had been covered in a plaster-like substance in places, making it very distinctive.[4]

One of the adult males must be Senneferi himself and it is suggested that one of the females is his wife, Taiamu, perhaps the elaborately mummified example. I have argued that the other male and one of the other adult females were Senneferi's parents, Haydjehuty and Zatdjehuty.[5] They certainly appeared in the decoration of the tomb chapel, are named in the burial chamber on his shroud and funerary papyrus, and are also mentioned on his statue in the British Museum (EA48). However, no objects recognisably theirs were found in the tomb.[6]

In the lack of any concrete evidence of the sequence of death of these individuals, it is most likely that Senneferi's parents predeceased him.[7] In the absence of any other finds with their names, they may have

[4] WALDRON in STRUDWICK N. 2016: 320, Colour Pl. 47B.

[5] STRUDWICK N. 2009–2010: 241–242.

[6] Any reference to parents is incomplete without comparison to the tomb of Ramose and Hatnefer, Senenmut's parents. Ramose's burial was very poor, albeit in a coffin, while Hatnefer's was opulent, suggesting that they died at different times, the former when Senmut was not in any significant position, and the latter when he was. LANSING and HAYES 1937: 17–18. With none of these persons do we know whether they had been buried elsewhere before reaching their final resting place.

[7] A range of dates is found on inscribed vessels in the tomb, but it has to be said that such dates relate only in general terms to the tomb. BOHLEKE 2016 Dates were found of years 25, 28 and 38, which can really only relate to the reign of Thutmose III. They may suggest burials ten years apart, although we would be happier if there were other evidence of burial goods of anyone other than Senneferi.

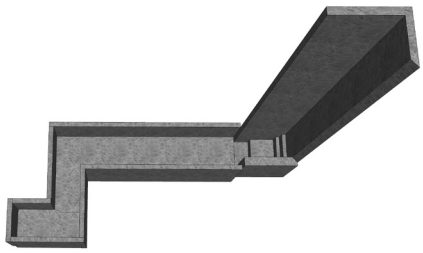

Fig. 59. Shaft I as originally conceived, with a short room 1.
© H. Strudwick.

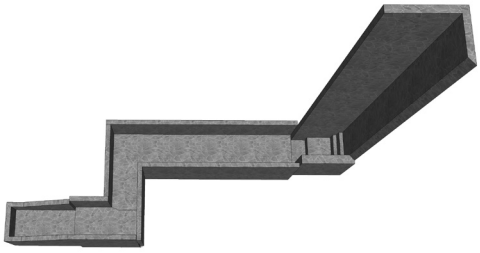

Fig. 60. Shaft I with room 1 extended.
© H. Strudwick.

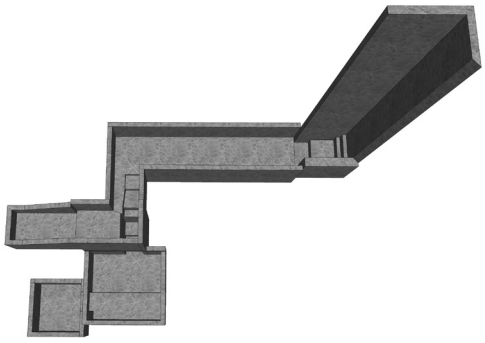

Fig. 61. Shaft I with rooms 2 and 3 added.
© H. Strudwick.

been buried in undecorated wooden boxes, like the anonymous persons interred in the tomb of Ramose and Hatnefer.[8] Their bodies could have been brought from some other location to be buried in this shaft once it had been completed, presumably before Senneferi himself died. Room 1 being the first burial place cut is likely to have held their bodies. In order to affect the burial, corridors 1 and 2 must have been relatively clear, if not completely so.

The fifth female adult, tentatively identified as an unmarried daughter who predeceased Senneferi, may also have been placed in room 1. Room 1 is likely to have been blocked off to protect it during work on creating the lower suite of rooms. A number of fairly regular blocks found relatively close to the junction between corridor 1 and corridor 2 might have served that purpose. However, there is no evidence on the walls in this area of any plaster sealing of the doorway.

Senneferi's burial was undoubtedly the principal one within this context and the lower suite of rooms 2 and 3 was likely to have held his (and Taiamu's) burial. It is suggested that the coffins were placed in the larger room 2, while burial equipment, including much of the ceramic assemblage, was placed there and in room 3. Either of these burials would have been the last in the tomb.[9]

2.2. The interior appearance of the tomb after the burials

On the basis of the very limited number of undisturbed burials of the 18th dynasty known, it appears that, when burials were completed, the chambers and access corridors were left in a relatively neat and tidy state, without excess unwanted stone chippings and other material from the construction phase present.[10] The best evidence in support of this is the tomb of Kha (TT8), with its neat and tidy floors and chambers,[11] suggesting the practice of cleaning akin to that of the ritual of *init rd*, known from the Old Kingdom.[12] This is confirmed by the undisturbed chamber of Ramose and Hatnefer, in front of TT71[13] and two further small chambers found by

[8] Six persons in addition to Senenmut's parents. Lansing and Hayes 1937: 31, fig. 26, 27.

[9] The best contemporary example is the multiple burials in the tomb of Neferkhuit, in which Hayes believed at least eleven persons were buried in the space of about 60 years. Hayes 1935: 17, 18.

[10] This is discussed in general terms in Strudwick 2013: 638–640.

[11] Donadoni Roveri 2008, photos on 130, 131, 133 and 140.

[12] Davies and Gardiner 1915: 93–94, pl. XVIII; Altenmüller 1971.

[13] There is a very limited amount of debris visible in the photos in

the MMA expedition in the same excavation season.[14] The generally clean state of the partially robbed burial of Iru from the 25th dynasty in the Assasif suggests that the above scenario is likely to hold for all periods of Egyptian history.[15]

So, what happened in Shaft I? During the enlargement of the underground rooms, the principal shaft would have had to remain clear to give access to the workforce involved. A substantial quantity of the rubble created in this process may have been kept underground in order to fill the new 'staircase' shaft after the interments there had taken place. Once that work had been carried out, would it have been decided to fill up the principal shaft while awaiting the decease of the intended occupants? It is not possible to be certain, as little is known as to how shafts were protected during construction and after, other than filling with debris.[16] A small well leading to the burial chamber in TT82 seems to have been covered at some time with sandstone slabs.[17]

Certainly, a shaft of the dimensions of Shaft I left open would present quite a hazard in that area of the necropolis. It may have been temporarily covered with wood or stone, for the sake of safety, if for no other reason. Or it may have been refilled. If so, some very large, but irregular boulders found at the bottom of the shaft were probably used to secure the entrance to corridor 1, after which rubble and debris was tipped down the shaft. Some of this must have spilled into corridor 1, there being no evidence of any form of sealing at the beginning of the corridor area.

2.3. Theft from burials during Phase 1?

At the time of interment, it is hard to envisage the elite burial party descending a 14.25m shaft to witness what happened in the cramped conditions of the underground chambers. Scenes of burial, including the Opening of the Mouth from papyri (such as the famous scene of Hunefer[18]) and the 'Rites before the Tomb' in the private tombs (for example TT181[19]) suggest that the main rites were performed outside the tomb. I assume that the actual interment was effected by a separate group of workmen, and any unscrupulous individuals thus involved were presented with the opportunity to carry out opportunistic thefts, taking small, portable objects that could be concealed on their persons, or those which might be volatile or perishable.[20] Clearly this is only really provable for tombs found in far better condition than that of Senneferi, such as some in the Valley of the Kings and a number of 21st dynasty burials.[21]

2.4. The shaft at the end of Phase 1

Thus, at the end of Phase 1, it is likely that the Shaft I complex was left in a relatively tidy state, with Senneferi's parents and (probably) daughter buried in room 1, while Senneferi and his wife lay in room 2. (Fig. 62) The burials within room 1 are likely to have remained undisturbed if that chamber was, as suspected, blocked off with a stone wall. Within rooms 2 and 3, the burials may have been lightly rifled. The staircase shaft between the two levels of the tomb would have been filled with rubble as part of the closure of those burials. Within corridor 1, there was some spillage from the refilling of the principal shaft, which may have been cleared aside to give access for the later burials. The fill material of the principal shaft would have consisted of dust, chippings and larger stones, presumably debris from tomb building, with little or no contamination of other material.

3. Phase 2: Interval in activity during the mid-to later New Kingdom

Any subsequent 18th dynasty burials would have been made in other locations, principally Shaft H in the southern part of the courtyard.[22] Robbery prior to the later New Kingdom thefts (Phase 3a below) cannot be ruled out; however, one does wonder how easy it would have been to rob a 14.25m deep shaft like that of Senneferi? Deep vertical shafts seem to be concentrated in tombs of the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and there are actually fewer of them than often presumed, even in this part of Sheikh Abdel Qurna,[23] surely making them a less attractive target than other burial shafts, assuming that the robbers were aware of their depth. Other examples are those of TT87 (12.15m), TT61 (about 10m), and TT97 (at least 13.3m),[24] actually making that in TT99 one of the deepest currently known.

LANSING and HAYES 1937: 23, 25, fig. 26, 28, 29.

14 The first is a very small chamber of a nameless woman, near the tomb of Senmut, found with a clean floor. LANSING and HAYES 1937: 13, fig. 13. The second is the small chamber of Amenhotep, which appears to have been found with some debris at the front, likely to have fallen in during the process of clearance. Lansing and Hayes 1937: 37, fig. 48. More complex is the family tomb of Neferkhuit; although this tomb was basically undisturbed by robbers, parts of it had collapsed in the Ptolemaic period, while other areas had suffered from natural depredations, and so it is not easy to tell whether it was originally left in a clear state. HAYES 1935: particularly 35–36 with fig. 2, 5, 21.

15 BIETAK 1974: Taf. XXIII; cf BUDKA 2010: 120–121, Abb. 32–34.

16 KAMPP 1996: 87 with n. 382.

17 DAVIES and GARDINER 1915: 11; they are not marked on pl. XXXIV.

18 TAYLOR 2010: 94–95.

19 DAVIES 1925: pl. XXI.

20 Compare the comments of van Dijk on wine, or the lack thereof, in the tomb of Maya. VAN DIJK 1992: 27–28. The presence of numerous wine jar labels in TT99, however, contrasts strongly with the lack of them in the tomb of Maya. BOHLEKE 2016.

21 See STRUDWICK N. 2013: 340.

22 STRUDWICK 2016: 66–69.

23 cf KAMPP 1996: 82–83; many of the other vertical shafts are much smaller and are anyway a part of the concept of 'Doppelbestattung'. KAMPP 1995: 205–218.

24 Respectively GUKSCH 1995: 72–73, DZIOBEK 1994: 17 and MOND and EMERY 1929: 50. In the latter case, as the discovery of a coffin is mentioned at 13.3 m, the shaft itself may be a little deeper.

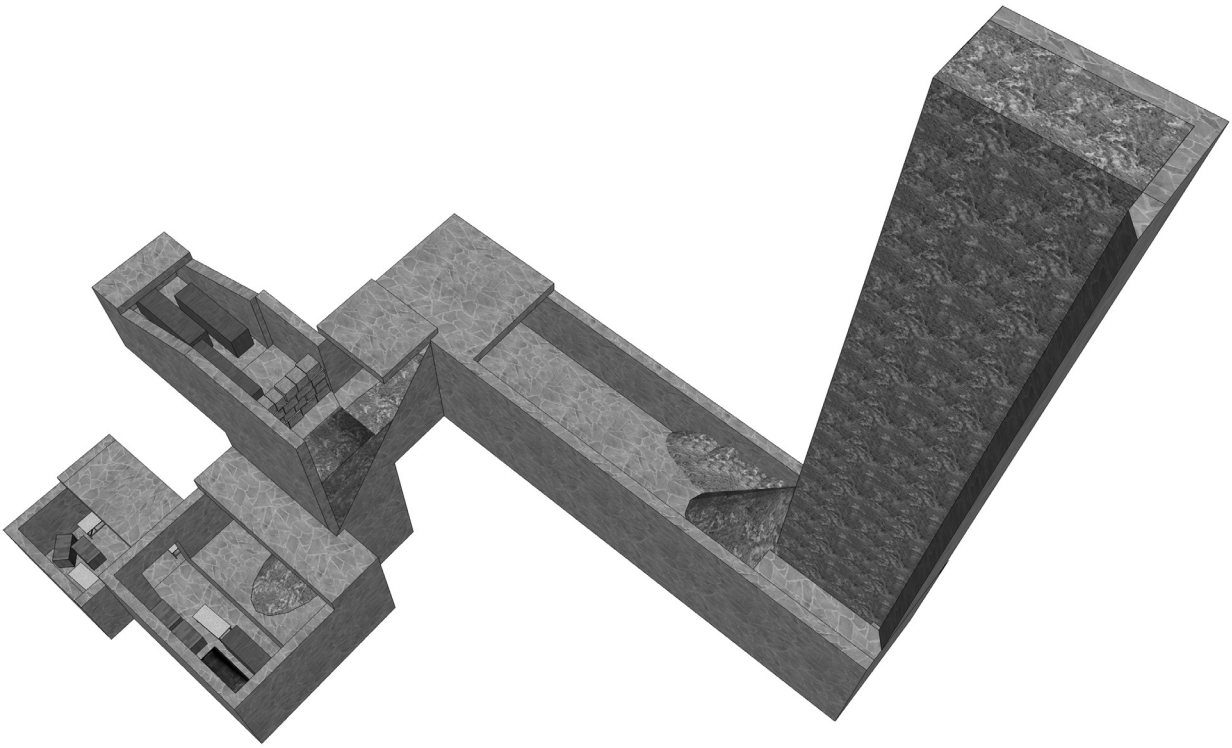

Fig. 62. Shaft I after 18th dynasty burials completed. © H. Strudwick.

Fig. 63. Salt crystals in room 2 in 1998. © N. Strudwick.

3.1. Rock falls in tombs

Within the burial chambers of Shaft I, especially rooms 2 and 3, it is surely likely that a number of rock-falls would have occurred in the interval between Phase 1 and Phase 3 (over 300 years). The ceiling of the corridors and chambers of this context are very uneven, and the presence of very long salt crystals that have formed there indicates that water has gradually seeped in over time. (Fig. 63) This phenomenon would be sufficient to cause rock to fall from the ceiling from time to time, damaging the burials and adding to the rubble. Hayes noted something similar in the admittedly more damaged tomb of Neferkhuit.[25]

The danger of rock falls is ever present in the Theban necropolis, exacerbated by the variable geology and by the ever-present threat of water incursion and even of earthquakes. As an example, there have been numerous rock falls in TT320, the Deir el-Bahari cache, both ancient and modern;[26] I noticed a further small fall therein on a visit to the cache in 2010. Few studies have been published on the geology of the Theban area, and these have tended to concentrate on the Valley of the Kings following the various conservation projects therein.[27]

Although one should be cautious about applying conclusions from elsewhere to the rock of TT99, the fact that there are several tombs in the Valley of the Kings which remained sealed either from the 18th dynasty or from the end of the New Kingdom to modern times mean that the natural action of rock fall or collapse can be observed better there than in the private tombs. The following observations are based on superficial examination of images of tombs taken shortly after discovery where it seems reasonable to assume that they lay undisturbed by man for some three millennia; I exclude tombs, such as that of Ramesses II (KV7), where considerable incursions of flood debris have caused damage of a quite different type.[28]

The variable history and documentation of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings means that the best images for our purposes come from the Amarna Cache (KV55) and the tomb of Horemheb (KV57). These tombs had varying amounts of rock visible on their floors when first entered at the beginning of the 20th century AD. It is very evident that some rock had already fallen on the floor of KV55 when the complex series of burials and reburials was made, and then further falls can be seen on top of the contents.[29] Bell observes that some of the material evident in photographs comes from where the fill of the entrance corridor spread into the tomb, but some of that further in the tomb must have come from rock falls in the relatively restricted period during which it was used.[30] The rock falls are much clearer throughout KV57, a much longer tomb, and are in fact very extensive, evidently including the collapsing of columns;[31] this tomb appears to have been last entered around the beginning of the 21st dynasty.[32] It is assumed here that the main elements of a royal tomb of this time were planned to exist for eternity free of artificially-introduced debris, as the tomb of Tutankhamun did. More limited amounts of debris can be seen in excavation photographs of the tombs of Thutmose IV (KV43)[33] and the anonymous KV42.[34] That the rock is capable of collapse without human interference should be remembered whenever reference is made to rock falls in the following pages.

4. Phase 3: Ancient robbery

4.1. The late New Kingdom

The Tomb Robbery Papyri provide evidence of wide-scale robbery at the end of the 20th dynasty, at least in the reigns of Ramesses IX and XI. There may be more truth than usually acknowledged in the statement in the Abbott Papyrus that all the private tombs had been robbed:

The tombs and chambers in which rest the blessed ones of old, male and female citizens, on the West of Thebes. It was found that the thieves had violated them all, dragging their owners from their inner coffins and their outer coffins so that they were left on the desert, and stealing their funerary outfit which had been given them together with the gold and the silver and the fittings which were in their inner coffins.[35]

The identity of the actual robbed tombs of private persons is not specified there, and few such tombs are actually named in the other papyri. The only one which can be

[25] HAYES 1935: 35–36, fig. 21. Obviously the location of the tomb in Assasif means that the geology is likely to be somewhat different.
[26] Numerous references in GRAEFE and BELOVA 2010: 37–60.
[27] I thank Michael Jones for drawing my attention to his report on work in the tomb of Sety I. JONES 2002. He further informed me (personal communication) that most of the detail of the ARCE work resides in unpublished reports in Cairo.
[28] Described in detail by GUILLAUME, EMERY-BARBIER and CERVELLE-ZONCA 1995. Much less detailed is, for example, the description of packed sediment in KV20 (Thutmose I/Hatshepsut). DAVIS 1906: 77–80.
[29] DAVIS 1910: pl. XXIV–XXVII, XXIX–XXX; PINCH-BROCK 2000: pl. I.
[30] It was perhaps last entered in the reign of Ramesses IX. BELL 1990: 136–137. The extent of the possible spill of the corridor fill is sketched in Bell's fig. 5.
[31] DAVIS 1912: pl. XXIII–LXXIII (most plates).
[32] It may have been the site of a third royal cache. REEVES and WILKINSON 1996: 204.
[33] DAVIS 1904: figs 2–4.
[34] Some water may have actually entered this tomb at some point, although the amount of material in the photograph in CARTER 1901: pl. I is commensurate with a moderate element of rock fall.
[35] London: *British Museum*, Papyrus BM EA 10221, 4, 1–4: PEET 1930: 39.

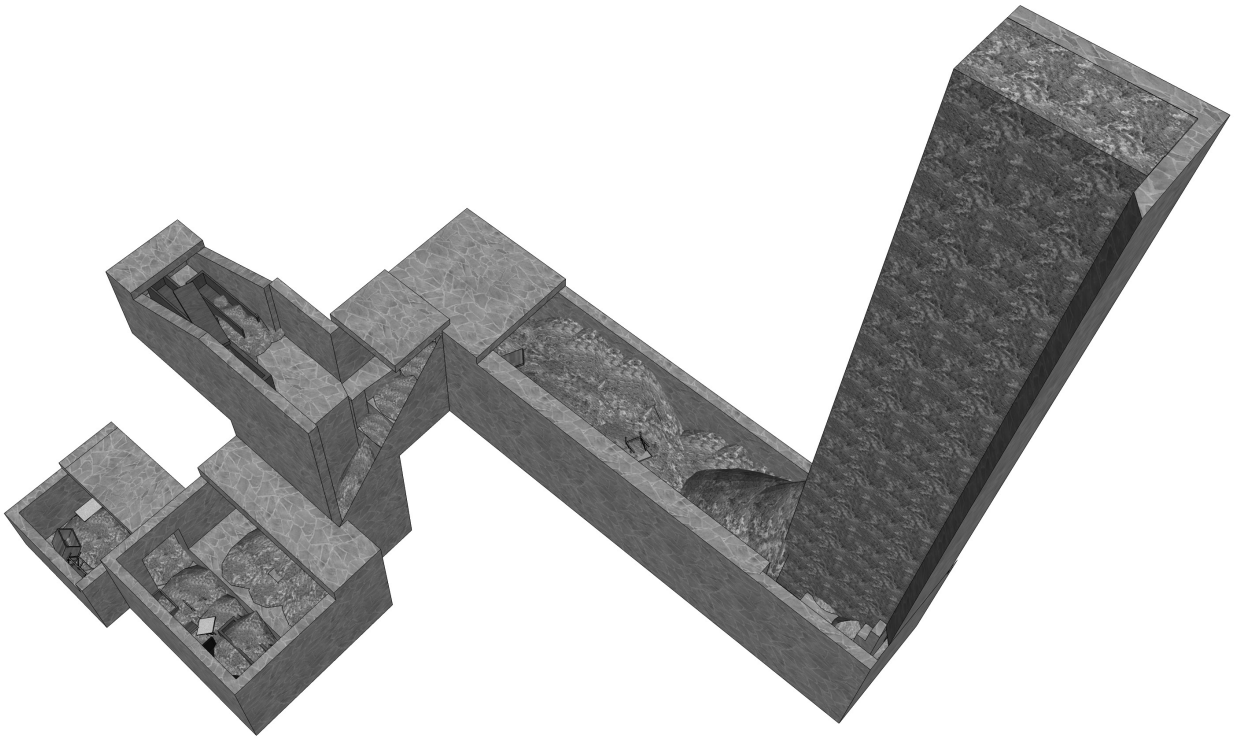

Fig. 64. Shaft I at the end of the New Kingdom. © H. Strudwick.

certainly identified is TT158, the tomb of Tjanefer, dating to the 20th dynasty.[36]

Did these unspecified tombs date to all periods? Or did the robbers of the reign of Ramesses IX concentrate on the more easily accessible tombs with sloping passages of the later 18th to 20th dynasties, the entrances to which were usually inside the chapels?[37] Were the early 18th dynasty tombs with their deeper but more visible vertical shafts immune? If so, more early 18th dynasty funeral equipment should have survived to the modern era (Phase 4 below) than actually has come down to us; there are no obvious major 18th dynasty finds made during the 19th century AD that are immediately assignable to these very deep shafts.

I shall thus assume that deep shafts like Shaft I of TT99 were targeted during the late Ramesside robberies; this would have involved removal of the bulk of the fill of that shaft to permit robbers to enter and re-emerge with larger items of funerary equipment. In addition, the 'staircase' shaft would have been cleared, presumably with the rubble dumped in corridor 1.

Once inside the burial rooms, on the basis of evidence from the depositions of the robbers in the tomb robbery papyri,[38] burials may well have been smashed up or burnt to remove items. Some of the rock that had fallen from the ceiling would have been moved around in order to access items underneath. Limitations of space within these rooms would also certainly have led to burial equipment being overturned and trampled. Containers may have been moved into the corridor for examination. Other items would have been taken up to the courtyard above, or even further afield,[39] and examined or broken up there. There are no traces of burning in the burial of Senneferi.[40]

[36] London: *British Museum*, Papyrus BM EA 10054, recto 1, 3–4: Peet 1930: 60–61.

[37] Sloping shafts within tombs seem to appear in the later years of the reign of Thutmose III, and then gradually develop into the twisting and turning shaft types typical from the later reign of Amenhotep III and the Ramesside period. See survey in Kampp 1996: 85–86; see also Assmann 1984.

[38] The most detailed account is the robbery of the tomb of king Sebekemzaf described in the Leopold-Amherst Papyrus. Capart, Gardiner and van de Walle 1936: 169–193. London: *British Museum*, Papyrus BM EA 10054 includes more generalised descriptions of a number of robberies of private tombs. Peet 1930: 60–63.

[39] Such as the removal of a coffin for later examination in: London: *British Museum*, papyrus BM EA 10054, Recto I, 3–10. Peet 1930: 60–62.

[40] As done to the burial of Sebekemzaf and some of the private tombs in note 34 above. Archaeological evidence of actual burning has been uncovered in TT233. Ockinga 2007: 146–147. Mond and Emery may also have found something similar in TT97. Mond and Emery 1929: 50.

This would appear to be the last phase of activity in Shaft I during Pharaonic times. There is no evidence that it was used in the Third Intermediate Period; burials of that period were made inside the chapel of TT99.

So, at the end of Phase 3, assuming late New Kingdom robbery, the shaft I complex would have looked quite disturbed. (Fig. 64) The blockage into room 1 would have been removed, and in all the burial chambers any coffins would have been opened or removed for re-use, containers opened/overturned and valuable contents taken, and burial contents trampled. Bodies are likely to have been pulled apart in the search for valuables. In corridor 1, there would have been an accumulation of spilled debris from the principal shaft, with a possible overlay from the examination of containers. In rooms 2 and 3, there would also have been some debris from rock-falls overlying the disturbed contents of the rooms.

5. Phase 4: The first millennium BC down to the end of the 18th century AD

5.1. A period of inactivity

I have argued that while robbery existed in the First Millennium BC, it seems to have been largely aimed at recent burials.[41] The older tombs seem largely to have been forgotten as a source of wealth; rather, among other advantages, they held a sort of sanctity which contributed to their being used as places for contemporary burials.[42]

The First Millennium AD is one of the most obscure periods in Thebes as far as history of the more ancient monuments goes, although there is no reason to believe that any significant activity took place in deep shafts of the 18th dynasty. Beginning somewhere about the 12th century AD, a new trade grew up in Thebes, that to supply the burgeoning European desire for *mumiya*, but this again seems not to have affected the deeper tombs, but only those which had been used for mass burials and which could be quickly and profitably ransacked for human remains.[43] For these reasons, it is proposed that the Shaft I complex looked much the same in AD 1750 as it did in 1050 BC.

5.2. Rock falls in Phase 4

During the above phase, it is very likely that a considerable number of rock-falls would have occurred in rooms 2 and 3, causing more damage to objects from the burials and further adding to the quantities of rock there.

[41] Strudwick N. 2013b: 341–342.
[42] Strudwick N. 2009–2010: 254–260.
[43] A summary of recent research on this topic will be found in Strudwick N. 2013b: 647–648.

6. Phase 5: Modern robbery

6.1. Pre- and post-Napoleonic large-scale activity

Foreign travellers had been coming to Egypt through the Renaissance, although few dared to travel south of Cairo.[44] More began to head to Thebes in the age of the Enlightenment, and particularly in the later part of the 18th century AD.[45] The beginning of the antiquities trade may be dated to that time, but real Egyptomania took off in earnest after the Napoleonic Expedition of 1798, particularly with the publication of the *Déscription de l'Egypte* from 1809. This was the time at which the great European collections were formed via the activities of Drovetti, Salt, Belzoni, Anastasi, d'Athanasi and others,[46] and the Qurnawi rapidly abandoned local villages to move into the tombs.[47] Tombs like TT99 would have been of interest to robbers looking for artefacts and the principal shaft of the tomb would once again have been cleared out and refilled. The rubble tipped back into the principal shaft would for the first time have become contaminated with the material, mostly Roman and Coptic, that had built up in the courtyard over the two previous millennia and more, as well as habitation debris from nearby occupation areas. (Fig. 65)

During this phase, it is to be assumed that robbers were interested in *anything* saleable, with a preference for relatively complete objects, and thus any remaining more substantial portions of Senneferi's coffins and funerary equipment are likely to have disappeared during this phase.[48] However, depending on the condition of the tomb after its long and complex history, the robbers may also have taken one relatively rapid look at what confronted them and left, perhaps picking up a fragment or two.

6.2. Sporadic casual robbery

Although it seems that the main systematic ransacking of the tombs at Thebes took place in the first half of the 19th century AD, there can be no doubt that the Qurnawi were still searching out sources of income in the second half (e.g. the Deir el-Bahari cache, found around 1870). Thus, further incursions into Shaft I during this period cannot be ruled out, especially since the tomb chapel provided housing for a family.

At the end of Phase 5, the Shaft I complex would have looked even more disturbed than at the end of Phase 4. Any remaining coffins would have been stolen, bodies broken up or ransacked, any saleable items removed,

[44] See summary in Thompson 2015: 57–74.
[45] Such as Sicard, Norden, Pococke and Bruce; see van der Spek 2011: 79–133 and Thompson 2015: 75–95.
[46] Thompson 2015: 129–148.
[47] Simpson 2003: 244–249.
[48] Even if some of the more fragmentary items were used for firewood. Overview in Strudwick N. 2013b: 646.

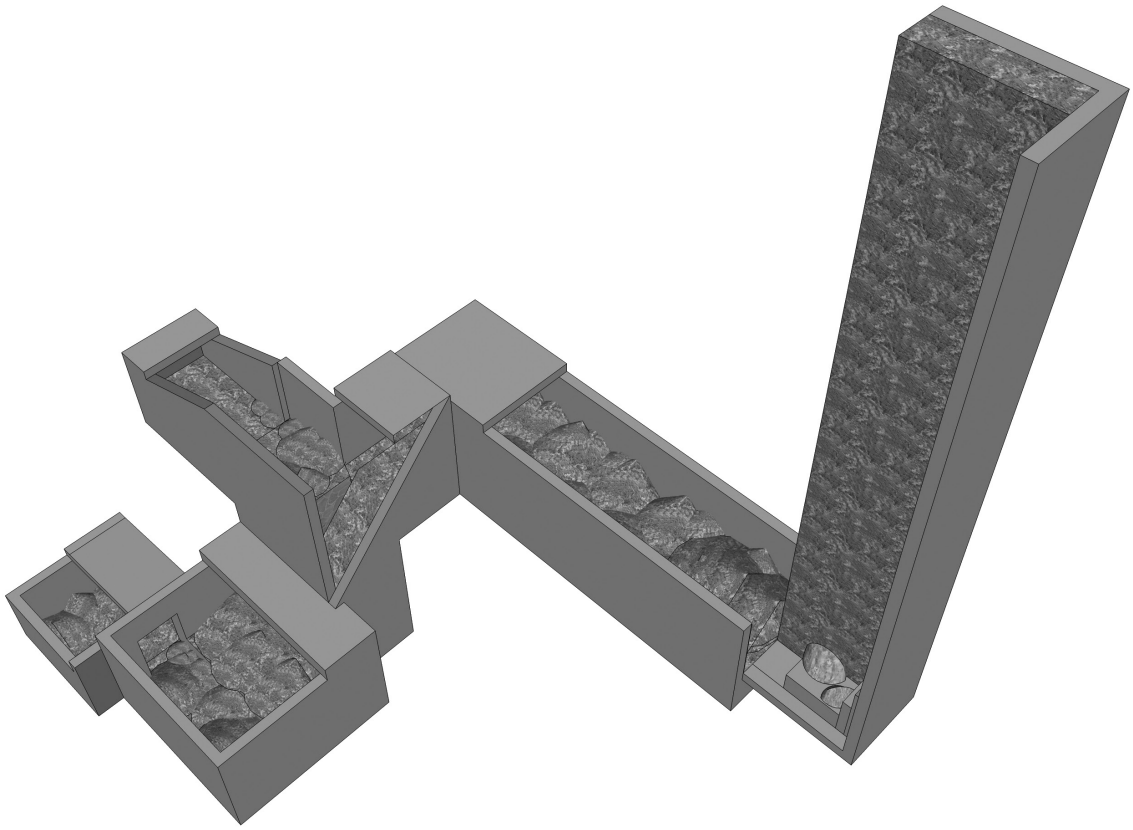

Fig. 65. Shaft I at the beginning of the 20th century AD. © H. Strudwick.

containers broken up (possibly within the corridor areas), and many items, including pottery, simply smashed and trampled underfoot. On top, and to a lesser extent below, would have been rubble and debris from further rock falls, causing further damage. The entrance to corridor 1 would have had several layers of debris from back-filling of the principal shaft. The principal shaft itself would have been re-filled with the material removed from it during opening up, mixed with other debris in the courtyards, some of which consisted of remains of the stela and false door from inside the TT99 chapel.

7. Phase 6: Excavation

7.1. 1903: Mond

Shaft I was first excavated in 1903 by Robert Mond, who records:

I opened up and examined the large pit of the tomb of Sen-nefera, and in it I found fragments of papyrus, the rifled mummy, a sandstone face of a statue, the wooden face of a sarcophagus, and fragments of a limestone stela bearing his name and titles.[49]

The rather generalised and imprecise nature of Mond's sketch plans and cross-sections strongly suggest that the excavation was not very thorough.[50] No specific notes of Mond's relating to this excavation survive. I suggest that he emptied the principal shaft at least to a sufficient depth to allow access to the corridor, and then a workman or two was sent down to explore what lay beyond the bottom of the shaft; perhaps Mond went down too. Lack of contamination of the debris in corridor 1 indicates the contents were examined in situ and not taken up to the courtyard.[51] The likely consensus was that the shaft had been heavily robbed. They then examined, without excavating,[52] the burial chambers, removing any significant finds, and leaving behind a small number of fragments from matchboxes (these can be roughly dated by the Swedish spellings).[53] They then made a roughly measured sketch plan and returned to the surface, then continuing with work elsewhere in the area.

[49] Mond 1904: 101–102. None of these objects have yet been located, although see comments as to possible whereabouts in Strudwick N. 2015: 274–275 and Strudwick N 2016: 91.

[50] Mond 1905: 87.

[51] The single item that could be described as being modern coming from this area was a piece of rusty iron, found in the first layer of the corridor, which probably spilled into the corridor during re-filling.

[52] That this area was not excavated is clear because Mond's cross-section sketch shows another (non-existent) shaft descending from room 2.

[53] See comments on matchboxes from the TT99 courtyard in Strudwick N. 2013: 644–645.

Once Mond had completed his activities there, it is clear that the principal shaft was refilled, presumably for the safety of those now living inside the tomb chapel and their livestock. A roughly constructed stone wall, part of a roofed animal enclosure, was built around (or extended to include) the entrance to Shaft I and a thick mud floor was allowed to form over it.[54]

7.2. 1907: Purchase of TT99 and removal of structures

In 1907, the inhabitants of the tomb chapel were bought out and an iron door affixed to the tomb;[55] our excavations in the courtyard suggest that structures in the courtyard were levelled or covered with debris. The roof of the enclosure around the top of Shaft I was removed and the walled area filled with miscellaneous debris from the courtyard area. From this date until 1997, the shaft remained sealed.

7.3. 1992: Cambridge Theban Tomb project

There is no record of any excavation activity in TT99 from Mond's clearance until our work in the tomb began in 1992. Thus, it is reasonably certain that the condition in which Shaft I and its chambers was found in 1997–1998 was much as when Mond left it.

8. Conclusion

Few tombs so far excavated in the Theban Necropolis have provided as much information about a damaged and robbed burial as that of Senneferi. The forthcoming final publication of the tomb will show that elements of almost every part of the original burial have survived, allowing the development of a reasonable concept of the extent and history of the original burials. While the results of these deliberations relate to the specific circumstances of TT99, but it is hoped that the approach taken here could be applied by others to disturbed burial sites in Luxor and elsewhere. The amount of information gleaned from an initially disturbed and unpromising site should stand as a object lesson in how careful excavation and recording reaps rich rewards.

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[54] The location of this is indicated in Strudwick H. 2015: 267, illustration 21.3 and Strudwick N 2016: 65, Fig. 54.
[55] Combining information in Weigall 1908: 135–136; Gardiner 1910: 87; Gardiner and Weigall 1913: 24–25.

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Provenancing Roman Period Mummy Masks: Workshop Groups and Distribution Areas

Asja Müller

University of Kiel, Kiel, Germany

Abstract: *The following paper discusses eight unprovenanced Roman Period mummy masks from European museums. Each piece will be allocated to a major workshop group active during the Roman Period in Egypt by means of its characteristics. In a second step, the distribution areas of these workshop groups will also be discussed. The emerging results should make it possible to assign a majority of the masks of unknown origin to certain excavation sites. In the future, research on such a workshop pattern could be used as a starting point for answering questions about the influences that the mask's area of production and prevalent religious traditions have on its appearance.*

Keywords: *Mummy mask, workshop, provenance, Alexandria, Hawara, Tuna el-Gebel, Antinoopolis, Meir, Dakhla, Kharga, Thebes, Deir el-Medina, Valley of the Queens*

1. Introduction

The term 'mummy mask' has been coined in archaeological research in order to describe a three-dimensional object that covers the face and some part of the mummy's chest. To understand these masks fully, we must take into account their overall appearance as well as their former functions as part of mummy adornment and burial equipment. The masks must be compared to other kinds of objects of a similar purpose, as done by Christina Riggs, who focused on the meaning of Roman Period mummy adornment as identity symbols.[1] In order to discover meaning and relationships between such objects, an in-depth, first hand study of each category is necessary. Due to the fact that the only monograph written about the Roman Period mummy masks is now considered to be mostly out-dated[2] such an above-mentioned analysis based on the current state of research, recent excavation results included, is currently lacking. The following remarks are an extract from a current PhD project, which focuses on an iconographical analysis of the masks and the examination of their involvement in the funerary ritual. Information about the function of the mummy masks can be extracted by analysing their appearance and by examining their literary and archaeological contexts.

Archaeological context, however, is a major problem: at the moment, 1,346 Roman Period mummy masks are known to me.[3] Of these, only 354 pieces, or 26%, came to us with reliable indications of origin. Rather than starting from the necropoleis where masks have been discovered, as Grimm[4] did, this paper aims to cluster the masks into workshop groups. Through an analysis of material, shape, dress and decoration of provenanced masks, it is possible to define a set of characteristics that are typical only for a certain workshop group. To date no such workshop has been excavated. Thus, we cannot say where these workshops were situated and how exactly they functioned. Although it is possible to distinguish several variants within each workshop group's production, we do not have enough information at hand to say for sure if these variants should be considered subgroups of one workshop or several distinct workshops. We will therefore term the workshop group after the main excavation site(s) for the moment. New findings can change the picture, so the workshop designations may be subject to alteration.

The following part of this paper focuses on eight unprovenanced Roman Period mummy masks from European museums. These masks have been selected for their iconography, which makes each piece a typical representative of its group. At the beginning of each section, the iconography as well as history of acquisition of each piece will be described. Then the piece will be compared to a provenanced mask. Afterwards, the workshop group, to which these two and other pieces belong, will be characterised. This is then followed by discussions dealing with the distribution area and production period of each unit. Finally, a possible location of origin for each unprovenanced piece will be suggested. This approach is chosen in order to form a paradigm, with which the provenance of masks without any indications of origins, prevalent in museums and in the art trade, can be reconstructed. The selection of these

[1] Riggs 2005.

[2] Grimm 1974. Critique of Grimm: Bayer-Niemeier 1993: 417-419; Riggs 2005: 113-115.

[3] This number incorporates all pieces of which at least the head or the face survives. It results from my own research. The only published list of Roman period mummy masks can be found in Grimm 1974: 177-194, and includes approximately 900 pieces.

[4] Grimm 1974: 44-101.

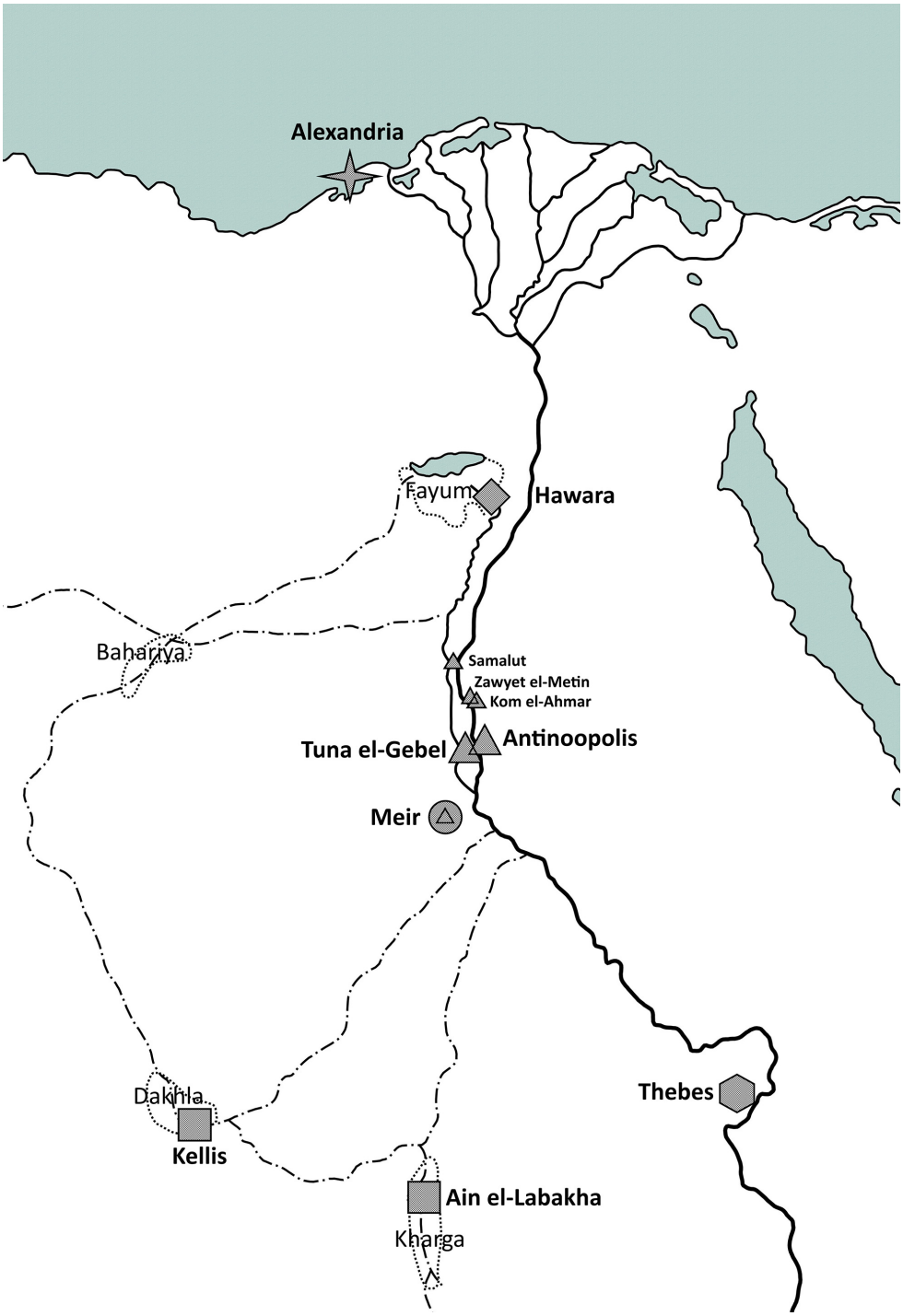

Fig. 66. Map of the mask workshop groups in Roman Egypt © A. Müller.

most important workshop groups includes all areas of the Nile Valley as well as one from the Western Desert (two in Lower Egypt, two in Middle Egypt, one in the Western Oases, two in Upper Egypt). Therefore, the emerging picture is able to give an impression of the masks' diversity.

Due to space limitations, a more detailed discussion of these workshop groups, as well as a complete listing of all pieces belonging to each workshop group production, must be left for the PhD thesis itself.

2. Mask workshops

The survey of mask workshops in Roman Egypt presented in this paper will go from north to south (Fig. 66). Thus, the first example is a mask fragment from the Delta region.

N° 1: London: *British Museum*, EA 54058 (Alexandria Workshop Group) (Fig. 67)

Iconography and date: The piece in question consists of a thin plaster layer coated with another thin layer of gold foil. The eyes are said to consist of obsidian (pupil) and ivory (vitreous body), surrounded by lashes of bronze. The eyebrows are inserted in blue glass. The fragment shows the head of the deceased from the forehead to the neck. The gender cannot be determined. Above the forehead projects an *uraeus,* flanked by two outstretched wings, and a purple adjacent area might indicate some kind of head gear. None of the mask's elements are datable; the only indication, which might point to the Roman Period, is given by the inserted eyes (pupil, vitreous body and eye lashes), a technique which is found with Roman Period masks of the Fayum and the Bahariya Oasis (see below).

History of acquisition: We know nothing about the excavation site of this mask. The only available data tells us that the piece was in the private collection of Captain Edward Louis Gruning who donated it to the British Museum in 1915.[5]

Parallel: The mask parallels best a piece from the Ras el-Tin necropolis (Pharos Island) in Alexandria, which is now found in the Graeco-Roman Museum.[6] It shares most of the London mask's characteristics including the face gilding, the winged *uraeus* (?), and the eyes, which were originally inserted. Only a small number of mummy masks from the Delta region[7] are known, and this is probably due to the fact that the air and ground moisture in that area is higher than in other parts of Egypt, and causes all objects made of ephemeral and brittle material to disintegrate at a much faster rate.

Characteristics of the workshop group: The 28 mummy masks from the Alexandria Workshop Group,[8] as we might call it, are characterised by extremely thin plaster walls, large gilded areas, and inserted eyes with metal lashes or eyes that are moulded and painted. In a number of cases, the eyebrows are set in glass. Instead of wings, many pieces of this group show painted or moulded wreaths on both sides of the *uraeus*. Traces of head gear with glass wisps of hair can be identified in some cases[9]. A few pieces show the deceased as female, identifiable by long hair and earrings (Fig. 68). A majority of

Fig. 67. Mummy mask of unknown origin. London: British Museum, EA 54058. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

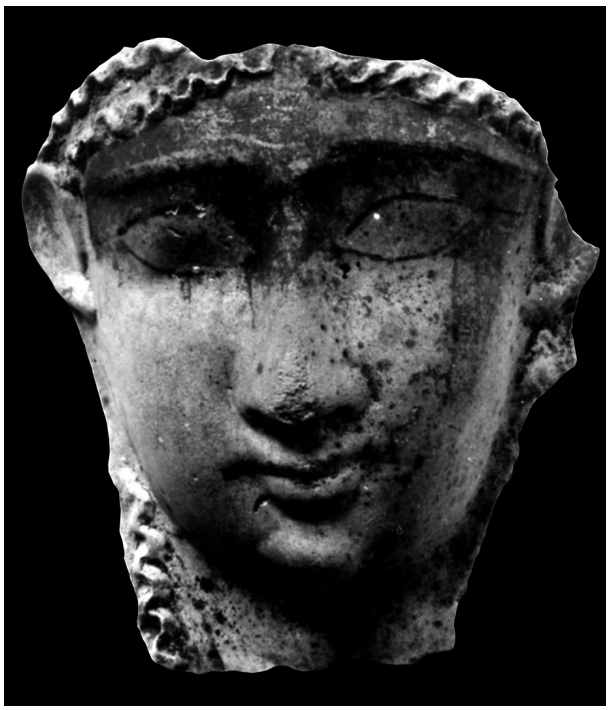

Fig. 68. Woman's mummy mask from Ras el-Tin in Alexandria. Alexandria: *Graeco-Roman Museum*, 20254. © German Archaeological Institute Cairo, Photographic Liberary F 9810.

[5] This information is taken from the museum's website. See [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=125378&partId=1&searchText=YCA54909&page=1], accessed on 27.02.2017.

[6] Alexandria: *Graeco-Roman Museum*, 20768. Helmbold-Doyé 2009: pl. 84, 2.

[7] For mummy masks from the Nile Delta see for example Boussac *et al.* 2012: fig. 15 (Plinthine) and Grimm 1974: 131 (Taposiris Magna).

[8] A complete list of mummy masks originating in Alexandria, Ras el-Tin necropolis is given by Helmbold-Doyé 2009: 94-104, 122 fn. 749.

[9] Helmbold-Doyé 2009: 150-151. Other figural glass inlays might have been part of these mummy masks too.

the rest, however, have no discernible gender. Some fragments of chest panels with the depiction of Egyptian style tripartite wigs depicting Egyptian gods and other symbols have been preserved[10]. No complete mummies have been excavated. Due to the fragmentary state of preservation, it is quite difficult to identify the original shape and fabrication material of these masks. The lappet fragments prove that a representation of the deceased's chest was included, but it is impossible to determine if the arms were depicted or if additional panels around the head existed.

Distribution area and production period: Another point for discussion is the question of the fabrication material. Masks with plaster heads normally originate only in Middle Egypt,[11] whereas masks originating in Lower and Upper Egypt, as well as the Oases, consist of cartonnage. However, according to Jana Helmbold-Doyé, who examined the Alexandrian mask fragments in person, many of these fragments show textile imprints on the bottom side whilst the faces are shaped by means of moulds.[12] These imprints might be the result of the fabrication process, during which a thin plaster layer was shaped around either some sort of core or around the mummy itself, both of which would have been covered with fabric. Another quite telling possibility is that all these masks consisted of cartonnage. Due to the unfavourable conditions of preservation, the cartonnage perished and only the thin plaster finishing survives.[13] This hypothesis would explain the thinness of the plaster and answer the question as to why the ancients would produce mummy adornment that is so delicate. Before moving to the next example, one last point needs to be discussed: Not a single iconographical feature of the Alexandria masks is datable. Thus, we cannot be sure if they were produced under Ptolemaic or Roman rule. However, they are included in this discussion because their context, mainly tombs 11 and 14 of the Ras el-Tin necropolis,[14] has been dated as belonging to the transition period between the Late Ptolemaic and Roman times.[15] Furthermore, many of the characteristics of this workshop group can be found within the Hawara Workshop Group as well.

Provenance suggestion: For the moment, we can conclude that Alexandria (possibly Pharos, Ras el-Tin necropolis) is the most likely place of origin of the London Mask.

[10] Compare HELMBOLD-DOYÉ 2009: pl. 86, 2 and 3.

[11] A possible exception might be a plaster mask from recent excavations in Plinthine (near Taposiris Magna). The piece is very fragmentarily preserved, but is securely dated by its context into the Hellenistic period. BOUSSAC *et al.* 2012: fig. 15.

[12] HELMBOLD-DOYÉ 2009: 122-123.

[13] A very similar case is Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, E 27110 (AUBERT and CORTOPASSI 2004: 50 n° A1) which was part of a cartonnage helmet mask from the Hawara Workshop Group. Here only the thin outermost plaster layer of the face survives.

[14] HELMBOLD-DOYÉ 2009: 122.

[15] ADRIANI 1952: 124.

N° 2: Dresden: *Skulpturensammlung*, Aeg. 780 (Hawara Workshop Group, Variant A) (Fig. 69)

Iconography and date: The next subject is a cartonnage mask still fixed to the mummy. The mask takes the shape of a helmet which means that it covers the mummy's chest whereas the head is surrounded by curved cartonnage panels. It shows the deceased as a woman with exposed breasts. She has a gilded face and wears a Roman style coiffure as well as an Egyptian style tripartite wig with lappets falling on the chest. Her earrings and the necklace follow Hellenistic-Roman fashion, whereas the *wesekh* collar, visible between the lappets, is rooted in the Pharaonic Egyptian tradition. A small knot between the breasts indicates a knotted dress, typical for a Pharaonic Egyptian garment.[16] Scenes with Egyptian gods and beings like Isis and Nephthys, a winged snake or a vulture adorn the wig lappets as well as the panels around and on top of the head. The hairstyle and jewellery point to the reign of Emperor Claudius (around the middle of the 1st century AD) as the date of production.

History of acquisition: The mummy was bought from a private collector in 1912, who himself acquired it in Beirut in 1890.[17]

Parallel: The most similar piece is a girl's mummy mask in Edinburgh,[18] which resembles the Dresden Mask in hairstyle, face gilding, decorated wig, jewellery, as well as fabrication material and shape. The Edinburgh Mask was found in 1911 by Flinders Petrie in the necropolis of Hawara.[19]

Characteristics of the workshop group: The most important workshop group in the Fayum did indeed supply masks to the necropolis of Hawara on a regular basis, many of which were unearthed by Petrie during the years 1888 – 889 and 1910 – 1911.[20] Helmet masks from this region can be separated in two variants,[21] which differ from each other the way the deceased is depicted. The first variant, which we might term A, produced masks that show the deceased in a trunk-like manner without arms. This is the category to which the Dresden Mask belongs.[22] If hair is depicted, it is draped according to

[16] Compare VOGELSANG-EASTWOOD 1993: Fig.. 7:9, 7:11-15.

[17] PARLASCA 1966: 109; GRIMM 1974: 35.

[18] Edinburgh: *National Museums Scotland*, A.1911.210.3. WALKER and BIERBRIER 1997: 82-83 n° 60.

[19] PETRIE 1911: 20.

[20] PETRIE 1889: 15-20 pl. 9; PETRIE 1890: 20; PETRIE 1911: 2-4, 8-9, 12-20 pls. 10, 12-14.

[21] These variants, termed A and B here, are referred to as 'Egyptianising' and 'Roman groups by PARLASCA 1966: 108 and GRIMM 1974: 47-48. These designations might be called unfortunate, however, since they refer only onto the way how the deceased is represented and neglect the Egyptian style elements (jewellery and images) which both groups share (see also RIGGS 2005: 113-115 about this point). Therefore, it seems better to stick with the more objective letters A and B.

[22] For a male mask of this variant see Ipswich: *Ipswich Museum*,

Fig. 69. Woman's mummy mask of unknown origin. Dresden, *Skulpturensammlung*, Aeg. 780. © A. Müller.

Fig. 70. Man's mummy mask from Hawara. Edinburgh: *National Museums Scotland*, A.1911.210.2. © A. Müller. Published by kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.

Hellenistic-Roman fashion. The same cultural allocation holds true for most of the female jewellery (except the collars), whereas male jewellery is based on Pharaonic models. In addition, Egyptian style tripartite wigs are to be found on both genders as well as the Egyptian *wesekh* collar. Mummy masks of variant B (Fig. 70) show the full torso of the deceased, arms included.[23] The natural hair is draped according to Hellenistic-Roman fashion. Most of the jewellery is Hellenistic-Roman. Men wear a cloak with an arm sling; women a tunic with clavi and a cloak that covers the head. Men were found holding a rose wreath or a scroll in hand, whereas women were holding ears of corn, puppy flowers, or a wreath. Masks of both variants have either painted or inserted eyes made of glass or stone including eyelashes of metal. In some cases, the eyebrows too are inserted in blue glass. Both variants display ritual scenes at the wig lappets (if existing) or the back of the head.[24] These scenes refer to events in the world of the gods and are very similar in style. Mummies belonging to these masks are wrapped in a diamond-like pattern sometimes covered by a red shroud with paintings and are equipped with foot cases.[25]

Distribution area and production period: All in all, 34 Roman Period mummy masks of this type have been found through official excavations in Hawara.[26] Another sixteen unprovenanced pieces (including the Dresden Mask) can be allocated to the same workshop group. According to the mask's iconography, the workshop was active during the 1st century AD, at least until the Flavian Period,[27] maybe even longer. Other Fayum sites such as Illahun, Tebtynis, Er-Rubayat and Senofar yielded mummy masks as well.[28] However, these additional pieces do not resemble the pieces from Hawara enough to be classified as belonging to the same workshop group. We can therefore name the workshop group after the site of Hawara and state that the distribution area of this group seems to have been restricted to Hawara.

Provenance suggestion: The Hawara necropolis is therefore most likely to be the original burial place of the Dresden Mask.

IPSMG R.1921-89. Walker and Bierbrier 1997: 85 left fig.

[23] For a female mask of this variant see London: *British Museum*, EA 69020. Walker and Bierbrier 1997: 81 right fig.

[24] For front and back of such a mask, London: *British Museum*, EA 22109 see [http://www.britishmuseum. org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=114353 &partId =1&searchText = mummy + mask& page= 1], accessed on 06.10.2015.

[25] See Petrie 1911: pls. 10-13 for some completely preserved mummies.

[26] Most of them are listed in Grimm 1974: 126-128.

[27] This anchor is given by a Hawara Mask which belongs to a certain Titos Flavios Demetrios, who, according to his name, cannot predate the Flavian period. For a discussion of dating methods with regard to cartonnage masks see Stadler 2004: 26-37.

[28] Grimm 1974: 54.

Fig. 71. Young man's mummy mask of unknown origin. Cambridge: *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.GA.3010.1943. © A. Müller. Published by kind permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

N° 3: Cambridge: *Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.GA.3010 .1943 (Tuna el-Gebel/Antinoopolis Workshop Group 1) (Fig. 71)

Iconography and date: We will now change to one of only two plaster masks presented here (Fig. 71).[29] It shows the head and chest of a boy or young man with hair falling in long smooth strands on the forehead and an Egyptian tripartite wig. Part of a *wesekh* collar is visible between the wig's lappets. A winged scarab perches on top of the head with a sun disc in its outstretched legs. Two friezes to the right and to the left of the head consist of *metopes* and stars. According to its coiffure and stylistic features, the mask was probably made between the reigns of Emperor Nero and Emperor Trajan (between the middle of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century AD).

[29] The designations 'plaster mask' and 'cartonnage mask' refer to the material of the mask's head only. Plaster masks can be combined with panels made of cartonnage.

Fig. 72. Young woman's mummy mask from Antinoopolis. Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, E 21402. © Musée du Louvre/ Documentation DAE.

History of acquisition: The unprovenanced mask comes from the private collection of Major Robert Gayer-Anderson (1881 – 1945) and was bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1943.[30]

Parallel: Mummy masks similar to this piece have only been found in Middle Egypt.[31] According to the shape of the masks, two workshop groups can be distinguished: 'box masks' (group 1) and 'tongue masks' (group 2). The

[30] This information is taken from the museum's website. See [http://webapps.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/explorer/index.php?oid=57440], accessed: on 27.02.2017.

[31] A piece similar to the Cambridge (UK) Mask in iconography and type is Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, E 13014 from Antinoopolis. Aubert and Cortopassi 2004: 66 n° A 18.

Fig. 73. Woman's box mask from Tuna el-Gebel, former Mallawi, *Antiquities Museum* 119, present location unknown. © Patrick Brose, Project Tuna el-Gebel Munich.

former is defined immediately below, while a definition of the characteristics of the other will be found under Object 4 below.

Characteristics of the workshop group: The first group (box masks), to which the Cambridge Mask belongs, has a box-like appearance with panels around the head (but not underneath) and shows the full torso down to the arms. (Fig. 73) Only the head is made of plaster, and all panels are constructed out of cartonnage. If the eyes are inserted, they are made of glass or stone (pupil and vitreous body). Men and women on these masks had their hair styled according to Roman or Egyptian fashion, but only men have tripartite wigs and *wesekh* collars. The women, on the other hand, wear Hellenistic-Roman jewellery. Men and women are dressed in tunics with clavi, but only women have the option of wearing a cloak. Both genders either hold a rose wreath or are adorned with one. On these masks, multi-figured scenes appear. These include, in most cases, the four sons of Horus and a winged being (such as *ba* bird, vulture, hawk, winged sun disc, winged scarab) or Osiris. Mummies, which have been found wearing such masks, have a bulgy appearance with high foot protrusions.[32]

Distribution area and production period: A more complicated question is where in Middle Egypt this mask originated. 1,112 masks, or 83 % of all existing Roman Period mummy masks which preserve the head, are made of plaster.[33] Many of these were said to be from different areas in Egypt, such as the Fayum, Akhmim or Kharga Oasis. It seems, however, that Akhmim mainly produced mummy cases for the duration of the Roman occupation.[34] The Fayum and Kharga Oasis, on the other hand, are known for their beautiful Roman Period mummy masks. Yet, having discussed the Hawara Workshop Group already, we must conclude that masks from there do not resemble the Cambridge (UK) Mask at all. The same holds true for the pieces from Kharga Oasis.[35] These reputed provenances are, therefore, questionable and must be seen as either indications of antiquities markets, where such masks were sold (e. g. Akhmim), or false indications of origin in order to keep the real

[32] Compare Müller in press: Fig. 1.

[33] This number includes both types, box and tongue masks, since the bad state of preservation does not allow to distinguish between them in many cases.

[34] For mummy cases from Akhmim see Schweitzer 1998 and Riggs 2005: 61-93.

[35] For mummy cases and masks from Kharga see Ibrahim 2008: 144-165 for example.

excavation sites a secret.[36] We should therefore examine excavation reports in order to determine the provenance of the plaster masks. 119 of the 1,112 plaster masks mentioned above have been excavated by the Egyptian Archaeologist Sami Gabra and other researchers in Tuna el-Gebel.[37] Most of these pieces belong to the box type (group 1), although tongue type masks (group 2) have also been found (see below, Object no. 4). Another 73 pieces come from the necropolis of Antinoopolis, which is situated next to Tuna el-Gebel on the other site of the Nile. Here, the numbers of box and tongue masks are nearly equal to each other. The iconography of the box masks attests a continuous production from the 1st to the middle of the 3rd century AD. Further information can be extracted by looking at the shape of the mask's face. In contrast to masks from most other regions, faces of plaster masks were made by means of a mould. Thus, masks from the same mould have identical faces and came from the same workshop (group). It is possible to place the Cambridge Mask in a group with several other pieces,[38] one of which comes from Antinoopolis (Fig. 72). The comparison of the facial features and the profile proves beyond any doubt that the Cambridge Mask must have been made in the same workshop as the mask in the Louvre collection. Yet, it is not possible to conclude that the Cambridge mask was also found in Antinoopolis; another piece probably from the same mould line was excavated in the necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel.[39] We must therefore take into consideration that pieces from one workshop group were in use in both necropoleis. Save for these two sites, one very similar piece came from Zawyet el-Metin[40] and two from Meir.[41]

Provenance suggestion: We may therefore conclude that the workshop group, which produced such plaster box masks, mainly supplied the two necropoleis of Tuna el-Gebel and Antinoopolis and that the Cambridge Mask most likely originated in one of these two locations, although the further locations cannot be completely excluded.

N° 4: Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University, *Fogg Art Museum*, 1965.551 (Tuna el-Gebel/Antinoopolis Workshop Group 2) (Fig. 74)

Iconography and date: The second plaster mask presented here is another fragmentary preserved piece that shows the head and neck of a man with curly hair and a slim beard around the jaw as well as on the upper and lower lip. A cloak was found around the shoulders, underneath which the rim of a tunic is visible. The eyes are inserted by means of thin translucent glass plates painted from underneath. The head is placed at a steep angle, which therefore frees up some space at the neck. This area is filled with an image, of which only scarce traces remain. It might be a mummy lying on a bier, as shown in a very similar piece in the Louvre that is probably from the same mould.[42] According to the hairstyle of the effigy of the deceased, the mask dates to the Antonine Period (c. second half of 2nd century AD).

Fig. 74. Man's mummy mask of unknown origin. Cambridge, Mass.: *Harvard Art Museums/Artur M. Sackler Museum*, 1965.551. Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

History of acquisition: The Cambridge (Mass.) Mask belonged to the private collection of Nicolas Koutoulakis (Paris) before 1953 and was then sold to Dr. Robert Waelder (Pennsylvania), who himself donated it to the

[36] GRIMM 1974: 27-36.
[37] For a recently found tomb with a mummy mask see: KESSLER and BROSE 2007 and MÜLLER in press.
[38] Pieces from the same mould line as the Cambridge (UK) Mask are: Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 33191 (EDGAR 1905: pl. 26); Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, AF 12701 (AUBERT and CORTOPASSI 2004: 59 n° A 10); Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, E 21402 (Fig. 6).
[39] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* CG 33187 (TIRADRITTI and DE LUCA 2000: 386 left fig.) was registered with the provenance 'Tuna el-Gebel' in Cairo Museum during the year 1895. GRIMM 1974: 33 n. 93.
[40] Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, E 11485. AUBERT and CORTOPASSI 2004: figs. on p. 75.
[41] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 33199 and CG 33204. EDGAR 1905: pls. 27 and 28.
[42] Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, AF 6507. AUBERT and CORTOPASSI 2004: 156-157 n° D 16.

Fig. 75. Woman's mummy mask from Antinoopolis. Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, E 21360. © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/ Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville

Fogg Art Museum in 1965.[43] It is said to come from the Fayum. However, no plaster mask has ever been unearthed in Hawara or any other Fayum city, nor do the characteristics of this mask fit the Hawara Workshop Group pieces. Thus, the Fayum provenance must be considered to be one of these false indications discussed above.

Parallel: A good parallel for the Cambridge (Mass.) Mask can be seen in a well-preserved piece of similar type and iconography in Dresden. Although the Dresden Mask also derives from the art trade, there are good indications that it was found in Tuna el-Gebel.[44]

Characteristics of the workshop group: As in case of the Cambridge (UK) Mask, the production site of this piece is most likely Middle Egypt as well. However, in contrast to the box-like appearance the former, the Cambridge (Mass.) Mask lacks the adjacent panels around the head. Instead, its decoration is only restricted to the depiction of the torso of the deceased. It therefore belongs to the second type of masks excavated in Tuna el-Gebel[45] and Antinoopolis[46] (Fig. 75), which can be termed 'tongue masks' due to their shape. As in the case of the box masks, the faces are shaped by means of a mould. In most cases the eyes are inserted using translucent glass platelets. The masks show the torso of the deceased down to the arms. Both the men and women depicted on these masks have Roman hairstyles and are dressed in tunics and cloaks; both have also been found holding rose wreaths, though not all masks included this detail. Ritual scenes are restricted to the area at the neck. Usually,

[43] This information is taken from the museum's website. See [http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/287345], accessed on 27.02.2017.

[44] Dresden: *Skulpturensammlung*, Aeg. 790. Grimm 1974: pl. 51, 4 and Tallet 2014: 391-392.

[45] A detailed discussion of tongue masks from the art trade said to be from Balansura, Kharga Oasis or Akhmim and very likely to originate in Tuna el-Gebel can be found in Grimm 1974: 27-36 and Tallet 2014: 388-394.

[46] Compare for example several pieces in the Louvre which come from Albert Gayets excavations in Antinoopolis: Albert and Cortopassi 2004: n°s D 5, D 19, H 7 and H 8.

they illustrate a mummy lying on a bed, occasionally accompanied by Anubis or Isis and Nephthys.[47] The only surviving mummy with such a mask has a slenderer appearance without a foot protrusion and is enveloped in a red painted shroud.[48]

Distribution area and production period: Tuna el-Gebel and Antinoopolis aside, a few similar masks were discovered in Kom el-Ahmar (three pieces)[49] and Samalut (one piece),[50] alongside those found at Tuna el-Gebel.[51] These masks share enough characteristics with the tongue masks to be assigned to the same workshop group. According to this iconography, the production of tongue masks started much later than the box mask, beginning in the late Antonine Period (second half of 2nd century AD) and teetering out at the late Severan Period or the beginning of the so-called Soldier Emperors' Period (first half of 3rd century AD).[52] Thus, its production is partly contemporary with the box masks of workshop group 1.

Provenance suggestion: These two major necropoleis are then the most probable excavation sites for the Cambridge (Mass.) Mask, although the other ones cannot completely set aside.

N° 5: Manchester: *Manchester Museum*, 11255 (Meir Workshop Group, Variant A) (Fig. 76)

Iconography and date: The next mask to discuss is another piece made of cartonnage. The Manchester Mask has been heavily restored and portrays the torso and the left hand of a woman with long black hair falling onto her shoulders. The eyes are inserted in black and white glass or stone and outlined in blue glass. The woman wears gilded Hellenistic-Roman jewellery and a red tunic with two broad clavi. Her head is embellished with a wreath made out of flower petals and a gilded winged scarab crowns the top of her head. The jewellery of this woman (ball earrings and a necklace with a pendant fringe) points to a date in the 1st century AD.[53]

Fig. 76. Woman's mummy mask of unknown origin. Manchester: *Manchester Museum*, 11255. © A. Müller. Published by kind permission of the Manchester Museum, the University of Manchester.

History of acquisition: The Manchester Mask was in the collection of the merchant Max Robinow (1845 – 1900), who acquired it in Egypt. It was deposited at the Manchester Museum on loan in 1896 and, following the death of Max Robinow's son William, bequeathed to the museum in 1959. The mask is said to come from the Fayum.[54] Such unreliable provenances have already been discussed above. We can therefore conclude that the only similarity that the Manchester Mask and the Fayum masks share is the material cartonnage.

Parallel: Quite the reverse holds true for a piece in Cairo, which is very similar in material, garment and style to the Manchester Mask.[55] It was found in the only Middle

[47] See Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, AF 2126 (AUBERT and CORTOPASSI 2004: 158-159 n° D 17) for a well preserved example.
[48] Lyon: *Musée des Beaux-Arts*, 979-1-1. COUDERT *et al* 2013: 188 fig. 41c; 189 fig. 41a.
[49] See for example Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 33210. EDGAR 1905: pl. 30.
[50] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 43893. GRIMM 1974: pl. 104 fig. 1-2.
[51] Mummy masks from other sites in the nearby, like Dechacheh and Manqûla, are known to us only by means of short notices. GRIMM 1974: 91. Without any illustrations, it is not possible to decide if they belong to the Tuna el-Gebel/Antinoopolis Workshop Groups or not.
[52] In contrast to Grimm (GRIMM 1974: 89-91) I do not see any objective indications that suggest a production into the 4th century AD. His stylistic observations are open to interpretation and the only reliable element, the hairstyles, do not go beyond what is known from the Severan period. The latest hairstyles of woman are still concurrent with the Severan fashion, the latest hairstyles of men with a shortly cropped coiffure do not have to be dated any later than the rule of the first Soldier Emperors.
[53] OGDEN 1990: 164-166, 188-189.
[54] I'm indebted to Campbell Price from the Manchester Museum for this information.
[55] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 33131. EDGAR 1905: pl. 8.

Fig. 77. Woman's box mask of unknown origin. New York: *Metropolitan Museum*, 19.2.6. (CC0) [http://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/eg/original/EG75.jpg].

Egyptian necropolis that yielded cartonnage masks: Meir on the west bank of the Nile.

Characteristics of the Workshop Group: Masks from this workshop group can be divided into two variants according to the shape. As in case of the Tuna el-Gebel/Antinoopolis Workshop Groups, box masks (= variant A, Fig. 77) and tongue masks (= variant B) are to be found. In this case, however, both mask types belong to the same workshop group. Nearly all pieces from Meir belong to variant A, whilst only three masks can be allocated to the tongue masks of variant B.[56] Both variants are equipped with eyes inserted in glass or stone (pupil and vitreous body). Male masks from Meir (Fig. 78) show the deceased as having either only a small fringe of natural hair or no natural hair at all, but an Egyptian tripartite wig and a *wesekh* collar was always present. Female masks have long curly hair cascading to the shoulders or hairstyle parts that are draped according to Roman fashion. They wear Hellenistic-Roman jewellery and tunics with broad clavi. The heads are crowned with wreaths of plants or ribbons. The panels of box masks illustrate multi-figured scenes of Osiris adorned by processions of Egyptian gods. The mummies belonging to these masks have a very bulging appearances with a high foot protrusion and gilded cartonnage applications that depict Egyptian deities.[57] Due to its features (hairstyle, jewellery, clothing, images), we can assume that the Manchester Mask belongs to the variant A box masks, and was, therefore, originally provided with adjacent panels.

Distribution area and production period: We have substantial information about the Pharaonic necropolis in Meir but extremely little about its utilisation during

[56] Baltimore: *Walters Art Museum*, 78.3 (Grimm 1974: pl. 16, 3); Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 42951 (Grimm 1974: pl. 16, 4); former collection of Sayyed Khashaba without number. Hayes without year: pl. 18.

[57] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 33137. Edgar 1905: pl. 17.

Fig. 78. Man's mummy mask from Meir. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, 18/8/19/1. After: © German Archaeological Institute Cairo, Photographic Liberary F 7953.

Roman Period. It is clear, however, that there were several tombs,[58] which yielded at least eighteen Roman Period masks[59] (some of these still fixed to the mummies). These masks share characteristics that are typical for this excavation site. Another sixteen pieces might be allocated to the same group.[60] We can thus conclude that Meir had its own workshop group for a restricted period of time. In contrast to the opinion of Grimm,[61] it must be assumed that Edgar and Riggs[62] were correct in claiming that the box masks of both men and women are roughly contemporary, as both occur in the same tomb contexts and correspond in style. However, the question of the duration of this workshop is not easy to answer. The most important anchor is still the mask of Artemidora in New York,[63] whose hairstyle was fashionable in the Flavian Period (second half of 1st century AD). Besides Artemidora, the Hellenistic-Roman jewellery of the other female masks points to a 1st century AD date when such adornment was in vogue.[64] The consistent nature of this group of objects might indicate a relatively restricted time of production. However, we cannot say when exactly this limited time of production was, whether it was before[65] or after[66] the Flavian Period. The best solution is to assume a 1st century AD date for all masks from the Meir workshop without specifying the exact period.

Provenance suggestion: We can thus conclude that the Manchester Mask was produced in the Meir Workshop Group and very probably derives from the Meir necropolis.

N° 6: Copenhagen: *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, ÆIN 297 (Kellis/Aïn el-Labakha Workshop Group) (Fig. 79)

Iconography and date: This is a completely preserved cartonnage mask, which depicts the torso of a woman, arms included, with long, schematically rendered hair and Hellenistic-Roman jewellery. The woman on the mask wears a fringed and knotted ensemble and a tunic with clavi. The head is crowned by a wreath and on the back of the head sits a hawk with outstretched wings. The only iconographical element which might give us some hints as to the date is the jewellery. The necklace includes a *lunula* pendent, which has also been found on mummy masks dating back to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. The earrings, in contrast, might be replicas of earrings with animal terminals fashionable in Hellenistic times and produced until the early Roman Empire.[67]

History of acquisition: Very little is known about the acquisition of the Copenhagen Mask. The piece was acquired without indication of provenance at some point during the late 19th century.[68] Grimm, whose knowledge about the Western Oases was restricted by the state of research in the 1970s, suggested that the Copenhagen Mask might originate from somewhere around the

[58] Only one of these tombs, discovered in 1910, is published in a short article of Ahmed Kamal. KAMAL 1914. Several other groups of very similar masks (thus from additional tombs) came to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo with the provenance Meir in between 1888 and 1914. RIGGS 2005: 107-111.

[59] 16 of these masks are listed in RIGGS 2005: 268-275. To these we might add a hand fragment (Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* CG 33136, nowadays fixed to the Meir mask CG 33134) and a mask in the former collection of Sayyed Khashaba which is now lost. Hayes without year: pl. 18.

[60] RIGGS 2005: 268-275 lists 11 of these masks.

[61] GRIMM 1974: 59-66. As in case of the Hawara pieces he again choses to distinguish an Egyptianising and a Roman group which are renamed here variant A und B.

[62] EDGAR 1905: III-IV; RIGGS 2005: 113-115.

[63] New York: *Metropolitan Museum* 11.155.5. GRIMM 1974: pl. C fig. 1.

[64] Jewellery like snake bracelets and hoop earrings are to be found on many plaster masks from the 1st century AD. OGDEN 1990: 168-172, 228-237.

[65] EDGAR 1905: IV assumes a timespan from the middle of the 1st century AD.

[66] RIGGS 2005: 115 argues for the time after 70 AD, with a forty years working timespan of a craftsman.

[67] ODGEN 1990: 151-159.

[68] I'm indebted to Katja Elisabeth Vinther for this information.

Fig. 79. Woman's mummy mask of unknown origin. Copenhagen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, AEIN 297. © Ole Haupt, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Copenhagen.

Fig. 80. Mummy mask from Kellis. © Colin Hope, Dakleh Oasis Project.

necropolis of Meir.[69] Having discussed the masks from Meir already, it can be easily concluded that the only similarity shared between the Copenhagen Mask and the Meir masks is that of the material.

Parallels: However, with its characteristic features, the mask is very similar to a mask at ancient Kellis (modern Ismant el-Kharab) in Dakhla Oasis, as well as to a piece from the Aïn el-Labakha necropolis in Kharga Oasis.[70] Resemblances in the hairstyle, wreath, jewellery, garment, decoration, material and shape can be found on all three masks. We can therefore assume that they were produced by the same workshop group.

Characteristics of the workshop group: At least 34 Late Ptolemaic and Roman Period pieces have been found in the western necropolis of Kellis[71] and seven masks of the same period have also been found in the main necropolis of Aïn el-Labakha.[72] Mummy masks from

Fig. 81. Mummy mask from Aïn el-Labakha. Kharga: *Kharga Museum*, without inv. no. © M. Beiersdorf.

[69] Grimm 1974: 66.
[70] Compare Schweitzer 2002: 274 pl. 5 and Ibrahim *et al.* 2008: 160-161.
[71] Birrel 1999 and Schweitzer 2002.
[72] Ibrahim *et al.* 2008: 157-165.

Fig. 82. Woman's mummy mask of unknown origin. Trieste: *Museo Civico di Storia Naturale*, E6, in permanent deposit at the Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte Trieste. © Marino Ierman, Image Library of the Civici Musei of Trieste.

Fig. 83. Man's mummy mask from Deir el-Medina. Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, E 14542 ter. © Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais/ Georges Poncet.

both oases belong to the helmet type and are made of cartonnage. Most mummy masks show the deceased (of unknown gender) without arms and natural hair (Fig. 80-81). In terms of decoration, however, masks from both sites differ (e.g. sitting jackals flanking a lotus boat in Kellis and scorpions on the head in Aïn el-Labakha). It is therefore unclear if those masks found in the above-mentioned necropoleis and the three female masks described above belong to the same workshop group.

Distribution area and production period: Masks from Dakhla and Kharga Oasis are presently the main focus of the PhD project of Carlo Rindi from Monash University. His work will clarify if different workshop groups can be distinguished and, if so, how large their area of distribution was and in which periods they were active.

Provenance suggestion: For the moment, we can only conclude that the Copenhagen Mask probably belongs to the Kellis/Aïn el-Labakha Workshop Group and likely originates from the Dakhla or Kharga Oasis.

N° 7: Trieste: *Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte*, E6 (Deir el-Medina/Valley of Queens Workshop Group) (Fig. 82)

Iconography and date: A cartonnage mask in Trieste depicts the head and torso of a woman. She has long dark hair falling to the shoulders. On the head sits a wreath made of leaves with a precious stone in the middle. The arms on both sides of the chest panel are crested with falcon heads and portray female breasts. Between the arms are several registers with Egyptian figures and scenes including the deceased lying on a lion bed, attended by Anubis. The only element of relevance for dating is the necklace with a *lunula* pendant. Although

Fig. 84. Woman's mummy mask of unknown origin. Marseille: *British Musée d'Archéologie Méditerrannéenne*, 1274. After: Margerie 1997: 155.

such jewellery was found in all three centuries AD, most pieces belong to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.[73] This therefore gives a hint for the time slot in which the Trieste Mask might have been produced.

History of acquisition: The Trieste Mask is part of collection of the Museo Civico di Storia Naturale in Trieste, and is currently on long term loan in the Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte.[74] Its history of acquisition, as well as provenance, is unknown, although the piece was said to come from Middle Egypt. As we have discussed the characteristics of the most important workshops in this region (Tuna el-Gebel/Antinoopolis and Meir) already, such an origin is very unlikely.

Parallels: The mask shares many features (shape, material, depictions in several registers, arms with figural heads) with a female mask in Cairo and a male mask in the Louvre, which come from Deir el-Medina in Thebes.[75]

Characteristics of the workshop group: Mummy masks of this group have a characteristic shape with recesses to both sides of the head, which is reminiscent of the orthogonality sign (⊥, Fig. 83), although the slots can be slightly concealed by long curly hair falling to the shoulders as exemplified by the Trieste Mask. They portray men and women with natural hair, not based on Roman fashion. Only men have tripartite wigs. Both genders wear a wreath of leaves or rose (?) petals on the head. Men have Egyptian jewellery, women Hellenistic-Roman. Arms or legs draped like mummies and terminating in human or falcon heads are displayed along each lateral edge. On the head of the females, a vulture might be perched, a hawk on the head of the males. Egyptian-style ritual scenes on the chest panel normally include a mummification scene with Anubis and the mummy on the lion bed.

Distribution area and production period: Six of such masks, dating from the middle of the 2nd to the beginning of the 3rd century AD, were found inside a reused cellar of an abandoned house in Deir el-Medina.[76] The mummies are wrapped in red shrouds with a bead net pattern.[77] At least one additional mask originates from tomb 1447 adjacent to Deir el-Medina.[78] Another two were found in the reused tomb 33 and outside tomb 73 in the Valley of the Queens.[79] Similar pieces, though, in some cases, lacking arms, have been excavated from tombs 11, 12, 15, 16 and 34 in the Valley of the Queens[80] and might belong to the same group. Hellenistic-Roman jewellery such as hoop earrings, *lunula* pendants, and necklaces with pendant fringes indicate a 1st – 2nd century AD production date. As with the Meir Workshop, the nature of this group of objects is very consistent. Therefore, a similar restricted period of production with focus on the 2nd century AD might be assumed. Since these masks have only been discovered in two areas, we might name them the Deir el-Medina/Valley of Queens Workshop Group. It should be noted, however, that it is possible that pieces from this group could be found in other areas of Thebes in the future.

Provenance suggestion: For the moment, it can be stated that the Trieste Mask is very likely to have originated in either the area around Deir el-Medina or the Valley of the Queens.

N° 8: Marseille: *Musée d'Archéologie méditerranéenne*, 1274 (Deir el-Bahari/Medinet Habu Workshop Group) (Fig. 84)

Iconography and date: The last mask to discuss is a piece of which only the head remains. It consists of a lump of plaster, which has been shaped into the schematic rendering of a face, fixed to a piece of linen. The woman depicted has curly hair, eyes shaded in black, and two red areas highlight her cheeks. She wears a wreath made

[73] Ogden 1990: 213-215.
[74] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 118 no. 4.18.
[75] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 66882 (Grimm 1974: pl. 110, 2); Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, E 14542ter (Fig. 18).
[76] Bruyère 1936, see also Riggs 2005: 205-217.
[77] See Bruyère 1936: pl. 3-4.
[78] Bruyère 1953: 104-110 pl. 24 fig. 2.
[79] Leblanc 1980: 41-46 fig. 7-10.
[80] Lecuyot 1999: 41-42.

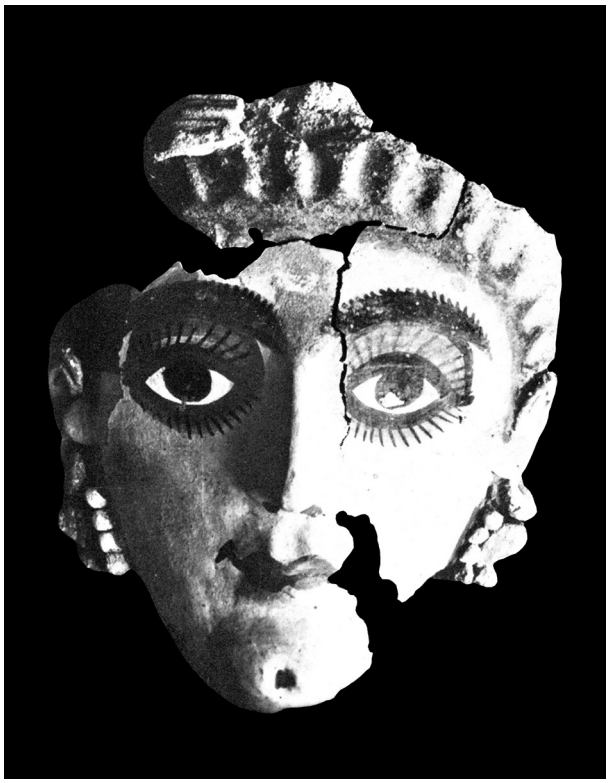

Fig. 85. Woman's mummy mask from Medinet Habu. After: GRIMM 1974: pl. 113, 3, Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago..

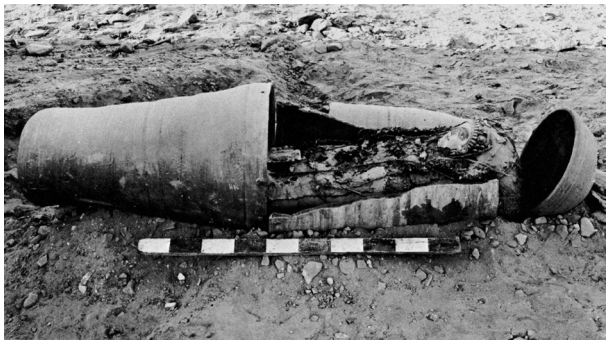

Fig. 86. Woman's burial with mummy mask in Medinet Habu. After: HÖLSCHER 1954: pl. 27, D. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago..

of leaves, petals and medallions, as well as beaded earrings. The dating to the Severan Period and the time of the soldier emperors (end of 2nd century to first half of 3rd century AD) is based on the hairstyle, which can be reconstructed with two swelling bunches next to her neck, as shown by other female masks of this group (see below).[81]

Fig. 87. Man's mummy mask from Deir el-Bahari. London: *British Museum*, EA 26273. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

[81] A similar opinion is expressed by RIGGS 2000: 126-127.

History of acquisition: The Marseille Mask comes from the collection of Antoine Clot-Bey (1793 – 1868), a French physician who practiced in Egypt.[82]

Parallels: With its features, the mask is very similar to a piece in Chicago from Deir el-Bahari,[83] as well as a mask from Medinet Habu, which is lost (Fig. 85-86).

Characteristics of the workshop group: All three belong to a group of pieces that might be labelled as hybrid masks. These objects consist of a lump of plaster for the head and a rectangular piece of linen that is painted to portray the deceased's torso (Fig. 87). They are therefore some kind of hybrid between a three dimensional mask and a painted shroud. Men and women[84] depicted on these masks have Roman hairstyles and wear tunics with clavi und cloaks. Men have Egyptian jewellery, women Roman. Both wear wreaths on the head and whilst one hand clutches a rose wreath, the other clutches a cup. The painted zone underneath the arms shows a garland and a scene with the Sokaris boat, flanked by two seated jackals with keys. The mummies are simply wrapped in fawn, undecorated shrouds.[85]

Distribution area and production period: Masks of this type have been found in Deir el-Bahari[86] as well as in Medinet Habu.[87] Pieces from both sites look extremely similar to each other and are of similar date. However, one difference might be that the heads from Medinet Habu are said to consist of clay with a plaster coating,[88] whereas those from Deir el-Bahari do not contain any clay. As in case of the Deir el-Bahari pieces, the masks from Medinet Habu did include a representation of the chest of the deceased down to the arms.[89] Yet, the excavator, Uvo Hölscher, mentions that the feet, too, are modelled in clay, a feature that cannot be attested to the Deir el-Bahari masks. To verify the extent to which the pieces from both necropoleis differ from one another, a first-hand study of one of the Medinet Habu pieces would be necessary. However, all pieces from the official excavations have been reburied, which makes such a study impossible. If the information of Hölscher holds true, the Deir el-Bahari/Medinet Habu Workshop Group must be divided into two subgroups, with one workshop for each site in accordance with the material used.

Provenance suggestion: The Marseille Mask, as well as all the other 33 similar masks, which have heads made entirely of plaster, must then originate in Deir el-Bahari, as already proposed by Riggs.[90] However, without a first-hand study of pieces from Medinet Habu, it is not possible to verify this assumption at the moment.

3. Conclusion

Having discussed the most important mask workshops in Roman Egypt, we can now emphasise three observations that emerge from the analysis above.

Some characteristics are shared by all workshop groups: Roman Period mummy masks show the deceased in a bust-like manner, often including arms. Frequently, Hellenistic-Roman influences in hairstyle, jewellery or garment can be seen, a feature that is more pronounced in Lower and Middle Egypt than in Thebes and the Western Oases and one that becomes clearer with time. Another element which is not only typical for Roman Period mummy masks but also found in all workshops, is the use of wreaths of rose petals or leaves, either crowning the mummy's head or being held in its hands. Furthermore, all masks, regardless of their particular shape, include different amounts of ritual scenes rendered in Egyptian artistic tradition, which show very little Hellenistic-Roman influence.

The second observation concerns the distribution areas of the workshops. Although it is not possible to say yet where exactly the workshops were situated, the find patterns in the Nile Valley[91] show that each workshop group only supplied one or two major sites; exceptions to this rule do exist, however, in that masks from certain workshop groups have been excavated outside of the main sites. The list of characteristics for each production allows us to assign most pieces from illicit excavations and the art trade to a certain workshop group. Whilst this does not tell us where exactly such a mask was unearthed, it nevertheless makes it possible to state its most likely site(s) of origin. We can thus allocate a possible provenance for most pieces of unknown origin.

The third observation results from the discovery of similarities between workshop groups of adjacent or linked areas. We can take the mask shape as an example: masks from Lower Egypt (in particular the Fayum and possibly also Alexandria) are clearly linked

[82] Riggs 2000: 142.
[83] Chicago: *Oriental Institute*, OIM 9385. Teeter 2003: 115 n° 61.
[84] For a completely preserved female mask see London, *British Museum* 26272. Walker and Bierbrier 1997: 157-158 n° 176.
[85] See for example: Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 33277. Edgar 1905: pl. 46.
[86] Sixteen masks are known to originate in Deir el-Bahari. A good summary of excavations in Deir el-Bahari including relevant bibliography can be found in Riggs 2000.
[87] Hölscher 1954: 42-44 pls. 27-28. The number of masks in Medinet Habu cannot be estimated due to lacking information in the excavation reports.
[88] Hölscher 1954: 43.
[89] Hölscher 1954: 44.
[90] Riggs 2000: 121 note 1. Her list of pieces belonging to this group is nearly complete. We might only add two masks former in the National Museums of Edinburgh (L 224.2690 and L 224.2691) which have been destroyed. No pictures are available but the description in the museum's records indicates that they belonged to this very workshop group.
[91] Research in the Oases is still in progress. Therefore, we will have to wait for future excavations and publications in order to say if the same pattern emerges there too.

to Pharaonic and Ptolemaic predecessors by the helmet shape. Keeping this in mind, it therefore comes as no surprise that the masks from Dakhla and Kharga Oases share this feature, since both areas are connected to the Nile valley by busy roads (Fig. 66). The only box masks, a type invented in the Roman Period, are to be found in the nearby necropoleis of Tuna el-Gebel, Antinoopolis and Meir. It is probably no coincidence that the Tuna el-Gebel/Antinoopolis Workshop Group 1 and the Meir Workshop Group (variant A) are the only manufacturing facilities which produced such masks. Given the parallels in the style of the masks, it can be concluded that a large amount of information was exchanged during the 1st century AD, when both workshops were active. Thebes, on the other hand, emerged as the area with most traditional and restrictive influences visible in the masks.[92] ⊥-shaped masks are a feature only to have been found there. Similar observations become apparent by comparing other characteristics, for example the material (cartonnage in Alexandria(?), Hawara, Kellis, Aïn el-Labakha, Meir and Thebes, plaster in Tuna el-Gebel/ Antinoopolis) or the different techniques of inserting the eyes (metal eyelashes in Alexandria and Hawara).

In conclusion, the assignation of unprovenanced mummy masks to a particular workshop group gives us not only information about the way the workshops worked together, but also permits us to imagine the original shape of a mask mummy and its former archaeological context. This helps to counteract the impression that was caused by the separation of the masks and their mummies during the 19th and 20th centuries AD. In antiquity, mummy masks were never regarded as isolated art pieces but instruments used in a certain context, produced, therefore, to fulfil a special role in the funerary ritual, which balances between preserving, protecting and animating the body of the deceased and displaying its identity.

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[92] RIGGS 2003.

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Section 4:
Material Culture and Museum Studies

The Decorated Pottery from Proto- and Early Dynastic Periods at Tell el-Farkha (Western Kom), Egypt

Magdalena Sobas

Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland

Abstract: *This article focuses on decorated pottery found at the Tell el-Farkha settlement site. It dates to the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods and is associated with the end of phase 3 and phases 4 and 5 at the site. 307 fragments and whole preserved vessels were identified and analysed. They represent various decorative techniques and motifs, such as applied decoration with knobs, handles, modelled or impressed decorative bands; painted decoration; impressed decoration with circles, semicircles, arches; cutting; curving; perforation; punctuation and incision.*

Keywords: *Egyptian decorated pottery, Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods, Tell el-Farkha*

1. Introduction

This paper presents data gleaned from the study of decorated pottery found at Tell el-Farkha during exploration of the settlement. The site of Tell el-Farkha is situated in the eastern Nile Delta. Occupation of the site has been divided into seven main phases dating from the Lower Egyptian culture until the beginning of the Old Kingdom.[1] This text aims to describe the pottery assemblage discovered on the Western Kom during seasons 2006-2013. They originate from the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods (up to the 1st dynasty), which coincide with the end of phase 3 and phases 4 and 5 of the site,[2] dating to Naqada IIIA1-C1.[3]

This paper considers all classes of pottery, and is not limited to any particular form. The intention is to divide the decorated pottery according to the type of decoration and then classify it into appropriate vessel class and form. Both fragments and whole preserved vessels were identified and analysed, 307 pieces in total. All of them bear some kind of decoration. Taking into consideration decorated pottery, I believe there are two categories of decorative treatments: that which displaces or penetrates the surface of a vessel, and that which involves additions to the surface. Some of them had only ornamental meaning, such as painted jars. Some of them, however, had significance in daily life, for instance, spinning bowls.

Decorated pottery occurs infrequently: for example, in the 2009 excavation season such pottery made up 1% of the total diagnostic pottery, whilst in 2010 it represented only 0.6%. Nonetheless, the results of analyses demonstrate that on the Western Kom we can distinguish several types of designs.

A great variety of techniques were employed to decorate vessels by additions or by the use of surface treatments: they include joining formed clay elements to the vessel and the application of treatments.

2. Applied decoration

Applied decoration takes the form of additional elements bonded to the surface of the vessel by pressure while the clay is still sufficiently wet. Plastic clay can be applied to the surface of a vessel for decorative and functional effects. Appliqué usually refers to an application of small, shaped pieces of clay, which should be in the same state of wetness – either leather-hard or plastic – as the clay of the vessel. The surface of the vessel may be rewetted and roughened to bind with the appliqué. At Tell el-Farkha, this kind of plastic decoration was formed in the shape of a knob, handles or in a form of a band imitating a rope or with some oval impressions.

2.1 Knobs

Only 1.3% of the pottery analysed has decoration in the form of a knob. All examples were made locally in the Naqadian tradition, although one of them is an imitation of a Levantine bowl (Figs. 89: 3; 91: 3). The bowl features a row of knobs below the rim. At present, only a few such specimens have been discovered at Naqada,[4] Abusir el-Melek[5] and Mostagedda.[6] This type of decoration was not popular in Egypt, while vessels like this bowl were widespread in the Southern Levant,

[1] Jucha 2005: 19; Chłodnicki 2012: 13.
[2] Jucha 2005: 19.
[3] Chłodnicki 2012: 13.
[4] Petrie 1921: pl. 15:5 a, b.
[5] Scharff 1926: 34, pl. 26:156.
[6] Brunton 1937: pl. 34:15.

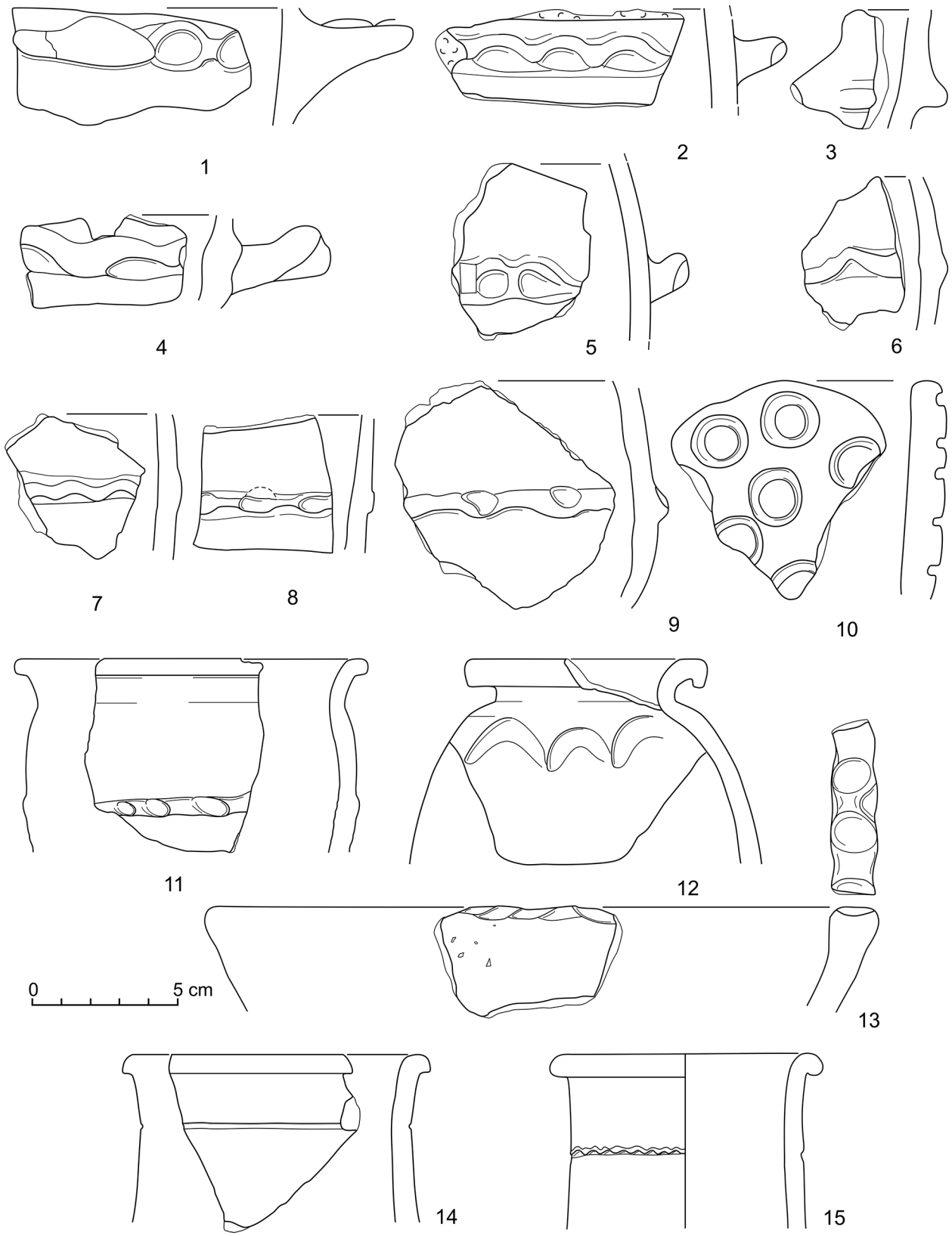

Fig. 88. Pottery from the Western Kom at Tell el-Farkha.

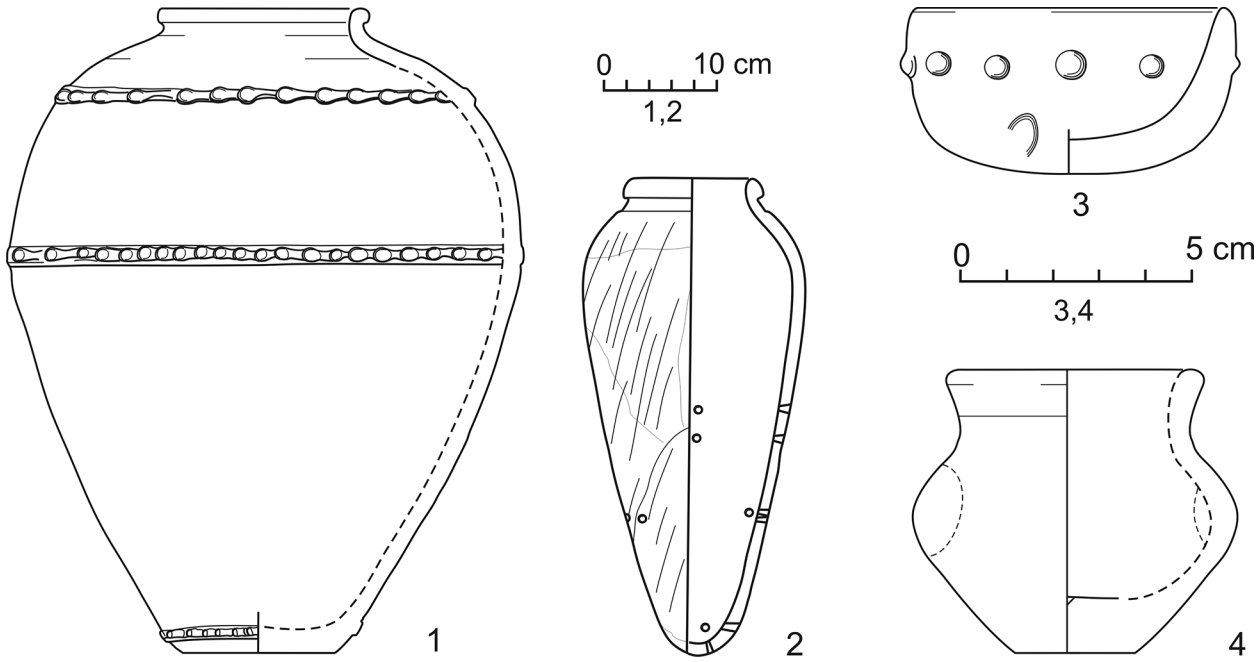

Fig. 89. Complete vessels from the Western Kom at Tell el-Farkha.

from the Chalcolithic to Early Bronze I periods.[7] In this category there is also miniature jar with knobs (Figs. 89: 4; 91: 4) made of fine Nile clay resembling that one found in Tell Ibrahim Awad.[8] The pottery studied here belongs to phase 5 at Tell el-Farkha; in phase 3, however, two other single knobs were excavated, but without linkage to any specific form.

2.2 Ledge handle

This kind of decoration was identified in 2.93% of pottery fragments from the Western Kom (Figs. 88: 1, 2, 4, 5; 90: 1, 2). All of them were of a Levantine provenance and probably imported to Tell el-Farkha as containers for an unknown liquid. They were made of light beige clay with a mineral temper. The handles are wavy in design, and their edges bear impressed indentation on the surface. The individual examples illustrated are from both phases 3 and 4 of the site.

2.3 Modelled or impressed decorative bands

At Tell el-Farkha, we can distinguish two types of decoration with a rope pattern. The first one is a kind of modelled decorative band with a wavy pattern. The second one is a kind of modelled decorative band bearing simple impressions. The purpose of this decoration is probably less decorative than utilitarian, since the string gave an additional support to the flexible walls of a pot before it was fired. As a rule, most large pots show this feature.[9]

Modelled decorative bands with a wavy pattern (Figs. 88: 3, 6, 7), which make up 5.21% of the total number of the discussed pottery, belong mostly to jars made of fine Nile clay with very well-smoothed surface. The majority of them is preserved as fragments; there are also some fragments of jars identified as having a rounded, extended outside rim, long neck and narrow shoulder.

More spectacular examples belong to jars with a modelled band with simple impressions on it (Figs. 88: 8, 9, 11; 90: 3, 4). Such a design was found on 13.69% of the analysed pottery sample. In most cases, the ornamentation covers the walls of jars made of fine Nile or Marl clay, with hard smoothed or polished surface and various thickness of wall. Only few specimens were made of medium Nile clay. Their surface was also smoothed.

Of interest in this category is a large storage jar adorned with three rope bands with impressions (Fig. 89: 1). It is characteristic of dynasty 0 and the beginning of the 1st dynasty, both in the Delta and Upper Egypt.[10] The first band lies above the base, the second at the maximum diameter of the body and the last one beneath the neck. The upper part of the decoration is a plastic band with a finger-impressed pattern, while the middle and lower ones have a band pattern consisting additionally of

[7] Esse 1989: 84. fig. 15; Czarnowicz 2012: 77-90.
[8] Van den Brink 1992: 67, pl. 27.
[9] Arnold 1993: 21.
[10] Van den Brink 1996: 148, type IV a.

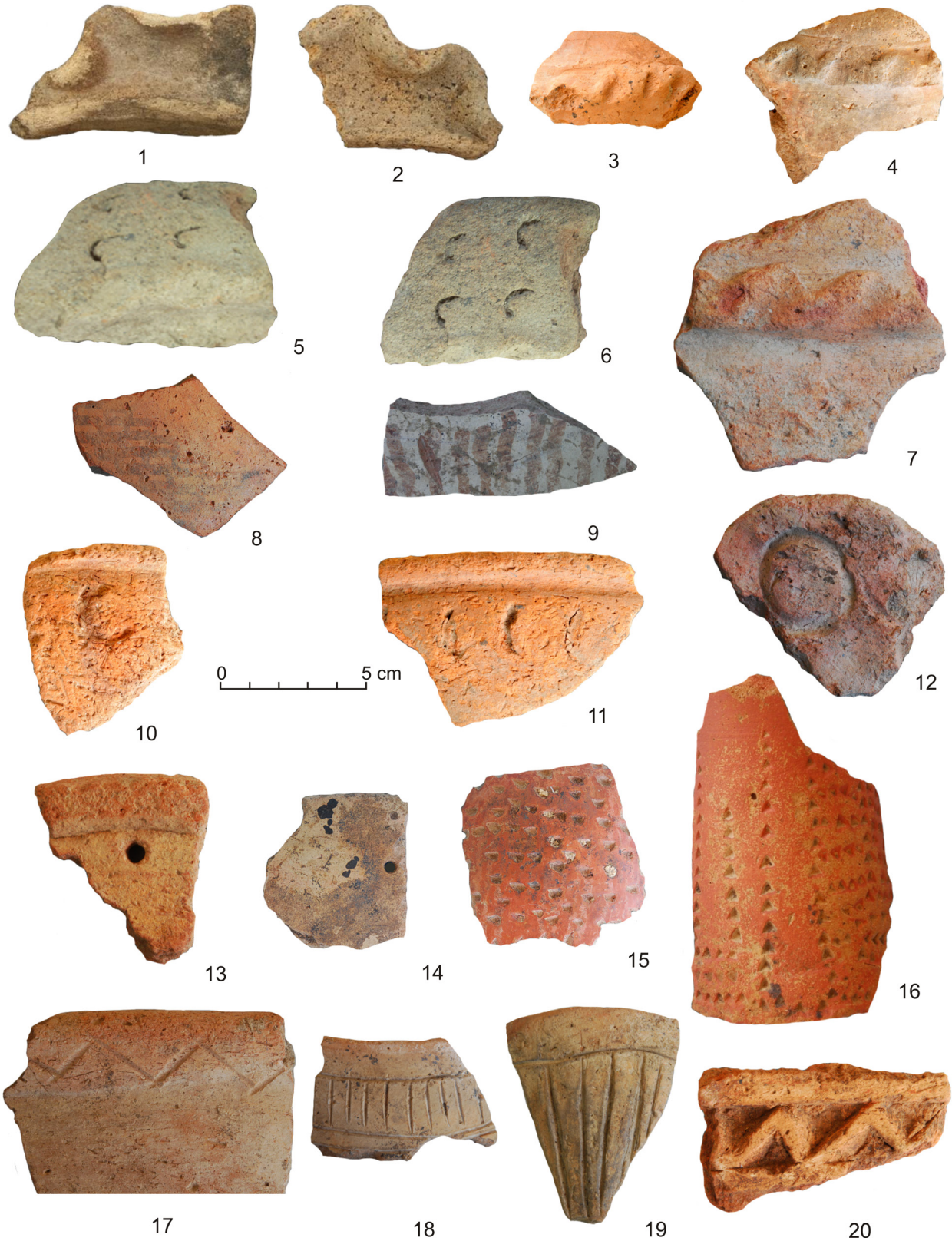

Fig. 90. Pottery from the Western Kom at Tell el-Farkha.

convex and concave elements arranged interchangeably, but not as plastic as the first one. Those shallow depressions were also made by means of a finger or other blunt tool.

Sherds of cylindrical jars are also present in the pottery assemblage with a fragmentary preserved ornamental plastic band with impressions.[11] This type of vessels is believed to be an example of later stage of development of Petrie's W-class[12] and is dated to Naqada IIIA1.[13]

There are also some single examples which are not clearly identified. Quite significant is a fragment made of coarse Nile clay with rough surface (Figs. 90: 5, 6). The edge is formed in a kind of plastic band with some impressions. Additionally, on the surface are four impressed semicircles. Noticeable is a thick fragment of pottery, with a thick modelled, wavy band (Fig. 90: 7). It was made of coarse Nile clay with rough surface.

It is also worth mentioning a twin bowl (Fig. 91:5). Just below their rim both components are equipped with a thick, ornamental band encircling the body. This band probably tied the bowls together into one vessel. The idea of producing such vessels could originate either from Egypt or Palestine.[14] Such bowls were probably used during preparing some foods.

Those examples above are limited to phases 4 and 5 of Tell el-Farkha.

3. Painted decoration

Colour is also an essential ingredient in the category of additions to a pottery vessel, though it is very rare. There are two major types of such surface decoration, those applied to only a portion of the total area of a vessel and those that coat the entire surface.

Fragments of painted pottery makes up only 2.28 % of the decorated pottery analysed on the Western Kom at Tell el-Farkha. They cover the exterior or the interior walls of bowls, jars or undetermined fragments. Aside from a small painted bowl, most of the painted decoration is found on fragmentary vessels. For this reason, even if there is a very well-preserved pottery fragment, the motif itself is quite difficult to recognise properly. It is also quite complicated to decide the exact type of a vessel.

As far as it can be said, the depictions are quite simple and present mostly painted multiple wavy horizontal and vertical lines (Figs. 90: 8, 9). Occasionally they are accompanied by fragments of poorly-preserved designs. All fragments were made of Nile clay, untempered or tempered with a small amount of sand, and with smoothed surface. The most common method of surface colouring was to paint a design with a pigment which was applied on a dried but still unfired vessel. The substance generally adheres better if the surface is dry at the moment of application. To obtain a red pigment, which was at that time the most popular, red haematite ochre was used, obtained in the Egyptian desert.[15]

Only one fragment differs from all others. It is a unique sherd with no known parallels either in Egypt or in the Levant.[16] The category of painted decoration also includes a bowl that is an imitation of a Levantine product manufactured in the technique typical of the Naqada culture (Figs. 91: 6, 7). The partly-preserved vessel is decorated with wavy lines covering the whole internal surface, in the vertical direction from the rim towards the bottom. The external surface is also covered with red paint but the state of preservation is too poor to interpret the original decoration. Analogies can be found at various sites in southern Israel.[17]

During the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods painted decoration is quite unusual. In fact, at Tell el-Farkha we found only a few such sherds and those analysed came from phases 4 and 5. This kind of decoration is especially typical of Naqada IIIA2, though it may also occur later.[18] An analogous situation is seen on other sites in the Delta; very similar decoration was found in Buto[19] or Tell el-Iswid.[20]

4. Impressed decoration

Impressed decoration was carried out on wet clay, mostly in the upper part of a vessel, on a rim or a body. Sometimes, the whole surface of a pot was covered with stamped elements. It was made by sharp tools made of bone, animal teeth, reed or shells. It was also effected using a thumb, finger or fingernail. Usually it formed a series of repeated identical motifs.[21]

4.1 Impressed semicircles

This category occurs on one form of vessels from phases 3 and 4, bowls with rounded rims, sometimes with a flattened top, extended outside, with short neck and rounded walls (Figs. 90: 10, 11). All fragments, which made up 7.17 % of the total of the pottery discussed here, were made of medium Nile clay with rough surface. There was only one example where the remains of a red slip are preserved. In the upper part of the body there is

[11] Petrie 1921: pl. XXX: W56A; Köhler 1998: Taf. 60-61.
[12] Kroeper 1988: fig. 74, van den Brink 1992: 53, Fig. 9.
[13] Hendrickx 2006: 82-83.
[14] Tutundžić 1993: 50-51.
[15] Noll 1981: 115.
[16] Czarnowicz 2012: 251.
[17] Lass 2003: fig. 20.
[18] Hendrickx 1996: 37-38.
[19] Köhler 1998: 35, Taf. 63: 8-11, Taf. 64: 1-8.
[20] Van den Brink 1989: 76-78, fig. 14:12, Tab. I.
[21] Rice 1987: 144-145.

Fig. 91. Complete vessels from the Western Kom at Tell el-Farkha.

a repeated semicircle pattern, which probably surrounded the whole bowl in one line. Such designs are known also from Tell el-Iswid[22] and Tell Ibrahim Awad[23] and are usually identified with the Lower Egyptian culture.

4.2 Impressed circles

A few fragments with impressed circles are attested in the collection of rough ware. Such design makes up only 0.68 %. The fragments were made of Nile clay, tempered with medium-to-coarse sand and straw. The fragments of this type are quite round in shape with a flat bottom (Figs. 88: 10; 90: 12). At the top of them small circles were impressed. Such fragments are rare at Tell el-Farkha, similar to other sites in the Delta. Similar examples are known also from Tell Ibrahim Awad, where van den Brink[24] suggested they were used for bread baking or in preparation of other kinds of food.

A few fragments, making up 6.84% of the total of the pottery in question, are decorated with impressed circles on the top of a rim or on a body (Fig. 88: 13). Mostly, they are applied to bowls made of Nile clay with medium to coarse inclusions and with a roughened surface.

4.3 Impressed arches

Among the decorated pottery at Tell el-Farkha, 1.95% belongs to jars with impressed elongated arches (Fig. 88: 12). All of the sherds were made of fine Nile clay and their surface was smoothed. Such decoration covered the shoulder of a jar with a rounded, extended outside rim, flattened at the top. One example came from a cylindrical jar with impressed half-bows. This kind of design is very common for the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods and in Tell el-Farkha is especially restricted to phase 5. Comparative examples are known from Buto.[25]

5. Decoration achieved by cutting out of shapes

This technique was used frequently to cut a shape out of the walls of a vessel. It was applied primarily to stands where the walls were cut out in a triangular and circular shape. In order to make them, the potter used a sharp instrument and cut a suitable shape in the wet clay, removing parts from the vessel and creating the desired openwork design. Cut elements might have been executed especially when the clay was plastic or leather-hard, but even dry or fired. In order to obtain the effect, the cutting implement was moved along the surface. Cutting techniques fall into three major categories: cutting off, carving and perforation.

5.1 Cutting off

The most representative vessels in this category are the so-called spinning bowls and pot-stands, which both acted as functional pots. Spinning bowls (Fig. 91: 8), which belong to rough ware, are represented by several fragments. The most characteristic part of such a bowl is a kind of band with holes, placed inside the vessel. Among the sample analysed 5.86% is formed of such fragments. The majority were made of Nile clay with a temper of medium to coarse sand and straw. Sometimes small grooves are visible at the upper part of the hole – the remains of spinning process.[26] Even though do not frequently occur in the pottery assemblage, there are known also from other sites in the Delta, such as Tell el-Iswid[27] and Buto.[28]

The most impressive cuts are on the pot-stands (Figs. 91: 9, 10), which form 3.26% of the total sample. They contain holes in a triangular or oval shape which were cut through the entire wall of the vessel. Only a few of well preserved pot-stands have cuts in the triangular shape, whereas other fragments have oval cuts. Most of them were made of medium Nile clay with a more or less smoothed surface. The cuts in the triangular shape are mostly limited to phase 5 at Tell el-Farkha. Such designs are identified on other examples at many sites.[29]

5.2 Carving

A series of cuts removed a part of a clay from the vessel to create a design. Different kinds of carving are distinguished by a small amount of clay eliminated and how it was removed. Such a decoration at Tell el-Farkha was represented by a row of triangles on an unidentified fragment of pottery made of medium Nile clay with a rough surface (Fig. 90: 20). It is limited to only 1.95% of analysed pottery.

5.3 Punctured holes/perforation

This category refers to cuts made through the entire vessel wall and portions of clay removal. Many fragments, 9.77% of the total pottery analysed, belong to vessels with punctured holes (Figs. 90: 13, 14). They were made on various forms of vessels, probably in order to repair them. They were made after firing, probably to join together broken fragments of pots. Such vessels were made of medium and fine clay, with rough, smoothed or polished surface. In most cases the fragments are too small to define precisely the form of a vessel from which they originate and the purpose of making such punctures. However, as far as it can be judged, this group represents

[22] Guyot 2014: 105, fig. 1.6, 112, fig. 6.9.
[23] Van den Brink 1992: 54, fig. 10.2.
[24] Van den Brink 2006: 55-57.
[25] Köhler 1998: 34, Taf. 59:6-11, 62, 71:6, 8-10.
[26] Allen 1997: 17-38.
[27] Van den Brink 1989: 77, Fig. 13:10.
[28] Köhler 1998: 28, Taf. 49:10.
[29] Köhler 1998: 27-28, Taf. 47: 1-8, 48:1-4, 57:1-2, 70:5; Sherkova 2002: 147-149, Ill. 1-5, 6: 1, 5, 6, photo 35.

mostly fragments of jars or small and deep bowls. Only one completely preserved jar was found (Fig. 89: 2). It was covered with a few punctured holes, which were probably joined by a rope.

This group includes also bag-shaped jars with punctured holes (Figs. 91: 11, 12), which were made probably intentionally after firing. The punctured holes are both in the body of a vessel and on the bottom, but their meaning is still unclear. They were attested in phases 3, 4 and 5 of Tell el-Farkha. Comparative examples are known from Buto.[30]

6. Puncturing and incision

This method involves cuts into the surface of a vessel walls with a help of various kinds of sharp tools. The shape of decoration is largely dictated by the type of cutting tool applied, the state of the clay and the texture of the paste. A sharp-pointed tool creates a narrow, deep, triangular shape. Grooves - which can be shallow and wide – were made by a rounded, broad-tipped tool.[31] Incised decoration was not just an Egyptian invention, but also was modelled on Nubian and Levantine cuts-out. Very often cut parts were filled with a white paste, also found in Nubian and Levantine pottery.[32]

Decorative patterns made by punching into wet clay with a sharp or pointed instrument (such as a stick, hollow reed, awl, finger or a fingernail) covered the whole surface of well-preserved vessels as well as fragments of the same. Because clay was not removed, displacement is often noticeable. At Tell el-Farkha, 6.51% of such fragments and completely preserved jars bear the decoration (Figs. 90: 15, 16). The examples were made of fine and medium Nile clay. Their surface was uncoated or coated, smoothed or polished. Dots or even triangles go very often together with an incised design among them. Sometimes such design is filled with white pigments: it could be chalk or gypsum. At Tell el-Farkha this type of decoration is characteristic mostly of phase 5 but it was not a distinctive feature of inhabitants of Tell el-Farkha.

The most distinctive in this group is a barrel-shaped lidded jar dated to phase 5 of Tell el-Farkha (Fig. 91: 13). The surface of the completely preserved vessel was slipped and polished but its red coating is only partially preserved. An eye-catching decoration consisting of punctured dots and incised lines forms triangles in the upper and waves in the lower portion of the artefact. The punctured decoration was filled with a white paste.

A similar decoration, covering the entire surface, is featured on a jar with a short, slightly concave neck, narrow body and flat base (Figs. 91: 1, 2), made of fine Nile clay. Its surface was coated with a dark reddish slip and polished. The coating is only partially preserved. The aforementioned punctured decoration appears not only on the sides of the body but also on its neck and base. The incisions form triangles, partly filled with a white paste. Additionally, beneath the maximum diameter in the middle of the body of the vessel, four animals were incised in one horizontal line. The first two, completely preserved, were identified as gazelles, and the other two as ostriches – one complete, the other preserved only halfway. The decoration was seemingly linked directly to the vessel's function and storage of votive objects.[33] Vessels with such designs were found also in other sites in the Nile Delta, for example in Buto.[34]

The incised technique was used both on wet and dry clay. This category mainly includes the so-called potmarks.[35] Incised elements were created using sharpened pieces of wood or stone, both before and after the firing of a vessel. A potter could also use his own hand to make them. This category of designs is the most extensive and includes 30.62% of the total decorated pottery analysed. Mostly it includes fragments with straight or wavy lines incised in a different manner (Figs. 90: 17-19). They cover pottery made of fine, medium and coarse Nile clay with rough, smoothed or polished surfaces. According to potmarks, the most commonly occurring marks are combinations of vertical and horizontal lines. Probably some of them form some more advanced designs, but it is quite difficult to recognise them. Such signs are also known from Buto,[36] Tell el-Iswid,[37] or Adaïma.[38]

The decoration covering a barrel-shaped lidded jar is worth mentioning in this category (Fig. 91: 14), which vessel was decorated with incised horizontal lines. Strikingly similar examples are found in Israel,[39] where most vessels were covered with intersecting incised horizontal and vertical lines.

There are only a few fragments of cylindrical jars with incised decorations recognised on the site. The design is located in the upper part of a body (Figs. 88: 14-15).

7. Conclusion

Egyptian potters used a wide range of decorative techniques and motifs, some of which gained greater favor during particular periods. The decorative means can apply some additions to the surface of a vessel or penetrate it.

[30] KÖHLER 1992: 19; 1998: 19-20, Taf. 17.
[31] RICE 1987: 146.
[32] ARNOLD 1993: 89-90.
[33] CIAŁOWICZ 2012: 201-231.
[34] KÖHLER 1998: 33, 138, Taf. 57:3,4,6.
[35] SOBAS 2010: 405-413.
[36] KÖHLER 1998: Taf. 42:3, 44: 3, 46: 5; WODZIŃSKA 2011: 1091, fig.16.
[37] BRÈAND 2014: 156, fig. 1: 2-3, 7-8.
[38] BUCHEZ 2004: 684-685, figs. 7-8, BRÈAND 2011: 1020, Tab. 1, 1030, fig. 8.
[39] KANSA *et al.* 2002: 202, fig. 8.

Incised decoration, punctuations and modeled or impressed decorative bands dominated in phase 5 at the site of Tell el-Farkha, while impressed circles or semicircles and punctured holes were more distinctive for phase 4. In phase 3 predominated cutting holes in spinning bowls.

The above decorations covered the entire surface or only particular parts of a vessel. Because decoration is only a step in the process of shaping the vessel, an important factor was the point in the manufacturing process at which a particular decorative procedure was undertaken. Pots were decorated before or after firing.

The most commonly occurring decoration are incised signs, which makes up c. 30% of the analysed pottery at Tell el-Farkha. They covered various forms of vessels such as jars, bowls or bread moulds. The group of pottery ornamented with modeled impressed bands also stands out. This group comprised c. 14% of total decorated pottery at the site. Perforations are also a type of decoration that is very significant at Tell el-Farkha and could have been used in order to repair pots and then to reuse it. To an ancient potter, the form of a vessel was not clearly separable from decoration: each influences the other. A decoration could have modified the shape rather than surface of a vessel and had a variety of functions, both practical and symbolic.

The most distinctive and important in phase 5 on the Western Kom is the assemblage of pottery from one of rooms, which is a part of an administrative-cultic centre.[40] There is a large variety of decoration on the pottery from the aforementioned room: incised, punctuations, cutting off, applied decorations. Such ornaments were not very popular among Egyptian pottery. Such a unique set of forms and their limited number suggest the vessels housed there were not commonly available among the local population, while this room must have played a significant role in the lives of Tell el-Farkha residents.

Decorated pottery provides us also with information about interactions between various societies. The inhabitants of the Nile Delta kept contacts with two main areas: the Southern Levant and the Upper Egyptians. The presence of sherds, which differ in form and clay technology from locally made pottery, indicates some kind of a contact, either through a trade, gift, exchange or migration. Even though very limited in number, ledge handles or imitations concerning a row of knobs are quite a significant evidence.

Most of the decorative patterns and techniques used by potters at Tell el-Farkha are a part of pottery tradition stretching over the whole Nile Delta. Most of the designs similar to those registered at Tell el-Farkha are known from other sites such as Buto, Tell el-Iswid or Tell Ibrahim Awad. There, artifacts are characteristic for the period of the state formation in Egypt and come from layers belonging to Naqada IIIA1-IIIC1 periods.

[40] Sobas 2009: 25-41.

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The Sunshade after the Old Kingdom – Female Attribute with Hathoric Connotation?

Lubica Hudáková

Institute for Egyptology, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria

Abstract: *The motif of a male sunshade bearer accompanying the tomb owner or his relatives is attested from the early 5th dynasty until the early Middle Kingdom, and in the related depictions the sunshade has a practical shielding function. The gradual abandonment of the motif coincides with the appearance of female sunshade bearers that start to be represented from the First Intermediate Period onwards. The context of the scenes in which these women appear, along with their iconography and associated inscriptions, indicate that the sunshade became a Hathoric attribute some time after the end of the Old Kingdom and fulfilled this function well into the 18th dynasty.*

Keywords*: Middle Kingdom, decorative programme, iconography, sunshade, fly-whisk, sunshade bearer, Hathor, Neferu, Louvre C15*

1. Introduction

The decorative programme of private tombs has always been one of the most important sources for studying ancient Egypt, be it from art-historical, archaeological, philological or cultural points of view. Even if the activities and events represented have to be regarded with caution, their informative value cannot be overlooked.

Since the year 2009, the project *MeKeTRE* has been focusing on the decoration of Middle Kingdom private tombs, studying the content and meaning of the scenes and their development in comparison with the Old Kingdom. Part of the project was the creation of an online database called *MEKETREpository*, the purpose of which is to collect and present the depicted themes and scenes in a structured way to scholars as well as to the interested public.[1]

The project is now in its second phase and concentrates on so called *icons*, that is, the smallest pictorial elements of which the images are composed. Each individual object (*icon*) represented in ancient Egyptian two-dimensional art may be studied in its own right in order to unfold the complexity of the scene or motif of which it is part. Thus, the aim of the project is to analyse which artefacts (objects of material culture) were represented in art, how they were transformed into images, whether the development of material culture was reflected in art, whether some artefacts or images of them were specific to a particular region or period of time, and so on. This art-historical approach is combined with philological investigation by studying the designations of objects and captions in order to detect how depiction and caption complemented one another.

In the present paper, I would like to turn attention to the images of cloth sunshades and their significance, especially in the tombs of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. An in-depth analysis reveals that the item became a Hathoric attribute some time after the end of the Old Kingdom and fulfilled this function well into the 18th dynasty.[2]

2. Male sunshade bearers

Two-dimensional images of sunshades are attested from the early 5th dynasty at the latest. From then to the end of the Old Kingdom, the motif was used in the tomb decoration in the Memphite necropoleis as well as in the provinces. H.G. Fischer collected and identified more than a dozen of examples from this period, displaying male attendants carrying a portable sunshade.[3] Concerning the context, these sunshade bearers are closely associated with the outdoor activities of the tomb owner, such as the inspection of estate or possessions. The bearers accompany him or his female relatives in the course of a *m33*-activity or during transport in a carrying chair.[4] In these scenes, the sunshade (or umbrella) has clearly a practical shielding function – the attendants simply carry it or hold it over the main person to protect him or her from the sun. The functionality and use of the item is well represented, for instance, in the tombs of Seneb at Giza (Fig. 92, late 5th dynasty), Pepyankh Henykem at Meir (6th dynasty, reign of Pepy II) or Hemre Isi at Deir el-Gebrawi (late 6th dynasty).[5]

[1] *MEKETREpository* [www.meketre.org], last accessed 19th August 2015.

[2] Compare: Hudáková 2013: 398–415.

[3] Fischer 1972: 151–156.

[4] For a list of examples illustrating the former motif see OEE 11.7.7 [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oee_ahrc_2006/], last accessed 19th August 2015. See also: Fischer 1972: 152–154.

[5] Junker 1941: 91, fig. 20; Blackman and Apted 1953a: pl. XXXI; Davies 1902b: pl. XVIII.

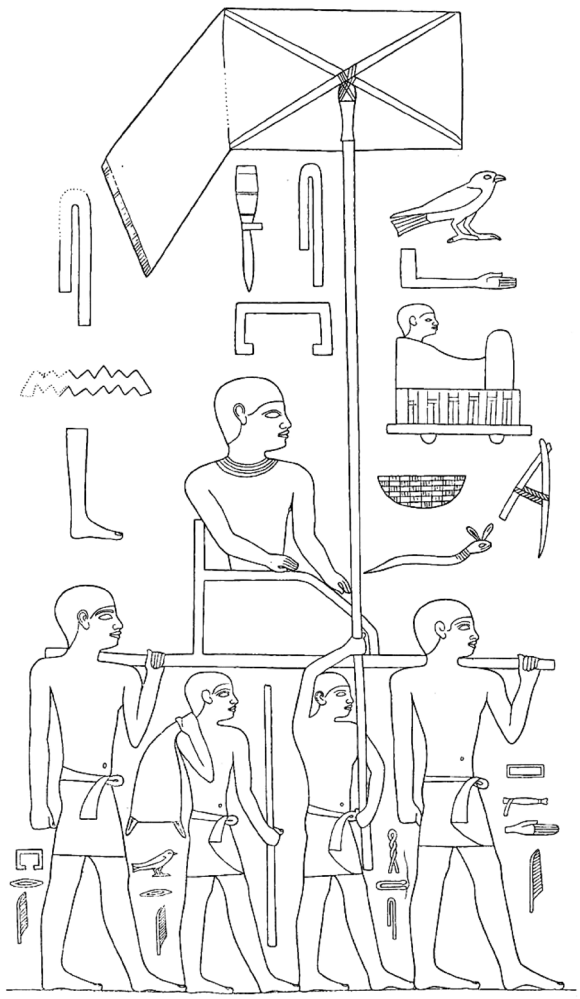

Fig. 92. Male sunshade bearer accompanying the tomb owner in a carrying chair. Tomb of Seneb, Giza, late 5th dynasty. After: JUNKER 1941: fig. 20.

The sunshade illustrated in Old Kingdom tombs consists of a pole supporting a pair of sticks crisscrossed diagonally and attached to the pole at the point of their intersection. A cloth is stretched over the sticks, with a large piece of it usually hanging down on one side (termed a 'flap'). There are several stylistic variations that were summarised by Fischer, indicating, for example, the fastening or structure of the cloth,[6] but the basic composition of the shade is in all cases most probably identical.[7]

After the Old Kingdom, the motif of the male sunshade bearer reappears solely in the chapel of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra at Dendera (built before the reunification) and in the tombs of Baket I and Khety at Beni Hasan dated to the late 11th /early 12th dynasty.[8] In Dendera as well as in the tomb of Baket I, the cloth itself is not preserved or damaged, respectively, but the pole and the gesture of the attendant make the identification unquestionable. Fortunately, the tomb of Khety provides a complete image of the sunshade (Fig. 93) and it is immediately obvious that the rendering of the item changed considerably in comparison to the Old Kingdom models. The crisscrossed sticks have been suppressed and their presence can only be inferred from the short horizontal stroke at the top of the pole.[9]

3. Female sunshade bearers

This gradual abandonment of the motif displaying a male sunshade bearer in the early Middle Kingdom coincides with the appearance of a new motif in the tomb decoration. This new motif displays nothing else but women carrying sunshades on various occasions and it already appears in the 9th dynasty. Not only the gender, but also the entire iconography as well as the context have been modified and none of the examples displays the practical use of the sunshade any more. On the basis of their context, the attestations can be divided into three groups, but upon closer examination, all of them can be linked together.

3.1 Offering bearers

The first group of women carrying a sunshade are attendants bringing burial equipment. This motif is attested in the tomb of *Ankhtifi at el-Moalla* (Fig. 94, probably 9th dynasty)[10] and in the tomb of *Sobekhotep at Kom Ombo* (late 11th dynasty).[11] In both tombs, the women grasp the pole of the shade and hold it above their head as if to protect themselves from the sun. Their attitude is at least partly comparable with the Old Kingdom examples and the illustration of the shade in the tomb of Sobekhotep is the only Middle Kingdom parallel resembling the Old Kingdom images of sunshades. In this particular tomb, the context is clear as the scene is situated in the burial chamber and the woman, designated as Intetnedjemet, stride towards the tomb owner together with other women carrying boxes, a mirror, a revolving fan, and an ointment jar. In the tomb of Ankhtifi, the scene is unfortunately fragmentary and less obvious. There have been at least two registers with female figures, occupying the southern and south-eastern sides of pillar IV.[12] The other sides were probably

[6] See e.g.: WILD 1966: pl. CL. In this example, the sunshade bearer does not interact with the tomb owner, he belongs to a group of attendants represented in two registers below the main figure.

[7] Another type of sunshades attested since the Old Kingdom and widely used throughout Pharaonic history was the lotiform or palmiform shade, actually resembling a large-scale fan. See: FISCHER 1984: 1104; JÉQUIER 1921: 254–255. For yet another sunshade see: BALCZ 1941: 1–4.

[8] HABACHI 1963: fig. 7; NEWBERRY 1893: pls. XVI, XXXI.

[9] KANAWATI and WOODS 2010: photo 5.

[10] Southern side (side 7) of pillar IV. VANDIER 1950: 51, fig. 4.

[11] West wall of the painted burial chamber. WENIG 1968: 77–78, pl. IV and colour plate VI.

[12] VANDIER 1950: 51.

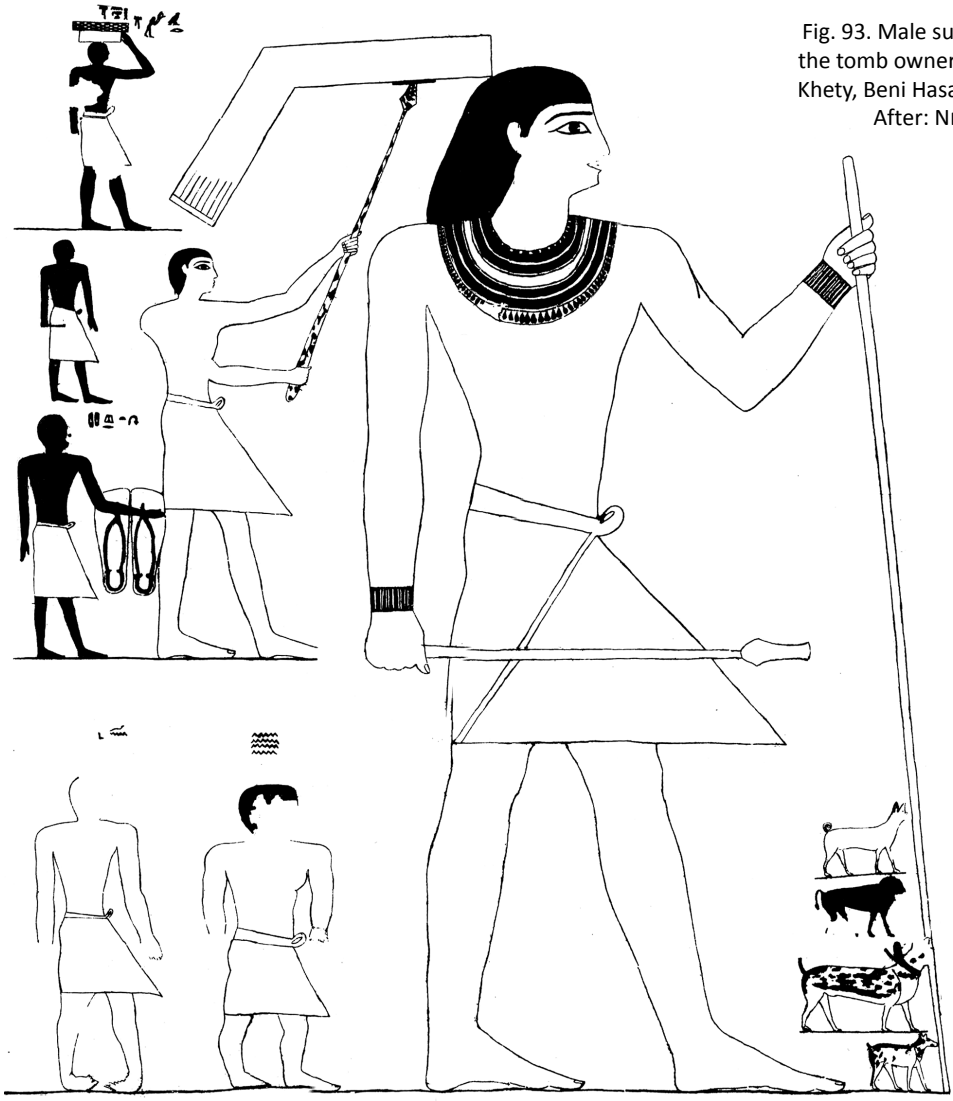

Fig. 93. Male sunshade bearer accompanying the tomb owner in the course of *m33*. Tomb of Khety, Beni Hasan (BH 17), early 12th dynasty. After: Newberry 1893: pl. XVI.

devoted to representations of cattle[13] and offering bearers.[14] The western side of this pillar features the famous biographical inscription describing the famine in Ankhtifi's time.[15] The sunshade displayed in the tomb of Ankhtifi has been described by Vandier as a sort of sceptre ('*une sorte de sceptre (extrémité jaune) coupé par une masse blanche*').[16] He was apparently not able to recognise the item since the crisscrossed sticks have been entirely omitted and the pole has become shorter. However, this stylised representation becomes characteristic for the period to come.

3.2 Harvest and/or Harvest festival

In the tomb of *Setka at Qubbet el-Hawa* (QH 110, 9th dynasty)[17] and in the tomb of *Senet at Thebes* (TT 60, early 12th dynasty), female sunshade bearers are associated with agricultural pursuits, namely with the grain harvest. In the former tomb, the motif is depicted between grain cutters and a man transporting cereal ears. The woman is represented striding and holds the sunshade in her left (rear) hand in front of her. She is well-dressed and richly adorned with jewellery. The pole of the shade resembles a staff and the item is suggestive of an attribute rather than an object with practical function.

In the tomb of Senet, female sunshade bearers appear in the register above the grain harvest.[18] It was once decorated with an image of Intefiqer seated on a lion-legged chair that is now missing (Fig. 95). He is being approached by three women, each of which grasps the pole of a sunshade that rests upon her shoulder. The pole has become quite short, there are no crisscrossed sticks and the cloth does not have an L-shape any more, it simply hangs down. The woman on the left has

[13] Vandier 1950: 59, fig. 12.
[14] Vandier 1950: 62.
[15] Vandier 1950: 220–231.
[16] Vandier 1950: 51.
[17] Edel 2008: 1729, pl. LXXII (scene 2). The related scenes occupy the northern end of the east wall (entrance wall).
[18] Davies 1920: 9–11, pl. III. The related scenes occupy the eastern end of the north wall of the corridor.

Fig. 94. Female sunshade bearer, probably an attendant bringing burial equipment. Tomb of Ankhtifi, el-Moalla, 9th dynasty. After: VANDIER 1950: fig. 4.

outstretched her rear arm and her hand would have been originally close to Intefiqer's face. Davies assumed that she has brought him a sistrum to touch.[19]

The depicted grain harvest has been obviously associated with storage of grain, wine-gathering, gardening and acrobatic dancers represented on the opposite wall of the corridor.[20] All scenes together apparently illustrate a sort of Harvest festival associated with the goddess Hathor;[21] Davies suggested '*a thanksgiving to the goddess of fertility*.'[22] The presence of the leaping dance ('*Hathorsprungtanz*') in particular corroborates this interpretation, as it clearly has a Hathoric character.[23] Parallel representations are attested in the tomb of Senbi I at Meir (B1, early 12th dynasty)[24] and in the tomb of Amenemhat at Thebes (TT 82, 18th dynasty)[25] in the context of the so-called *Festival of Hathor*. In the latter tomb, for example, the dancers are accompanied by priests of Hathor clapping castanets and at least three female musicians bringing various emblems of the goddess towards the tomb owner and his wife.[26] The leftmost woman even carries an unusual object that resembles a fly-whisk. A closer look reveals that it is a rather simplified reproduction of the sunshade, almost identical with that attested in the tomb of Senet. Its presence indicates that along with *menat* necklaces and sistra it too was considered an attribute of the goddess Hathor.

3.3 Funerary repast scene and/or Festival of Hathor

The third and most striking group of women carrying a sunshade is associated with funerary repast scenes (or offering table scenes). The earliest example identified so far appears in the tomb of *Setka at Qubbet el-Hawa* (QH 110, 9th dynasty),[27] with four women accompanying the tomb owner and his wife seated in front of an offering table and an offering list. Below the couple there was a row of eighteen men (some of them designated as 'his son') identified by Edel as funerary priests.[28] Three of the four women are comparable with the sunshade bearers in the tomb of Senet since the shade rests upon their shoulders. They are dressed in long wrap-around dresses or skirts, whose upper hem and shoulder straps are richly decorated. In contrast, the fourth woman is depicted naked, wearing only a belt and jewellery (Fig. 96). A white piece of cloth held in her right hand might be her dress. Her oversized sunshade dominates the scene – the long pole stands on the ground and resembles a staff.

The height and outer appearance of the four women, their dominant position in the funerary repast scene and traces of inscription led Edel to the conclusion that they are not simple attendants but noblewomen.[29] He even identified three of them with Iteti, Huti and Meritites represented elsewhere in the tomb and acknowledged as the tomb owner's daughters. The fourth smallest woman was assumed to be daughter of the naked sunshade bearer standing in front of her. Iteti, Huti and Meritites bear the title 'Priestess of Hathor' and this fact is crucial since it is a further evidence that the sunshade can with reasonable probability be considered an attribute of the goddess. The sunshade bearer depicted in the harvest scene in the same tomb (described above) may in fact represent one of these women too – her presence would guarantee the favour of the goddess in respect of fertility.

The association with the funerary repast scene is also characteristic for the tomb of queen *Neferu at Thebes* (TT 319), wife of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, that features the most important group of female sunshade

[19] DAVIES 1920: 11. It is unclear whether he actually saw traces of the object held.
[20] DAVIES 1920: 10–11, pl. XV.
[21] Compare: HUDÁKOVÁ 2013: 292–296 (chapter 11.2.2.1.1.1).
[22] DAVIES 1920: 10.
[23] BRUNNER-TRAUT 1958[2]: 40–41.
[24] BLACKMAN 1914: 22–27, pls. II–III, XVIII–XIX, XXI.1.
[25] DAVIES and GARDINER 1915: 94–96, pls. XIX–XX.
[26] There is also a funerary character as the related scenes are situated in the shrine of the tomb and interact with other funerary rituals and offering scenes. See: DAVIES and GARDINER 1915: pls. XVIII–XXVIII.
[27] Southern part of the east wall (entrance wall). EDEL 2008: 1730–1738 (esp. 1730–1732), fig. 5, pl. LXXIV (scenes 4–7, esp. scene 4), colour plates XVIII–XX.
[28] EDEL 2008: 1735–1738.
[29] EDEL 2008: 1730, 1794–1795.

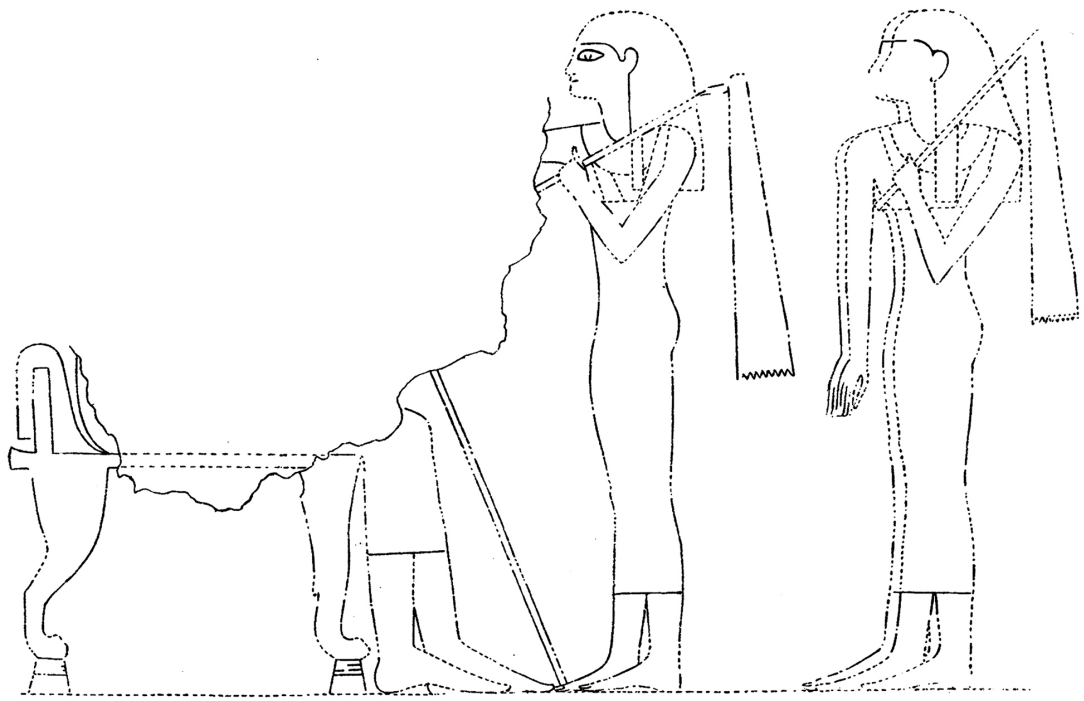

Fig. 95. Female sunshade bearers approaching Intefiqer in a scene associated with agricultural pursuits, probably part of a Harvest Festival. Tomb of Senet, Thebes (TT 60), early 12th dynasty. After: Davies 1920: pl. III.

bearers known so far.[30] Only fragments of the wall decoration are preserved, but concerning the chapel it is widely accepted that it was adorned with raised relief.[31] It illustrated at least two processions involving women carrying, wearing or presenting various items such as *menat* necklaces and sunshades.

The rightward procession was oriented toward a large-scale offering table, beside which Neferu might have been depicted.[32] At least twelve women have been illustrated in the upper and six in the lower register. The rightmost woman, apparently the leader of the group, presents a *menat* necklace towards the main figure, and

Fig. 96. Female sunshade bearer accompanying the tomb owner in a funerary repast scene, probably one of his daughters. Tomb of Setka, Qubbet el-Hawa (QH 110), 9th dynasty. After: Edel 2008: pl. LXXIV.

[30] Shortly before submitting this article I had the opportunity to discuss the topic with Isabel Stünkel who dealt with the sunshade bearers in the tomb of Neferu while preparing the catalogue for the Middle Kingdom exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. I would like to thank her for providing me with her manuscript. See: Stünkel 2015: 97.

[31] See e.g.: Winlock 1924: 12; Scott III 1986: 57; Jaroš-Deckert 1984: 115. The opposite is stated in other sources, see e.g.: PM I.1: 292. See also: Stünkel 2015: 97.

[32] The fragments are now in various museums. Cf. New York: *Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 26.3.353-1 [http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/590352], last accessed 19th August 2015; New Haven: *Yale University Art Gallery*, 1956.33.87 (Stünkel 2015: 97; Scott III 1986: 57–59, figs. 26, 26a and frontispiece; [http://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/7740], last accessed 9th September 2015); Baltimore: *Walters Art Museum*, 22.325 (Steindorff 1946: 72, pl. XLVIII (239); [http://art.thewalters.org/detail/38856/woman-carrying-a-sunshade/], last accessed 14th September 2015). According to the homepage of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the fragments once decorated the left-hand wall of the corridor.

Fig. 97. Female sunshade bearer, member of a procession of women approaching a large-scale offering table. Tomb of Neferu, Thebes (TT 319), reign of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. New Haven: *Yale University Art Gallery*, 1956.33.87. © Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery.

Fig. 98. Lower part of a sunshade's cloth, from a procession of women approaching a large-scale offering table. Tomb of Neferu, Thebes (TT 319), reign of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. New York: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 26.3.353u. Rogers Fund, 1926 © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 99. Female sunshade bearer, member of a procession of women probably associated with a Festival of Hathor. Tomb of Neferu, Thebes (TT 319), reign of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. New York: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 26.3.353n. Rogers Fund, 1926 © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

she and her colleagues all carry sunshades identical with those represented in the tomb of Senet (Figs. 97–98).

The leftward procession is divided into three registers.[33] Its destination is unfortunately unclear, but the figures might have approached an image of the tomb owner. The middle register is occupied by at least five groups of female figures. The first group is made up of women holding hands and wearing *menat* necklaces. A second group further right presents a *menat* necklace and carries a sunshade at the same time (Fig. 99). Isolated fragments represent parts of women with their arms folded and wearing extensive spiral-form bracelets as well as remains of a woman carrying a mirror in its case. One woman stands in front of an object that resembles a stand or sacred image, probably associated with Hathor.[34] Like in the tomb of Setka, the women wear long skirts or dresses with elaborately patterned upper hem and sometimes with shoulder straps. As I have shown elsewhere, this leftward procession is one of the earliest representations of the so-called *Festival of*

[33] Compare Hudáková 2013: 314–316 (chapter 11.2.2.3.1). See: Smith 1958: 90, pl. 60 A. For the fragments compare New York: *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 26.3.353-3 and 68.12 [http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/590592; http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/590597], last accessed 19th August 2015. According to the homepage of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the fragments once decorated the right-hand wall of the corridor. According to Winlock (1924: 12, fig. 10), at least some of the fragments were found in the chapel.

[34] New York: *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 26.3.353pp. A stand with *menat* necklaces and emblems of the goddess is represented in the tomb of Ukhhotep IV. Blackman and Apted 1953b: pl. XIX.

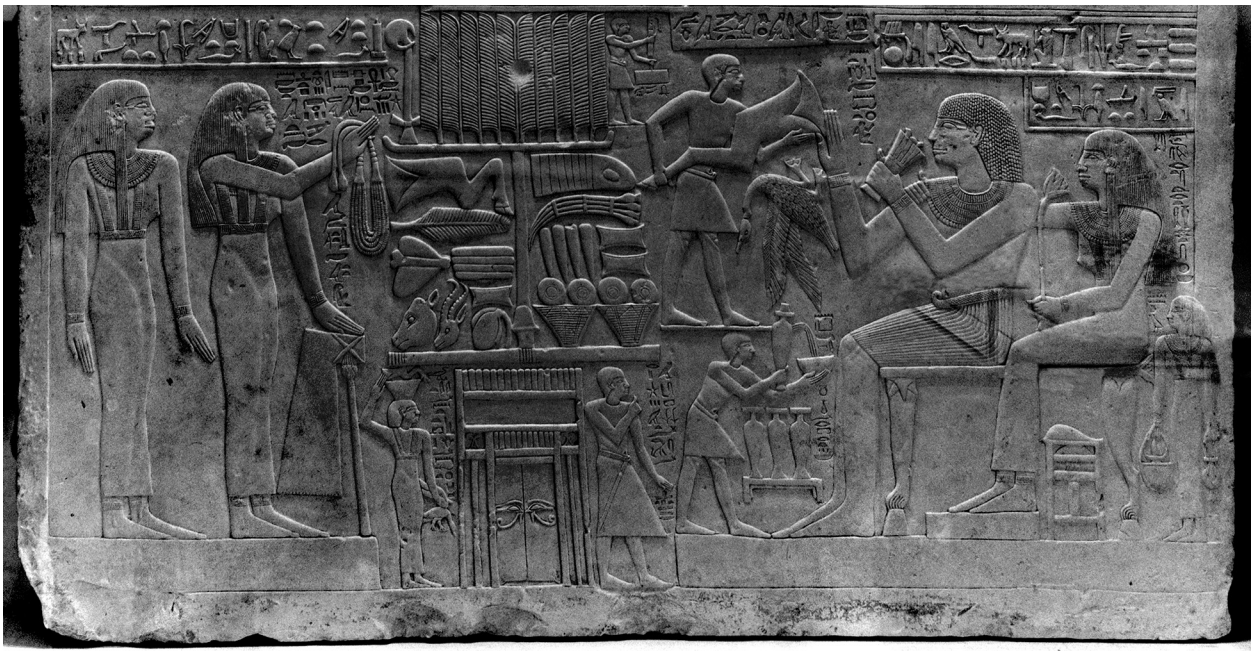

Fig. 100. Woman presenting a menat-necklace, possessing a sunshade and reciting a song addressing Hathor in the context of a funerary repast scene. Stela of Abkau, probably from Abydos, 11th dynasty. Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, C15. © Claus Jurman, reproduced courtesy of Musée du Louvre.

Hathor characteristic for the decoration of several First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tombs.[35] In the tomb of Neferu, the sunshade has obviously a ceremonial and not a practical function and as such it is on a par with the *menat* necklace that was also a cultic adornment of the priestesses of Hathor.[36]

Even more significant and conclusive in this respect is the *stela of Abkau* (reunification period or shortly before) that most probably originates from Abydos and is now in the Louvre (C15).[37] The lower part of the stela displays funerary rites and a false door combined with a funerary repast scene (Fig. 100). To the left of the offering table are images of two women, adorned with jewellery and dressed in long skirts or dresses with decorated upper hems and shoulder straps. The woman on the right presents a *menat* necklace and at the same time her left hand is placed on the top of a sunshade standing on the ground.[38] In this case, the criss-crossed sticks have been rendered and the identification of the shade is thus definite. She is described as 'his *jwn.t*(*jt*) [the one of Dendera], his beloved, *Ttw*' and is apparently meant to recite a song addressing Hathor that is written in front of her face.[39] Because of her elaborate dress and the designation 'his beloved', Morenz assumed that she may be a female relative of the couple represented, probably their daughter; the title *The one of Dendera* would associate her with the Hathor of Dendera.[40] The accumulation of Hathoric aspects – the name, the song and the *menat* necklace – indicates that the sunshade too had a Hathoric connotation in this context, most probably associated with regeneration (see also below).

3.4 Gestures and garments

Summarising the iconography, the women represented carry the sunshade in three different ways. The first motif shows women holding the shade over their head (Fig. 94). Even if the attestations give the impression that the item

[35] Compare: Hudáková 2013: 311ff. (chapter 11.2.2.3).

[36] See also: Stünkel 2015: 97. A third procession of women, some of them equipped with sunshades, was probably depicted in the corridor – the fragments are in sunk relief. Cf. New York: *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 31.3.1-1 [http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/553296], last accessed 19th August 2015.

[37] Drioton 1933: pl. IX; Boreux 1932: pl. XVII; Morenz 1997: 7–17; Barbotin 2005: 140–141; Landgráfová 2011: 88–91 (no. 29); Klebs 1922: fig. 46. Morenz dates the stela into late 11th dynasty, but Fischer (1976b: 9, FN 34) suggested a date not much earlier than the reunification. Indeed, the iconographical similarities between the stela of Abkau, the tomb of Neferu and the stela of Henenu (Hodjash and Berlev 1982: figs. on pp. 69–71) indicate that all three objects are contemporary and that the stela of Abkau was made in the reunification period or shortly before. See: Hudáková 2013: 406–409 (chapter 13.1.2.2).

[38] The gestures of both women strongly resemble the gestures of the two women preserved on the fragment New York: *Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 26.3.353cc from the tomb of Neferu. It only shows the upper bodies without the hands, but since both figures also approach an offering table like on the stela of Abkau, they might have been represented in a similar manner. The right woman would have presented a *menat* necklace and supported a sunshade placed on the ground in front of her. The reconstruction is, however, only hypothetical.

[39] Morenz assumed a royal-cultic archetype for the motif. Morenz 1997: 14–15.

[40] Morenz 1997: 15–16. The woman on the left is interpreted by Morenz as Abkau's wife that is also depicted next to the stela owner to the right of the offering table.

is functional, the women are in fact offering bearers and the shade apparently belongs to the funerary equipment. The second motif displays women holding the sunshade in an upright position and it thus seems to have similar function as a staff of office (Figs. 96, 100). Finally, the most common motif illustrates women carrying the shade over their shoulder with the cloth hanging down their back (Figs. 95, 97, 99). In the two latter motifs, the sunshade is clearly an attribute of its possessor. In contrast to the male bearers of the Old Kingdom, these women never hold the shade over someone else.[41]

Apart from the naked figure in the tomb of Setka (Fig. 96), all other women are dressed in long dresses,[42] often featuring decorated upper hems and shoulder straps. Concerning jewellery, collars in combination with bracelets and anklets are only worn by women shown in the tomb of Setka and on the stela of Abkau, which were identified as female relatives of the owners of the monuments.

3.5 The form of the sunshade

The various renderings of the shades have been already summarised by Fischer.[43] The first significant step in the development of the *icon* concerns the form of the pole of the sunshade. The Old Kingdom examples usually feature a carinated round-topped head, but already in the tombs of Ankhtifi and Setka dated to the 9th dynasty, the head is knob-like, having the form of a lotus bud, and the pole receives the form of a spear (Figs. 94, 96). Fischer linked this change to the gradual appearance of lotiform spear-like staffs attested since the end of the Old Kingdom as a female attribute.[44]

In the tombs of Ankhtifi and Setka the cloth of the shade also underwent a development – both the horizontal and vertical parts were displayed, but they became much thinner and the criss-crossed sticks were entirely omitted (Figs. 94, 96). The diminishing importance of the horizontal element, that is, the main shady part of the cloth, can also be observed on the stela of Abkau (Fig. 100). It only has a symbolic size and even if the crisscrossed sticks have been rendered, the pole already imitates a lotus bud typical for this period.

The finalisation of this change from a practical towards an attributive and rather symbolic item is characteristic for the images in the tomb of Neferu and Senet (Figs. 95, 97—99). The cloth became a single mass hanging down from the pole without the indication of the horizontal portion or any fastening. In the former tomb, the head of the pole has either the form of a lotus bud or a closed lotus blossom (Figs. 97, 99). In both tombs, as well as in the tomb of Setka,[45] and on the stela of Abkau, a fringe at the lower end has been indicated (Figs. 95, 98, 100); sunshades in the tomb of Neferu even feature orange-red stripes (Fig. 97).[46]

Despite this schematic visualization, the proper form of the sunshade was without any doubt still understood. In the burial chamber of Neferu, a sunshade has also been depicted in the object frieze and in this case, it features an L-shaped cloth and criss-crossed sticks (see below).[47]

3.6 The sunshade and its significance

The preceding observations strongly suggest that the female sunshade bearers attested in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom tombs are of significance and obviously conveyed a certain meaning. The fact that they never hold the shade over someone else but rather carry it like an attribute, and that the representations of the shade became more and more '*hieratic*'[48] and inoperable, make it clear that it was considered a '*ceremonial*'[49] item.

As already mentioned, the context of the scenes directly or indirectly refer to the goddess Hathor.[50] Most of the women either bear a title related to Hathor or possess cultic emblems of hers such as *menat* necklaces,[51] and appear in scenes associated with fertility, funerary cult or festivities. It was Davies who already assumed that the sunshade was a '*less-known medium of her* [Hathor's] *grace*', even if he failed to identify it exactly and only spoke of a white flag.[52]

Not only the iconography and the context, but also the written evidence corroborates this assumption. Already in the Old Kingdom, the Egyptian name for the sunshade was *sbꜣ* and thus identical with the word for 'star'.[53] Fischer assumed that this analogy was based on the criss-crossed sticks, which together with the pole gave

[41] This was already noted by Fischer. FISCHER 1958: 31.

[42] Fischer described them as skirts, but they are actually high-waisted, sometimes provided with shoulder straps, and rather represent wrap-around dresses. FISCHER 1958: 30.

[43] FISCHER 1958: 29–31; FISCHER 1972: 151–156; FISCHER 1984: 1104–1105.

[44] FISCHER 1958: 31..Compare also HUDÁKOVÁ 2013: 233–234 (chapter 10.1.2.4).

[45] Not in Fig. 5, but see EDEL 2008: pl. LXXII.

[46] FISCHER 1958: 30; SCOTT III 1986: 57. For comparable features in the Old Kingdom compare: FISCHER 1972: 154, figs. 2–3.

[47] FISCHER 1972: 153, figs. 2 (21), 5; WINLOCK 1928: fig. 3; WINLOCK 1942: pl. 13. See also: FISCHER 1958: 36, fn. 10.

[48] FISCHER 1958: 37, fn. 13.

[49] FISCHER 1984: 1105.

[50] For a short overview on the aspects of the goddess see: VISCHAK 2001: 82–85.

[51] For Hathor's attributes see: GALVIN 1990: 204–240; BLEEKER 1973: 58–62; ALLAM 1963: 125–133.

[52] DAVIES 1920: 11.

[53] For *sbꜣ* ('star') compare lemma-no. 131180 and for *sbꜣ* ('sunshade') compare lemma-no. 131270, in *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* [http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html], last accessed 11th August 2015. For Old Kingdom examples see: Hassan 1936: fig. 240; Fischer 1976a: 9, fig. 2 = Davies 1902a: pls. 8–9. For an example from the reunification period compare the object frieze in the burial chamber of Neferu. FISCHER 1972: 153, figs. 2 (21), 5.

the impression of a five-pointed star.[54] This association might have been one of the factors that made the sunshade a Hathoric attribute,[55] since Hathor was among others known as a celestial goddess, bearing the epithets such as *nb.t p.t* ('Mistress of Heaven/Sky')[56] and *nb.t sbꜣ.w* ('Mistress of the Stars').[57]

The second epithet *nb.t sbꜣ.w* is actually used in the song recited by the sunshade bearer on the stela of Abkau (Fig. 100). Morenz already noted that the word *sbꜣ* is determined with the hieroglyphic sign for wood (Gardiner M3 – a branch), being probably an allusion to the image of the sunshade.[58] He described the shade as a possible symbol for '*eine Art Himmelszelt*', maybe understood as a support of the sky and thus interplaying with Hathor's epithet 'Mistress of Heaven'. Anyhow, the word *sbꜣ.w* used in the epithet with the determinative for wood may actually be translated as 'sunshades' too, i.e. as a 'Mistress of Sunshades'[59] instead of 'Mistress of Stars'.[60] Whether stars or sunshades, the celestial aspect would have been expressed. As Morenz observed, the cryptographic stela opens even a third possible explanation of the word. The term *sbꜣ* was also used to denote the 'door/doorway'. The main text of the stela actually mentions a 'gate (*rw.t*) of receiving offerings' as a place where Abkau built his tomb. The false door represented under the offering table and the 'Overseer of the Doors' (*jmj rꜣ sbꜣ.w*)[61] depicted next to it may be related to this concept – Morenz assumed a special door of Hathor at Deir el-Bahari, perhaps a special (short-term) Theban funerary institution. Thus, the epithet may have conveyed a multifaceted meaning.

4. Excursus: the sunshade in the object friezes

Last but not least, the prominence of the sunshade in the early Middle Kingdom is also stressed by its appearance in object friezes. One example is to be found in the painted burial chamber of Neferu at Thebes, wife of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. As already mentioned above, the item features an L-shaped cloth and criss-crossed sticks.[62] The object frieze on the head-end of the wooden coffin of Ashayet (T3C), another wife of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, displays her in the company of two male sunshade bearers.[63] Each of these figures holds steady the pole of one sunshade that is as high as the figure of Ashayet, shown standing in-between. Interestingly, the cloths of the shades are not held over her but seem to protect the male attendants. However, this is most probably due to the unusual rendering of the shade. It features an extensive L-shaped cloth, but the head of the pole is not attached to the centre of its horizontal part but to the outer end, and the criss-crossed sticks were omitted. The way the attendants present the items to Ashayet calls to mind offering bearers and the context also indicates that the sunshades are meant to belong to her equipment. This is also corroborated by the fact that Ashayet touches the pole of one of the shades, as if to accept it. Since she bore the title 'Priestess of Hathor', the item could well be considered a sign of her office.

A third very similar example has been illustrated on the interior of the head-end of the coffin of Heqata from Qubbet el-Hawa (A1C).[64] In this case, however, it is the male tomb owner who stands in front of a male figure, who carries or presents a sunshade in exactly the same manner as on the coffin of Ashayet.[65] In contrast to Ashayet, Heqata leans against his staff and does not take the item over from the bearer. An almost identical scene has apparently been preserved on the coffin of Iqer from Gebelein (G1T).[66]

On the basis of these four examples, Willems suggested that the inclusion of the sunshade '*among the offerings represented in the object frieze was a southern Egyptian peculiarity*'.[67] He considered it to be part of the '*private object ritual* […] *that never seems to have reached a codified form*'.[68] The exact purpose of the various pieces of equipment among the offerings is still a matter of discussion, but it is rather unlikely that there was no cultic reason for their presence. The sunshade too must have been of significance beyond its 'daily' use as a protector against the sun; the reason for its inclusion was most probably its Hathoric connotation.

[54] FISCHER 1972: 155, fig. 5; FISCHER 1984: 1104–1105. For the association of sunshades with stars compare also the early Middle Kingdom object friezes on the coffins of Heqata and Iqer, where sunshades apparently correlate with the passage of the *Coffin Texts* spell 934 mentioning Imperishable Stars: WILLEMS 1996: 74, 394[g], 400 [note ak]. Furthermore, in the New Kingdom a star is also depicted on a lotiform/palmiform shade (or large-scale fan) represented on a relief block from the reign of Amenhotep III, cf. JARITZ and BICKEL 1994: 485 (top image).

[55] Morenz assumed that the item might have become associated with Hathor because women started to be depicted with it. MORENZ 1997: 11–12, fn. 14. But it was rather in reversed order.

[56] BLEEKER 1973: 46–48; ALLAM 1963: 99–102. See also: LEITZ 2002: 49–50.

[57] LEITZ 2002: 126.

[58] MORENZ 1997: 11–13.

[59] This translation is also used in *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, example for lemma-no. 131270 [http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html], last accessed 11th August 2015.

[60] According to Morenz, the epithet *nb.t sbꜣ.w* is only attested on this stela and in the Story of Sinuhe. The Story contains a passage comparable with the text of the song; for the comparison and the possible implications see: MORENZ 1997: 7–17.

[61] For the title cf. WARD 1982: 43, no. 334; FISCHER 1997²: 48, no. 334.

[62] FISCHER 1972: 153, figs. 2 (21), 5; WINLOCK 1928: fig. 3; WILLEMS 1996: 74.

[63] FISCHER 1972: 152, 154, fig. 2 (22); DE BUCK 1939: pl. II; WILLEMS 1996: pl. 46.

[64] WILLEMS 1996: 74, figs. 4, 23, pl. 16.

[65] Willems assumed that the male figure represented on the other side of Heqata is also to be identified as a sunshade bearer, but it remains unclear since the gesture of the figure and the form of the item are different. Furthermore, the figure moves away from Heqata. WILLEMS 1996: 74.

[66] See: WILLEMS 1996: 74. No image of this part of the coffin has been published yet.

[67] WILLEMS 1996: 74.

[68] WILLEMS 1996: 88.

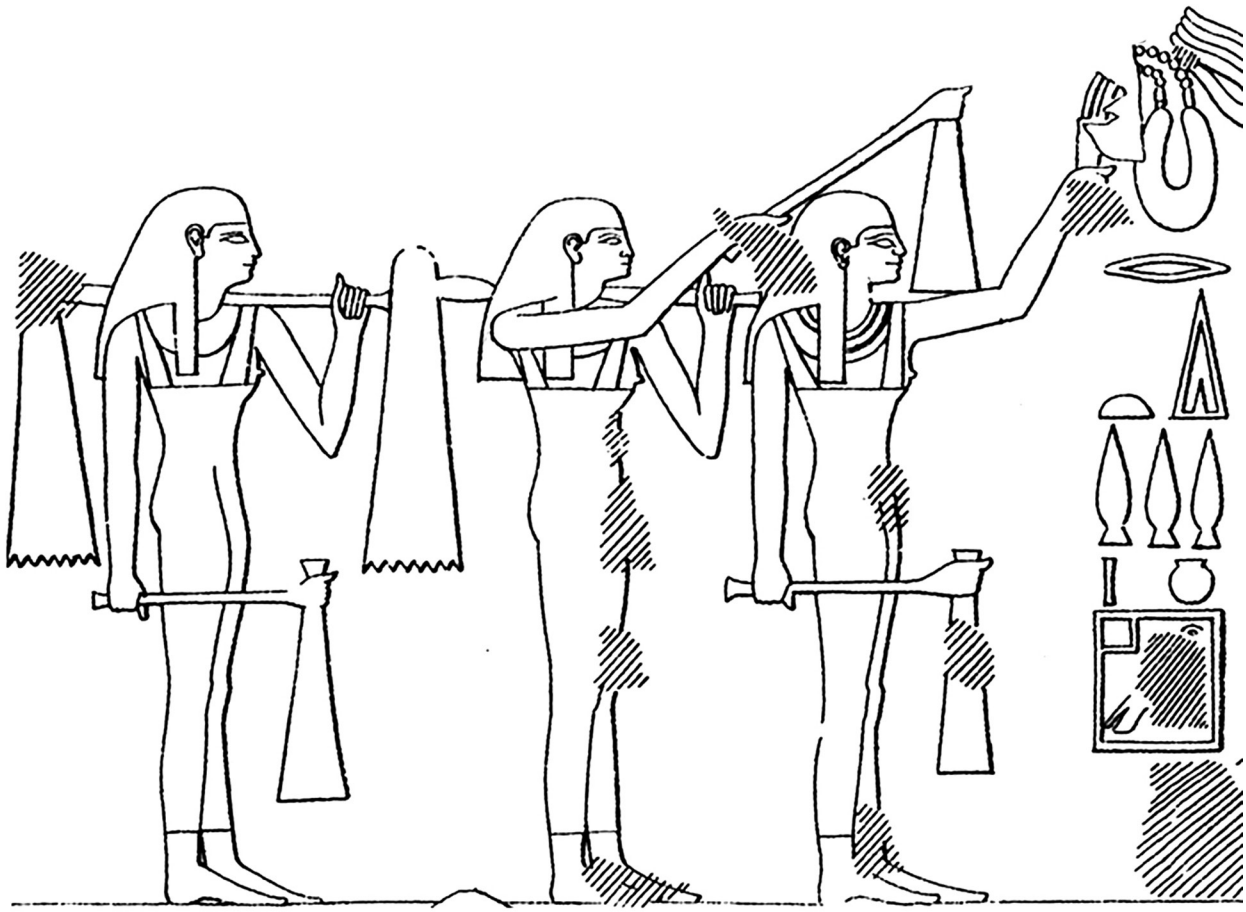

Fig. 101. Singers/priestesses of Hathor carrying fly-whisks, sunshades and a menat-necklace. Tomb of Puyemre, Thebes (TT 39), reign of Thutmosis III. After: DAVIES 1923: pl. LIV.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the given evidence strongly suggests that the sunshade became a Hathoric emblem in the First Intermediate Period at the latest. The female sunshade bearers are attested from the 9th dynasty onwards but became especially popular in the reunification period. Furthermore, the attestations are restricted to Upper Egypt and were especially popular in the Theban region; the same has also been observed in respect of sunshades as part of the object friezes. On one hand, such chronological and geographical distribution is not surprising when considering the prominent role of Hathor of Dendera and Deir el-Bahari for the 11th dynasty and the kingship of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra in particular.[69] Nevertheless, it is striking that the sunshade apparently did not gain any importance in other cultic centres of the goddess such as Kom el-Hisn and Meir.[70]

The question arises when and if the item lost this meaning. The tomb of Senet from the early 12th dynasty seems to provide the latest evidence known so far. However, the schematic illustration of the sunshade makes its correct identification rather problematic since the object resembles a fly-whisk, an object attested since the Old Kingdom. The main difference between the two items is the rendering of the head of the pole. In the case of the sunshade, the head has the form of a lotus bud, whereas the pole of a fly-whisk features a clenched hand. Furthermore, the sunshade features a fringe at the lower end of the flap. Fly-whisks and pennants were usual attributes of the priestesses of Hathor in the time of the 18th dynasty[71] and it is thus well possible that sunshades were simply not recognised among them so far.[72]

A brief look at the decoration of 18th dynasty tombs proves this assumption. The tomb of Amenemhat (TT

[69] See: GUNDLACH 1999: 21–41. Compare also: ALLAM 1963; SADEK 1987: 48–52, 114–118.

[70] It is noteworthy that the sunshade does not appear in the prominent scenes representing the so-called *Festival of Hathor* at Meir or Kom el-Hisn. Cf. HUDÁKOVÁ 2013: 322–329 (chapters 11.2.2.3.5 and 11.2.2.3.6).

[71] FISCHER 1977: 83–84.

[72] E.g., Schott did not differentiate between the sunshade and the fly-whisk. He described the objects as '*verschieden geformte Wedel*'. SCHOTT 1953: 44.

82) and its parallel representations with the tomb of Senet were already mentioned above, but similar observations can be made in regard to other Theban tombs as well. In the tomb of Ramose (TT 55), for example, the sunshade is so small that only the lotus bud instead of a clenched hand precludes its confusion with a fly-whisk.[73] The tomb of Puyemre (TT 39) from the reign of Thutmosis III is especially important as it illustrates three singers/priestesses of the goddess, each carrying two different insignia (Fig. 101).[74] There is a fly-whisk, a *menat* necklace and a third object, which was described by Davies as a '*flag with pinked ends attached to a staff*'.[75] When comparing the gestures of the two women on the left and the form of the object carried upon their shoulders, it becomes clear that it actually represents a sunshade.[76] In this tomb, the difference between the sunshade and the fly-whisk is obvious.

The Theban examples of sunshades from the 18th dynasty may well stand in the tradition that was established in the Theban region around the beginning of the Middle Kingdom and prove their Hathoric connotation. The present case study has hopefully demonstrated that an in-depth analysis of single objects represented in art can brings us a step further in our understanding of the ancient Egyptian culture.

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[73] DAVIES 1941: 20, pl. XVIII. Davies described the object as a '*fly-flap*'.

[74] DAVIES 1923: pls. LIV, LV (bottom).

[75] DAVIES 1923: 24. For the accompanying inscription cf. SCHOTT 1953: 44–45, 112.

[76] Other tombs showing the presentation of Hathoric emblems only show fly-whisks and *menat* necklaces (TT 49: DAVIES 1933: pl. II), *menat* necklaces and sistra (TT 39: DAVIES 1923: pl. LIII; TT 77: MANNICHE 1988: fig. 3; TT 86: DAVIES and DAVIES 1933: pl. XVII; TT 93: DAVIES 1930: pls. XXXIX, XLI; TT 100: DAVIES 1943: pls. LXIII, LXX, LXXI) or *menat* necklaces only (TT 127: PM I.1: 242). Women represented in the tomb of Min (TT 109) carry two types of objects, but the published drawing is unfortunately too schematic to identify them, cf.: VIREY 1891: fig. 1 on p. 364 (top register) = LÜDDECKENS 1943: fig. 17.

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Settlement Pottery from the Old Kingdom Period at Tell El-Murra Trench T5

Magdalena Kazimierczak

Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland

Abstract: *Excavations conducted in Tell el-Murra trench T5 since 2013 revealed settlement structures with ceramic material which comprises fragments of vessels typical of the Old Kingdom Period. Among these forms are: Meidum bowls, beer jars with collar, bread moulds with internal ledge, bowls with internal ledge, bowls with incised lines and others. We can distinguish types connected with the early Old Kingdom as well as those characteristics for later part of it. Most of these vessels show an affinity with pottery found at other sites all over Egypt, from both Old Kingdom tombs as well as settlement contexts i.e. from Buto, Hierakonpolis and Tell el-Farkha. Based on these similarities and pottery studies, we can reconstruct the history of the site and determine the chronology and function of the structures and facilities discovered in trench T5.*

Keywords: *Tell el-Murra, settlement, Meidum bowls, beer jars, Old Kingdom Egyptian pottery*

1. Introduction

The site of Tell el-Murra, situated in the north-eastern part of the Nile Delta, has been examined since 2008, when the first survey was conducted there. In 2010 the first test trenches were explored, and since then excavations have been carried out annually by the Polish Archaeological Expedition to the North-Eastern Nile Delta of the Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University in Cracow under the direction of Mariusz Jucha. Pottery material collected in the course of the excavations indicates that the tell was occupied from the Predynastic Period (Lower Egyptian Culture) through Early Dynastic until the end of the Old Kingdom.

The excavations conducted at Tell el-Murra since 2010[1] were concentrated mainly in two areas on the Tell: the first was trench S3, located in the south-western part of the Tell, where the cemetery was found,[2] and fieldwork in the latter revealed graves containing pottery from the Early Dynastic Period.[3] The second area of work, excavated mainly in the last three years, was trench T5 located in the north-eastern part of the Tell, and here settlement structures were discovered.

Pottery material collected in trench T5 during the 2013 to 2015 seasons consisted mostly of potsherds, although a few complete or almost complete vessels were uncovered.[4] The pottery vessels discovered so far are dated to the Old Kingdom, among which could be distinguished forms typical for the early and late parts of that period.

2. Pottery of the early Old Kingdom (3rd-4th dynasties)

Among the vessel shapes typical for that period is one quite significant group consisting of various kinds of bowls, plates and trays. Bowls with convex sides and lip-rims were quite common (Fig. 102: 5-7), and many fragments belong also to bowls with convex sides and a simple rim (Fig. 102: 1-4). Completely preserved examples and profiles of these two kinds of vessels show us that they have a flattened base, sometimes slightly rounded. Similar forms are known from other sites in the Nile Delta; for example, they resemble a form known from Tell el-Farkha, where they are attested in phase 4 (Naqada IIIA1-B), but became more typical for phase 5 (Naqada IIIB-C1).[5] They could also occur later, in phases 6 and 7.[6] Parallel examples come also from Tell el-Akhdar[7] and Buto.[8]

Sporadically bowls with convex sides and an angular inner edge to the rim were found (Fig. 102: 8-9). They are analogous to the forms known from Buto,[9] Tell el-Akhdar[10] and Tell el–Farkha, where such bowls occurred in settlement layers dated to the 1st and 2nd dynasties[11].

All vessel types mentioned above were made of fine or medium category Nile clay, tempered with fine to medium-grained sand as well as straw. Most of them are light red, red or reddish-brown, and have a polished or burnished surface both inside and outside.

[1] The project was financed from the funds of the National Science Centre allocated on the basis of the decision number DEC-2013/09/B/HS3/03588

[2] Jucha 2010; Jucha 2013.

[3] Kazimierczak 2014a; Kazimierczak 2014b; Kazimierczak 2015.

[4] Kazimierczak 2014c.

[5] Jucha 2005: 49-50, Pls 60-61, 63: 3-5, 64, 65: 1-2.

[6] Jucha 2011a: 958-959, 962-963, 965, 967-969, Fig. 1: 15-17, 2: 15-16, 3: 22-23, 4: 20.

[7] Jucha 2012b: 53, Fig. 2.7-8, 3.6-7.

[8] Köhler 1998: 22-23, Taf. 27: 1-2, 7-9; 28: 1, 3, 5.

[9] Köhler 1998: 23, Taf. 28.9-16.

[10] Jucha 2012b: 53, Fig. 3.1.

[11] Jucha 2011a: Fig. 3:21.

Plates form another type of vessel commonly found in the pottery assemblage of that period, usually with a grooved line or lines on the outer surface just below the rim (Fig. 102: 10-13). They were made of the medium category Nile clay, and only the interior surface of these vessels was slipped with a red coat and polished or burnished, while the other was usually uncoated and smoothed. At Tell el-Farkha, such vessel forms occur in the settlement phases 6 (Early Dynastic Period) and 7 (beginning of the Old Kingdom)[12] and in a group of graves dated to Naqada IIIC2/D.[13] They are also part of the pottery assemblage of graves of group IV at Minshat Abu Omar dated to Naqada IIIC/IIID.[14] Moreover, similar examples come from Buto,[15] Tell el-Akhdar[16] and Tell Abu el-Halyat.[17]

A vessel type occurring in significant quantities in trench T5 is Meidum bowls, a pottery type especially characteristic of the Old Kingdom. The shape of Meidum bowls evolved over time, notably for the rim and the shoulder, and this allows us to use them as chronological markers. Meidum bowls characteristic for the early part of the Old Kingdom consist of forms with the maximum diameter at the height of the shoulder. The majority of sherds with that feature have angular shoulders and well-developed necks (Op de Beeck's type A)[18] (Fig. 102: 14-17). Very occasionally, bowls were found with the maximum diameter at the rounded shoulder and an angular transition between the rim and the shoulder (Op de Beeck's type B3b)[19] (Fig. 102: 18-20). Both types are dated particularly to the early part of the Old Kingdom and even to the Early Dynastic Period (1st to 4th dynasties, but they occur sporadically also in 6th dynasty[20]).

Analogous examples to Op de Beeck's type A3 occurred in settlement contexts at Buto, in Schicht VI to VII,[21] as well as in funerary contexts at many sites all over Egypt, all dated to the beginning of Old Kingdom: at Meidum[22] itself, at Ballas,[23] Tarkhan,[24] Giza,[25] the Qau and Badari region,[26] Saqqara[27] and in tomb no. 459 at Adaima.[28] Example of Meidum bowls with features typical for Op de Beeck's type B3b were found among others at Giza[29] and also at Buto, in Schicht V.[30]

All Meidum bowls discovered in Tell el-Murra trench T5 in seasons 2013–2015 were made of Nile clay. Most of them were made of very fine Nile clay, tempered with a small amount of tiny grains of sand, and only a few potsherds were made of medium Nile clay containing fine to medium-grained sand and straw. The surfaces of both of these bowl types were covered with red slip (sometimes other colours occur: dark red, brown and even black, probably the effect of firing) and in most cases, they are polished. The minerological-petrographical analysis of ten samples of Meidum bowls has been made by Mary Ownby in 2015.[31]

An interesting group of bowls comprise spouted examples (Fig. 103: 1-5) and fragments of them, mainly with single spouts (Fig. 103: 6-7). Fragments of this kind of bowls from Tell el-Murra have different sizes: the smaller examples have a rim diameter of about 20 cm and the larger about 30cm. They were made of fine or medium quality Nile clay, and the surface of these vessels was usually covered in a red slip. That kind of bowls is connected probably with the production of beer[32] at many sites, for instance Tell el-Farkha,[33] Abydos,[34] Giza[35] and Buto,[36] and they appear at the same time as beer jars in the Naqada IIIC2/D Period.[37] Similar examples were found also at Tell el-Akhdar,[38] Herakleopolis Magna[39] and at Giza (Heit el-Gurob[40]), where in addition to bowls with a single spout, large multiple spouted bowls occur. A. Wodzińska supposes that they were used for pouring liquids (water) during ablution or they were a vessel for the grain ration.[41] Large examples of spouted bowls were found also at Abu Rawash, in the pyramid of Djedefre from the 4th dynasty.[42]

Frequently represented (among the group mentioned above) are also rough ware bowls with an internal ledge (Fig. 103: 9-11), especially characteristic for the early Old Kingdom. In such dated contexts, they are attested among others at Dahshur, in the temple of the Red Pyramid of Snofru,[43], and at Elephantine[44] and Giza.[45]

[12] Jucha 2011a: 962-963, 965, 967-969, Fig. 2: 17, 3: 24, 4: 21.
[13] Jucha 2012a: 84-86.
[14] Kroeper 1988: 16, Fig. 177.
[15] Köhler 1998: 23, pl. 26.1-8.
[16] Jucha 2012b: 55-56, Fig. 3: 5.
[17] Jucha 2011b: Fig. 3: 4-5.
[18] Op de Beeck 2004: 270, Fig. 10, 3: 16, 22.
[19] Op de Beeck 2004: 263, 269, Fig. 10.
[20] Op de Beeck 2004: 263, 268-269, Fig. 1.
[21] Köhler 1998: 24-25, 126, pl. 31: 2-6; Wodzińska 2000: 155-156, Abb. II. 2; Wodzińska 2001: 169, pl. 37, 38: 1.
[22] Petrie 1892: 34, pl. XXX: 6.
[23] Petrie and Quibell 1896: 42, pl. XLI: 78a, 78c.
[24] Petrie, Wainwright and Gardiner 1913: pl. XLVIII, 37e.
[25] Reisner and Smith 1955: 65, fig. 61: 1050/8.
[26] Brunton 1927: pl. XIII: 37G-37M.
[27] Quibell 1913: 38, pl. XXVII: 19.
[28] Hendrickx 1998: 112, fig. 6a.
[29] Reisner and Smith 1955: 81-82, fig. 110: 34-10-13; Reisner and Smith 1955: 81-82, Fig. 110: 25-12-55.
[30] Köhler 1998: Taf. 31: 14; Wodzińska 2001: 170, Pl. 40: 2.
[31] Ownby, in press.
[32] Hendrickx *et al.* 2002: 292-293.
[33] Jucha 2011a: 965-966, 968-969, Fig. 3: 13, 4: 14.
[34] Petrie 1953: Pl. 30.99W.
[35] Kromer 1978: 59, fig. 19.1.
[36] Köhler 1998: 22, pl. 24.2-6.
[37] Garstang 1903: Pl. 30.19; Emery 1958: Pl. 32.
[38] Jucha 2012b: 54-55, Fig. 4.5.
[39] Bader 2009: 32, Fig. 10:e.
[40] Wodzińska 2009a: 220-212, Fig. 1.CD22, Fig. 5.
[41] Wodzińska 2009a: 211-212.
[42] Marchand 2009: 90: Ifao 181, 285, 180, 186, 91: Ifo 182.
[43] Köpp 2009: 65, Abb 4:Z244.
[44] Raue 1999: 183-184, Abb. 39:5-6.
[45] Wodzińska 2009b: 140/48.

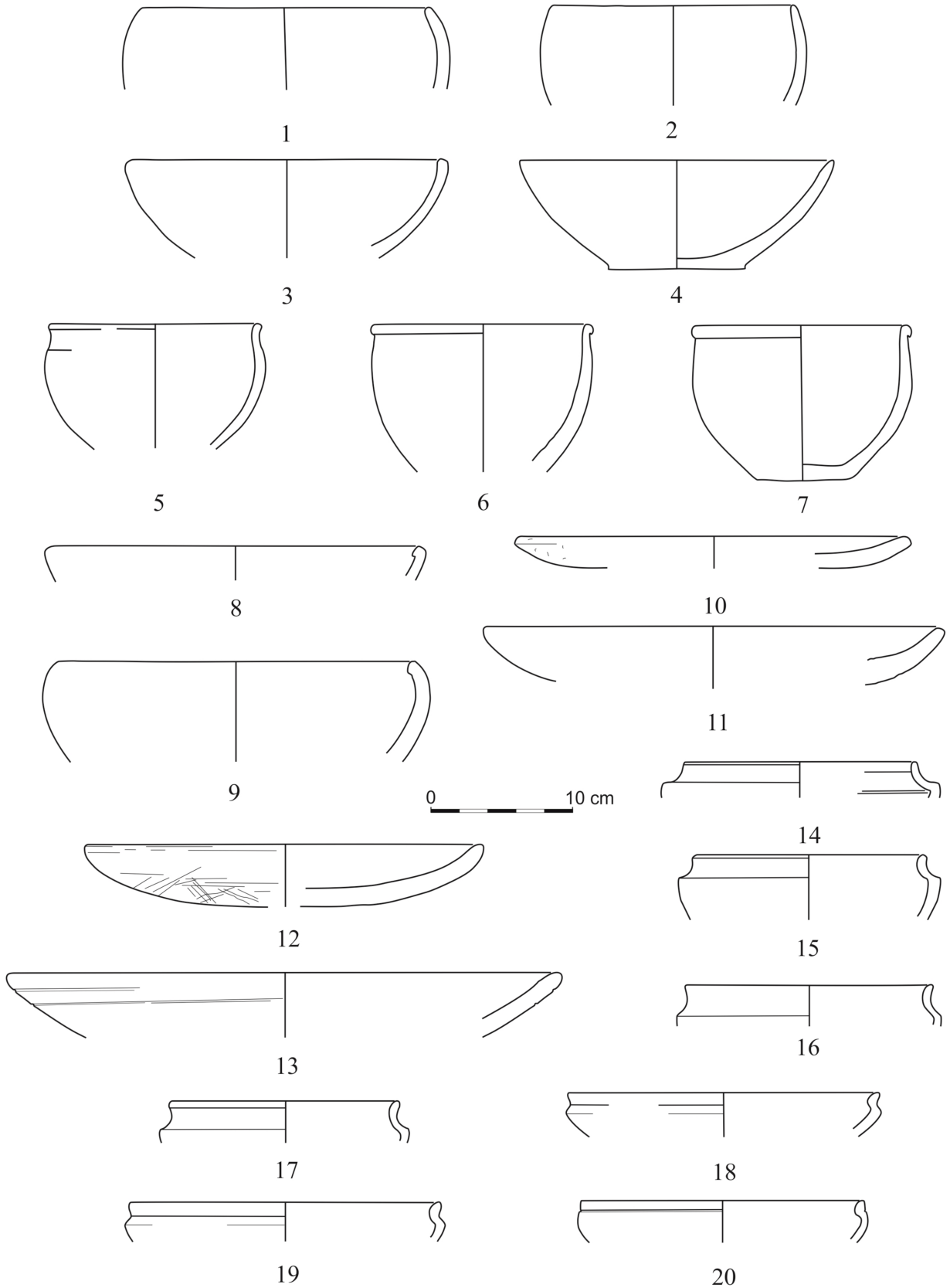

Fig. 102. Tell el-Murra. Pottery from the trench T5. Archives of the expedition. Digitising U. Bąk.

Finds also included small miniature bowls with a distinct base[46] and simple rim (Fig. 103: 12-14) and shallow trays with a flat base[47] (Fig. 103: 15-16). They were made of medium Nile clay; their surface was usually rough and in some cases, it was only slightly smoothed.

Besides the form described above, a few examples of low stands (Fig. 103: 17) were recovered. They were made of medium quality clay tempered with sand, and their surfaces were covered with a red slip and in some cases polished. Parallel examples were found among others at Abu Rawash[48] and Giza[49] in contexts dated to the 4th dynasty.

Jars form another large group of pottery connected with the beginning of the Old Kingdom. Especially characteristic for early part of that period are beer jars with a collar (Fig. 104: 1-4). Beer jars with a direct rim were also quite numerous in trench T5 (Fig. 104: 5-7). They are attested from fragments as well as by complete or almost complete examples that show that both aforementioned types have rounded bases and usually only slightly distinguished shoulders, and they are much narrower than Early Dynastic beer jars. They were made from medium quality Nile clay with the addition of straw and sand. The rim and neck of these jars were smoothed (turning marks are visible), the surface at the shoulder and below the shoulder is irregular (wavy form), and vertical and horizontal grooves and fingerprints are clearly visible, showing that the potter formed vessels probably during/by the hollowing and pinching method. Beer jars with collars are known at several other Old Kingdom sites, where they are dated to the 3rd and 4th dynasties, for example at Elephantine,[50] Giza[51] and Dahshur.[52] Beer jars with a direct rim are also attested in similarly-dated contexts at Dahshur[53] and Tell Abu el-Halyat;[54] at Tell e-Farkha they occur in settlement strata dated from the middle/second half of the 1st dynasty to the very beginning of the Old Kingdom (phases 6b, 6c, 7).[55] However, this kind of vessel could also appear later, and examples dated to the late Old Kingdom come from Dayr al-Barsha[56] and Saqqara.[57]

Closed forms also comprised jars with a lip-rim and a developed but usually short neck (Fig. 3: 8-9). Such characteristics belong probably to ovoid jars. These vessels were usually made of fine or medium Nile clay with a rough surface, sometimes slightly smoothed in the upper part of the vessels (rim and neck).

A very large group of pottery is represented by different types of bread moulds (Fig. 105: 1-9). Most of them have two zones, the body being divided by an angular transition: the upper part of the outer surface and inner surface were mostly slightly smoothed, while the lower part (with a rounded base) was rough and irregularly formed. Most of these bread moulds were probably shaped over a hump, that is why the interior walls are regular and smooth. Among the forms found in trench T5 are examples with a flattened rim (Fig. 105: 1-2), concave rim (Fig. 105: 3), rounded rim (Fig. 105: 4-5), as well as with a rounded rim and a diagonal outer part of the rim (Fig. 105: 6-7). Most sherds have also a thickened internal part of the rim. Such forms are usually considered as a chronological marker, because they are especially typical from the second part of the 1st dynasty until the beginning of the Old Kingdom (type A1 according to H. Jacquet-Gordon[58]). In such dated contexts, they occur in Saqqara,[59] Buto,[60] Elephantine[61] and Tell el-Akhdar.[62] At Tell el-Farkha they are attested in phase 6 and especially 7 (Early Dynastic and beginning of the Old Kingdom).[63] A few almost completely preserved examples show that the classic Old Kingdom bread moulds are quite deep, contrary to the slightly shallower examples of moulds that are similar to types typical rather for the Early Dynastic Period. Additionally, some of these bread moulds from Tell el-Murra have potmarks, which could be placed on the outside or inside walls of the vessels, usually on the upper part of the body. The signs located on the inner surface were deep enough to leave a negative impression on the bread surface. Bread moulds collected from trench T5 were made of medium or coarse category Nile clay, tempered with a large amount of sand and rounded quartz as well as straw.

Another frequent find associated especially with the lower strata is both fragments and almost completely preserved vessels referred as large vats (or dough mixing basin) (Fig. 105: 12) and large bowls (Fig. 105: 10-11). They usually have typical thickened rounded or extended rims, convex sides and flat bases. They were made of very coarse Nile clay tempered with a large amount of straw and sand, their surface was usually irregular and covered with some kind of red or yellow wash. Similar vessels and larger examples are known among others

[46] cf. Köhler 1998: 26, pl. 35; Köpp 2009: 65, Abb 3: Z742, Z385; Vereecken *et al.* 2009: 203; Jucha 2011a: 962-963, 965, 967, 968-969, Fig. 2: 18, 3: 26, 4:23.
[47] cf. Köpp 2009: 65, Abb 4: Z 506.
[48] Marchand 2009: 87, Ifao 226.
[49] Wodzińska 2009a: 211, Fig. 2: CDE4, E2.
[50] Raue 1999: 183-184, Abb. 39: 12.
[51] Wodzińska 2009b: 118/5.
[52] Köpp 2009: 67, Abb. 6: Z 501.
[53] Köpp 2009: 67, Abb. 6: Z 712, Z 248, Z 354.
[54] Jucha 2011b: 72, Fig. 4:5.
[55] Jucha 2011a: 961-962, 965, 967-969, Fig. 2: 1, 3:1, 4:2.
[56] Vereecken *et al.* 2009: 194-197.
[57] Rzeuska 2004: 211, pl. XCI: 14.
[58] Jacquet-Gordon 1981: 11-12, Fig. 1-3.
[59] Emery 1954: 160, Fig. 222: EE1; Emery 1958:, Pl. 32: R1.
[60] Köhler 1998: 27, Taf. 45.2-4.
[61] Raue 1999: 174-175, Abb. 34: 3.
[62] Jucha 2012b: 51-53, Fig. 2: 5,10, 4:11.
[63] Jucha 2011a: 962-963, 965-966, 968- 969, Fig. 2:30, 3: 37, 4: 27.

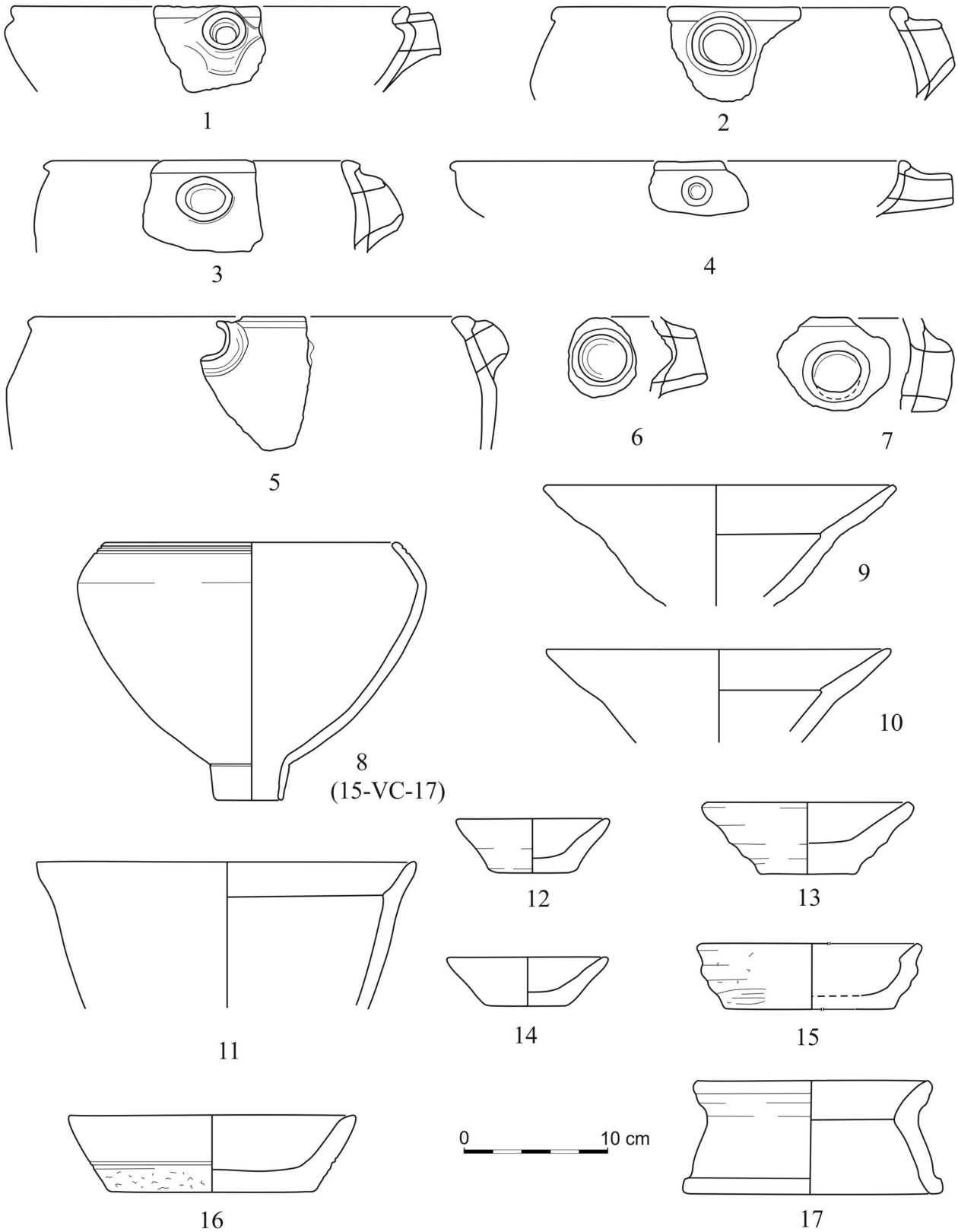

Fig. 103. Tell el-Murra. Pottery from the trench T5. Archives of the expedition. Digitising U. Bąk.

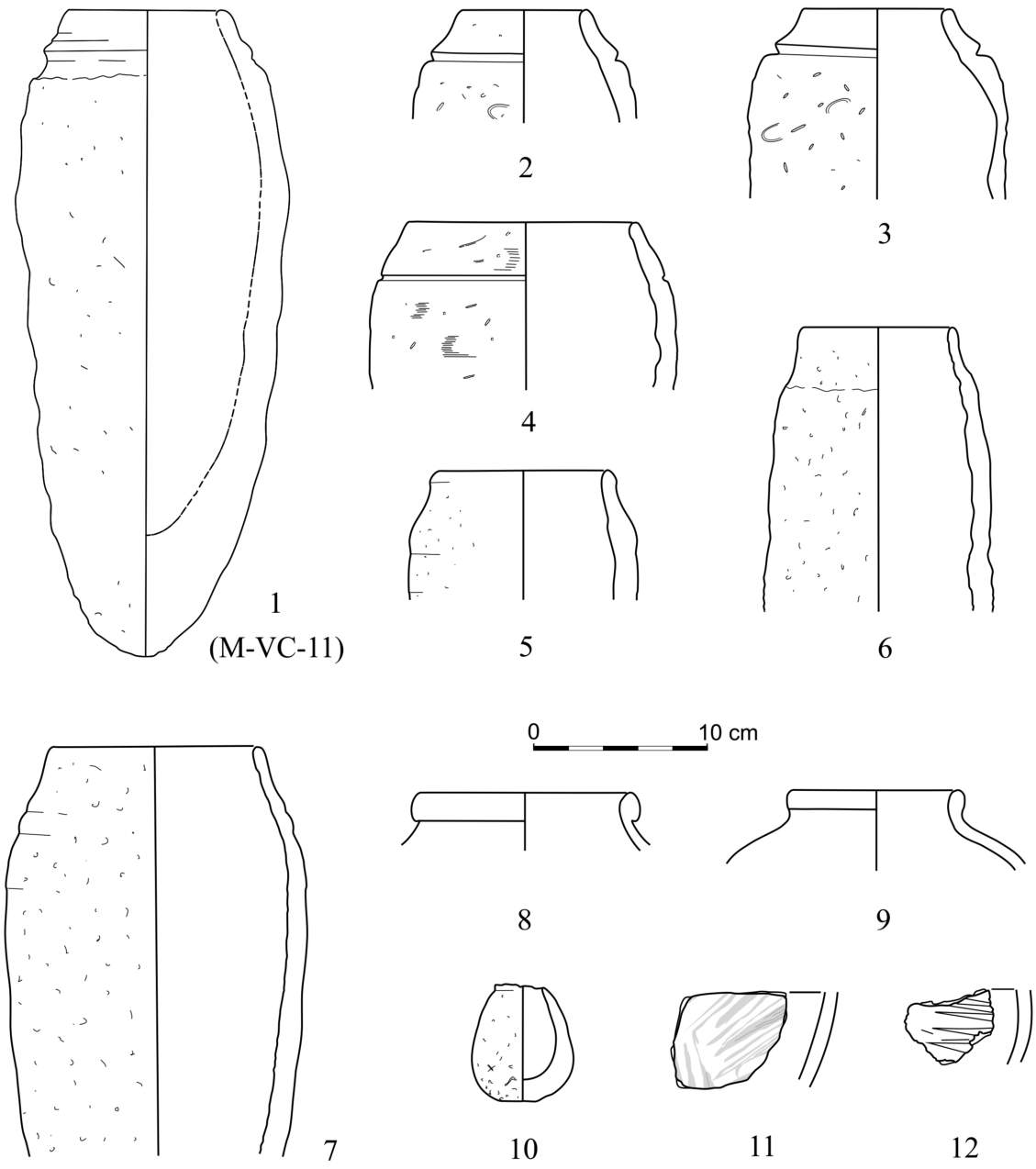

Fig. 104. Tell el-Murra. Pottery from the trench T5. Archives of the expedition. Digitising U. Bąk.

from Giza,[64] Dayr al-Barsha,[65] Tell el-Akhdar[66] and Buto.[67]

In addition, one miniature drop-shaped jar (Fig. 104: 10) of rough ware, a miniature bowl (Fig. 106: 5), one sherd with painted decoration (Fig. 104: 11) and one piece of a vessel that could be connected with a much earlier phase of the site were recovered. The latter was a sherd with incised zig-zag decoration (Fig. 104: 12), characteristic for Lower Egyptian Culture.

All these types of vessels presented above find analogies on many different sites in Egypt as: Buto,[68] Tell el-Farkha,[69] Tell el-Akhdar,[70] Giza,[71] Saqqara[72] and others mentioned above. They belong to the standard range of pottery connected with the early Old Kingdom,

64 REISNER and SMITH 1955: 66, 83, Fig. 79, 117, type D-XXXV.
65 VEREECKEN *et al.* 2009: 203.
66 JUCHA 2012b: 54, Fig. 2:1.
67 KÖHLER 1998: 22, Taf. 22.
68 KÖHLER 1998; WODZIŃSKA 2000.
69 JUCHA 2011a.
70 JUCHA 2012b.
71 REISNER and SMITH 1955; WODZIŃSKA 2009a.
72 RZEUSKA 2004.

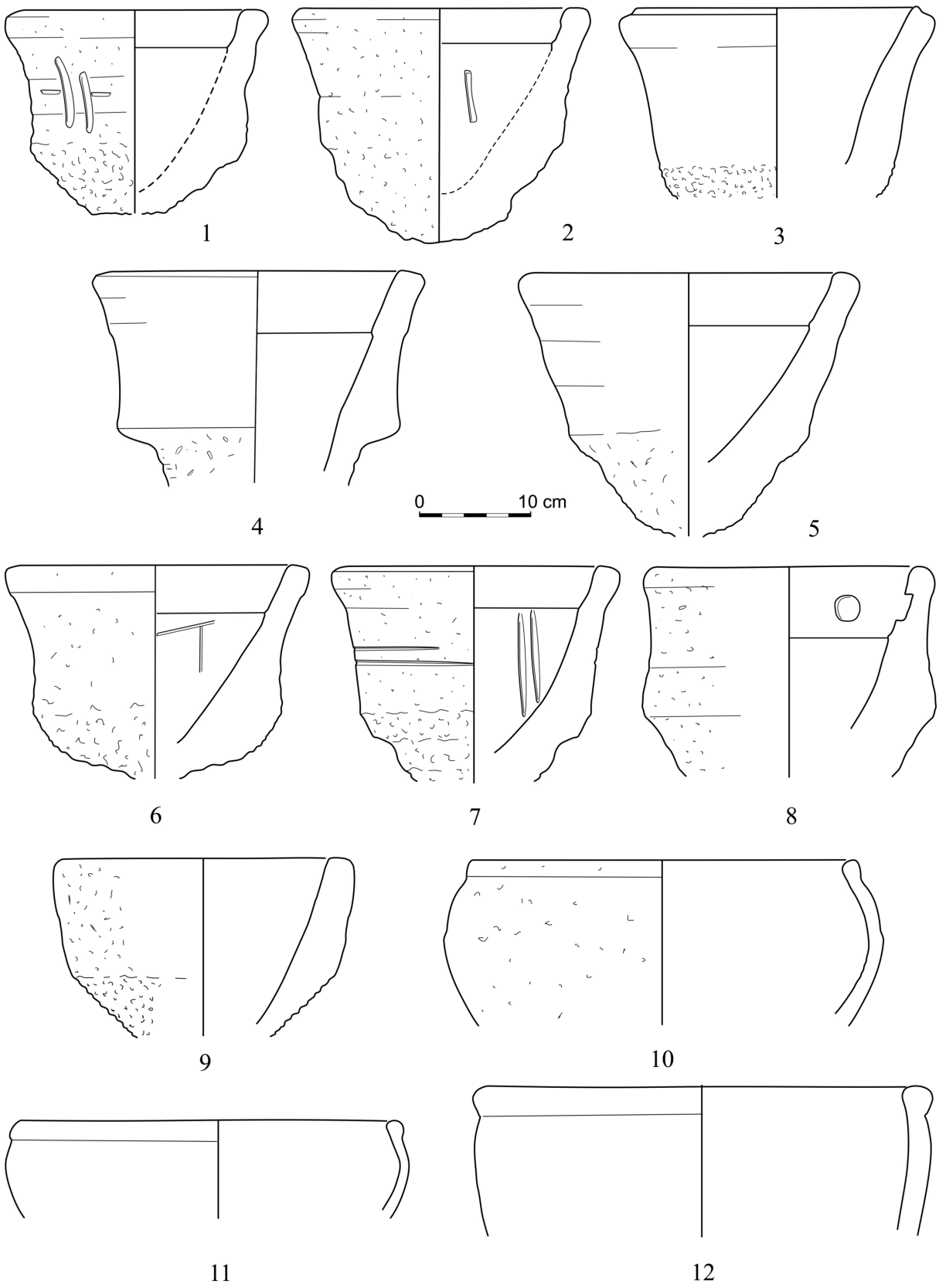

Fig. 105. Tell el-Murra. Pottery from the trench T5. Archives of the expedition. Digitising U. Bąk.

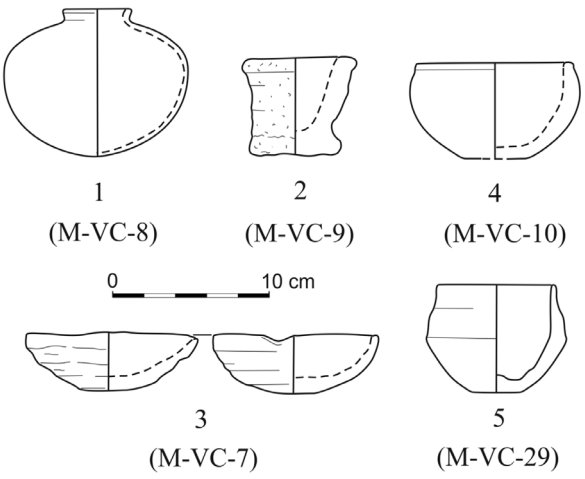

Fig. 106. Tell el-Murra. Pottery from the trench T5. Archives of the expedition. Digitising U. Bąk.

although some of these forms occur also at the end of the Early Dynastic Period: red-coated plates, which show affinity to these occurring in Early Dynastic graves at the cemetery;[73] and bread moulds with thickened internal part of the rim. In trench T5 all these aforementioned types that form a significant part of the pottery assemblage were recovered up to now mainly from the lower layers, and this suggests that these strata should be dated to the beginning of the Old Kingdom (3rd-4th dynasties).

3. Pottery of the Later Old Kingdom (5th-6th dynasties)

The pottery of the late Old Kingdom includes different types of bowls of fine ware pottery, usually made from fine quality Nile clay with a small amount of sand and straw as a temper. Most vessels of these types were covered with a red slip and polished or burnished. Among them were forms with parallel lines or ribs situated on the outer surface just below the rim (Fig. 107: 1-3). Similar vessels were found in the late Old Kingdom necropoleis at Herakleopolis Magna[74] and Kom el-Hisn,[75] and in mastabas at Meidum[76] and Giza.[77]

Other types that occur quite frequently included fragments of bowls with a rounded inner and outer part of the rim (Fig. 107: 4-8). Parallels are known, for example, from Saqqara (tomb of Merefnebef[78]) and rock-cut tombs at Dayr al-Barsha,[79] where they are dated to the late Old Kingdom. There are also a few fragments of bowls with incised parallel lines on the inner surface (Fig. 107: 9), similar to a form found at Saqqara.[80]

A few types of Meidum bowls particularly characteristic of the later Old Kingdom were also identified. These include: bowls with the same diameter at the rim and the shoulder as well as a short neck and an angular transition from shoulder to rim (type B1b1 after Op de Beeck) (Fig. 107: 10-12); bowls with greater diameter at the rim than at the rounded shoulder and with the rim curved outwards (type B2a according to Op de Beeck) (Fig. 107: 13); and bowls with a rounded shoulder and a clear line below the rim (Op de Beeck's type B2b) (Fig. 107: 14-16).[81] All these types of Meidum bowls are dated from 4th to 6th dynasty, but they are especially characteristic of 6th dynasty, and they are attested in dated contexts at many sites all over Egypt. Parallel examples to Meidum bowls of Op de Beeck's type B1b came from Meidum itself,[82] the Ballas cemetery,[83] the Giza cemetery[84] and from rock-cut tombs at Elkab.[85] Analogous material to Op de Beeck's type B2 is found in mastabas at Giza,[86] in the Dayr al-Barsha necropolis,[87] in tombs in Herakleopolis Magna[88] and in the rock cemetery at Elkab.[89]

Several examples of complete or almost complete miniature vessels were also recovered from levels and structures in which the above-mentioned above pottery forms occur. Among them are miniature vessels with a small aperture, simple (direct) very broad shoulders and rounded bases (Fig. 106: 1), a miniature cup with a base resembling a foot (Fig. 106: 2) and miniature bowls. One of them has spout situated on the rim (Fig. 106: 3) and the surface is covered with a black colour, probably a result of the pot being burnt.

4. Conclusion

All the analogies of well-known forms from other sites all over Egypt mentioned above allow us to date settlement structures discovered at T5 to the Old Kingdom, what confirms that Tell el-Murra certainly existed during the Old Kingdom. In the light of this, it is interesting that we have not so far found graves dated later than the Early

[73] KAZIMIERCZAK 2014a; KAZIMIERCZAK 2014b.
[74] BADER 2009: 32, Fig. 10c-d.
[75] WENKE *et al.* 1988: Fig. 11g.
[76] PETRIE 1892: 20-21, Pl. XXX.13
[77] SIMPSON 1976: 17.
[78] RZEUSKA 2004: 219, Pl. XCII: 86, XCVII:91.
[79] VEREECKEN *et al.* 2009: 201.
[80] RZEUSKA 2004: 218, Pl. XCVI: 74; RZEUSKA 2006: 407-408, Pls. 100: 500-503, 125-626.
[81] OP DE BEECK 2004: 263, 269, Fig. 10.
[82] PETRIE 1892: pl. XXXI: 4; PETRIE, WAINWRIGHT and MACKAY 1910: 36, pl. XXV: 16, 19.
[83] PETRIE and QUIBELL 1896: 42, pl. XLI, 78b.
[84] REISNER and SMITH 1955: 81-82, fig. 110: 33-2-118; SIMPSON 1976: addenda 24-12-178 (A), 24-12-183; WEEKS 1994: fig. 20; ROTH 1995: fig. 86: 39-3-26.
[85] HENDRICKX and HUYGE 1997; LIMME, HENDRICKX and HUYGE 1997; OP DE BEECK 2000: 12-13, Fig. 1.3, 1.6.
[86] REISNER and SMITH 1955: 81-82, Fig. 110: 33-2-117, 33-2-119, 110: 35/25-12-46; WEEKS 1994: 98, Fig. 132: no. 25-12-685, 66, fig. 127: no. 25-11-101.
[87] VEREECKEN *et al.* 2009: 202; 3051/6/8.
[88] BADER 2009: 30, Fig. 9: b-g.
[89] HENDRICKX and HUYGE 1994: 54-55, Fig. 4.1-2; OP DE BEECK 2000: 12-13, Fig. 1.4-5,7-9.

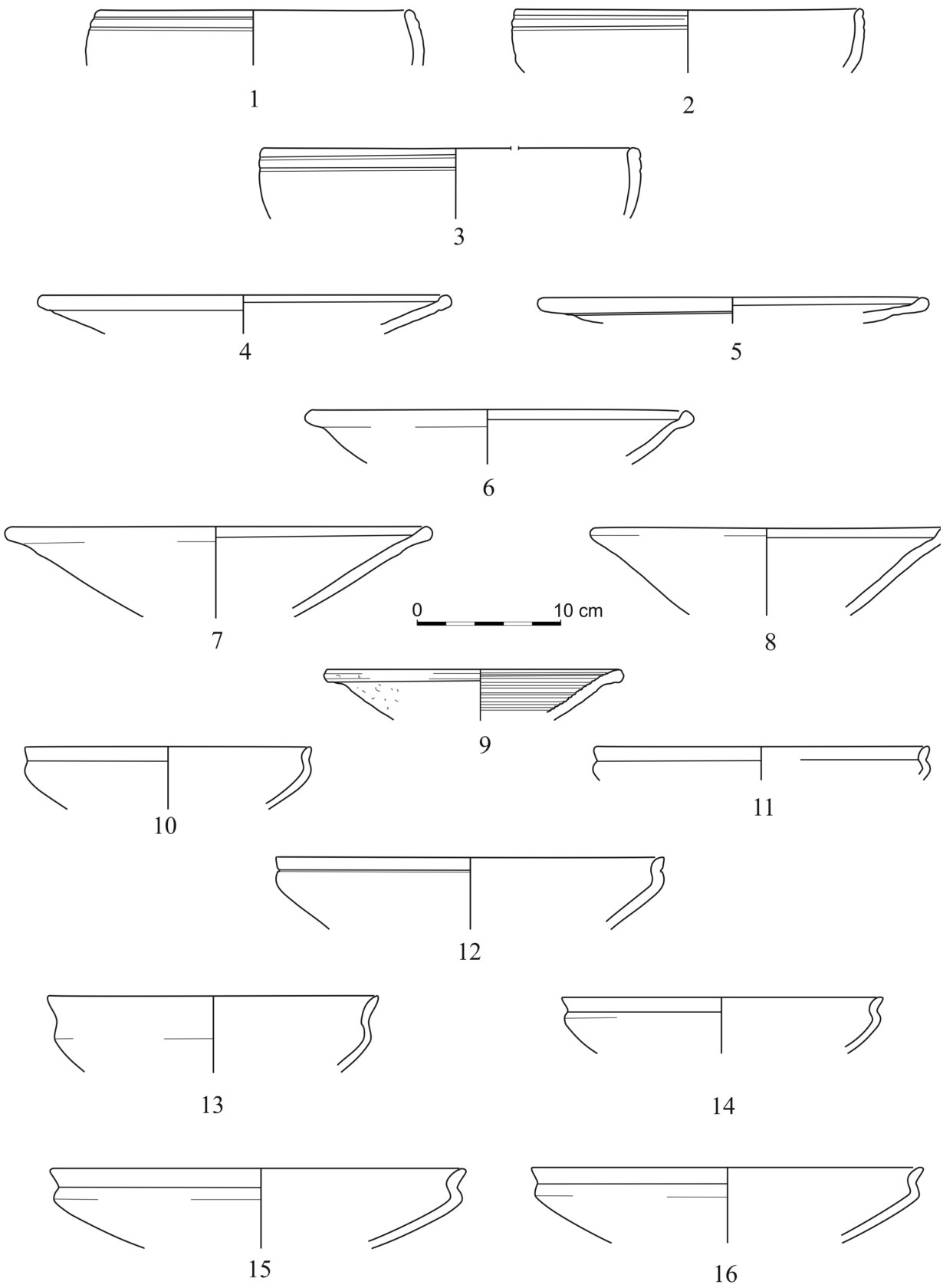

Fig. 107. Tell el-Murra. Pottery from the trench T5. Archives of the expedition. Digitising U. Bąk.

Dynastic Period. Pottery studies allow us to indicate more or less precisely the chronological relationship between structures and facilities in trench T5 as well as to define what kind of activity (production or consumption) was connected with them.

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Some Ramesside Appropriations of Ancient Memphis

Steven Snape

Archaeology, Classics & Egyptology, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, United Kingdom

Abstract: *This paper examines some of the ways in which the monumental landscape of Old and Middle Kingdom Memphis was relevant to Egyptians of the New Kingdom, particularly the Ramesside Period. It will address the ways in which contemporary Ramesside views of 'the past' influenced elite culture, as reflected in the different ways in which that ancient monumental landscape was appreciated, interacted with, and adapted. Although the activities of Khaemwese, High Priest of Ptah at Memphis and son of Ramesses II, are the best evidenced example of an interaction with ancient royal monuments at Memphis (because of the particular position of Khaemwese as a quasi-royal figure), it will be seen that such concerns were also shared and acted upon by other members of the New Kingdom literate elite, both royal and non-royal.*

Keywords: *Memphis, Ptah Temple, Khaemwese, graffiti, sphinx, Giza, identity*

1. Introduction

One of the things which unites a modern Egyptologist and an educated scribe living in Memphis during the Ramesside Period is a fascination with ancient Egypt, its monuments, and the kings who built them. Of course, with a *terminus ante quem* of the observer's lifetime, our conception of 'ancient Egypt' is rather broader than that of a Ramesside scribe; while we have the whole of pharaonic history to observe and study, for the Ramesside Memphite scribe 'ancient' meant, to a substantial degree, the monuments of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, of which there was no lack in the environs of Memphis, especially the extended desert-edge royal and private necropolis stretching from Abu Roash in the north to Meidum in the south. In this paper, I would like to look at some of the ways in which 'ancient' Memphis was relevant to, and used by, some members of the Ramesside *intelligensia*.

A good starting point is a stela (Fig. 108), found by Hassan during his excavations around the Great Sphinx at Giza in 1935-36 (for the location of this findspot see 'Sphinx *Temenos*' on Fig. 109).[1] It is a typical New Kingdom private votive stela, divided into two with the upper part depicting the object of devotion and the lower part showing and naming the devotees who, in this case, are the scribes Montuher and Kamutnakht. Note that Kamutnakht has his writing kit slung over his shoulder, perhaps as an indication of his status and also a practical preparation for the activities which the pair are planning to undertake at their destination. The object of their devotion is the god Horemakhet, made manifest in the physical presence of the Great Sphinx at Giza. The identity of the sphinx is made very clear by depicting it in its monumental setting at Giza by the device of also showing two of the Giza pyramids - perhaps those of Khufu and Khaefre. It is also worth noting that the specific identity of the sphinx depicted here as the Great Sphinx at Giza is emphasised by the presence on the stela of a depiction of the New Kingdom royal statue[2] standing immediately in front of the sphinx. Apart from being a marvellous and rare example of an Old Kingdom monumental landscape in the New Kingdom (and note what one has to assume is the ideal steep gradient of pyramids), this stela is a prime example of the interaction of Ramesside private individuals with Old Kingdom royal monuments - monuments which are very relevant to those Ramesside individuals albeit in ways which were not originally intended by their builders. The stela was excavated by Hassan as part of a scattered collection of New Kingdom objects, especially stelae, left as *ex-votos* by private individuals in the 'Sphinx *Temenos*', an area for cultic deposition chiefly to the north of the Great Sphinx itself.

2. New Kingdom Graffiti on Old Kingdom Monuments at Memphis

Other ways in which connections were made by Ramesside individuals with Old Kingdom royal monuments in the Memphite necropolis include graffiti written in ink by visitors to those monuments, especially royal pyramids. Two examples, among the many which have been recorded, will make the point. In the following graffito, the Step Pyramid of Djoser is visited by two brothers or colleagues during the reign of Ramesses II:

Regnal year 47, month 2 of Peret, day 25, there came the scribe of the Treasury Hednakhte, son of Sel/Sunero,

[1] Hassan 1953: 62-63. For this stela see Zivie-Coche 2002: 61 (Fig. 12); Shedid 2002.

[2] Zivie-Coche notes that the style of the stela means that it could date to the first half of the 18th dynasty – a *terminus post quem* could be provided by the identity of the New Kingdom royal statue, on which there is no agreement but might be Amenhotep II. Zivie-Coche 2002: 60-63.

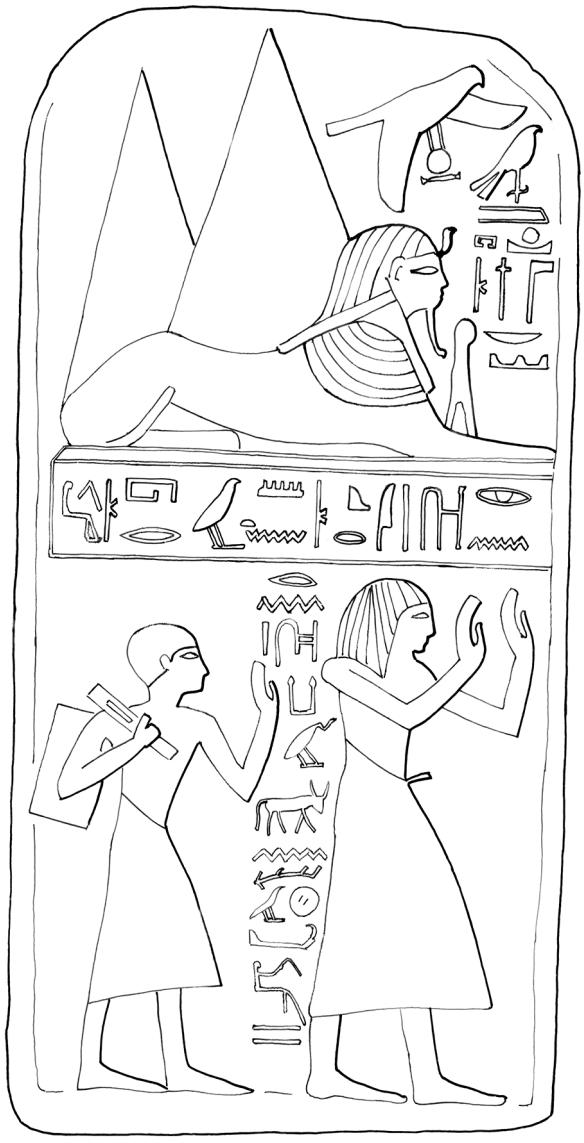

Fig. 108. Stela of Montuher and Kamutnakht. After original drawing by J. Heath.

his mother is Tawosre, to make a stroll and amuse/ invigorate himself, in the West of Memphis together with his brother/colleague and scribe Panakhte, of the vizier's office saying: All the Gods of Western Memphis, the Ennead, You who reside in the sacred land, Osiris, Isis, all the Blessed Souls of the western Ankhtawy, give good lifetime serving to your kas, and a good burial after a strong old age, in *sight of Western Memphis like the praised ones, like your person (*sic*), by the scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of Two Lands, Hednakhte, justified, and the scribe Panakhte*.[3]

In another graffito, from the pyramid of Khendjer at South Saqqara, a visit by another scribe is recorded, probably also during the reign of Ramesses II:

There came the scribe Nashuy to the neighbourhood of the Pyramid of (King) Teti Beloved of Ptah, and the Pyramid of Djoser, Discoverer of Stone(working).

He says to all the gods of the West of Memphis, 'Be kind, be kind! I am close to you. I am your servitor.'

Year 34, 4th Month of Shemu, Day 24, day of the festival of Ptah South of his Wall, Lord of Ankh-Tawy, when he appeared outside the Temple(?)/Palace(?) at time of evening.[4]

From these two graffiti, we can already see a number of interesting things. Firstly, the visitors have a good, clear understanding of what they are visiting and who built it. That is to say, they are well informed about the ancient kings of Egypt (Djoser's reign is approximately 1,400 years earlier than that of Ramesses II). Secondly, writing graffiti – a short ink inscription recording one's visit – is clearly not seen as vandalism or behaving disrespectfully towards an ancient monument, but quite the reverse as many graffiti express admiration and wonder at the works of antiquity. Thirdly, although the graffiti-writers refer to 'taking a stroll' and 'enjoying themselves'[5] like any good tourists, they also ask for benefits for themselves from the blessed dead who inhabit the Memphite necropolis. These Ramesside visitors are not merely looking at the dead husks of ancient buildings, but living monuments which are the home of active spiritual presences who are able to do good (or bad) to the living. These ancient monuments are not just interesting to their Ramesside visitors – as they are to us - but they are also useful and relevant to their lived experience. Fourthly, as an extension to this idea, we can note that Nashuy's visit to the Memphite necropolis is linked to a contemporary festival procession concerning the god Ptah, taking place in the city of Memphis. What exactly Nashuy is trying to do by bracketing these Old Kingdom monuments in the same graffito with a reference to religious festivals in contemporary Memphis is not clear, but the relationship between Old Kingdom monuments of the Memphite necropolis and the development of the monumental core of the city of Memphis in the reign of Ramesses II is one which is worth exploring a little further.

3. Kings and King-Lists on Royal and Private Monuments of the Ramesside Period

First, though, it might be worth saying something about the level of understanding of the past in the Ramesside Period, to which I have already referred. In terms of a respect for, and appreciation of, the past, scholars have tended to focus on periods where 'archaism' is an obvious strand of cultural life. 25th and 26th dynasties, for instance, are rich in examples where cultural models

[3] For translation and commentary see Navrátilová 2007: 108-111.

[4] Translation from Kitchen 2000: 312.

[5] For these terms see Navrátilová 2007: 110-111, 133.

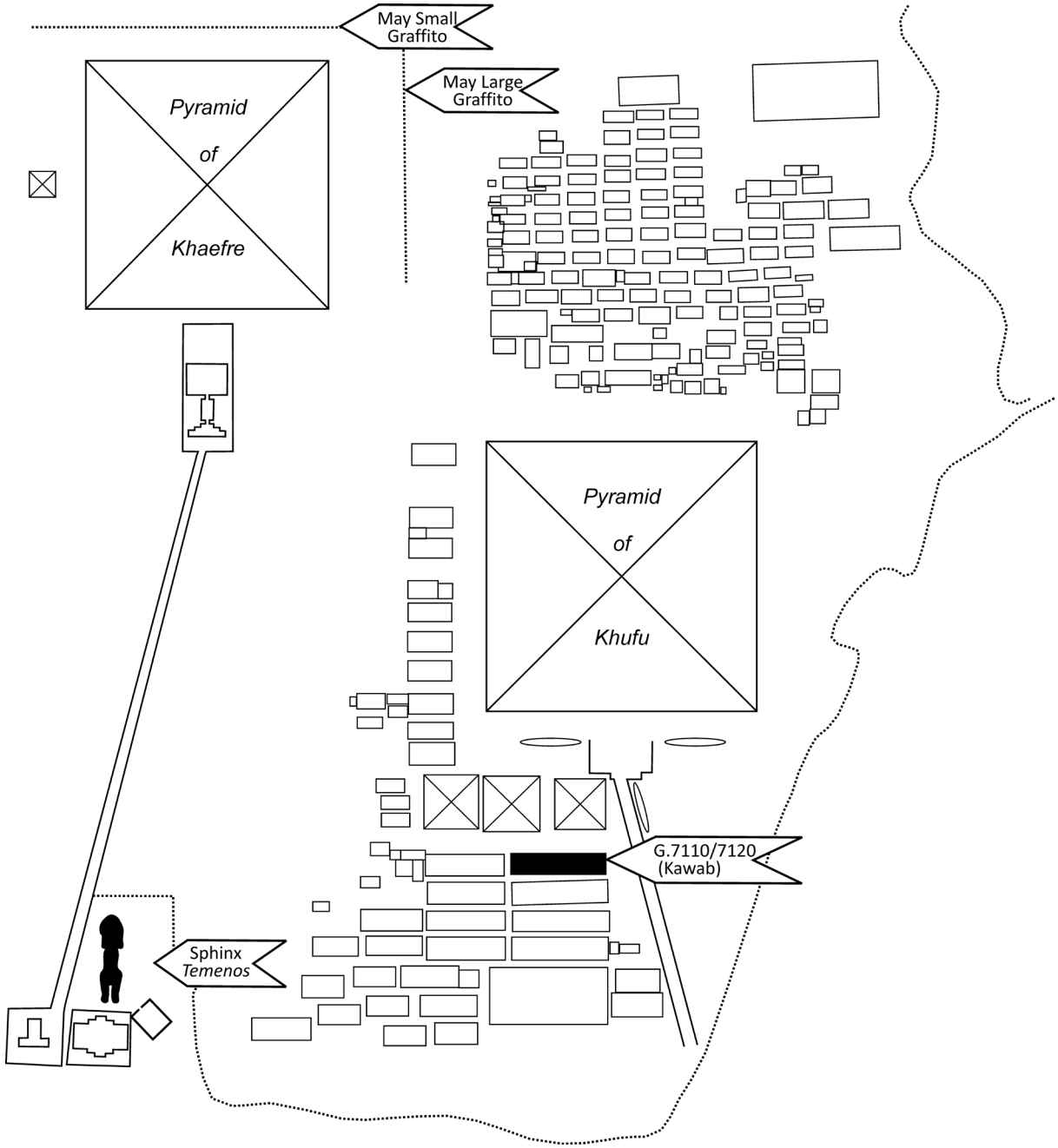

Fig. 109. Plan of part of the Giza Necropolis, showing places mentioned in the text.

from the past – in tomb decoration for instance – have clearly been deliberately sought out and used. Some of the reasons for archaism are located in the desire to identify with the period being 'copied'. The Ramesside Period is also a time when the past was deeply scrutinised – not just as something to be admired, but something to be amalgamated within contemporary cultural practices, even if some of the aims of archaism, such as a desire to associate oneself with the great kings of the past, are still present.

On one level an understanding of the past, in ancient Egyptian terms, is an understanding of the names and deeds of long-dead kings. It is no coincidence that the Ramesside Period has produced the majority of the (admittedly small) collection of texts we refer to as king-lists.[6] The Seti I king list in his cenotaph temple at Abydos is the best-known example but another of these lists, and one more directly relevant to the topic of this paper, does not come from a royal monument, but from

[6] Redford 1986.

elements of the Ramesside private tomb of Tjuneroy at Saqqara. These stone blocks were found by Mariette in 1860 - exact location unclear but probably south of the Unas Causeway – and are now in the Cairo Museum. The blocks[7] were removed by Mariette because they show rows of royal cartouches being offered to by Tjuneroy. The list is by no means comprehensive or in chronological order, but does include most of the better-known royal figures up to the reign of Ramesses II. To this extent, it is similar to the Seti I (and Ramesses II) Abydos king lists but one obvious difference is that many of the monuments of the Old Kingdom rulers referred to on the list would have been visible in the vicinity of the tomb of Tjuneroy at Saqqara, rather less obviously so at Abydos.

The Tjuneroy list is not unique to the extent that other lists which show private individuals offering to dead kings are known, especially in the form of (Theban) tomb scenes showing the tomb-owner offering to what appear to be rows of statues of dead kings and queens.[8] To what extent these scenes represent 'real' events taking place in front of 'real' collections of statues of deceased rulers is not clear, although it is possible that such structures did exist in the context of the monumental landscape of New Kingdom Thebes at least, and perhaps also Memphis. Even more relevant to the Tjuneroy list is the so-called 'Abusir List'[9] – just a single block recovered from a house in Abusir, probably from a nearby Ramesside private tomb, and showing kings – or statues of kings – of the Old Kingdom. There is one final point worth making about Tjuneroy – his titles, which include that of 'Overseer of Works of All Royal Monuments'. He is also known from the Memphite stela of his brother Paser,[10] who was 'Overseer of Builders'. So, to summarise, Tjuneroy is an individual who has a keen awareness of Old Kingdom rulers and he is also a builder, moreover a builder of royal monuments at Memphis.

4. Khaemwese's Building Activities in the Memphite Region

Another individual who lived during the reign of Ramesses II, knew all about Old Kingdom kings, and built at Memphis was Khaemwese, fourth son of Ramesses II and High Priest of Ptah at Memphis.[11] His building projects can be divided into two sets of activity (although with some interesting overlaps) – the creation of new structures and the renovation of old ones. The first set of buildings includes the creation of the Apis Bull vaults of the Serapeum, a series of buildings of uncertain cultic significance in the desert to the west of Saqqara, and the major work of carrying out his father's building projects in the city of Memphis itself.

The second set of works saw Khaemwese 'restoring' a series of ancient royal monuments in the Memphite necropolis which, by the Ramesside Period, had fallen into disrepair. The most obvious sign of this restoration was Khaemwese carving an appropriate text on the side of those monuments lucky enough to receive his beneficence. None of these monuments has preserved a complete text, but piecing together fragments from all of them, a standard version can be extracted. As Khaemwese says;

... Very greatly did the sm-*priest, Prince Khaemwaset, desire to restore the monuments of the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, because of what they had done, the strength of* which (i.e. the monuments) *was falling into decay.*

He (i.e. Khaemwaset) *set forth a decree for its* (i.e. the pyramid's) *sacred offerings ... its water ... with a grant of land, together with its personnel ...*[12]

Because of their fragmentary nature, it is impossible now to say how many Old Kingdom royal monuments received the Khaemwese treatment, but we know of such restoration texts from the pyramids of Djoser, Userkaf and Unas at Saqqara, the pyramid of Sahure at Abusir, the sun-temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurab, and the Mastabat Fara'un of Shepseskaf and the pyramid of Pepi I in Saqqara South.

The restoration inscriptions refer to a re-establishment of cult activity associated with these monuments. Some scholars have been sceptical about how far this promise was honoured, citing a graffito of Year 36 (Ramesses II) from the Djoser enclosure which refers to 'the first (day) of work of the stone-hewers from the quarry'. This has been interpreted as evidence of a shameless robbing of the Djoser Enclosure of its building stone (presumably to be used in Ramesside buildings in Memphis) and that Khaemwese's 'restorations' were nothing of the sort, but merely a sort of cover for this more cynical activity of acquiring large quantities of good quality building stone for the massive building projects in the monumental core of the city of Memphis itself.[13]

However, the publication of an offering basin by Allen,[14] which turned up in a private collection in the United States, suggests that actual cultic activity did take place in association with this 'restoration' activity. The basin was produced by Khaemwese to form part of the monumental physical setting for a libation ceremony for Imhotep, and

[7] REDFORD 1986: 21-24; KITCHEN 2000: 340-347.
[8] REDFORD 1986: 45-54.
[9] REDFORD 1986: 25-26. For cults of Old Kingdom kings at Memphis see also BERLANDINI-GRENIER 1976: 313-316.
[10] BM 165; KITCHEN 2000: 197-198.
[11] For Khaemwese see GOMAA 1973; FISHER 2001; SNAPE 2011.
[12] SNAPE 2011: 469-470 and refs cit.
[13] WILDUNG 1969: 71; MALEK 1992: 65, fn. 60.
[14] ALLEN 1999.

internal evidence strongly suggests that it was set up in the south-western court of the Djoser pyramid complex, perhaps in association with the Khaemwese restoration inscription. The evidence therefore suggests that we are looking at a phenomenon which is rather more nuanced than simply reverence on the one hand or stone-robbing on the other.

To take another example, the Ramesside temple of Herishef at Herakleopolis Magna included granite columns whose forms suggest an origin in the Old Kingdom. It is possible that Khaemwese himself was responsible for this particular construction. While this may or may not be the case, it is certainly noticeable that two pyramid complexes which received Khaemwese restoration inscriptions, that of Unas and that of Sahure, are among those late Old Kingdom pyramid complexes which have not retained the full complement of columns with which they were originally provided. Is this another example of the give-and-take policy in respect of Old Kingdom monuments in the Ramesside Period?

5. Re-used material in the West Hall of the Ptah Enclosure

One of the best places to explore issues of monumental re-use is at the most visible surviving part of the city of Memphis in the Ramesside Period, the so-called West Hall of Ramesses II.[15] Today this looks like a rather forlorn collection of collapsed masonry, surrounded by modern rubbish – and so it is – but there is still much of interest here.

The first thing to note is that the visible remains, such as they are, constitute the remnants of a pylon, behind which is a columned hall. The most convincing explanation for the role of this structure in the monumental core of New Kingdom Memphis – that is to say the Ptah Temple Enclosure – is as a sort of contra-temple facing west, while the main body of the Ptah Temple was the eastward facing structure as per the tentative reconstruction by Kitchen.[16] We know from textual evidence that this version of the main Ptah Temple was chiefly the work of Amenhotep III, although the very poor state of preservation of this structure, and the difficulties of archaeological work in this part of the site, means that any reconstruction on paper must be somewhat speculative. However, we do know that the Amenhotep III structure was the nucleus around which Ramesside kings – especially Seti I and Ramesses II – constructed 'satellite' temples. The West Hall can be considered to be one of these.

As far as the specific function of the West Hall is concerned, it might be noted that Kitchen labels it as a 'Hall of Jubilees' of Ramesses II. Without elaborating on this point here, this identification is one which can be tentatively accepted as an explanation for this structure. It is also an identification which goes some way to explaining some other features in this area.

Looking from the west, the original appearance of this pylon would have been quite similar to that of, for instance, the Ramesses II pylon at Luxor Temple. This similarity extends to the presence of colossal statues standing in front of the pylon. This is not surprising, since other entrances to the Ptah enclosure – especially its southern approach – were provided with colossal Ramesses II statues.

However, it is not the statues that once stood here that are worth noting, but the bases on which they stood, specifically a statue-base made from a block of red granite, the larger part of a monumental text of the Middle Kingdom which seems to have been re-used during the Ramesside Period.[17] The text is one of the most important documents from the Middle Kingdom, describing activities taking place at the court of Amenemhat II. These activities include sending expeditions to foreign lands and the endowment of temple cults, and the text has given rise to much discussion about what sort of document it actually is. It reads like a court circular or day-book of royal activity – the sort of document which one might imagine being kept on neat rolls of papyrus in the palace archives, but hardly the subject for a monumental inscription, although one might argue that a text such as the Annals of Tuthmosis III at Karnak is a later, but similar, example of royal records turned into monumental inscriptions.

These questions, and the identities of foreign lands mentioned in the text, have engaged scholars of the Middle Kingdom, and are still largely unresolved. However, our concern here is not the detail of the inscription, but how this block came to be re-used in this Ramesside structure, and where it was set up in the first place. There are two most likely explanations. The first is that it came from a building erected by Amenemhat II in Middle Kingdom Memphis – wherever that might be. This explanation has the advantage that it assumes that the re-use of this block took place close to where it was originally erected, and indeed proximity is an advantage in re-use as, for example in the amount of material Merenptah took from the nearby Kom el-Hetan monument of Amenhotep III at Thebes. The flaw in this argument is that the existence of a monument of Amenemhat II in this (or indeed any other) part of the Memphite cityscape is entirely theoretical.

Perhaps a more likely possibility is that the block came from a monumental structure which we actually know to

[15] Jeffreys 1985: 33-38, 69, figs 22-23. Original excavation report in Petrie 1909.
[16] Kitchen 1999: fig. 27.
[17] Altenmüller 2015.

have been constructed by Amenemhat II, that is to say his pyramid complex at Dahshur. The ancillary temple buildings of this pyramid, already in a poor condition, were very badly excavated and published by de Morgan,[18] and so we can offer no good comparative material from the site to support this as the original location of the statue-base block. However, we do know that this is a site where monumental masonry was used by Amenemhat II, that ancillary temple structures attached to pyramids were becoming increasingly complex in the later part of the 12th dynasty (the 'labyrinth' of Amenemhat III at Hawara is the outstanding example here) and that a mortuary temple attached to a royal tomb is an extraordinarily appropriate place to record the activities of kings, as can be seen from the Old Kingdom onwards.

It may well be that this statue base is not merely a useful piece of stone, but another example of the deliberate selection of parts of existing royal monuments[19] designed to give extra ancient royal presence to a monument which is connected to royal jubilees. There is, at present, no direct evidence to link Ramesside activity to the Amenemhat II pyramid complex at Dahshur, although the poor quality of work at the site mentioned above may have something to do with that. However, in 1994, the team from the Metropolitan Museum found another restoration text of Khaemwese, this time on masonry from the pyramid of Senwosret III at Dahshur;[20] clearly Khaemwese extended his pyramid-related activities further south than Saqqara, and to Middle Kingdom monuments, perhaps including some *quid pro quo* in terms of high-quality building material taken away for re-use in the developing monumental centre of Ramesside Memphis.

This activity almost certainly involved the Giza pyramids of Khufu and Khaefre. For instance, it might be noted that the surviving elements of hard stone in the West Hall include basalt blocks and red granite blocks with the sloping faces of pyramid casing which could easily have been sourced from, for instance, the Khufu pyramid complex. Other forms of evidence also link Khaemwese, or at least the Ramesside acquisition of building materials, to Giza.

7. May in Memphis

Clearly, Khaemwese could not have carried out his extensive building and restoration programme alone, but required a substantial workforce including senior 'Overseers of Work/Builders', some of whom we have already met. Another important official bearing this title was the Overseer of Works May, who was active during the reign of Ramesses II and Merenptah. He is attested on a collection of revealing monuments:

i) A graffito[21] at Sehel near Aswan, presumably written when on a mission to acquire granite for work on no fewer than three temples he is said to be Overseer of Works for – a temple for Ra, one for Amen and one for Ptah.

ii) A damaged stela[22] now in the Louvre which appears to connect him with building work at the temple of Ra in Heliopolis.

iii) A stela[23] now in Cairo, which gives a substantial array of titles, including acting as Overseer of Works for eight major building projects, especially in the temple of Ra at Heliopolis, including *Overseer of Works in all the Monuments of the King in the House of Ptah.*

He may also have been involved in the building of the small chapel of Ramesses II near the Sphinx,[24] reflecting a possible royal commission at Giza itself.

During the reign of Merenptah, if a statue of his from Memphis[25] reflects his status during that reign, May became 'Great Craftsman in the Mansion of the Great Prince' and 'Overseer of Works in the Temple of Ptah'. He may have been responsible for the building of Merenptah's temple at Memphis, in which he placed his statue. As the Cairo statue from Memphis implies that May was active during the reign of Merenptah, his works for Ramesses II were, presumably towards the end of that reign. Khaemwese had died only about 12 years before Ramesses II himself. It is therefore unlikely that Khaemwese and May were unaware of each other, and the latter may well have acted as subordinate to the former.

This is not a complete inventory of May's monuments from the Memphite area, although it indicates the scope of his building activities, including the acquisition of stone for building work. But May's most striking self-attestation is not a conventional personal monument but a pair of graffiti. These particular graffiti are not simple ink texts, but deeply carved inscriptions,[26] high in the rock face created by quarrying around the pyramid of Khaefre. The longer text reads *Overseer of Works in (*the temple called*) 'Effective for Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amen in the House of the Great Prince' May, son of the*

[18] DE MORGAN 1903.
[19] Examples of 'borrowings' from Old Kingdom royal monuments during the Middle Kingdom are discussed in GOEDICKE 1971.
[20] OPPENHEIM and ALLEN 2002.
[21] HABACHI 1954: 210-211, fig.24.
[22] SAUNERON 1953: 60-61 and refs cit.
[23] GABALLA 1972; ZIVIE 1976: 214-216.
[24] As evidenced by a fragment of a limestone stela (current location unknown) excavated by Hassan in his excavations in the Sphinx *Temenos* at Giza. HASSAN 1953: 9 & fig.5; HABACHI 1954: 217 & fig.29; ZIVIE 1976, 213.
[25] HABACHI 1954: 213-216, figs 27-28.
[26] HABACHI 1954: 212 & Fig. 26: SAUNERON 1953: 57-59 and refs cit.; for early copies of this text see ZIVIE 1976: 6, nn.4-5.

Overseer of Works Bakenamen of Thebes. Immediately underneath this line of text is another shorter text which, presumably, names the actual author of this inscription, *Chief of Sculptors Pamenu, the justified*.

The shorter text reads *Overseer of Works in the Temple of Ra, May.*

These texts have a special significance since they are, as Habachi notes, the *'seules inscriptions rupestres qui se trouvent dans la région des pyramides de Guizeh*'.[27] The reason for the presence of these graffiti is not apparent, since they do not have an explanatory element to them, unlike the more casual graffiti which typify Ramesside graffiti in the Memphite necropolis. It has been argued by some scholars, especially Hölscher,[28] that May's presence at Giza was linked to the removal of stone blocks - especially pyramid casing blocks - for use in other Ramesside buildings, including those at Pr-Ramesses. However, Habachi argued that a celebratory graffito placed in association with a project which involved the partial destruction of a standing monument of an earlier king would seem an odd act.[29] Indeed, it would seem to be almost the antithesis of the Khaemwese pyramid labellings - not a well-cut monumental 'graffito' on the casing blocks of a pyramid marking the restitution of those casing blocks, but a well-cut monumental graffito on a convenient vertical stone face facing a pyramid from which the casing blocks have been taken**.**

8. The Statue of Khaemwese/Kawab

One final piece of evidence worthy of our consideration in this context is another piece of stone with Khaemwese's name on it, in this case the lower part of a statue which originally belonged to Kawab, son of Khufu. I have already published some thoughts on this objects in the *Festschrift* for Ken Kitchen,[30] which particularly concentrated on the ways in which a royal son of the 19th dynasty might regard a monument of a royal son of the 4th dynasty in the context of the Ramesside interest in the past. My immediate concern here is to examine the original context of this Old Kingdom statue – undoubtedly it came from Kawab's mastaba at Giza – and suggest possible mechanisms for its transportation, by Khaemwese, to the Ptah Enclosure at Memphis where it was found in 1908.

Apart from the three small queen's pyramids, the mastaba tomb of Kawab (G.7110/7120)[31] – see fig. 109 – has the prime position in the court cemetery to the east of Khufu's pyramid, occupying the north-west corner of that cemetery and therefore being the closest mastaba to the pyramid of Khufu, its mortuary temple and its causeway. This privileged position was appropriate for a tomb owned by the eldest royal son who, had he outlived his father, would have had no need of that tomb because, as king, he would have begun work on his own pyramid. The tomb is a double mastaba, built for Kawab and his wife Hetepheres II, who would outlive her husband to become the wife of kings Djedefre and (possibly) Khaefre.

The mastaba itself was, essentially, a solid rubble-filled stone box. The offering chapel of Kawab's tomb was only minimally embedded within the southern end of the eastern face of the mastaba, with most of the structure being built across the width of the corridor ('Street 7100') formed by the eastern face of Kawab's mastaba and the western face of its neighbour, G.7210/7220, belonging to Djedefhor.

The excavators discovered that attempts had been made to destroy this chapel, probably not long after it had been constructed, resulting in heavy damage to the fabric of the chapel, its reliefs and the statuary it had contained. A significant quantity of statue fragments was recovered from the chapel of Kawab; the excavators estimated that, in total, the chapel had contained between 10-20 statues of Kawab. Moreover:

The statues were evidently smashed as a vindictive procedure instituted against Kawab or his memory personally, against the nobles of the house of Cheops as a group, or against the royal family of the Old Kingdom.[32]

As noted above, the Kawab statue which had been re-inscribed by Khaemwese was found by local diggers in 1908, somewhere in the region of Mit Rahineh. The Khaemwese text on the statue self-referentially describes it as having been 'taken from what was cast (away)'.[33] The text also refers, in an unfortunately damaged way, to a monument of Khaefre. In view of the severely damaged nature of the statuary belonging to Kawab, and Khaemwese's statement that it had been found discarded – presumably part of the smashing and spreading which had resulted in the condition of the other statuary – it is hard to imagine that the Mit Rahineh statue had been found intact by Khaemwese. This means that he brought to his statue-park a statue which was already, essentially, a base with legs, albeit one clearly inscribed with the names and titles of Kawab. This would seem a more likely scenario than Khaemwese having discovered an abandoned but intact statue of Kawab, which was subsequently damaged at some point after it had been transported to Memphis. It is less easy to be confident

[27] Habachi 1954: 213.
[28] Hölscher 1912: 67.
[29] *Un homme comme Mey qui a dédié une stèle au Sphinx, qu'on croit être la representation de Khéphren, ne devait pas songer à enlever les blocs faisant partie du temple funéraire ou du revêtement de la pyramide de ce roi.* Habachi 1954: 218.
[30] Snape 2011.
[31] Simpson 1978.
[32] Simpson 1978: 7.
[33] Snape 2011: 472.

about describing the process by which Khaemwese came to discover the Kawab statue in the first place. Obviously, he was not carrying out restoration on tombs within the court-cemetery of Khufu's pyramid complex, although the offering-chapel of Kawab – and indeed adjacent court mastabas – were in need of such restoration after a (presumably) ancient destruction. Is it possible that he was engaged in work collecting building stone for use in the Ptah Temple from the pyramid-complex of Khufu pyramid, but at the same time snapping up unconsidered trifles (such as Old Kingdom statues) for repurposing elsewhere? If so, it is possible to regard the totality of all this activity in Memphis and in the Memphite necropolis by Khaemwese and others as a genuine attempt to display an active interest in the past which goes beyond a pragmatic desire to get hold of good quality building stone, and in which we should see in the interplay of activity a more subtle and nuanced set of intentions. After all, as Khaemwese himself boldly states:[34]

... so greatly did he love antiquity and the noble ones who were before, together with the excellence of all they did.

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A Stelophorous Statuette from the National Archaeological Museum of Athens: an Adorer Offering a Hymn–Stele to the Solar God Rēʿ [ΑΠΓ Λ 108]

Alicia Maravelia

Hellenic Institute of Egyptology & People's University of Athens, Athens, Greece

Dedicated to Dr Nadine Guilhou,
a very good Friend & treasured Scholar

Abstract: *In this paper the author studies an unpublished stelophorous statuette of an adorer, bearing a hymn to the ancient Egyptian solar god Rē' in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. This statuette, dedicated to Amūn–Rē' by a certain overseer of the scribes named Beben (Bbn) during the New Kingdom, offers us several clues as to the context of its religious semantics, expressed by the prayer to the solar god (which we try to restore in our article). Furthermore, a brief comparative discussion is presented concerning the text of this hymn with another similar hymn on a statuette of the same Collection and with certain hymns to Rē' from the Book of the Dead (e.g.: pAny in the British Museum etc).*

Keywords: *stelophorous statuettes, hymns to Rē', funerary practices, Book of the Dead, tombs, solar cult, National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Egyptian collections*

1. Introduction

Stelophorous statuettes[1] were very common as (non–votive) funerary equipment since 18th dynasty onwards and their typical example is an adorer holding a stele inscribed with a hymn to the solar god, wherefrom his head is protruding, kneeling in piety and praying to the high god of light and day. They were placed in the niches of the small tomb–pyramids and their symbolism was definitely solar. The solar disc and the eye of Horus are common symbolic traits often depicted on them, instilling them with an indirect though irresistible cosmographic symbolism, as is the case with the two objects from the National Archaeological Museum of Athens that are here discussed. The *šn*–ring is another common symbol found on many of them, which is related to eternity and milliards of years of life. Consequently, time and space are indirectly evoked through the archetypal symbolism of these statuettes and justify their placement high over the monument's entrance, in order to greet and adore the Sun upon his rising (placed in a certain sacred space, in order to attest to the periodical and always timely rising of the day–star), bathing simultaneously the statuette of the deceased (principally his head) into the golden solar light, thus bestowing the promise of re–rising and resurrection in the hereafter. The partial return to the solar religion during the New Kingdom, especially during the Amarna Period, clearly features on these statuettes that were used for private individuals, while the earliest examples of them (dating from the era of Tuthmosis III), although also inscribed, do not feature a stele.

The current paper should have been published a long time ago, since it was submitted to the official Journal of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (*MOYSEION*), where it was accepted; however, due to the financial crisis and bureaucratic delays the volume is still under preparation and actually all authors have not received yet any drafts. It was presented for the first time as an oral contribution for the EAA 2008 Conference in Malta, during the Egyptological Session, successfully organised by me and Dr Galina Belova, with the help of Dr Alicia Meza).[2] Now I am convinced that it was the best and most appropriate choice, to be offered *in honorem* Nadine Guilhou and published in the current CECE VII Volume. I would like to thank the National Archaeological Museum of Athens and the Egyptian Collection for permitting me the study and publication of this object, as well as for providing its photos, the copyright of which belongs to the Museum. This unpublished stelophorous statuette of an adorer, bearing a hymn to the solar god Rē', kept at the premises of this Museum, is studied here comparatively. The text of the hymn is in a very poor state of preservation, but this very

[1] For bibliography and general description, see *LÄ* VI, 1986, 8-9: art. 'Stelophor'.

[2] Due to many colleagues' incapability of sending early their contributions the Proceedings of this very Egyptological Session will not be published. However, some of them (as my paper) will be published individually. On that Session, see Bonanno *et al.* 2008: 104-111.

ΑΙΓ Λ108	Dimensions [cm]	Material/Technique and Preservation	Dating	Provenance
Statuette (Adorer)	H=34.50, L=16.00, W = 16.00	Sandstone Carved, Incised, Painted Preservation: mediocre [partly broken & restored]	New Kingdom [Late Dynasty XVIII, Dynasty XIX]	Thebes (?) Donation of Alex. Rostowitz to the Museum [Rostowitz Col.], late 19th century.
Stele	H=29.50, L=19.00, W_{max} = 3.20			
Back Pillar	H=24.50, L=5.00, W = 4.00			
Base	H=4.50, L=19.00, W = 17.50			

Table 4. Principal characteristics of the stelophorous statuette ΑΙΓ Λ108 of the Athens National Museum.

Fig. 110a. Stelophorous statuette of an adorer (Λ 108), bearing a stele with a hymn to the solar god Rē‘: New Kingdom, 18th dynasty, sand–stone, H = 34.5 cm (frontal view). © National Archaeological Museum of Athens.

Fig. 110b. Rear view of the same statuette (observe the typical back pillar and the traces of colour). © National Archaeological Museum of Athens.

statuette, dedicated to Amūn–Rē‘ by the overseer of the scribes named Beben (*Bbn*) during the New Kingdom, offers us several clues as to the context of its religious semantics.

2. Description, Comparisons and Discussion

The object under study is a rather large stelophorous statuette of an adorer bearing a hymn to the solar god Rē‘. The previous Table 4 gives a brief but full account of this object’s dimensions and characteristics.

Description: The pious owner making offerings as usual kneels in adoration, presenting the stele with both hands from behind; supported by a back pillar, he wears a typical New Kingdom wig and a sleeveless robe ending above the ankles (touching the ground). Traces of colour remain on the skin: (human skin: brownish red) and clothes (grey–black). The preservation of this interesting artefact is rather mediocre to poor. The proper right side is in better preservation than the proper left. The adorer stares into eternity, offering the prayer–stele to Rē‘. Most of the inscription is obliterated on the stele; the latter is

Fig. 111a. Right view of the same statuette (observe the excellent craftsmanship of arms, forearms, hands).
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Fig. 111b. Left view of the same statuette (observe the still extant traces of reddish–brownish colour).
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crowned with a solar disc with a double uraeus. From the text we learn the name (*Bbn*) and the office of the adorer and devotee who was an *overseer of scribes* (*imy-r zšw*), possibly from the area of Thebes (*W3st*). A back pillar is clearly visible, typical of this kind of statuette. A typical base is also evident, starting from the back side of the stele, where the adorer is shown kneeling on it in prayer and meditation. From textual and stylistic hints we date this object to the New Kingdom, possibly 18th dynasty (or 19th ?). Although most of the text is missing, it can be compared to various hymns to the solar god (Amūn–) Rē‘, like the ones met in the *Book of the Dead* (see *infra*). In the previous Fig. 110–111, this object can be seen in various aspects, from the front, from the rear, as well as from both its right and left sides. The craftsmanship of this statuette is rather sophisticated and it is well-formed, although its lines in general look aesthetically somewhat unsophisticated, imbuing it with a certain heaviness of form.

The hieroglyphic text of ΑΙΓ Λ108 is given in Fig. 112. It is evident that the text has been severely damaged and obliterated in the course of time. Thus, we treat the text rather conservatively, without assumptions that could distort its initial meaning, since we could not recover the whole of the original text.

The transliteration of the 11 lines of hieroglyphic text (together with small parts of it that we have hypothetically restored) is the following:

Šms ỉmntt, ir[*t*] *mr n.s; gmt b3i; rdi.k nfr.i s3.i, imy-r zš*[*w*] *Bbn, rᶜ-nb.*
<*ỉ*> *ỉmn*{*i*}-[*Rᶜ*] (*?*)*! W*<*b*>*n.k, sḥḏ.k t3wy;* [*k3*] […]
m ḥtpw, ib.k 3wt m mᶜnḏt, ḥr ᶜḏ […]
rf (*?*)*.k; iw* […] *rᶜ m* […]
[*msk*]*tt* (*?*) […] *m* […]
[…] *m* {*n*} *di.k pt* (*?*) […] *n* […]
[…] [*i*]*w b3w Šw 3* (*?*) *i*[*tn ?*] *imytw* […]
[…] *r* […] *ityw*(*?*)*-Dw3t sšn*(*w*)*t b*[*w*] *nb n rw.i* (*?*) *m* […]
[…] *b3i.i m-m is*(*i*)*.k* […]; [*wbn.*]*k, ttf* (*?*)
[...] […]*.i; di.k ḥtp.i m ḥwt irt n.i,*
mi irt nt-ᶜ. Zš Bbn […]. *iw.i m3ᶜ-hrw; Dw3.*

The translation is as follows:

Worshipping Amenthis (lit.: *the West*)*, doing what she desires, finding a soul. You shall grant that I shall be happy and protected;* (*for*) *the overseer of* (*the*) *scribes Beben, every day.*
(*O*) *Amūn–Rē‘,* (*when*) *you rise, you illuminate the Two Lands.* (*The*) *spirit […]*

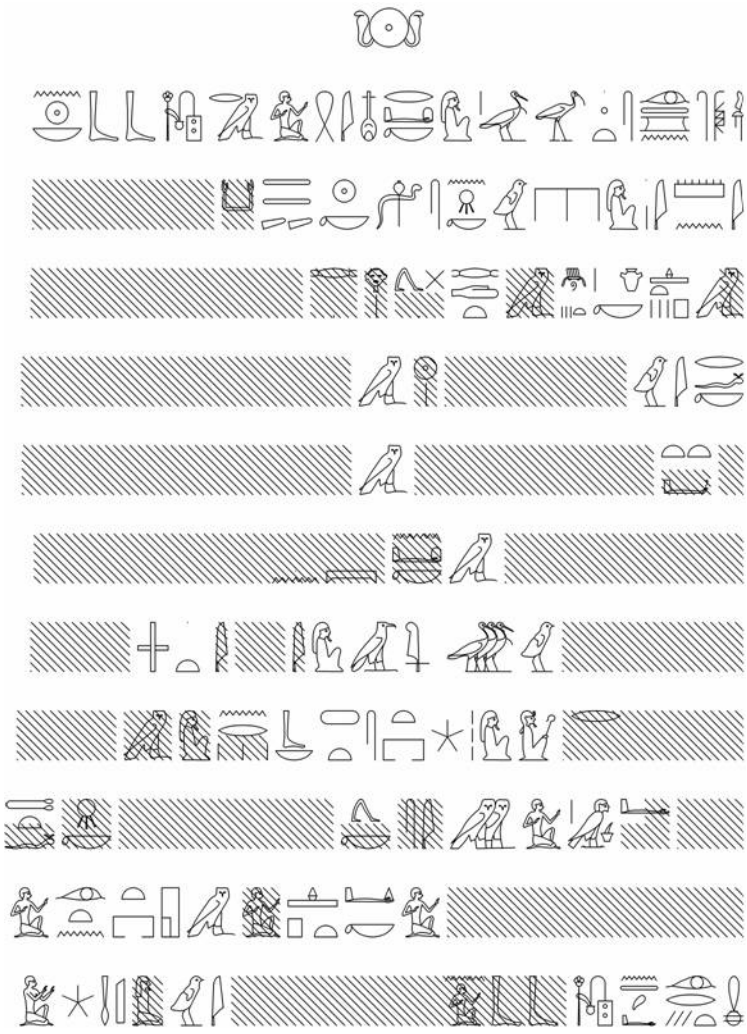

Fig. 112. The hieroglyphic text of the examined stelophorous statuette Λ 108 (to be compared with Fig. 1a). © A. Maravelia.

in the offerings. Your heart rejoices (lit.: expands) *in the morning–barque*[3]*, upon* (*being*) *safe* (*var.: whole*?) *[…] now* (*for*) *you. There is […] Rē‘* (*var.: the Sun*?) *in […] […] the night–barque* (?) *[…] in (var.: from*?*) […] […] you grant [that the sky*?*] […] […]* (*the divine*) *power of Shū [of the solar disc*?*] is* (?) *amongst […] […] to the Sovereigns* (*i.e.: Lords*) *of the Netherworld,*[4] *that causes to encircle every place, for my utterances by means of* (?) *[…] […]* (*now*?) *my soul between […].* (*When*) *you shine, you flow down […] […] me* (*var.: my […]*?)*. Grant that I shall be in peace ‘may you cause that I rest’ in my* (*funerary*) *chapel* (*lit.: mansion*)*, that I built* (*lit.: done*) *according* (*lit.: like*) *to the custom. The scribe Beben […]. […]* (*that*) *I am* (*var.: that I shall be*) *a justified one. Adoration.*

At this point we should like to compare this object with some other similar–ones coming from various European Museums, starting with a statuette of the same National Archaeological Museum in Athens. They have been chosen specifically for this purpose, because: **1.** most of them date from 18th dynasty (except ÄOS 5791 that dates from 22nd dynasty); **2.** most of them bear a hymn to the solar god Rē‘ (except ÄOS 5791 that has an offering formula to Amūn–Rē‘ of Karnak); **3.** most of them feature the characteristic cosmographic symbols discussed in the Introduction (except ÄOS 5791); and **4.** the content of the solar hymn in most of them (except ÄOS 5791, that contains both a hymn to solar deities and an offering formula referring to the partially solarised Amūn–Rē‘ and is discussed as another type of related funerary equipment) is characteristic of the cosmographic/solar undertones and could provide an insight as to what the obliterated text of the solar hymn of the main stelophorous statuette under study could have dealt with. Hence, they form a statistically characteristic (although by no means complete sample) for the study of these objects. Thus, we have examined the following:

[3] On the solar boats, see e.g.: LURKER[4] 1986: 113, art. ‘solar barque’; POSENER *et al.* 1992: 33.

[4] Possibly the *Divine Judges* of the hereafter (*ḏ3ḏ3t*) met in *Book of the Dead*: **30**[A]; MAPABEAIA 2003: 71; *EG*: 268-69.

Fig. 113a. Stelophorous statuette of an adorer, bearing a hymn to the solar god Rē‘ (Λ 76), from the Rostowitz collection (Athens National Archaeological Museum): New Kingdom, 18th dynasty, Calcite, H = 24 cm.
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Fig. 113b. The hieroglyphic text of this very same statuette.
© A. Maravelia.

1. A stelophorous statuette of an adorer,[5] bearing a stele with a hymn to the solar god Rē‘ (Λ 76), from the Rostowitz collection (acquisition year: 1904) [for a frontal view of this item and its hieroglyphic text, see Fig. 113]. Material: calcite. Technique: carved, incised and painted. In good preservation, with traces of colours still extant. Dimensions: H = 18.5 cm, L = 11.5 cm, W_{max} = 2.5 cm (Stele); H = 24.0 cm, L = 8.0 cm, W = 10.0 cm (Adorer); H = 17.5 cm, L = 4.8 cm, W = 2.3 cm (Back Pillar); H = 3.5 cm, L = 12.0 cm, W = 19.5 cm (Base). Date: New Kingdom possibly later 18th dynasty. Provenance from Thebes (?); priesthood and temple officers of Amūn. Typical brief hymn to the solar god, crowned by a horizon (*ꜣḫt*) and two apotropaic eyes (*wḏꜣt*) motif. Belonging to a certain person named Touroy (*Twr<ꜣ>y*), otherwise unknown, overseer of the storehouse of Amūn.

The transliteration of the hieroglyphic text of the hymn is the following:

Dwꜣ Rᶜ, ḫft wb(.../.)
(.../.)*n.f, r ḫpr*[*t*] *ḥtp.f m ᶜnḫ;*
in ḥry-šnᶜ<t> n<t> Ỉmn, Twr<ꜣ>y.
D̲d.f: ʿind ḥr.k Rᶜ-Tmw,

[5] For this statuette, see *PM* VIII², 1999: # 801-633-040; Τζακου–Αλεξανδρη 1995: 124 (XXV); Cladaki–Manoli *et al.* 2002: 36 (# II.12).

nb stwt m wn<w> n ḥr.f!
Di.k wn.i m-m ḥsyw.k,
m st nfrt nt mꜣʿtyw!'

The translation of this text is this:

Adoration of Rē', when he ri-
ses, until (*it*) *happens* (*that*) *he sets in life,*
by the overseer of the storehouse[6] *of Amūn Touroy.*
He says: 'Hail to you Rē'–Atūm,
lord of (*solar*) *rays at the opening of his sight!*
May you grant that I (*shall*) *exist among whom you praise,*
in the fair place of the justified ones!'.

The preservation of this object is better than the one we study in this paper. Its smaller dimensions give it an aesthetically better appearance, a fact that together with its good craftsmanship make of it a very typical example of this kind of funerary and cultic objects. Also, its text gives us a glimpse of what the obliterated hymnal text of the stelophorous statuette under study might contain.

2. A stelophorous statuette of an adorer[7] called Amūnemheb (*Ỉmn-m-ḥb*), bearing a stele with a hymn to the solar god Rē', quite similar to the previous Athens statuette (Λ 76), from the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (APM 6290) and dating from the New Kingdom, 18th dynasty [for a partially frontal view of this item and its hieroglyphic text, see Fig. 114A]. It is made of limestone and its dimensions are H = 20.5 cm, L = 14.0 cm, W = 6.5 cm. Technique: carved, incised and painted. Of mediocre preservation, with only few traces of colours still extant. Provenance: permanent loan since 1935 (otherwise unknown; maybe Thebes?). The introduction of the hymn on this object is the same as that of the previous object from Athens (Λ 76). The hymn on this piece can be compared to its Athens analogue and exalts the solar god and wishes that the justified deceased breathes the air in life for ever and sees the Sun rising every day. This statuette consists of a typical example of a similar object, unlike the following two, that could be of course compared to the statuette examined here, but whose style and dimensions are rather different in order to make a fully appropriate comparison.

3. A pseudo–block (stelophorous) statuette of an adorer,[8] bearing a text for the (solar) gods Amūn–Rē' and Rē'–Horakhty, from the Egyptian Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien (ÄOS 5791), made of basalt [for a partially frontal view of this item and its hieroglyphic text, see Fig. 114B]. This item (acquisition

Fig. 114a. Stelophorous statuette of Amūnemheb (*Ỉmn-m-ḥb*) at Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (APM 6290). Date: New Kingdom, 18th dynasty, limestone, H = 20.5 cm. It bears a similar prayer to Rē', like Athens Λ76. © A. Pierson

year: 1878) belonged to Prince Nimeloth (*Nmrṯ*), the son of Pharaoh Sheshonq I, and its text contains also a *ḥtp-di-nsw*–formula addressed to Amūn–Rē' of Karnak. Date: Third Intermediate Period, 22nd dynasty. Dimensions: H = 77.5 cm, L = 35.0 cm, W = 35.5 cm. Technique: carved and engraved. Its preservation varies between rather mediocre and good. Provenance: from Heliopolis (?).

4. A stelophorous statuette of an adorer,[9] bearing a stele with a hymn to the solar god Rē' (№ 3038), from the Drovetti Collection (acquisition year: 1824) at the Egyptian Museum in Torino [for a partially frontal view of this item and its hieroglyphic text, see Fig. 115]. This is an elaborate stelophorous statuette of Amunemipet (*Ỉmn-m-Ỉpt*), aka Seqai (a craftsman from Deir 'el-Medinah), dedicated to Rē' and dating from the New Kingdom, 19th dynasty. It is made of limestone and its preservation is rather good, with most of its colours still extant. Dimensions: H = 55 cm, L = 20 cm, W = 26 cm. Actually, this object bears a nicely painted hieroglyphic text. Technique: sculpted, incised and painted. Provenance: Deir 'el-Medinah. The introduction

[6] For the word *šnʿt* see *Urk.* IV: 50, 10; *Wb.* IV: 508-09; FAULKNER 1999: 269; HANNIG [5]2009: 896.
[7] For this statuette, see VAN VOSS *et al.* 1973: 11-12 (# E3); VAN DER PLAS 1999.
[8] For this statuette, see KATALOG 1962: # 140; PUTTER and KARLSHAUSEN 1992: 52; VAN DER PLAS 1999.
[9] For this statuette, see CURTO 1984: 187. On the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Torino, cf. SCAMUZZI 1965.

Fig. 114b. Pseudo–block statue of Prince Nimeloth (*Nmrṯ*), son of Pharaoh Sheshonq I, with hymnal text to both Rē'–Horakhty and Amūn–Rē' and also a *ḥtp-di-nsw*–formula addressed to Amūn–Rē' of Karnak, at Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien (ÄOS 5791). Date: Third Intermediate Period, 22nd dynasty, basalt, H = 77.5 cm. © KHM.

of the hymn on this object is again the same as that of the statuette from Athens (Λ 76).

At this point, after the comparisons with these similar objects, it would be more appropriate to attempt a short textual comparison of the solar hymn of the stelophorous statuette under study with some similar hymns of the same period (New Kingdom), coming from the *Book of the Dead*, as well as from several other sources. In the *Book of the Dead* of the noble scribe Any (Any), dating from the High Ramesside Period (19th dynasty, c. 1250 BC) in the British Museum in London (*pBM* EA 10470),[10] there is a prominent hymn to the solar god Rē', which we have studied thoroughly.[11] In this hymn, as well as in another similar *Book of the Dead* context, like the cultic and hymnal Chapter 15,[12] one can find some similar elements, like the ones met in the text of the statuette under study. Hence, the beginning of these compositions 'Adoration of Rē', when he rises in the horizon … ' (*Dw3 Rˁ, ḫft wbn.f m 3ḫt*) seems similar. The everyday re–appearing rising Sun, a particularly appropriate symbol expressing continuity, periodical permanence, cosmic immanence and the expectation of permanent light and life eternal, is used in this instance as a metaphysical luminous beacon. One can find as well some other common elements, like the quest for eternity, light and immortality, the irresistible desire to continue breathing for ever and live for ever, and the like. A related quest for light and everlastingness can also be detected in a hymn to the solar god from the Saqqara tomb of Horemheb (*Ḥr-m-ḥb*),[13] built before he became the last pharaoh of the 18th dynasty (where a poetical metaphor is encountered, comparing the morning–regenerated Sun to a young divine stripling and the heir of eternity *par excellence*), as well as in another similar stele.[14] In the former stele of Horemheb, reference is also made to the two divine solar boats, that of the morning (*mˁnḏt*) and that of the dusk (*msktt*), as is also the case in the text of the statuette studied here (see ℓℓ. 3, 5). Hence, Beben, by 'serving Amenthis' and thereby becoming a *beatified spirit* (*3ḫ*), would continue to live for ever, through the virtual daily adoration of Rē'. Regrettably the limited space and specific purpose of this paper does not permit us to discuss in great extent the common points between the text of the studied statuette and those of various hymns[15] to the ancient Egyptian solar god. However, it is to be noted that the few comparisons we have presented offer several hints as to how the ancient Egyptian metaphysical *forma mentis* was approaching and conceiving the ideas of the hereafter, struggling to vanquish the abominable death and obtain the eternal bliss of immortality, even through funerary items as the stelophorous statuette studied in this paper.

3. Conclusions

In this article, a typical funerary statuette/carrier of a hymn to the solar god Rē' —previously unpublished — has been examined and the text was transliterated, translated and partly restored, since its preservation was very poor (so that many lines were obliterated). Stelophorous statuettes were usually put high on the outer part of the wall of the New Kingdom Theban tombs,[16] their principal function being the magical continuation *post mortem* of the personal relation and adoration of the devotee to the divine,[17] expressed in this instance by the supreme solar god (Amūn–)Rē'. Being placed high they would be virtually able to stare at the Sun every

[10] See Faulkner and Goelet ²1998: pl. 1.
[11] On this, see Maravelia 2006: 357-63.
[12] See, for instance, Barguet 1967: 45-53.
[13] See *sBM* EA 552 (VIII: pl. xxvii); cf. *EG*: 291-92.
[14] Cf. *sBM* EA 826 (VIII: pl. xxi).
[15] See e.g.: Stewart 1967: 29-74; Assmann 1969; Assmann 1970; Assmann 1975; Barucq and Daumas 1980. On the solar religion during the New Kingdom and its implications, cf. Assmann 1995.
[16] Kampp 1996: 74-75.
[17] See Posener *et al.* 1992: 275; *BMD*: 279; cf. also Μαραβελια 2003: 214.

Fig. 115. Elaborate stelophorous statuette of Amunemipet (*Ỉmn-m-Ỉpt*), aka Seqai (a craftsman from Deir 'el-Medina), dedicated to Rē', at the Egyptian Museum in Torino (№ 3038, Drovetti Collection): New Kingdom, 18th dynasty, limestone, H = 55 cm, bearing a nicely painted hieroglyphic text. © A. Maravelia.

day at his rising, representing the deceased, who would subsequently participate in the unceasing solar journey in the blessed bark of the millions of years. Thus, being also the virtual carriers of a specific text, none other than a short hymnal prayer to the solar god, they could fulfil their very purpose in the most metaphysically efficient way. That was exactly the use of the stelophorous statuette studied here. On the other hand, in the *Book of the Dead*, the most significant funerary composition of the New Kingdom, one can detect the theological background of this act of devotion, which would save the dedicator/adorer, bestowing upon him/her the bliss of eternal life (cf. *Book of the Dead*: Chapters 13, 15, 17, 44, 68, 100, 101, 102, 130, 131, 136^{B}, & c.). The dedicators belonged mainly to the wealthy higher societal classes — exactly like Beben, the overseer of scribes who owned the examined statuette — and the related hymnal texts are (for us today) a rich source of information on the ancient religion, social customs and sometimes even on the ancient Egyptian Astronomy and Cosmography. If only the text of the statuette under study was preserved complete, possibly many more interesting comparisons could have been presented.

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The Cult of Bastet during the First Millennium BC: some Bronzes from the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest

Maria Diletta Pubblico

Department of Asia, Africa and Mediterranean Study – University of Naples 'L'Orientale', Naples, Italy

Abstract: *For a long time religious-historical investigation concerning the worship of one of the most important deities of the Egyptian pantheon, the goddess Bastet, was largely based on assumptions. Despite this theriomorphic deity having always generated interest among the scientific community, an in-depth archaeological and historical-religious analysis has never been conducted. The systematic study of previously unpublished bronzes kept in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest has made it possible to establish an initial typological variety, and clarify the function of some artefacts and their cultural significance. The material, particularly heterogeneous, consists of sarcophagi and caskets for cat mummies, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic ailurocephalic statuettes of the goddess, and zoomorphic heads. The study was based on techniques and material workmanship, iconographic patterns and comparison with similar finds, kept in various Egyptian collections.*

Keywords: *Bastet, cat goddess, Egyptian religion, finds' study, bronzes, Budapest, Late Period*

In the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom, Bastet had only leonine features.[1] She was the protector of the Lower Egyptian celestial vault and she played the role of royal nurse.[2] At the same time, she is the aggressive lioness that protects her children from enemies. Therefore, the protective character of the goddess is associated to a most combative aspect, which became typical of the kings, especially during the Middle and New Kingdom.[3] The 22nd dynasty rulers invoked both ancient aspects of the goddess but Bastet was associated to another animal, the domestic cat, which became the animal hypostasis of the goddess.[4] Therefore, during the Ist millennium BC thousands of artefacts related to the worship of Bastet[5] (*Ebastet* or *Webastet*[6]) were produced. They were ex-votos donated to the temples[7] or used in public or private celebrations. These objects had an apotropaic and prophylactic value. For this reason, they were placed in the temples, perhaps in connection with some oracular rituals. Later, they were stored in the cat necropoleis, associated to the *temène*,[8] or in deposits, created during the foundation, building or restoration of the temples.[9]

'*Alors que des centaines de ces statuettes de chats sont connues, très peu d'éléments permettent de préciser leur usage, leur origine et même leur datation. […] L'étude stylistique poussée de ces œuvres reste à entreprendre […]*'.[10]

An opportunity to understand better this popular type of artefact occurred in November 2014, thanks to Dr. Eva Liptay, curator of the Egyptian collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest.[11] Here is kept a group of 39 finds, mostly transferred in 1934 from the National Museum of

[1] She was depicted on some inscribed stone vessels, found in the Saqqara and Giza necropoleis, dated to the 2nd and 3th dynasty, and on reliefs of the royal mortuary complexes (4th -6th dynasty) as a lion-headed goddess holding a *was* sceptre and *ankh* sign in her hands. Lacau-Lauer 1961: IV.1, 57-58, nos. 57-58, pl. 11, IV.2, 31; Raffaele 2005: 42-46.

[2] With her counterpart, Hathor, guardian of the Upper Egyptian celestial vault, she legitimised the accession to the throne of the prince who was to become king, and she was designated to protect the throne, the king and the kingship. Cwiek 2003: 309-314

[3] The origin of the leonine aspect of the goddess is connected to the myth of the Heavenly Cow, the Myth of the Solar Eye and the later version of the latter, the Myth of the Distant Goddess. Junker 1911; Sethe 1912; Junker 1917; Spiegelberg 1917; Anthes 1961: 1-21; West 1969: 161-183; De Cenival 1985: 95-115; De Cenival 1987: 55-71; De Cenival 1988: 215-231; De Cenival 1999: 73-83; Bresciani 1992; Bresciani 1993: 45-49; Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001; Bresciani 2007: 738-772; Hoffamann-Quack 2007.

[4] Nevertheless, she continued to be represented as a lion-headed goddess in official contexts.

[5] From the Third Intermediate Period, the cult of Bastet was spread in the Egyptian Valley and the Mediterranean basin. See futher Bonnet 1952: 80-81; Otto 1975: I, 628-630; Leitz 2002-2003: II, 739-743.

[6] The name of the goddess Bastet was known since the early dynastic period (2nd dynasty). Ranke 1910: 33, nos. 4, 47; Gardiner 1918: 258-259; Sethe 1923: 173, 195; Alliot 1951: 18-20; Wilkinson 1999.

[7] At present, we know only three temples where Bastet was worshipped. As for the Great Temple of Tell Basta, the oldest archaeological evidences dates to the Old Kingdom. During the reign of Osorkon II and Nectanebo II, the temple was rebuilt and expanded. More details in: Naville 1891; Naville 1892; Habachi 1957; Fischer 1958: 330-333; el-Sawi 1979; Bakr 1992; Tietze 1994; Tietze 2003; Tietze 2004; Lange 2006: 121-149; Lange 2008: 131-141; Rosenow 2008: 11-13; Lange 2009: 208-218. The temple of *t3-dhnt ʿnḫ-t3wj* at Saqqara was built during the New Kingdom. Indeed, a stela from the Serapeum attributed to the 18th dynasty was inscribed with the formula *B3st nbt ʿnḫ-t3wj*. Perhaps, the temple existed already in the New Kingdom. More details in: Mariette 1882-1883: pl. 34; Gauthier 1918: 48; Gauthier 1928: 216; Vercoutter 1962: 5; Thompson 1988: 142; Zivie 1988: 112. It was restored in the Late Period. More details in: Smith 1984: V/3, 420, no 92; Jeffreys and Smith 1988: 78-79; Price 2009: 3. Berenice II commissioned the Bubasteion of Alexandria. It was built at the end of the IVth -begin of IIIth century BC in the Kom el-Dikka quarter. Details in: l-Maksoud-el-Fattah and el-Din 2011: 427-445.

[8] Davies 2007: 185

[9] Delveux 1991: 134; Davies 2007: 181.

[10] Delveux 1991: 134

[11] I am grateful to Dr. Liptay and to the team of Egyptologists who work in the Egyptian collection in Budapest.

Fig. 116a-b. Bronze sarcophagus for cat mummy. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 51.2356.

Hungary; the result of acquisitions and private donations. It consists of morphologically heterogeneous and in part unpublished objects, mostly in bronze. The preliminary study is focused on five categories of finds: sarcophagi, caskets, statuettes, statuette-amulets and zoomorphic heads.

Five hollow statuettes (Budapest: *Museum of Fine Arts*, 51.2354; 51.2356; 51.2357; 51.2710; 57.4-E) may be interpreted as zoomorphic sarcophagi for cat mummies, belonging to the category *des pompes funèbres de première classe*'.[12] Their size varies between 20 and 30 cm. They are hollow-cast metal figures, made using lost-wax techniques.[13] The head, ears, tail and front legs are solid, and were made separately and then attached to the body. The iconographic pattern is that of the hieroglyphic *miw*.[14] The animal is seated on the hind legs, under which there is often a support. In this support was fitted a lid, that sealed the contents. However, none of these finds house the cat mummy, or a part of it,[15] the precious votive offering to the goddess. Although under the front legs there are traces of tenons that allowed the sarcophagus to be set on a base, none of the sarcophagi have a base. The figure of the cat is decorated with jewels and other ornaments. In all these sarcophagi, the neck is adorned with lotus collar or necklace of gems, pearls or cowry-shells, often with an apostrophic pendant, such as a *wedjat-eye*. The features are either carved or in relief. The eyes are often inlaid with a precious material.[16] (Fig. 116a-b) On the forehead there was an inlaid scarab beetle, today visible only by a negative trace. The ears are decorated with *Maat feather* patterns and pierced for gold or silver earrings. The analysis of production techniques, stylistic patterns and the comparison with similar finding[17] (Fig. 117-118), kept in the most

[12] De Morant 1937.

[13] The find was modelled in a refractory core, covered with wax and covered again with other refractory material. The molten metal was poured into a hole carried out on the top of the figure. After the melting and the leaking of the wax, the core was removed and the cast figure was polished and embellished. Schorsch-Frantz 1997-1998: 20-21; Nigro 1999: 60-61; Fitzenreiter 2014: 91-98.

[14] The word cat was introduced in the Middle Egyptian language. Phonetically, the sign was read with the onomatopoeic form *miw/imy*. The iconography was inspired by the wild cat, *Felis chaus nilotica*.

[15] Fink-Kopp 1938-1939: 111-119; Nicholson-Shaw 2009: 158-159.

[16] Inv. no. 51.2356 has the eyes inlaid in gold and rock crystal pupils. Mojzer 1999: 98-99; Liptay 2011: 110-111, n. 52.

[17] Paris: Museé du *Louvre*, E 22 889 (Letellier-Zigler 1978: 43-48); Berlin: Äegyptisches Museum, 2055, 1528 (Arnst 1991: 237, 239); Compiègne: *Musée Antoine Vivenel*, L. 689 (Camino-Papier-Lecostey 2007: 46); Copenhagen: *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, AEIN 620, AEIN 1546 (Jørgensen 2009: 204-211); New York: *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 56.16.1 (Arnold 1995: 40-41; Schorsch-Frantz 1997-1998: 16-28); Amiens: *Musée de Picardie*, 3057.329, 3057.286, 3057.252 (Perdu-Rickal 1994: 118-119); Vaticano: *Museo Gregoriano*

Fig. 117. Bronze sarcophagus for cat mummy. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 51.2357.

Fig. 118. Bronze sarcophagus for cat mummy. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.16.1.

important Egyptology Museums, permits this find to be ascribed to the 26th to 30th dynasty.

The only rectangular bronze casket (Budapest: *Museum of Fine Arts*, 51.2352) has two statuettes of kittens on the top.[18] (Fig. 119a) They are shown in the typical position, seated on their hind legs. The facial features are engraved. On their bodies, the fur is represented by some engraved vertical lines. These are most visible on the rear cat, which is slightly more slender and taller than the front one, perhaps to allow a frontal view. The casket has rounded corners and is closed in the front and open in the rear, to permit insertion of the mummy into the cavity (Fig. 119b). A closure plug sealed the opening. In accord with Hilton Price, Malek and Krauspe,[19] there is not enough room inside this casket for an entire cat mummy. Probably it contained small portions of the mummified animal or only some bones, according to the principle of *pars pro toto*, popular in the Late Period.

A very large part of the finds are statuettes in bronze, which were especially common in the Late and Ptolemaic Period as they met the taste and finances of the majority of the Egyptian population. In the Egyptology collection in Budapest there are two different classes of these votive offerings.

The first comprises hollow cast finds (Budapest: *Museum of Fine Arts*, 51.315; 51.1282; 51.2454) with dimensions between 10 and 20 cm. (Fig. 120) Equipped with front and rear tenons, these zoomorphic figures must have originally been positioned on bases or supports. The iconographic pattern is the same as in the bronze sarcophagi. The front legs are separated on the top and joined at the end. On the chest are engraved the collar with pectoral pendants, in the form of Hathoric, panther or hawk heads.[20] The head is oval-shaped, and the ears are decorated with *Maat feather* patterns and

Profano, 18277, 18311 (Nigro 1999: 53-86), München: *Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst*, ÄS 1537, ÄS 648; *British Museum*, EA 64391(Strudwick 2006: 290-291; Francis 1971: 71), EA 11562 (Malek 1993: 128); Baltimore: *Walters Art Gallery*, 54.2131 (Steindorff 1946: 147-148); Boston: *Museum of Fine Arts*, 53.2385 (Zivie 1988: 232-234); Detroit: *Institute of Arts*, 31.72 (Capel-Markoe 1996: 99, no. 139); Bruxelles: *Musée Royal d'Art et d'Histoire*, E. 6750 (Gubel 1991: 239).

[18] Cfr.: London: *British Museum*, EA 6767 (Malek 1993: 132); München: *Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst*, ÄS 1537.

[19] Hilton Price 1897: 312; Malek 1993: 130; Krauspe 1997: 90.

[20] Roeder 1937: 49; Roeder 1956: 347.

Fig. 119a-b. Bronze casket for cat mummy. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 51.2352.

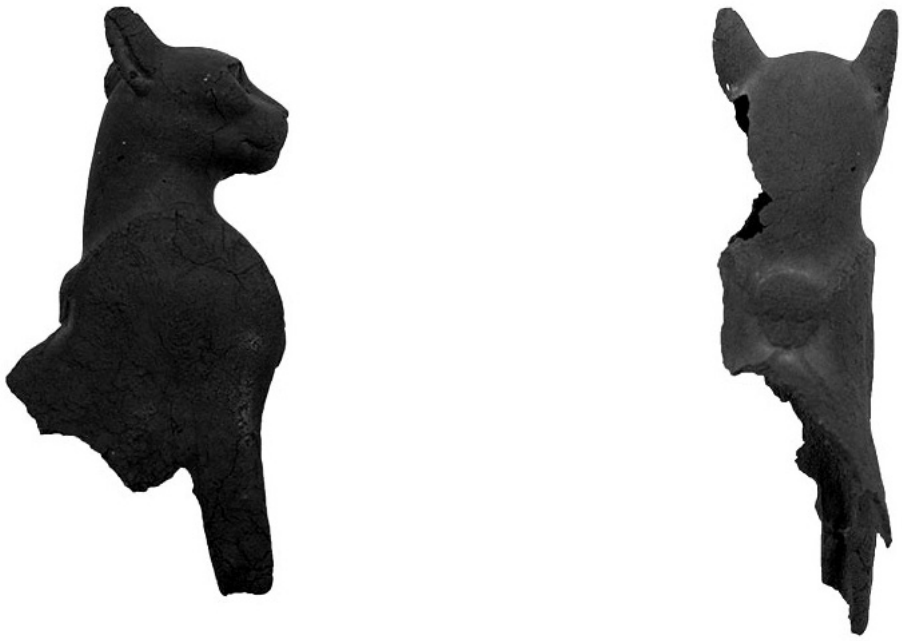

Fig. 120a-b. Zoomorphic bronze statuette. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 51.1282.

Fig. 121. Anthropomorphic ailurocephalic bronze statuette. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 83.13-E.

Fig. 122. Bronze statuette of a cruching cat. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 51.2351.

pierced for the insertion of earrings. The scarab on the forehead[21] is often inlaid or engraved. The large, slanting eyes are engraved or in relief. The naris, on the base of nose, is also engraved, and the muzzle is square-shaped. The decorative programme is typical for many of these statuettes. This means that the statuettes ware made in series and in large numbers to satisfy the need of the believers.

An anthropomorphic ailurocephalic statuette (Budapest: *Museum of Fine Arts*, 83.12-E; Fig. 121) belongs to this same category. The object is solid and it was made using a lost-wax technique. Bastet wears a long, tight, polished dress, with long sleeves, V-neck and it ends just above the ankles. The right leg is advanced and the left one is straight, and the belly is rounded with an engraved hole representing the navel. The right arm is bent and the hand is closed, with a hole through the centre. Once, an attribute of the goddess, perhaps a sistrum,[22] would have been inserted here. On the left arm is a hanging wicker basket. The right hand is brought to the chest and holds the leonine aegis, crowned with a solar disc, between the rounded breasts. The human figure ends with a cat head, with feline ears and engraved facial features. The ailurocephalic head, the rounded breasts and the wicker basket, often holding kittens, are all allusions to the reproductive frequency of the cat and to the apotropaic aspect of the goddess, as protector of women and childbirth. The sistrum was a ritual object, used in the pacification ceremonies of the leonine goddesses'.[23] As for the aegis, this controversial attribute may be a symbol of the divinity herself.[24]

In the fourth category are finds half way between votive statuettes and amulets,[25] whose dimensions are between 5 and 10 cm. height and realised using lost-wax techniques, with bivalve moulds. These statuettes are placed on *menat*-shaped bases and represent the typical image of a cat, like the bronze statuettes and the sarcophagi. The presence of tenons under the base or the front and hind legs, and the size of the artefacts, indicate that they were not in themselves used as *ex-votos*. For example, Budapest: *Museum of Fine Arts*, 51.2351[26] is morphologically comparable to a statuette on the top of a casket in the *British Museum* (EA 22540; Fig.. 122-123).[27] Similar objects (Budapest: *Museum of Fine Arts*, 51.1284; 51.1285; 51.1289; 51.2351) were used as *appliques* on to cat sarcophagi or caskets, in order to personalise the offering to the goddess. Thus, the numbers of cat statuettes on the casket is related to the individual requirements. Indeed, on the top of the Budapest example are two kittens but in other cases there are many more (as e.g. Torino: *Museo Egizio*, C. 892). Clearly, it is unlikely that the number of statuettes corresponded to the number of mummies or mummy parts inside the box. It is likely that the increase

[21] Satzinger 1997: 399-407.
[22] Delvaux 1991: 131; Malek 1993: 106; Aubert-Aubert 2001.
[23] Liptay 2014: 5-6.
[24] Clark 1953: 80.
[25] Bronze amulets (Budapest: *Museum of Fine Arts*, 51.1287; 51.1312; 56.102-E) are solid and made by hollow casting with monovalve or bivalve moulds. They had an apotropaic function, associated with fertility and the protection of birth.
[26] Roeder 1956: 453; Györy 1989: 135, no. 14.
[27] Malek 1993: 133.

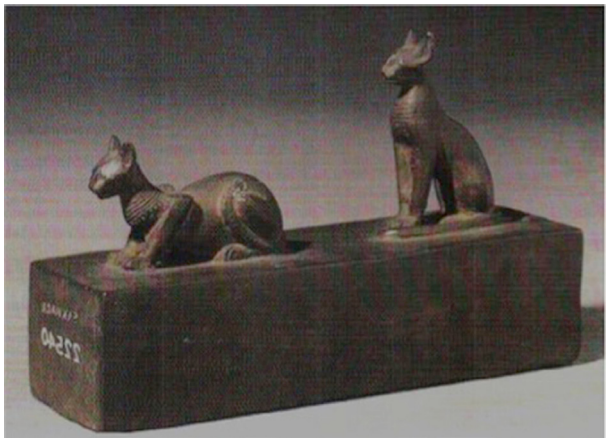

Fig. 123. Bronze casket with a crousching cat and a seat cat applied on the top. London: British Museum, EA 22540. After: Malek 1993: T. 6/2.

Fig. 124. Zoomorphic bronze statuette. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 64.3-E.

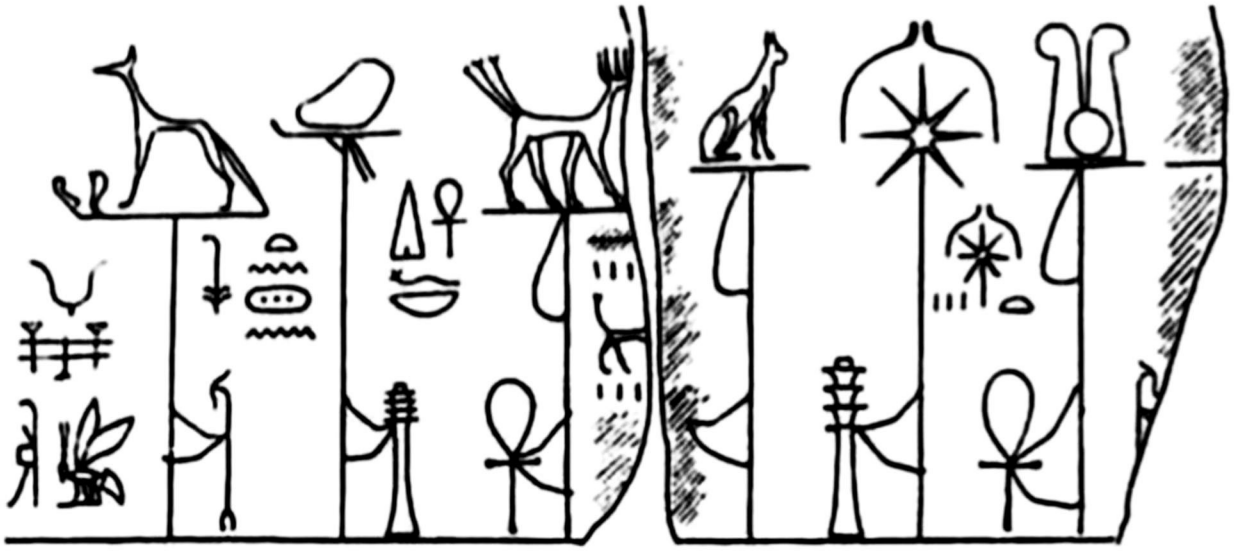

Fig. 125. Relief of the Great temple at Tell Basta. After: Naville 1892: pl. IX, 1-3.

in the number of cat statuettes showed the particular devotion of believers.

Others, such as Inv. no. 64.3-E, were inserted on the top of divine standards,[28] often shown in the temple reliefs. A case is the divine standard of Bastet depicted on the Festival Hall of Osorkon II in the Great temple at Tell Basta.[29] (Fig.. 124-125)

However, a small number of these objects, a little larger than 5 cm have tenons and suspension rings on the back (Budapest: *Museum of Fine Arts*, 50.1342; 51.1283; 51.1286; 51.1288; 56.10-E; Fig.. 126-127). A considerable number of similar statuettes were found in the ritual deposits of the Sacred Animal Necropolis in North Saqqara (SAN).[30] Some scholars believe they must have been mounted on sacred boats and secured by a rope

[28] Abdel-Raziq 2011: 1-13.
[29] Naville 1892: pl. IX,3.
[30] Davis 2007: 174-187.

Fig. 126. Zoomorphic bronze statuette-amulet. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 51.1286.

Fig. 127. Zoomorphic bronze statuette-amulet. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 50.1242.

or rod that went through the suspension rings. Once in the sanctuary, these ritual objects had to be displayed inside the sanctuary and for this reason they were provided with tenons and mounted on bases of bronze or other materials.[31] However, the dimensions and features show the multifunctional nature of these finds. The presence of suspension rings and tenons suggests that they were used as both amulets and decorative elements, depending on the need.

The zoomorphic head (Budapest: *Museum of Fine Arts*, 51.2355) is made using lost-wax techniques. It is oval-shaped. The triangular shaped ears are rounded on the top and decorated inside with *Maat feather* patterns. The facial characteristics are in relief. The workmanship is of high quality (Fig. 128). Although the neck is broken, the head was not the upper part of a statuette: in 1878, Maspero[32] found thousands of cats' heads in a Tell-Basta votive deposit. Some similar finds were found in cat necropoleis near temples, and now these are to be found in most Egyptian collections.[33] According to Roeder and Hilton Price,[34] the zoomorphic heads were the upper part of the sarcophagi. According to Malek and Langdon,[35] these objects were the funerary masks of cat mummies. Agreeing with them, Meeks[36] argues that in the funerary texts the term 'head' stands for 'death mask.' Drawing a firm distinction between 'head' and 'face', Meeks states that the 'face' symbolised the oracular aspect of the gods'.[37] On this basis, perhaps the zoomorphic bronze heads were simply votive offerings, means through which believers could communicate directly with the god.

The analysis of this small but precious group of finds can give us a significant insight into the different forms of worship of the goddess Bastet.

The ratio here between anthropomorphic and zoomorphic finds is 1 to 39, and comparisons with artefacts scattered in various museums in the world confirm this imbalance. Probably, the original nature of Bastet was the anthropomorphic ailurocephalic one but, at the same time, as with many theriomorphic deities of the Egyptian

[31] Davis 2007: 183.
[32] Maspero 1911: 286-287.
[33] London: *British Museum*, EA 11562 (see footnote 16); Chicago: *Oriental Institute*, OIM 18826 (Teeter 2003: 92-93); Hamburg: *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*, 1917.1427 (Germer 1997: 57-58); Copenhagen: *Ny Carlberg Glyptotek*, AEIN 1546; München: *Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst*, S 113; Strasbourg: *Musée Archéologique*, 11.987.0.74 (Schweitzer-Traunecker 1998: 35-36).
[34] Hilton Price 1897: 312; Roeder 1956: 346-347.
[35] Langdon 1940: 22-23; Malek 1993: 128-129;
[36] Meeks 1986: 178-180.
[37] *Ivi*: 179

Fig. 128a-b. Zoomorphic bronze head. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 51.2355.

pantheon, the most common offerings were addressed to the goddess represented in her animal hypostasis.

Cats were not a form of living incarnation as is the case of the sacred animals (Apis, Mnevis, Bucchis),[38] but intermediaries between worshippers and the deity; they were, in other words, bearers of their divine message.[39] The reasons for this are to be sought in the believers' need of a direct relationship with deities and the craving for a close dialogue, not mediated by priests. The earlier traces of this phenomenon go back to the New Kingdom, when the first cores of some sacred animal necropoleis were built.[40]

In this period, as in the Old and Middle Kingdom, Bastet was still a lion-headed goddess, characterised by maternal and combative roles, and both features were connected to the '*royal ideology of kingship*'.[41] Her transformation into a cat goddess is usually attributed to the 22nd dynasty, whose residence was probably Bubastis; a ring with a cat on the top in the Louvre is written with the name of pharaoh 'Osorkon, son of Bastet'.[42]

To the 26th dynasty dates a golden bronze cat statuette in the Louvre, inscribed on the base with the name of Psammetichus I and a dedicatory formula to Bastet.[43] This means that in this period the goddess was already closely associated to the animal. What are the reasons for this transformation?

Cats were very common animals in the Egyptian fauna, and were easily found outside the sacred precincts associated with temples. As a superb predator of pests, they were frequently housed in Egyptian families. In this way, people could observe further qualities, such as their fertility.[44] In all their aspects, cats were thus associated with the protection of family, home and new-borns.

Bastet, previously a lion-headed goddess, celestial mother of the pharaoh, and protector of his family was then associated with the animal that, to the Egyptian mind, played the same role. Thushe extended her skills and became the mother goddess of all the Egyptians.[45]

[38] IKRAM 2005: 5-6.
[39] MEEKS 1986: 182.
[40] MARIETTE 1882-1883: 65.
[41] CWEIK 2003: 309.
[42] Paris: *Museé du Louvre*, 3717. VANDIER 1966: 77, 83; YOYOTTE 1988: 159, nr. 34. On another find dated to the reign of Osorkon II, such as a stelophorous statue from Tanis the king adds the same epithet to his royal titular. Jansen-Winkeln 2007: 108-109.

[43] Paris: *Museé du Louvre*, N 3933. ANDREAU-RUTSCHOWSCAYA-ZIEGLER 1997: 190-192.
[44] PLUT. *De Is. et Os*. 63.
[45] Bastet was assimilated to many goddesses of the Egyptian pantheon having similar role: Hathor of Dendera; Mut of Thebes (TE VELDE 1982); Tefnut of Heliopolis (the Heliopolitan and Bubastite triad have the same male deity, Atum); Paket in the Speos Artemidos; the *bꜣ* of Iside at Edfu; Mehit of This; Wadjit of Buto. OTTO 1975: I, 628-630.

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Shabtis from the Museum and Private Collections in Croatia: Dating and Typological Study

Mladen Tomorad

Department of History, Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia

Abstract: *In this paper the author will present museum and private collections of shabtis in Croatia. In ten museums and four private collections, at least 377 shabtis and pseudo-shabtis are housed. Most of them can be dated to the pharaonic periods of Ancient Egypt. There is also a group of shabtis and pseudo-shabtis (34) which were unearthed during excavations in the territory of the former Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia (today in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina). These shabtis were usually associated with the diffusion of Egyptian cults during the Graeco-Roman Period (c. 4th century BC to 3rd century AD). The largest collection of shabtis is held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (312). They were gathered/obtained over an extended period of time, from 1865 to the present day, from various sources, but most are of unknown provenance. Shabtis from Croatian collections were produced between the New Kingdom and the early Roman Empire (c. 1st-2nd c. AD). There are also a couple of shabtis/pseudo-shabtis which may have been produced during Late Antiquity and the early Byzantine Period. All common forms and types of shabtis can be found in Croatian collections. According to the analysis, all the shabtis are genuine products of the Pharaonic or Roman Periods.*

Keywords: *Shabtis, pseudo-shabtis, collections, Croatia, provenance, types and forms, dating*

1. Introduction: Shabtis in museums and private collections in Croatia

At least 377 shabtis are housed in museum and private collections in Croatia (Tables 5-6). Most of them came from ex-private collections which were later donated or sold to current museums. According to the surviving documents, inventory books and other sources, shabtis in Croatian collections can be divided into two groups: 1) shabtis from ex-private collections which were acquired from antiquities dealers with an Egyptian provenance (343), and 2) the smaller group of shabtis that were unearthed during archaeological excavations of the various Graeco-Roman settlements in Croatia (34).[1] In the territory of the ex-Roman provinces *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* (Roman *Illyricum*), 36 shabtis and pseudo-shabtis[2] were discovered. Two of these are kept in Hungarian museums, and the rest (34) are kept in museum and private collections in Croatia.

2. Shabtis from the museum collections in Croatia

2.1. Shabtis from the Archaeological museum in Zagreb

The largest collection of shabtis (312 artefacts) is housed in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Most of them came from the private collection of the imperial lieutenant general of the Habsburg Monarchy, baron Franz von Koller (Bohemia, 27 November 1767-Naples, 22 July 1826)[3] which was purchased for the *Narodni muzej* (eng. *National museum*) in Zagreb in 1868.[4] It is known that the collection was bought during his military service in Naples (1815, 1821-1826) from the Roman antiquities dealer Lancius who had purchased it from another dealer, a Greek called Papiandropolus.[5] It was first housed in the von Koller castle in Obrzistov, and later in Prague. Records give no information as to the original provenance of the shabtis.[6] In 1939 the Narodni muzej was divided into several museum institutions, and the archaeological collections were moved to the newly-formed Archaeological museum.

The first shabti in the collection was actually donated to the museum by the former custodian Mijat Sabljar around 1865 (Table 6).[7] The biggest collections of shabtis (285) came to the museum in 1868 with the Egyptian collection which was bought from the Koller family (above and Table 6). Other shabtis came from various private collections and they were donated or purchased for the Narodni muzej or later the Archaeological Museum between 1862 and 2000 (table 2).[8] Two are not recorded in the Inventory book of the Egyptology Department; they were only mentioned in the Main inventory book of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. These shabtis

[1] For more about provenances of the Croatian Egyptological collections, see Tomorad 2003; Tomorad 2005; Tomorad 2015a.

[2] A 'Pseudo-shabti' is a figurine made in the form of a shabti, usually with some pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription. These types of artefacts were commonly made during the Graeco-Roman period and they are commonly associated with Isaic cults that spread around the Mediterranean world from the 5th century BC.

[3] Mirnik and Uranić 1999: 197-208; Tomorad 2003: 19.

[4] Detail description of this purchase see in: Tomorad 2003: 20-27.

[5] Ljubić 1889: 1; Tomorad 2003: 19; Tomorad 2011: 109.

[6] Tomorad 2003: 19.

[7] Tomorad 2003: 33; Tomorad 2005: 4.

[8] Tomorad 2005: 4.

Table 5. The number of shabtis in museums and private collections in Croatia

Collection	Provenance	Dating	Inv. no.	Quantity
Archaeological Museum, Zagreb (AMZ)	Egypt (298), *Aenona* (Nin), *Salona* (Solin), Ostrožac near Bihać, unknown locations in Croatia	New Kingdom-Roman Period	E256-312, E-317-381, E-383-566, E675-676; E773-774, E779, E78, MIB 348, MIB 358	312
Archaeological Museum, Dubrovnik (AMD)	Egypt	New Kingdom-Graeco-Roman Period	473, 504, 506-508, 550-564, 566-567, 595, 3805-3807	26
Archaeological Museum, Split (AMS)	Central Dalmatia (Croatia)	Late period-Roman Period	G1623-1626, B212-216, FB-757	10
Carrara-Bratanić, today Tereza Marović, Split	*Salona* (Solin, Croatia)	Graeco-Roman Period	private collection, without inventory numbers	6
Archaeological Museum of Istria, Pula (AMIP)	Unknown	Graeco-Roman Period	P7580, P30331-30333	4
St. Euphemia Monastery, Kampor – Rab (SEMK)	Unknown	Not analysed	without inventory numbers	4
Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb	Alexandria (Egypt)	Graeco-Roman Period	360-362	3
Franciscan monastery, Sinj	Čitluk (Croatia)	Graeco-Roman Period	R299-R300	2
Franciscan monstery, Košljun	*Curicum* (Krk, Croatia)	Late Hellenistic Period	641-642	2
Mimara Museum, Zagreb (ATM)	Unknown	Late Middle Kingdom	ATM 232 ATM 235	2
Archaeological Museum, Split	Hvar (Croatia)	Graeco-Roman Period	G1625	1
Museum of Slavonia, Osijek (MSO)	*Mursa* (Osijek, Croatia)	Third Intermediate Period	AA-6243 AA-19469 AA-1340	3
Marchi, today A. Domančić, Hvar	*Pharos* (Hvar) (Croatia)	Graeco-Roman Period	private collection, without inventory numbers	1
Lik, Filipani	Kazale (Croatia)	Unpublished	private collection, without inventory number	1
Total				**377**

were donated to the museum, the first by Vesna Magdić in 1954,[9] and the second by Kamila Radovan in 1957.[10]

The first catalogue of the Koller Egyptian collection was made by Heinrich Brugsch in 1869; he examined the collection and made some notes which were later used by Šime Ljubić, curator and later the director of the Narodni muzej. Ljubić wrote the first notes on the Egyptian collection in *Viestnik narodnoga zemaljskoga muzeja u Zagrebu* vol. I where he mentioned them as 'funeral statuettes of Osiris'.[11] In 1889 he published the first catalogue of the Egyptian collection where he again described them as 'Statuettes of Osiris with or without inscription'.[12] At that time they were placed in closet no. 4 in the Egyptian room.[13]

During the late 1950's and early 1960's Janine Monnet Saleh worked on her doctoral thesis *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb. Catalogue raisonné des antiquités égyptiennes conservées au Musée Archéologique de Zagreb en Yougoslavie.* This thesis was published as a book in 1970, and is also the first catalogue of shabtis from the Archaeological museum in Zagreb. In the middle of the 20th century few studies

[9] Zagreb: Archaeological Museum Main inventory book, 348; Tomorad 2005: 4; Tomorad 2011: 109.
[10] Zagreb: Archaeological Museum Main inventory book, 358, Tomorad 2005: 4; Tomorad 2011: 109.
[11] Ljubić 1871.
[12] Ljubić 1889: 8-10.
[13] Ljubić 1889: 10.

Table 6. Private collectors of shabtis with the current location of their collections

Donator/Purchase	Profession/Place	Year	Provenance	Modern collection: inventory number/s	Quantity
Carrara-Bratanić; today Tereza Marović	unknown/ Split	middle of the 19th century	*Salona* (Solin, Croatia)	Private collection	6
Mijat Sabljar	Museum curator/ Zagreb	1865?	Egypt	AMZ: E448	1
Franjo Jordan	Merchant/ Cairo	1866	Egypt	AMZ: E386, E453, E495, E511	4
Franz von Koller	Baron/ Habsburg Monarchy	1868	Egypt	AMZ: E256-271, E273-312, E-317-365, E-367-381, E-383-385, E-387-431, E433-441, E-443-447, E-449-452, E-454-463, E-465-472, E-474-490, E-492-494, E-496-510, E-512-560, E-566	285
Ferdo (Ferdinand) Pleše	priest/ Fužane	1871	Suez, Egypt	AMZ: E333	1
Frano and Niko Amerling	Merchants/ Alexandria & Cairo	1872	Egypt	AMD: 473, 504, 506, 507, 508, 550, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 566, 567, 595, 3805, 3806, 3807	25
Family Lanza	unknown/ Split	1874	Salona, Croatia	AMZ: E442, E561-E565	6
Milan Tompa	unknown	1886	Egypt	AMZ: E366	1
Fran Gundrum-Oriovčanin	doctor/ Križevci	1898	Egypt	AMZ: E491	1
Austrian donator	unknown/ Phaestos at Crete, Greece	19th century	unknown	AMIP: P7580, P30331-30333	4
Finkh	pharmacist/ Zagreb	19th century	Egypt	AMZ: E272	1
Ivan Bojničić	doctor/ unknown	19th century	Egypt	AMZ: E432	1
The Gymnasium	Senj	19th century	Egypt	AMZ: E464	1
Marchi, today A. Domančić	unknown/ Hvar	19th century	Middle Dalmatia (Croatia)	Private collection	1
M. Valjato	unknown/ Kraljevica	1900	Egypt	AMZ: E473	1
Gustav Koritić	government secretary/ unknown	1905	Egypt,	AMZ: E328	1
Petar Karlić	doctor/ Zadar	1912	Nin, Croatia	AMZ: E675, E676	2
Benko Horvat	antiquarian/ Zagreb	Early 20th century	Alexandria (Egypt)	MSO 360-362	3
Ante Topić Mimara	Antiquity dealer/ Zagreb	First half of the 20th century	unknown	ATM 232	1
Ivo Kugli	book publisher/ Zagreb	1939	unknown	SEMK, without inventory numbers	4
Vesna Magdić	unknown/ Zagreb	1954	Ostrožac, Bosnia	AMZ: MIB AMZ 348	1
Kamila Radovan	unknown/ Zagreb	1957	unknown	AMZ: MIB AMZ 358	1
Family Lik	unknown/ Filipane	1997	Kazale (Croatia)	Private collectiion	1
Family Pavletić	unknown	2000	Egypt	AMZ: E773, E774, E779, E781	4
Total number					**357**

of the typology of shabtis existed. Thus, Saleh divided the shabtis into five fundamental types which were not sorted chronologically.[14] Saleh's work contains many mistakes: the artefacts were not well examined and analysed (incorrect dimensions, materials, dating etc) or they were wrongly interpreted.

The first guide to the Egyptian collection at the Archaeological museum in Zagreb was published in 1979 by Mihael Gorenc. In it, the shabtis were only mentioned in a few sentences with general information about their usage in the funerary rites of the Ancient Egyptians.[15]

The next publication which contained information about the shabtis from the Archaeological museum in Zagreb was entitled *Muzeopis… 1846-1996,* published in 1996 and dedicated to the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Narodni muzej in Zagreb. In it Igor Uranić, the curator of the Egyptological department, wrote a small introduction about the Egyptian collection in which he mentioned that shabtis are the most numerous artefacts in the department.[16] This publication also included a small catalogue in which the shabti of Mer-Rut-Ahmose[17] was analysed as a good example of a shabti figure in the museum.[18] Almost ten years later a second guide of the Egyptian collection, *Egipatska zbirka – Vodič*, was published by Uranić. In it shabtis were only mentioned in the text in the context of an evaluation of Egyptian funerary equipment,[19] using the example of the shabti *Uah-ib-re-em-akhet*.[20]

Between 2000 and 2011 published several papers about the shabtis from the Archaeological museum in Zagreb. In the articles 'Šauabtiji u Dalmaciji i Panoniji'[21] and 'Shabtis from Roman Provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia'[22] For the first time, the shabtis which were not purchased with the Koller collection in 1868 were discussed. These articles considered the general information about the donor or purchaser of the shabtis, the year of purchase, their inventory numbers, and dimensions. They were also dated to the Graeco-Roman Period.[23] This group of shabtis were further analysed and interpreted in 2006 in the present author's paper 'Shabtis from Roman Provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia and their Role in Egyptian Cults during Roman Empire'.[24] This interpretation, systematisation and dating of the shabtis was made according to the Hans Schneider typology[25] which is more detailed and very different to that previously made by Saleh and later used by Uranić. In 2009 I, for the first time, re-catalogued a selection of 55 shabtis from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb according to the Schneider typology. This typological catalogue was part of the dissertation *Shabtis from Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Croatia*, submitted to The University of Manchester for Degree of Egyptology in the Faculty of Life Sciences. As the part of this analysis all the shabtis were fully described, and re-dated according to the Schneider typology.

In 2009 I. Uranić published the first official museum catalogue of the Egyptian collection entitled *Aegyptiaca Zagrabiensis* in which he made small descriptions of the shabtis.[26] His catalogue contains the information about new acquisitions which were not mentioned in the previous catalogue by Monnet Saleh,[27] but his analysis and description only consists of the catalogue number, general description (in some cases without shabtis were not described at all), information about the material, height, inventory number and dating according the long periods of Egyptian history (e.g. New Kingdom, Late Period etc).

The collection of shabtis from the Archaeological museum in Zagreb has wide range of shabtis from the New Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman Period (Table 7).

The collection of shabtis at the Archaeological museum of Zagreb houses only one shabti which was previously dated to the Middle Kingdom (inv. no. E-310). It was recognised as a shabti for the first time by H. Brugsch in 1869, and later his notes were used by Š. Ljubić in his catalogue (1871, 1889). It was first dated to the the Middle Kingdom Period by J. Monnet Saleh,[28] and I. Uranić later used her dating for his catalogue.[29] According to my typological study, this shabti is most likely a peg-type shabti which was produced only during 20th dynasty.[30] The collection of shabtis from the New Kingdom includes a wide range of the Schneider typological classes and forms. Most were made in the typical mummiform style

[14] Type A – Depicted as living individuals in everyday clothing with a triangular shape descending over the knees, with medium long sleeves, and wigs composed of three parts; Type B – The most common type. Mummy-shaped, with tripartite wigs, with the third element extending onto the back; Type C – The locks of hair on the wig are depicted by vertical lines. Otherwise identical to type B; Type D – Shabtis not holding tools; Type E – Mummiform with a pedestal and a dorsal column on the back. They have false beards, tools in their hands, and a rope thrown across their shoulders. MONNET SALEH 1970: 127.

[15] GORENC 1979: 32.

[16] URANIĆ 1996: 90.

[17] Zagreb: *Archaeological museum*, the Egyptian department, E-431.

[18] URANIĆ 1996: 94.

[19] URANIĆ 2005: 29.

[20] Zagreb: *Archaeological museum*, the Egyptian department, E-438. URANIĆ 2005: 31.

[21] TOMORAD 2000: 2, 13.

[22] TOMORAD 2004: 90.

[23] TOMORAD 2000: 2, 13; TOMORAD 2004: 90.

[24] TOMORAD 2006: 296-301, Pl. 82-86.

[25] SCHNEIDER 1977.

[26] The book was written and prepared by 2007, but it was actually published in 2009. See: URANIĆ 2007: 135-188.

[27] URANIĆ 2007: 135.

[28] MONNET SALEH 1970: 128 cat. 583.

[29] URANIĆ 2007: 147 cat. 231.

[30] Description: Mummiform. Coarsely made limestone shabti with traces of patina and red paint. Short wig with one part extending in the back. Oval crudely made face without artificial beard; eyes with brows; ears are not indicated. Arms with hands crossed on the chest. Unreadable pale inscription written in black paint. Cf. London: *The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*, UC39855.

Table 7. Dating of shabtis from the Archaeological Mwuseum in Zagreb.

Period	Dynasty	Number of shabtis
New Kingdom	18th-20th dynasty	66
Third Intermediate Period	21st dynasty	1
	21st-23rd dynasty	2
	25th dynasty	1
Late Period	26th dynasty	28
	other dynasties	48
Graeco-Roman Period		166
Total		**312**

Table 8. Dating of shabtis from the Archaeological Museum in Dubrovnik.

Period	Dynasty	Number of shabtis
late New Kingdom	19th-20th dynasty	1
Late Period	26th dynasty	8
	27th-30th dynasty	10
	30th dynasty	6
Graeco-Roman Period	Aegyptiaca	3
Total		**28**

of the 18th to 19th dynasty,[31] but there are also a small group dressed in typical clothes of the 19th and 20th dynasty.[32] Only four shabtis can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (E-277, E-473, E-490, and E-561). Three of them were previously dated by Monnet Saleh[33] and Uranić[34] to the New Kingdom or the Late Period. According to the Schneider typology, they should be properly dated to the 21st dynasty (E-473),[35] 21st-23rd dynasty (E-490, E-561),[36] and 25th dynasty (E-277).[37] 65 shabtis can be dated to the Late Period, from which 28, the best preserved, were modelled during the Saite Period,[38] and 48, not so well crafted and preserved, were made between the 27th dynasty and 30th dynasty.[39]

The largest group of shabtis came from the Graeco-Roman Period. These shabtis can be typologically divided according to the schemes of Schneider (1977) and Tomorad (2014, 2016). They cannot be precisely dated but they were almost certainly made from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD;[40] such shabtis were probably manufactured in workshops outside Egypt and are related to the diffusion of the Egyptian cults. Shabtis from the Archaeological museum in Zagreb were created from the all common materials (wood, faience, terracotta, limestone, granite etc).

2.2. Shabtis from the Archaeological museum in Dubrovnik

The second biggest collection of shabtis is housed in the Archaeological museum in Dubrovnik. The shabtis in this collection were probably donated to the museum between 1872 and 1882 by the brothers Frano and Nikola Amerling, well-established merchants who lived in Alexandria and Cairo between 1842 and 1882.[41] The collection contains 26 shabtis[42] which were initially examined by I. Uranić in February 2001 and then my own analysis was made for this paper in May 2015 and February 2016. Most of the shabtis were not dated during Uranić's examination; a few were assigned to the period between the 26th dynasty and the Graeco-Roman Period.[43] Uranić also considered two shabtis as fakes (551, 554).[44] During my own study in 2015 and 2016 all the shabtis were dated between the late New Kingdom (560) and the Graeco-Roman Period. (Table 8) In my opinion all of them are original artefacts of the Pharaonic or Graeco-Roman Periods. Three shabtis which were previously considered as fakes were typical *Aegyptiaca* made from the 7th century BC and traded around the Mediterranean world since late antiquity. The best preserved shabtis were produced during the 26th dynasty.[45] Shabtis from the Dubrovnik collection were fashioned from faience, emailed terracotta, terracotta and wood.

[31] Schneider classes: VB1 (e.g. E-259, E-275, E-278, E-295), VB3 (e.g. E-292), VB4 (e.g. E-270), VC2 (e.g. E-261), VC4 (e.g. E-288), VC5 (e.g. E-286, E-287, E-309, E-457).
[32] Schneider classes: VIB2 (e.g. E-289), VIB3 (e.g. E-307, E-463, E-470).
[33] Monnet Saleh 1970: 139 cat. 622, 139 cat. 624, 142 cat. 651.
[34] Uranić 2007: 177 cat. 376, 180 cat. 390, 187 cat. 428, 140 cat. 198.
[35] Schneider class IXF.
[36] Schneider class VIIIB2.
[37] Schneider class XA2.
[38] Schneider class XIA1 = Tomorad class C1, C3 (e.g. E-422, E-423, E-437, E-422, E-444, E-474, E-563); Schneider class XIA2 = Tomorad class C2 (e.g. E-431, E-434); Schneider class XIA3 = Tomorad class D1 (e.g. E-469), Schneider class XIA4 = Tomorad D2 (e.g. E-430).
[39] Schneider class XIA5 = Tomorad G (e.g. inv. nos. E-359, E-450, E-451, E-476); Schneider class XIA6 = Tomorad H1 (e.g. E-355); Schneider class XIC (e.g. E-347, E-348, E-362).
[40] Schneider class XIA6 = Tomorad H2 (e.g. E-346, E-349, E-360, E-409, E-410, E-415, E-489); Tomorad I2 (e.g. E-564); Schneider XIB (e.g. E-331); Schneider XIC (e.g E-345, E-389, E-478); Schneider class V =Tomorad class O (e.g. E-675); Tomorad class I2 (e.g. E-676).
[41] Tomorad 2001: 24; Menalo 2003: 6–7; Tomorad 2003: 56; Tomorad 2005: 14; Tomorad 2015a: 47.
[42] Dubrovnik: *Archaeological Museum*, 473, 504, 506-508, 550-564, 566-567, 595, 3805-3807.
[43] Uranić 2001b: 183-191.
[44] Uranić 2001b: 187.
[45] Dubrovnik: *Archaeological Museum*, 473 (shabti of *Mrj.t-Nj.t*), 595 (shabti of *Ptḥ-ḥrt*), and 3805.

2.3. Shabtis from the Archaeological museum in Split

The collection of the Archaeological museum in Split houses nine shabtis discovered in the area of central Dalmatia in Croatia: Salona (modern Solin), and the islands of Hvar (ancient *Pharos*), Brač (ancient *Brattia*) and Vis (ancient *Issa*). These shabtis were so far have been studied by P. Selem[46] and the present author.[47] Typologically they belonged to the classes typical for the shabtis of the 18th dynasty to the Graeco-Roman Period. Three shabtis made in the shape of 18th dynasty shabtis are in fact typical *Aegyptiaca* made during the Graeco-Roman Period (B212, B213, B216), while the rest are of the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods (B214, B215, G1623-1626). Shabtis from the Split collection are made of faience, glazed terracotta and granite stone.

2.4. The smaller collections of shabtis in museum institutions in Croatia

The Egyptian collection of the Archaeological museum of Istria in Pula houses four shabtis (P7580, P30331-P30333) which can be dated to the Graeco-Roman Period. Only one of them is fully preserved (P7580), and the rest are preserved in fragments. They have been analysed twice, for the first time by I. Uranić[48] for the exhibition entitled 'Egyptian religion and ancient Istria' (2001), and for the second time by the present author during 2004 for the project 'Croato-Aegyptica'.[49] Shabtis from the Pula collection were manufactured from faience and pottery.

The Archaeological collection of the St. Euphemia monastery at Kampor (island of Rab) owns one fully preserved shabti, and three fragments of shabtis probably from the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods. These shabtis are still not analysed and published. Ivo Kugli bought them in 1939 from a Jewish collector who was trying to escape from Europe to the USA, and after the Second World War, he donated them to the St. Euphemia Monastery.[50]

The Archaeological collection of the Franciscan monastery in Sinj contains two shabtis discovered in Čitluk (Croatia).[51] The first one was made during the 26th dynasty (R299),[52] and the second (R300) during the Late Period or Graeco-Roman Period.[53] These shabtis were analysed by P. Selem[54] and the present author.[55] Shabtis from the Sinj collection are of glazed terracotta.

The Archaeological collection of Benko Horvat in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb houses three shabtis (360-362) which were purchased in Alexandria (Egypt) by Benko Horvat[56] before 1946 when the whole collection was donated to the museum.[57] These shabtis can all be dated to the Graeco-Roman Period,[58] and are made from terracotta and faience.

Two shabtis (641-642) discovered in the late Hellenistic necropolis in *Curricum* (today Krk) are now in the Archaeological collection of the Franciscan monastery at the island of Košljun.[59] The shabti of Mehytweskhet (642) can be dated to the late 21st dynasty or 22nd dynasty,[60] and the second (641) is a typical item of *Aegyptiaca* produced in the Mediterranean world during the Ptolemaic dynasty.[61] Both are made of terracotta.

One shabti (AA-6243), now in the Museum of Slavonia (MSO) in Osijek, was discovered in Osijek (ancient *Mursa*) in 1954 during reconstruction work in the old town.[62] It was probably made during the Third Intermediate Period (22nd-25th dynasties) and later, during the Roman Period, was sold and brought to Mursa.[63] It was made from faience. MSO also houses two terracotta pseudo-shabtis that came to the museum from two donations (F. Folk in 1886, and J. Avdija during the 19th century); both were previously considered to be some kind of figurines.[64]

The Museum of Ante Topić Mimara in Zagreb has one fragmented limestone shabti (ATM 232) from the New Kingdom.[65] It was collected for his private collection by Ante Topić Mimara between the First and the Second World War in France or Germany. The museum also houses one terracotta pseudo-shabti (ATM 235).[66]

[46] SELEM 1969; SELEM 1972: 18-21; SELEM 1997: 109-110 no. 4.6, 82-89 nos. 2.38-2.45.
[47] TOMORAD 2000; TOMORAD 2004; TOMORAD 2006: 287 no. 4, 290-295 nos. 11-18.
[48] URANIĆ 2001a: 23-24 nos. 1-4.
[49] TOMORAD 2007: 43.
[50] BONIFAČIĆ 1985: 37, 38, 40; TOMORAD 2003: 75; TOMORAD 2005: 22; TOMORAD 2015a: 50-51.
[51] Sinj: *Franciscan monastery*, 47, and one without inventory number.
[52] TOMORAD 2006: 285 no. 1.
[53] TOMORAD 2006: 286 no. 2.
[54] SELEM 1979: 80 nos. 2-3 t. I-II; SELEM 1997: 93-94 nos. 2.58-2.59 t. XXXIIIa-b.
[55] TOMORAD 2000: 1-14; TOMORAD 2004: 91, 97, 108; TOMORAD 2006: 285-286 nos. 1-2.
[56] Benko Horvat (1873-1955) was a famous Croatian numismatist and antiquarian.
[57] TOMORAD 2003: 70; TOMORAD 2005: 21; TOMORAD 2015a: 50.
[58] KOŠČEVIĆ 2000: 216-217 nos. 379-381.
[59] TOMORAD 2015b: 175, 184-188 nos. 11-12; TOMORAD 2015c: 141-142.
[60] TOMORAD 2015b: 184, 186-187 no. 11; TOMORAD 2015c: 142-144.
[61] TOMORAD 2015b: 187-188 no. 12; TOMORAD 2015c: 144-145.
[62] DEGMEDŽIĆ 1954: 147-148, t. 1; PERC 1968: 200-201 no. 48; SELEM 1972: 40; SELEM 1980: 22 no. 35 t. IX; SELEM 1997: 143 no. 9.3 t. LXX.a; GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ 2000: 43, 91-92, 139; TOMORAD 2000: 1-14; TOMORAD 2003: 75, 137-138; TOMORAD 2004: 91, 97-98, 102, 109; TOMORAD 2005: 21; TOMORAD 2006: 295 no. 19; KOVAČ 2013: 22-23; KOVAČ 2015: 100 no. 9.
[63] TOMORAD 2006: 295 no. 19.
[64] KOVAČ 2013: 23-25, 38-49; KOVAČ 2015: 96-97 no. 3, 100-101 no. 10; TOMORAD in preparation, nos. 35-36.
[65] TOMORAD 2003: 64, 66; TOMORAD 2005: 12; TOMORAD 2012: 277; ČUKMAN NIKOLIĆ and TOMORAD 2014: 89 no. 8; ČUKMAN NIKOLIĆ and TOMORAD 2015: 61 no. 7.
[66] The same type of figurine is kept in the Museum of Slavonia in

2.5. Shabtis in private collections in Croatia

Shabtis are also to be found in at least three private collections in Croatia. One shabti was discovered in the remains of the ancient *Pharos* settlement (today Hvar) during the 19th century. Since its discovery, it has been in the possession of the Marchi family, and today it is kept by A. Domančić.[67] It was produced during the Late or Graeco-Roman Period and made of terracotta.[68]

A group of six shabtis was discovered in ancient Salona (Solin) during the 19th century. They came into the possession of the Carrara-Bratanić family and are now owned by Tereza Marović from Split.[69] They were manufactured during the Late and Graeco-Roman Period from glazed terracotta.

The final shabti was discovered in the village of Kazale in 1996 and today is it in the possession of the Lik family from Filipani. This shabti has not yet been studied. According to the information that I have, it can be dated to the Late or Graeco-Roman Period and it is made from majolica (glazed non-clay ceramic).[70]

3. Typological study of the shabtis in museum and private collections in Croatia

A great number of known shabti types are present in Croatian museum and private collections (Tables 9-10, Fig.. 129-137). They cover various types from the New Kingdom (18th dynasty) (Schneider VB1) to the Late and Ptolemaic Periods (Schneider XI), and similar shabtis can be found in various museums around the world. Several are artefacts of great artistic value that any museum in the world would be glad to have in their collection.[71] However, most of them do not have any specific artistic value. Certain types of shabtis from the Graeco-Roman Period were common in the European and North African provinces during the Hellenistic Period and the Roman Empire (Table 10, Fig.. 134-137).[72] Such shabtis are not typical for the Pharaonic Period and they can be placed in the group of *Aegyptiaca* artefacts produced outside Egypt for the purposes of the Egyptian cults of Isis, Serapis and Osiris (Tomorad shabtis class A-O, Fig.. 134-136 pseudo-shabtis class A-E, Fig. 137).

As has been seen in the previous section, shabtis in Croatian collections were made from alabaster, faience, majolica, pottery, terracotta, wood and various types of stone (limestone, granite, black schist, dark slate). The majority took the typical mummiform shape, but a certain number exhibit a form of daily life dress typical for the New Kingdom. In many cases shabtis from the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods were not inscribed with hieroglyphic inscriptions. In some cases, it is possible to read the owner's name and parts of the shabti spell. Hieroglyphic inscriptions on the inscribed shabtis have mostly not yet been studied, but remain a task for the future. This short paper does not allow me to make further analysis of the different groups of shabtis. Such analysis will be part of several publications in preparation[73] which will contain the catalogue and description of each shabti figure, bibliography and the comparative material from the various museums in the world.

Osijek: AA-19469.

[67] Selem 1972: 22; Selem 1979: 83-84 t.1; Selem 1994: 456 no. 3; Selem 1997: 109 no. 4.5 T. L.b; Tomorad 2000: 1-14; Tomorad 2003: 78; Tomorad 2004: 90, 97-98, 108-109; Tomorad 2006: 286 no. 3.

[68] Tomorad 2006: 286 no. 3.

[69] Selem 1971: 113-114 nos. 1-6; Selem 1997: 89-90 nos. 2.46-2.51; Tomorad 2006: 287-290 nos. 5-10.

[70] Buršić-Matijašić 1998: 10-11 t.2; Tomorad 2003: 139 fn. 30; Tomorad 2004: 90, 109; Tomorad 2006: 301 no. 29.

[71] Zagreb: Archaeological Museum, E-277, E-286, E-289, E3-307, E-309, E-549.

[72] Ancient Egyptian shabtis were mostly produced from the First Intermediate period until the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Their shapes, forms, texts and position of agricultural implements changed during the history of pharaonic Egypt. These changes were classified in various typologies during the 20th century (Speleers (1923), Petrie (1935), Monnet Saleh (1970), Aubert (1974), Schneider (1977), and Stewart (1995), but these studies only cover the period until the end of the Late period (30th dynasty). By the time of the Ptolemaic dynasty their principal role had almost disappeared. From the early First Millennium BC, they became part of the typical merchant goods which were traded outside Egypt. During the Graeco-Roman period they became one of the symbols of Isaic cults which were diffused around the Mediterranean world and later during the Roman Empire to its northern limes and beyond. Shabtis were manufactured in Egypt, but it seems they were also produced in various workshops outside Egypt during the Graeco-Roman period. During these periods shabtis changed their appearance and became commonly classified as 'fakes' by various Egyptologists. For all these reasons these types of shabtis deserve to be re-interpreted and re-classified. That is the reason why I prepared and presented at a few Egyptological conferences (Sofia 2012; Skopje 2013; Budapest 2014) a new typology of shabtis and pseudo-shabtis which were mostly discovered outside Egypt. Tomorad 2014: 140, 145-147; Tomorad, forthcoming.

[73] These include a book about the shabtis from Graeco-Roman periods which were discovered in Europe, and papers with catalogues of the shabtis from the Archaeological museum in Zagreb and the Archaeological museum in Dubrovnik.

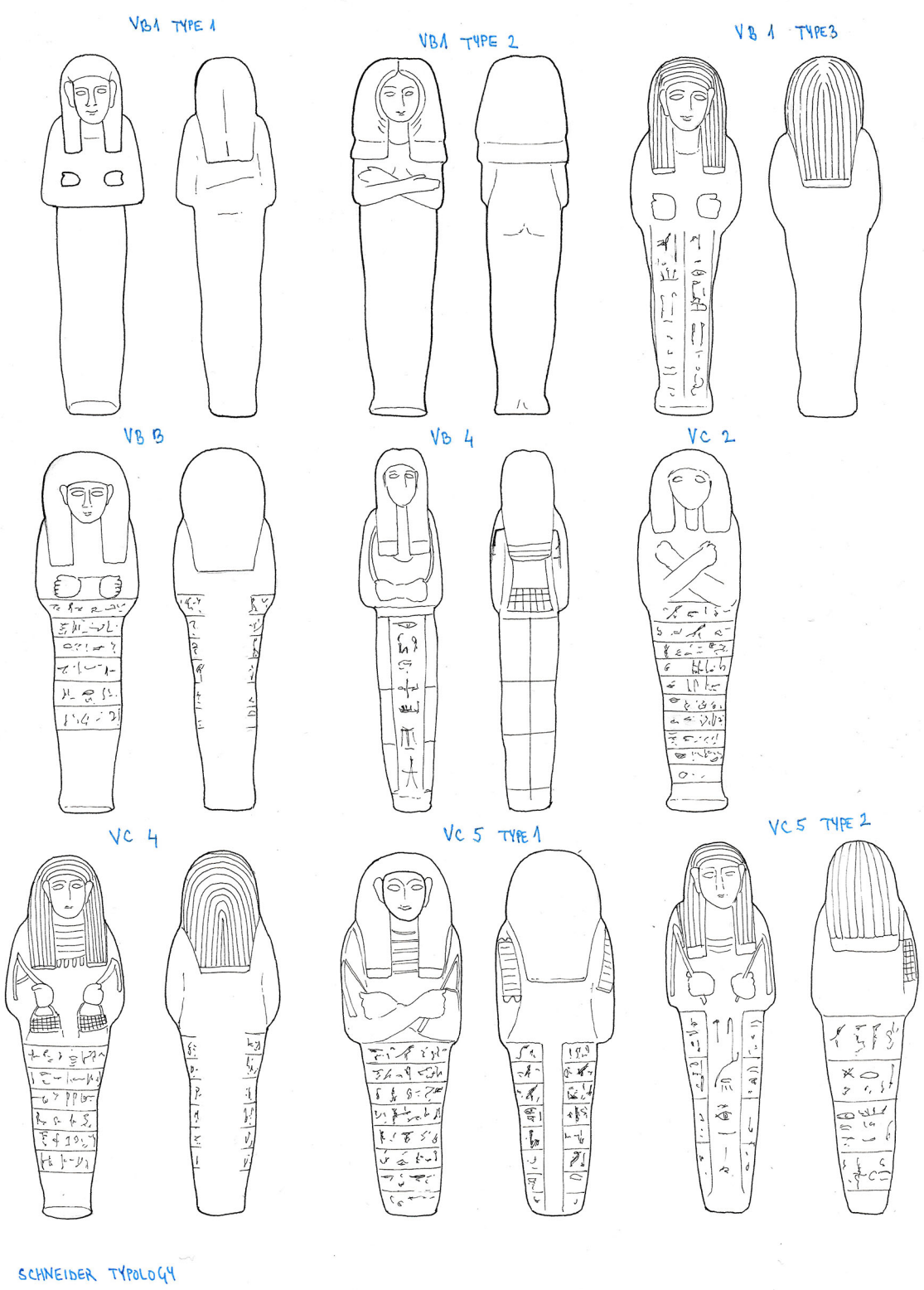

Fig. 129. Drawnings of the examples of shabtis from the Croatian collections according Schneider typology (types VB1 Type C-VC5 Type 2). © M. Tomorad.

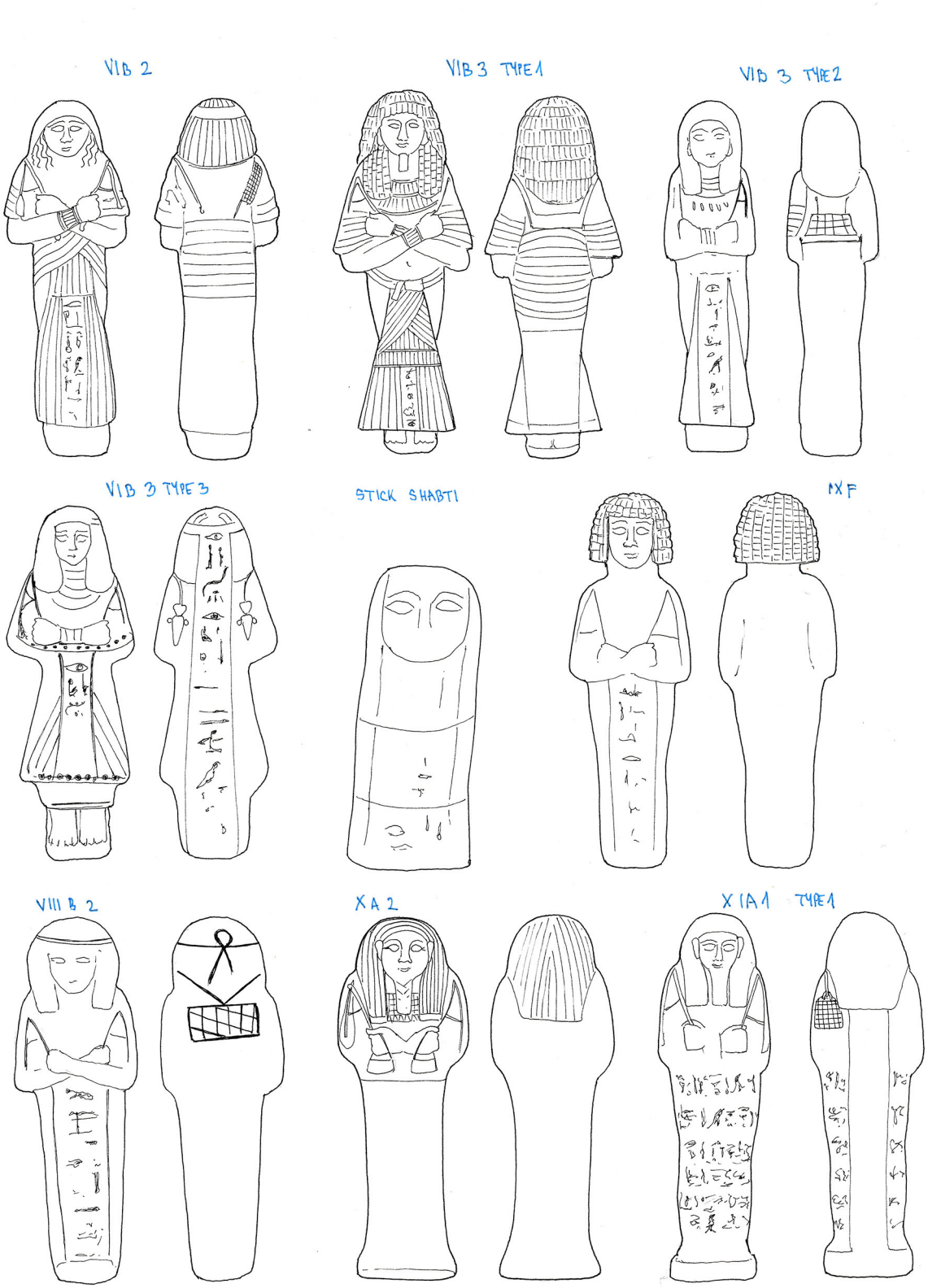

Fig. 130. Drawnings of the examples of shabtis from the Croatian collections according Schneider typology (types VIB2 – XIA1 Type 1). © M. Tomorad.

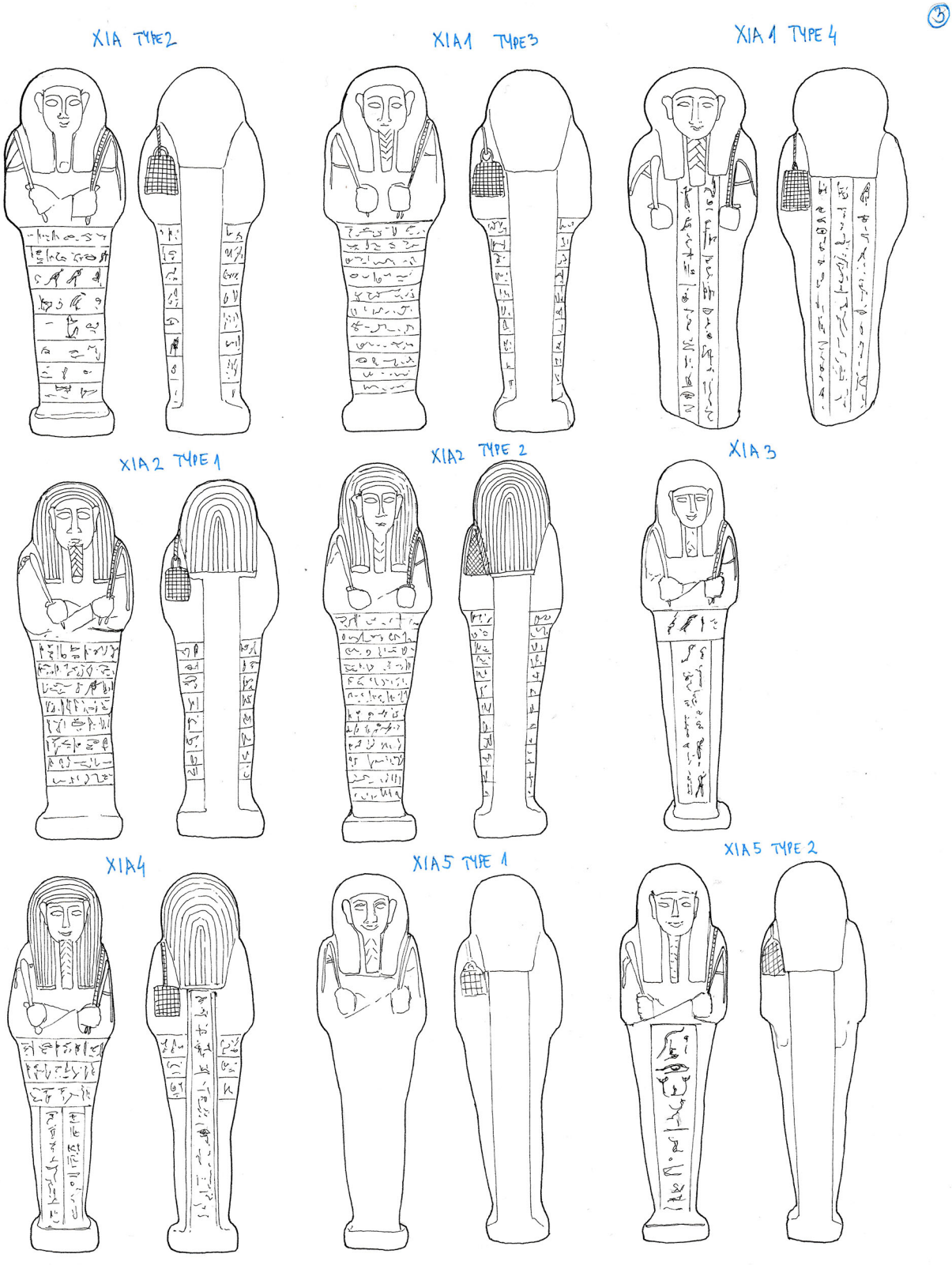

Fig. 131. Drawnings of the examples of shabtis from the Croatian collections according Schneider typology (types XIA1 Type 2 – XIA5 Type 2). © M. Tomorad.

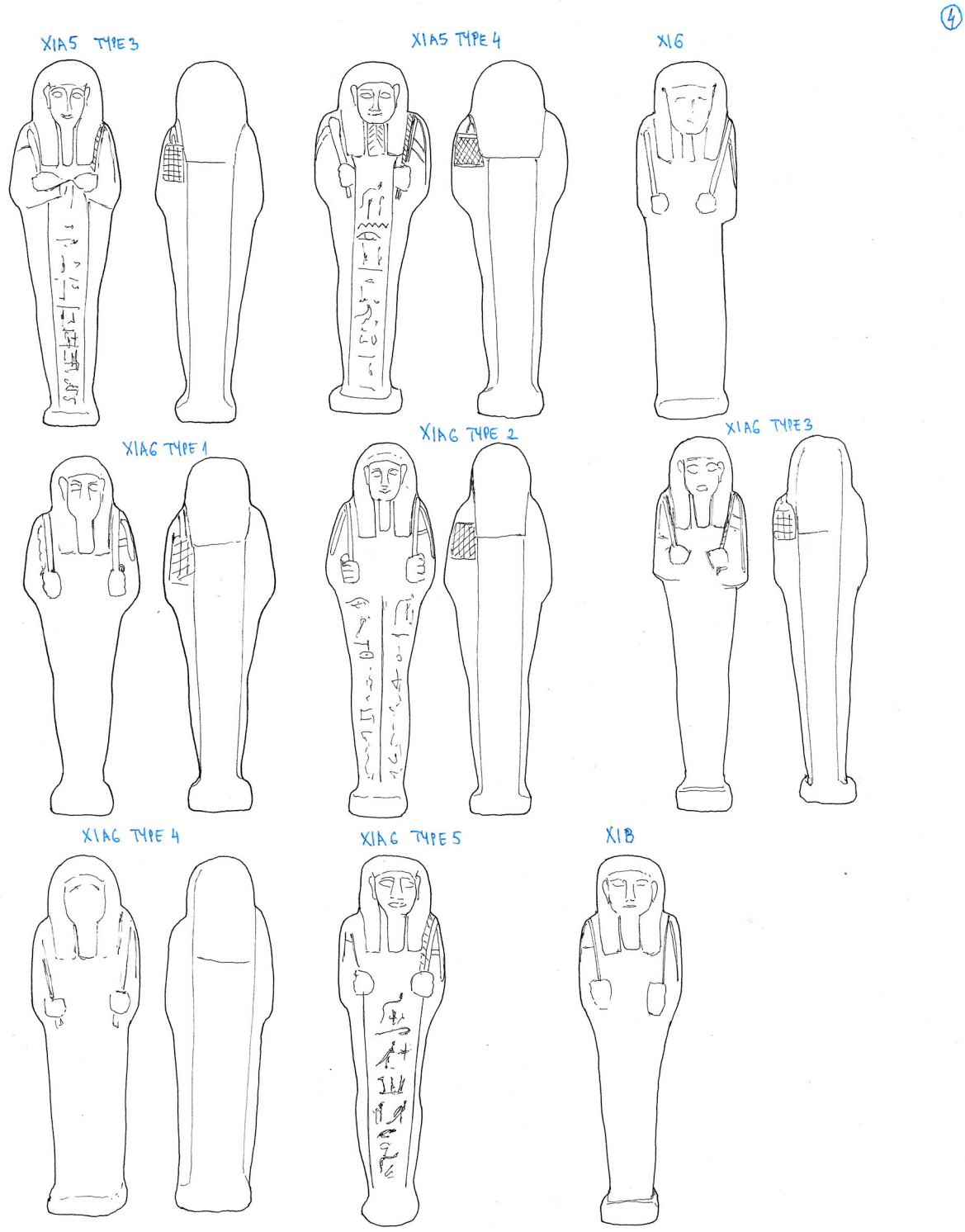

Fig. 132. Drawnings of the examples of shabtis from the Croatian collections according Schneider typology (types XIA5 Type 3 – XIB). © M. Tomorad.

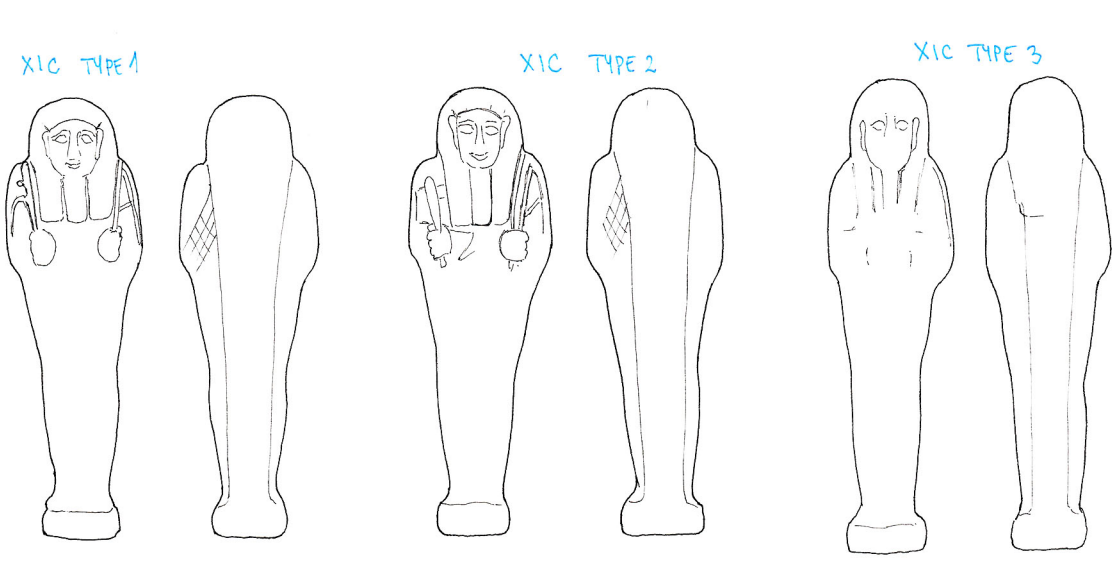

Fig. 133. Drawnings of the examples of shabtis from the Croatian collections according Schneider typology (types XIC Type 1 – XIC Type 3). © M. Tomorad.

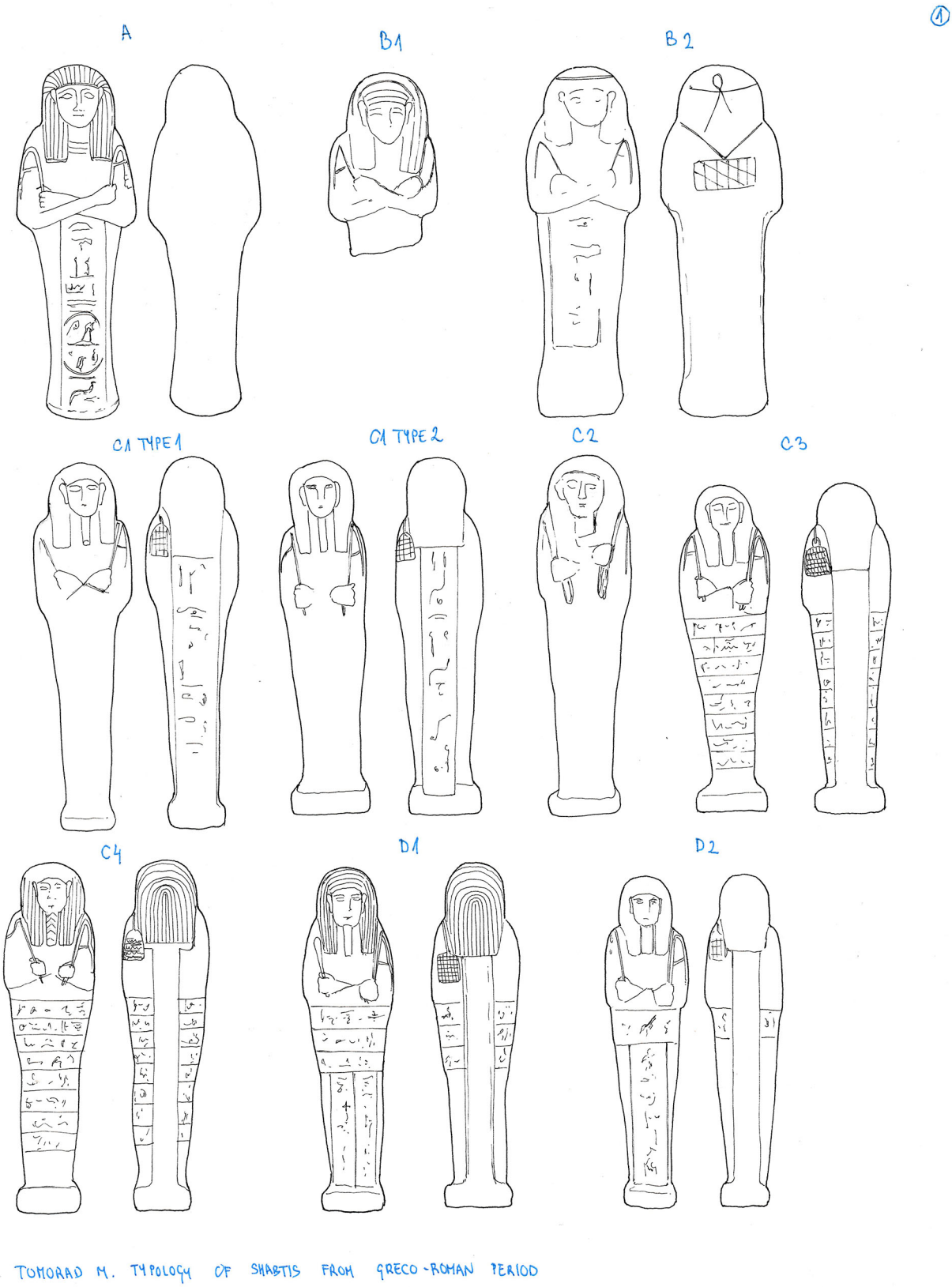

Fig. 134. Drawnings of the examples of shabtis from the Croatian collections according Tomorad typology (types A – D2). © M. Tomorad.

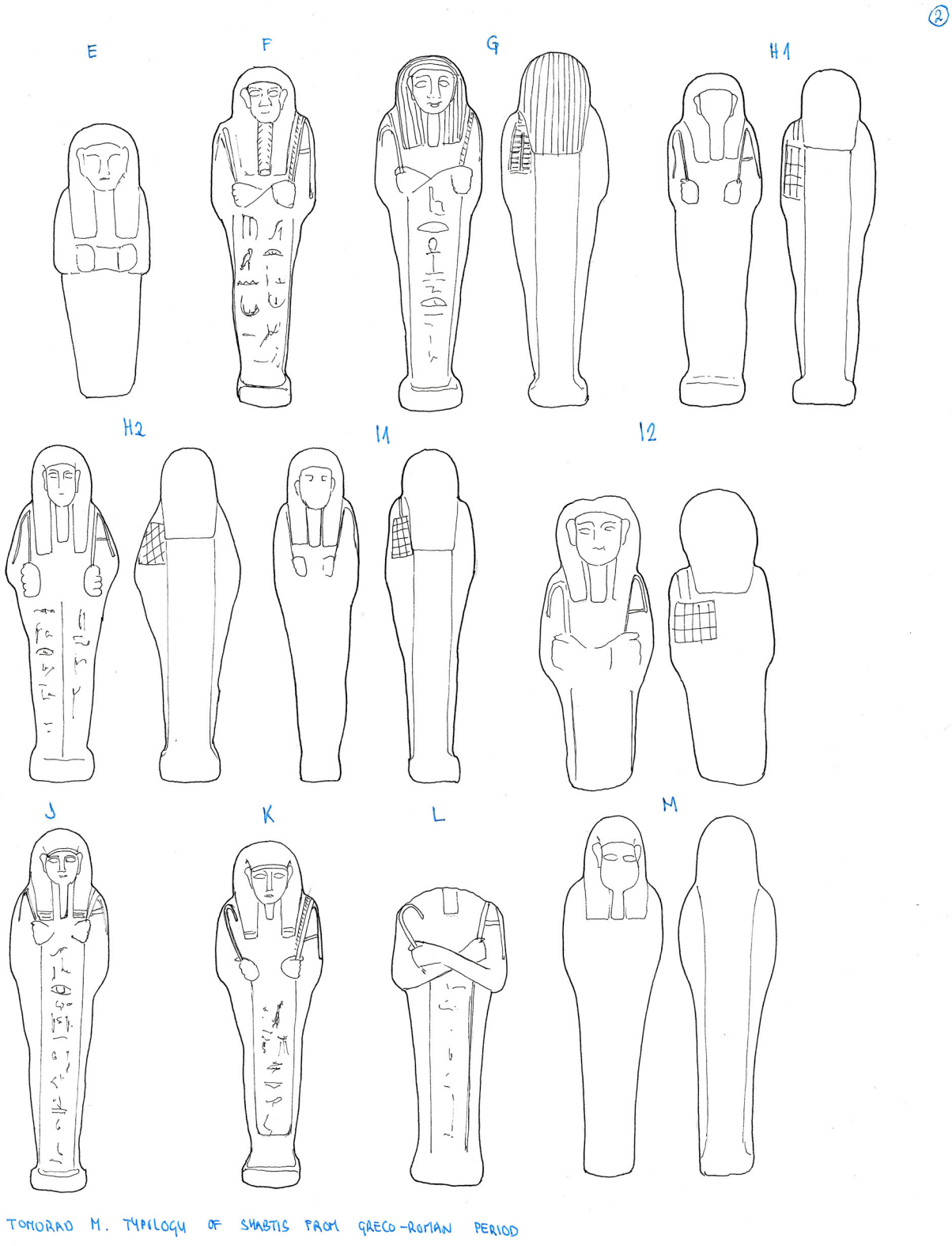

Fig. 135. Drawnings of the examples of shabtis from the Croatian collections according Tomorad typology (types E – M). © M. Tomorad.

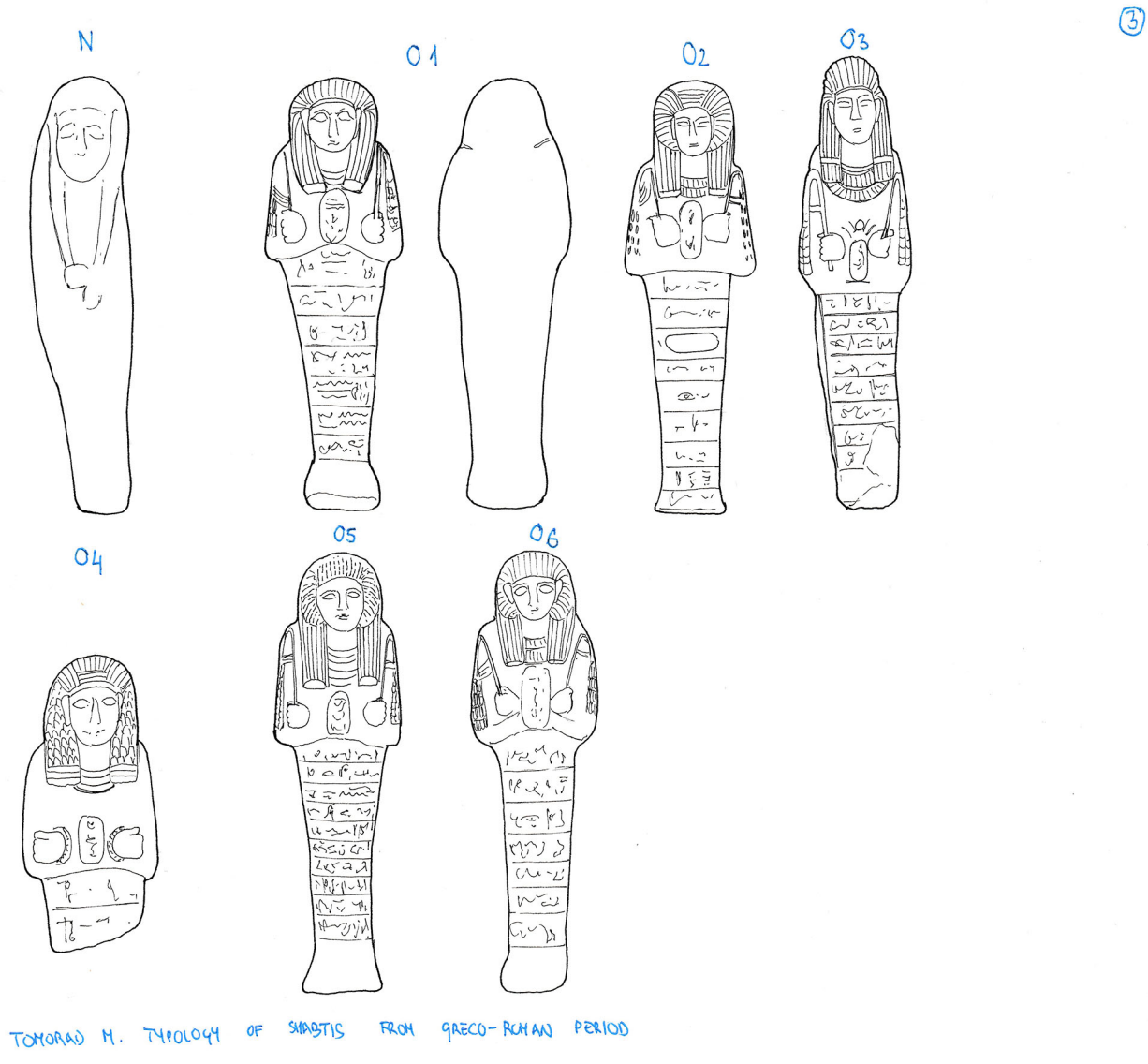

Fig. 136. Drawnings of the examples of shabtis from the Croatian collections according Tomorad typology (types N – O6). © M. Tomorad.

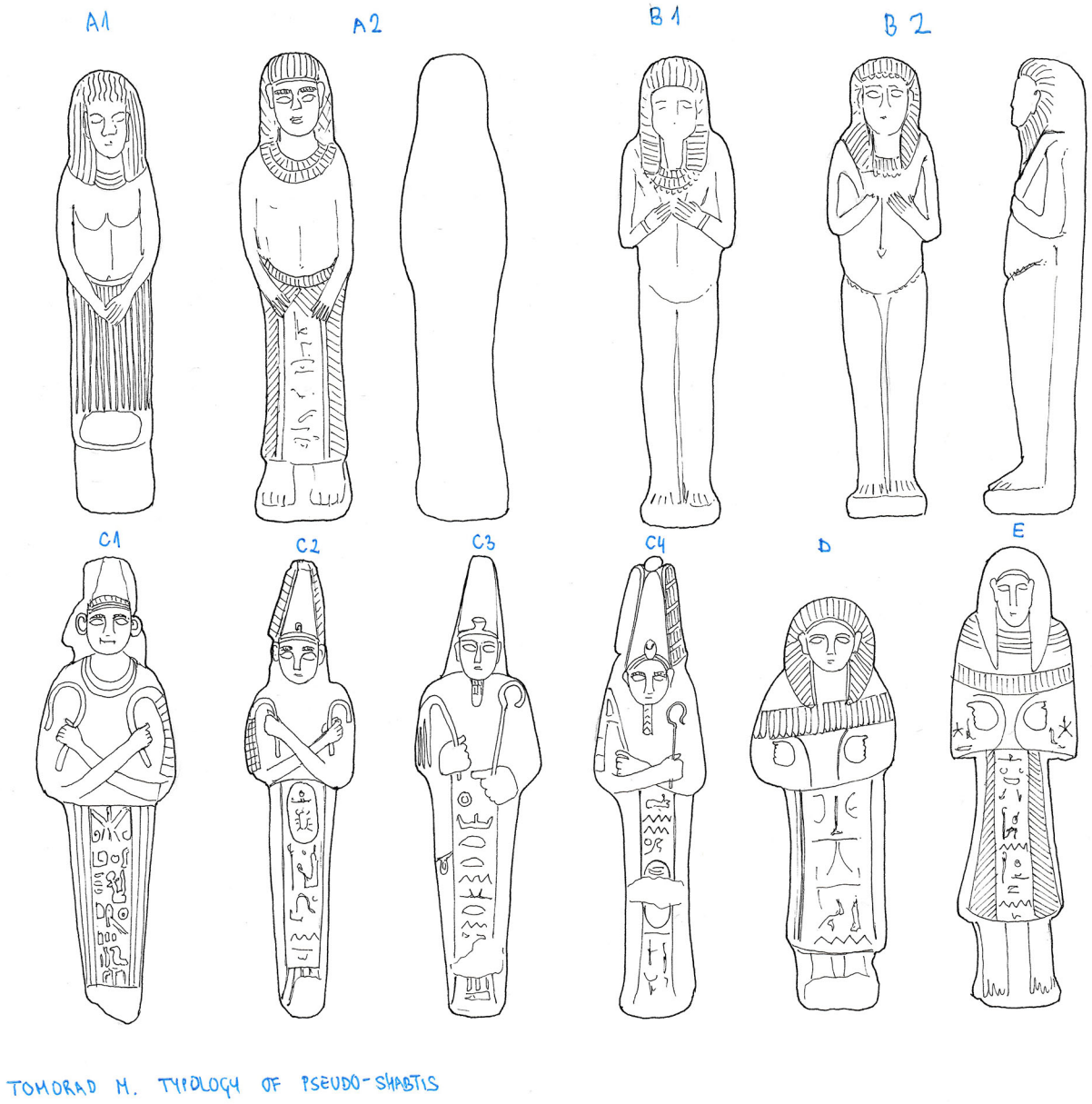

Fig. 137. Drawnings of examples of pseudo-shabtis from the Croatian collections according Tomorad typology (types A1 – E). © M. Tomorad.

Table 9. Typology of the shabtis from the museum and private collections in Croatia

Classification class Schneider/Tomorad	Dating	Form	Material
Schneider VB1	18th dynasty	Mummiform	Wood
			Limestone
			Terracotta
Schneider VB3	18th-19th dynasty	Mummiform	Limestone
Schneider VB4	18th-19th dynasty	Mummiform	Painted wood
Schneider VC2	18th-19th dynasty	Mummiform	Wood
Schneider VC4	18th-19th dynasty	Mummiform	Painted limestone
Schneider VC5	18th-19th dynasty	Mummiform	Painted limestone
			Glazed terracotta
	19th dynasty		Black schist
	Ptolemaic dynasty-Roman Empire		Dark brown pottery
Schneider V	19th-20th dynasty	Mummiform	Alabaster
Schneider V/ Tomorad I	New Kingdom/Copy from Graeco-Roman Period	Mummiform	Brown pottery
Schneider VIB1	19th-20th dynasty	Daily life dress	Green glazed pottery
			Painted glazed terracotta
	21st dynasty	Daily life dress	Green glazed faience
Schneider VIB2	19th-20th dynasty	Daily life dress	Dark slate
Schneider VIB3/	19th-20th dynasty	Daily life dress	Painted glazed terracotta
Schneider VIIID1/Tomorad A	21st-22nd dynasty	Mummiform	Brown terracotta
Schneider VIIIA1-VIIIA2/ Tomorad B1	21st-22nd dynasty	Mummiform; Female and Male worker	Blue glazed faience Blue glazed terracotta
Schneider VIIIB1-VIIIB2/ Tomorad B2	22nd-23rd dynasty	Mummiform	Blue glazed faience
Schneider IXF	25th-26th dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Blue glazed pottery
Schneider XA2	25th-26th dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Glazed pottery
Schneider XA3	25th-26th dynasty	Mummiform	Glazed pottery
Schneider XIA1/ Tomorad C1, C3	26th-27th dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Glazed pottery
Schneider XIA2/ Tomorad C4	26th-27th dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Glazed pottery
Schneider XIA3/ Tomorad C3	27th-30th dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Glazed pottery
Schneider XIA3/ Tomorad D1	26th dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Dark green glazed pottery
			Glazed pottery
Schneider XIA4/ Tomorad D2	27th-30th dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Glazed pottery
Schneider XIA5/ Tomorad G	27th-30th dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Glazed pottery
	27th-Ptolemaic dynasty		Brown glazed pottery
Schneider XIA6/ Tomorad H1	27th-Ptolemaic dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Brown glazed pottery
Schneider XIA6/ Tomorad H2	27th-Ptolemaic dynasty	Mummiform	Blue glazed faience Green glazed faience
Schneider XIB/Tomorad E	26th dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Blue glazed pottery
			Green faience
	27th-30th dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Blue glazed pottery
	Ptolemaic dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Green glazed faience
			Turquiose blue faience
			Blue glazed pottery
			Glazed pottery
			Turquiose blue pottery

Classification class Schneider/Tomorad	Dating	Form	Material
Tomorad I1	27th dynasty-Ptolemaic dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Glazed pottery
Schneider XIC/Tomorad F	30th-33rd dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Glazed pottery Glazed faience
Schneider XIC/Tomorad J	30th-33rd dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Glazed faience Glazed calcareous stone
Schneider XIC/Tomorad K	30th-33rd dynasty	Mummiform + back-pillar	Glazed faience
Schneider XIC/Tomorad L	30th-33rd dynasty	Mummiform	Terracotta
Schneider XIA5, XIA6, XIC	30th-33rd dynasty	Mummiform	Faience Terracotta
Tomorad N	Graeco-Roman Period	Mummiform	Faience
Tomorad O	Graeco-Roman Period	Mummiform	Dark brown terracotta
Schneider XA3/Tomorad P	Graeco-Roman Period	Mummiform	Green glazed terracotta
Tomorad pseudo-shabti A1	Graeco-Roman Period	New Kingdom daily life	Brown pottery
Tomorad pseudo-shabti A2	Ptolemaic dynasty-Roman Republic	Pseudo-shabti	Brown pottery
Tomorad pseudo-shabti B	Aegyptiaca, Graeco-Roman Period	Mummiform	Brown pottery
Tomorad pseudo-shabti C	Aegyptiaca, Graeco-Roman Period	Osiris shaped in form of shabti; Mummiform	Terracotta

Table 10. Dating, provenance and typology of the shabtis discovered in Istria, *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*

Period	**Dynasty**	**Provenance**	**Collection: inv. no.**	**Typology**
Third Intermediate Period	21st-22nd dynasty	Krk (*Curicum*), Croatia	Franciscan Monastery, Košljun: 642	Schneider class VIIIC1; Tomorad class A
		Osijek (*Mursa*), Croatia	Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: AA-6243	Schneider class VIIIA2; Tomorad class B1
	22nd dynasty	Solin (*Salona*), Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Zagreb: E-561	Schneider class VIIIB2; Tomorad class B2
Late Period	26th dynasty	Solin (*Salona*), Croatia	Collection Marović, ex-collection Carrara-Bratanić, Split	Schneider class XIA1; Tomorad class C1
			Collection Marović, ex-collection Carrara-Bratanić, Split	
		Hvar (*Pharos*), Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Split: G1625	
Late-Hellenistic Period	26th-33rd dynasty	Solin (*Salona*), Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Zagreb: E-562	lost
			Archaeological Museum, Zagreb: E-564	Schneider class VIIIC1 or XIA6; Tomorad class I2
Late Period	27th dynasty	Solin (*Salona*), Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Zagreb: E-563	Schneider class XIA1; Tomorad class C1
		Middle Dalmatia, Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Split: B215	Schneider class XIA1, Tomorad class C2
	27th-30th dynasty	Kazale near Filipani, Croatia	Collection Lik, Filipani	variation of the Schneider New Kingdom class VB1 and Late Period class XIB; Tomorad class E
	27th-31st dynasty	Čitluk (*Claudia Aequum*), Croatia	Franciscan Monastery, Sinj: R299	Schneider class XIA5; Tomorad class G
		Solin (*Salona*), Croatia	Collection Marović, ex-collection Carrara-Bratanić, Split	Schneider class XIA3; Tomorad class D1
			Collection Marović, ex-collection Carrara-Bratanić, Split	
	30th dynasty	Solin (*Salona*), Croatia	Collection Marović, ex-collection Carrara-Bratanić, Split	Schneider class XIA5; Tomorad class G
		Middle Dalmatia, Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Split: B214	Schneider class XIC, Tomorad class F
	uncertain	Solin (*Salona*), Croatia	Collection Marović, ex-collection Carrara-Bratanić, Split	Schneider class XI
Late-Hellenistic	30th-33rd dynasty	Čitluk (*Claudia Aequum*), Croatia	Franciscan Monastery, Sinj: R300	Schneider, class XIC; Tomorad class M
		Middle Dalmatia, Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Split: G1623	Schneider class XIC; Tomorad class J
			Archaeological Museum, Split: G1624	Schneider class XIC; Tomorad class K
			Archaeological Museum, Split: G1626	Schneider class XI6; Tomorad class H1
		Hvar (*Pharos*), Croatia	Collection Domančić, Split; ex-collection Marchi (Split)	Schneider class XIC, Tomorad class L
Late-Graeco-Roman Period		Unknown; between Lika and river Sava, Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Zagreb: Main inventory book 358	lost
Hellenistic Period	Aegyptiaca, 33rd Ptolemaic dynasty	Krk (*Curicum*), Croatia	Franciscan Monastery, Košljun: 641	Pseudo-shabti, Tomorad class A2
Graeco-Roman Period	Aegyptiaca, 33rd Ptolemaic dynasty-Roman Empire	Muć, Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Split: FB-757	Pseudo-shabti, Tomorad class B

Period	Dynasty	Provenance	Collection: inv. no.	Typology
Roman Empire	1st-3rd c. AD	Solin (*Salona*), Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Zagreb: E-565	Tomorad class N
	Aegyptiaca, 1st-3rd c. AD	Ostrožac, Bosnia & Herzegovina	Archaeological Museum, Zagreb: Main inventory book 348	Schneider, class V, Tomorad class O
		Nin (*Aenona*), Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Zagreb: E-675	Schneider class VB4; Tomorad class O
			Archaeological Museum, Zagreb: E-676	pseudo-shabti, Tomorad class B
		Middle Dalmatia, Croatia	Archaeological Museum, Split: B212	Schneider class V; Tomorad class O1
			Archaeological Museum, Split: B213	Schneider class V; Tomorad class O1
			Archaeological Museum, Split: B216	Pseudo-shabti Tomorad class A1
		Pannonia	Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: AA-1340	Pseudo-shabti, Tomorad class C
			Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: AA-19469	Pseudo-shabti Tomorad class B

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Shabtis and Pseudo-Shabtis from the Roman Provinces of Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia. An Overview

Dan-Augustin Deac

Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Abstract: *This paper presents an overview of the shabti and pseudo-shabti figurines discovered in the region of the Danube, in the Roman provinces of Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia. None of the twenty-two shabtis or pseudo-shabtis have an exact find-spot, but based on analogies from other places in the Roman Empire, in particular from Pompeii, we can conclude that they were used in the context of ritual practices in the temples of Isis or Sarapis in settlements such as Carnuntum, Aquincum, Brigetio, Potaissa, and Dionysopolis. Most of the shabti statuettes were imported into the Danube region via Dalmatia, while it seems that the pseudo-shabtis may have been local products.*

Keywords: *shabtis, Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, Isiac cults, Danube provinces, Roman religion, Egypt*

1. Introduction[1]

One may easily imagine the moment when an Egyptian tomb was sealed with the mummy of the deceased and its rich inventory including the 401 shabtis buried with it 365 for each day of the year and 36 overseers for every ten 'workers'. This image is, however, from Ancient Egypt, while shabtis (and pseudo-shabtis[2]) have also been found scattered throughout the Roman Empire. This paper considers what the use and perception of shabtis was so far away, both in time and space, from their 'home', here in the Roman provinces of Dacia, Pannonia and Moesia during the Principate.

2. The historiography of the shabtis in the Danube provinces

In 1943 A. Dobrovits advanced the idea that shabtis were used as souvenirs, amulets, or, most probably, cult objects in the sanctuaries of Isis.[3] Based upon two examples found in Aquincum, V. Wessetzky considered in his 1961 publication that shabtis were used in the Roman Period exactly as they were in Egypt, as burial gifts. But as Wessetzky remarks ‚*doch ist in Ungarn bisher kein Uchebti als beglaubigter Grabfund der Römerzeit gefundenworden […]*'.[4] This idea was reinforced in the same year by P. Lakatos.[5] Some years later, when analyzing the finds linked to Egypt from the Yugoslav part of Pannonia, P. Selem acknowledged the fact that there was '*une transmutation du sens de l'image*' in the Roman Period. According to Selem, these objects held a magical significance, whereby the worshipper was protected and assisted in making contact with the gods.[6] Later, M. C. Budischovsky, in an analysis of the 'Egyptian deities' at Carnuntum, considered that shabtis were magical-religious artefacts whose function was similar to that as in ancient Egypt. She noted, however, that two of them were broken near the knees and asked: '*ist das ein magischer, für Ägypten eigentümlicher Ritus oder ein zufälliger Bruch?*'[7] More significant interest was given to the artefacts found in the Balkan provinces in recent years by M. Tomorad, especially to those found in the former provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia, in modern-day Croatia.[8] In the case of the Danube provinces, M. Tomorad suggests that these shabti figurines functioned in connection with the cults of Osiris and Isis or as '*[…] magical objects whose major function in the funeral rites of Ancient Egypt is long forgotten*', or as non-religious souvenirs in Roman society.[9] Moreover, the same author questions, once again, whether shabtis were indeed broken from the knees down intentionally, as in the well-

[1] I would like to thank with this occasion Dr. Mladen Tomorad (University of Zagreb) for his kind advice, part of the illustrations and critical suggestions which very much helped this paper come to light in the present form.

[2] Pseudo-shabtis are imitations of shabti figurines most probably created in a local Greco-Roman enviroment. For more details see: Tomorad, in press.

[3] Dobrovits 1943: 59. He adds, however, the fact that one was found in a burial, now housed in the Majorossy Imre Museum in Pecs, and another in Kereszthely. This information was impossible to verify. Based on the find from the burial, the author adds that the shabtis may have been perceived just like in the ancient Egyptian funerary practice.

[4] Wessetzky 1961: 15.

[5] Lakatos 1961: 15.

[6] Selem 1980: 49-50, fn. 184.

[7] Budischovsky 1984: 36. This idea will be later re-emphasised, see *infra*.

[8] Tomorad 2000: 1-14; Tomorad 2003; Tomorad 2004: 89-116; Tomorad 2005: 1-33; Tomorad 2006: 279-309; Tomorad 2011: 109-134; Tomorad 2012: 275-282; Tomorad 2014: 139-150; Tomorad 2015a: 169-170, 174-175, 177, 184, 186-188; Tomorad 2015b. In these studies, the author explains the use of the shabtis in the Ancient Egyptian world, the distribution of shabti statuettes in the European part of the Roman Empire and beyond (including the location of finds), and provides the main bibliography on the matter of shabtis both inside and outside Egypt.

[9] Tomorad 2004: 98-100; Tomorad 2006: 282.

Pl. 1. Traces of the Isiac cults or Egyptian presence in Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia (●) and the discoveries of shabtis and pseudo-shabtis (●). (Redrawn after Deac 2013)

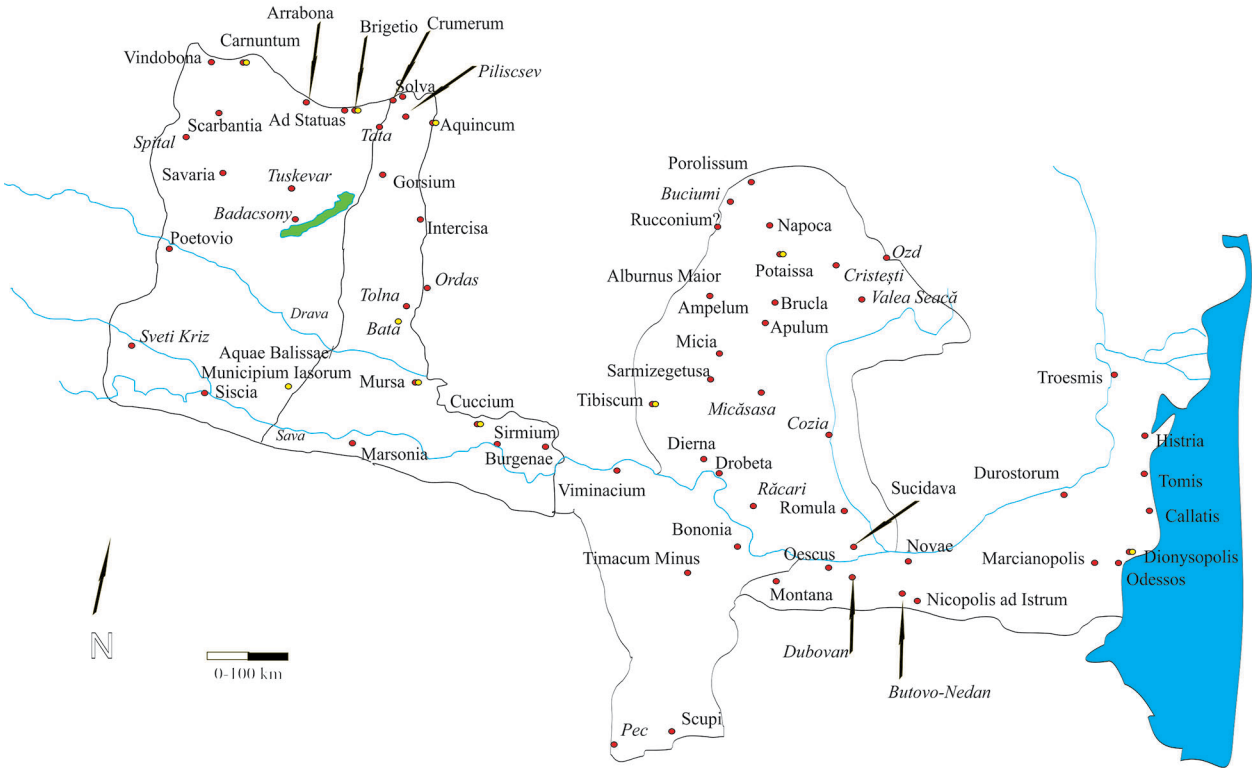

Fig. 138. Map of the traces of the Isiac cults or Egyptian presence in Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia (red dot) and the discoveries of shabtis and pseudo-shabtis (yellow dot). © D. Deac.

documented case in the temple of Soleb in Nubia, for the purpose of preventing dangerous activities of the shabti in connection with an old custom from Ancient Egypt.[10] More recently, Tomorad advanced the idea of re-classifying shabtis based upon various typologies, such as those found in the collections in Zagreb[11] or a general classification of shabtis from the Greco-Roman Period.[12] One of the latest hypotheses regarding shabtis in the Greco-Roman world suggests that these statuettes were produced in workshops that existed in settlements where the Isiac cults were practiced, both inside and outside Egypt.[13] As we see, the reason for the existence of shabtis in Roman contexts is not fully understood, mainly because of the lack of information on the precise contexts of the discoveries. Still, some new observations can be made.

3. Shabtis in the Danube provinces

M. Tomorad already noted that shabti figurines were distributed outside Egypt during the 1st millennium BC in the eastern part of the Mediterranean.[14] Greek merchants from Naucratis transported these types of Egyptian artefacts, alongside other artefacts related to the Egyptian gods, to the Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean region during the Hellenistic Period, with a peak in the 4th-3rd centuries BC.[15] They arrived in the Italian Peninsula and Rome in the 3rd century BC and spread to different regions of the Roman Empire, especially in the period from the 1st -3rd centuries AD[16].

By mapping the find-spots of shabtis or pseudo-shabtis in the Danube provinces (Fig. 138), we can observe the following:

- In Pannonia Superior, there are 3 examples in Carnuntum and 1 in Aquae Balissae/Municipium Iasorum. Total: 4.
- In Pannonia Inferior, there is 1 in Brigetio, 5 in Aquincum, 1 in Báta, 1 in Cuccium and 1 in Mursa. Total: 9.
- In Dacia Porolissensis there are 3 found in Potaissa. Total: 3.
- In Dacia Superior/Apulensis there is 1 found in Tibiscum. Total: 1.

[10] SELEM 1969: 133-134; TOMORAD 2004: 99; TOMORAD 2006: 283.
[11] TOMORAD 2011: 109-134.
[12] TOMORAD, in press.
[13] TOMORAD 2000: 1-14; TOMORAD 2003; TOMORAD 2004: 89-116; TOMORAD 2005: 1-33; TOMORAD 2006: 279-309; TOMORAD 2011: 109-134; TOMORAD 2012: 275-282; TOMORAD 2014: 139-150; TOMORAD 2015.
[14] TOMORAD 2004: 94; TOMORAD 2006: 279.
[15] TOMORAD 2006: 279.
[16] TOMORAD 2006: 280.

- In Dacia Inferior/Malvensis there are 2 found with no exact find-spot. Total: 2.
- In Moesia Inferior 1 is likely from Dionysopolis while 2 have no exact find-spot. Total: 3.

Putting them in a broader context and taking a closer look, we note the fact that 29 shabtis or pseudo-shabtis were found in Dalmatia[17], while none have been identified in Thrace[18], Macedonia[19] or Thessalia[20].

Furthermore, it seems that shabti figurines were introduced into the Balkan areas through Dalmatia. When analyzing the shabtis from Dalmatia, A. Bugarski-Mesdjian considers that they, together with bronze Osiris statuettes, were part of a larger range of religious 'beliefs', 'beliefs' according to which these statuettes remained as if in a funerary contextualization, but more or less linked with the Isiac cults[21]. Shabtis were no longer perceived as statuettes of servants who helped the deceased in different activities, but rather as chthonic companions, more and more assimilated with Osiris[22]. As tempting as these hypotheses are, it is difficult to determine exactly how shabtis were perceived by the Romans, due to the lack of archaeological contexts.

In the Danube region, there are twenty-two shabtis and pseudo-shabti statuettes. Of these, it can be stated with a certain amount of confidence that eighteen can be attributed to different settlements, while two were probably from Dacia Inferior and two more from Moesia Inferior or Thrace (cat. no. 18-19 and, respectively, 21 and 22). Of the 18 whose find-spots are known, we do not have images of four of them, that from Brigetio (cat. no. 5) and the three pieces from Potaissa (cat. no. 14, 15, 16); thus, it is difficult to say if these were shabtis or pseudo-shabtis. Considering the remaining examples, there are two pseudo-shabtis of the Osiris type, one from Tibiscum (cat. no. 17), and one from Dionysopolis (cat. no. 20). The rest of them, 12 in number (cat. no. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13), were recovered in Pannonia and were manufactured during the Third Intermediate Period (the one from Mursa, cat. no. 13 and one from Aquincum, cat no. 7), the Saite Period (cat. no. 8, coming also from Aquincum) and the Greco-Roman one.

Only the shabtis from Aquincum, namely the one found with a fibula dated to the 2nd -4th c. AD in Szépjuhászné (cat. no. 6), and the one from Obuda (cat. no. 7), as well as the pseudo-shabti from the settlement of Tibiscum (cat. no. 17) provide an indication of the precise area in which such statuettes were found.

Unfortunately, we do not possess much information regarding the exact place of discovery of the shabtis from the Danube area. To establish an idea as to how they were used, we should examine the contexts of shabtis or pseudo-shabtis discovered in other areas of the Roman Empire. These statuettes were frequently discovered either in temples dedicated to Egyptian deities, such as Isis or Sarapis, or in graves. For example, a shabti statuette was found in a shallow pit in the courtyard of the Iseum of Pompeii, buried alongside ashes and remains of fruits and vegetables. It appears to have been buried and burnt, '*[…]treated, it would seem, as a sacred object for ritual sacrifice*'[23].

Half of the shabtis and pseudo-shabtis found in the Danube area of the Roman Empire are broken near the knees: cat. no. 1, 3 (Carnuntum), 5 (Brigetio), 6 (Aquincum), 13 (Mursa), 17 (Tibiscum), 18-19 (Dacia Inferior), 20 (Dionysopolis)[24] and 21-22 (Moesia Inferior). In Carnuntum, Brigetio, Aquincum, and Dionysopolis there is strong evidence of the existence of the Isiac cults and temples dedicated to these deities[25]. At Mursa and Tibiscum there is no direct evidence of temples dedicated to Isis or Sarapis (at least for now), but there is clear evidence of direct contact between these two settlements and Egypt itself[26]. Thus, there is a strong indication that these shabtis and pseudo-shabtis were indeed used for ritual sacrifice as was the case in Pompeii.

For the shabtis and pseudo-shabtis preserved in their entirety, many still preserve traces of secondary burning, an indicator, like the example from Pompeii, that shabtis were also used for ritual sacrifice: i.e., no. 9, 10 (Aquincum), 11 (Bata) or 4 (Daruvar).

In the present writer's view, these statuettes were specially imported from Egypt to be used as sacrificial instruments in the ritual and initiation processions that took place in temples dedicated to Isis and/or Sarapis[27]. This is supported by the fact that none of the shabtis

[17] Tomorad 2006: 285-295; Bugarski-Mesdjian 2007: 297ff (she is quoting only twenty-seven according to Tomorad articles from 2000 and 2004); twenty-six shabtis and three pseudoshabtis. Of these, two were found in the city of Claudia Aequum, two on the island of Hvar (Pharos), thirteen in Salona, eight in the area of Middle Dalmatia, one in Ostrožac near Bihać in a grave, one in Kazale near Filipani in Istria and two in Aenona.

[18] Bricault 2001: 32-34; Bricault 2007: 245-266.

[19] Bricault 2001: 22-27.

[20] Bricault 2001: 14-18. For the Isiac cults in Thessalia see: Decourt and Tziafalias 2007: 329-363.

[21] Bugarski-Mesdjian 2007: 300.

[22] Bugarski-Mesdjian 2007: 300-301. She adds that they could be not only perceived as funerary statuettes but also as magic ones, as M. Tomorad already affirmed.

[23] Swetnam-Burland 2007: 129-130. See also Swetnam-Burland 2015: 33, fig. 1.6 (photo).

[24] This one is broken from the area of the chest downwards.

[25] Deac 2013a.

[26] Deac 2013a: 129-130 (with older bibliography) for Mursa where there is an Egyptian stela with a hieroglyphic inscription; Tomorad and Deac 2013: 229 for Tibiscum where a funerary inscription in Latin talks about a woman born on the banks of the Nile.

[27] Deac 2013a. The vast majority of these shabtis or pseudo-shabti statuettes come from settlements where other imported objects from Egypt were found or with direct links such as: Carnuntum, Aquincum, Brigetio, Mursa, Potaissa, Tibiscum, Dionysopolis.

known in the Danube provinces were found in other kinds of archaeological contexts, such as burials, as was the case in other parts of the Roman Empire. The pseudo-shabtis may have been local products manufactured for the same ritual purpose (to date, there have been no archaeometric analyses of the clays comprising this group of objects).

Once again, due to the fact that for the vast majority of these artefacts we do not have an exact archaeological context, we cannot be certain as to how they were perceived and used in the Roman world.

4. Catalogue

4.1 Pannonia Superior

1. Shabti (Fig. 139: 1).

Provenance: Carnuntum (Bad Deutsch Altenburg).

Present location: Museum Carnuntinum in Bad-Deutsch Altenburg, Inv. No. 9989.

Material: Burnt clay.

Dimensions: height 8 cm.

Dating: No information is recorded regarding the Roman context in which it was found. It may have been manufactured in the Late Egyptian Period or could be Hellenistic copy.

Bibliography: Budischovsky 1984: 36 fig. 4; Bricault 2001: 127; Humer 2009: 225, fig. 993; Deac 2013a: 109-110, no. 20, pl. 12.

Description: Fragment of a mummiform shabti, broken at the knees. The facial features are easily distinguishable; the nose and mouth are slightly worn; the beard is almost indistinguishable. The left arm is over the right one and the hand might have held a flail and crook; the arms do not have sleeves. On the head of the shabti figurine is a lappet wig; it has large, well-modelled ears. On the body, there is a vertical band of hieroglyphs which are difficult to read due to the poor preservation; the signs may be imitations of hieroglyphs.

2. Shabti (Fig. 139: 3).

Provenance: Carnuntum (Bad Deutsch Altenburg).

Present location: Museum Carnuntinum in Bad-Deutsch Altenburg, Inv. No. 9988.

Material: Burnt Clay. Dark green coloured faïence on top.

Dimensions: height 9.5 cm.

Dating: No information is recorded regarding the Roman context in which it was found. The manufacturing date is Graeco-Roman.

Bibliography: Budischovsky 1984: 36 fig. 4; Bricault 2001: 127; Deac 2013a: 110, no. 21, pl. 12.

Description: Mummiform shabti. On the head of the shabti figurine is a lappet wig; it has large, well-modelled ears. The eyes and eyebrows are distinguishable, while the mouth, nose and beard are badly damaged. The arms are also badly damaged and only the sleeveless hands are slightly observable. The figure may have held a flail and crook, which are badly damaged. No traces of hieroglyphs are visible.

3. Shabti (Fig. 139: 2).

Provenance: Carnuntum (Bad Deutsch Altenburg).

Present location: Museum Carnuntinum in Bad-Deutsch Altenburg, Inv. No. 9990.

Material: Burnt clay blue-faïence glazed.

Dimensions: height 8.8 cm.

Dating: No information is recorded regarding the Roman context in which it was found. Manufacturing date is in the Roman era.

Bibliography: Budischovsky 1984: 36 fig. 4; Bricault 2001: 127; Humer 2009: 255; no. 994, fig. 994 of cat. no. 2; Deac 2013a: 110, no. 22, pl. 12.

Description: Mummiform shabti broken at the knees. The figurine is in a poor state of preservation with secondary burning marks in some parts. The preserved height is 8.8 cm. It has a lapped wig with the nicely modelled ears. The facial features are distinguishable but poorly preserved. The beard seems to be broken off. The sleeveless arms are visible; crook and flail held in its hands.

4. Shabti.

Provenance: Aquae Balissae/Municipium Iasorum (Daruvar).

Present location: It was housed in the Balogh Ádám Museum in Szekszárd, inv. no. 59.48.1., given as a donation by the wife of Ferdinand Zsiga at an unknown time.

Material: Burnt clay with green faïence visible on some areas.

Dimensions: height 11.9 cm.

Dating: We are not sure if it was found in a Roman context. The statuette might be a Late Egyptian Period or Greco-Roman product.[28]

Bibliography: Lakatos 1961: 10-11, no. 6, fig. 6.

Description: Mummiform shabti fairly well preserved, including a pedestal at the bottom. The wig is visible on the head, while the facial features, including the big ears and beard, are also distinguishable. The area where the hands cross each other on the chest is damaged; thus, the sleeves cannot be observed. The crook and flail are held in its hands.

4.2. Pannonia Inferior

5. Shabti.

Provenance: Brigetio (Szony).

Present location: Before the Second World War it was held by the Museum of Györ and was described by E. Lovas (according to V. Wessetzky).

Material: unknown.

Dimensions: unknown.

Dating: unknown.

Bibliography: Paulovics 1942: 216-217; Wessetzky 1961: 53, note 7; Wessetzky 1978: 1318, note 8; Deac 2013a: 147, no. 115.

Description: Because of the lack of an image it is impossible to advance a description of the statuette.

6. Shabti (Fig. 139: 4).

Provenance: Aquincum (Budapest).

Present location: Currently unknown. During the 20th century it was part of the Fleissig collection.

Material: burnt clay, traces of green glazed faïence being still visible.

Dimensions: height of 11.6 cm.

Dating: The shabti dates in the Greco-Roman Period and was found together with a 'Sarmatian' brooch, dating from the end of the 2nd century AD up to the 4th century AD[29]. Most probably the context in which the shabti was found in Szépjuhászné in the 1860's is a 3rd century one.

Bibliography: Dobrovits 1943: 57, fig. 6, note 101; Wessetzky 1961: 15, note 2; Deac 2013a: 121-122, no. 49.

Description: Mummiform shabti broken in the inferior part and in a poor state of preservation. It has a back-pillar. The facial features are recognizable, with the beard damaged in the inferior part and with the big ears nicely modelled. On the head the figure wears a simple lapped wig. The right had is over the left one on the chest, holding the crook and flail. A line of badly damaged, unrecognizable hieroglyphic signs or pseudo-hieroglyphs goes from the level of the crossed hands down to the feet.

7. Shabti (Fig. 140: 2).

Provenance: Aquincum (Budapest). It was found in Obuda, in the year 1869, on Hajógyári island.

Present location: The artefact was housed by the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest and was subsequently lost during the events of World War Two (information given by Nagy István).

Material: burnt clay with green glazed faïence.

Dimensions: height 18.1 cm.

Dating: Third Intermediate Period.

Bibliography: Dobrovits 1943: 58, fig. 7; Wessetzky 1961: 15, note 2; Deac 2013a: 122, no. 50.

Description: Mummiform shabti with hieroglyphic script, telling us about the owner Ahmose. The eight lines of hieroglyphs are disposed horizontally in the front and on the sides, from the area of the crossed hands on the chest down to the feet. The back pillar is nicely made. The facial features are very easily distinguishable with big ears and a nicely modelled beard. On the head, it wears a striated lapped wig typical for the Third Intermediate Period. In its overlapped hands, it holds the crook and flail.

8. Shabti (Fig. 140: 1, 3a-d).

Provenance: Aquincum (Budapest).

Present location: Sfântu Gheorghe National Museum, Romania, inv. no. 6433.

[28] M. Tomorad analysed it in February 2016 and dated it to the period between 30th dynasty and 33rd , Ptolemaic dynasty (further details in Tomorad, in preparation).

[29] For this kind of brooches see a more recent study: Cociș-Bârcă 2014: 189-214.

Fig. 139.1-3. Land Niederösterreich Archäologischer Park Carnuntum, Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg (© N. Gail); 4. Aquincum. After: Dobrovits 1943.

Material: Burnt clay, green glazed faïence.

Dimensions: height of 14 cm.

Dating: The shabti was made during the Saite Period and was brought to Aquincum in the Roman era.

Bibliography: Deac 2010: 221, no. 1, pl. 1=Deac 2013a: 120, no. 46, pl. 15-16= Deac 2013b: 133-135, fig. 1.

Description: Mummiform shabti in a fairly good state of preservation. It has a back pillar on the back. On the head, there is a depiction of a lapped wig with the big ears that are nicely modelled. The facial features are very well depicted. The arms are depicted with the right one over the left one. In the palms, with no sleeves visible, the figurine holds a crook and flail. In the front, there are two T shape rows with hieroglyphs, previously translated.

9. Shabti (Fig. 141: 2a-d).

Provenance: Aquincum (Budapest).

Present location: Sfântu Gheorghe National Museum, Romania, inv. no. 6434.

Material: burnt clay with traces of green glazed faïence.

Dimensions: height of 8.9 cm.

Dating: The shabti was made during the Greco-Roman Period and was brought or made in Aquincum in the Roman Period.

Bibliography: Deac 2010: 221, no. 2, p. 2, 1-3= Deac 2013a: 120-121, no. 47, pl. 18, 1= Deac 2013b: 135, no. 2, pl. 2, 1-3.

Description: Mummiform shabti with a back pillar and also has a lapped wig on its head. The facial features are hard to distinguish and the beard is broken. The arms are cross over each other on the chest holding flail and crook. No sleeves are visible. The figurine presents traces of secondary burnings.

10. Shabti (Fig. 141: 1a-b).

Provenance: Aquincum (Budapest).

Present location: Sfântu Gheorghe National Museum, Romania, inv. no. 6435.

Material: burnt clay shabti, small traces of green faïence.

Dimensions: height of 8.6 cm.

Dating: The shabti was made during the Greco-Roman Period and was brought or made in Aquincum in the Roman Period.

Bibliography: Deac 2010: 221, no.3, pl. 2, 4-6= Deac 2013a: 121, 48, pl. 18= Deac 2013b: 135-137, pl. 2, 4-6.

Description: Mummiform shabti with lapped wig on its head. The state of preservation is poor, with the facial

Fig. 140.1, 3a-d. Aquincum (© D. Deac); 2. Aquincum (after: Dobrovits 1943).

Fig. 141.1-2a-d. Aquincum (© D. Deac).

features barely visible. The beard is distinguishable and the arms are probably holding a crook and flail.

11. Shabti.

Provenance: Báta (Tolna County), Hungary.

Present location: It was at the moment of publishing housed by the Balogh Ádám Museum in Szekszárd, inv. no. 59.46.1.

Material: burnt clay with dark blue enamel faïence traces scattered in some areas.

Dimensions: height of 7.8 cm.

Dating: The shabti manufacturing dates, it seems, from the Late Period to the Greco-Roman one.

Bibliography: Wessetzky 1961: 49; Lakatos 1961: 10, no. 5, fig. 5 and 5a.

Description: Fairly well preserved mummiform shabti. A pedestal is still visible, as is the back-pillar. On the head, there is a wig represented, while the facial features are perfectly distinguishable. The beard is fairly well preserved and the ears are quite big. The hands do not have sleeves, and the statuette holds a flail and crook.

12. Shabti?.

Provenance: Cuccium (Ilok).

Present location: It was found at the beginning of the 19th century in the Roman settlement of Cuccium. It was brought to the National History Museum of Hungary where it was published in a catalogue in 1825. It is now lost.

Material: unknown.

Dimensions: unknown.

Dating: unknown.

Bibliography: Cimelioteca MNH 1825: 114, no. 43; Drexler 1890: 37; B. Perc 1968: 207, no. 54; Selem1980: 24, no. 39; Selem 1997: 146, no. 9.7; Bricault 2001: 126 (map at page p. 125); Tomorad 2003: 77, fn. 480; Tomorad 2006: 298, no. 20.

Description: B. Perc described it as a representation of a priestess of Isis. Later, P. Selem considered the piece to be a small Egyptian statuette made from burnt clay, while L. Bricault and M. Tomorad include it in the category of shabti figurines.

13. Shabti (Fig. 142: 1).

Provenance: Mursa (Osijek). Found in 1954. In 1954 Danica Pinterović mentioned it was discovered during the construction of Volf house in Osijek (corner of the Branko Radičević Street and Vladimir Nazor square (today Ban Josip Jelačić square) among many other Roman finds from ancient Mursa.[30]

Present location: Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, inv. no. 5243[31].

Material: green coloured enamel burnt clay.

Dimensions: height of 6.7 cm.

Dating: According to Tomorad analysis and studies on this shabti head there is the striated lapped wig typical of the Third Intermediate Period typical for the period between 21st and 22nd dynasty.[32]

Bibliography: Degmedžić 1954: 147-148, pl. 1; Leclant 1958: 98; Perc 1968: 200-201, no. 48; Selem 1972: 40; Selem 1980: 22, no. 35, pl. IX; Selem 1997: 143, no. 9.3; Göricke-Lukić 2000: 43, 91-92, 139; Bricault 2001: 126 (map at page p. 125); Tomorad 2000: 1-14; Tomorad 2003: 75, 137-138; Tomorad 2004: 91, 97, 98, 102, 109; Tomorad 2005: 21; Tomorad 2006: 297, no. 19, pl. 75/3; Tomorad 2012: 277; Deac 2013a: 126, no. 61; Kovač 2013: 22-23; Kovač 2015: 100 no. 9.

Description: Mummiform shabti with the lower part missing. The arms are crossed on the chest with the left over the right arm, without sleeves and holding hoes in each hand. The oval face has few distinguishable features: the eye brows are well defined and the big ears are well modelled. It has a basket on its back and no inscription.

4.3. Dacia Porolissensis

14. Shabti or Pseudo-shabti?[33]

Provenance: Potaissa (Turda, Cluj county).

Present location: lost.

Material: unknown.

[30] Pinterović 1954: 173.

[31] Wessetzky 1961: 15, 49 53 and Bricault 2001: 125 (map XXVII); Tomorad 2006: 295 no. 19; with reference to two shabtis found in Sarmatian graves outside the province of Pannonia. However, there is no mention of these finds anywere in the bibliography.

[32] Tomorad 2006: 295, no. 19; Tomorad, in preparation.

[33] One of these three shabties was drawn in Lugosi Fodor András, *Führer für Freunde vaterländandischer Alterthümer in verschiedenen Theilen und Ortschaften Siebenbürgens(*=Logosi András kézirata I-VIII), Central Library Cluj-Napoca manuscript number 754, in notebook 7, 48 taf. XLVIII and notebook 8, 27.

Fig. 142.1. Mursa (after: Tomorad 2006); 2a-d. Tibiscum (after: Tomorad and Deac 2013).

Dimensions: unknown.

Dating: unknown.

Bibliography: Ardevan-Rusu 1979: 396 and 403, no. I/5; Bărbulescu 2006: 355; Bărbulescu 2009: 82; Deac 2013a: 195, no. 218.

Description: In 1979 R. Ardevan and A. A. Rusu published a study on the collection of a 19th century Hungarian art collector called Botár Imre, a collection which was dismantled at the beginning of the 20th century after Botár Imre's death. One of the artefacts was described by the owner as a mummiform statuette, which might have been the representation of a shabti or a pseudo-shabti.

15. Shabti or Pseudo-shabti?

Provenance: Potaissa (Turda, Cluj county).

Present location: lost.

Material: unknown.

Dimensions: unknown.

Dating: unknown.

Bibliography: Neigebaur 1851: 209, no. 81; Deac 2013a: 196, no. 219.

Description: 8 zoli (Austro-Hungarian measurement unit) high shabti or pseudo-shabti seen by J. N. Neigebaur and published in 1851, describing it as:' Holz(?) mumie mit hieroglyphen'.

16. Shabti or Pseudo-shabti?

Provenance: Potaissa (Turda, Cluj county).

Present location: lost.

Material: unknown.

Dimensions: 12.7 cm.

Dating: unknown.

Bibliography: Neigebaur 1851: 216, no. 223; Deac 2013a: 196, no. 220.

Description: 5 zol (Austro-Hungarian measurement unit) high shabti or pseudo-shabti seen by J. N. Neigebaur and published in 1851, describing it as: 'Mumie mit holzgesicht'. It is now lost.

4.4. Dacia Superior

17. Pseudo-Shabti (Fig. 142: 2a-d).

Provenance: Tibiscum (Jupa).

Present location: Museum of Caransebeş, inv. no. 11791.

Material: burnt clay (terracotta).

Dimensions: height of 21 cm.

Dating: The figurine was most probably manufactured in the Greco-Roman times and could be a local product from Roman Dacia.

Bibliography: Tomorad and Deac 2013: 227-235, fig. 1-3 (with the older bibliography).

Description: Mummiform pseudo-shabti with the Atef crown on the head and a damaged uraeus. The state of preservation of the statuette is statuette is fairly poor, being broken in two pieces. It was found on the surface of the fort. The facial features are easily distinguishable and the beard is still attached. The arms are crossed left over right on the chest, while no sleeves are visible. In the hands, it holds the typical flail and crook. A line of pseudo-hieroglyphs is depicted on the body, beneath the arm.

4.5. Dacia Inferior

18. Pseudo-shabti (Fig. 143: 2).

Provenance: uncertain.

Present location: It was part of the T. Neamţu collection and it is now housed by the Museum of Oltenia, Craiova (Romania), inv. no. 15058/4674.

Material: burnt clay (terracotta).

Dimensions: height of 13.1 cm.

Dating: 2nd -3rd c. AD.

Bibliography: Bondoc 2005: 75, no. 63 (with figures); Nemeti 2010: 280, no. 6; pl. I. 6; Deac 2013a: 200-201, no. 231.

Description: Mummiform pseudo-shabti, painted in dark brown and broken in two pieces in the inferior part. The state of preservation is fairly poor. On the head the figurine has an Atef crown, with the uraeus being damaged. The facial features are easily distinguishable and the beard is nicely decorated. The arms have no sleeves depicted and the right arm is over the left one, holding the crook and flail respectively. A line of imitations of hieroglyphs

Fig. 143.1-2. Dacia Inferior (© D. Bondoc); 3a-e. Dionysopolis (© I. Lazarenko).

are visible on the body, enclosed by a line going beneath the arms down to the feet. It is similar to the one from Tibiscum and the one from Dionysopolis.

19. Shabti (Fig. 143: 1).

Provenance: uncertain.

Present location: It was part of the Craiu collection and it is now housed by the Museum of Oltenia, Craiova (Romania), inv. no. I 5060.

Material: Burnt clay with traces of green glazed faience are still visible in some areas.

Dimensions: height of 9 cm.

Dating: The shabti dates somewhere in the Late Period to Greco-Roman times.

Bibliography: Bondoc 2005: 76, no. 64 (with figures); Deac 2013a: 201-202.

Description: Mummiform burnt clay statuette which is broken in the inferior part. On its back it has the depiction of a basket and a back pillar. On the head it wears a simple lapped wig with large ears, well modelled. The facial features are damaged but still visible, including the beard. The arms are crossed on the chest holding the crook and flail. No sleeves are visible. A line of hieroglyphs or a pseudo-hieroglyphic script are still visible but difficult to read.

4.6. Moesia Inferior

20. Pseudo-shabti (Fig. 143: 3a-e).

Provenance: Dionysopolis (Balcik).

Present location: Varna Museum, inv. no. II 2291.

Material: burnt clay (terracotta).

Dimensions: height of 11.5 cm.

Dating: Found in Roman era contexts, according to the first publishers.

Bibliography: Dremsizova-Nelchinova and Toncheva 1971: no. 112; Tacheva-Hitova 1983: 7, no. 10, pl. VI (with the older bibliography); Bricault 2001: 30; Deac 2013a: 211, no. 260.

Description: Osiris form pseudo-shabti, only with the upper part of the figurine being preserved, and it is in a fairly poor state of preservation. It wears the Atef crown on its head which is partially damaged with the uraeus still visible. The hands are crossed on its chest, holding a crook and a partially visible flail. The facial features are remarkably depicted including the elaborate beard.

21. Pseudo-shabti.

Provenance: unknown.

Present location: Archaeological Museum in Varna (inv. no. II 2221).[34]

Material: burnt clay (terracotta).

Dimensions: height of 12 cm.

Dating: According to the original publications, the statuette was imported during the Imperial Period from Egypt.

Bibliography: Dremsizova-Nelchinova and Toncheva 1971: no. 109; Tacheva-Hitova 1983: 18, no. 29, pl. VII; Bricault 2001: 31; Deac 2013a: 239-240, no. 328.

Description: Mummiform clay pseudo-shabti. It represents Osiris wearing the Atef crown which is partially damaged. Its arms are crossed on its chest and the hands hold a crook and flail. A band of hieroglyphs (or pseudo-hieroglyphs) are represented on the body from the hands down. The back is flat.

22. Pseudo-shabti.

Provenance: unknown.

Present location: Archaeological Institute and Museum, inv. no. 453.

Material: burnt clay (terracotta).

Dimensions: 12. 5 cm.

Dating: Because these last two statuettes have no exact place of discovery it is possible that they did not come from a Roman context from the Danube part of the Roman Empire, but rather from the Antiquities market.

Bibliography: Dremsizova-Nelchinova and Toncheva 1971: no. 110; Tacheva-Hitova 1983: 18, no. 30, pl. VII; Bricault 2001: 31; Deac 2013a: 240, no. 329.

Description: Mummiform clay pseudo-shabti statuette in the form of Osiris. The statuette is partially preserved, with the lower part missing. The facial features are perfectly preserved while the crown is preserved only in

[34] It seems that when publishing them M. Tacheva-Hitova in error confused the inventory numbers of this statuette with the one found in Dionysopolis.

the inferior part, with the uraeus still distinguishable. The beard is preserved almost in its entirety and decorated with horizontal lines. The hands are crossed on the chest and hold the crook and flail. A band of hieroglyphs are preserved in the inferior part.

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The Egyptian Collection at the Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte of Trieste: its History and Some Highlights

Susanna Moser

Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, Trieste, Italy

Abstract: *The history of the Egyptian collection of Trieste pre-dates the institution of Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte. The first objects are recorded in the 18th century as belonging to a literary society that donated its antiquities to the Museum when it opened in 1874. Many donations and purchases were made in the following decades, until the last object entered the collection in 1950. Peculiar is the fact that many citizens of Trieste, even those who were less wealthy, gave their items for the enrichment of the Museum. After a new display of the collection was designed in 2000, the Natural History Museum of Trieste granted the last Egyptian artefacts it possessed on permanent loan. This made the publication of the scientific catalogue in 2013 possible, while now experiments are being conducted with 3D scanning of the objects.*

Keywords: *Egyptian collection, Trieste, Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, history of Egyptology*

The city of Trieste, in north-eastern Italy, was part of the Austrian empire until the end of World War I in 1918. Since the 18th century, it was the most important seaport of the empire[1] and, as such, the starting point of many trade routes to different countries, especially after the opening of Suez Canal in 1870.[2]

Among these routes, particularly important was that directly connecting Trieste to Alexandria in Egypt, which since 1837 was regularly plied twice a month by steamers of Austrian Lloyd.[3] This long-lasting and continuous contact between the two countries allowed many citizens of the Adriatic seaport to establish commercial activities and even live part of their lives in the country of the Pharaohs, where they were able to collect antiquities that they jealously kept once back home.

Thus, some private collections were already formed many decades before the birth of the Museum. The only documented one is that of the so-called *Accademia degli Arcadi Sonziaci*, a literary society founded in 1780 in Gorizia, whose river (the Isonzo - *Sontius* in Latin) gave it its name. Transferred to Trieste in 1782, its collections included a rich library accessible to the public, which forms the core of the *Biblioteca Civica* of Trieste (the present public library of the city), and a series of antiquities, among which there were several 'ancient marbles'.[4]

In the illustrated catalogue written by the first librarian of the society,[5] Giuseppe de Coletti, three objects of Egyptian provenance are listed. The first one is described as '*Busto d'Iside, scultura preziosa di Agata gialla orientale*' (bust of Isis, a precious sculpture of Oriental yellow agate), but the drawing shows something resembling the lid of a canopic jar with a human head.[6] The other two are a '*Testa di Pietra-bianca tenera… rappresentante un modello di Giove Ammone*' (head of a soft white stone... depicting a model of Jupiter Ammon), which actually is a head of the god Sarapis,[7] and a '*Basso-rilievo di Pietra Caciolfa… con due figure maggiori, ed una minore a cavallo ad un Delfino, scultura Egiziana, rappresentante un Imenèo*' (bas-relief in Caciolfa stone[8]...with two bigger figures and a smaller

[1] Due to its strategic position and because it had been declared a free port by Empress Maria Theresia (1717–1780). In 1770, she signed a royal decree which allowed free trade between Austria and Egypt. Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 10.

[2] It is little known that the vice president of the Suez Canal Company was a banker from Trieste, Baron Pasquale Revoltella (Venice 1795-Trieste 1869), who represented Austrian economic interests in this enterprise. For a detailed account of his part in the realisation of the Suez Canal see Strukelj, Crusvar and Masau Dan 2015. For the Egyptian objects, he brought to Trieste, which are now in the Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, see below and Moser 2015b.

[3] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 10. Since most of the information given in this paper is also present in the catalogue of the collection (Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013), I have referred to it only when a specific citation was needed, in order to avoid an excessive number of footnotes.

[4] Kunz 1879: 12-13; Vidulli Torlo 1998: 218; Messina 2002: 273, fn. 3.

[5] The catalogue is composed of two manuscripts. The first one consists of a list of the sculptures (*Copia del Catalogo del Museo della Biblioteca publica di Trieste 1803 fatto dal Bibliotecario della medesima Giuseppe de Coletti*, Biblioteca Civica di Trieste, R.P. MS 3-226/8, 232), and the other contains detailed drawings of the objects (*Contorni delle Sculture antiche esistenti nella Camera Statuaria della Biblioteca Publica di Trieste raccolte dal Bibliotecario della medesima Giuseppe de Coletti*, Biblioteca Civica di Trieste, R.P. MS 3-5).

[6] Biblioteca Civica di Trieste, R.P. MS 3-5: 2. This object must have been lost at some point, since it is no longer part of the civic collections of Trieste.

[7] Biblioteca Civica di Trieste, R.P. MS 3-5: 16. The head is now part of the Museum collections: it bears the inventory number CMSA 7524.

[8] Caciolfa stone is a soft limestone that is found in the Italian Apennines, but here the expression is used as a synonym for a generic type of easily workable limestone.

Fig. 144. Coptic relief representing an Eros riding a dolphin between two sea Nymphs, from Cairo. Trieste: Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, CMSA 5620.

one riding a dolphin, representing a wedding scene), which corresponds to the Coptic relief with two Nereids and an Eros riding a dolphin that is now on display in the Egyptian section of the Museum.[9] (Fig. 144)

Looking for the origin of these sculptures, almost certainly from Egypt, scholars have supposed that they could have been donated to the *Accademia* by Count Antonio Cassis Faraone (1745-1805; Fig. 145).[10] He was born in Damascus, but he lived in Cairo from 1749, from whence he fled in 1784 due to an accusation of theft. He arrived in Trieste in 1786 and remained there until his death. He was a collector of art and antiquities, but also an eccentric character in the panorama of the city: he never rid himself of his Oriental clothing and spoke always and only Arabic.[11]

The idea of a museum that could host all the antiquities discovered in Trieste and its territory existed from the beginning of the 19th century and led to the opening of a *Museo Lapidario* (Museum for Lapidary Art) on

[9] Biblioteca Civica di Trieste, R.P. MS 3-5: 17. Its inventory number is CMSA 5620. For the sake of completeness, it must be mentioned that at number 18 on page 58 of the written catalogue (Biblioteca Civica di Trieste, R.P. MS 3-226/8, 232) a portrait head of Ptolemy appears. The corresponding drawing shows clearly that it cannot be a Ptolemy, but likely a Roman emperor.

[10] Messina 2002: 279, with earlier bibliographical references, and Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 13.

[11] A touch that adds to his eccentricity is mentioned in Nordio *et al.* 1951: 82, where he is said to have been the first owner of the opera house of Trieste, Teatro Lirico 'Giuseppe Verdi', built between 1798 and 1801.

Fig. 145. Portrait of Antonio Cassis Faraone, of a style similar to that of F. Maggiotto, end of 18th century. Trieste: Civico Museo Sartorio, 13/3099.

June 8th, 1843.[12] It consisted of all the stone objects (inscriptions, statues, reliefs) that had been gathered so far, exhibited in the open air around the cenotaph of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (Fig. 146), which had been wanted by the citizenship to expiate for the death of the German scholar.[13] The most fragile objects were however kept in a *Gabinetto d'Antichità* located in the same building that hosted also the *Museo Zoologico 'Ferdinando Massimiliano'*[14] (Natural History Museum), the Public Library of the city, as well as – for a certain period – the *Accademia di Commercio e Nautica*, a school that Empress Maria Theresia had wanted in 1753 for training officers of the Austrian fleet.[15]

Given the 'crowded' situation, this institution remained relegated to a couple of rooms, even when it became permanent as a result of an official statute on 9 July 1873, with the name *Museo d'Antichità* (Antiquities Museum).[16] After some works for improving the display of artefacts, the Museum re-opened to the public in 1874.[17] The problem of space was eventually solved in 1913: on 19 September, the Municipal Council approved the purchase of the building that hosts the Museum to the present day.[18] Due to difficulties caused by World War I, renovation works lasted until 1924 and the new venue was officially opened on 21 April 1925.[19]

The Museum inventories comprise almost 1,500 objects coming from Egypt and dating from Prehistory to the Mamluk Period. Some of them are labelled as 'pre-existing' to the institution of the Museum, meaning that they were part of the collections already before 1873. Unfortunately, the previous history of these objects remains unknown, as does the precise provenance of almost all the 1,500 artefacts, owing to the early date of their original discovery.

Such is the case with a wooden shabti that belonged to Sety I (inv. n. CMSA 31009).[20] Oddly enough, the two other shabtis of Sety I in the collection reached Trieste in two different ways: one (CMSA 31010) was purchased from a citizen in 1877 and the other (CMSA 31011) was part of a donation from the Natural History Museum of the city on 31 October 1874. This donation (erroneously dated to 1875 in Kunz 1879: 21) consisted of 92 objects, among which were some Egyptian antiquities, including two Menas flasks (CMSA 11945-11946), whose original provenance is still totally wrapped up in mystery, and other objects that are among the most important in the collection and whose arrival at the Natural History Museum has been recorded.[21]

[12] Kunz 1879: 16, 18, reports the fact but with the wrong date. The correct day is reported on the first page of a local newspaper, *L'Osservatore Triestino*, n. 7 (16th June 1843).

[13] Johann Joachim Winckelmann was born in Stendal in 1717 and was murdered in Trieste on 8th June, 1768. Vidulli Torlo 2005: 10. For a detailed account of the murder and the subsequent trial see Vidulli Torlo 2012). He is considered the founding father of the modern discipline of Art History. The Neoclassical cenotaph dedicated to his memory was inaugurated on 4 April 1833. Kunz 1879: 14-15.

[14] Its name is now *Museo Civico di Storia Naturale*.

[15] Bravar 2002: 381; Istituto Tecnico Nautico 2005: 29, 51. The school still exists today (its name is now I.S.I.S. 'Nautico-Galvani') and the building where it is based lies just opposite the original one, across Piazza A. Hortis, which at the time was called Piazza Lipsia.

[16] Kunz 1879: 20; Vidulli Torlo 1998: 220. The Museum was then governed by a curatorium of three members and on November 6th of the same year the first director was appointed. The Museum's name was changed into *Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte* (Museum of History and Art) on June 12th , 1909. Puschi 1911: 148. In Vidulli 1998: 221 the date given for the name change is wrong.

[17] Kunz 1879: 20.

[18] Account of the session of September 19th, in the *Verbali del Consiglio Comunale di Trieste* (proceedings of Trieste Municipal Council), year 1913.

[19] Vidulli Torlo 1998: 221, where works are said to have ended on 10 December 1924; Bravar 2002: 381. The exact dates can be determined thanks to a local newspaper: *Il Piccolo di Trieste* of 19 April 1925, titles on page 3 '*L'inaugurazione del Museo di Storia e Arte al 21 aprile Natale di Roma*', thus confirming the date of 21 April for the Museum's opening.

[20] The other objects that 'pre-existed' to the Museum institution are a pottery female fertility figure on a bed (CMSA 39270), a wooden shabti coated in a black substance (CMSA 12040) and a green faience shabti (CMSA 30707).

[21] Thanks to the passion and perseverance of the curator of the *Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte*, dr. Marzia Vidulli Torlo, it has been possible to examine the entry registers of the Natural History Museum and to discover the circumstances of arrival in Trieste for most of the objects.

Fig. 146. Engraving depicting the cenotaph for J. J. Winckelmann in its original location, by M. Moro, 1854.

An originally gilded wooden statuette of a female deity (CMSA 12013),[22] for example, was presented by a *Cavalier* Guglielmo de Toppo on an unrecorded date; the yellow coffin of the priest Padiamon with its unrelated mummy (CMSA 12086; Fig. 147) was donated by Francesco Mell and Ermenegildo Mazzoli in 1873.[23]

The Egyptian alabaster canopic set of the lady Ciaenheb (CMSA 3244-3247; Fig. 148), a beautiful example of 26th dynasty craftsmanship, has been known in the literature for more than a century. It was mentioned on pages 131-137 of the volume written by Simon Leo Reinisch in 1865, *Die Aegyptische Denkmaeler in Miramar*.[24] The book dealt with the collection of Egyptian artefacts belonging to Ferdinand Maximilian of Habsburg and originally housed in Miramar castle in Trieste, but the canopics were described as belonging to the Natural History Museum of the city; they had been inserted in a general description of canopic jars because the author considered their inscriptions paradigmatic.[25] Thanks to the entry registers of the Museum, we know the set was donated by a man from Trieste called Raicevich.

As far as Maximilian's Egyptian collection is concerned, it is now part of the *Sammlungen* of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien.[26] The only Egyptian item still in Miramar is a Ptolemaic red granite sphinx that lies on a modern base at the end of the castle pier.[27]

The other objects that were transferred from one Museum to the other in 1874 include a funerary cone of the first prophet of the funerary temple of Thutmose I, Neta (CMSA 30968) and seven shabtis.[28] These artefacts were

[22] The statuette is 40 cm tall, its eyes and wig were surely inlaid and her diadem made as a separate piece, probably in metal. It has been on display at the exhibition 'Pharaonic Renaissance. Archaism and the Sense of History in Ancient Egypt', Ljubljana and Budapest, 2008.

[23] During the recent examinations of the coffin, carried out for the redaction of the collection catalogue, it was possible to detect two phases of writing every time the owner's name appeared. The first one bears the name of the priest of Khonsu Pa-di-amon, the second that of the priest of Amun Pa-nefer-nefer, thus supplying the Museum with one example of the common practice of usurpation.

[24] REINISCH 1865: 131-137.

[25] Their formulae have nothing peculiar from a textual or epigraphic point of view, but are beautifully carved and very well preserved.

[26] SATZINGER 1991: 372-374. For a detailed account on the history of the Viennese collection see the rest of that article, especially for the numerous donations by citizens of Trieste to the Museum of their (then) capital city.

[27] As can be seen by everyone visiting the Castle and its park. For a recent publication of the sphinx see CREVATIN and VIDULLI TORLO 2013: 30.

[28] These are: CMSA 31012, a shabti on a bed with a *ba*; CMSA 31008,

Fig. 147. Coffin of the priest of Khonsu Padiamon, usurped by the priest of Amun Pa-nefer-nefer, 19th dynasty. Trieste: Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, 12086.

Fig.148. Set of Egyptian alabaster canopic jars belonging to the lady of the house Ciaenheb, 26th. Trieste: Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, 3244-3247.

donated to the Natural History Museum between 1850 and 1854 by *Ritter* Anton von Laurin, general consul of Austria in Alexandria from 1834 to 1849.

Laurin was a collector himself, and donated many important Egyptian antiquities to the Kunsthistorisches Musem in Wien, such as the stone sarcophagus of Nesshutefnet.[29] A native of the small town of Vipava (now in Slovenia), in 1845 he brought there two red granite sarcophagi of the Old Kingdom that he had found during his excavations in Giza. They are still visible in the local cemetery (Fig. 149). One belonged to the sole friend Rawer, a courtier of Khafre, and was used for the mortal remains of Laurin's son Albert Alexander. The other – said to belong to prince Iunmin, son of Menkaure – preserves the bodies of his parents.

a wooden shabti of the New Kingdom; CMSA 31011, a shabti of Sety I; CMSA 12327, faience shabti of the Third Intermediate Period; CMSA 12142, 11993, 12143, faience shabtis of the Late Period.

[29] Satzinger 1991: 371.

Fig. 149. The two red granite sarcophagi of the Old Kingdom that consul A. von Laurin brought to Vipava cemetery from Giza in 1845. © S. Moser.

Another important episode that connects Anton von Laurin, Egypt and Trieste is the gift of a monolithic column that was intended to be erected in the city main square, Piazza Grande (now Piazza dell'Unità d'Italia).[30]

The column, more than 13 m tall, is made of red granite and originally had a base and a capital made of black porphyry. It was found in 'a garden in Alexandria', together with other remains that indicated the presence of a temple. Since the act of donation stated that the expenses of the transport to Trieste were to be paid by the city administration, the column was never in the end brought to Italy. The distortion of the news of the donation caused by time and the newspapers led the citizens of Trieste to believe, in the 19th century, that the city had the right to claim for itself Pompey's Pillar or even one of Cleopatra's Needles. It is now certain, instead, that the Laurin column is none other than that standing in Khartoum Square in Alexandria.[31]

Other donations of Egyptian artefacts took place in 1874. 47 objects were presented separately by A. Angeli, C. L. Tedeschi and C. Kunz. The latter was the then director of the newly founded Museum[32]. Another significant contribution was that made on October 14th , 1874, by a scholarly society called *Società di Minerva*.[33] Eight objects, one of which is no longer recognizable in the collection, and other archaeological material, made their way into the Museum. One of these was the Ramesside stela belonging to a *imy-r pr nswt* called Hor-min and his wife May. Unfortunately, of this only a drawing remains, since the stone itself had already disappeared from the Museum by the mid 20th century.[34]

The reader would be forgiven for thinking that by then the Egyptian collection of the Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte would be almost complete, but the peculiar characteristic of this collection is that donations and purchases (sometimes from local antique dealers) continued until the 20th century and often took the form of single objects. For example, again in 1874, a certain

[30] A full and detailed account of this episode is the subject of VIDULLI TORLO 2002.

[31] VIDULLI TORLO 2002.

[32] Carlo Kunz (Trieste 1815 – Venice 1888) was a lithographer and typographer. He dedicated himself to the study of Numismatics and to the trade of ancient coins. He has been the first director of Museo Civico d'Antichità in Trieste (now Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte), as well as the reorganiser of its collections, which were published in 1879 in the catalogue '*Il Museo Civico d'Antichità di Trieste*' (Kunz 1879). For a recent and more extensive biography of Kunz see DAGOSTINI 2004.

[33] The society was founded in 1810 by one of the most renowned historians of Trieste, Domenico Rossetti, and still exists today. For more information on the Society and its activities, see the website [http://www.societadiminerva.it/] For a detailed account on the objects and circumstances of the donation, see VIDULLI TORLO 2010.

[34] VIDULLI TORLO 2010: 253-254; CREVATIN and VIDULLI TORLO 2013: 58.

Giovanni Ianesich, who was a gardener in Egypt, sold to the Museum an amulet, oil lamps, some small alabaster and pottery vessels, carnelian gems and a Ptolemaic coin of Berenike, daughter of Ptolemy VIII.[35]

This 'drop-by-drop' acquisition of ancient objects can be regarded as a sign of affection by the citizens of Trieste for their native city. In some instances, accompanying letters are still preserved and there the donors state that they thought of how their objects could serve to dignify the city institutions, obviously in proportion to their means. The most evident example is the beginning of a letter by Renato Caroli (see below): '*Spero vorrà accettare l'oggetto che mi permetto mandarle per posta per il museo che lei dirige. E oso sperare che verrà ben gradito…*' (I hope you will accept the object I am sending by mail, for the museum you direct. And I dare hope it will be much appreciated. ...).[36] The most unusual aspect is that this feeling crosses the boundaries of social classes: not only members of aristocracy or bourgeoisie presented objects to the Museum, but also some representatives of the lower classes, like the gardener mentioned above.

A list of the most significant subsequent increments to the collection is given here in chronological order.[37]

- 21 May 1885 and 5 August 1887. Giuseppe de Pollo, a mechanic in Assiut, presented a fragment of a sandstone relief from the Ptolemaic temple in Philae (CMSA 12001), a fragment of a wooden anthropoid coffin of the 21st dynasty (CMSA 12009), a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris wooden figure (CMSA 31117), a wooden falcon statuette representing the god Sokar (CMSA 31063), a length of braided hair from a mummy (CMSA 31082) and a jasper ring (CMSA 30931).[38]
- 15 January 1887. Baron Pasquale Revoltella (see note 2) granted as a permanent loan the objects he had brought back from Egypt after the journey he made there in 1862. They consist of 20 scarabs and seals and six bronze statuettes. The latter, initially considered as originals of good quality, were later recognised as forgeries after the removal of their patina.[39]
- 31 May 1887. Sir Richard Francis Burton, the famous translator of 'A Thousand and One Nights' and first European pilgrim to Mecca, who was also British consul in Trieste from 1872 to his death in 1890,[40] donated eight erotic figurines,[41] an amulet representing the dwarf god Pataikos (CMSA 30940)[42], a small baboon statuette (CMSA 30944)[43] and a flat box containing 51 Neolithic silex artefacts from Helwan.[44]
- 2 January 1903. Baron A. d'Alber Glanstatten presented the Museum with an empty white sandstone anthropoid coffin of the 26th dynasty (CMSA 12087). It belonged to the lady Asetreshty, daughter of a certain Psamtek, whose titles are expressed only by the hieroglyph for 'boat', and of the lady Hedebesiretbinet.[45]
- 12 February and 31 March 1908, and 23 December 1912. Renato Caroli, who lived in Egypt in those years at least, sent to the Museum a Coptic embroidered cloth (CMSA 12089),[46] a bronze element of a crown representing a uraeus with two vultures (CMSA 12069)[47] and a wooden statuette of the jackal Wepawet (CMSA 12012).[48]
- 15 February 1916. Vittorio and Giuseppina Oblasser bequeathed their collection of antiquities, which included 209 Egyptian artefacts.
- 1919. Antonio Leiss (or Alisi) sent to the Museum a wooden crate containing a series of Islamic oil lamps and potsherds from Cairo, dating from the 10th to the 16th century. In a letter that bears the date of 17 November, he tells how he was used to spend his Sundays with his wife collecting these 'colourful sherds' from the rubbish heaps in the outskirts of Cairo. He lived there from 1911 to 1916, as an employee of the insurance company *Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà*, but then enrolled in the Italian army (he was an Austrian citizen) and fought in the battle of Caporetto.[49]
- 1926. One of the directors of the Natural History Museum of Trieste, Dr. Carlo de Marchesetti, bequeathed to the Museum his collection of

[35] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 23. The only inventoried object so far is the amulet, a Harpocrates figurine (CMSA 30589).

[36] Quote from Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 24.

[37] As resulting from the examination of the Museum's entry registers, where acquired objects are listed together under their entry date.

[38] The first four objects are published in Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013, respectively at pages 34, 109-110, 132-133, 113. For the braided hair and the jasper ring see Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 23 fn. 57.

[39] Dolzani 1949; Dolzani 1974; Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 18-21.

[40] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 23.

[41] Two ithyphallic statuettes (CMSA 11851 and 11852), two ithyphallic faience amulets (CMSA 11849 and 30962), a fragment of an 'erotic group' (CMSA 11850) and three examples of 'Baubo' statuettes (CMSA 11853, 11854 and 11864). All of these correspond quite well with the interests of the man; see Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 234-235.

[42] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 211.

[43] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 47.

[44] The box has been inventoried with the single number CMSA 11717. The lithics had been gathered in Helwan by a certain M.A. Lombard, who was there in 1877, and who presented them to Burton in the same year. Burton 1879: 301. The copy of the article in the Museum Library bears a handwritten note, next to the paragraph about the episode, that confirms the lithics are those now in the Museum.

[45] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 107-108.

[46] In the accompanying letter quoted above, Caroli states he had found the cloth in Aswan in 1905, 'opposite the Nilometer of Elephantine' in what appeared to be the tomb of a Coptic priest. The cloth, namely the embroidered rim of a tunic, was still attached to the garment, which literally dissolved as soon as the body was moved. Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 24-25, 243.

[47] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 49.

[48] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 112.

[49] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 250.

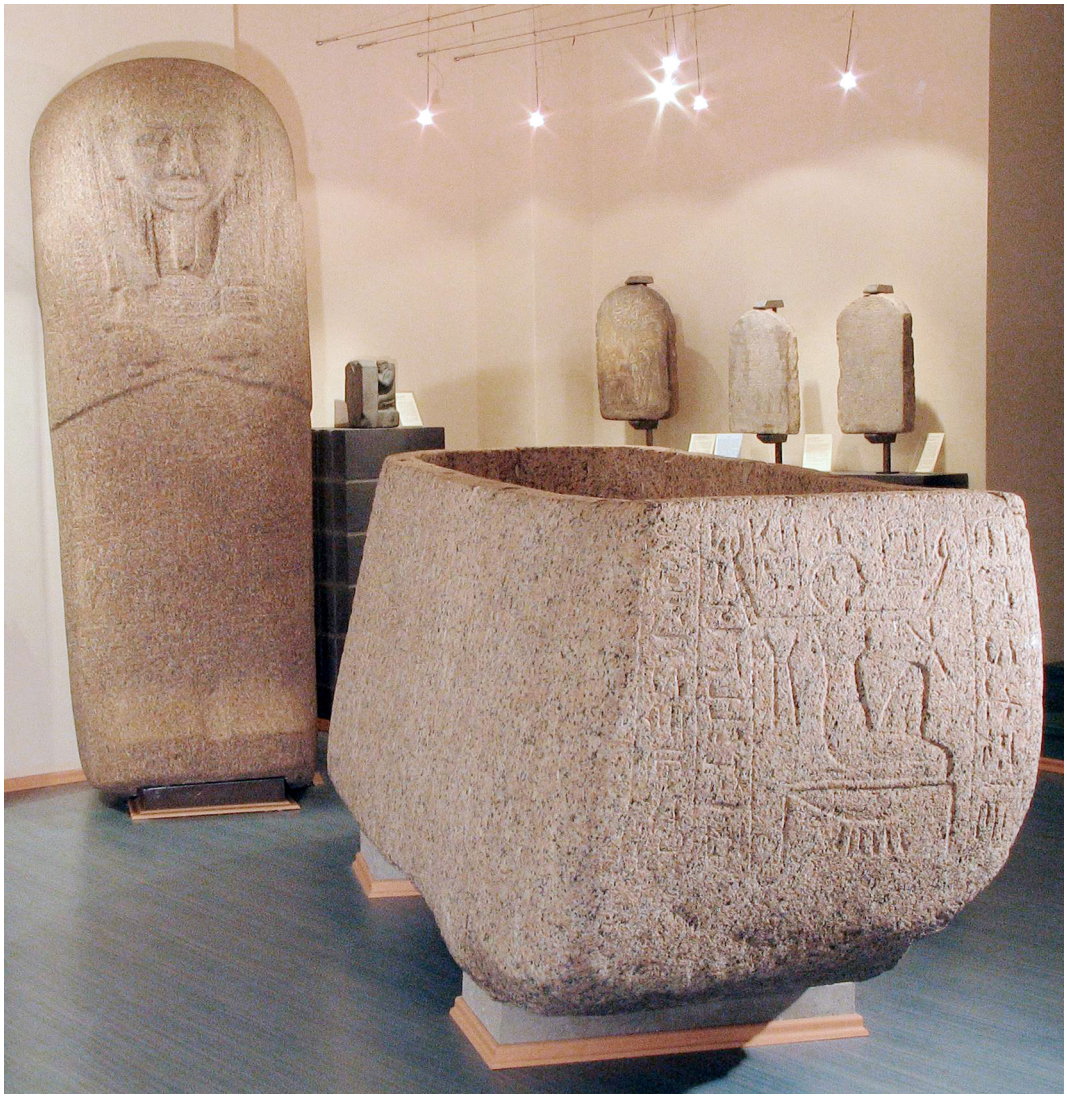

Fig. 150. Red granite sarcophagus of the royal scribe, fan bearer to the right of the king, chief of king's treasury Sutynakht, 19th dynasty. Trieste: Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, 12088.

more than 500 silex artefacts from Egypt.[50] He had gathered them mostly in Deir el-Bahari during his journey in Egypt in 1898.[51] No trace of this material has been found until now in the Museums of Trieste.

- 15 March 1950. The red granite sarcophagus of the royal scribe, fan-bearer to the right of the king, chief of the treasury of the lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sutynakht is donated to the Museum by the Panfili family (CMSA 12088; Fig. 150). The sarcophagus, dating to the 19th dynasty, has a bizarre story. It was left as a guarantee for payment by the captain of a British ship that had to stop because of damage in the shipyard owned by the Panfili family. The captain never returned, so the family had to keep the sarcophagus for a hundred years (as established by the pledge agreement) and could not sell it either to Ferdinand Maximilian of Habsburg, who had offered a conspicuous sum, or to the Egyptian Museum in Turin (as they tried to do). As soon as the term of agreement expired, the family rid itself of the 'encumbrance' and eventually donated it to the Museum.[52]

So much for the history of the collection. In more recent years, the Museum has decided to repay the citizenship for the contributions to its formation. In the year 2000,

[50] MARCHESETTI 1903: IX.

[51] MOSER 2015a: 302-303. Of Marchesetti's journey to Egypt, the Museum has a handwritten diary and a series of pictures, taken during the journey itself. One photograph is of particular interest, because it depicts an archaeological stratification, where one layer is marked as being the one where lithics were found. In the diary, then, Marchesetti writes that during a visit to Eduard Naville's excavations in Deir el-Bahari he had been brought by the Swiss Egyptologist in a small side valley where he could find prehistoric silex objects.

[52] CREVATIN and VIDULLI TORLO 2013: 66-73.

a new display of the Egyptian rooms was designed by the curator, Dr. Marzia Vidulli Torlo, allowing about 90% of the objects to be exhibited to the public.

Four years later, the Natural History Museum granted as a permanent loan the other ancient Egyptian artefacts it still possessed. These included two crocodile mummies (inv. E2 and E3),[53] a Ptolemaic mummy pectoral (inv. E5),[54] a Roman mummy pectoral (inv. E6),[55] a late 21st dynasty coffin of an anonymous priestess (inv. E4; Fig. 151),[56] and a funerary ensemble of the 22nd dynasty of the incense-bearer of the temple of Amun Pasenenhor (inv. E1; Fig. 152).[57]

In addition to that, another permanent loan was made by the same Museum on 16 December 2011. This time 80 Palaeolithic silex artefacts were transferred (inv. E10 to E89). They are part of a donation to the Natural History Museum made in 1910 by Georg Schweinfurth.[58] The source relating to this donation[59] states the lot altogether consisted of 199 objects. After some research done by the writer at the Natural History Museum, it has been possible to locate another 114 lithic instruments in the storerooms, thus getting very close to the original number. The next step will be to unite the two groups, in order to allow a detailed study of the material.

Due to this division, it was not possible to include this late acquisition in the general catalogue of the Egyptian collection, which was at last published in December 2013, filling a considerable scientific gap.

Concurrently with the publication of the catalogue, the newest Museum initiative to enhance the study of the collection was commenced. The pyramidion of the funerary priest Nesnebuhotep (CMSA 12008;[60] Fig. 153) has been chosen as a sample for a 3D scan using a new methodology devised by Idea Prototipi and Arsenal s.r.l. and called TiQu.[61] It is based on pulsating light reflected by the interior wall of an inflatable container, captured by a special camera. It is suitable for medium-sized objects

Fig. 151. Coffin of anonymous priestess, the end of 19th dynasty. Trieste: Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, E4.

[53] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 261.
[54] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 116-117.
[55] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 118. See also the paper by Asja Müller in this volume.
[56] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 87-91.
[57] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 18, 92-106. The funerary ensemble consists of a still wrapped mummy, its cartonnage case and wooden anthropoid coffin.
[58] In Moser 2015a: 304-305, the writer presumed that thirty of them belonged actually to the lithics found by Marchesetti in Deir el-Bahari, but further research (see *infra*) has led to believe that all of them belong in fact to the Schweinfurth donation.
[59] Marchesetti 1913. It is confirmed by small paper labels in German glued to the silex objects, describing their provenances. The latter seem to correspond to the areas where Schweinfurth was active. The link of Schweinfurth to Trieste is easily explained: he was a friend of the above-mentioned Dr. de Marchesetti, who – as said – was the director of Natural History Museum in those years. Moser 2015a: 304.
[60] Crevatin and Vidulli Torlo 2013: 59-63.
[61] The name consists in the initials of the word in the Italian idiomatic expression '*tale e quale*', which means 'one and the same'.

Fig. 152. Cartonnage case of the incense-bearer of Amun temple Pasenenhor, 22nd dynasty. Trieste: Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, E1.

Fig. 153. Pyramidion of the funerary priest Nesnebuhotep, Ptolemaic Period. Trieste: Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte, 12008.

(from 20-30 cm to human size), is easily transportable and the result is an astonishingly faithful three-dimensional virtual model that can easily be sent via email. Provided the receiver has the necessary software, he or she would be able to manipulate the model, adding or removing colours, changing light effects and moving the model in any direction, as if handling the original.

It goes without saying that such models would be an excellent substitute for the pictures of objects normally used by scholars in their researches. The model has also been reproduced at a 1:2 scale using a 3D printer, in order to have an object that can be handled by the visually impaired and is more faithful to the original than the replicas usually available for such purposes.

This is, of course, only the first step in an experimental programme that will hopefully tranport the Museum into the future.

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Excavating an Archive. The Borgia Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN)

Stefania Mainieri

University of Napoli 'L'Orientale', Naples, Italy

Abstract: *As a part of my PhD project on the Egyptian Collection of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN), I am undertaking a thorough study of its history through archival documents from museums and libraries in Italy and abroad. I am focusing especially on the Stefano Borgia Collection, one of two major groups of Egyptian Collections of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, sold by Camillo Borgia to Gioacchino Murat in 1814. The consultation, the study and the comparison of all the ancient documents has allowed me to identify in some cases the provenance of some finds both from 18th and 19th century excavations in Italy (Villa di Adriano in Tivoli or San Paolo Fuori le Mura) and from antiquities market, and to reconstruct both the history and the manner in which the Egyptian Collection was scattered, not only during the transfer from Velletri to Napoli but also in the Museo Borbonico (Bourbon Museum) itself due to the internal movement of finds in other collections during the 19th century.*

Keywords: *Stefano Borgia, Egyptian collection, Georg Zoëga, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN)*

In this paper, I would like to illustrate a synthesis of the results of my PhD research on the Egyptian Collection of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN),[1] which is part of a joint project between the Soprintendenza Archeologica of Napoli and the Università degli Studi di Napoli 'l'Orientale' (UNIOR). I have conducted a thorough study of the collection through archival documents from museums and libraries in Italy and abroad. The consultation and the study of these documents has provided and continues to provide fundamental information about the nature and the origin of many objects, as well as on their history between the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Egyptian collection of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli comprises about 2,500 objects and is formed from different core collections.The first one is the Borgia collection created during the 18th century by the Borgia family, especially Stefano Borgia, in their residence in Velletri, and then sold to Joachim Murat, king of Napoli, in 1814 by Camillo Borgia[2]. Another is the Picchianti collection, sold in 1827 by the nineteenth century explorer, who, according to his own words, travelled along the Nile valley up to Dongola in Nubia.[3] Finally between 1842 and 1917 some lesser groups of artifacts with various provenances were added. Among these monuments are finds from excavations in Campania that testify to the antiquity and the continuity of relationships between Egypt and Campania since ancient times.[4]

The Collection was established in 1821, at the behest of the director of the Museo Borbonico, Michele Arditi, after the purchase of Cardinal Borgia's substantial collection of Egyptian artifacts that filled a gap in the holdings of the Museum and increased its prestige in Europe. Some Egyptian artifacts were already in the Museum before the purchase of the oldest collection. These included the Farnese naophor[5] – a Late Period statue inherited by Charles III from his mother Elisabetta Farnese in 1731 – and other finds from excavations in the Flegrea and Vesuviana areas. These were added to the Borgia collection, and in 1822, the first inventory was made and the *Portico dei Monumenti Egizj* (*Portico of Egyptian monuments*) was opened in one of the museum's east wings, inspired by a new and innovative idea for that time period, namely, the chronological sequence of ancient civilisations.[6]

Over the years, the Collection was enlarged with materials from excavations in Campania and donations, including a major collection gathered in Egypt by Giuseppe Picchianti and a smaller collection of Pharaonic objects donated by Schnars of Hamburg. This increase led to the proposing of two new displays: one in 1848 by Paolo Emilio Imbriani, the Minister of Education, who suggested an organisation according to provenance, date and object type, but keeping the different collections separate, and the other by the keeper of the Egyptian Collection, Luigi Vassalli, in 1861.[7] Based on indications contained in Ippolito Rossellini's writings, Vassalli

[1] Barocas 1983: 9-15; Cozzolino *et al.* 1989; Cozzolino *et al.* 1991: 341-345; Borriello *et al.* 2000.
[2] Nocca 2001.
[3] Cozzolino *et al.* 1989: 153-156.
[4] Cozzolino *et al.* 1989: 133-137.
[5] Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1068. Cozzolino *et al.* 1989: 9-10, 11 fig.1 tav. II.
[6] Archivio di stato Napoli mino. Aff. int. inv. II cont 1984 unità 157.
[7] Archivio Storico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli (henceforth ASSAN), IVB, 1034.

suggested a subdivision of materials into historical, civil, religious, funerary and Graeco-Roman.[8]

These proposals, however, were never implemented. The Collection was reorganised only in 1864, by Giuseppe Fiorelli, who reinstalled it in the first basement floor of the east wing of the building, where the artefacts remained until the end of 2007. The choice of the basement was motivated by the character of the rooms, whose vaults gave them a crypt-like appearance that was thought to be in keeping with the style of the monuments. This set-up on the one hand preserved the spirit of the original exhibition, but on the other it highlighted the funerary character of the collection through the use of vaulted rooms and suitable decoration, reflecting a typical nineteenth and twentieth-century concept also found in other major European museums.

In 1983 a joint project between the *Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli e Caserta* and the chair of Egyptology of the Istituto Universitario 'L'Orientale'di Napoli led first to an exhibition entitled *Civiltà dell'Antico Egitto in Campania (The Civilization of Ancient Egypt in Campania)*[9]and then to a complete new cataloguing of the Egyptian Collection and a new installation, inaugurated on the 14th of December 1989.[10]

Unlike earlier installations, this one emphasised the history of the collection, highlighting the differences between the 18th and 19th century groups of objects. The two main cores - the Borgia collection and the Picchianti collection – display different tastes and different approaches to ancient Egypt by Western culture: the former reflects the interests of an erudite personality (that of Stefano Borgia), during the age of the Enlightenment, while the latter reflects on the one hand the interests of the traveller Giuseppe Picchianti, who collected antiquities in Egypt for personal profit and on the other, the desire of national states to bring prestige to their cultural institutions.

In 1989 the first and complete catalogue of the whole collection was produced in which priority was given to the main Egyptological information. The Archives were consulted only for the purpose of attributing an inventory number and the original collection provenance to the artefacts. Since 2007 the collection has been closed while the rooms and showcases were being refurbished. The *Soprintendenza Archeologica* has taken the opportunity to completely reorganise the collection and draw up new exhibition plan based on more didactic criteria in order to reach a wider audience, in line with current museological standards.

My study began with a consultation of museum documents kept in the Archivio Storico of the MANN that provided interesting information about the history of the artefacts inside the museum itself. Among these documents, I have consulted the ancient inventories of the Egyptian collection:

- the Arditi inventory, undertaken in 1822[11]
- the Sangiorgio inventory, dated 1849[12]
- and Fiorelli, the general inventory, produced after 1870[13]

By comparing these original inventories of the Museum, it was possible to understand that the count of objects in the collection changed from the first inventory to the last. This difference is not linked to the inclusion of new finds, but to several internal changes occurring between 1822 and 1870 that can be attributed to three main operations:

1. the elimination of some decaying organic materials: for instance, two mummies of children with their coffins from the Borgia collection[14] were already decaying at the end of 1800;
2. the transfer of some finds to other collections that were not considered as relevant to Egyptian culture, such as a small leaden board[15] that was transferred in 1849 in the Arabic Collection or a sistrum handle[16] that was moved to the hall of *Bronzi minuti*;
3. groups of objects originally allocated the same inventory number, perhaps because they belonged to a single assemblage, were broken up. In the second half of 19th century, each object was catalogued as an independent find involving a gradual loss of their original grouping. An interesting case is that of a Borgia female coffin[17] and 10 cartonnages.[18]

By comparing the inventories, it was also possible to identify the presence of some errors, now partially corrected, linked to:

[8] COZZOLINO *et al.* 1989: 1-8.
[9] *Civiltà dell'Antico Egitto in Campania* 1983.
[10] COZZOLINO *et al.* 1989.
[11] ARDITI 1822. ASSAN Antico Inventario no. 12.
[12] SANGIORGIO 1849. ASSAN Antico Inventario no. 85.
[13] Fiorelli Inventario Generale (1884).
[14] Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1090 and 1091.
[15] SANGIORGIO 1849 (ASSAN Antico Inventario no. 85) inv. number 205.
[16] Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 2390.
[17] Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 2342-2346. COZZOLINO *et al.* 1989: 687.1-7.1 fig. 10.2.
[18] Mask (Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1366), apron (Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1105), collar (Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1357), inscription (Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, number 1358), Duamutef (Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1359 and 1364), Isis (Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1360 and 1362), Nephthys (Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1361), Nephtys (Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1363), Amset (Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1365). PIRELLI and MAINIERI 2015: 151-159.

- the absence of the old inventory number;
- an erroneous transcription of the old inventory number;
- the assignment of the same find to different collections.

For this last point, it was useful and essential to consult the *Catalogo dei Monumenti egiziani esistenti a Velletri nel Museo Borgiano, composto e ordinato dal Sign. Giorgio Zoëga, dotto danese nel mese di ottobre del 1784*[19]*(Catalog of the Egyptian Monuments existing in Velletri in the Museum Borgiano, composed and organized by Sign. Giorgio Zoëga, Danish scholar in October 1784)* which allowed us to identify more of Borgia's finds. I have consulted both the unpublished copies of this catalogue. The first is kept in the Royal Library in Copenhagen,[20] and is composed of unbound sheets with the detailed description of 628 objects partially sorted in ascending order on the basis of the inventory number. Among the pages some more leaves were inserted with drawings, copies of the hieroglyphic texts and several notes. The other copy is kept at the Biblioteca Comunale di Velletri.[21] Unlike the Copenhagen version, it is composed of 99 bound pages, numbered and well organised, containing only the descriptions of the objects and, sometimes, their sizes.

A third version of the same catalogue exists, compiled by Camillo Borgia in 1814 and then published by the Italian Ministry of Education in *Documenti Inediti per servire alla Storia dei Musei d'Italia* (*Unpublished Documents to serve the Italian History of the Museums*) in 1878.[22] It is based on Zoëga's catalogue but it only includes the artefacts which were sold to the Museum of Napoli. I undertook a preliminary comparison between these three catalogues, which confirmed their perfect match both numerically and descriptively. Then I cross-checked the three Zoëga catalogues with the three original inventories of the Museo Archeologico di Napoli to facilitate concordance, identification and correction.

This archival work was fundamental to reconstruct information of the objects in the Egyptian collection that have been lost during their long history, both during the transfer from Velletri to Napoli and in the Museo Borbonico itself. The Camillo Borgia catalogue, in fact, only includes 586 objects. This means that 43 artefacts are missing from the original catalogue. Most are amulets of gods and goddesses, among which is a divine triad with Harpocrates, Isis and Nephthys given by Stanislao Poniatowski, grandson of the last king of Poland.[23] The

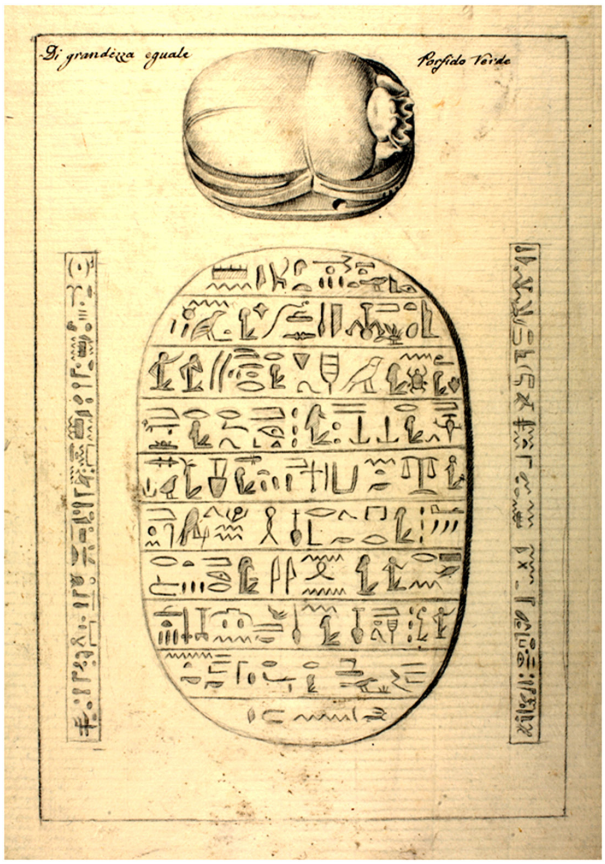

Fig. 154. The heart scarab of Aset-m-kheb (Daressy 1920) belonging to the Egyptian collection of Stefano Borgia in Velletri, current location unknown. Lithography kept at the Thorvaldsens Museum. Artist unknown, pre-1900. © Thorvaldsens Museum.

group also includes small bronze statuettes and thirteen scarabs, among which are three heart scarabs (Fig. 154) with hieroglyphs[24] and one with human limbs.[25] Unfortunately the fate of these finds is still unknown, scattered after the death of Stefano Borgia and perhaps now in private collections.

The 1989 catalogue of the Egyptian collection records only 461 objects as belonging to the Borgia collections, that is, 125 artefacts fewer than the list of Camillo. As I said above, the explanation is that some of them were transferred to other collections, but others were found in the storerooms. These latter objects include:

- Nine small erotic statuettes that because of being 'obscene', were inventoried in the Catalogue of 'Oggetti Pornografici', kept out of the public eye and which lay forgotten until 2000, when the collection of 'erotic' items in the Gabinetto

[19] NKS357b fol. III I. I would like to express my gratitude to Daniela Picchi, curator of the Egyptian section of the Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna, for involving me in the project for the study of Zoëga's manuscripts. Pirelli and Mainieri 2015: 151-159.
[20] NKS357b fol. III I.
[21] BCV IV 21.
[22] Borgia 1814.
[23] NKS357b fol. IIII.
[24] NKS357b fol. IIII. Zoëga inv. number. 147, 347, 605. This scarab was studied and published by Daressy in 1820 thanks to a drawing in *De origine et usu obeliscorum ad Pium Sextum pontificem maximum auctore Giorgio Zoega Dano,* Romae.
[25] NKS357b fol. IIII. Zoëga inv. number. 242.

Segreto in the Museo Archeologico di Napoli was reorganised.[26]

- Further small objects like bronze statuettes, amulets of gods such Osiris of Canopus, Isis, Anubis, a head of motherhood, but also shabtis, bronzes and a group of non-Egyptian finds. These objects have been collected in a database, with other unpublished materials, and organised on the base of the inventory number, and photographed, measured and described. Now a typological classification and the creation of a schedule for a new and integral catalogue of the Egyptian collection is in progress.

But the most important results concern the provenance of some of Borgia's objects. Due to the origin and nature of the collection, we have only basic and vague information about the provenance and context of most of the artefacts, especially when no inscription is present. In his manuscript in Velletri Zoëga writes: *Tutti i pezzi segnati in questo catalogo provengono immediatamente dall'Egitto, toltine i seguenti numeri, acquistati a Roma e a Velletri (all the pieces recorded in this catalogue come from Egypt immediately, except the following numbers purchased in Roma and Velletri*).[27] Now we are able to establish that 53 exhibits come from Lazio as follows:

- from the antiquities market, such as the Horus stela[28] studied by Kircher in *ex ergasterion Barberino*;[29]
- as gifts to Cardinal Borgia from other collectors, for instance the Middle Kingdom statue of Nakht[30] donated by the engraver Carlo Antonini;
- older chance excavations in Roma and Velletri.

The first group of artefacts from Roma and Velletri is composed of six *lastra campana*[31]used as panelling on public and private buildings since the 1st century BC. These *lastra* are four small fragmentary blocks with Nilotic landscapes and two *sime*[32] with representation of a female sphinx with Bes recently studied by Pellino.[33] The scene on one block with a sphinx adjacent to a central figure was popular during the Augustean-Claudianus Period and comparable examples come from the villa of Voconio Pollione in Marino[34] and also near Palatino.[35]

Fig. 155. Egyptising sima from Velletri with representation of a female sphinx. Zoëga number 151 (NKS 357b fol III.I) Napoli: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 21505 (?).

The provenance of one block from Velletri is interesting[36] (Fig. 155). The Archaeological Museum of Velletri has various Egyptianising *sime* entered as part of the Pellegrini Collection, and this is likely to have come from the area around the site of Madonna degli Angeli /Colle Caldaraicina in the area of the imperial villa of Ottavi.[37] On these covering blocks are represented a palmette, the goddess Hathor and a crouched male sphinx.[38]The chronology of these blocks is the same, but stylistically there are some clear differences like the sex of the subjects and in some formal features. Nevertheless, it is possible that the two different types of blocks come from the same site and cover different parts of the same villa.

The second large group is formed of four terracotta handle-ornaments for lamps from Roma,[39] without any specific provenance, dated to the 2nd to 1st century BC. Because of their dimensions, larger than Egyptian local products,[40] and their subjects – Isis and Serapis rising from a calyx and placed closely together about to kiss[41] (Fig. 156) – they could be considered an 'Italian version' of an Egyptian original.[42] This type of handle ornaments were actually popular in Roma during the Imperial Period and are never found in Egypt. These lamps are present in several museum collections but they come from sale long ago so their exact origin is unknown.[43]

[26] COZZOLINO 2002: 63-78; GUERRINI *et al.* 2001: 159-167.
[27] BCV IV22.
[28] Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 1008. COZZOLINO *et al.* 1989: 107-109, 11.7 tav. IV.
[29] NKS 357b fol. IIII.
[30] Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 983. COZZOLINO *et al.* 1989: 42, 14 tav. II.
[31] Ancient Roman terracotta reliefs named after the Italian collector Giampietro Campana, who first published these reliefs in 1842.
[32] The upturned edge of a roof which acts as a gutter. CERCHIAI *et al.*2002: p. 285.
[33] PELLINO 2006: 60-62 VIII.4 VIII.5 VIII.6 Tav. XIX Cat. VIII.4 - VIII.5 Tav. XX Cat. VIII.6 fig. 1-2.
[34] RIZZO 1976/77: 5-93.
[35] CARAVALE 1996: 139-144.
[36] Zoëga inv. number 151 - NKS 357b fol.IIII; Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 21505 (?). PELLINO 2006: 60-61 VIII.4 Tav. XIX Cat. VIII.4.
[37] CECCARINI *et al.*2006: 109-137.
[38] PETRILLI2006: 141-151.
[39] Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 256, 258, 270, and 892.
[40] An example is another *ansa* in Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 296. TRAN TAM TINH 1973: 177 B-23. fig. 174.
[41] Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 256.
[42] BAILEY 1980: 396; PODVIN 2011: 76-77.
[43] BAILEY1980: 398 - Q 1446 Q1447 Q 1448; CAVALIER *et al.* 2011: 103

Fig. 156. Terracotta handle-ornaments with Isis and Serapis rising from a calyx and placed closely together about to kiss. Napoli: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 256.

Fig. 157. Base of a granite statue (Napoli: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 888) found during the excavation of the foundations of the Locanda all'Insegna di Augusto near St. Martin Church in Velletri.

Another interesting object is *una base di una statua in granito* (*a base of a granite statue)*[44] (Fig. 157) found, in Zoëga's own words, *scavando le fondamenta della nuova locanda all'insegna di Augusto presso la Chiesa di San Martino* (*during the excavation of the foundations of the Locanda all'Insegna di Augusto near St. Martin Church in Velletri)*.[45] This structure was opened in 1787 and so perhaps the base came to light during the building. Unfortunately, other Egyptian materials from this area are unknown, past excavations in the area having just unearthed clay material dated to 17th to 18th century. However, the recent discovery of some Roman Period structures in the area could give us more information.[46]

At least two of the Borgia objects in MANN come from the Villa di Adriano in Tivoli: a head of a king (?) dated to the Ptolemaic Period[47] and a bas-relief[48] (Fig. 158). Regarding this latter object, not yet found in the MANN storerooms, we have more information from *Memorie per le Belle Arti - Maggio 1788* where it is recorded that it was found by some peasants who were working in the country near Villa di Adriano.[49] It arrived to Roma, were it was purchased by Mr. Alamanno Ceccarini Capotruppa de' Cavalleggeri Pontifici. According to Zaccaria Mari, archaeologist of the *Soprintendenza Archeologica* of Lazio and supervisor of the excavation at Villa Adriana, these objects could come from the borders of the villa, the *Antinoeion* and the *Palestra*.[50] These areas are the two focal points of the villa from which several fragments of bas-relief in Egyptian style originate: they show Antinous in front of seated gods[51] and several black marble statues like those found during the 17th and 18th centuries, now in the Museo Vaticano.[52] Moreover, recent excavations have brought to light new *aegyptiaca* like a headless sphinx found in 2006[53] and the zoomorphic statue of Horus found in 2014 that are

no. 51 (H117). Podvin 2011: 76-77 2.1.3.4 fig. 132-133.

44 Right foot and left heel, Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 888.

45 NKS357bfol.IIII.

46 Angle 2006: 167-180.

47 Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, 392. Cozzolino *et al.* 1991: 56 3.11.

48 NKS357bfol.IIII - Zoëga inv. number 331.

49 *Memorie per le Belle Arti - Maggio 1788* 1788 (vol IV): CI-CXII.

50 Mari 2010a: 153-171; Mari 2010b: 7-37.

51 Mari 2010b: 32 fig. 16.

52 Napoli: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, Priest inv. no. 22817 the god Ptah inv. no. 22815, Osiris-Antinous inv. no. 36464.

53 Mari 2010a:164 fig. 19; Mari 2010b:36 fig. 25.

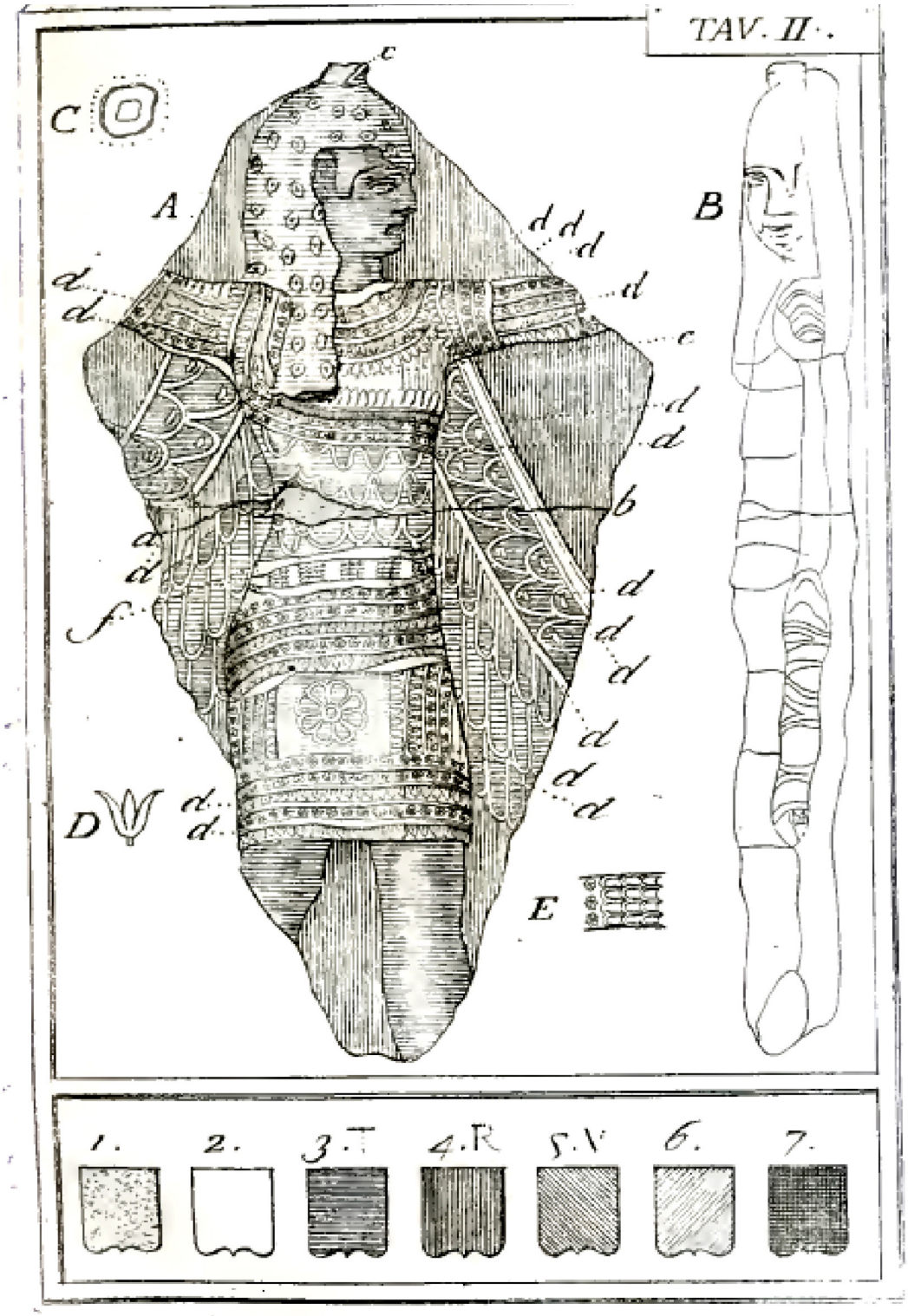

Fig. 158. Fragmented bas-relief found in Villa di Adriano a Tivoli (Zoëga num. 331 - NKS 357b fol. III.I). Current location unknown. Lithography from Memoria delle belle Arti - Maggio 1788.

changing the former interpretation of these structures, especially the *Palestra*, which is now considered a cult area for Egyptian gods.[54]

Other materials from Roma are said by Zoëga to be:

- *Parte dell'antichità d'un portico avendo in fronte le lettere d'elegante carattere e dagli ornati rilevati nel piano inferiore che veniva ad essere soffitto. [...] ornato d'una insula osirica ossia*

[54] *Tibursuperbum* [http://www.tibursuperbum.it/ita/monumenti/villa adriana/Horus.htm]

birretta adorna d'una doppia pennacchiera, un disco e due corna sopra cui s'alzano due serpi con globi sopra la testa. Il lavoro è di mediocre eleganza e pare di tempi piuttosto buoni. Trovato vicino al colosseo avanti i granari sotto l'esquilino;[55]

- *tavola quadrata ornata di serpi, uccelli ed altri simboli egizzi, rilevati nell'incavo all'uso egizziano.[...] Il sasso è stato scavato vicino a S. Paolo fuor delle mura*.[56]

Unfortunately, these last two finds from Roma have not yet been located in the museum, but the research is still ongoing and these objects surely will add new information on the Egyptian cults in Italy and increase our knowledge of their cult sites, as in the case of the Villa of Adriano in Tivoli.

The research is still very much ongoing, but the integrated study of archival documents in the MANN and the works of Zöega is giving us new and interesting information, especially about the Borgia collection, and it will also help to offer new criteria for the exhibition of the Egyptian collection in Napoli expected to be open on 7th October 2016.[57]

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[55] NKS357bfol.IIII - Zoëga inv. number 250.

[56] NKS357bfol.IIII - Zoëga inv. number 235.

[57] On 3rd June 2016 the author completed her PhD project (the dissertation is in progress) and on 7th October 2016 the Egyptian collection of the MANN was reopened to the public. Part of the finds quoted in the text are now exhibited in different rooms and are partially published in a short guide of the exhibition (Guide to the Egyptian collection in the MANN, Mondadori Electa S.p.A., Milano, 2016, 175 pp.).

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SECTION 5:
HISTORICAL STUDIES

The Neolithic Period in Lower Egypt – Research Problems and Priorities

Agnieszka Mączyńska

Poznań Archaeological Museum, Poznań, Poland

Abstract: *In the archaeology of Lower Egypt, the term Neolithic is used to encompass the period when the first farming and animal breeding societies appeared in this region. Undoubtedly a new form of subsistence is the main factor distinguishing this period from the preceding Epipalaeolithic. Additional aspects of the Lower Egyptian Neolithic include the introduction of pottery and a sedentary lifestyle. However, the emergence of the first agricultural communities in Lower Egypt has still not been fully explained and needs to be studied in detail. Although archaeological data from this early period are scarce and mostly come from excavations started in the first part of the 20th century, the research on Neolithic societies in Lower Egypt appears to have great significance for understanding the development of the whole Egyptian civilisation from the 6th millennium BC to the emergence of the Egyptian state at the end of the 4th and in the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC. This paper focuses on some problems and priorities in the research on this period: artificial cultural divisions, origins of farming and herding, and relations of Lower Egypt with other regions – the Southern Levant and the eastern Sahara.*

Keywords: *Neolithic, Lower Egypt, domesticates, interregional contacts, Southern Levant, Sahara*

1. Introduction

In the second half of the 6th millennium BC new subsistence practices – farming and herding – reached Lower Egypt. The emergence of grains of domesticated plants and bones of domesticated animals on sites in northern Egypt indicates the beginning of a new period in the prehistory of Egypt – the Neolithic. Although the introduction of domesticated plants and animals is still an important research issue in many disciplines all over the world, in Egyptian archaeology, this problem has attracted little attention for many years. The state of research on the Neolithic occupation in Lower Egypt is based mostly on data gathered during excavation works commenced in the first part of the 20th century, and most hypotheses on the Neolithic proposed by researchers over 50 years ago, continue to be generally accepted and cited.[1] Consequently, the Neolithic, next to the Epipalaeolithic, is still the least known period in the whole history of Egyptian civilisation. Fortunately, more and more researchers working on Prehistoric materials are aware of the poor state of research on the period in question. It is worth mentioning new projects relating to the Neolithic in Lower Egypt that have been launched over the last couple of years. Although they are still ongoing, the data gathered so far seems to be promising for future research on this period. These projects include the excavations at Sais[2], the Fayum project[3] and the TOPOI project 'The Neolithic in the Nile Delta'[4]. The EES excavations in Sais are important not only because of the new Merimde materials, but also because of the presence of the Chalcolithic Lower Egyptian culture materials overlaying those of Merimde, thus indicating a possible link between the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic in Lower Egypt.[5] The UCLA-RUG-UOA Fayum project focuses on obtaining a better understanding of the Neolithic occupation on the shores of Lake Quarun through more complex research on environment, chronology, economy, settlement and mobility. The results presented so far show a great variability in environment, subsistence strategies and settlement pattern in this area, indicating that the prehistory of Fayum looks more complex than was assumed after the excavations of G. Caton-Thompson and E. Gardner.[6] The re-analyses of old Merimde assemblages together with new surveys and excavations in the vicinity of the Merimde site undertaken by J. M. Rowland and G. Tassie from Freie Universität Berlin could also bring answers to many unanswered questions concerning the Neolithic occupation in Lower Egypt.[7]

The aim of this paper is to present the main problems and priorities in research on the Neolithic in Lower Egypt in order to re-incorporate them into discussions on the Predynastic Egypt and to indicate the most important directions for further research. Studies on the Neolithic

[1] i.e. Krzyżaniak 1977; Hoffman 1979; Midant-Reynes 1992; 2003; Wetterström 1993; Ciałowicz 1999; Wengrow 2006.

[2] *Egyptian Exploration Society*, s.v. 'The Delta Survey' [http://www.ees.ac.uk/research/delta-survey.html]; *Durham University Community*, s.v. Penelope Wilson, 'Overview' [https://community.dur.ac.uk/penelope.wilson/overview.html], access on 2. 09. 2015.

[3] *Fayum Project* [http://www.archbase.com/fayum/project.htm], access on 21. 07. 2014.

[4] *Excellence Cluster Topoi,* s.v. 'The Neolithic in the Nile Delta – New analysis of the evidence from the desert edge of the Western Nile Delta' [https://www.topoi.org/feature/the-neolithic-in-the-nile-delta/], access on 21. 07. 2014.

[5] Wilson *et al.* 2014.

[6] Holdaway *et al.* 2015; Phillipps and Holdaway 2015; Phillipps *et al.* 2015.

[7] Rowland 2015; Tassie 2015; Rowland and Tassie 2015.

Fig. 159. The Neolithic sites in Lower Egypt.

societies in Lower Egypt seem to be very important in the light of the development of the whole Egyptian civilisation. The Lower Egyptian Neolithic is part of the Predynastic Period.[8] In my opinion, this approach underlines a continuum of the cultural development of Lower Egypt from the 6th millennium BC to the emergence of the Egyptian state at the end of the 4th and in the beginning of 3rd millennium BC. The roots of the great Egyptian civilisation should be looked for in the Egyptian prehistory.

In my opinion, three main problems concerning the Neolithic in Lower Egypt should be revised. The first concerns the cultural situation in Lower Egypt and the current state of research on this subject. Human occupation of Lower Egypt in the 6th and 5th millennia BC was divided into four independent sections referred to as archaeological cultures, defined in terms of time and space. As this approach resulted in studying the specific units in a narrow context (paying little attention to their interrelations) and consequently in the present poor state of research, I decided to focus on this problem in the second part of this paper. Another research problem, presented in the third part of the paper, concerns the introduction of domesticated plants and animals into northern Egypt and the adaptation of farming and herding. This issue needs to be revised because the emergence of new ways of food production initiated

[8] For details see: MĄCZYŃSKA in press.

a long-term social, economic and political transformation leading to the rise of Egypt as a united state. The last problem – interregional contacts in the Lower Egyptian Neolithic – is presented in the fourth part of the paper. Evidence indicating the connections with neighbouring regions, together with its interpretation, is presented to show the importance of Levantine and Saharan elements in the foundation of the Egyptian state. In conclusions, I summarise all problems and priorities in Neolithic research in Lower Egypt and present the issues on which further research should focus.

2. Cultural division of the Lower Egyptian Neolithic

The history of research on the Lower Egyptian Neolithic began in the 1920s and 1930s, when new sites in Fayum, Merimde Beni Salame and Wadi Hof were discovered and excavated, providing new materials standing out from those known from other sites in Egypt (Fig. 159). For the first time, archaeological work on the northern shores of Lake Qarun provided remains of domesticated animals and grains of domesticated plants, indicating the presence of subsistence strategies other than hunting, gathering and fishing.[9] The presence of bones of domesticated cattle, sheep, goats and probably pigs and dogs, as well as grains of emmer wheat and hulled six row barley began to be quoted in the context of early agriculture in the Nile Valley and the Delta.

Another important Lower Egyptian site – Merimde Beni Salame, dated to the Neolithic – was also discovered in the 1920s. The research at Merimde Beni-Salame was carried out by H. Junker between 1928 and 1940.[10] In 1976 it was continued by Z. Hawass[11] and then from 1977 during five excavation seasons by J. Eiwanger[12]. Although H. Junker was aware of the early date of the Merimde site, the methodology of excavation works and publications contributed to the low scientific value of the results. Excavations carried out after the war according to modern archaeological standards allowed for detailed analyses of the assemblages and finally for the publication presenting the results of these studies.[13].

The site which gave rise to the identification of the el-Omari culture is located at the mouth of Wadi Hof, 3 km north of Helwan. It was excavated in the 1920s by Amin el-Omari and after his death the project was continued by Paul Bovier-Lapierre[14]. In 1943 F. Debono began another study that continued until 1952.[15] Initially, determining the relative chronology of the el-Omari culture was difficult. The site has been sometimes dated to Early Dynastic or Naqada I or II Periods,[16] but finally, thanks to C14 datings, the range of 4600-4400 BC was proposed for the occupation of the site and the unit's duration. Eventually, B. Mortensen and F. Debono placed it between the Merimde culture (contemporary to it to some extent) and the Lower Egyptian Chalcolithic.[17]

The Moerian, the youngest unit of the early Predynastic Period in Lower Egypt, was distinguished on the basis of Polish research in the region of Qasr el-Sagha. Although it is defined as a later stage of the Fayumian, its excavators believe it had a different origin, probably linked to the Epipalaeolithic tradition of the Sahara.[18] On the other hand, N. Shirai,[19] following K. Schmidt,[20] linked the Moerian flint assemblage to the Lower Egyptian Chalcolithic culture known from Maadi and Buto.

Importantly, our present knowledge of Lower Egyptian Neolithic societies has been influenced by the theoretical approach of early 20th century archaeologists who explored the first Neolithic sites in Egypt. One of the most common practices at that time was to distinguish archaeological cultures. As a result of such practices, the Neolithic occupation of Lower Egypt was dissected into four cultural units characterised by a limited quantity of available data. Nowadays the concept of an archaeological culture is widely discussed, criticised and treated as an anachronism, making the studies on prehistoric societies difficult.[21] In my opinion, the four Neolithic cultures of Lower Egypt represent different stages of the development of a single region-wide cultural tradition which changed through time and space, being probably transformed through day-to-day living and influenced by internal and external factors. Consequently, each culture had some common features of the Lower Egyptian cultural tradition as well as unique characteristics distinguishing it from the other cultures.[22] My research on this problem is still preliminary and I treat it as the first step in examining the still mysterious Neolithic Period. I am also aware that this hypothesis can be both disproved or confirmed with further study.

3. Origins of farming and herding in Lower Egypt

When attempting to reconsider the origin of Egyptian farming and herding, one needs to consider the 3500 years of delay between the introduction of domesticates in the southwest Asia and in Egypt. Although in the Middle Pre-Pottery Neolithic B Period farming diffused outside the Southern Levant onto the Jordan Plateau, the Negev and Sinai were still occupied by mobile hunter-

[9] Caton-Thompson and Gardner 1934.
[10] Junker 1929-40.
[11] Hawass *el al.* 1988: 32.
[12] Eiwanger 1984; Eiwanger 1988; Eiwanger 1992.
[13] Eiwanger 1984; Eiwanger 1988; Eiwanger 1992.
[14] Bovier-Lapierre 1926a; Bovier-Lapierre 1926b.
[15] Debono and Mortensen 1990.
[16] For details see Hoffman 1979: 194-195.
[17] Debono and Mortensen 1990: 81.
[18] Ginter and Kozłowski 1983: 70.
[19] Shirai 2010: 50.
[20] Schmidt 1993: 273.
[21] Roberts and Vander Linden 2011: 1-21.
[22] For details see Mączyńska in press.

gatherers. One theory explaining the limited spread of the new subsistence strategies points to the possible poor harvests on the arid area of both regions. For many years, climatic changes in the Southern Levant have been treated as one of the most important factors responsible for the spread of new subsistence strategies, and they have been associated with the emergence of farming and herding strategies in Egypt. The so-called 8.2 ky event in the Holocene could cause droughts and forced people to move east and south. J. Eiwanger[23] linked the origin of the Merimde culture to groups arriving from the east because of the droughts in southwest Asia around 7000 B.C, and the inhabitants of affected areas were forced to migrate to more humid regions. The first to reach Merimde were a kind of reconnaissance groups who came to the Delta in search for new inhabitable areas. Because of the favourable location of the areas surrounding Merimde (fertile valleys and desert pastures) they decided to establish a permanent settlement, in particular along the main bifurcation of the Nile, where the river's abundant resources, transportation and fertile silt-rich soils were easily available. Today, the dominant role of the arid event in the spread of farming and herding from southwest Asia is being gradually reduced by recent studies.[24] According to some researchers, the appearance of the new subsistence strategies in north-eastern Africa resulted from the introduction of domesticated ovicaprines in the southwest Asia and their spread into the Negev and Sinai.[25] In this hypothesis, the goat/sheep herding is treated as a kind of protection against the risk of poor harvest in areas unfavourable for farming. According to M. Rossignol-Strick,[26] the Holocene Climate Optimum caused the decrease of the arid area of Sinai and provided pasture for sheep and goats. Although evidence from the Negev and Sinai does not indicate directly if their inhabitants were hunter-herders who came from the farming parts of the southern Levant or nomads who had contacts with farmers in the Pottery Neolithic, this appearance of the herders of sheep and goat could be treated as a starting point in the process of farming and herding spreading into north-eastern Africa.[27]

It seems that successful adaptation of farming and herding in Lower Egypt is associated with local climate and environment conditions. This view was also confirmed during the research on the mid-Holocene climatic changes in north-eastern Africa. According to R. Phillipps *et al.,* the data from the Fayum indicates reliance on crops grown in winter.[28] Colder climatic conditions between 6700 and 5800 BC in northern Egypt linked to the high level of the Mediterranean winter cyclonic rainfall made it possible to use domesticates and to cultivate land. D. Wengrow *et al.* in their view of the Neolithic in the Nile Valley in a wider African context also suggest that special wet conditions allowed for treating domesticated plants as an addition to subsistence practices typical for the Fayum region.[29]

The evidence of the first farming communities in northern Egypt is dated to the second part of the 6th millennium BC and comes from the Fayum region.[30] The prevailing view in the literature is that agriculture and herding in Lower Egypt were adapted from southwest Asia.[31] The proximity of these two regions and the fact that domesticated plants and animals from the east appeared in northern Egypt may confirm the above hypothesis. However, the new subsistence adaptation process continues to be mysterious and not fully explained. The time gap between Epipalaeolithic and Neolithic societies in this region renders explanation of the appearance of domesticates even more difficult. Nonetheless, the lack of data does not necessarily indicate population changes and may be explained also by the state of research.

According to F. Hassan, farming was introduced to Lower Egypt by migrants from the east.[32] However, their movement was not linked to mass migrations from southwest Asia; in the opinion of that researcher, the change in subsistence was almost imperceptible, and thus peaceful and gradual.[33] Levantine farmers could easily adapt to becoming local hunter-gatherers, facilitated by their flexible social organisation and a probably exogamous marriage pattern followed by autochthonous communities.

The research by N. Shirai on the beginnings of the Neolithic shows also certain other aspects of this process in Lower Egypt. According to that researcher foreign origins of all domesticates from Fayum sites indicate that the adaptation process was different than in the Fertile Crescent.[34] In his opinion the emergence of a new subsistence strategy is 'a result of humans' effort to adapt foreign domesticates to the local environment'.[35] While he does not disprove human migration from the Levant to Egypt, he suggests that new technological knowledge was passed to Egyptians at a very early stage of contacts. Egyptians embraced the innovations and adapted them to their local environment.

[23] EIWANGER 1984: 61-62.
[24] ROSSIGNOL-STRICK 2002; FLOHR *et al.* 2015.
[25] ROSSIGNOL-STRICK 2002: 165; SHIRAI 2005; 2010: 24-28.
[26] ROSSIGNOL-STRICK 2002: 165.
[27] ROSSIGNOL-STRICK 2002: 165; SHIRAI 2010: 27.
[28] PHILLIPPS *et al.* 2012.
[29] WENGROW et al. 2014.
[30] CATON-THOMPSON and GARDNER 1934.
[31] ARKELL and UCKO 1965: 147; HAYES 1965: 91-92; STEMLER 1980: 505; TRIGGER 1983: 20; HENDRICKX and VERMEERSCH 2000: 37; WENGROW 2006: 44-45; HENDRICKX *et al.* 2010: 19; TRISTANT 2012: 145-146; TASSIE 2014: 185.
[32] HASSAN 1984; HASSAN 2002.
[33] HASSAN 1984.
[34] SHIRAI 2010; SHIRAI 2013.
[35] SHIRAI 2013: 215.

To conclude, it seems that the first farmer-herders appeared in the Fayum region as a result of many factors: climate changes, population increase and location in a well-watered environment, human efforts to survive and to adapt new subsistence practices and technological innovation. Some 1000 years later farming and herding had spread all over Egypt.

4. Interregional relations in the Lower Egyptian Neolithic

Egypt has a special geographical and cultural location, as it is part of both the Near East and of the African continent. A wider view on the Neolithic in Egypt and research on available evidence from the Delta, the Nile Valley and the deserts show the Egyptian Neolithic is not uniform and consists of two components, Levantine and African.[36] According to the current state of research, we are aware that the Southern Levantine influences are not only visible in the Mediterranean zone of Egypt, but also further south in the Nile Valley. Moreover, we are able to observe some traces of connections between Lower Egypt and the Eastern Sahara in this early time. In my opinion all these relations influenced the complex nature of the Egyptian Neolithic.

4.1. Lower Egyptian-Levantine relations

During recent years, a few researchers have suggested that very early connections between the Levant and Egypt preceded the Neolithic Period.[37] N. Shirai indicated the Levantine origin of the side-notched and tanged projectile points known from the sites at Helwan, Fayum, Merimde and also the Dakhleh Oasis. According to that researcher 'it is probable that some Levantine cultural influences reached at least Helwan no later than the 7th millennium cal. BC'.[38] N. Shirai also noticed the convergence of other flint implements from both regions – for example, between the Ounan points found in the north-eastern Africa and those known from the Levant.[39] However because of some problems with chronological correlations and morphological differences, in his opinion this issue needs more research. N. Shirai suggests '…that technological innovations and the production of unique variants [of points] in northeastern Africa have been realised or simulated by indirect, slightly delayed influences from the southern Levant, Negev and Sinai.'[40] The early Egyptian-Levantine connections were also suggested by O. Bar-Yosef.[41] He noticed some similarities among flint assemblages from the Levant and the northeastern Africa dated to the later Upper Paleolithic. However in his opinion the connections between the Levant, Sinai and the Nile Valley are more visible in the Epipalaeolithic assemblages (Mushabian, Ramonian). Moreover O. Bar-Yosef suggests that Sinai served as 'the terrestrial bridging corridor between the Levant and the Nile Valley'.[42] The early connection between Sinai and the Nile Valley was also confirmed by the IFAO team surveying Wadi Araba, where the Helwan points were registered.[43] According to Y. Tristant the contacts between the groups of PPNB from Sinai and the Nile Valley were possible through Wadi Araba in the 7th millennium BC.[44] The earliest relations between the Levant and Egypt still need more research. Unfortunately, our knowledge on this topic may remain poor as most of the oldest sites were probably destroyed or are still concealed under thick layers of Nile silt.

The discoveries of the first domesticated plants and animals in Lower Egypt have opened discussions concerning the relations between these two regions in the Neolithic. Although the Levantine origins of domesticated plants and animals are hardly ever questioned, other traces of the Levantine presence in Lower Egypt on the Neolithic sites are still not clear. G. Caton-Thompson & E. Gardner were aware of the links between materials from the shores of the Lake Quarun and Levantine materials as some items – shell beads, shark teeth and raw materials (turquoise, amazonite) – originated probably from Sinai and the Red Sea region.[45] Additionally, some technological similarities between these two regions in flint and stone tool production from the Fayumian have been also pointed out by a few researchers.[46] In recent years, the relations between the Fayumian and the Southern Levantine societies have been confirmed on the basis of flint assemblages by N. Shirai.[47] His research on the projectile points from the Fayum region led him to a conclusion that the synchronous sequence of their development in Egypt, Levant, Negev and Sinai was a result of a steady flow of technical, stylistic and symbolic information and ideas in the 7th to 6th millennia cal. BC. Thanks to this 'sociocultural network', the introduction of domesticated plants and animals was possible no earlier or later than the early 6th millennium cal. BC. Although N. Shirai confirmed the Egyptian-Levantine connection on the basis of the lithic artefacts of the Fayumian, in his opinion the Neolithic pottery of Lower Egypt is different from the late Neolithic Levantine pottery in terms of shapes, surface treatment and even decoration.[48] Despite this view, ceramic links between Lower Egyptian Neolithic and Levantine Late Neolithic units are often pinpointed in publications considering the Neolithic

[36] Tristant 2012; Wengrow *et al.* 2013.
[37] Shirai 2010: 317-325; Tristan 2012; Bar-Yosef 2013.
[38] Shirai 2010: 335.
[39] Shirai 2010: 325-326.
[40] Shirai 2010: 326.
[41] Bar-Yosef 2013.
[42] Bar-Yosef 2013: 240-242.
[43] Tristant 2012.
[44] Tristant 2012: 152.
[45] Caton-Thompson and Gardner 1934: 87-88.
[46] Hassan 1988; Caneva 1992:224; Midant-Reynes 1982:102.
[47] Shirai 2005; Shirai 2010.
[48] Shirai 2010: 314.

materials from Lower Egypt. J. Eiwanger suggested a connection between the Merimde I pottery assemblage and Levantine pottery on the basis of the presence of the herringbone decoration pattern on pottery, loop and lug handles, as well as a bifacial surface retouch, early forms of polishing and finally clay figures.[49] Links between the el-Omari and the Levantine ceramic and flint assemblages have also been identified.[50] Some vessel shapes could correspond well to Southern Levantine pottery, such as Neolithic Jericho groups 2 and 3.[51] The flint industry can also be associated with the Yarmukian.[52] According to F. Debono and B. Mortensen, the origin of the el-Omari culture was local, although its pottery, stone inventory, constructions and burial customs show strong links to the Southern Levant.[53] It seems likely that, just like in the case of the Merimde settlement, a group of Levantine herders could have settled in the Wadi Hof region.

To conclude, the evidence presented above indicates that some relations between Lower Egyptian Neolithic and Southern Levantine Neolithic exist, although their nature is still unclear. The introduction of domesticated plants and animals from the Levant is widely accepted. However, the other traces of the Levantine presence or the influences from the east need more analyses. The presence of foreign objects, raw materials and influences on locally made objects is difficult to interpret. In my opinion the issue of the connection between the Nile Valley and the Levant seems to be one of the priorities in the research on the Neolithic in Lower Egypt. O. Bar-Yosef underlines that '…the Levant and the Delta were easily manageable by walking and were facilitated once donkey were introduced as the carriers of the heavy loads, and the routes were open in both directions.'[54] Most research projects investigating the relations between Egypt and Levant focus on the 4th and 3rd millennia BC, when relatively numerous Levantine imports and their imitations appeared on Egyptian sites, indicating the Levantine presence and the exchange of information and ideas between regions.[55] Although the early connections between Egypt and the Levant in the Epipaleolithic and the Neolithic are still open for discussion and need more research, during recent years the history of relations between both regions went back in time for approximately two millennia.

4.2. Lower Egyptian-Saharan relations

For many years, the interest of archaeologists focused on areas in the vicinity of the Nile or in the Delta. While it had been generally accepted that the Sahara was occupied, the desert had, however, been excluded from comprehensive archaeological research for many years until the 1960s. Until the 1970s the picture of early Egyptian farming societies seemed to be perfect. Almost all features of the Neolithic were registered among evidence coming from the Lower Egyptian sites at the Fayum, Merimde or Wadi Hof – farming and herding, sedentism and technological improvement (pottery, flint and stone assemblages). This perfect vision was 'destroyed' by the discoveries of domesticated cattle remains on Early Holocene sites in Nabta Playa – Bir Kiseiba area.[56] As they are dated as early as the 9th and 8th millennium BC, they are the earliest known possible domesticated animal remains from Egypt, as old as or older than those in the Near East.[57] Moreover, recent research shows that the emergence of domesticated animals in the Eastern and Western Desert is probably linked to the Southern Levant. The presence of the ovicaprines on the Eastern Desert, not far from the shore of the Red Sea (Sodmein cave and the Tree Shelter site) dated to the 7th millennium BC and later is explained by early contacts with the Southern Levant.[58] It is also worth mentioning the opinion of N. Shirai, who links the projectile points from the Fayum and the points from the Egyptian Western Desert (bi)facial technocomplex and proposes for both a Levantine origin, thus suggesting contacts between these regions in the 7th and early 6th millennia BC.[59]

In this context, it is not surprising that some traces of influences from the Western Desert on the Lower Egyptian Neolithic have been also found. B. Midant-Reynes pointed out the Eastern Saharan origin for the lithic industry, and also that small objects made of ostrich eggs were found on the sites of the Fayumian.[60] J. Eiwanger also underlines the presence of influences from the Western Desert in phase 2 of Merimde.[61] Y. Tristant relates also the Merimde multi-barbed bone harpoons to an Eastern Saharan tradition.[62] Moreover the origins of the Moerian is probably also linked to the influences from the same direction.[63] The evidence suggesting interregional contacts between Levant/Sinai, Lower Egypt, the Nile Valley and the Sahara is plentiful, and it clearly shows that these regions were not isolated. However, the problem needs more investigation, as the data we currently possess is not sufficient to present more details on the interregional relations in this early period.

[49] EIWANGER 1984: 61-62.
[50] DEBONO and MORTENSEN 1990: 40; MIDANT-REYNES 1992: 119.
[51] DEBONO and MORTENSEN 1990: 40; MIDANT-REYNES 1992: 119.
[52] DEBONO and MORTENSEN 1990: 53.
[53] DEBONO and MORTENSEN 1990: 82.
[54] BAR-YOSEF 2013: 244.
[55] MĄCZYŃSKA 2013; MĄCZYŃSKA 2014.
[56] e.g. WENDORF *et al.* 1976; GAUTIER 1984; WENDORF and SCHILD 1984; WENDORF and SCHILD 2001; WENDORF and SCHILD 2003; JÓRDECZKA *et al.* 2013.
[57] LINSEELE *et al.* 2014.
[58] VERMEERSCH *et al.* 1994; VERMEERSCH 2008; LINSEELE *et al.* 2010; LINSEELE 2013; LINSEELE *et al.* 2014; cf. WENGROW 2006: 25; TASSIE 2014: 157.
[59] SHIRAI 2010: 325-330.
[60] MIDANT-REYNES 2003: 76-77.
[61] EIWANGER 1988.
[62] TRISTANT 2012: 147.
[63] GINTER and KOZŁOWSKI 1983; CANEVA 1992; BREWER 2012: 40.

The evidence presented above clearly shows that the Neolithic materials of Lower Egypt cannot be studied separately from those from a wider Near Eastern and African context. The groups occupying the Nile Valley, the desert and the Delta in the early and middle Holocene were not isolated and they probably could influence each other. Moreover, the evidence from the Western and Eastern Deserts shows that the influences from the Near East were not limited only to the Mediterranean zone. Although researchers face many problems with identification of these early interregional connections, these links are one of the factors which make the Neolithic in Egypt unique, internally differentiated and complex.

5. Conclusions

For many years, the Neolithic in Egypt had been treated as the 'dark ages' in research on the Ancient Egyptian civilisation. Located outside the Predynastic Period, it was overlooked in discussions on the cultural and political processes leading to the emergence of the Egyptian state. The poor state of research on this period did not encourage further studies, and greater interest in research projects in Upper Egypt in the first part of the 20th century, together with an intensification of new excavation projects after the Second World War in the Nile Valley, the Delta and the Sahara, pushed the Neolithic materials into oblivion. Although the evidence from the Neolithic sites in Lower Egypt was cited in general presentations of the Egyptian prehistory, their authors presented mostly artefacts and did not focus on more detailed analyses or interpretations. Neolithic assemblages stored in museum storerooms had been waiting for better days. Recent years have seen increased interest in the Neolithic in Lower Egypt, and a growing amount of data concerning the whole Predynastic Period in Lower Egypt and the growing importance of that region in the process of state formation drew attention to the prehistory of Lower Egypt. Undoubtedly, new projects will improve our state of research. The new evidence helps us verify research results from the early 20th century and new methods applied to both new and old materials allow us to better understand this particular period in Egyptian prehistory.

In the research on the Neolithic in Lower Egypt, we cannot forget about a special geographical and cultural position inside the Near East and Africa. Although the South Levantine influences on the Egyptian culture in the late Predynastic and Protodynastic Periods are well known, the earliest connection in the Epipalaeolithic and the Neolithic are hardly mentioned. Moreover, we still do not appreciate the possible influences from the Eastern Sahara on the development of the Lower Egyptian Neolithic. In my opinion, the Neolithic in Egypt, including Lower Egypt, is not uniform and cannot be put into any well-established framework. The introduction of domesticated plants and animals triggered many social, economic and cultural processes, leading finally to the emergence of the Egyptian state. Sedentism, population increase, specialised production and social stratification are consequences of the adaptation of new subsistence strategies in the Neolithic.

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Meret-Neith:
in the Footsteps of the First Woman Pharaoh in History

Jean-Pierre Pätznick

UMR8167 Orient & Méditerranée, Sorbonne, Paris IV, Paris, France

Abstract: *Such was Meret-Neith's power that she got all the royal prerogatives her quality deserved. She was the only royal woman to have ever had a double funerary complex in the royal necropolis at Abydos as well as an impressive brick mastaba with a sunbark in Saqqara. A statue of the baboon god Hedj-Wr, with her name, attests her cult as king and deified ancestor as well. Epigraphic elements found in Abydos and in Saqqara lead to reconsider her position inside the 1st dynasty. Historical character of exception, Meret-Neith has been as woman and sovereign, beyond doubt, at the origin of a long tradition, paving the way for future women pharaohs like Sobeknofru or Hatshepsut Maâtkarâ.*

Keywords: *woman, gender, kingship, pharaoh*

Meret-Neith, 'the One for whom Neith feels merout, love', 'the One who is beloved by Neith'.[1] She was undoubtedly one of the most enigmatic and most charismatic characters that the history of the 1st dynasty of the Early Dynastic times produced. She was a princess, a queen, a royal mother and a regent with an extraordinary destiny. For the very first time in history, Meret-Neith became, for a while, the equal of Egypt's male pharaohs if not more.[2]

During the excavation of her funerary complex (Y) in Abydos, Petrie read her name as Meri-Neith on one of the two stelae found in the central chamber, promptly declared her as a new sovereign that should be placed in fifth place in the current chronology of the 1st dynasty as successor of the Horus Wadji/Djet.[3] Noticing afterward the presence of a feminine ending *t* on other inscriptions of this new ruler,[4] Petrie rectified the name to Meret-Neith. If a reading of this name in the male form automatically became a royal name – even without a *serekh* and heraldic falcon above, its feminine morphology forced him to abandon the idea of a new pharaoh, preferring rather to recognise in it the name of a queen, the royal consort of Horus Wadji/Djet.

Today, we see in Meret-Neith a key person, having a crucial role within the royal family and within society. In fact, we recognise even more and more her omnipotent regent position,[5] without ever daring to consider her as a full ruler, as a woman pharaoh.[6]

For Sethe, queen Meret-Neith could not have been able to reach such a position had she not have the rank of regent for the very young pharaoh and successor, (*w*)*d*(*w*) *in ḥr*(*w*) - Oudou-in-Hor, (formerly known as Horus Den).[7]

But that does not explain how a young unmarried Meret-Neith already had her own *serekh* with her Neith name next to the Horus name of her father, Horus Djer, on seals found in her own mastaba at Saqqara? Could her double funerary complex (high and low) in the royal necropolis at Abydos in Upper Egypt and her mastaba tomb in the necropolis at Saqqara in Lower Egypt – a feature that was common to most of the sovereigns of the 1st dynasty – suggest that Meret-Neith could have been much more than a regent? The search for this answer invites us to analyse thoroughly the material evidence that could help to determine the reality of the power of Meret-Neith in the 1st dynasty of the Early Dynastic Period, about 2900 BC.

At Abydos, the discovery of the funerary complex (Y) of Meret-Neith in the royal necropolis was completely fortuitous.[8] (Fig. 160-161) Petrie noted that the presence of this funerary monument was not characterised by an accumulation of sherds on the surface. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that his determination to follow the *sondages* made by Amélineau, his predecessor on this

[1] As perfective passive participle, the reading should be *mry.t Nj.t*. See: Grandet and Mathieu 2003: 508-509, § 45.5a. However, it should probably be more precisely *mrjw.wt Nj.t*. See: Edel 1955/1964: 314 § 639.

[2] Not exhaustive: Emery 1961: 65-69; Kaplony 1963: 494; Lauer 1966: 175-177; Seipel 1980: 34 ; Helck 1982: col. 93; Troy 1986: 106-107, 139 (The Female Horus), and 152 – 1.7; Wilkinson 1999/2003: 74-75; Roth 2001: 11-13, 18–26, 307-309; Dodson and Hilton 2004: 45-46, 48, 65, 140; Tyldesley 2006: 24-35 - Meritneith; Arafa 2006: 243-252, pl. XL-XLIV; Bestock 2007: 99-108; Pirelli and Arnold 2008: 114-115, fig. 114-115; Bestock 2009: 38-41; Vanhulle 2013: 203-229.

[3] Fig. 162. Petrie 1900: 5, 26, 37.

[4] In fact, the left part of the sign ⌓ is still visible under the *r* on the stela. See also fig. 162.

[5] Sethe 1905: 30, 47-48; Edwards 1964: 25-26; Roth 2001: 309.

[6] Tallet 2013: chap. - Meryt-Neith, 'l'Aimée de Neith'. Entre régence et royauté.

[7] Pätznick 2013: 55-63 where the analysis of the former reading Horus Den leads to propose the new one (*w*)*d*(*w*) *in ḥr*(*w*) – The One who has been placed by Horus.

[8] Petrie 1900: 10 -11, pl. LIX- localisation -, LXI – plan – and LXIV, fig. 160-161 as well pl. LXV (above). Piquette 2007: 359, fig. 36.

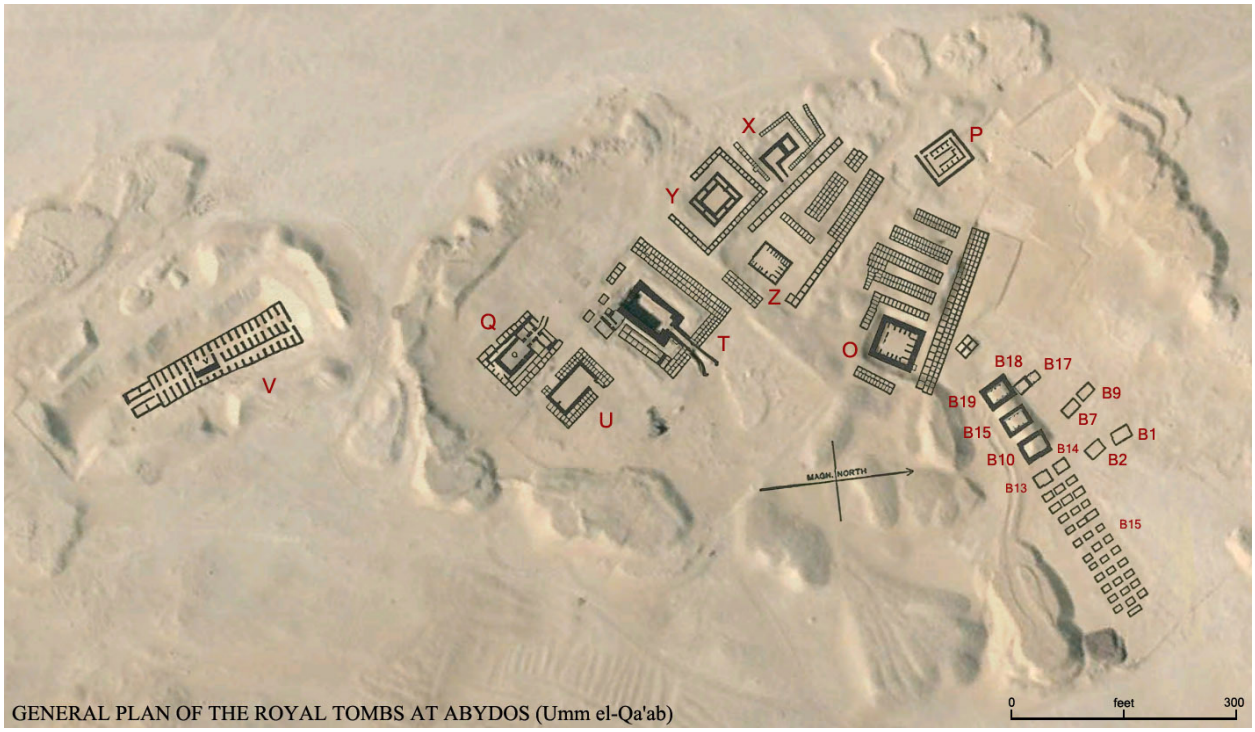

Fig. 160. Map and distribution of the high funerary complexes in the royal necropolis of the 1st and 2nd dynasties at Abydos. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category: Umm_el-Qaab]

prestigious site, in this area motivated him very certainly to concentrate his efforts on the place which he excavated within three weeks.

This funerary complex measures 9.05 m long by 6.40 m large, having the comparable size to those of the funerary monument of Horus Wadji/Djet, her royal consort, placed just nearby.[9] The whole appears as a massive pit, its walls carefully lined with mud bricks. There is no obvious way leading into the pit. The material remains allow to reconstitute its internal arrangement as a central chamber of 2.75 m long by 2.67 m wide, flanked by eight storerooms, two on each of the four sides. (Fig. 161)

Petrie's excavations uncovered a monument that had been completely ransacked and set on fire. The charred remains revealed at least two construction phases. Leaning on the walls of the central chamber, the posts that were intended to support the joists of a collapsed wooden ceiling had been strengthened by a brick-built cover. Only a single slat of the original precious wooden parquet stand remained in position.[10] If we take into account the rarity of wood in Egypt, its use in this funerary structure emphasises the importance of its owner.

In the rubble, Petrie discovered two large stelae inscribed with the name of Meret-Neith. One of them was perfectly

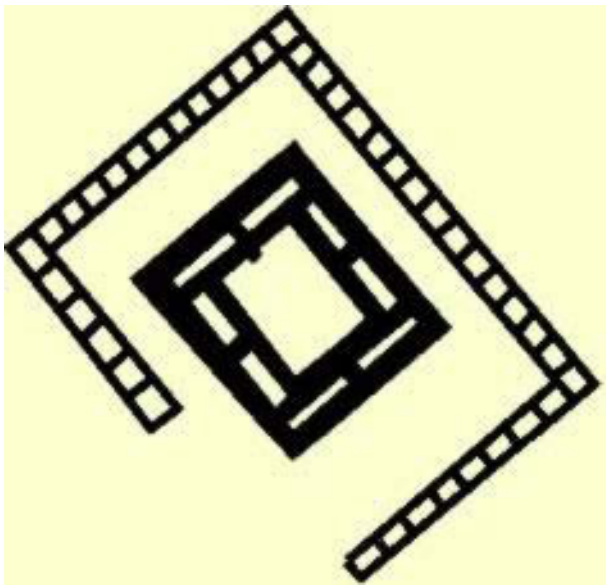

Fig. 161. High funerary complex Y of Meret-Neith at Abydos. After: Petrie 1900, pl. LXI.

preserved in the central chamber and was lying on the side[11] (Fig. 162), while the second one was as he said 'almost perished:' its top bearing part of the sign of the goddess Neith was lying in room 5 and its lower part in the central chamber. Two stelae inscribed with the name of Meret-Neith could thus have been set up at the south-

[9] PETRIE 1900: 10.
[10] PETRIE 1900: 11.
[11] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 34450.

Fig. 162. Stela of Meret-Neith. Cairo: Egyptian Museum, JE 34450.

east of her funerary complex as was the case for those of Horus Sem(he)rkhet and of Horus Qaa towards the end of the 1st dynasty, providing evidence of worship related to the royal Ka[12] and especially to the Ka of Meret-Neith who might have even initiated the custom of erecting two stelae at the royal complex at Abydos.[13] (Fig. 162)

Around the funerary monument of Meret-Neith, the presence of subsidiary graves, at least 41 small cells of 1.50 m long by 0.80 m large, is remarkable. Only attested for all kings of the 1st dynasty buried in Abydos, excepted for the funerary monument of Horus Adj-ib (2nd half of the 1st dynasty),[14] this practice indicates that Meret-Neith had obviously benefited, once more, from a royal privilege.[15]

Regarding the seal-impressions found in this funerary structure,[16] their reading allows the reconstruction of the organisation of the supply of food and equipment of the upper part of funerary complex of Meret-Neith at Abydos. No fewer than three of the so-called royal funerary domains helped provide the goods, two of her son Oudou-in-Hor and one, perhaps her own, together with all the eastern and western regions of the Nile Delta.[17] A whole range of royal institutions provided deliveries, whether it came from the vineyards of *ḥw.t k3r*, the cattle of *ḥw.t iḫ*(.*w*), the pigs of *ḥw.t sḳr* or of the cereals of *šnw.t Jnb* – Barn of the Wall (Memphis) –, the textiles of *ḥw.t s* – Complex of the cloth – and the *pr ḥḏ* – the Treasury.[18]

No fewer than about fifteen of the highest dignitaries of the court and the royal administration worked on this assignment, such as *ḥ3tj ˁ* – Prince, *ḫtm.tj Bj.tj* – Chancellor of the *Biti* / King of Lower Egypt, *ˁḏ mr* - Administrator of province, *ḫrp ḥrj ib* - Director of 'what is in the heart of', 'what is in the centre/the middle of ', *ḫrp nbj* - Director of the Foundry - and of the *sḫn*(*w*) *3ḫ*(.*wt*) - Protector of the meat-based offering.[19]

If we consider the funeral pit with its central chamber and rooms surrounded by subsidiary tombs as the upper part of the funerary complex of Meret-Neith at Abydos,[20] we have also to take into consideration the scattered

[12] For an exhaustive list of the funerary royal stelae in the Early Dynastic period. See: Vanhulle 2013: 214-216 completing Fischer 1963: 41- 43. Taking in account the context, it seems that a same semantics – the cult of the Ka at Abydos in the 1st dynasty – and a same orientation - the south – might have bound the south wall of numerous subsidiary tombs painted in red with the name of the Ka of the buried person and the south side of the high royal funerary complex where the stela(e) engraved with the sole Horus name, the name of the royal Ka of the deceased sovereign, were erected. See Petrie 1900: 8.

[13] See Petrie 1900: 6, 11 and 26, pl. LXIV, fig. 6 and Frontispiece. The second stela seems to be lost unless its fragments have been buried in-situ.
It should be noted that Meret-Neith could have established the duality of the royal stelae at Abydos as no one of her predecessors is attested with two stelae in contrary of her successors who are, excepted Horus Adj-ib – whose stelae have never been found.
This tradition in Abydos has been maintained until the end of 2nd dynasty as it can be seen on the royal stelae of - Nebouti Peribsen – and of – Horus Khasekhemui –, excepted the missing stelae of – Horus Sekhem-ib peri-en-maât.

[14] See: Wilkinson 1999/2003: 80 – Horus Seme(he)rkhet; Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 14633. Fragments of a second one have been newly discovered by the re-excavation of his funerary complex at Abydos. For Horus Qaa: Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 14631 and Philadelphia: *University of Pennsylvania Museum*, E.6878.

[15] An area free from construction can be observed on the southwest of the high funerary complex of Meret-Neith and of Horus Adj-ib that could have been connected with the funeral procession and the cult of the royal Ka. The two royal stelae could have been thus the focus of the cult of the royal Ka. See Petrie 1900: 11, pl. LIX.

[16] It should be noticed a label with a year mention found in a subsidiary grave (Y 24) that could have borne a Horus name, Piquette 2007: 139 and 513 ID 284.

[17] Petrie 1900: pl. XXI-23 and pl. XXII-37-38.

[18] Petrie 1900: pl. XXII-31, pl. XX-15, pl. XXII-33, pl. XXIII-41, pl. V-7 and pl. V-2, pl. XXII-36 and XXIII-40.

[19] Petrie 1900: pl. XXII-32, pl. XXIII-39, pl. XX-15, XXI-24 and 25, pl. XXI-27, pl. XX-18 and XXI-21 as well pl. XXI-24-25. For other titles and institutions, see Petrie 1900: pl. IV-9, pl. V-3, pl. XXI-29, pl. XXII-30, 33, 35 and pl. XXIII-40.

[20] What we may consider as the high part of the royal funerary complex of Meret-Neith at Abydos has never been excavated since Petrie. Owing what he found in three weeks digging, one can expect today a highly successful work.

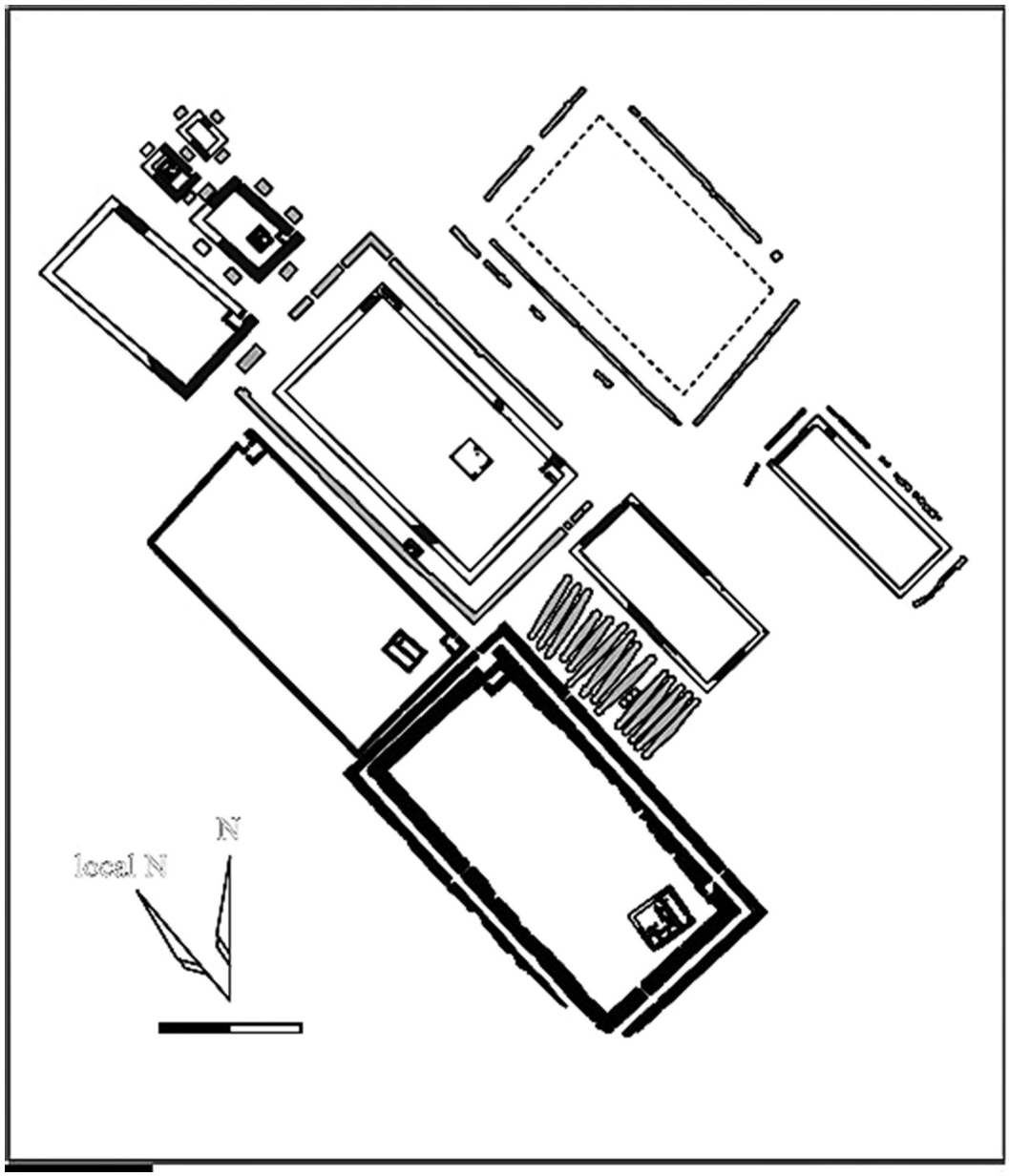

Fig. 163. Low funerary complexes of the 1st and 2nd dynasties. After: O'Connor 2009, 163, fig. 89.

material remains of her lower funerary complex in the valley. Discovered by Peet and Petrie, it was re-identified more recently by D. O'Connor.[21] (Fig. 163-164) The lower part of the funerary of her complex of Meret-Neith lies between that of her deceased royal husband Horus Ouadji/Djet and that of their son Oudou-in-Hor. Archaeologically, nothing, or next to nothing, remains of this part of the Abydene funerary complex of Meret-Neith. The 79 subsidiary graves arranged around its perimeter were so disturbed that Petrie could only comment 'nothing of value'.[22]

In spite of this disturbed archaeological context, the very fact that a funerary enclosure in the valley can be assigned to Meret-Neith demonstrates the high degree of privileges she enjoyed: it means she possessed an upper and a lower funerary complex as did every sovereign of the 1st dynasty in the royal necropolis at Abydos in Upper Egypt.[23]

[21] PEET 1914: 31, pl. VI, fig. 1; PETRIE *et al.* 1925: 2, pl. XVII; O'CONNOR 1989: 51, n. 4 and 57, n. 16; KAISER 1990: 292, n. 27; PIQUETTE 2007: 363, fig. 43; BESTOCK 2009: 48.

[22] PETRIE *et al.* 1925: 2.

[23] BESTOCK 2009: 42-61.

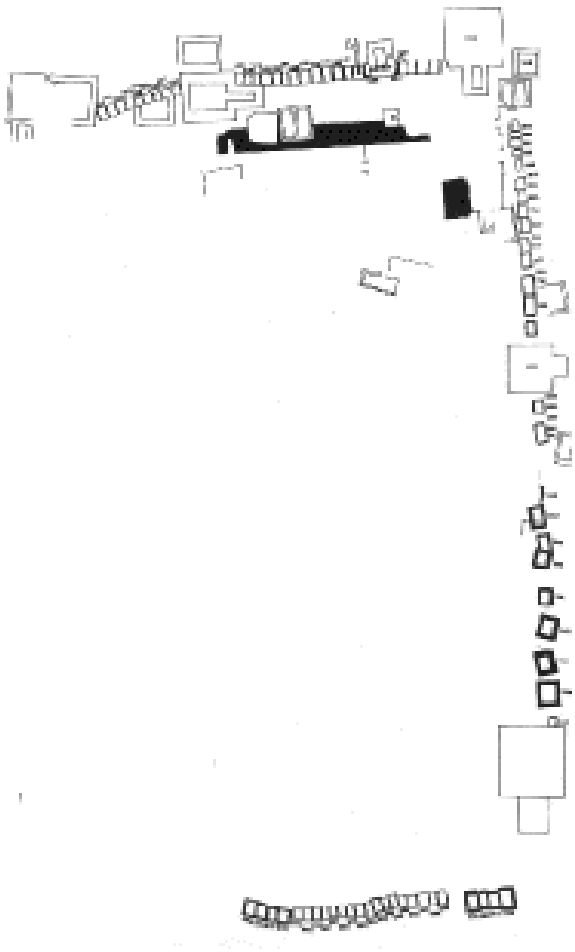

Fig. 164. Low funerary complex of Meret-Neith. After: Petrie 1925, pl. XVIII.

Furthermore, also not diverging from royal tradition, Meret-Neith also possessed another funerary monument, a mastaba tomb, in the necropolis of Saqqara in Lower Egypt.[24] Discovered by W. B. Emery on 26 October 1946, the mastaba S 3503 attributed to Meret-Neith has the impressive proportions of 42.60 m long by 16 m wide, and is beyond doubt one of the most monumental mastabas of the necropolis of the 1st dynasty in Saqqara.[25] (Fig. 165-168) At the time of its discovery, the west side of the superstructure of the mastaba still stood to a height of 1.90 m. The upper part of the mastaba tomb exhibited a construction of panelled and recessed outer walls with niches distributed around the monument, three niches on the north and south sides and nine, larger, on the east and west sides.

Judging by the material remains of red, green, black and yellow colours, the mud brick walls of the *Palace façade* of the superstructure of the mastaba had received painted decoration, and the artist in charge could well have been buried near his work in one of the subsidiary graves surrounding the mastaba tomb. Indeed, pots were found in the area containing remains of colours used for the decoration of the superstructure, the visible part of this funerary monument. Furthermore, surrounding the mastaba, a pavement made of firmly packed silt painted in blue and red was found on which the tracks of scaffolding set up by the painter and his assistants were noted.[26] As suggested in other mastaba tombs,[27] the decoration of the superstructure may have been intended to envisage the royal funerary tent raised by Horus for his deceased father in the *Pyramid Texts* that so echoes an early royal funerary practice that goes back at least at the beginning of the 1st dynasty.[28]

Outside, numerous offerings were deposited in front of the large niches. These prototype false doors were crowned by a wooden roll symbolising a rolled-up reed mat indicating that the door was open. It was the place of contact between the deceased and the food intended to feed him. Behind these large niches at the north and south parts of the east side of the superstructure of the mastaba were located 21 storerooms separated by false doors made by sand and silt and covered with reed mats to indicate that they were closed. (Fig. 166)

In the substructure of the mastaba was a rectangular burial chamber measuring 4.80 m long by 3.50 m wide. (Fig. 167) As at Abydos, the central chamber had suffered a particularly violent fire. The conflagration was such that at the time of its discovery an impressive layer of fragments and ashes still covered it to a depth of 1.50 m. The heat had been so intense that a stone vessel had burst in a multitude of scattered fragments. Fuelled by the wood covering the walls, the parquet, the ceiling and the numerous chests filled among others with precious clothes, the whole funerary equipment as well as the whole mastaba must have combusted in an inferno.

[24] For a new discussion about the fundamental problem of the location of the royal burials of the Early Dynastic period in one or in two sepulchres, in Abydos or/and in Saqqara, see among others Hendrickx 2008: 60-88 and *contra* Cervelló-Autuori 2002: 27-61. It should be observed that as royal and private stelae have been mostly found in Abydos rather than in Saqqara, this strongly underlines the connection of Abydos with the cult of the Ka. As no osteological remains of the deceased have been found in the upper royal funerary complexes at Abydos, with the exception of part of an arm found set in the wall of Horus Djer's structure (contrary to Saqqara), there is evidence for two different concepts of funeral traditions. Both might have reflected the duality of the figure of the sovereign as - The Two Lords-, The King of Upper and Lower Egypt- and later as - The Two Gods - during his lifetime and have commanded at his death his burial in both sites, his spirit with the cult of the Ka remaining at Abydos, in the South and his body with the sun barque being buried in Saqqara, to the North. The royal burial in two sites, in the North and in the South of the land, could also emphasise the guarantee of the unity of the Two Lands beyond the death of the sovereign.

[25] Emery 1954: 128, 168-170, pl. LIV-LV; Piquette 2007: 364, fig. 45.
[26] Emery 1954: 132. Contra Hendrickx 2008: 76.
[27] See among others Emery 1958: pl. 7 – Mastaba S 3505, end of the 1st dynasty, Horus Qaa.
[28] Allen 2005: P 282 / PII 524 – TP 690, § 2100 a-b. Horus and Seth raising the funerary tent for Osiris (the royal deceased) above him.

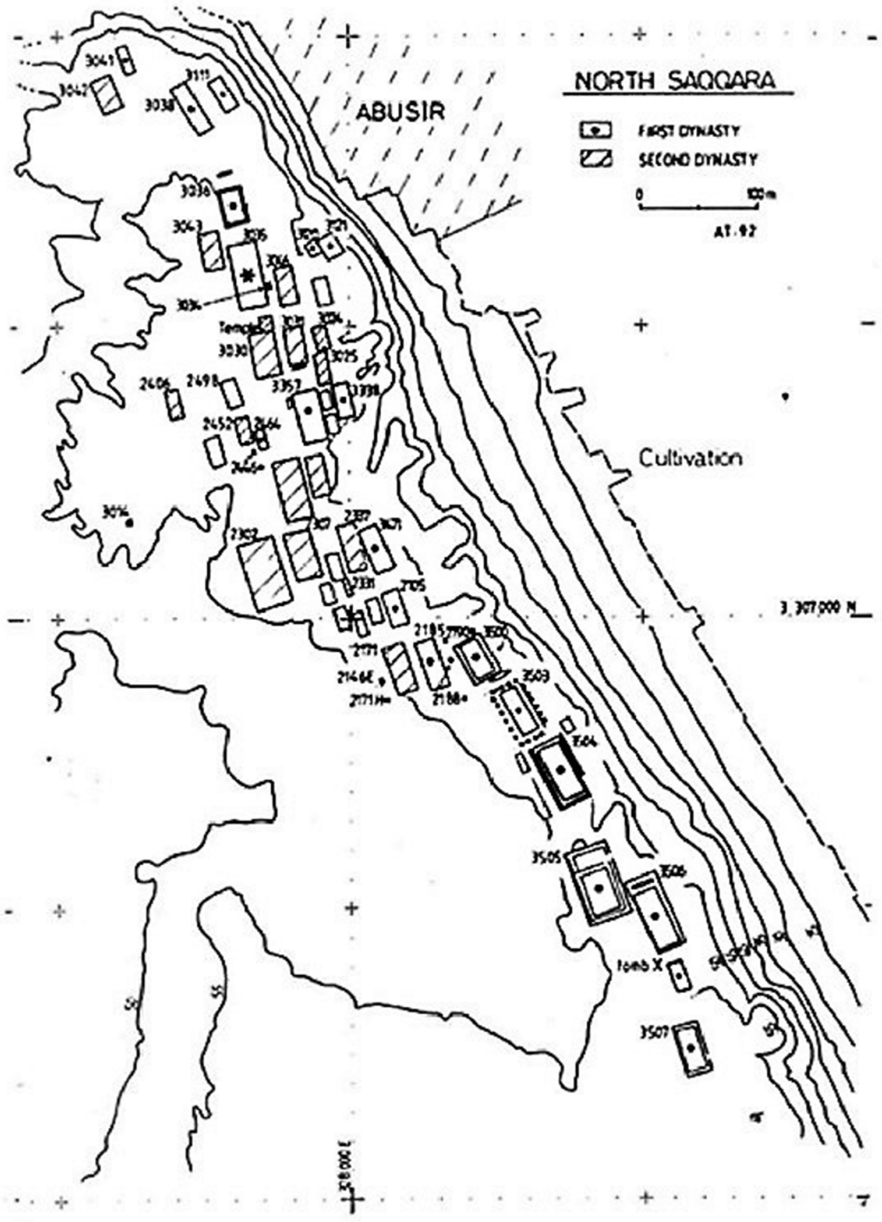

Fig. 165. Map of the necropolis of the 1st dynasty in Saqqara North. After: Tavares 1999, 856, fig. 97.

In the remains of an impressive wooden sarcophagus (reduced to ashes) measuring 2.70 m long and 1.80 m wide, Emery was able to collect some osteological fragments, which have never been analyzed, and thus have not yet permitted the identification the gender of the deceased. As in the mastaba tomb S 3504, only tiny spots of gold leaf gave evidence of the magnificence with which the deceased, man or woman, had been buried. The central chamber, where the sarcophagus and the precious funerary equipment were placed, suffered the most severe destruction by fire. A tunnel 1.00 m wide by 0.70 m high dug from Chamber J passing through Chamber K to Chamber L was noted, which suggests that the fire was deliberately set not long after the funeral ceremonies. The burning of mastaba S 3503 attributed to Meret-Neith must have been so visible for kilometres around that it is quite unimaginable that the royal administration could not have noticed this sacrilege.

As at Abydos, the funerary complex at Saqqara was surrounded with subsidiary tombs, here 22 in number: 13 men, among whom was the painter of the mastaba, 2 women and 7 not recognisable, constituting the household of the deceased, another privilege which was especially assigned to the sovereigns of the 1st dynasty.[29]

[29] EMERY 1954: 147-148; HELCK 1984: col. 390.

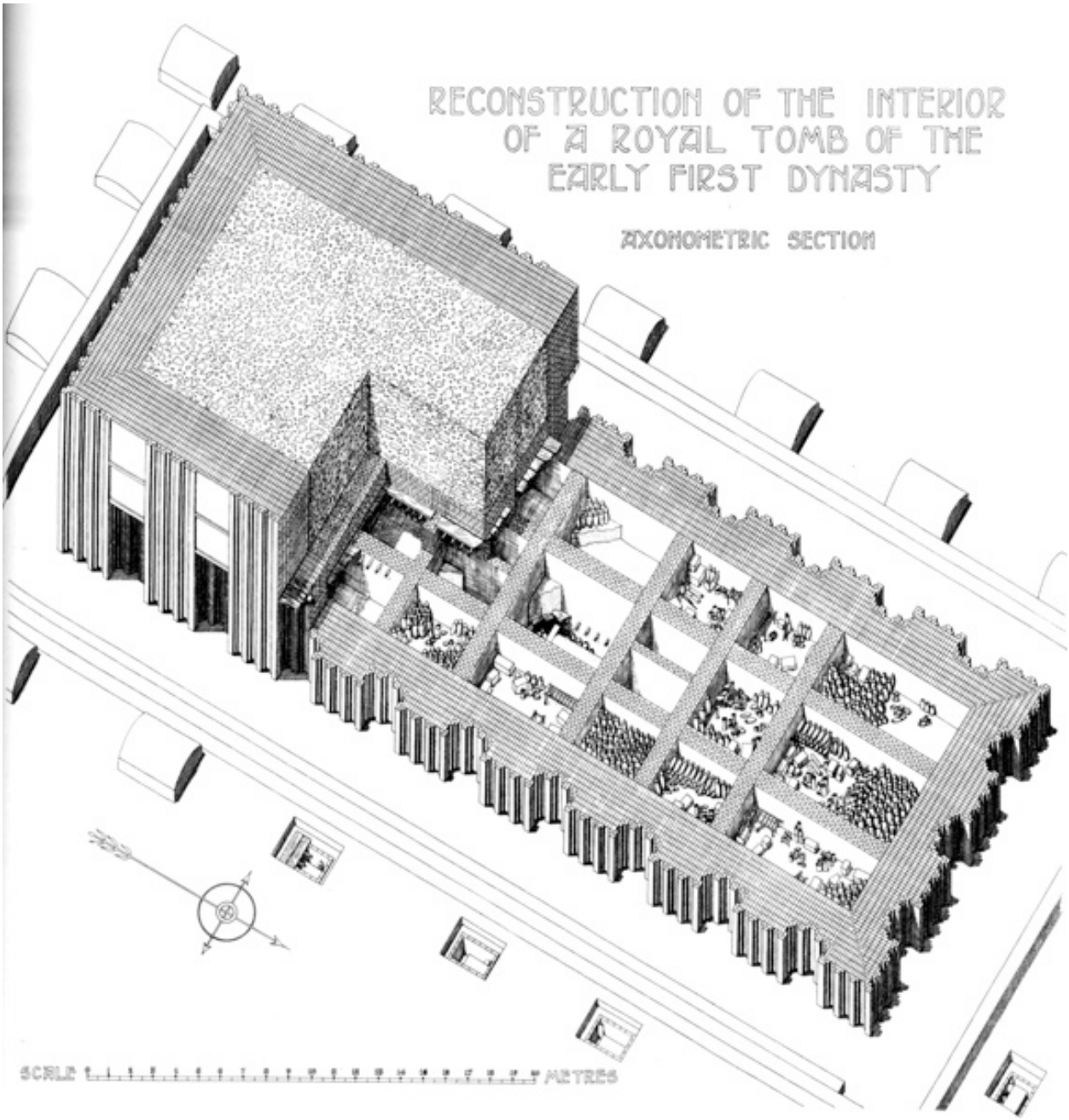

Fig. 166. Overview of the mastaba S 3503 attributed to Meret-Neith. After: La Loggia 2009, 185, fig. 1.

Within the framework of the royal privileges from which Meret-Neith benefited, we have to note the finding of a brick-built construction on the surface some metres north of her mastaba.[30] (Fig. 168) Its length of 17.70 m and the particular shape suggest that it may have contained a large funeral boat. This may have taken the deceased to her resting place from Abydos, as it had the additional aspect of being the sun barque, on which she made the divine journey as *nṯr* to her deified peers, the *nṯr:w*. This in my view is another distinctive mark that Meret-Neith was a sovereign of the 1st dynasty.

Furthermore, it is in the same mastaba tomb S 3503 attributed to Meret-Neith that Emery collected, besides the stone dishes inscribed with her proper name, 13 impressions of the same seal showing clearly side by side two types of *serekh*.[31] One of them depicted the god Horus above and bore the name of Horus Djer, her father, while the other one showed clearly the sign of the

[30] EMERY 1954: 138, fig. 203.

[31] EMERY 1954: 128 and 168-169, fig. 126 and 220, pl. LIV-LV.

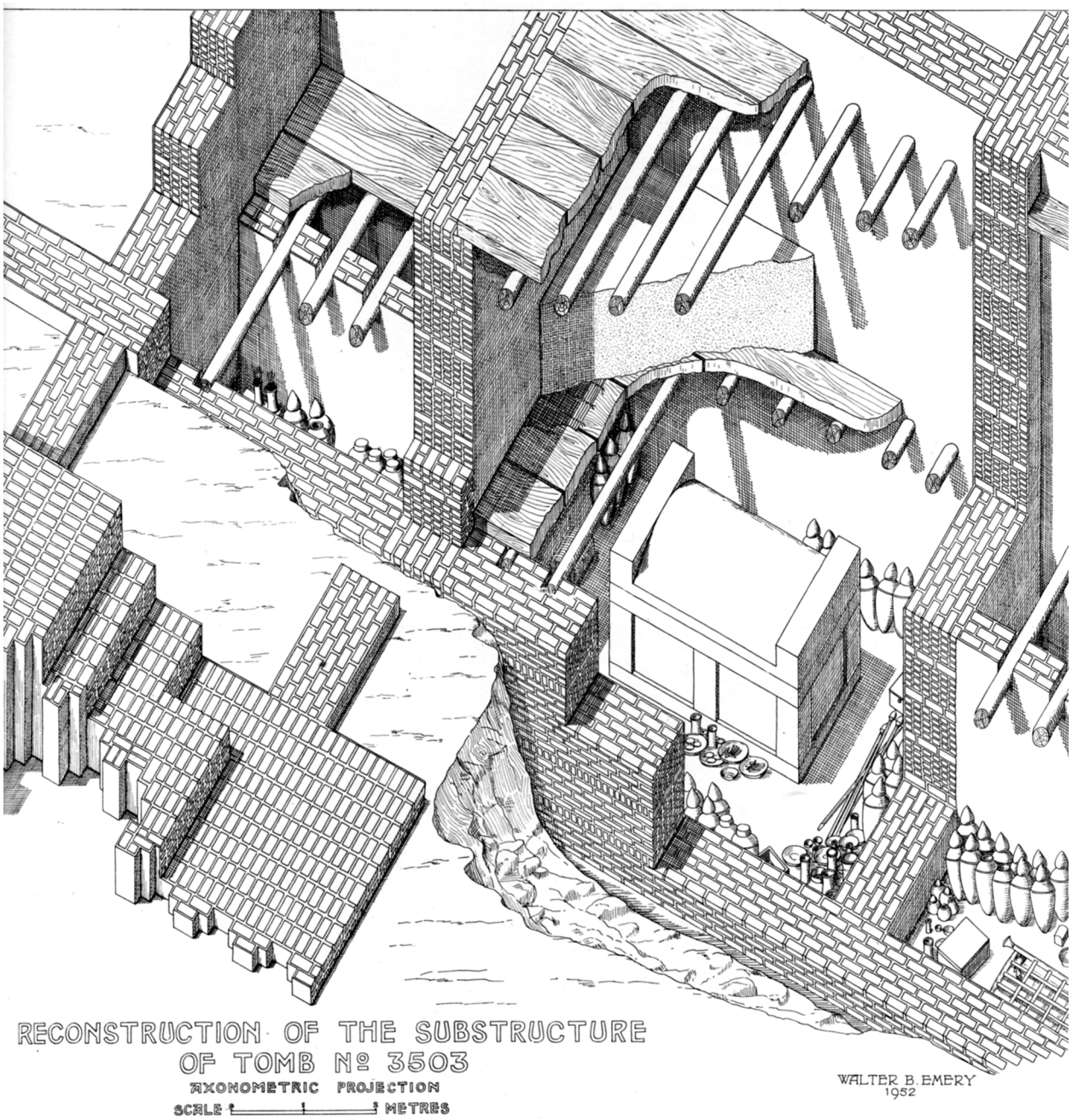

Fig. 167. Insight into the Burial Chamber of Mastaba S 3503. After: La Loggia 2009, 175.

goddess Neith above and contained the name of Meret-Neith, the feminine counterpart and his royal daughter. This conjoined royal seal of the father and of his daughter suggests strongly that the young Meret-Neith may have been associated by her father Horus Djer with some aspects of the royal persona as was the case later with princess Sobeknofru and her father Amenemhat III (Ni-maât-Râ ; Horit Meret-Râ) in the Middle Kingdom. Both have been represented on the same seal as Horus male and as Horus female. The royal father had his regular Horus name whereas the daughter used the feminine form of the Horus name, Horit Meret-Râ.[32]

Such a conjoined royal seal could explain the construction of the mastaba tomb of Meret-Neith in the necropolis in Saqqara due to her rank as crown princess and her

[32] TROY 1986: 140, fig. 100 with a feminine ending *t* of the heraldic falcon on the *serekh* as Horit. One can compare it with the private name Ka Horit (!) of a woman on the stela of the 1st dynasty found around the high royal funerary complex of Horus Djer in Abydos, PETRIE 1901: pl. XXVI and XXIXA, fig. 77. This feminine Horus, Horet, could strongly suggest Meret-Neith.

Fig. 168. View of the place of the funerary sunbark north of the mastaba tomb S. 3503. After: Emery 1964, fig. 6.

association with some aspects of royalty and power with her father Horus Djer, and not as royal wife or royal mother. This may also imply that the successor of Horus Djer, Horus Wadji / Djet, may not have been a son of direct lineage and that he had to legitimise his accession to the throne by taking as spouse Meret-Neith, daughter and crown princess of Horus Djer and queen Her-Neith, 'The One with the face of Neith', who was buried in the mastaba tomb S 3507 in the royal necropolis in Saqqara[33].

Within the framework of the royal privileges attributed to Meret-Neith, the granite statue of a large seated baboon engraved with her name like that assigned to Horus Abou/Abou Hor (Narmer) should be mentioned.[34] (Fig. 169) Taking in account that this statue of baboon is in fact that of *ḥḏ wr* (The Great White/The Venerable White), the quintessential symbol of royal ancestors to whom a particular cult was related, we can only guess the extent of this new royal privilege granted to Meret-Neith.[35] Never had a queen of these early times received such a level of worship, and if Meret-Neith had the right to be represented in the form of a male (!) baboon, it is that she was probably already considered in her lifetime as a full sovereign and that this baboon statue with her name was the object of the worship of her as a deified venerable royal ancestor of the 1st dynasty.

Fig. 169. Statue of the Hedj-Wr of Meret-Neith, Coll. Michailidis. After: Kaplony 1966, pl. XX-XXIII.

[33] See among others Lauer 1966: 175-177; Kaplony 1963: Kaplony 1975a: col. 1071; Kaplony 1975b: col. 1109.
[34] See: Kaplony 1966: 91, pl. XX-XXII. For the new proposed lecture Abou Hor instead of Horus Narmer. See: Pätznick 2009: 307-324; Pätznick 2015: 287-292.
[35] Kaplony 1977: col. 1079-1080.

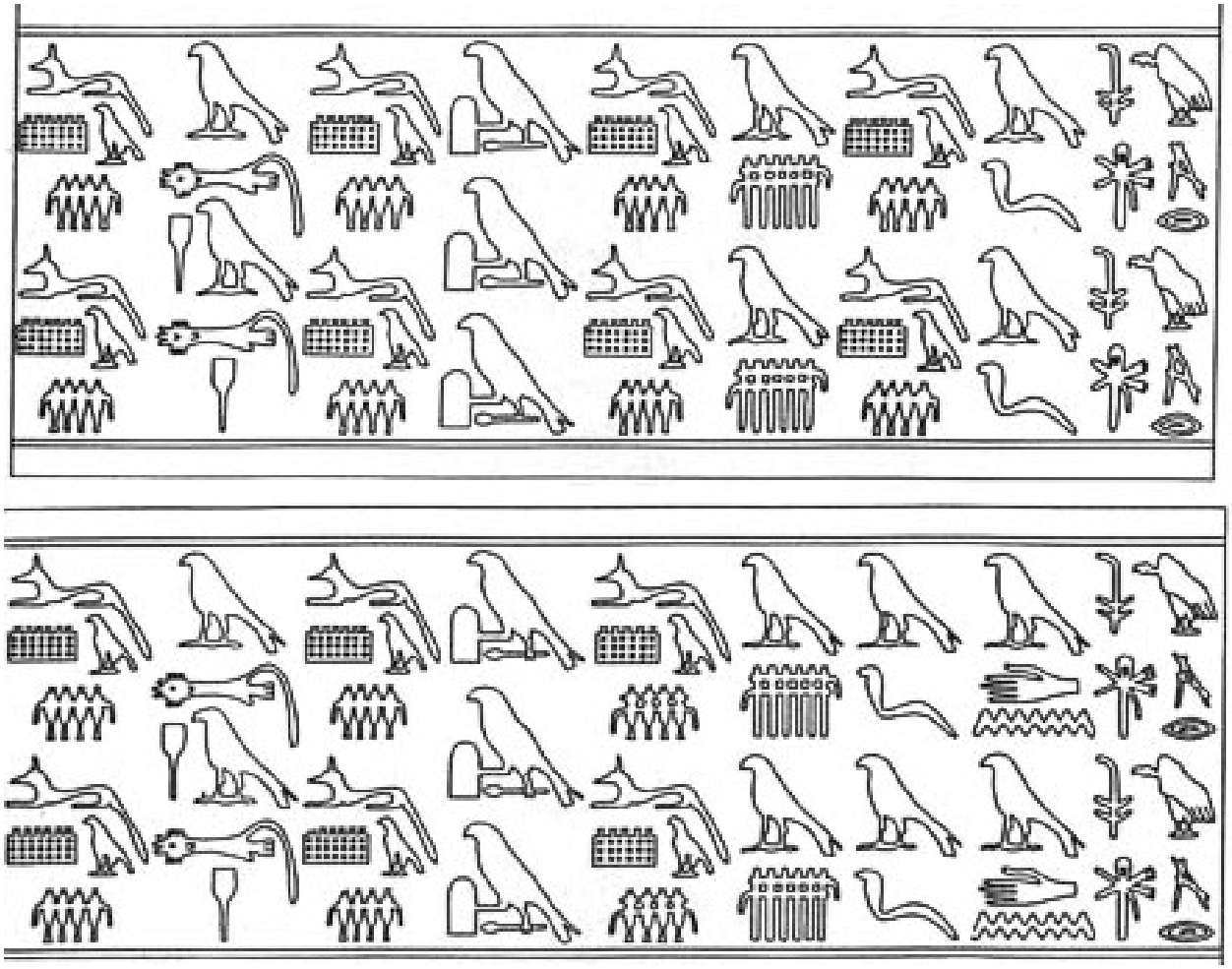

Fig. 170. Seal of the royal family of the sovereigns of the 1st dynasty with an original (above) and reworked (below) versions of the same seal. After: Dreyer 1987, 36, fig. 3 and Kaiser 1987: 115-119, fig. 1.

In this regard, a recent discovery could throw new light on the succession of the sovereigns of the 1st dynasty. It concerns the door-sealing of the main entrance leading to the funerary chamber of the funerary complex of Oudou-in-Hor in Abydos which was published in different ways in the same publication by G. Dreyer and by W. Kaiser.[36] (Fig. 170) Whereas Dreyer presents and discusses one version of this seal, Kaiser made a far more interesting observation and analysis with far-reaching consequences. He indeed noticed on this door-sealing with an outside bolt two different versions of the same seal of the necropolis: an original and a reworked example.

The original version of this seal may have shown for the very first time a chronological succession of sovereigns of the 1st dynasty from Abou Hor (ex Horus Narmer) up to Horus Wadji/Djet. Each of them is preceded by *ḫntj mn.tjw* – Khenti-mentiu – the One who presides those of the Menet.[37] The list is ended with the new title of *mwt nsw.t* – the King's mother – assigned to the name of Meret-Neith. (Fig. 12) This indicates, in my opinion, that the seal on which was engraved a list of the king's ancestors, *nṯr:w* – (Khenti-mentiu) was cut under her regency as royal Queen mother. Had she been dead, her name and title would have been deleted from this royal seal as it was the case at the end of the 1st dynasty.[38] (Fig. 171)

As the young mother of Oudou-in-Hor[39] (Fig. 172), himself still too young to reign in succession to his father, Meret-Neith took care, in her roles as widow, queen, royal

[36] See DREYER 1987: 33-44, fig. 1, 36, fig. 3 and KAISER 1987: 115-120, 117-118, fig. 2.

[37] For *mn.t* as a funerary structure connected with the royal deceased of the Early Dynastic period, see an article in preparation by the present author. The known form Khontamentiu is first attested in the 5th dynasty, so we might have in Khenti-mentiu the origin of this term.

[38] DREYER *et al.* 1996: 71-72, fig. 25 and pl. 14 a.

[39] PIQUETTE 2007: 625 ID 294.This slender and elegant figure wearing the Red and the White crowns may only have represented a very young ruler or a woman as such. As this fragment of label is broken under the *serekh* of Oudou-in-Hor (ex Horus Den), this Horusname could have either designated the young single King or preceding his mother, Meret-Neith. For the latter, could speak the absence of the false beard and a group of three hieroglyphic signs in black ink right above her head and above the *serekh*: a plant, behind it a large bird and below a hoe. All of those could be transcribed and read – *mwt nsw.t mr*(*j.t*) – the beloved King's mother.

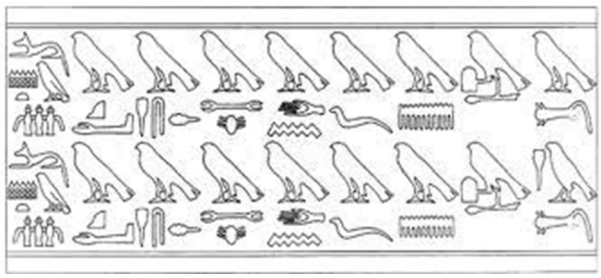

Fig. 171. A new seal of the family of the sovereigns of the 1st dynasty. After: Dreyer 1996, 72, fig. 26.

Fig. 172. Possible representation of Meret-Neith behind her son Oudou-in-Hor (ex Horus Den). After: 1900, pl. X, fig. 13.

mother and regent, of the funerary ceremonies for her deceased husband, Horus Wadji/Djet. The fact of having engraved her name on the list of the dead sovereigns gives evidence of the high degree of consciousness Meret-Neith had of her political and religious functions as regent and royal descendant, honouring the memory of the same royal family on four generations: her great grandfather – Hor Abou/Abou, her grandfather – Horus Aha, her father – Horus Djer, and her husband – Horus Wadji/Djet. (Fig. 170)

This type of seal is more likely a seal of the royal family than an administrative seal of the royal necropolis because no title of a state employee appears there.[40] As for the second version, Kaiser noticed that this seal had been reworked, the only purpose of which was to insert the name of Oudou-in-Hor into the lineage of deceased kings and deified ancestors, between the name of Horus Wadji/Djet, his father, and that of the Queen and royal Mother Meret-Neith, his mother. (Fig. 170) To do so, the seal of the royal family had been deeply re-cut by carving the name of Oudou-in-Hor instead of that of Horus Wadji/Djet, and the latter was substituted for the designation Khenti-mentiu . The result was that the royal funerary term Khenti-mentiu placed in front of the name of Horus Djer could be intended as a common designation for Horus Djer and his two successors, Horus Wadji/Djet and Oudou-in-Hor, an elegant, but very unusual graphic solution.

The only part of the royal seal which was not retouched by this adjustment was that dedicated to the king's mother Meret-Neith. This highlights clearly not only the role of this woman in the royal family, but also her function of regent.[41] Furthermore, the fact that the name of Oudou-in-Hor was inserted between those of Horus Wadji/Djet, his father, and of his mother Meret-Neith shows clearly that Meret-Neith was alive at the death of her son. Had she died before her son Oudou-in-Hor, the title and name of Meret-Neith would have been erased, not being a king, from the list of the royal male deified ancestors on the seal. This was later the case at the end of the 1st dynasty under Horus Qaa or under Horus Hetepsekhemui at the beginning of the 2nd dynasty.[42] (Fig. 171) Thus Meret-Neith survived her son and had to undertake, once more, the royal funeral ceremonies as she had done for her deceased husband, Horus Wadji/Djet, putting the seal on the upper funerary complex of her son, Oudou-in-Hor.

This goes against the current view that considers that the son buried his mother, based on the presence of numerous administrative seal impressions of this sovereign found in the funerary complex of queen Meret-Neith in Abydos.[43] However this argument is invalidated by the fact that Meret-Neith, not being able to bear a Horus name, maintained and used probably the administration of her son Oudou-in-Hor that she had organised in the time of her first regency.[44]

[40] This seal of the necropolis could be in fact the seal of the royal family, whose male members had ruled Egypt over four generations, and whom Meret-Neith honoured in her role as regent and worthy descendant. This could explain why her title and name were placed at the end of the royal list.

[41] It should be noted that the spellings used to transcribe the name of Meret-Neith on the seal as well as on one of two stelae show an elaborate writing, associating the 3ae inf. *mr*(*j*) completed by a phonetic complement *r* and a feminine ending in *t*. This can transcribe a Perfective Passive Participle as well as an Imperfective Passive Participle *mrr.t Nj.t* – The One who is (always) beloved by Neith. It should be noted that a Prospective Passive Participle – *mr.t*(*j*) *Nj.t* -The One who will be (eternally) beloved by Neith – should be considered a possibility, even it is a rare form. As such a degree of complex writing is unattested before, this might also reinforce the late position of Meret-Neith after Oudou-in-Hor.

[42] See: Dreyer *et al*. 1996: 71-72, fig. 25 and pl. 14 a.

[43] Petrie 1900: 25. 'The seals are quite different from those of Den. Not one is common.' As some seals are attested in the upper funerary complex of Meret-Neith as well as in that of Horus Adj-ib and that the same high-ranking officials have served Meret-Neith and Horus Adj-ib reinforced the proximity of their reigns in time, emphasising heir later position after Oudou-in-Hor (ex Horus Den). See: Petrie 1900: pl. XXII-29 (Y26 + X51) and pl. XXIII-39 (Y8 + X 51).

[44] In that way, it might be that Meret-Neith was the one who was also responsible of the burial of her mother, Queen Her-Neith in her mastaba S 3507 in Saqqara as are showing the seals of the same dignitaries

After the loss of her royal consort and of her son, Meret-Neith found herself alone, once more, at the head of the whole land. When she in turn died, her memory disappeared from official royal lists, as did later on those of the women Pharaohs Sobeknofru, Hatshepsut Maâtkarâ or Taouseret in the lists of Abydos, Saqqara or the Royal Canon of Turin in the Middle Kingdom and in the New Kingdom.

At the end of the 1st dynasty, at the latest under Horus Hetepsekhemui, the first king of the 2nd dynasty, the new seal of the royal necropolis and the royal family not longer preserved the title and the name of Meret-Neith, indicating clearly that she was no longer alive and that she did not belong to the lineage of the Horus, to the sovereigns of Egypt, and that her memory had been relegated to the world of the queens, royal mothers and regents.[45] (Fig. 171)

Certain topographical features of the royal necropolis at Abydos shows, on one hand, that the arrangement of the tombs of this royal family was deliberately planned, while, on the other, reflect a situation of particular crisis within the royal family. (Fig. 160) Indeed, it is no coincidence that we find close to the funerary monument of Horus Wadji/Djet, that of his wife, royal mother and regent, Meret-Neith and that of the son, Oudou-in-Hor, with his royal parents, side by side. Apparently, we are in the presence of funerary complexes that belonged to the same family over at least seven generations: Horus Abou Hor, Horus Aha, Horus Djer, Horus Wadji/Djet, Oudou-in-Hor, Horus Adj-ib and Meret-Neith.

Rather strangely, the funerary structure of Horus Adj-ib lies just behind that of Meret-Neith, whereas those of Horus Seme(he)rkhet and of his son and successor Horus Qaa, the last official sovereign of the 1st dynasty, are placed to the south, on the other side of the sepulchre of Oudou-in-Hor, distancing itself materially and physically from those of the other members of royal the family who are all buried to the north of it. This division of the royal family and the successors around this royal funerary complex shows, in my opinion, serious problems of succession at the death of this sovereign. Although we do not know the name of the mother of the Horus Adj-ib, the fact that his own funerary monument was built near that of Meret-Neith, just behind, shows that he might have been very close to this branch of the royal family, and he could be more a son than a brother to Oudou-in-Hor, whom Meret-Neith, his grandmother, would have taken under her protection.[46]

At the death of Horus Adj-ib, his successor, Horus Seme(he)rkhet, perhaps his half brother, first set up his funerary complex on the other side of that of Oudou-in-Hor to the south. Breaking deliberately with the royal tradition, he showed an obvious will to dissociate himself from the other part of the family considering himself as the sole real successor of Oudou-in-Hor. Further convincing is the fact his own funerary complex contained a significant amount of the funerary furniture of Horus Adj-ib, tending to prove that he did not particularly respect the resting place of his predecessor. Pursuing his *damnatio memorae* against those who had dared to precede him on the throne, Horus Seme(he)rkhet made sure to erase all traces of the name of Horus Adj-ib, replacing it with his own on all stone dishes taken from his predecessor, asserting his legitimate claim to the royal throne.[47]

But more than the name of Horus Adj-ib, it was that of 'Two Falcons' that was in receipt of his ire. Placed systematically in the contemporary royal lists between the royal title of *nws.t bj.tj* Khasety of Oudou-in-Hor and that of Meri-bia-pi of Horus Adj-ib, the mention of 'Double Falcons' might indicate an unknown sovereign who may have directly succeeded Oudou-in-Hor.[48] (Fig. 173-175) If the place reserved for 'Two Falcons' between Oudou-in-Hor and Horus Adj-ib in the lists should refer indeed to the mention of an unknown sovereign having ruled Egypt in the same way as the other Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, having been incorporated into the royal succession of the 1st dynasty, especially in Saqqara, why did he not bear his own Horus name? Perhaps it is because the direct successor of Oudou-in-Hor could not pretend to the official royal titulary, and that it was probably forbidden for him to bear a Horus name and the title of *nsw.t bj.tj* King of Upper and Lower Egypt. If such should have been the case, only one conclusion would be appropriate: that the direct successor of Oudou-in-Hor was not a male sovereign. Had he been, he would surely have taken on a Horus name and the title of King of Upper and Lower Egypt at his accession.

The systematic erasure of 'Two Falcons' proves moreover that this name, even this titulary, hid a person that Horus Seme(he)rkhet did not recognise as a full sovereign and even less as the direct successor of Oudou-in-Hor.[49] It was clearly an historical figure who had reigned before Horus

attested in her high funerary complex (Y) in Abydos.

[45] Dreyer *et al*. 1996: 71-72, fig. 25 and pl. 14 a.

[46] Some seals may suggest that Horus Adj-ib may have originated from Buto in the Delta where he would have spent his youth as Prince, for example, his title of *Meri-bia-Pe*, 'The One who is beloved by the marvel of Pe'. For this, see Petrie 1900: pl. XXVI, fig. 58-60 with a mention of a North Palace Complex *ḥw.t ḥr*(*w*) *p*(*j*) *msn*(*w*) – Palace Complex of the Horus of Pe, the Harpooning -. For this institution, see Engel 2008: 107-126 who did not conclued to a north palace situated in Buto (Delta).

[47] Petrie 1900: 12 and 20.

[48] See also, for example: Amélineau 1899: pl. VIII on the middle right, pl. XLII second row on the left; Petrie 1900: pl. V fig. 2, pl. VI fig. 4, pl. VI fig. 6 (A. 1245), pl. VI, fig. 8; Naville 1914: 35, pl. VIII; Lacau and Lauer 1959: 10, pl. 4 Nr. 21, 11 pl. 8 Nr. 36; Kaplony 1965a: 18 figs. 32-33, 20 fig. 32-33; Kaplony 1965b: 13, fig. 22 and pl. IV, fig. 22 – priv. coll; Kaplony 1968: 20-24, pl. 11, fig. 1 and pl. 18, fig. 9 a; Kaplony 1973: 6 and pl. 7, fig. 25 – priv. coll.; Schlögl 1978: 22 and fig. 30 a-b as well 13; Spencer 1980: 42 pl. 23, 26, fig. 271 (BM 49278);

[49] See: Petrie 1900: 20 – 8 and pl. VI, fig. 9-10; Roth 1991: C: 7.

Fig. 173. Large dish with the list of the kings from Khasety up to Qaa (middle – end of the 1st dynasty). Cairo: Egyptian Museum, JdE 88345. After: Lacau 1959, pl. 4 Nr. 21.

Adj-ib, but was someone whose name did not deserve to be transmitted to posterity. It strongly suggests a woman who was sufficiently powerful to have borne a new royal title 'Two Falcons', created exclusively for her.

So, who might this powerful woman have been?

The royal mother Meret-Neith having very probably survived her son Oudou-in-Hor; a feminine figure under the title of 'Two Falcons' having succeeded very certainly directly *nsw.t bj.tj* (King of Upper and Lower Egypt) Khasety, another name of Oudou-in-Hor; and the provoking of the wrath of Horus Seme(he)rkhet, the link between Meret-Neith and the person bearing the title of 'Two Falcons' thus seems logical.[50] If it could be accepted that the royal title of 'Two Falcons' was that of a woman, and most importantly that of Meret-Neith, why should she have chosen this title? Lacau, observing these two raptors on their respective shields engraved on the royal lists on the stone dishes found in the subterranean galleries of the Step Pyramid of Horus Netjerikhet 'Djoser' in Saqqara, observed that 'this group of two falcons on their perches finds itself in Abydos in front of the name of the same king (MeribiaPe) … We do not see the meaning'.[51] Sethe assimilated it to the name

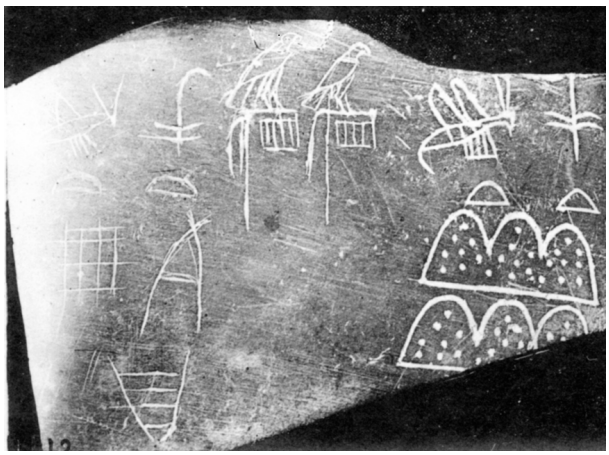

Fig. 174. Fragment of royal list with the Double Hawks. After: Petrie 1900, pl. V, fig. 5.

Fig. 175. Large dish with royal list, priv. coll. After: Kaplony 1968, 20 Nr. 9 and pl. 2, 11 and 18.

[50] What about the women of *Oudou-in-Hor* (ex Horus *Den*)? No one could be identified as the royal mother of Horus Adj-ib. For some women of this king, see Petrie 1901: pl. XXVII, fig. 120-125. The mother of Horus Seme(he)rkhet whose name is *Ba.ti-r-s.t* is only attested on a later monument of the 5th dynasty. See Hsu 2010: 74, fig. 5.
Deceased in young age, died in childbirth, having given birth to still-born children, women in early times of pharaonic Egypt were carrying a heavy burden with a very high infant mortality and their own death. The absence of a direct male descendant could have led to serious problems in the succession of Oudou-in-Hor (ex Horus Den) which would have forced Meret-Neith to intervene, once again, as guarantor of the dynasty and of the order.

[51] Lacau and Lauer 1959: 12. On page 21, he remarked that this mention of the Two Falcons / Hawks is only attested with no other sovereign than Horus Adj-ib.

nb.wy – The Two Lords –[52], in this case Horus and Seth, and observed: 'what is surprising, it is that it always preceedes the *nsw.t bj.tj* group (Meri-bia-Pe),'[53] being registered in front of no other royal name.[54]

Kaplony understood the group of the Two Falcons as *nṯr.wy* – The Two Gods – and believed it was a royal title of Horus Adj-ib;[55] however he changed his mind later, interpreting this group as the name of a divinity which would have indicated a 'royal nameless festive notation.'[56] Kaplony's remark 'the sole name of the Two Falcons cannot be appointed to king Meribia Pe'[57] – one name of Horus Adj-ib – is worthy of interest. It underlines indeed that 'Two Falcons' can only have pointed to an individual who would have directly succeeded Oudou-in-Hor, as it is clearly shown on about thirteen objects on which the chronological succession of the sovereigns from the middle up to the end of the 1st dynasty, from Oudou-in-Hor up to Horus Qaa, is perfectly attested.[58]

Historically, this poses a serious problem, because the group of 'Two Falcons' would postulate in the king list the existence of a new sovereign, who might not have had a Horus name, but might have been the direct successor of king Oudou-in-Hor. Furthermore, these two raptors on their standards are always placed at the height of the royal title *nsw.t bj.tj* – King of Upper and Lower Egypt – borne by all other sovereigns in the lists; it is as if this royal title corresponded of that of – The Two Falcons –, one duality replacing another. Why would an individual be called 'Two Falcons' when a king already embodies an original duality, that of – The Two Lords/The Two Gods - as omnipotent male sovereign? Did the queen not bear the title of *sm3w.tj nb.wy* – the One who unites with The Two Lords – since at least the reign of Horus Aha at the beginning of the 1st dynasty?[59]

A close observation of the two raptors on their respective standard shows clearly a difference of size between them. The Black Kite (*Milvus migrans*) and the Tern (*Sterna nilotica*) which have been associated to the mourners Nephthys and Isis over the body of Osiris in the Pyramids Texts come to mind.[60] Called the *Djerty* – The Two *Djerit* -, both were involved in the mourning for the royal funerary ceremonies.[61] The function of the 'Great' might have been attributed to the widow as queen and the 'Little' to the crown princess.[62] But what might have been underlined by the similarity of the form of their bulwark with the sign Gardiner M37/38 on some attestations[63] (Fig. 174), must be abandoned, the *Djerty* being never represented on a standard with baskets.

Staying within the framework of the royal burial and of the Horian duality, the reading *nṯr.wy* – The Two Gods – could be favourised. It is indeed well of two divine entities that it might be involved in the comprehension of the title of – The Two Gods –.[64] It could make on one hand allusion to two deified kings. On the other hand, this title matching that of *nsw.t bj.tj* – King of Upper and Lower Egypt –, – The Two Gods – could be in fact – The Two Falcons – which could be itself – *ḥr.wy* – The Two Horus – characterising a dualism by a double entity,[65] the Falcon of the North and the Falcon of the South.

Who else better than Meret-Neith as queen, royal mother and regent would have been able to bear this new title – The Two Falcon – The Two Horus, created especially for her, perhaps not only in reference to both deified kings – her royal consort Horus Wadji/Djet and their son Oudou-in-Hor – whom she had loved and of whom she felt the dynastic depositary but also as real ruler of the Double Land uniting the North and the South, Ombos and Hierakonpolis, under the same double crown?[66] (Fig. 172) This discovery is not without consequence because it suggests that it is necessary to deduct very certainly from the 42 years of reign (2 Heb Sed) attributed to Oudou-in-Hor, the time of regency and the reign of Meret-Neith, his mother, probably a little more than 10 years.[67]

Conclusion

No other queen of the Early Dynastic Period possessed so many royal privileges nor reached the power of Meret-Neith. A worthy grand-daughter of queen Neith-hotep, the very first woman of the royal family to have had her own *serekh* formed with the name of the goddess Neith,

[52] LEITZ *et al*. 2002: 801-802 with others mentions.
[53] LACAU and LAUER 1959: 12.
[54] LACAU and LAUER 1959: 12 citing Sethe. For the Two Lords, see Leitz *et al.* 2002: 801-802 with further mentions.
[55] LEITZ *et al*. 2002: 447-449.
[56] KAPLONY 1965 a: 145 n. 1, pl. XXII, fig. 6; KAPLONY 1973: 6 Nr. 25, pl. 7 et 20, fig. 25.
[57] KAPLONY 1973: 23-24, pl. 13, fig. 57.
[58] Table V, fig. 173-175 and n. 48.
[59] PETRIE 1901: pl. II, fig. 8-11.
[60] ALLEN 2005: 17 W5 - TP 230, § 230b, 46 W169 - TP 258, §308e, and 79 T194 - TP 259, §312e.
[61] EMERY 1938: 35-39, pl. 17-18 A. Two women are mourning the dead king as did Isis and Nephthys (the two Djerit) over Osiris (the dead king). The women might have been the Queen and the hereditary Princess of Horus Djer.
[62] EMERY 1938: 35-39, pl. 17-18 A.
[63] PETRIE 1900: pl. V, fig. 12. Note also the *serekh* form of the two bulwarks, especially the underpart!
[64] PETRIE 1900 pl. VI, fig. 8.
[65] LEITZ *et al*. 2002: 297.
[66] And it is certainly not an effect of coincidence if the feminine goddess, Tefnout, having been royal mother, regent and mistress of the country, is exactly determined in the same way in a passage of the Pyramids Texts bringing an additional evidence of the feminine identity hidden under the title of – The Two Falcons – The Two Gods – The Two Horus -. See ALLEN 2005: W165 - TP 254, § 288 a. For the rule of Tefnout, see MEEKS 2008: 268, n. 750.
[67] In what extent, this new title of – The Two Falcon – The Two Horus -–The Two Gods – The Two Lords – of Meret-Neith might have been linked to the two Horus, Horus Adj-ib and Horus Seme(he)rkhet, for whom Meret-Neith would have ensured the heritage as grand-mother, sovereign and guarantor of the royal lineage and of the order in the whole country can only incite to some reflexion.

Meret-Neith is considered as the daughter of Horus Djer and queen Her-Neith. From a seal representing her own *serekh* with the name of Neith next to the Horus name of her father, Meret-Neith may have been associated by him to some aspects of royalty, such as the ruling of the land or the celebration of some religious ceremonies. At the death of the king, she participated as crown princess with her mother, a widow and queen, in the funerary ceremonies of her father.[68]

She doubtless married her likely half brother, the future Horus Wadji/Djet. After 12 years of reign, he died and Meret-Neith found herself in the quadruple position of wife, queen, royal mother and regent for her royal youngster. Meret-Neith took then the control of the country as regent for her young son who rose on the throne of his fathers under the name of Oudou-in-Hor.

At the death of her son, perhaps to avoid the threat of a succession war between two pretenders of different lineages (two half brothers, the future Horus Adj-ib and Horus Sem(he)rkhet), Meret-Neith imposed her views by choosing one as her, perhaps he who was probably the younger or / and the closer to the royal branch. Older now, she probably took matters directly in hand as she had often done since her youth. Ruling Egypt once more, Meret-Neith became the very first woman pharaoh of history, but without bearing neither a name of Horus nor the royal title of *nsw.t bj.tj* – King of Upper and Lower Egypt – like a male sovereign.

A new and unique syncretic title expressing her different functions was conferred to her as The Two Falcons – The Two Horuses. This duality might have associated the notion of The Two Lords and The Two Gods to the memory of her deified husband and son on behalf of whom she felt the dynastic responsibility; however, it also expressed rule over the North and the South of the land, the sacrality of her functions and the strengthening of sovereignty as the sole guarantor of the royal lineage. As Meret-Neith died at an advanced age, her designated successor, the new Horus, Horus Adj-ib, accorded her all the tributes she deserved as a great sovereign by organising for her a burial within the royal necropolis at Abydos and at Saqqara.

Thus, she was the only woman to have ever been buried as a full sovereign in a double royal funerary complex (high and low) at Abydos, in Upper Egypt, in the South, where a funerary worship as a venerable ancestor, 'Great White', was established for her, setting Meret-Neith within the *nṯr:w*, the deified kings. In the North, in Lower Egypt, Meret-Neith was placed in her magnificent mastaba tomb S 3503 at Saqqara where she was accorded a great level of luxury as all the greatest sovereigns of this time. North of it, her spirit could rise in the funerary bark that had the purpose of transporting the spirit of Meret-Neith towards the northern part of the sky, where stars never go out … among the *nṯr:w*, the deified kings and the gods … an absolutely royal privilege indeed.

Her two funerary complexes in Abydos and in Saqqara were destroyed by violent fires. The inferno in her mastaba tomb S 3503 in Saqqara must have been so intense to have been visible from many kilometres away. Unlike the mastaba tomb S 3504 which is closer to the mastaba of Meret-Neith and was renovated by Horus Qaa at the end of the 1st dynasty[69], her own was never rebuilt. Furthermore, judging by the systematic way in which her title of – Double Horus – was eradicated, removed from any royal lists by Horus Seme(he)rkhet, it is not impossible that the hate which he felt for this woman may have pushed him to the worst extremes. Indeed, the traces of fire in her mastaba tomb S 3503 indicate in fact that it was a deliberate act by arsonists which could only have been committed with the prior consent of the royal administration. Shortly after the burial of Meret-Neith, a fire was set deliberately, a terrible death indeed for an ancient Egyptian. One may ask therefore to what extent the terrible disaster that hit Egypt in the time of Horus Seme(he)rkhet, according to Manetho,[70] could not have been due to the sacrilegious acts committed in his reign.

Despite the desire to annihilate the memory of Meret-Neith, her place as Double Horus in the royal lists at the very end of the 1st dynasty has been perfectly preserved and accepted as shown by the numerous engraved inscriptions found on the stone vessels of the funerary complex of Horus Netjerikhet in Saqqara.

[68] See Emery 1938: 35-39, pl. 17-18 A. One may ask if the two-unnamed tearful feminine figures on this label, sitting in their palanquins, could not have been the Queen and the Crown Princess mourning the death of the consort and father, Horus Djer. Indeed, what has been taken as a sign representing the town of Buto is in fact, after it has been enlarged, the hieroglyphs forming the title *sm3w.tj nb.wy*, the One who is united with the Two Lords – a title borne by the Queen in these early times. This first woman could be identified as the Queen of Horus Djer, Her-Neith – The One with the face of Neith – buried in mastaba tomb S 3507 in Saqqara (Troy 1986: 152 1.6). If the first person was the Queen, the second could be only the Princess, in this case, Meret-Neith. As for the title *m3(3.tj) ḥr(w)/wr(w)* – The One who sees Horus/The Great or The Venerable –, if it is not another title of the Queen, it could have designated the second woman, in our case, Meret-Neith, as Crown Princess and future Queen. For this title, see also Petrie 1901: pl. XXVII – 96: stela of woman, reign of Horus Djer, Abydos and two others, pl. XXVII, fig. 128 and 129, reign of Oudou-in-Hor (ex Horus Den).

[69] As no sovereign, would have done the same for the mastaba of a high-ranking official or a prince of the royal house, the reconstruction of S 3504 suggests that it might have been a royal burial. Due to its proximity to S 3503 attributed to Meret-Neith, it might have been assigned, as such, to her royal consort, Horus Wadji / Djet who would have been buried there, in the necropolis of Saqqara, under his own name – *s(w3)ḏ sḫm K3* – He who refreshes / renews the power of (my) Ka – showing an early example of haplography where the initial complements are built into the words *s(w3)ḏ* and *sḫm*. See Petrie 1901: pl. XII, fig. 3. For another examples of haplography, see Edel 1955 / 1964: § 102.

[70] Waddell 1964: 33, 35.

Then if kings of the 1st and perhaps also the 2nd dynasties recognised in their time and in their own way the place of Meret-Neith as one of their own as a full sovereign of Egypt, why not grant her the rightful royal place she deserves? She was the very first woman to rule Egypt having had her own Neith name as a counterpart to the male Horus name and having borne her own title of Double Horus, as Horus of the South and Horus of the North, as a counterpart to the title of - King of Upper and of Lower Egypt?

It would be pointless to deny further the place as the first woman pharaoh of Ancient Egypt to Meret-Neith. Such must have been her power that it probably led, Horus Ninetjer, according to Manetho, among others, in the middle of the 2nd dynasty to promulgate, less than two generations later, the right for every woman to rise on the throne of Egypt.[71] It was her extraordinary destiny and the personality of Meret-Neith, beyond doubt, that paved the way for all future women pharaohs of Pharaonic Egypt, such as Khentikau I, Sobeknofru, Hatshepsut Maâtkarâ, Nefertiti, Tauseret and Cleopatra VII.

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[71] WADDEL 1964: 36 ff. Finally, I would like very much to take the opportunity to express here my deep gratitude to all those who have been in charge of our contributions.

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Regional Administration in Late Middle Kingdom Egypt[1]

Alexander Ilin-Tomich

Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia

Abstract: *The review of the evidence provided by surveys of Late Middle Kingdom epigraphic evidence from Thebes and Antaeopolis suggests that the organisation of regional administration in these two regions did not follow a common pattern. Whereas in Antaeopolis the tradition of early 12th dynasty gubernatorial courts continued into the reign of 13th dynasty, at Thebes, a new kind of administration emerged around the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III. A brief overview of Late Middle Kingdom evidence for high local administrators from other regions shows that regional administration was organised differently at different centres.*

Keywords: *administration, nome, Middle Kingdom Egypt*

1. The state of research

One thing modern scholars know for sure about Late Middle Kingdom regional administration is that it left less monumental evidence than that of the Early Middle Kingdom. In particular, the tradition of richly decorated rock-tombs of local potentates terminated in late 12th dynasty. The disappearance of decorated rock-tombs in the regions has been the subject of numerous essays in Egyptological literature. Its reasons remain controversial, as seen from the most recent analyses by Detlef Franke and Harco Willems.[2]

Whether caused by the shift of power from the regions to the centre or by developments in funerary culture, this change stripped us of very valuable sources on local administration. Hence, most scholars agree that local administration of the Late Middle Kingdom is poorly documented and remains virtually unexplored. The evidence drawn from the el-Lahun papyri,[3] Wahsut seals,[4] and the few private administrative titles with references to specific localities[5] is too fragmentary to form a clear picture.

Given the lack of contemporary sources, scholars starting from William C. Hayes[6] and Wolfgang Helck[7] have drawn upon the tribute scenes from 18th dynasty tombs of Useramun and Rekhmira[8] to picture Late Middle Kingdom administration. These idealised organisation charts of the regional administration adjoin the text known as the 'Duties of the vizier', which is dated by a number of scholars to the Late Middle Kingdom based on the institutional analysis.[9] Students of Late Middle Kingdom documents sought to identify the structure of local administration depicted in the tribute scenes with the organization emerging from the study of the el-Lahun papyri[10] or papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446.[11] On the contrary, Wolfram Grajetzki maintained the view that the el-Lahun papyri (as well as Second Intermediate Period stelae from Edfu) evidence no major changes in the local administration as compared to early Middle Kingdom sources. He nevertheless admits that the tribute scenes provide evidence for a reorganization of local administration, which could help explain the absence of the holders of the title *ḥ3tj-ʿ* in a number of regions.[12]

The aim of this paper is to discuss positive contemporary evidence on the Late Middle Kingdom regional administration obtained from epigraphic sources. The study of local administration based on this material faces two principal obstacles. On the one hand, numerous objects, scattered across dozens museums worldwide, stem from undocumented excavations conducted mainly in the nineteenth century and have no recorded provenance. On the other hand, many objects come from votive zones such as the sacred area at Abydos or the sanctuary of Heqaib on Elephantine and could belong to patrons originating from virtually any region of Egypt. Hence, to study regional administration, one has to establish the origin of private memorial monuments. Two case studies by the present author are based on the corpora of private memorial monuments

[1] This research was supported by the Russian Foundation for Humanities (project no. 14-31-01271).

[2] Franke 1991; Willems 2013: 391–392; Willems 2014: 177–181.

[3] Luft 1982: 129–143; Quirke 1990: 160–173; Horváth 2009.

[4] Wegner 2007: 353–364.

[5] Quirke 2004: 111–118.

[6] Hayes 1955: 77, 139.

[7] Helck 1958: 214.

[8] Davies 1943: pl. XXIX–XXXV, XL; Dziobek 1994: 85–89.

[9] For the background of the question and the arguments in favour of an early 18th dynasty setting, see van den Boorn 1982 and van den Boorn 1988: 333–374. Counterarguments in favour of a Late Middle Kingdom date were put forward in Kruchten 1991; Pardey 2003; Quirke 2004: 23–24; Morris 2005: 212–213; Quirke 2010: 62 (these arguments mainly concern institutions and toponyms that fell out of use after the Middle Kingdom). However, a recent analysis of the language of the 'Duties' testifies the existence of a number of linguistic features that rather cannot antedate the New Kingdom. Stauder 2013: 191–193.

[10] Luft 1982: 129–135; Horváth 2009: 182.

[11] Hayes 1955: 77, 139.

[12] Grajetzki 2009: 119–121; see also Grajetzki 2013: 228.

of the Late Middle Kingdom attributable to Thebes and to Antaeopolis, the principal city of the 10th Upper Egyptian nome.[13] These corpora were established based on region-specific personal names distinguishing the dwellers of the Theban region[14] and on artistic features distinguishing the stelae produced at Antaeopolis.[15]

2. Antaeopolis: Persistence of governors

The group of Antaeopolite monuments, comprising 52 sources from Late 12th dynasty and 13th dynasty, allows reconstructing the composition and hierarchy of the local officialdom. As indicated by the size of the monuments and the respective position of holders of different titles on stelae, the governors (holders of the title string *ḥ3tj-ʿ+jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr* '*hatia* and overseer of god's servants' occasionally reduced to *ḥ3tj-ʿ*) were most important among the local officials.

To the second highest rank belong the deputy governor and estate overseers. Among other prominent Antaeopolite officials one finds overseers of the provisioning area, keepers of clothing, overseers of weavers, overseers of sealers, treasurers, and a reporter.

One stela from 13th dynasty gives a perfect snapshot of the Antaeopolite gubernatorial court.[16] It shows the governor sitting on a high chair with a keeper of clothing represented opposite him as an attendant. In lower registers, an estate overseer and an overseer of sealers sit on chairs that are more modest and an overseer of clothing is squatting on one knee.

Judging from this evidence, one may conclude that local administration at Antaeopolis in the Late Middle Kingdom remained confined to the entourage of the governor and the managers of his estates. Specific titles such as 'keeper of clothing,' 'overseer of weavers,' and 'keeper of the measure' as well as the overall structure make the Late Middle Kingdom Antaeopolite administration resemble the administration of Middle Egyptian provinces as reflected in the decoration of monumental rock-tombs at Beni Hasan and el-Bersha from early 12th dynasty and as reconstructed by Stephan Seidlmayer on the basis of the arrangement of tombs in the necropolis of Beni Hasan.[17]

Thus, one may say that the administration of Antaeopolis of late 12th dynasty and 13th dynasty has not apparently changed since early 12th dynasty.

3. Thebes: the reporters and god's servants of Amun

On the contrary, the administration of Thebes demonstrates traits of a reformed local administration strikingly different from its Early Middle Kingdom antecedents. It can be reconstructed from a corpus of private inscriptions attributable to Thebes through direct references or through characteristic Theban personal names. Thebes was the second most important administrative centre of Late Middle Kingdom Egypt after the royal residence at Itj-Tawy; hence, the monuments attributable to Thebans are much more numerous than those of Antaeopolites (and they are also larger in size): a study by the present author enumerates 210 Late Middle Kingdom Theban documents with male non-religious titles. They contain over two hundred different titles, of which 25 occur at least four times.[18]

There is no sign of governors ruling at Thebes after Amenemhat III in the documentation under study. While early 12th dynasty documents from Thebes attest several governors with the usual title string *ḥ3tj-ʿ+jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr* '*hatia* and overseer of god's servants', starting from Amenemhat III, the same person no longer combined these functions of the head of local administration and of the supreme priest. The overview of the top tier of the local administration suggests that the place of the governor in the administrative and priestly structures now belonged to two different persons.

The *ḥm-nṯr n jmn* 'god's servant of Amun,' often holding the rank title *ḥtmw bjtj*, emerged as the top religious administrator.[19] The decree of Senwosret III from Deir el-Bahri provides the earliest evidence for the topmost position of the 'god's servant of Amun' among the clergy of a temple.[20] It appears that the god's servant of Amun was not only responsible for the temple of Amun, but also overlooked other temples in the Theban area, for the decree orders to provide regular offerings to the cult of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri. The three known holders of the title string *ḥtmw bjtj+ḥm-nṯr n jmn* date from 13th dynasty and belong to the highest local officials, judging from their monuments.[21] The god's servants are the only category of priests (except the holders of the title *jtj nṯr* 'god's father,' some of whom were the fathers of kings, and high priests of other deities holding specific titles), who held a rank title, suggesting their prominent position.[22] One may thus argue that the office of the god's servant of Amun in the Late Middle Kingdom was a forerunner of the much-studied office of *ḥm-nṯr tpj n jmn* 'the first god's servant of Amun,' known from the New Kingdom[23] onwards.

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[13] Ilin-Tomich 2015; Ilin-Tomich forthcoming.
[14] Ilin-Tomich 2012a; see also Ilin-Tomich 2012b.
[15] Ilin-Tomich 2011.
[16] Lyon: *Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*, H 1576; Ilin-Tomich forthcoming: fig. 1.
[17] Seidlmayer 2007.
[18] Ilin-Tomich 2015.
[19] Ilin-Tomich 2015: 124–125.
[20] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 38655; Naville 1907: pl. XXIV.
[21] Ilin-Tomich 2015: 124.
[22] Grajetzki 2000: 110 n. 5.
[23] Lefebvre suggested that this title existed already in the Middle

It remains unclear whether the god's servants of Amun without the rank title *ḫtmw bjtj* occupied the same position at the top of a temple administration. Their monuments are more moderate in size (Trieste 12003 is 46 cm high; Wien ÄS 152 is 28 cm; Aswan 1356, on which two god's servants of Amun are mentioned by their brother, a great of the southern tens, is 66 cm high[24]) than those of *ḫtmw bjtj+ḥm-nṯr n jmn* (70 and 86 cm high[25]) but still suggest that their owners enjoyed a significant position.

As far as the civil administration is concerned, it is argued that the new top office of local civil administration was that of the reporter (*wḥmw*).[26] The title *wḥmw* is ambiguous; reporters are known to serve as household officials in large estates, as officials for special missions,[27] and as regular high local officials. The prominence of the reporters among other Theban officials of the Late Middle Kingdom can be inferred from their monuments, which were particularly large. Besides, they held rank titles unattested for other local officials except the governors, and they controlled a bureau attested in documents.

Holders of such titles as the controller of scribes (of the Southern City), the overseer of fields of the Southern City, and the director of the broad court constitute the next level of local administration. These officials also occasionally bear rank titles indicating their importance. Below these notables stand such middle rank officials as the scribes of the great enclosure. Holders of this specific Theban title owned numerous mid-sized stelae. They are also represented on the monuments of greater officials.

Lower ranking officials usually do not possess their own monuments. One learns about them from the documents of their more successful relatives. To the lower rank officials at Thebes belong particularly masters of the *tm* (*ḫrj n tm*) this title rarely occurs outside Southern Upper Egypt. The titles characteristic of gubernatorial courts, such as 'keeper of clothing,' 'overseer of weavers,'[28] and 'keeper of the measure' are not attested in Theban documentation.

With the introduction of reporters into the local administration evidenced by the Theban material of the Late Middle Kingdom, its structure becomes closer to that represented in the tribute scenes from 18th dynasty tombs. In these, the local administration is represented by the mayors holding the title '*hatia* of (a town),' the reporters, the scribes of the reporters, rulers of settlements (*ḫḳ3 ḫwt*), district councillors (*ḳnbtj n w*), and district scribes (*sš n w*).[29]

4. Other regions

The evidence for top officials' titles attested in different regions during the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period is summarised in Table 11 (in geographical order, from south to north). As can be seen from the table, there are other regions where the titles 'reporter' and 'god's servant (of the local god)' appear in the Late Middle Kingdom, like at Thebes (Komir, Esna, Lahun, Heliopolis). Notably, in Heliopolis a single person could combine both titles. There are also regions, where the title string *ḫ3tj-ʿ+jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr* still occurs, like in Antaeopolis (Memphis, Bubastis). In diverse towns of Memphis-Faiyum region, in Lower Egypt, and at Wahsut, a town built at the mortuary complex of Senwosret III at Abydos and supposedly governed by officials from the Memphis-Faiyum region, another title string was more common, *ḫ3tj-ʿ+jmj-r3 ḫwt-nṯr* '*hatia* and overseer of temple'.[30] Finally, at a number of centres, the title *ḫ3tj-ʿ+*(town name) '*hatia* of a town' was used (Gebelein, Tod, Armant, Koptos, Khanetjerimesut, Sekhemameny, Athribis), but mostly interchangeably with lengthier variants of the title string including the title *hatia*.[31] In many regions, different titles are mixed, and the scarcity of available sources does not allow making conclusions as to whether the different titles coexisted or replaced one another at a certain time point.

Kingdom. Lefebvre 1929: 63. But this opinion is based on a shabti of a 'second god's servant of Amun' from the reign of Amenhotep III, wrongly dated to the Middle Kingdom. Hayes 1951: 238 n. 464. Lefebvre also pointed out that a contemporary of Ramesses IX claimed that a 'pure dwelling' (*ʿt wʿbt*) of the first god's servants of Amun was originally constructed by Senwosret I (*KRI* VI, 534, 13–15). Lefebvre 1929: 60–61. This can however hardly be considered a solid evidence for the existence of the office of the first god's servant of Amun under Senwosret I in the lack of contemporary sources.
Outside Thebes, the only pre-New Kingdom evidence for the title 'the first god's servant' dates from 16th - 17th dynasty and comes from Elkab and Hierakonpolis: tomb of Horemkhauf (Davies 2001: pl. 7–8. New York: *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 35.7.55; Hayes 1947) tomb of Sobeknakht (Tylor 1896: pl. VII, l. 18–19, pl. VIII), Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 36824 (Kubisch 2008: 272–274, pl. 9b), Chicago: *Oriental Institute Museum*, 5032 (Quibell 1900: pl. XLVI.1). At Thebes, no attestations antedate 18th dynasty. Statue Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 704 cited as the earliest Middle Kingdom attestation of the title 'the first god's servant' (Ward 1982: no. 936–937, followed by Grajetzki 2000: 110 n. 4; Quirke 2004: 129; Kubisch 2008: 274) belongs to the Late Period (Vernus 1978: 70–71; Lembke and Vittmann 2000: 34 n. 111).

[24] For references, see Ilin-Tomich 2015: Table 1.

[25] Ilin-Tomich 2015: 124.

[26] Ilin-Tomich 2015: 123–124.

[27] To this group probably belonged the certain Ameny from the reign of Senwosret I, who was mobilising Upper Egyptians for major expeditions. Farout 1994.

[28] Two exceptional Theban attestations are the overseer of weavers *sʿnḫ*, mentioned by his brother, an estate overseer of god's offerings (Cambridge: *Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.207.1900, E.273.1900), and the overseer of weavers *snb* known from a seal from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Martin 1971: no. 1482).

[29] For the overview of the epigraphic evidence for the two latter titles, see Russo 2010.

[30] Stephen Quirke suggested that the difference between *ḫ3tj-ʿ+jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr* and *ḫ3tj-ʿ+jmj-r3 ḫwt-nṯr* was that the former official governed a town with more than one prominent temple, whereas the latter ruled a smaller town with only one temple. Quirke 2004: 121.

[31] For this title, see in particular Willems 2013: 373–374. The interchangeability of '*hatia* of a town' with other variants of the title string rather speaks against the Willems's attempt to define this title as 'mayor' as opposed to lengthier titles appurtenant to governors.

5. Conclusion

Recent studies on the early Middle Kingdom regional administration by Harco Willems[32] emphasised a high degree of variability across Egypt. Willems criticised earlier approaches based on the presupposition that a uniform structure of local administration existed throughout the Nile valley, emphasising the difference between Middle Egypt and Southern Upper Egypt and the existence of independent lines of development at certain regions.

The evidence discussed in this paper suggests that the same was basically true for the Late Middle Kingdom as well. The ideal image of the local administration organised uniformly throughout Egypt, which is presented by the New Kingdom tribute lists and commonly adopted by Egyptologists, probably never existed. Instead, a high degree of regional diversity can be observed. In some regions, the local administration was reformed and the top-most positions were occupied by the reporters and high priests. In other regions, the governor's office lasted throughout 13th dynasty and occasionally in the Second Intermediate Period. Often, both patterns were combined.

[32] WILLEMS 2013; WILLEMS 2014: 33–53.

Administrative centre	*ḥ3tj-ʿ+jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr* '*hatia* and overseer of god's servants'	*ḥ3tj-ʿ+jmj-r3 ḥwt-nṯr* '*hatia* and overseer of temple'	*ḥ3tj-ʿ*+(town name) '*hatia* (of a town)' or *ḥʿtj-ʿ* '*hatia*' without further titles	*wḥmw* 'reporter'	*ḥm-nṯr* 'god's servant'
Elephantine	a series of governors are attested at the sanctuary of Heqaib, ending with *ḫnmw-ḥtp* around the reign of Sobekhotep IV[33]		a *hatia* of Elephantine is mentioned in an administrative document from 13th – 17th dynasty; he is said to be informed of an action[34]	a reporter of Elephantine occurs in the same[35] document; he communicates directly with the vizier and acts at his order	
Edfu	a series of governors are attested on stelae from the tomb of Isi from 13th dynasty onward[36]		a person supposedly of the same rank is once referred to simply as *hatia* of Edfu[37]		god's servants of Horus of Edfu occur under 13th dynasty[38] and 16th –17th dynasty[39]
Elkab and Hierakonpolis	governors of Elkab are referred to as *hatia* and overseers of god's servants in their tombs from 16th dynasty[40]		the same persons are referred to simply as *hatia* of Elkab in other contexts[41]		first god's servants of Horus of Nekhen occur under 16th dynasty[42]; one is known from the same period without the epithet 'first'[43]; besides, a god's servant of Osiris, who is in Hierakonpolis, is known from 13th –17th dynasty[44]
Komir				a reporter appears on the stela of a god's servant from Late 13th – 17th dynasty[45]	a god's servant of Horus in Komir appears on the same stela
Esna			a *hatia* of Esna is known from 13th dynasty[46]	a reporter owned a tiny 13th –17th dynasty stela found at Esna[47]	a god's servant is attested on a scarab from Esna[48]

[33] Franke 1994: 90.
[34] Leather roll Berlin: *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung*, 10470; Helck 1988; Quirke 1990: 203–207.
[35] This table is to be read from left to right.
[36] Vernus 1987: 837–849.
[37] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum, JE 46200;* Kubisch *2008: 234–238, pl. 7c.*
[38] Alliot 1935: 33 (13), pl. XVII.2. Warsaw: *Muzeum Narodowe*, 141262; Marée 2009: fig. 7.
[39] Alliot 1935: 34 (15), pl. XIX.2. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20530. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 45704; Vernus 1987: no. 60. Hildesheim: *Roemer und Pelizaeus-Museum*, 4589; Kubisch 2008: 185–191, pl. 3. Marée 2009: fig. 16. Warsaw: *Muzeum Narodowe*, 141295; Marée 2009: fig. 10.
[40] Tomb of Sobeknakht; Tylor 1896.
[41] Tomb of Renseneb; Davies 2010: 227. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum, JE 52453;* Lacau 1949. Khartoum: *National Museum of Sudan*, 1087; Welsby and Anderson 2004, no. 75.
[42] See footnote 23 of the main text.
[43] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* JE 52453; Lacau 1949.
[44] New York: *Brooklyn Museum*, 16.580.154; James 1974: no. 114.
[45] Cambridge: *Fitzwilliam Museum,* E.199.1899; Martin 2005: no. 25. The toponym was read by Franke. Franke 1994: 77.
[46] Gauthier 1926; Date betrayed by the epithet *nb ʿnḫ ɜwj,* unattested in the offering formula before Amenemhat IV.
[47] Downes 1974: 83 fig. 46 (340E).
[48] Downes 1974: 58, 63 (245E).

Gebelein			a *ḥ3tj-ʿ n* [...] occurs on a stela from 13th dynasty[49]		
Tod			a *hatia* of Tod is attested on a stela from 16th –17th dynasty[50]; a stela by the same workshop belonged to a *hatia*[51]; a further *hatia*, who was also a commander of Tod, appears on another stela from the same period[52]		
Armant			a *hatia* of Armant appears in papyrus Boulaq 18[53]; a servant of a titleholder is known from 16th –17th dynasty[54]		
Thebes	the latest attested governor dates from the reign of Amenemhat III[55]			a number of reporters and members of their apparatus in the period are attested from Senwosret III to Nebererau[56]	three god's servants of Amun are known with the rank title *ḫtmw bjtj* and four without it (see above)
Medamoud					two god's servants of Montu at Medamud are known from th 13th dynasty[57]
Koptos			a *hatia* of Koptos known from 17th dynasty[58] is also once referred to simply as *hatia*[59]		
Dendera				two reporters occur among the ancestors of an estate overseer of Dendera[60]	

[49] Daressy 1898: 72 (CXLVIII bis).
[50] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum, CG 20649.*
[51] London: *Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology,* UC 14551; Stewart 1979: no. 121.
[52] Pittsburgh: *Carnegie Museum of Natural History,* 9007-57; Kubisch 2008: 302–303, pl. 10b.
[53] Scharff 1922: line XXI.2.18.
[54] Paris: *Museé du Louvre,* E.13053; Ledrain 1879: pl. XI.
[55] Deir el-Bahri tomb 211; PM I, 654.
[56] Ilin-Tomich 2015.
[57] Aswan: *Aswan Museum*, 1356 and Vienna: *Kunsthistorisches Museum* ÄS 5897. References in Ilin-Tomich 2015: 135 (5), 148 (209).
[58] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 30770 bis; Polz 2007: pl. 13. Regen and Soukiassian 2008: no. 14 (Gebel Zeit 549).
[59] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* JE 44737; Polz 2007: 43 fig. 13.
[60] Hanover: *Museum August Kestner,* 1926.191; Cramer 1936: no. 7.

Wahsut	several governors are attested with the title string '*hatia* and overseer of god's servants'[61]	the same persons and some further officials are attested with the title string '*hatia* and overseer of temple'[62]		a sealing of a *sš wr n wḥmw* 'great scribe of a reporter'[63] was found at Wahsut, though it could be attached to an item from elsewhere	
Abydos		a *hatia* and overseer of the temple, who was also a commander of Abydos, is attested under 17th dynasty[64]	a *hatia* of Abydos is known from 13th dynasty[65]		
Antaeopolis	governors' tombs date from early 12th dynasty to Amenemhat III; governors' stelae are known from late 12th and 13th dynasty[66]		the same officials were occasionally referred to as *hatia* of Antaeopolis[67]	a reporter owned a 13th dynasty stela attributable to Antaeopolis[68]	
Asyut	a tomb inscription likely dating from year 22 of Amenemhat III mentions a *hatia* and overseer of god's servants of Wepwawet, the lord of Asyut and great chief (*ḥrj-tp ꜥ3*) of the 13th UE nome in its entirety[69]			a *wḥmw nsw* 'king's reporter,' bearing the rank titles *jrj-pꜥt+ḥ3tj-ꜥ+rḫ-nsw* is known[70]	
Meir, Hermopolis, and Beni Hasan	local lines of governors terminate around the reign of Amenemhat III[71]		a *hatia* of the Hare nome is attested on a scarab[72]		
Herakleopolis		a *hatia* and overseer of temple is attested from 13th dynasty[73]			

[61] Wegner 2007: 336 (3, 5, 8); Wegner 2001: fig. 11.
[62] Wegner 2007: 336–337. Wegner also notes that the same persons also used the title string *ḥ3tj-ꜥ+ḫtmtj-nṯr* '*hatia* and god's sealer.' Wegner 2007: 339.
[63] Wegner 2007: 352.
[64] Paris: *Museé du Louvre*, E.13057; Franke 1985: 175–176.
[65] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20724.
[66] Ilin-Tomich forthcoming.
[67] Martin 1971: no. 1159. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20022.
[68] Berlin: *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung*, 21822; Steckeweh 1936: 53–54, pl. 18.
[69] Tomb M12.3; Kahl *et al.* 2015: 117–121.
[70] Liverpool: *World Museum*, 1966.178; for the reference see Ilin-Tomich 2015: n. 33. However, J. J. Clère, who saw the object at an antiquities trader before it entered the Liverpool collection, considered the inscription to be a modern addition. J. J. Clère archive files ANT-64-66 and ANT-66-22 at the Louvre, accessed through the kindness of Patricia Rigault.
[71] Willems 2014: 179–180.
[72] Martin 1971: no. 406; Willems 2014: 181.
[73] Saint Petersburg: *State Hermitage, 1082;* Bolshakov and Quirke 1999: no. 7. Origin betrayed by the title 'great of the temple of Herishef'.

Establishments connected with the pyramid of Senwosret II at Lahun		a number of *hatia* and overseers of temple of Hotep-Senwosret and Sekhem-Senwosret are attested on papyri and sealings from late 12th dynasty[74]	occasionally these officials are referred to simply as *hatia* of Hotep-Senwosret[75] or just *hatia*[76]	a reporter is referred to in the Lahun papyri as a top administrator[77]	a god's servant is known from a statue from Lahun[78]
Khanetjerimesut			a *hatia* of Khanetjerimesut is attested under late 12th dynasty[79]		
Crocodilopolis	two holders of the title string '*hatia* and overseer of god's servants of Sobek of Shedet' are known from 13th dynasty stelae[80]	two holders of the title string '*hatia* and overseer of temple' are known from a 13th dynasty stela[81]	a *ḥ3tj-ʿ n š rsj* '*hatia* of Faiyum' is attested on a late 12th dynasty offering table[82]; another official from 13th dynasty is called *hatia*[83]; both bear the name *w3ḏ-wr* and evidently belong to the same family as the earlier governor *w3ḏ*, who held the titles *hatia*, overseer of god's servants and overseer of the temple[84]		a god's servant of Sobek with the rank title *ḫtmw-bjtj* occurs under 13th dynasty[85]; besides, two god's servants from late 12th dynasty[86] and one of uncertain Late Middle Kingdom date[87] are known
Mortuary establishments at Lisht		a *hatia* and overseer of the temple is attested on a scarab[88]			
Sekhemameny			a *hatia* of Sekhemameny is attested in an inscription from Sinai[89]		

[74] MARTIN 1971: nos. 732, 1544, 1544A. LUFT 1982: 103–112.
[75] MARTIN 1971: no. 442, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1618.
[76] London: *Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*, UC 7317; STEWART 1979: no. 95).
[77] LUFT 1982: 133; QUIRKE 1990: 167; HORVÁTH 2009: 182.
[78] Manchester: *Manchester Museum,* 287; PETRIE 1891: pl. XII.10.
[79] Paris: *Museé du Louvre,* C 24; GAYET 1886: pl. XXV.
[80] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20562. Moscow: *Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts*, I.1.a.5350; HODJASH and BERLEV 1982, no. 36. The same person holds the title string '*hatia* and overseer of god's servants' on Durham: *Oriental Museum*: EG513, accessible on the museum website. FRANKE 1984: dossier 85.
[81] Leiden: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,* V. L. D. J. 2; BOESER 1909: no. 34.
[82] PETRIE 1890: pl. XI.14.
[83] GAUTHIER-LAURENT 1933.
[84] BRESCIANI 1998.
[85] Leiden: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,* V. L. D. J. 2; BOESER 1909: no. 34. Two further god's servants on the same stela bear no rank titles.
[86] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 43093; VERBOVSEK 2004: 454–455, pl. 10c. Yverdon-les-Bains: *Musée d'Yverdon et région*, [A]; VERBOVSEK 2004: 458–459.
[87] MARTIN 1971, no. 1238.
[88] MARTIN 1971: no. 1730.
[89] GARDINER and PEET 1952: no. 94, pl. XXIX (a); the title was restored by O. D. Berlev in his slip index of titles.

Memphis	a *ḥ3tj-ʿ+jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr n mn-nfr* '*hatia* and overseer of god's servants of Mennefer' is attested on a scarab[90]				a god's servant of Ptah with the rank title *ḫtmw-bjtj* occurs under 13th dynasty[91]; two other are known from the same period without the rank title[92]
Heliopolis		a *hatia* and overseer of the temple of Heliopolis is attested on a scarab[93]	a *hatia* of Heliopolis is attested on a scarab[94]	a reporter, who was also a god's servant of Atum, the lord of Heliopolis, occurs under 13th dynasty[95]	a god's servant of Atum, the lord of Heliopolis, occurs under 13th dynasty[96]; another one from the same period was also a reporter[97]
Athribis			a *hatia* of Athribis is attested on a scarab[98]		
Bubastis	a *hatia* and overseer of god's servants of Bastet is known from a late 12th dynasty statue[99]		a *hatia* without additions to this title is known from a statue[100]		a god's servant of Bastet was also a *hatia* and overseer of god's servants of Bastet[101]
Ezbet Rushdi		a *hatia* and overseer of the temple is known from a statue[102]			
Mendes			two *hatia* are known[103]		

Table 11. The occurrence of the titles of *hatia*, reporters, and god's servants across the centres of Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period Egypt[104]

[90] Martin 1971: no. 182.
[91] Paris: *Museé du Louvre*, AF 9917; Delange 1987: 224; for the date see Franke 1994: 69).
[92] Paris: *Museé du Louvre*, C 289; Ledrain 1879: no. 16. Leiden: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, L.XI.10; Boeser 1909: no. 26. Dublin: *Classical Museum*, University College Dublin, 1365; Quirke 2000: pl. XXXII.
[93] Martin 1971: no. 309.
[94] Martin 1971: no. 637.
[95] Gasse and Rondot 2007: no. 101.
[96] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum, CG 20030.*
[97] Gasse and Rondot 2007: no. 101.
[98] Martin 1971: no. 183. For the reading of the title, see Berlev 1989: 309.
[99] Herriat-Raznah: Sharqeya Nat*ional Museum*, H 850; Bakr, Brandl, and Kalloniatis 2014: no. 10.
[100] Zagazig: *Museum of Zagazig University*, B 513; Bakr, Brandl, and Kalloniatis 2014: 13 fig. 16.
[101] Herriat-Raznah: *Sharqeya National Museum,* H 850.
[102] Adam 1959: 213–214, pl. VIB, VIIC.
[103] Soghor 1967: 25 (2MI1). de Meulenaere and MacKay 1976: pl. 16 (39).
[104] In the course of the work on this table, the slip index of Middle Kingdom titles by Oleg D. Berlev was consulted in his archive at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (Saint Petersburg) through the kindness of Ivan V. Bogdanov.

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Enemies Hanged Upside (Head) Down

Uroš Matić

Institut für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Münster, Germany

Abstract: *This paper examines the written and visual attestations of enemies hanged upside (head) down during the New Kingdom. It will be argued that the concept of hanging enemies upside down can be recognised in some finds previously not associated with it (six walking sticks and the yoke of a chariot of Tutankhamun). The paper also compares the treatments of enemies by hanging upside down with the treatments of criminals in New Kingdom Egypt and the damned dead in the Egyptian underworld. This provided an interpretative background for the study of the textual attestations for this treatment of enemies, the introduction of which in Egyptian war conduct should be dated to the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, possibly even Thutmose I. The treatment is discussed in the context of the integration of Nubia into the sacred landscape of Egypt through a staged transformation of dead enemies into sḫd.w 'the ones who are upside down' and their presentation in Karnak and Napata, the cult places of Amun.*

Keywords: *violence, treatments of enemies, sḫd.w, Karnak, Napata*

1. Introduction

Violent treatments of enemies and prisoners of war are encountered in various cultures destabilising the premodern-modern opposition in the conduct of war.[1] Whether or not this presence of violence cross-culturally can be related to its biological, or perhaps rather, evolutionary basis in humans is still debated. It is certain however that violence in humans is always meaningful as cultures, social structures, ideas and ideologies shape all dimensions of violence.[2] This is especially true in war contexts where the representations of war are always 'framed' whereas 'frames' are the ways of selectively carving up experience as essential to the conduct of war.[3]

War is a recurrent research theme in Egyptology, covering a range of topics such as the history of war, the military itself (ranks, titles, organization), logistics, weaponry, fortifications etc.[4] Treatments of enemies and prisoners of war have attracted serious Egyptological attention quite recently, first as part of the studies of capital punishment and public executions,[5] and then as the bound prisoner motif in the New Kingdom.[6] However, these studies do not cover all available attestations (written, visual and bioarchaeological), and certain violent treatments are left unstudied and not compared with the treatment of criminals within Egypt and the damned dead in the Egyptian underworld.

This paper deals with attestations for the hanging of enemies' upside down (*m sḫd*). First all written and visual attestations are presented together with the case where the same treatment is attested as the punishment for criminals. Some other well-known finds (six walking sticks of Tutankhamun; yoke of Tutankhamun) which were previously, to the best of my knowledge, not related to enemies hanged upside down are introduced within this context. After this follows an overview of attestations of the state of being upside down in the Egyptian underworld from the *Pyramid Texts* to 'the Book of what is in the Netherworld' with particular attention given to the *sḫd.w* 'the ones who are upside down'. The paper then discusses the talatat of Tutankhamun with a depiction of a caged prisoner, previously argued to be a visual parallel to the textual attestations here discussed. It will be shown that this depiction cannot be related to the hanging of enemies' upside down and that this practice is not to be understood as drowning of enemies as it was argued by some authors. Finally, the paper discusses the transformation of enemies into *sḫd.w* in the context of the inclusion of Nubia into the sacred landscape of Egypt, achieved through the presentation of enemies in Karnak (Thebes) and Napata, the cult places of Amun.

2. Written Attestations

Hanging enemies upside down is presently attested in only three texts, the Biography of Ahmose son of Ebana, and the Amada and Elephantine stelae of Amenhotep II. The Biography of Ahmose is located in his tomb in El-Kab.[7] The Amada stela inscription is in the temple of Amada, whereas the Elephantine stela is fragmented and located in Vienna and Cairo.[8] Actually, the texts

[1] Harrison 2012.
[2] Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004: 3.
[3] Butler 2009: 26.
[4] A complete reference list cannot be given here because of the paper's limits. The reader is advised to consult the work of A. Spalinger (2005) where the key references up to that date are provided and discussed.
[5] Schulman 1988; Muhlestein 2011.
[6] Janzen 2013.
[7] *PM* V, 182.
[8] Wien: *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung*, Vienna 5909-upper part; Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE

on the Amada and Elephantine stelae have only minor differences and could be considered as two versions of the same text.[9]

The Biography of Ahmose son of Ebana, chief of the rowers of king Ahmose, first king of the 18th dynasty, is found on the interior, east wall, in his tomb in El Kab.[10] The text of the biography deals with Ahmose's military career under several kings: Ahmose, Amenhotep I and Thutmose I. The part of the text in which hanging of enemies' upside down is attested refers to the events in the reign of Thutmose I. However, the biography dates on philological grounds to the reign of Thutmose III with Thutmose II as the earliest possible date.[11] The tomb itself is on stylistic grounds dated to the reign of Thutmose III, but this topic needs further examination.[12] Paheri, Ahmose's grandson, was the second owner of the tomb and he was responsible for its decoration[13] and Paheri's own tomb is estimated to have been decorated in the beginning of the reign of Thutmose III.[14] Stylistic similarities have already been noticed between the two tombs.[15] Therefore, we cannot claim that the practice of hanging enemies upside down is attested in sources which are contemporary with Thutmose I, but rather that the practice was known in the time the text of Ahmose's biography was written in the tomb of Ahmose son of Ebana, namely under Thutmose II or more probably Thutmose III. This date is also closer to the second attestation under Amenhotep II, Thutmose III's son, and is also synchronous with the first attestation for hanging upside down as punishment for criminals in Egypt (TT100 under Thutmose III, see below). Whether or not the practice is known under Thutmose I, as the text indicates, cannot be confirmed with contemporary sources from his reign. This could very well be the case, but it could also be the case of a motif transference into the description of an event in which in reality this never happened.

The biography of Ahmose son of Ebana informs us that Thutmose I had a campaign in Nubia in which Ahmose was the head of the king's navy. Regarding the hanging of the enemy the text states:

nᶜ.t m ḥdj jn ḥm=f ḫ3s.wt nb.(w)t m 3mm.t=f jwn.tj-pḏ.tj pf ḫs(.w) m sḫd.w m ḥ3.t bjk n ḥm=f dj.w r t3 m Jp.t-s.wt[16]

'His Majesty was travelling downstream. All foreign lands were in his grasp. That wretched Nubian (was) upside down on the prow of the ship of His Majesty, placed on the ground in Karnak'.

The other attestation for this practice is on the Amada and Elephantine stelae of Amenhotep II. The Amada stela is located on the back (east) wall of the sanctuary of the temple of Amada.[17] The Elephantine stela was originally placed in the Temple of Khnum and later moved to Armant, but is now in two separate parts in Vienna and Cairo.[18] The date on both texts is 3rd regnal year, 3rd month of *šm.w*, day 15 of Amenhotep II.[19] As the differences in the text on the two monuments are not significant, the transliteration and translation are given for the Amada temple stela only:

ỉj.n ḥm=f m 3w.t-ỉb n ỉtj=f Ỉmn sm3.n=f p3 wr.w 7 m ḥḏ=f ḏs=f wn.w m w n tḥsj ḏj.w m sḫd m ḥ3.t bjk n ḥm=f ntj rn=f m ḏd (ᶜ3 ḫpr(.w) Rᶜw) smn t3.wj wn.jn=tw ḥr ᶜḥ.t p3 s 6 m nn ḫr.w m ḫft-ḥr sbtj n W3s.t n3 n ḏr.wt r mj.tjt ᶜḥᶜ.n sḫn=tw p3 ky ḫr.w r t3 stj ᶜḥ.w n p3 sbtj n Npt r rḏ.t m33=tw nḫt.w ḥm=f r nḥḥ ḥnᶜ ḏ.t m t3.w nb.w ḫ3s.wt [*nb(.wt)*] *nw t3 nḥsj*[20]

'Then His Majesty came (back) in joy of his father Amun, (after) he slain the seven princes with his own mace, who were in the region of Tachsi. They were placed upside down on the prow of the ship of His Majesty, whose name is said 'Aakheperure, who unites Two Lands'. One piled up six men of these enemies in front of the wall of Thebes, their hands too.

One took the other enemy southwards to Nubia, who was piled up on the wall of Napata, to cause the victory of His Majesty to be seen forever and ever in all lands and all foreign lands of Nubia'.

There are presently no other known textual attestations for the practice of hanging enemies upside down. It is interesting that the practice is hinted at in the design of later objects, and these will be discussed as visual attestations for it.

3. Visual attestations

There are six walking sticks from the tomb of Tutankhamun which are of interest for the study of the hanging enemies upside down.[21] To them can be added the yoke of one of the chariots from the tomb. The sticks from the tomb of Tutankhamun are interpreted as walking sticks because their height ranges from 93.5 to 115cm, and one end takes a familiar curving shape, encountered

28585, CG 34019-lower part.
9 *Cf*. BEYLAGE 2002: 278; KLUG 2002: 283, 290.
10 *PM* V, 182.
11 POPKO 2006: 205.
12 DAVIES 2009: 141.
13 POPKO 2006: 205–206.
14 MANNICHE 1988: 86; WHALE 1989: 283.
15 VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 226–227.
16 *Urk*. IV. 9, 3–6.
17 *PM* VII, 70.
18 *PM* V, 229.
19 *Urk* IV. 1289. 1–2.
20 *Urk*. IV. 1297. 1–1298.3.
21 The information on the sticks are most detailed on the website of the Griffith Institute where digitalised documentation of Howard Carter can be found. [http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/]. Accessed on 26.05.2016

with sticks such as *ꜥw.t*, *ms.t*, or *ḥḳ3.t* which were clearly orientated with this curved end at the top.[22] This is additionally confirmed with their orientation in tombs of Sesenebef in Lisht, Ita, daughter of king Amenemhat II in Dahshur, Henemyt in Dahshur, king Horus Awybre in Dahshur, were these sticks where found next to the body of deceased with the curved ends next to the heads of the deceased.[23] There are authors who suggest that the sticks from the tomb of Tutankhamun were in their use oriented exactly the opposite, so that the curved end is down and the straight end is up. They explained this by the wish of the Egyptians to harm magically the enemies depicted on the curvy ends of the sticks by drawing the sticks on the ground.[24] The problem with this suggestion is that none of these sticks shows any traces of use in the area where the enemies are depicted, although this could be countered with the argument that perhaps the sticks were not made to be used but to be deposited in the king's tomb. However, there are traces of use on non-curved ends of some other sticks from the tomb, suggesting their proper orientation.[25] Whether or not the king really needed the sticks due to the state of his health is irrelevant, as we do not know if the walking sticks were given as grave offerings to other kings whose tombs were heavily looted.[26]

The handles of the walking sticks in question are decorated with figures of enemies from Syria[27], Nubia[28], and both Syria and Nubia[29]. The heads of enemies are in all cases at the very end of the curved handle of the stick so that by holding the sticks the enemies would be held by their feet which are themselves depicted as being tied. Thus, the head of each enemy is down and the legs up being held by the one who uses the stick. The same case is with the yoke of one of the chariots of Tutankhamun.[30] Here the yoke curves in a similar way ending with the head of a Syrian prisoner on one side and a head of a Nubian prisoner on the other.[31] The heads are actually not really down as in the case of the walking sticks mentioned above, but as the yoke curves the same way as the sticks it could be that there was the same idea of presenting the enemy orientated with his head down.

Decorating some of the walking sticks and a yoke from the tomb of Tutankhamun with enemies hanged upside down would have certainly had a strong visual impact. In addition to the visual aspects, by holding these objects, the king would also hold enemies hanging upside down. Thus, the enemies would magically be put under royal control through the manner of their representation.[32]

Finally, there are numerous representations in New Kingdom battle scenes of enemies depicted falling down from the top of their forts or just being depicted in the act of falling. Well known are those of the Ramesside date such as e.g. the siege of Arzawa and one more city depicted in the upper register of the outside west wall of the north tower of the 1st Pylon in Medinet Habu and dated to the reign of Ramesses III.[33] However, these representations should not be related to the treatment of the enemies discussed in this paper as there is no unequivocal connection between the depictions of falling enemies and the act of hanging enemies' upside down intentionally.

4. Hanging upside (head) down as punishment

The only, to the best of my knowledge, known case of capital punishment through *t3(r).w sḫd* 'fastening upside down' can be found in the biography of the vizier Rekhmire in his tomb (TT100) in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (West Bank at Thebes), where he states that he caused the *grgy.w* 'liars'[34] to be punished like this.[35] This punishment has received little attention from scholars dealing with ancient Egyptian law and capital punishment,[36] and its significance will be discussed at the end of the paper in context of the treatments of enemies. It is important to stress here that this punishment is so far not attested before the reign of Thutmose III when the tomb of Rekhmire was constructed. Also, it must be said that we cannot be sure this treatment meant death for the punished.

5. *sḫd.w* in the Underworld

The lexeme *sḫd* 'to be upside down', found in all three textual references to the hanging of enemies' upside down, is attested in texts which describe the ancient Egyptian Netherworld. The lexeme is determined with sign A29, depicting a man with stretched arms bent at the elbow and turned upside down.[37] The *sḫd.w* 'the ones who are upside down' are mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts* where the deceased king is using spells to prevent him either from seeing them, as in PT 260,[38] or to himself be upside down, as in PT 649B.[39] The *Coffin Texts*[40] (Spell 173) also contain attestations of the wish not to

[22] Hassan 1976: 6–8.
[23] Hassan 1976: 84–88.
[24] Smith 2003: 184.
[25] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 61729; Hawass *et al.* 2010: 644–645.
[26] Kurth 2010: 85.
[27] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 61734; Carter 100a.
[28] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* JE 6173; Carter no. 048. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* JE 61735; Carter 48b. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* JE 61736; Carter no: 48c.
[29] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* JE 61733; Carter 48d. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* JE 61732; Carter no: 050uu.
[30] Cairo: *Egyptian Museum,* JE 61989. Carter Obj. no. 159=120d, belonging to chariot A2.
[31] Littauer & Crouwel 1985: 23.
[32] Ritner 1994: 120; Gell 1998: 103.
[33] Heinz 2001: 314.
[34] *Wb* V, 190.5.
[35] Davies 1943: 81.
[36] Müller-Wollermann 2004; Lippert 2012.
[37] *Wb*. IV, 265.8–266.10.
[38] Allen 2005: 47; Sethe 1908: 323b
[39] Sethe 1910: 2155b.
[40] CT III, 47c–51e.

go upside down, but now for the first time in relation to the wish not to eat excrement or drink urine.[41] The *Book of the Dead* chapters 51, 53 and 189 mention the danger of being turned upside down in relation to coprophagy.[42] The eleventh hour of the Book of Amduat contains the words of Horus used against his enemies, among which are those who are upside down.[43] The *sḫd.w* are also attested in The Book of Caverns where we also find their representations in the form of bound captives turned upside down, similar to the sign A29. Here they are also described as *nṯṯ.yw* 'bound', *snf.yw* 'bloody' and *ḫntj.w-ḥtm.yt* 'robbed of hearts'.[44] *sḫd.w* are also depicted in the third register of the eleventh division of the 'The Book of what is in the Netherworld' in the tomb of Ramesses VI.[45]

Being turned upside down is thus related to the prevention of the normal use of the body. Bodies turned upside down are condemned to reverse the functions of their body parts and the process of subsistence of the body. Eating excrement and drinking urine is related to going upside down at least since the *Coffin Texts*, and the deceased tries to avoid it.[46] Thus, excrement can be understood as a metaphor for the danger to identity, to society threatened by what is outside, the threat to life from death.[47] The *sḫd.w* can be understood as the abject ones as described by J. Kristeva, since abjection turns the rules aside, and it takes the form of a rite of defilement and pollution.[48] The relation of *sḫd.w* to excrement indeed makes them belong to the world of the Other.[49]

6. Discussion

There are several points which will be addressed in this discussion. First, some previous studies will be critically addressed as some of the material in them is interpreted as visual attestation of the practice of hanging enemies' upside down. Secondly, the connection between enemies, criminals and the damned dead will be discussed in relation to the act of hanging upside down. Third, this connection will serve as the basis of an argument that hanging of the enemies upside down transformed them into *sḫd.w* and this transformation had a specially staged setting.

Some authors interpret the talatat of Tutankhamun, found by G. Legrain and associated by H. Chevrier with the fill of the Second Pylon at Karnak,[50] as a visual attestation of the practice attested in the biography of Ahmose son of Ebana and the Amada and Elephantine stelae.[51] This talatat originally belonged to a temple structure that Ay built or at least decorated for Tutankhamun, identified as the 'Mansion of Nebkheperure at Thebes' and a 'Mansion of Million Years' according to the inscription on some of the other blocks which belonged to it.[52] The problem with the interpretation of A. Grimm and K. Muhlestein is that not only is the enemy on the talatat depicted in a cage but he is also not depicted upside down. Additionally, it is clear that the scene was oriented towards the left, and that this means that the cage is not located on the prow but on the stern of the ship.[53] This is why the interpretation of the talatat in the light of the textual attestations for hanging enemies upside down cannot be accepted. It can also not be taken as evidence for drowning enemies, as argued by A. Grimm and K. Muhlestein for both the textual attestations of hanging enemies' upside down and the talatat. The textual attestation on the Amada and the Elephantine stela indicates unequivocally that the enemies were killed before being brought to Egypt. In the case of the Biography of Ahmose son of Ebana this is not stated but it may be implied. This leaves us then, for now at least, with a limited corpus of attestations to investigate in the context of the same treatment being used for the criminals and the damned dead — it is clear that although the *sḫd.w* and being *m sḫd* are well attested from the Old Kingdom, this state of being and treatment is not attested before the New Kingdom for criminals and enemies in war. Does the inspiration for the treatment of criminals and enemies comes from a religious context? Unfortunately, hanging upside down of criminals is attested in only one text and is not a standard practice of punishment. Indeed, we cannot be sure that this punishment for criminals was a death penalty. Interestingly the religious background is perhaps more relevant for the hanging of enemies' upside down and I would like to concentrate on this in the end of the paper.

Namely, in both the biography of Ahmose son of Ebana and on the Amada and Elephantine stelae of Amenhotep II, Karnak plays an important role in this treatment. In the biography of Ahmose son of Ebana, the enemy was brought to Karnak from Nubia and placed on the ground there. On the Amada and Elephantine stelae, the text mentions seven princes being hanged upside down, after which six were piled up (hung?) in front of the wall of Thebes, together with their hands. The seventh was piled up (hung?) on the wall of Napata. Clearly, the choice of the number seven is not accidental, as number seven is rich in symbolism and meaning and it carries in essence the symbolic background of completeness, effectiveness

[41] KADISH 1978-1979: 205.
[42] HORNUNG 1979: 123–125, 402–405.
[43] HORNUNG 1963: 181.
[44] WERNING 2011: 100–101, 532.
[45] PIANKOFF and RAMBOVA 1954: 309–310.
[46] ZANDEE 1960: 75–78; KADISH 1978-1979: 210–211; *cf.* VON LIEVEN 2011.
[47] KRISTEVA 1982: 71.
[48] KRISTEVA 1982: 17.
[49] *cf.* ŽIŽEK 2006: 317.
[50] CHEVRIER 1956: 11.
[51] GRIMM 1987: 203–205; GRIMM 1989: 113–117; MUHLESTEIN 2005: 173–179; MUHLESTEIN 2011: 47; *cf.* THEIS 2014: 98–99.
[52] EATON-KRAUSS 1988: 4–7; GABOLDE and GABOLDE 1989: 140–144; JOHNSON 1992: 41–45.
[53] EATON-KRAUSS 1988: 7; JOHNSON 1992: 191, Fig. 21.

and perfection.[54] Some authors use this as an argument to doubt the historicity of the texts in question.[55] Here the symbolical however complements that of the historical. This treatment is not attested before the reign of Thutmose I (the event in the biography of Ahmose son of Ebana), or perhaps more precisely before Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (date of the Ahmose's Biography and Amada/Elephantine texts) and is also not attested later. It can be thus claimed that this treatment of enemies was not a standard practice, but this does not mean it was not complementary with its background, namely with the asking for the blessing of father Amun by New Kingdom kings before their going on their campaigns, which was indeed a standard practice.

After a successful campaign and victory the king would return to express his gratitude to his father to whom he would present the gifts made out of spoils of war from these campaigns. We know that such events had an audience standing on the riverbank as the return was by water.[56] Indeed, most public events in which the king or his officials participated used the public space provided by the temples.[57] Therefore such triumphal returns from the war had to be set to achieve a proper effect on the observers. Both the biography of Ahmose son of Ebana and the stelae from Amada and Elephantine are describing exactly these events in which the king would express his gratitude to Amun after the victory by going to Karnak. In the case of the stelae from Amada and Elephantine, the role of Napata has to be explained in this context and the meaning of the number of enemies, especially the division into six plus one, altogether seven. It is well known that Karnak and Napata were both cult places of the god Amun, each of them having a temple dedicated to this god. Napata is considered to be the birthplace of Amun and residence of his southern form.[58] The temple of Amun in Napata could have been seen as the *kꜣ* of the temple of Amun in Karnak, although there is no text which explicitly states this.[59] Thus, if we understand number six as royal dualism in various aspects and number one as the singularity of creation,[60] it becomes clear why six enemies were placed in Karnak and one enemy in Napata. Napata is the birthplace of Amun and closing the circle there where the god came into existence also completes Amenhotep II's victory and his expression of gratitude to Amun. Both Amun and Re are frequently associated with number seven.[61] In this process turning enemies upside down would transform them into 'living' objects/mimetic icons, because the icon in semiotics is a sign which has representative characteristics similar to the ones of the object and establishes its correlation with the object based on this similarity.[62] The so called iconic sign can have the same properties as its object, can be similar to it, analogous to it or motivated by the object.[63] The quality that the enemies share with the *sḫd.w* is that they are both enemies of the king and gods. Being that icon presupposes that there is a relationship between an image, in our case, that of the enemy hanged upside down, and a previously culturalised content (in our case *sḫd.w*), the turning of the enemies upside down can be interpreted as their staged setting for the sake of semblance to the object-*sḫd.w*. The connection between the enemies, the criminals and the damned turned upside down was already suggested in relation to the idea that the enemy should share the destiny of the damned in afterlife.[64]

Thus the enemies are transformed into the ones who are upside down (*sḫd.w*), being placed in triumph on the prow of the ship in which the god-king himself rides on the river Nile and bringing them to his divine father in both Karnak and Napata. Such a dramatic aspect of the event can be related to the materialization of primeval myths in which the god defeats the forces of chaos that he encounters on the prow of his barque.[65] The number seven is also encountered in relation to the barque of Re and it plays a crucial role in defeating enemies on his daily journey.[66] Thus, the symbols are crucial for the proper setting of these events, as ideology is not be understood as false reality in a classic Marxist sense, but rather as the crucial element of the reality itself. Without the symbolic coordinates that determine what we experience as the reality, the reality itself would shatter.[67] If the symbols were to be taken away, the Egyptian god-king would not be more than human. Instead, by placing seven enemies on the prow of his *bjk* 'falcon ship'[68] and thus turning them into *sḫd.w,* the king turns himself into Amun -Re and is the only entity on earth who can defeat the enemies of Egypt. Such a setting must have had a tremendous impact on the observers on the riverbanks.

The question is why does this treatment of enemies with all the associated symbols appear in the reigns of Thutmose I (presumably) and Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. Common to both cases, the biography of Ahmose son of Ebana and the stelae from Amada and Elephantine, is the incorporation of Nubia into the dominion of the Egyptian king: the event in the biography of Ahmose son of Ebana is related to the king's response to a rebellion in Nubia, and the stelae of Amada and Elephantine include Napata in the event. This could be interpreted as the

[54] Dawson 1927; Pamminger 1992: 133; Rochholz 2002; Mojsov 2007: 150–152.
[55] Rochholz 2002: 244
[56] Spalinger 2011: 96–100.
[57] Gillam 2005: 90.
[58] Kendall 2013: 213–215.
[59] Kendall 2013: 213–215.
[60] Schulz 2000: 251.
[61] Rochholz 2002: 93–95, 127–131.
[62] de Toro and Hubbard 1995: 78.
[63] Eco 1979: 191.
[64] Zibelius 1984: 87.
[65] *cf*. Pamminger 1992: 112.
[66] Rochholz 2002: 128–129.
[67] Žižek 2002: 16.
[68] *Wb*. I, 445. 14–16.

ideological implementation of Nubia into the Egyptian domain and the legitimisation of the king's rule in this region. The stelae of Amada and Elephantine indeed claim that the enemy was brought 'to cause the victory of His Majesty to be seen forever in all lands and all foreign lands of Nubia'.[69] Amenhotep II thus continued the sacral integration of Nubia which had started in earlier reigns culminating under his father Thutmose III. At Gebel Barkal (Napata), a fortress called *sm³ ḫ³s.wt* 'Slaughter of the Foreigners' was already in existence before the reign of Thutmose III, as on his Gebel Barkal stela he mentions building a chapel for Amun-Re there in Gebel Barkal (Napata).[70] It should also be mentioned here that a unique sphinx of Amenhotep II was found in a fragmentary condition in Gebel Barkal (Napata), rearing up and holding at least three Nubian prisoners in its paws.[71]

A visual reference to the king's/god's victory over the enemies and its materialization through the transformation of enemies into *sḫd.w* therefore gives a symbolic frame of reference to the development of Egyptian power in Nubia. The choice of the treatment of enemies with all of its symbolic connotations thus served exactly a specific historical purpose and can therefore not be dismissed as non-historical.

7. Conclusion*

Hanging enemies' upside down, although limited in attestations, exhibits parallels in both the unusual treatment of criminals and the well established state/ treatment of the damned dead. The textual attestations can be most closely related to the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, with a question-mark over whether the reference to the same treatment under Thutmose I is to be understood as transference of a later practice or not. The context of this practice in the description of the actions of Thutmose I in Nubia fits well with the later textual attestations and the descriptions of actions of Amenhotep II.

As the talatat of Tutankhamun cannot be interpreted as visual evidence for the practice, only the six sticks and a chariot yoke from the tomb of Tutankhamun remain. The context of the enemy hanged upside down indicates the agential potential of images through their manipulation, even if they were perhaps never actually used. Textual attestations for the hanging of enemies' upside down are not to be dismissed as fiction. Their appearance in the context of the triumphal return of the king from his campaign and the expression of his gratitude and the presentation of spoils of war to his father Amun indicates their symbolic background. This is especially evident in the placing of six enemies in Karnak and one enemy in Napata in the text of the Amada and Elephantine stelae. The choice of the number seven, and six and one as its components, is related to the dual aspect of Amun and its expression in Karnak and Napata, his birthplace. The hanging of enemies upside down and their transformation into *sḫd.w,* together with the reference to the dual aspects of Amun and his birthplace in Napata, is related to the presentation of the god-king as the ruler of both north (where the seven princes were slain) and south (where the last one of them was brought). The sum of these enemies presented in both cult places of Amun (six in Karnak, one in Napata) indicates perfection and completeness, and at the same time integrates Nubia in the sacred landscape of Egypt and legitimises Egyptian power in it.

[69] *Urk*. IV. 1298.3.
[70] MÜLLER 2013: 6, 298.
[71] LACOVARA 2010: 217–220.

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Egypt and the Southern Levant Nomadic Populations: the Dynamics of Relations During Late Bronze/Early Iron Age

Eva Katarina Glazer

Department of History, Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia

Abstract: *Southern Levant witnessed many changes in its political and social structures during the transition from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age. Textual evidence points to Egyptian involvement in the area, but there is no clear image of the character of the relations between Egypt and the local population. Recent archaeological investigations support the notion that the region was occupied by pastoral nomadic societies. In what way did the pastoral nomadic populations affect Egyptian interests? Was the nomadic population related to the production and trade of metal? How did the environmental conditions affect trade? This paper will provide several models of explanation and offer better insights into the dynamic of relations between Egypt and the nomadic populations of southern Levant in the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age by utilising comparative analytical methodology of all of the available data: Egyptian documents, Biblical accounts, and archaeological and environmental data.*

Keywords: *southern Levant, Egypt, nomadic population, trade, copper, mining, metallurgy, Bronze Age, Iron Age*

1. Introduction

The Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transitional period was a complex and diverse period marked by many changes in the political and social structures of ancient Near Eastern societies. It witnessed the collapse of several strong Bronze Age societies[1] as well as the emergence of the first historically recorded states or kingdoms based on complex levels of social organisation.[2] When considering these dynamics of social changes in the southern Levant region (Israel, Palestine and Jordan), we must examine the developments and historical trajectories of the entire region and of the preceding periods. One of the central factors in the development of the earliest civilisations was the emergence of copper metallurgy. In the first half of the 20th century AD, scholars held that the advances in metallurgy must be linked with the emergence of urbanism and the rise of some of the earliest civilisations.[3] As one of the first important items of long-distance bulk trade in the Mediterranean, copper played a major role in the development of Mediterranean civilisations. Although incomplete in many respects, a large body of data is accessible on the production and trade of copper and other metals in the Bronze Age.[4] It is likely that the production and circulation of metals occurred in several different ways in the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC. The metals trade would have differed considerably in volume and organisation in different regions, depending on geography, locally available resources, local metallurgical technology, established trade routes and various social and political factors. Some of the best evidence for aspects of the early trade in copper and tin comes from Near Eastern texts of the late 3rd and 2nd millennium BC. The most direct textual evidence for the copper trade in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean comes from Amarna.[5] Egypt developed a high degree of centralisation in the production of copper and bronze goods and in some instances in their importation as well. Along with the Egyptian documents, recent archaeological data from southern Jordan related to pastoral nomads and metallurgical processes shed new light on social structures of the period and provide new insight into the context of relations between the nomadic population of the southern Levant and Egypt. The character of relations must be explained by using analytical methodology to compare all the available data, not just the Egyptian documents, but also Biblical accounts and the accessible archaeological data from southern Levant. That is why the focus of this paper is to present the results of archaeological investigations of the several sites from the Faynan district. These have supplied evidence of extensive metallurgy production in the southern Levant and point to the pastoral nomad population as the main providers of such enterprises. The archaeological data as well as the textual evidence will be used for the purpose of enlightening the dynamics of relations between pastoral nomads and Egypt.

2. Setting the stage – A brief overview of the region

The southern Levant, especially Jordan, Israel, and Palestine, were home to one of the earliest centres of metal production in the world from the Chalcolithic Period, c. 4500-3600 BC.[6] The region was 'pre-

[1] For example, the collapse of the Hittite empire, or of Myceanean society. For more on the subject of the collapse at the end of the Bronze Age and the plausible reasons see: Glazer 2006; Glazer 2012.

[2] Such as Edom in the southern Levant, cf. La Bianca and Younker 1998: 399-415.

[3] Childe 1930.

[4] Jones 2007: 8.

[5] Moran 1992.

[6] Hauptmann 1989.

adapted' to be a centre of ancient metal production due to the large deposits of cupriferous ore-bearing deposits situated along the margins of Wadi 'Arabah that separates the modern countries of Jordan and Israel.[7] Most of the copper ore deposits of the southern Levant are fundamentally different from the common occurrences of copper ores from the other regions of the Near East. Southern Levant copper minerals are usually oxidic, sulphides are rare, and they appear as secondary mineralisation in sandstones or ore pockets in paleokarst. The most important of these deposits occur in Cambrian and Cretaceous sandstone and dolomite, and the most extensive outcrops are those of Faynan and Timna.[8] The origin of the copper ore deposits in Faynan and Timna is complex, with gradual enrichment of copper and manganese through secondary deposition.[9] The raw material for copper production in Faynan and Timna occur in two major geological deposits with specific characteristics and minerals.[10]Although the diagenesis of copper mineralisations in Faynan and Timna is similar, the exposure of the host rock formations is different and consequently there is a difference between the two areas regarding the main ore sources exploited in antiquity. As one of the most important resource areas for copper in the southern Levant, the Faynan district has provided evidence for numerous single and multiple occupation sites. It is mentioned in the Bible as the location of Punon, one of the 40 stations mentioned in the book of Numbers.[11] Archaeological literature provides extensive evidence concerning ancient mining and smelting sites spanning the Chalcolithic (c. 4500-3600 BC) through to the Islamic Periods in the Faynan region.[12] Recent investigation points to the importance of the region as the largest source of copper ore during Bronze Age period in the southern Levant.[13]

3. Metallurgy in the Southern Levant

The Near East contains some of the oldest examples of metalworking in the world. From 6000 BC, the peoples of the ancient Near East began mining a number of different metals: copper, tin, gold, silver, iron, lead, arsenic (in alloys) and – to a limited extent – antimony. They also used naturally occurring or artificial alloys, such as electrum and copper. Copper was also found with other metals, including arsenic, creating a sort of natural bronze. One of the major difficulties for ancient metalworkers was the purification of the ore so the first stage of production was smelting.[14]

The smelting of copper in the southern Levant is recorded as early as the 5th millennium BC.[15] Archaeological data points to continuous evolution in ceramic production technology between Neolithic and Chalcolithic[16] so the development of copper metallurgy should be considered indigenous to the southern Levant.[17] Also noteworthy in southern Levantine metallurgy is the occurrence of furnaces in its earliest stages, for example at Timna, dated to the 5th millennium BC.[18] Southern Levantine metallurgy differs from the others in the manner of its emergence, the process of smelting, its technical achievements, and its rather rapid evolution toward a 'proto-industrial' process of production, purification and alloying of copper.[19] The smaller copper deposits of the Arabah region of the Negev desert were exploited intermittently from the Chalcolithic into the 1st millennium BC and later, sites in the region are perhaps the most extensively studied metallurgical sites in the eastern Mediterranean.[20]

As already mentioned, the earliest metal production sites in the southern Levant date to the Chalcolithic period (c. 4500-3600 BC), when production was carried out near large buildings within village settlements found primarily in Israel's northern Negev desert far away from the source areas of copper in the Arabah valley and Sinai Peninsula.[21] From the beginning of the 4th millennium BC, southern Levantine metallurgy was expanding toward the Sinai Peninsula and the Eastern Desert area in Egypt.[22] Chalcolithic metallurgy was linked to the emergence of the first chiefdoms in this part of the Near East and seems to have been controlled by social elites.[23] By the beginning of the Early Bronze Age I (c. 3600-3300 BC), with the collapse of Chalcolithic settlements over

[7] The Jordanian of copper ore bearing deposits is at Faynan, approximately 50 km south of the Dead Sea while the Israeli source is located 105 km south in the area of Timna, 25 km north of the Gulf of Aqaba; see ROTHENBERG 1988, HAUPTMAN *et al.* 1992.

[8] BEN-YOSEF 2010: 90.

[9] SEGEV and SASS 1989; SEGEV *et al.*, 1992.

[10] The lower and richest unit is the Cambrian dolomite-shale formation, known as Dolomite-Limestone-Shale Unit (although in Faynan and Timna limestone is not present) or Burj formation in Faynan, and Timna formation in the southern Arabah. The upper unit is part of the so-called 'Nubian' sandstone formations and is known as the Massive Brown Sandstone Unit in Faynan, where it is part of the Cambrian Umm-Ishrin formation, and as Amir/Evrona (of uncertain age, but probably Lower Cretaceous) formations in Timna, cf. BEN-YOSEF 2010: 96-97.

[11] Numbers 33: 42-43 is generally identified with the Greek *Phaino*, the present Khirbet Faynan in Jordan, cf. LEVY *et al.* 2002: 427-427.

[12] HAUPTMANN 1989; 2000; HAUPTMANN *et al.* 1992.

[13] LEVY *et al.* 2002: 425.

[14] GREEN 2008: 680.

[15] AMZALLAG 2009: 502.

[16] GILEAD 1980; MERKEL and ROTHENBERG 1999.

[17] AMZALLAG 2009: 503.

[18] This dating is based on typical Chalcolithic flint axes and the radiocarbon dating of an ash sample from the habitation near the furnace, ROTHENBERG and MERKEL 1998.

[19] AMZALLAG 2009: 504.

[20] ROTHENBERG 1972; ROTHENBERG 1988; ROTHENBERG 1990; MERKEL 1983; MERKEL 1986; BAMBERGER *et al.* 1986, ROTHENBERG and GLASS 1992; HAUPTMANN *et al.* 1992

[21] LEVY and SHALEV 1989.

[22] A considerable amount of copper produced was sent to the Nile Valley and Delta. More on trade of copper artefacts see: HAUPTMANN 2007: 303. Beer Sheba culture extended its influence upon Egypt, cf. ADAMS 2002.

[23] LEVY 1998.

much of Palestine, for the first time, metal production took place near the ore sources of Faynan in Jordan.[24]

The Early Bronze I site of Wadi Fidan 4 represents the earliest local metal production in the Faynan district.[25] The site is a small village made up of household units with associated courtyards. Virtually all of the household units identified in all the excavation seasons at the site were engaged in the smelting of copper ore.[26]

With the rise of fortified towns in the southern Levant during the Early Bronze II-III (c. 2900-2200 BC), and within the context of emerging complexity in the Levantine and surrounding cultures (i.e. Old Kingdom Egypt), metal production increased dramatically in scale. In the copper district of Faynan, for the first time, large-scale Early Bronze II-III mining activities were carried out in galleries and shafts. To smelt the ore, 13 contemporary smelting sites were discovered where some 5000 tons of slag reveals a metal production of perhaps several hundred tons of copper during the Early Bronze Age.[27] This is by far the largest evidence of copper production during this period in the ancient Near East. During the Early Bronze II-III period when the first 'urban revolution' occurred in the southern Levant, radical changes in copper production are best witnessed at the site of Khirbat Hamra Ifdan. Recent excavations at the site have revealed the largest Early Bronze Age metal workshop in the Middle East, and have yielded thousands of finds related to ancient copper processing.[28] This unique assemblage of archaeo-metallurgical remains includes crucible fragments, prills and lumps of copper, slag, ores, copper tools (e.g. axes, chisels, and pins), copper ingots, a few furnaces remain and an extensive collection of ceramic casting moulds for ingots and tools. The archaeo-metallurgical data from this site provides vital information for accurately reconstructing Early Bronze Age metal processing as well as some of the dimensions of trade relations that were linked to significant changes in social evolution in that period. Three main occupation phases have been identified at Khirbat Hamra Ifdan. The main occupation phases at Khirbat Hamra Ifdan are Stratum III (Early Bronze Age III, c. 2700-2200 BC), coinciding with the consolidation of the earliest fortified sites throughout the Levant and Stratum II (Early Bronze IV, c. 2200-2000 BC), often linked to a period of social collapse.[29] It is against the backdrop of these formative processes of social change that Early Bronze Age metallurgy evolved.[30] The recent excavations at Khirbat Hamra Ifdan shed new light on the scale and organisation of Near Eastern Early Bronze Age metal processing, due to an unusually large share of artefacts related to production activities. The excellent preservation of these materials at the site and the relatively undisturbed contextual data of these finds point to 'factory-like' production technologies.[31] GIS plots comparing the Early Bronze III distribution of metallurgical remains and architecture with those of the Early Bronze IV highlight the nested and structured organisation as well as the scale of metal production in the Early Bronze III urban period.[32] In the Early Bronze IV period, a time of general social dissolution in the southern Levant, there is a distinct absence of architectural features and infrastructure associated with metal production.[33] The evidence for large-scale and multi-phased manufacture in copper production at Khirbat Hamra Ifdan during the later phase of the Early Bronze Age presents a unique opportunity to examine the evolution of a highly specialised craft at a time when the Levant 'periphery' and neighbouring 'core' civilisations such as Egypt were undergoing major socio-political changes.[34] Excavations at Khirbat Hamra Ifdan also provided evidence for copper production during the Iron Age. There are areas of copper smelting dating to Iron Age II A (c. 980-830 BC). In this context, it is important to mention the find of an Egyptian scarab bearing the name of the Pharaoh Sheshonq I, surely the historical figure known from the Bible as Shishak.[35] Unfortunately, this extremely rare epigraphic find was a surface and therefore not *in situ*.

Continuing into the Iron Age (c. 1200-500 BC), which represents the rise of the first historical state-level societies in the southern Levant, the Faynan district marks the peak of copper ore exploitation.[36] In the context of the Iron Age, we must stress that there were a number of reasons for the slow development of iron metallurgy, but

[24] Levy *et al.* 2002: 427.
[25] Levy *et al.* 2001.
[26] Muniz 2007.
[27] Hauptmann 2000.
[28] Levy *et al.* 2002: 425.
[29] The reasons posited for the collapse of EBA urbanism are varied and include: general climatic deterioration in the 3rd millennium Near East, cf. Weiss *et al.* 1993, Egyptian conquests during the Old Kingdom Fifth Dynasty, cf. Redford 1992, invasions of West Semitic 'Amorite' tribes from Syria, internal social upheaval and other factors
[30] Levy *et al.* 2002: 428.
[31] A total of 3782 archaeo-metallurgical finds were recovered from the EBA strata at the site in an excavation exposure of c. 977 sq. m, cf. Levy *et al.* 2002: 429.
[32] Levy *et al.* 2002: 432.
[33] The quantity of metallurgical remains drops markedly from c. 3356 in the EB III to only c. 404 in the EB IV, cf. Levy *et al.* 2002: 432.
[34] Khirbet Hamra Ifdan differs from the normative EBA fortified town pattern because it was a naturally fortified, non-urban site that lacks evidence of palatial and large scale architecture, it was located in the desert periphery rather than the Mediterranean 'centre' of EBA urban settlement, and it contains evidence for highly organised craft production from an as yet to be determined organising body, cf. Levy *et al.* 2002: 433-436.
[35] The hieroglyphic sequence reads 'bright is the manifestation of Re, chosen of Amun/Re' which corresponds with great certainty to the throne name of the founder of the 22nd Egyptian Dynasty, Sheshonq I. An in-depth study of the parallels to this scarab is published in Levy *et al.* 2014.
[36] This is measured by the quantity of metallurgical evidence, primarily ancient slag deposits visible on site surfaces around the area. There are more than 100,000 tons of copper slag from the Iron Age in Faynan. In terms of the production of copper, this would translate into approximately 10,000 tons of copper metal, cf. Hauptmann 2000.

the most important was the difficulty of working the ore and of building furnaces (as opposed to forges) capable of the high temperatures needed to melt iron.[37] Another reason for the slow spread of iron metallurgy was that certain cultures or groups of people seem to have kept the techniques of ironworking a craft secret.[38] As already mentioned, the widespread collapse of civilisations at the end of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1600-1200 BC) enabled new socio-economic opportunities to societies living on the periphery of the once vibrant cores such as Mycenae, New Kingdom Egypt, and the Hittite Empire of Anatolia and Syria. The excavations at the copper production sites of Khirbat en-Nahas and Khirbat al-Jariya in southern Jordan provide the first detailed record concerning the timing, scale and social control of copper production at the beginning of the Iron Age when copper was still the most widespread metal produced in the eastern Mediterranean.[39]

The most important Iron Age metallurgical site in the lowlands of Edom is Khirbat en-Nahas, which means 'ruins of copper' in Arabic. The site is dominated by one of the largest Iron Age fortresses in the desert regions of the southern Levant, over one hundred buildings characterised by mounds of stone rubble, and a series of extensive slag mounds that indicate industrial-scale copper ore smelting during the Iron Age.[40] The excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas have produced superb archaeo-metallurgical, ground stone, ceramic and other material culture collections for the study of metallurgy during the Iron Age.[41]

Khirbat al-Jariya, an enclosed valley hidden in the rugged terrain of the eastern Wadi Arabah extends over 7 ha on both banks of the Wadi al-Jariya and consists of shallow slag mounds, numerous architectural features, installations and some large structures preserved to a height of five courses and more. The stratified excavations there show that the site was first occupied around the mid-11th century BC and abandoned sometime during the mid to late 10th century BC. The sounding suggests that the substantial architecture visible on the site surface dates to the first half of the 10th century, and that earlier settlement was probably based on a more ephemeral use of the site. Khirbat al-Jariya was established to exploit the copper sources in the nearby mines, and metallurgy developed gradually and opportunistically from the use of simple technologies for small scale production to mass production with sophisticated large-scale facilities.[42]

In the context of metal production and social changes in the southern Levant, an extensive cemetery site of Wadi Fidan 40, which is the first systematically explored Iron Age cemetery in Edom must be mentioned. Based on the on-site survey of the grave structures visible on the site surface, the cemetery is estimated to extend over an area of c. 1.76 ha.[43] The discovery of iron ornaments and radiocarbon dating from one of the best-preserved tombs date the cemetery to the Iron Age.[44] To date a total of 287 graves have been excavated providing an excellent sample of this unique cemetery.[45] The most ubiquitous grave offerings found in the Wadi Fidan 40 Cemetery are beads.[46] Interestingly, there was a small number of glass beads found in Wadi Fidan 40 which can be placed in context of trade with Egypt.[47] Similarities of mortuary rituals found across the site along with available radiocarbon dates point to a significant 10th century BC occupation in the Faynan region.[48] The nature of the cemetery remains, along with huge amounts of beads and significant lack of ceramic offerings, all point to

[37] Ancient smiths were working with ore or iron that contained appreciable amounts of impurities so the furnaces did not need to reach 1538 degrees Celsius (the melting point of pure iron), but they had to be significantly hotter than those used to work the metals in use in the Bronze Age. Such furnaces needed to allow air to circulate, to have the quantity and types of fuel necessary to create high temperatures, and to be tall enough so that the melted iron could drop, cf. GREEN 2008: 681.

[38] For example, in the book of Samuel, it is mentioned that the Israelites had to take their iron tools and weapons to the Philistines for repair. The reasons for such reluctance to share knowledge are obvious. Not only did those who possessed the skills have a monopoly on the market for them, but there also were distinct military and economic advantages in having iron, rather than bronze, weapons and tools. However, smiths of all kinds were respected as skilled artisans, and their services were keenly sought after, no matter whether they worked in common metal, such as iron, or luxury metal, such as gold, cf. GREEN 2008: 681.

[39] BEN-YOSEF *et al.* 2010: 725.

[40] BEN-YOSEF *et al.* 2010.

[41] LEVY *et al.* 2012: 199.

[42] BEN-YOSEF *et al.* 2010:743.

[43] The surface is densely packed with the remains of circular grave structures (c. 5 structures: 25 m^2), making it possible to estimate the total number of graves represented in the cemetery at about 3,500 mortuary structures, cf. LEVY *et al.* 2004: 76.

[44] The results of this analysis undertaken by Beta Analytic, Inc., come from Wadi Fidan 40 Cemetery, Area A, Grave 92, Locus 531, Basket: 2133 + 2157. The material consisted of pomegranate seeds that were pretreated using acid/alkali/acid, cf. LEVY *et al.* 2004: 76-77.

[45] Each burial monument was constructed for one individual and consists of a circular pit that was dug approximately 1 m below the surface. At the bottom of the pit, a stone-lined cist grave was prepared for the deceased, the dimensions of which were made according to the size of the deceased. The cist walls and capstones were all made of hewn stones. Once the capstones were placed over the deceased (who, depending on gender, was usually buried with wooden bowls, beads, iron and copper jewelry, pendants etc), a thin layer of pise was smeared over the capstones to seal the burial. The hole containing the cist was then filled with sediment, and a ring or circle of wadi cobbles (usually dolorite) was placed around the edge of the hole to mark the grave, cf. LEVY *et al.* 2004: 77.

[46] A large assemblage totaling about 2,004 beads that were strung in necklaces, bracelets, and anklets were found in the excavated graves. The beads are made from a wide variety of minerals as well as bone, coral, shell, and, very occasionally, glass. The primary minerals used included (in order by number found) onyx, carnelian, limestone, Amazon stone, Egyptian alabaster (calcite), chalk, agate, apatite, amber, marble, quartz, jasper, sandstone, chrysoprase, feldspar, and haematite, all of which can be found locally in the Faynan region. However, it should be noted that the one peculiarity of the mineral assemblage used for the beads is the nearly complete lack of copper minerals, which are so readily available in the Faynan area. With the exception of two chrysoprase beads, no other copper minerals were found, cf. LEVY *et al.* 2004: 78.

[47] These beads are similar to Egyptian beads of early 1st millennium so an Egyptian origin cannot be ruled out, cf. LEVY *et al.* 2004: 80.

[48] LEVY *et al.* 2005: 485.

a mortuary site linked to a nomadic population. Future research in the Faynan region along with more large scale high precision radiocarbon studies of stratified deposits will certainly shed more light on the relations of the population buried in the Wadi Fidan 40 Cemetery and the population of the settlements from Faynan region dating to the Iron Age period, as well as the relations of the population between the lowland and highland regions of Edom and social and cultural history of the region. But for now, we would like to focus on the nomadic aspect of the proposed population of the Faynan region and their connection to the Egyptians.

4. People in time and space – Pastoral nomadic society of the Bronze and Iron Age Southern Levant and the Egyptian documents

To understand the nomadic population previously mentioned, we must turn to Egyptian documents from 15th to 10th century BC. Egyptian texts dating c. 1500-1100 BC refer to the Shasu, as a name applied to a nebulous group of nomadic people.[49] For example, in the Papyrus Harris, in a section Breasted labels 'Edomite War', Ramesses III claims, 'I destroyed the people of Seir, of the tribes of the Shasu; I plundered their tents of their people, their possessions, their cattle likewise, without number.'[50] Papyrus Anastasi also refers to the Shasu during the reign of Merenptah.[51] There are many examples of Egyptian texts referring to Shasu in which the determinatives indicate the people. Ward describes the Shasu simply as 'seminomadic shepherds who had at least some interests in common with the urban population of Canaan'[52] but he continues: 'It must be kept in mind that the only picture we have of the Shasu themselves and their place of origin is seen through Egyptian eyes so that our question must be posed in a slightly different way: what kind of people did the Egyptians consider the Shasu to be and from whence did the Egyptians believe they came?'[53] If we look at the term Shasu, it may derive from the Egyptian root *s3s* (to travel, to wander) or it may derive from a north-west Semitic root šsh or šss (to plunder, to pillage).[54] It can be assumed that the Shasu people were not an ethnic group tied to only one specific region. Rather the Shasu seem to represent a social class of nomads who reflect an ancient equivalent of the term 'Bedouin', which relates more to a generic socio-economic subsistence organisation devoted to pastoral nomadism.[55] It is safe to say that a consensus of scholars sees the Shasu as either nomadic or semi-nomadic, at least from the Egyptian perspective. At the same time, based on some of the Egyptian encounters with the Shasu, they may also have been considered marauders or bandits. At the very least, then, we may see the Shasu as wandering nomads, who may or may not be marauding bandits, but who do range over a certain wide geographical territory from the Sinai to Syria seeking pasture for their flocks.[56]

To understand what the Shasu as well as other populations from the southern Levant meant to the Egyptians, we must turn back to the question of metallurgy. The Egyptians had intensively exploited the Arabah deposits from the Late Bronze Age (14th to mid-12th century BC).[57] Egyptian finds throughout Sinai indicate extensive involvement (with some significant chronological gaps) in exploiting mineral resources in the Sinai.[58] Ancient mining galleries are known in the region, but these show no evidence of exploitation specifically by the Egyptians.[59] The situation is further complicated by the fact that the Egyptians procured malachite, a copper mineral found in the Sinai, since the Badarian Period, for use as a cosmetic eye-paint, pigment, and colouring for glazes and glass; however, it could also be smelted into copper.[60] The transportation of ore from desert mines to sites with more abundant natural resources has been suggested by researchers studying early copper production in this area.[61] Scholars generally agree that copper mining occurred alongside turquoise mining from the Old Kingdom Period onwards.[62] Egyptians exploitation of copper in south Sinai is still debated, but several authors suggest that it began as early as the Early Bronze I period, when Egyptian artefacts begin to be found in the area and when copper from the Faynan region of Jordan begins to appear within Egypt.[63] As already mentioned, the most direct textual evidence for copper trade in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean comes from Amarna.[64] The Amarna letters provide great evidence for copper trade, but they rarely refer to raw copper.[65] That is why it is important to mention

[49] Kitchen 1992; Ward 1992.
[50] Breasted 2001: 4:201. See also: Grandet 1994.
[51] 'We have finished passing the tribes of the Shasu of Edom through the Fortress of Merneptah-Hotephirma', Shasu are also described as Edomites. Battle reliefs at Karnak provide additional evidence of Shasu during Merenptah's reign. In several scenes, Merenptah is seen either binding Shasu prisoners or driving Shasu prisoners to Egypt before and under pharaoh's chariot, cf Yurco 1986: 195, fn. 207 contains photographs of the reliefs.
[52] Ward 1992: 50.
[53] Ward 1992: 50.
[54] For example, šusume in Amarna letter 252:30 'despoilers', 'plunderers', or for example *tšm* 'plunderers' in the Keret epic from Ugarit, cf. Bartlett 1989: 80.
[55] Levy and Hall 2002: 96.
[56] Cooper 2005: 8.
[57] Rothenberg 1972: 14, 229-230.
[58] An account in the tomb of Khnumhotep, an official who lived during the reign of Middle Kingdom pharaoh Amenenhat II, mentions large amounts of copper acquired in mining expeditions, some of which may have been acquired in an expedition to the 'turquoise terraces' which Shaw has identified as the turquoise mining regions of the south-central Sinai, cf. Shaw 1998: 249-250.
[59] Lucas and Harris 1999: 204-205.
[60] Lucas and Harris 1999: 202, 210-212. Cf. Ogden 2000: 149-152.
[61] Hauptmann *et al.* 1992: 7.
[62] See: Shaw 1998: 247; Lucas and Harris 1999: 208-209; Ogden 2000: 151, 161-162; Mumford and Parcak 2003: 85-92.
[63] Cf. Mumford and Parcak 2003: 87-92
[64] Moran 1992.
[65] References to raw copper, as opposed to finished copper or bronze objects, occur in the Amarna letters only in a series of letters from

the iconographic evidence for raw materials. There are Egyptian pictorial representations in tomb paintings and reliefs of oxhide ingots; iconographic evidence also provides some information on the different foreign groups involved in trade with Egypt, as well as the nature of the goods exchanged, but unfortunately they give very little concrete information on the logistics of the copper trade itself.[66] Nevertheless evidence provided here points to an intensive demand for copper during the Bronze and Iron Age and the Egyptians certainly valued their mining officials.[67] If we consider the need for metal and the huge amounts[68] that were traded, we can presuppose that after the Late Bronze Age collapse, Egypt turned its mining interest over to the southern Levant region (which they have been exploring previously) and increased their exploitation of the rich copper ores in Faynan encountering the Shasu nomads.

5. Conclusion

Production and trade in copper and bronze marked the rise of complex and powerful societies in the Bronze Age and influenced the ethno genesis processes of the Iron Age. The dynamics of the spread of metallurgy are very complex. The integration of distant regions into a trade network which exchanged raw materials, metals, goods, innovations and ideas, all point to the remarkable cultural homogeneity of the Bronze Age civilisations. The collapse of the Late Bronze Age societies can be observed from the aspect of the disturbance in the well-established trade routes and well-known sources of metals. If production was not possible, or trade was interrupted, the consumers could turn to other resources. Questions concerning the link between social and technological changes and the adaptation to new situations are not easy to answer. The Late Bronze/Early Iron Age period is a complex period submerged into Biblical stories, and different interpretations of scarce written sources and archaeological data. In the case of the Faynan region, new archaeological results shed light on a region previously considered to be at the periphery of history. Significant natural resources of the region were surely the basis for the development of important production and trading centres. Sites such as Khirbet Hamra Ifdan, situated in the largest Levantine copper resource zone, provide a picture of the socio-economic processes which until now have been dominated by assessments. Forthcoming research on the metallurgical remains will provide an even better understanding of the role of metal production in the emergence, maintenance and collapse of the earliest urban phenomena in the Levant. Research in the Jabal Hamrat Fidan has for the first time provided evidence of relating the historical and textual data with the archaeological record. Previous to excavations at the Wadi Fidan 40 Cemetery, there had been no site excavated in Edom that could definitely be ascribed to the Shasu. Although the exact identity of the population of the Wadi Fidan 40 Cemetery as part of the Shasu nomads may never be definitively established, the archaeological and textual data suggest that in this case the archaeological record supports the Biblical and historical evidence. Challenged by the myriad of archaeological, historical, and environmental data at our disposal, it is difficult to explain with certainty what happened in the past. It is a constant struggle to test the convergences adequately between the Bible and written sources of the period as well as interpreting archaeological data. Hopefully, incoming, large-scale excavations will provide new conclusions.

the king of Alashia, a locality usually identified as Cyprus, cf. MORAN 1992.

[66] For representation of oxhide ingots see BASS 1967: 62-69; KNAPP 1986: 38-40, fig.2, pl. 8-11; RYSTEDT 1987: 49-56; WEBB 1999: 273-281.

[67] Shaw has noted the similarity of Egyptian military expeditions with mining and quarrying expeditions for stone and copper in Sinai and in Egypt's Eastern Desert, and has suggested that 'mining officials were probably more usually defined by the Egyptians themselves as a subset of military or trading officials', cf. SHAW 1998: 246.

[68] If the units of measure mentioned in the Amarna letters are talents, then the king of Alashiya exported or planned to export up to 1000 talents or 30 tons of copper to Egypt, cf. HELLBING 1979: 42.

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Section 6:
Egyptomania and Modern Travellers to Egypt

Wonderful Things:
Thematic Transmission in Egyptian Revival Jewellery

Joyce Tyldesley

Faculty of Life Sciences, University of Manchester, Manchester, United Kingdom

Abstract: *Academics are likely to acquire their knowledge of ancient Egypt through research, reading and conferences. These resources are not easily accessible to the general public, who tend to absorb their Egyptology directly through films, fiction and the Internet, and more indirectly through such cultural influences as fashion, art and interior design. Jewellery offers a personal means of simultaneously decorating the body, appreciating the beauty of ancient Egyptian culture, and signalling an interest (aesthetic, or maybe even religious) in the remote past. This is something that the Egyptians, whose graves have yielded large quantities of jewellery, would probably have appreciated. However, the Egypt represented in modern jewellery can be far removed from the land that the Egyptians themselves would have recognised.*

Keywords: *Napoleon, Tutankhamen, art deco, Cleopatra, Cartier, cartouche, scarab, Neiger*

1. Reception

The VIIth Central European Conference of Egyptologists, held in Zagreb in 2015, showcased many thought-provoking papers presented by colleagues from many nations. I am grateful to the organisers for allowing me to present my preliminary thoughts on the subject of thematic transmission in ancient Egyptian jewellery. This work of this conference will be disseminated both directly, through this publication, and indirectly, by influencing the thinking and subsequent outputs of those who were able to attend the conference. However, it is unlikely that this work, no matter how original or groundbreaking it may be, will reach an audience of more than a few hundred. Most, if not all, of these will already have what may be loosely termed a professional or academic interest in ancient Egypt. The general public, who have neither easy access to scholarly publications nor interest in reading them, will remain unaware that we have spent one of the hottest weeks of the year advancing our understanding of the ancient world.

This might perhaps suggest that Egyptology is a minority subject, of interest only to those who are prepared to devote many hours to scholarly study. But this is clearly not true. Anyone who has publicly admitted to being an Egyptologist will know that there is a vast audience interested in ancient Egypt, and a vast amount of goodwill towards the subject from people whose knowledge and enjoyment is fuelled, not by scholarly research or museum visits, but by popular culture. These people get their understanding from informal sources that present a challenge to the traditional domination of Egyptology by academics.[1] These sources include films, television dramas, books (fiction rather than textbooks) and, increasingly, the Internet. These can all be good sources, but more often than not they are, from the academic viewpoint, flawed.

Major flaws and assumptions in the 'evidence' may be easy to identify and discard, but more minor, trivial errors are less easy to detect, particularly when blended with historically verifiable facts. So that, when in 1999 the blockbuster film *The Mummy* was released,[2] few audience members were persuaded that the ancient Egyptians had the ability or even the desire to bring their murderous, mummified dead back to a corporal form of life on earth, but many struggled with the truth underpinning the film's portrayal of ancient Egyptian funerary equipment and procedure. Yes – the Egyptians did use canopic jars, but exactly how many? Four, or five as shown in the film? Did they remove the brain via the nose before mummification? Yes – but not using a red-hot poker. I cannot be the only lecturer who gets occasional questions about the probable location of the film's lost (and entirely fictional) city of the dead, Hamunaptra.

2. Transmission

More indirectly, 'knowledge' of dynastic Egypt, and a respect for or love of ancient Egyptian culture, may be transferred through a series of everyday choices including fashion, art, interior design, wallpaper, hairstyles and, increasingly, tattoos which form a permanent association between the wearer and the ancient world, often reflecting a personal belief in the potent, esoteric knowledge of the Egyptians. Jewellery offers a less permanent but equally

[1] A phenomenon discussed with reference to 'mummymania', by Day 2006: 3.

[2] *The Mummy* (1999), Universal Pictures, directed by Steven Sommers.

personal means of simultaneously decorating the body, expressing identity, appreciating and linking with the beauty of an ancient culture, and signalling an interest (aesthetic, or maybe even religious) in the past. This is something that the Egyptians themselves would have appreciated. Worn by men, women, children, gods and the dead, their jewellery was multipurpose; it was highly decorative, while serving as an indicator of social status or allegiance, and in many cases carrying a religious message or magical protection.[3]

The study of modern Egyptian-themed jewellery may be considered by some Egyptologists to be frivolous and non-essential. It is therefore relevant to state that the jewellery industry is both large and economically significant. This applies not just to Cartier or Bulgari, whose million dollar, diamond encrusted Egyptian-style jewels adorned Elizabeth Taylor (for many, the definitive modern Cleopatra). Jewellery has an important place in many museum shops, which in turn play an important role in supporting the museums that serve as a link between academic or orthodox Egyptology and the general public. This has become particularly important at a time when many museums and galleries are suffering from the global recession and government cuts. In 2013, it was estimated that sales in UK museum shops reached an annual total of £100,000,000.[4] So, in some ways we could say that jewellery – and fridge magnets, and tote bags and postcards - actually fund our subject.

Most museums force visitors to leave via the shop, which visitors often perceive as a destination in its own right. In the Manchester Museum we have taken this a step further; the distinction between commerce and the gallery is blurred as we have a re-used Ramesside inscribed granite column within the shop. Interestingly, despite its very obvious bulk and its accessibility, few visitors look at this column, preferring to focus on the shop contents. It seems likely that many think that the column is a replica, installed as part of the shop décor.

Although occasional Egyptian elements can be found in jewellery dating from the end of the dynastic age until the present day, the current Western fashion for Egyptian design started with Napoleon's 1798 campaign and the flood of publications, both academic and fiction, inspired by this venture.[5] It was reinforced by publicity surrounding the decoding of the hieroglyphic script (1822), the publication of Owen Jones' design sourcebook *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), the visit of the Prince of Wales (1862) and the opening of the Suez Canal (1869). Readers who trembled over Louisa May Alcott's *Lost in a Pyramid*, *or The Mummy's Curse* (1869) could now have their own Egyptian adventure, as the travel company Thomas Cook Ltd hired two steamers to take parties along the Nile. These early package tourists were advised that 'In Egypt, up the Nile, and through the Desert, the mode of life, language and customs of the country are altogether different from anything to which the European traveller has been accustomed...'.[6]

The late 19th century was an era of inspiring Egyptological discoveries, which included the early New Kingdom jewellery of Queen Ahhotep (discovered by Mariette's workmen in 1859), and two Middle Kingdom collections; the so-called Dahshur Treasure (discovered by de Morgan in 1894/5) and Illahun Treasure (discovered by Brunton and Petrie in 1914).[7] Increasing ease of publication, and increasing numbers of Egyptology galleries within museums made these discoveries accessible to a wider public.

Already popular, Egyptian design received a huge boost from the extensive publicity surrounding the 1922 discovery of Tutankhamen's almost intact tomb,[8] which led to the phenomenon often described as Tut-mania.[9] Nile-style was all the rage, and the ancient Egyptian shapes and colours fitted perfectly with the Art Deco designs that characterised the inter-war years. Meanwhile the ready availability of mass-produced goods allowed the fashion to be enjoyed by a broader range of people than ever before.

Four decades later, the release of the blockbuster *Cleopatra* (and the simultaneous, turbulent love story of Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton) renewed the public interest in all things Egyptian, even though many of the 'Egyptian things' featured in the film – including Miss Taylor's costumes and jewellery – were far-from authentic.[10]

3. Egyptian jewellery

It used to be considered acceptable for tourists to purchase genuine antiquities as souvenirs, and for museums to sell superfluous artefacts – usually strings of unexceptional 'mummy beads' – in their shops; including Cairo Museum itself. It is still possible to purchase ancient jewellery via specialist auctions and websites but buyer beware: much of this jewellery is fake.

The wealthy might be tempted by vintage designer pieces that incorporate genuine ancient elements. The jeweller Louis Carter, an avid collector of antiquities, started to design Egyptian-style jewellery before the First World War. In 1908 he created a choker ornamented

[3] ALDRED 1971: 14-20.
[4] Fig.re cited in the *Guardian,* 6 April 2013.
[5] For a comprehensive summary of the various phases of the Egyptian revival, see CURL 1994.
[6] THOMAS COOK and SON 1897: 1.
[7] For a year-by-year summary of major discoveries, see REEVES 2000.
[8] CARTER and MACE 1923.
[9] FRAYLING 1992: 224.
[10] *Cleopatra* (1963), Twentieth Century Fox, directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz.

with diamond drops and a lotus motif. By 1913 he was incorporating ancient artefacts (including Persian, Indian, Chinese/Japanese and Egyptian objects) into his contemporary designs. In 1924, not long after the opening of Tutankhamen's tomb, he was advertising his 'real ancient gems in modern settings', in the *Illustrated London News*. The hugely expensive Egyptian pieces included a Third Intermediate Period faience Sekhmet statuette 'reincarnated' with gold, platinum, diamonds, coloured gems and black enamel. Cartier seems to have had a particular fondness for Sekhmet, who also featured on his hatpins.[11] The incorporation of older elements into contemporary jewellery was not a new idea, but it was now the height of fashion. Stylish patrons, the celebrities of their age, wore the hybrid pieces and in so doing transferred some of their own glamour to ancient Egypt. As the dealer Kalebjian wrote in his Christmas 1913 exhibition catalogue: 'Today fashion decrees that the elegant Parisienne should wear ancient jewellery; and not merely stale imitations, but the very jewels themselves that once adorned the bosom of an Egyptian queen or a Greek empress'.[12]

Fig. 176. An early 20th century glass Cleopatra, her identity confirmed by the twin snakes. Private collection. © J. Tyldesley.

4. Egyptianising jewellery

Today the sale of genuine antiquities to tourists is illegal, while the sale of genuine artefacts in museum shops – a subject which raises uncomfortable questions about ownership and the ethics of selling even a small part of a museum's collection - no longer happens. Instead, many museum shops sell ranges of Egyptian-style jewellery. Some of these pieces would be recognisable to the Egyptians themselves because they are more or less faithful reproductions of specific ancient pieces or motifs. These replicas tend to be expensive as their cost reflects the skill needed to make a faithful copy: they therefore have a limited distribution.

Other modern examples are better described as 'Egyptianising' or Egyptian style.[13] These pieces are clearly influenced by dynastic Egypt, and may be believed by their owners to be authentically Egyptian, but they would not necessarily be understood or admired by the ancients who inspired them. Perhaps the most obvious example of this is the ever-popular gold or silver cartouche bearing a name – usually the owner's – written using the so-called 'hieroglyphic alphabet', which is worn as a pendant, earrings, cufflinks, or tie pin. In some cases the cartouche accidentally bears an entirely different name to that ordered, or includes a meaningless jumble of signs; the misuse of hieroglyphs as a decorative motif has a long history, stretching back to the period when hieroglyphic text was still in active use.

Literate Egyptians were happy to name their possessions, but only the immediate royal family would use a cartouche for this purpose. Within the royal family, jewellery might include a name: the two Middle Kingdom treasures already mentioned include examples of elaborate pectorals bearing the king's cartouche, apparently intended to be worn by his daughters, while Tutankhamen's scarab pectoral, to take just one example from his extensive jewellery collection, can be read as the king's prenomen, Nebkheprure.[14] It seems that kings and queens were happy to give jewellery bearing their names to their close family members; in these circumstances the name might serve as a sign of royal approval while offering an amuletic protection. But there is no direct equivalent of the relatively simple modern cartouche jewellery being used to label the owner.

Equally confusing would be the prominence given to specific personalities, in the form of portrait jewellery. As recognition by a modern audience is important here, the same few characters appear again and again, reinforcing the assumption that 3000 years of Egyptian history can be compressed into a few brief scenes including Nefertiti (identifiable by her trademark flat-topped crown) and Tutankhamen (often represented either as a child emerging from a lotus, or as a death

[11] NADELHOFFER 2007: 146-151.
[12] Quoted in NADELHOFFER 2007: 146.
[13] For an illustrated summary of Egyptian revival jewellery styles see NICHOLLS 2006.
[14] REEVES 1990: 151.

Fig. 177: Two modern winged scarabs: top an enamelled scarab broach created by British silversmith Charles Horner; bottom a silver Jugendstil example incorporating two peacocks. Private collection. © J. Tyldesley.

mask). The jewellery of Cleopatra – an ancient world celebrity who lacks an iconic image - generally appears as a conventional dynastic queen wearing a vulture headdress. Occasionally a snake, or snakes, is added, to make her identity clear (Fig. 176). Thus the myth that Cleopatra committed suicide by snakebite is reinforced.[15]

Scarabs, either winged or wingless, feature heavily in Egyptianising jewellery (Fig. 177). This is a motif that the Egyptians would have understood, as they themselves employed the scarab as an ornament, a practical means of preserving or conveying written information, and a religious symbol associated with the solar deity Khepri. However, they would have been confused by the beetle jewellery which became popular during the Victorian age, and which today is sold as 'genuine' scarab jewellery. This jewellery takes the form of one or more dried beetles presented in gold or base metal settings to create necklaces, earrings, broaches and bracelets. It incorporates not the Egyptian scarab beetle, but the south American tortoise beetles (Desmonota variolosa), a beetle that is covered with pits and ridges that give it an iridescent green colour. After death, as the beetle dries and shrinks, the colour becomes more of a dull brown. Although the dried beetles are fragile, many examples of this type of beetle jewellery survive in the vintage jewellery market, and beetles are still being used in jewellery production – without any link to ancient Egypt – today, as might be seen by a casual perusal of Ebay.

Pressed glass scarab beads are far more durable. Many of these were produced in Bohemia in the inter-war years and, although most were purchased by local jewellery designers, some made their way to Egypt where they were strung and sold alongside genuine antiquities and local fakes. The best known, and most prolific, of the Bohemian Egyptianising jewellery designers was the Neiger Company which was founded in Gablonz in the early years of the 20th Century, and which came to a sad end during the Second World War.[16]

The company was run by Norbert Neiger, with his brother Max responsible for jewellery design. Max Neiger specialised in colourful Chinese and Egyptian style jewellery which was sold throughout Europe and in America, and which remains highly collectable today. This jewellery, which was rarely signed, can be difficult to identify: the brothers did not make their own

[15] TYLDESLEY 2008: 191-195.

[16] JARGSTORF 1993: 89-93.

Fig. 178: Max Neiger glass bead necklaces: the example on the left is made from uranium glass. Private collection. © J. Tyldesley.

components but bought them in, making it relatively easy for their competitors to imitate their style.

Amongst the most popular items were long necklaces of scarab beads threaded on knotted silk, interspersed with mummy shaped beads and pharaoh pendants; some of these, made of uranium glass, glowed gently in ultra violet light (Fig. 178). Their brooches and dress clips, mounted on a heavy back to support the weight, included enamelling, stamped glass elements and glass stones; they displayed scarabs, pyramids, mummies, pharaohs and much more. Individually, many of these motifs would be instantly recognisable to a dynastic Egyptian. Together, in one composition, they present a vision of Egypt which is instantly recognisable to a modern audience, but which, we might assume, would have baffled the ancients.

5. Conclusion

The general public is able to access ancient Egypt through a range of non-academic and indirect resources, including modern Egyptian-themed jewellery. This jewellery – a valuable economic commodity – allows its modern wearers to feel a connection with dynastic Egypt. However, the Egypt represented by this modern jewellery is not one that the dynastic Egyptians would necessarily have recognised.

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Eight Years Following the Traces of Giuseppe and Amalia Nizzoli: Preliminary Results of the Nizzoli Project

Carlo Rindi Nuzzolo

Centre for the Study of Ancient Cultures, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia

Irene Guidotti

Monash University, Melbourne, Australia

Abstract: *The Chancellor of the Austrian Consulate in Egypt, Giuseppe Nizzoli, and his wife Amalia Sola represent two prominent personalities who contributed much to the history of Egyptology: they sold a remarkable number of Egyptian collections and left an important book of memories of those years in Egypt. Nevertheless, they are frequently neglected in Egyptological studies and several aspects of their life are still unclear. In 2008, the present authors started a long-term project to re-investigate of these two persons, following their footsteps through Italy as well as across Europe. The paper will present the preliminary results of this project, showing important details concerning both their professional and private lives.*

Keywords: *Giuseppe Nizzoli, Amalia Nizzoli, manuscripts, Egyptian collection, excavations, 19th Century, Nizzoli Project, History of Egyptology, memoirs*

1. Introduction

The so-called *Age of the Consuls*, in the early years of Egyptology, was marked by several outstanding personalities. Amongst them, Giuseppe Nizzoli and his wife Amalia are undoubtedly two of the most fascinating, as well as two of the most frequently neglected.

The former, Chancellor of the Austrian Consulate in Egypt[1] and subsequently Consul in the Levant,[2] managed to collect a substantial number of Egyptian antiquities during his stay in Egypt. The objects bought and excavated[3] by Nizzoli were eventually acquired by prestigious personalities of the time such as Ernst August Burghart,[4] the Grand Duke of Tuscany Leopold II,[5] the Bolognese painter Pelagio Palagi[6] and the Marquis Luigi Malaspina di Sannazzaro.[7]

Because of these important individuals, the Egyptian antiquities sold by Giuseppe Nizzoli went on to form the very core of prestigious museum collections in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum), Florence (Museo Egizio di Firenze), Bologna (Museo Civico Archeologico) and Pavia (Museo Archeologico).

As Nizzoli's name is therefore fundamentally associated with these important collections, the role of his wife, Amalia Sola, should neither be underestimated. The two met in Egypt, where Amalia's family relocated during 1818,[8] and they married by proxy little more than a year later,[9] in Cairo. From this moment on, Amalia was not

[1] He started his chancellorship in Alexandria the 18 August 1818, and then he succeeded Vice Consul Champion in October 1820 as of Chancellor in Cairo. At the request of the General Consul Giuseppe Acerbi, Nizzoli also took the services of the Alexandria's chancellorship in July 1826, a position he held until November 1827. See Daris 2005: 16, 22-23, 40.

[2] Nizzoli was appointed Vice Consul of Zante in 1835; then he became Consul in Syros (1845-1851) and in Thessaloniki (1851-1858). Only few months before his death, he obtained the high office of General Consul in Thessaloniki. See Daris 2005: 92-93, 117-143.

[3] During his first period in Egypt, Nizzoli had started some excavations and he had joined the activity of archaeological and antiquarium research: from 1821 he held the position of secretary of the 'Società antiquaria d'Egitto'. See Daris 2005: 24; Daris 2009: 353. Well known the excavations directed by his wife Amalia in Saqqara. See below for further details.

[4] A physician from Székesfehérvár, Hungary, who was charged by the Emperor Franz I to purchase Egyptian antiquities on his behalf. The date of the acquisition of Nizzoli's artifacts is not certain. Satzinger 1991: 368; Satzinger 1994.

[5] Leopold (1797-1870) was son of Ferdinand III and Grand Duke of Tuscany from 1824 to 1859. He financed, with Charles X of France, the Franco-Tuscan expedition in Egypt guided by Egyptologists Ippolito Rosellini and Jean-Francois Champollion during 1828-1829. For acquisition details of the Nizzoli's collection read below.

[6] Italian painter and sculptor from Bologna (1775-1860). Interested in archaeology and collecting, Palagi assembled a vast selection of antiquities and artworks and bequeathed this collection to the City of Bologna. Giuseppe Nizzoli sold his remarkable collection of antiquities to him in 1831.

[7] The Marquis (1754-1835) was a noble of Pavia and chamberlain of the Holy Roman Empire at the end of the Eighteenth century. Passionate about art and architecture, he started collecting drawings, prints and ancient artifacts.

[8] In her Memories Amalia states that she arrived in Egypt with her family in November 1819, but recent studies have proved that this information is incorrect as the arrival has been one year before, during 1818. The subject has been discussed in detail by Livia Gabrielli in 1999. Amalia met the Chancellor in the early days of November: 'Intanto quel signore che insieme col Console d'Austria venne a farci visita appena giunti in Alessandria, mostrando fin da quel momento per noi una certa premura, e che poi seppi essere un Italiano per nome Giuseppe Nizzoli, aveva pure deciso di condurre moglie.'; Nizzoli 1841: 68. See also Nizzoli 1841: 15-16.

[9] They married the 30 January 1820. For the marriage certificate see Gabrielli 1999: 58.

only a faithful companion to Nizzoli, accompanying him in several of his journeys but, in doing so, she came to be one of the most valuable sources of information about their family. Amalia is, in fact, the author of a well-known travelogue, *Memorie sull'Egitto e specialmente sui costumi delle donne orientali e gli Harem*, published in 1841[10] and representing an account of her memories.

Amalia's work is of the utmost importance not only because it has been used several times as a source to better understand – and partially reconstruct – particular obscure phases of the Nizzoli family, but also because it represents one of the earliest travel accounts written by a woman, based on her first-hand experience in Egypt.

2. The current state of research on Giuseppe and Amalia Nizzoli

Although their contribution to the History of Egyptology is doubtlessly significant, only a few lines on Giuseppe Nizzoli will be found in *Who was Who in Egyptology*[11] and in general, sources acknowledging their importance are very rare. Only in recent years, a few studies dedicated to these two personalities have started to appear and some shed new light on important details.

Carmelo Cappuccio was the first to present a great deal of biographical information,[12] who must be acknowledged together with Sergio Pernigotti,[13] Livia Gabrielli[14] and Sergio Daris.[15] All these authors and their respective studies and research greatly contributed to our knowledge on the Nizzoli family and, during the project, they were not only a model but also a source of continuous inspiration.

Nevertheless, a great deal of mystery still existed surrounding several phases of Giuseppe and Amalia Nizzoli's life. The origins of the former, for instance, have always constituted a particular problem: nothing was known about his family, year of birth and hometown, nor of his earlier life before his diplomatic career. Giuseppe Nizzoli seemed to appear out of nowhere and the first pieces of information known about him were related to the time he was already in Egypt as Chancellor of the Austrian Consulate; indeed, it was not even known how he became Chancellor in the first place. Little was also known about his last years of life and whether he left any heirs.[16]

The situation was even more mysterious for his wife Amalia. Nothing was known about her after the publication of her *Memorie* in 1841;[17] Amalia seemed to vanish after this date and no information of any kind was available and the place, time (and reason) of her death was still unknown.[18]

Giuseppe and Amalia had two children, Elisa and Luigia, the latter of which died due to severe ophthalmia contracted from a nurse.[19] Elisa, on the other hand, was fortunate to receive a good education[20] and to eventually marry Sir Henry Storks,[21] a Major, descendant of a very prominent British family.[22]

Nevertheless, even for what concerned Elisa Nizzoli, very little was known from this moment on: two letters sent by Amalia from the island of Zakynthos[23] represented the only source testifying that, approximately a month after the wedding, she still was in her mother's company. Place and time of death were, once more, unknown and it was hypothesised that she died following her husband in one of his missions abroad, perhaps in Africa.[24]

3. The Nizzoli project: Overview

As already mentioned, Giuseppe and Amalia Nizzoli have contributed so much to the History of Egyptology and to the formation of important collections but, almost paradoxically, so little was known about them and their names were often omitted in favour of more prominent and famous personalities.

Given this situation, the Nizzoli project was started in 2008, and its primary aim was to search for an answer to the several open questions in the life of the Nizzoli family. Seven years later, the project has managed to bring to light an substantial number of unpublished manuscripts as well as related documentation connected

[10] The publication was promoted by the Marquis Francesco Cusani, a prominent personality of the milanese panorama, who was also the founder of the Pirotta press. Cusani met Amalia and her husband in Zakynthos and convinced them to publish the memories. The manuscript was taken to Milan and published in the spring of 1841.

[11] BIERBRIER 2012: 405.

[12] CAPPUCCIO 1972: 55-122. He focuses more on Amalia's information, undertaking the very first research on this not well known figure and her family. Although the author failed to retrieve much details on her life, he believed right to publish a long excerpt from her memoirs, as important travel witness and literature example of the period: 'La mancanza di notizie sull'autrice avrebbe potuto indurci a rinunziare alla riproduzione di una larga scelta delle sue pagine. Ma esse ci sono sembrate così vive e colorite, nella loro spontaneità, da meritare che siano ripresentate ai lettori, anche senza che le accompagni una precisa conoscenza e fama dell'autrice; un caso tipico di sopravvivenza dell'opera e di oblio dello scrittore.' CAPPUCCIO 1972: 56.

[13] PERNIGOTTI 1991; PERNIGOTTI 1994.

[14] GABRIELLI 1999.

[15] DARIS 2005.

[16] RINDI NUZZOLO and GUIDOTTI 2014.

[17] CAPPUCCIO 1972: 55.

[18] CAPPUCCIO 1972: 55-56; GABRIELLI 1999: 67-68, 71-72.

[19] Luigia Antonietta Nizzoli died in her mother's arms sailing to Smyrna in the summer of 1828. NIZZOLI 1841: 358-363; DARIS 2005: 49 fn. 157.

[20] Elisa attended a women's college in Verona since 1835. NIZZOLI 1841: 391-392.

[21] The couple married in Zakynthos in 1841. For more information see Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2015: 52-55.

[22] Sir Henry Knight Storks (1811-1874), son of Sir Henry Storks, was an army officer, general lieutenant of the British colonial government. He will hold important offices in Mauritius, Malta and Jamaica. *Dictionary* 1917: 1312-1313.

[23] CAPPUCCIO 1972: 55-56; GABRIELLI 1999: 67-68, 71-72.

[24] GABRIELLI 1999: 70.

with the Nizzoli family. As a secondary aim, the project wanted to try to communicate the contribution of the Nizzoli family to the international scholarly community, and this particular aspect was tackled by means of several papers given at international conferences.[25]

Among the most important documents retrieved are: manuscripts determining the origins of Giuseppe Nizzoli, his date of birth and complete family name; also, the place and date of death of Elisa Nizzoli were discovered. Concerning the latter, among the results of the project there is also the discovery that she had a child, Henry Nizzoli Reeve Storks, of whom an original photograph was also retrieved.[26] A substantial section of the research was focused on Amalia Nizzoli: the authors were able to retrieve two unpublished letters written by Amalia herself. These proved to be of the utmost importance as they revealed hints and suggestions that led to the discovery of further manuscripts which, in turn, permitted to retrace the last years of life of Amalia and to discover the place of her death.

Moreover, thanks to this research, it was also possible to reconstruct the most complete genealogical tree of the Nizzoli family to date. The present paper represents a brief, preliminary account of the research carried out by the Nizzoli Project from 2008 to 2015; the aim of this study is to present selected results and unpublished documentation as well as to discuss their implications in what we currently know about the Nizzoli family.

4. Prelude: the problem of Giuseppe Nizzoli's origins

The origins of Giuseppe Nizzoli have always constituted a problem in the few main studies dedicated to him[27] or to his wife Amalia.[28] The diplomat is frequently mentioned as being born in Trieste[29] or Milan,[30] and therefore his name – especially in earlier sources – was often accompanied by the adjectives 'triestino' and 'milanese'.[31] In the documents known before the start of the project, there were none in which Nizzoli made a clear, explicit mention of his birthplace. A few relevant documents were known to exist, but these appeared to be misleading as well, as the diplomat frequently hinted to Milan as his place of origin.

These documents, studied by Daris,[32] are formal applications for consular positions,[33] and it is possible to understand in retrospect why Nizzoli named Milan as his hometown. The city played a primary, active role in the politics of the time[34] and this was, perhaps, one of the main reasons that led the diplomat to name it in these documents, in order to provide greater importance to his origins. His roots were, nonetheless, much humbler. In fact, neither Milan nor Trieste were the birthplace of the Chancellor, but Modena.

Gabrielli was the first to cite the city of Modena in a study dedicated to the Nizzoli family in 1999.[35] Among the important documents published by the latter, two sources, in particular, mention the Emilian city as Nizzoli's birthplace: the wedding certificate for his marriage to Amalia Sola[36] and the baptismal certificate of their daughter Elisa.[37] Thus, using the important documents published by Gabrielli as primary clues, the present authors decided to carry out additional investigations in the Modenese area, where an autograph letter, written by Giuseppe Nizzoli in 1824,[38] was first retrieved. The letter is addressed to Giuseppe Molza[39] and, due to its content, represents an additional proof that Modena was Nizzoli's hometown:

Altezza Reale
Quei sentimenti che mi guidarono al mio costà passaggio ad umiliare in persona all'Altezza Vostra gli ossequiosi tributi del mio omaggio e devozione, sono quelli stessi che mi animano oggi come nativo di Modena a rinnovare le proteste di fedele sudditanza verso del mio legittimo Sovrano.
Benché al servizio attuale di Sua Maestà l'Imperatore, come Cancelliere dell'Imp. R. Consolato d'Austria in Egitto, sarà però per me ognora una grande soddisfazione quella di potere offrire a Vostra Altezza delle sincere prove del mio leale attaccamento, e di dedicarmi, ove mi sia concesso, al servizio dell'Altezza Vostra Reale.
Si avvicina il momento della mia partenza per l'Egitto per riassumervi le mie funzioni: la situazione di quel Paese già classico un giorno ed in oggi una delle più interessanti Provincie ottomane; i suoi rapporti politici e commerciali coll'Europa; il suo Governo retto dal genio di Mohamed Aly, sono altrettante circostanze, che unite a quella del continuo concorso in quella parte di mondo di tanti europei d'ogni nazione, potrebbero forse far gradire all'Altezza Vostra delle informazioni dirette.

[25] Rindi Nuzzolo 2016; Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2016b.
[26] Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2014: 157-158, 160.
[27] Daris 2005: 15-18.
[28] Pernigotti 1991: 5. Gabrielli 1999: 58.
[29] Balboni 1906: 262, 277; Scamuzzi 1945: 23; Morini 2004: 35.
[30] Cusieri 1845: 251; Vanzan 2006: 107.
[31] Cusieri 1845: 251.
[32] Daris 2005: 15-16.
[33] Nizzoli applied to compete in several consular offices: in Corfu (1832), Zakynthos (1833), Thessaloniki, Odessa and Smyrna.
[34] Being a cultural, commercial and banking centre since the Middle Ages the city became, after the arrival of Napoleon, capital of the Cisalpine Republic since 1799, capital of the Italian Republic from 1802 to 1805 and subsequently capital of the Kingdom of Italy (1805-1814). From 1815 to 1859 was governed under the Austrian rule.
[35] Gabrielli 1999: 58 fn. 9.
[36] Gabrielli 1999: 58.
[37] Gabrielli 1999: 70.
[38] The missive is dated 29th March, 1824. State Archive of Modena (henceforth ASMo), Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Atti Generali (1824), Gs. 696, Tit. 23, Rubr. 7, Fasc. 1, n. 1.
[39] Giuseppe Molza (1782-1861), Marquis born in Modena and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in that period, was also appointed chamberlain by Francesco I d'Este, Duke of Modena.

[...]sarà anzi per me un ben alto onore, se, come rispettosamente invoco potrò ottenere la grazia speciale d'essere autorizzato a stabilire col Ministero dell'Altezza Vostra una corrispondenza attiva, e a prestare ai sudditi di Vostra Altezza quell'assistenza e protezione che compatibilmente col mio posto attuale potrei accordar loro, e che i medesimi capitando in quelle inospite spiaggie potrebbero essere nella circostanza di reclamare.
[...]
Di Vostra Altezza Reale
Illm.º Dev.º ed Obb.imo Suddito Fedele
Gius.e Nizzoli

The document was composed shortly before Nizzoli's departure for Egypt[40] and it is particularly important because it contains the first decisive proof of the diplomat's birthplace. At the very beginning, Nizzoli declares himself in fact to be '*nativo di Modena*' and, given that there are no previously known documents where the Chancellor stated such an information in his own writing,[41] this represents quite an interesting detail.

Moreover, in the letter Nizzoli is clearly attempting to demonstrate a profound affection ('*prove del mio leale attaccamento*') towards his hometown by proposing not only to offer special assistance to the Modenese citizens travelling through Egypt, but also to set up a regular correspondence with the city of Modena in order to keep Molza's office updated on the latest news concerning such a *classic* land ('*quel Paese già classico un giorno ed in oggi una delle più interessanti Provincie ottomane*'). Molza eventually declined Nizzoli's proposition[42] but, nevertheless, the letter is a remarkable clue that confirmed the Chancellor's connection with the city of Modena, and also gave the authors a chance to further expand research in the city and to find other documents related to Nizzoli's obscure origins.

5. Further details on Modena: a glimpse on the beginning of Giuseppe Nizzoli's career?

Amongst the previously mentioned documents, two additional letters are of particular importance and will be here analysed in detail. The first,[43] dated a few months after the previous,[44] is written by Giulio Strassoldo,[45] then Governor of Milan; he requested detailed information about Nizzoli to Giuseppe Molza, in Modena.

The letter, although very simple, is very important on three significant points. *Firstly,* the fact that Giulio Strassoldo was enquiring directly to Modena (in the person of Giuseppe Molza) to find out additional information about Nizzoli's past proves that the Chancellor's connection with the Emilian city is correct. *Secondly*, Strassoldo gives information about Nizzoli's age, stating that he was of approximately 32 years, and this is particularly interesting because the Chancellor's date of birth was previously unknown.[46] *Third,* it also proves that there was a great deal of mystery surrounding Nizzoli's origins and a formal investigation had to be carried out.

Unfortunately, further investigations carried out in Milan were not successful in finding documents specifically related to this matter[47] and, therefore, it is not clear who was the original petitioner. However, in Modena there still exists a copy[48] of the reply to such a letter. After having received Strassoldo's enquiry, Molza forwarded the request to Luigi Coccapani[49] who, assisted in the investigations by Inspector Bonomi,[50] was able to reply to Molza approximately a month later.[51] The amount of evidence contained in this brief official letter is important, as the document is able to clarify several questions which still were in need of an answer.

Above all, it finally proves that Nizzoli's family is of modenese origins ('*antica modonese*') and though being not particularly wealthy but rather humble ('*fornita di scarsi beni di fortuna'*), no one in his family ever performed in any illegal or infamous activity. Furthermore, the letter states that the then future Chancellor attended the university in Modena, studying Philosophy and graduating with highest honours ('*con Lode*'). After graduation Nizzoli chose to move to Milan, a fact that was already known;[52] what was unclear was the year Nizzoli decided to move, and the letter indicates that it was during January 1813. Furthermore, it relates that Nizzoli was assisting his father financially by means of a monthly allowance,[53] a further proof of the family's humble origins.[54]

[40] Nizzoli and his family departed from Leghorn on 15 August 1824.
[41] The Emilian city was only mentioned in two official certificates and this is the very first personal reference.
[42] The response letter is dated 21st April 1824. ASMo, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Atti Generali (1824), Gs. 749, Tit. 23, Rubr. 7, Fasc. 1, n. 2.
[43] ASMo, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Atti Riservati (1824), Gs. 4253, Flz. IX, Fasc. 150, n. 1.
[44] The letter is dated 23rd October 1824.
[45] Giulio Strassoldo (1773-1830) from Gorizia was an Austrian official and the General Director of Police in Milan. From 1818 he was appointed Governor of Lombardy.
[46] Daris, taking into account the official documentation concerning Giuseppe Nizzoli, suggested that his date of birth was between the year 1792 and 1794. DARIS 2005: 16.
[47] Several sections of Strassoldo's correspondence of the State Archive of Milan have been lost and destroyed during the last century.
[48] ASMo, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Atti Riservati (1824), Gs. 4254, Flz. IX, Fasc. 150, n. 2. The original letter in Milan has been destroyed.
[49] Luigi Coccapani was the Governor of Modena.
[50] Not much is known about this personality. Bonomi also wrote the report that was forwarded to Molza.
[51] Dated 23 November 1824. ASMo, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Atti Riservati (1824), Gs. n 4280, Flz. ix, Fasc. 150, n 3.
[52] DARIS 2005: 16.
[53] A contribution of *tre zecchini d'oro* per month, a considerable amount at that time. Giuseppe Nizzoli visited his family in Modena during January 1823, while Coccapani's letter is dated 23rd November 1824. Hence, the Chancellor provided to his family at least for almost two years.
[54] See below for further information about this topic.

The letter also implies that Nizzoli probably received some kind of help (in the form of a recommendation from the then prominent Judge Luosi) at the beginning of his career. After moving to Milan, Nizzoli worked in the legal firm of Zini,[55] and this most probably led him to make the acquaintance of prominent figures in the Milanese legal panorama, among which there probably must have been Luosi as well. The already mentioned humble origins could reasonably explain the fact that no information on the early stages of Nizzoli's career is present and, probably thanks to Luosi's recommendation, he seemed suddenly to appear on the diplomatic scene and no information whatsoever was previously known concerning how he eventually obtained the office in Egypt.

6. Additional evidence: the family of Giuseppe Nizzoli

After finding proof that Nizzoli's roots were actually in Modena, additional investigations were carried out in the city in order to uncover further details on the Chancellor's actual date of birth. Several unpublished documents were discovered, and the most significant will be now presented.

The first of such documents, housed in the Historical Archive of Modena,[56] it is part of the census[57] performed during the Napoleonic Empire.[58] At the time, the parishes were requested to fill specific forms which were later sent to the central administration and then used for the census itself. Amongst these documents was one in particular[59] that contained not only the date of birth of Giuseppe Nizzoli, but also valuable biographical information on his family.

The document is dated October 14th, 1811 and it is currently one of the oldest sources bearing information about Giuseppe Nizzoli. It finally gives us the Chancellor's exact date of birth (23 January, 1792) as well as his full name (Giuseppe Gaetano Antonio) and the names of his parents (Nicola Nizzoli[60] and Isabella Passarini). Further investigations were able to ascertain that an extended version of this document[61] is also preserved in the Book of baptisms held in the Archives of the Parish of S. Michele (Fig. 179).[62]

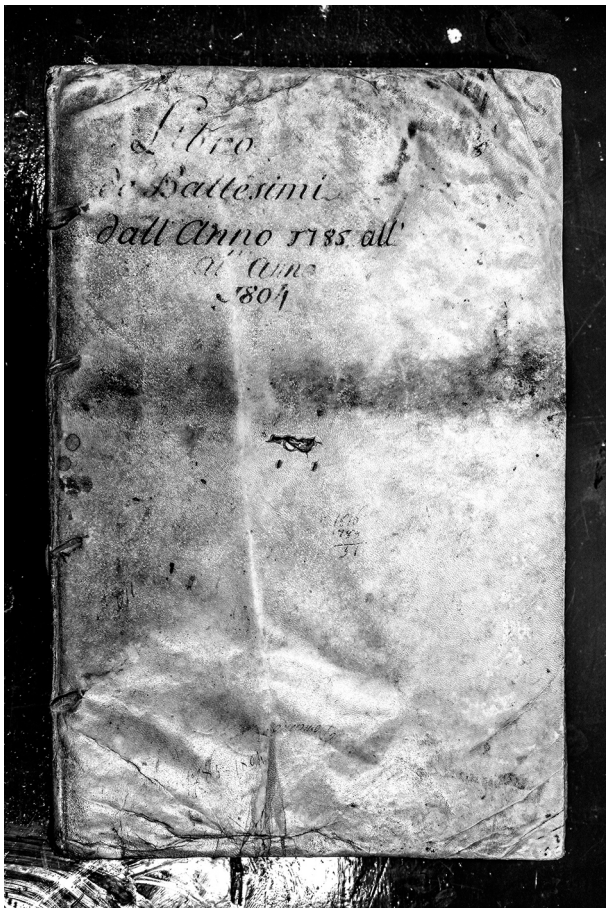

Fig. 179. The Book of baptisms held in the Archives of the Parish of S. Michele. Modena: the Archives of the Parish of S. Michele.

Investigations on the former nucleus of Giuseppe Nizzoli's family and the place where they lived (Fig. 180) were carried out as well; the family was composed of four members, as follows:

Nizzoli Nicola, born 6 December, 1762 in Modena; son of Gaetano and Cornelia Fogliani (both deceased); profession: barber; married to Rosa Rossi.

Nizzoli Giuseppe, born 23 January, 1792 in Modena; son of Nicola and Isabella Passerini[63] (passed away); unmarried; profession: writer.

[55] Giovanni Francesco Zini was a prominent lawyer in Milan, who left the profession in 1823. Belloni 2012: 10. As well as for the formulation of important law volumes, he is also well-known for the significant role played in the Milanese editorial environment. Berengo 1980: 230-236.

[56] Historical Archive of Modena (henceforth AScMo), Censimento Napoleonico n. 1405/1812.

[57] Formally *Ruolo generale della popolazione*, determined with the Law Article n. 37 of the Royal Decree of 11th June 1811.

[58] The header 'Regno d'Italia' is printed at the top of the page. The Kingdom of Italy founded by Napoleon lasted from the 1805 to 1814.

[59] AScMo, Censimento Napoleonico n. 1405/1812.

[60] Nizzoli's father was already mentioned on one of the documents published by Gabrielli in 1999 as *Niccola*, but the mother's name was still unknown. See Gabrielli 1999: 70.

[61] Containing the exact time of the Chancellor's birth plus other information. Libro dei Battesimi dall'Anno 1785 all'Anno 1804, IX, p. 154, n. 766.

[62] The Parish was between those building particularly affected by the earthquake that struck the city of Modena in the months before the research took place. We are grateful to Don Graziano Gavioli for allowing us access to the Parish and the old archives whilst paying extreme attention to our safety. Without his kind availability and help, this precious document would have never been brought to light.

[63] Nizzoli's mother is alternatively mentioned as Passerini or Passarini in the documents.

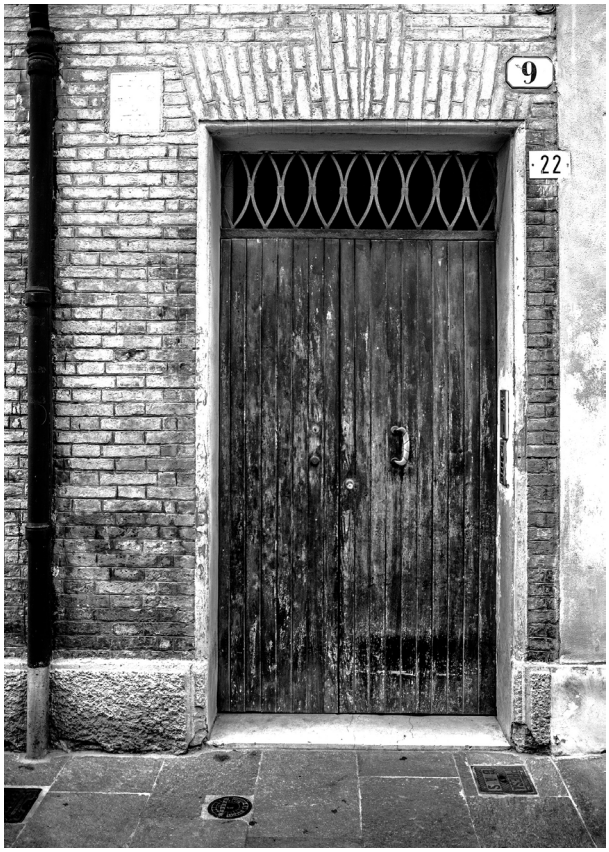

Fig. 180. The entrance of the house of Giuseppe Nizzoli's family.

Rossi Rosa; 43 years old; married to Nizzoli Nicola.

Nizzoli Luigi, born 8 August, 1764 in Modena; son of Gaetano and Cornelia Fogliani (both deceased); profession: barber; married to (*space left blank*).

This document confirms the humble origins of Nizzoli's family, as both his father and uncle are mentioned to be barbers, while the future Chancellor is the only member listed as writer. All together, these documents currently represent the earliest references concerning Giuseppe Nizzoli and his family.

7. Giuseppe Nizzoli's second collection of Egyptian antiquities

The project also found documentation that allowed to reconstruct largely the long process that characterised the sale of the second collection of Egyptian antiquities, formed by Nizzoli during his office as Chancellor of the Austrian Consulate. The acquisition was one of the most strenuous for Nizzoli and the negotiations – from the very first proposal[64] to the final acquisition[65] – lasted years, and just a selection of the most important phases will be mentioned here.[66]

Amalia's memories, once more,[67] provide what can be considered as the first brief account of what Nizzoli was carrying in Italy from Egypt:

'Egli recava con sé dal Cairo una ragguardevole collezione di monumenti egizi, in parte comprati, ed in parte trovati nei vari scavi da lui intrapresi in Menfi, ed in altri luoghi durante il suo soggiorno in Egitto, e mediante un firmano che il Pascià gli aveva espressamente concesso. Questa collezione, che era la seconda [...] si componeva di mille e quattrocento pezzi'.

Amalia states that Nizzoli left Cairo at the beginning of August 1822, carrying with himself a remarkable collection consisting of approximately 1400 pieces of Egyptian antiquities. These are known to have arrived at the harbour of Leghorn, where Nizzoli and Amalia stayed for some time.[68] The arrival of the collection is also attested in two different newspapers of the time: *Gazzetta di Firenze*[69] and *Il Messaggiere Modenese.*[70]

Immediately after the arrival, and while still in Leghorn,[71] Nizzoli began a fast-paced correspondence with multiple parties[72] in the attempt to find a suitable buyer for the collection. Milan, and more specifically the Numismatic Cabinet of Brera,[73] seems to have been the first possibility investigated by the Chancellor, at the turn of 1822,[74] perhaps encouraged by the availability of Gaetano Cattaneo.[75] The attempt was not resolved positively[76] and it appears that Nizzoli must have already been in contact with Florence[77] – his second choice – by the time he received the negative response from Milan. This is also confirmed by the fact that the antiquities were

[64] Nizzoli formally proposed his collection to Milan the 31st October 1822.

[65] The collection was sold the 18th September 1824 to the Royal Galleries of Florence.

[66] For a detailed account of the transactions see RINDI NUZZOLO 2014.

[67] NIZZOLI 1841: 83-84.

[68] After an arduous and long journey by sea, the Nizzoli family arrived in Leghorn the 4 November 1822 and in the lazaret Amalia gave birth to Elisa the 5 January 1823. In her Memories Amalia states that she remained in Leghorn for two months and in March they headed for Florence. NIZZOLI 1841: 103. From the retrieved documentation, it is known that Nizzoli travelled to Modena alone to see his family that he had not seen in years. RINDI NUZZOLO and GUIDOTTI 2014: 154.

[69] 'Gazzetta di Firenze', n. 141 (November, 1822), Rubrica di Livorno.

[70] 'Il Messaggiere Modenese', n. 7 (January, 1823), Rubrica di Livorno.

[71] DARIS 2005: 25.

[72] Nizzoli correspondence was addressed to Milan and subsequently to Florence, a fact already mentioned by Daris. DARIS 2005: 25-27.

[73] DARIS 2005: 26.

[74] The first commercial negotiation with Milan lasted from the late October 1822 to mid-September 1823.

[75] Gaetano Cattaneo (1771-1841), former draughtsman and later Director of the Numismatic Cabinet of Brera, held an intense correspondence with Nizzoli and he strenuously supported the Chancellor's proposal. La Guardia 1985: 299, 309, 312, 317.

[76] The sale to Milan will encounter some political obstacles, especially on May and July 1823 until the refusal of 17 September 1823.

[77] The collection was offered to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand III.

transported to Florence,[78] where both Nizzoli and Amalia moved from Leghorn[79]. It is here that the collection was examined, by early April 1823 at the latest, by Giovanni Battista Zannoni,[80] who was commissioned by the Grand Duke to preliminarily inspect the antiquities prior to the sale.[81] The Royal Antiquarian's official report praises the collection in several aspects[82] and eventually unreservedly recommends its acquisition, as the pieces, in his view, would have enriched the Royal Galleries' collection at a particular time when all major museums were hastily acquiring Egyptian antiquities.[83]

Unfortunately, notwithstanding Zannoni's positive report, things took suddenly a turn for the worse: problems with the price[84] began to arise and the collection, probably also due to a certain amount of miscommunication,[85] was eventually refused on 27 April[86] by the Grand Duke Ferdinand III, who declared not being interested in purchasing it at the time.[87] Nizzoli then took the decision to depart for Milan with his family but, before doing so, the collection was left in storage in Florence,[88] specifically in the rooms of the so-called *Imperial Lyceum,*[89] with the intercession of Prof. Raddi.[90]

Additional manuscripts which have been recovered show that Nizzoli decided, after these negative responses from Milan and Florence, to attempt to sell the collection to Rome during May 1823.[91] In the meanwhile the Milanese connection, which may have suffered a setback on 17 September,[92] appears to have been revived once more as communication between Nizzoli and the Royal Cabinet of Brera resumed.[93]

8. An unknown side of the transactions?

This was a decisive period for the Chancellor and the sources demonstrate that something of importance is likely to have happened that had an impact on the fate of the second collection, covered in more detail below. Upon resuming communication with the Royal Cabinet, Nizzoli set up precise and non-negotiable conditions:[94] the collection must not be split in any way and no piece should be separated from the others; the antiquities are inseparable and thus to be sold only as a whole.[95]

In a period during which it was common to acquire just selected parts of collections, this specific request seems at least very peculiar and it was decided to investigate further into the matter. The documentation[96] shows in fact that Nizzoli must have been in particular financial trouble at the time,[97] amassing debts[98] that forced him to seek help in order to settle them. The Chancellor, most probably during his sojourn in Florence,[99] must have become acquainted with several individuals in the art market, amongst whom probably was a certain Jakob Rudolf Schnell,[100] and it was to the latter that Nizzoli turned when in need of financial support.[101] The Chancellor was able to obtain Schnell's help, but this came at a heavy price, as Nizzoli was, from that moment forth, no longer the owner of the collection.[102] As a guarantee,[103] Nizzoli was burdened with one-year long mortgage, at the end of which the collection would become the official property of Rudolf Schnell; the latter also requested that the collection was to be sold as a whole, without separating any objects.[104] It was this important and previously unknown event that had a profound impact on Nizzoli's life, as well as affecting the last phase of the transactions.

9. A difficult turn of events: the second phase of the negotiations between Milan and Florence

The Chancellor's new proposal to Milan was endorsed not only by Cattaneo – once again supporting Nizzoli[105]

[78] 'Frattanto erano state aperte alcune trattatie del Governo Granducale per l'acquisto della seconda collezione egizia, ma non avendo potuto essere condotta a termine per allora, mio marito si decise di lasciare, come fece, la collezione in deposito a Firenze'. Nizzoli 1841: 106.

[79] 'Partimmo tutti nello stesso giorno [...]; noi per Firenze'. Nizzoli 1841: 103.

[80] He was the Antiquarian at the Royal Gallery of Florence.

[81] Nizzoli 1841: 104.

[82] Rindi Nuzzolo 2014: 131.

[83] In his letter Zannoni mentions the museums of Rome, London, Paris and Turin. The purchase of the collection would bring decorum to Tuscany, following the growing European interest Egyptian antiquities.

[84] Nizzoli was asking for the collection eight thousand Florentine scudi.

[85] Nizzoli was willing to bargain on the price. Manuscripts SBAS-ARG n. 47 (1823), Flz. XLVII, Fasc. 13, n. 5.

[86] This was the first official refusal for the sale of the collection. Three days after, Zannoni was charged to officially inform Nizzoli on the 30 April. Rindi Nuzzolo 2014: 132.

[87] SBAS-ARG n. 47 (1823), Flz. XLVII, Fasc. 13, n. 3.

[88] 'Mio marito si decise di lasciare, come fece, la collezione in deposito a Firenze e proseguire per Milano, ove mancava da più di sette anni'. Nizzoli 1841: 106.

[89] SBAS-ARG n. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. A, n. 11.

[90] Naturalist and botanist (1770-1829), one of Nizzoli's acquaintances who will also take part to the famous Italo-French expedition to Egypt with Ippolito Rosellini. During the expedition he became ill with dysentery and died in Rhodes trying to come back to Italy.

[91] Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2016.

[92] Daris 2005: 27.

[93] Rindi Nuzzolo 2014: 133.

[94] Archivio di Stato di Milano (henceforth ASMi), Atti di Governo, Studi P. M., no. 326, Fasc. 1, Prot. no. 33288/5536.

[95] SBAS-ARG n. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. A, n. 12.

[96] Rindi Nuzzolo 2014: 133-136.

[97] He was concerned to sell his collection so painstakingly brought to Italy that entertained negotiations with several parties.

[98] For instance the cost of transport for the collection. Rindi Nuzzolo 2014: 136.

[99] Rindi Nuzzolo 2014: 138.

[100] Jakob Rudolf Schnell, also known as Ridolfo Schennel and Rodolfo Schnell from other sources, was an illustrious Swiss from Burgdorff and an enthusiast of Science and Fine Arts. Well known by Giuseppe Raddi, he lived for a certain period in Florence, he traded art objects and it is probable he met Giuseppe Nizzoli in the Tuscan city. He died in Paris in 1856.

[101] They stipulated an agreement on the 22nd September 1823.

[102] Rindi Nuzzolo 2014: 138.

[103] SBAS-ARG n. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. A, n. 12. SBAS-ARG n. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. C, n. 2.

[104] SBAS-ARG no. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. A, no. 12.

[105] ASMi, Atti di Governo, Studi P. M., no. 326, Fasc. 1, Prot. no.

– but also by Febo D'adda.[106] After having contracted the debt with Schnell, Nizzoli spent the final part of 1823 waiting for a positive reply to his proposal but without any result. Several official communications follow one another between 19 November[107] and 2 December,[108] when a first negative response was given.[109]

Supported by D'adda and Cattaneo, Nizzoli appealed once more in January of the next year[110] but the Government was not convinced enough to pursue the purchase and the collection[111] was officially rejected, for the second time, by the Archduke Ranieri[112] on the 2nd of July 1824.[113] This concluded the transactions that lasted almost two years[114] with Milan; exactly twenty days later,[115] Nizzoli offered the collection to the successor of Ferdinand III, the Grand Duke of Tuscany Leopold II, by sending an official request[116] accompanied by a brief note indicating the objects offered for purchase (Fig. 183).[117]

The Chancellor then returned to Cairo to resume his official post,[118] but not before appointing Professor Arcangelo Michele Migliarini[119] as legal procurator for the Florentine sale:[120] with Nizzoli away, it was Migliarini's unfortunate task to carry out the last phase of the negotiations with the Royal Galleries.

Problems seems to have affected this phase of the negotiation as well, as the Grand Duke attempted to select just the most important pieces in Nizzoli's collection,[121] against the advice previously given by the Royal Antiquarian Zannoni.[122] At this point Migliarini, as Nizzoli's legal procurator, found himself in uncomfortable position and – in the best interest of his friend – was forced to reveal the fact that the Chancellor had contracted a debt: the collection, due to the rules established by Rudolf Schnell, could not be split in any way. Furthermore, the year-long term was rapidly coming to an end and therefore the Egyptian antiquities could have run the risk of being transported out of Italy.[123] In such an event, Nizzoli would have been subject to a remarkable loss of money and thus Migliarini took the occasion to attempt a last offer by demanding just four thousand *Scudi Fiorentini* against the original eight thousand formerly requested by Nizzoli. It is obvious that the potential sale was not as successful for Nizzoli as he would have liked, who for his debts was forced to sell off the collection.

10. The final phase and the sale of the Egyptian collection

Following Migliarini's reply, Senator Degli Alessandri proceeded to inform the Office of the grand Duke[124] (on 17 September) about the mandatory conditions revealed by the Professor. Degli Alessandri underlined that the circumstances were very favourable for acquiring the collection but, at the same time, the window to take advantage of such a low price was coming to an end and, thus, a final decision had to be made in a couple of days at the latest.

The very next day, the Royal Secretariat of Finance forwarded the official approval of the Grand Duke for the purchase of Nizzoli's collection for the established price of four thousand *Scudi Fiorentini*.[125] The final delivery of the Egyptian antiquities was settled for ten days later, on 28 September 1824, when Professor Migliarini (as Nizzoli's procurator) met with Giovanni Metzeger (Schnell's procurator) in the *Candeli Lyceum*[126] in the presence of two witnessess,[127] plus the Minister Tommaso Giugni[128] and the Royal Antiquarian Zannoni.

33288/5536.

[106] Febo D'Adda (1772-1836), Marquis of Pandino was an authority in Milan and held the office of the Royal Chamberlain, Close Counselor and Vice-President of the Milanese Government.

[107] ASMi, Atti di Governo, Studi P. M., n. 326, Fasc. 1, Prot. n. 21419.

[108] ASMi, Atti di Governo, Studi P. M., n. 326, Fasc. 1, Prot. n. 36207/6070.

[109] The proposed collection is declined at the price of six hundred Milanese scudi, as the Government of Milan considered the amount too high.

[110] ASMi, Atti di Governo, Studi P. M., no. 326, Fasc. 1, Reg. 965/23, Prot. no. 40431/6885.

[111] Which this time is composed of 1405 object, therefore slightly more than the 1396 previously proposed.

[112] Ranieri Giuseppe d'Asburgo-Lorena (1783-1853) was viceroi of the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom from 1818 and stayed in Milan until 1848.

[113] ASMi, Atti di Governo, Studi P. M., no. 326, Fasc. 1, Prot. no. 4490.

[114] From the 31st October 1822 to the 16th July 1824. RINDI NUZZOLO 2014: 139.

[115] SBAS-ARG n. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. A, n. 3.

[116] With the missive SBAS-ARG no. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. A, no. 3.

[117] 'Recapitolazione dei Pezzi componenti la raccolta di Monumenti Egizii di Proprietà di Gius.e Nizzoli Cancelliere dell'I. R. Consolato Austriaco e Toscano in Cairo e dal medesimo offerta a Sua Altezza Imp. e R. il Gran Duca di Toscana'. SBAS-ARG no. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII Fasc. 20, Ins. A, no. 3, All. 1.

[118] He came back to Egypt with his family after his sick leave lasted more than a year.

[119] Arcangelo Michele Migliarini (1779-1865) was a painter, an erudite and an antiquarian. He was educated in Rome and after traveling along Europe he settled in Florence. Particularly interested in Archaeology, he was a pioneer in the emerging Egyptology: he contributed to the purchase of the Nizzoli collection; he strenuously defended Champollion and Rosellini from critics and sceptics; he catalogued many objects obtained from the Franco-Tuscan expedition. NIERI 1931.

[120] SBAS-ARG n. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. A, n. 11. Nizzoli trusted his friend Migliarini and knew that him could resolve the issue in his interest.

[121] SBAS-ARG n. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. A, n. 9.

[122] SBAS-ARG n. 47 (1823), Flz. XLVII, Fasc. 13, n. 2.

[123] Literally 'oltremonti' means beyond the mountains, in this case the Alps: Schnell had residency in Paris. Migliarini mentioned this possibility in case the collection was not sold before the deadline of the 22nd September.

[124] In the person of Giuseppe Seigne.

[125] SBAS-ARG n. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. A, n. 2. Despite the acceptance, Nizzoli will have to wait a long time before receiving the amount determined and in the end, he only earned about 1474 scudi.

[126] RINDI NUZZOLO 2014: 137.

[127] Professor Giuseppe Raddi and Giuseppe Marchiani.

[128] At that time, he held the position of Minister of revisions and unions.

To celebrate the purchase, the collection was exhibited at the Academy of Fine Arts for a total of eight days[129] and was transported to the Uffizi Royal Galleries on 18 November 1824[130] where it would be kept until its final transfer to the present Archaeological Museum in Palazzo della Crocetta.[131]

The *corpus* of documentation that has been recovered demonstrates not only that Nizzoli was interested in selling his antiquities to Rome and Milan in the first place, but also provides a very interesting glimpse on what could have been the fate[132] of the collection, now preserved in Florence.

11. Elisa's wedding, her sad fate, and the legacy of Giuseppe Nizzoli

The project has also had the chance to investigate Nizzoli's close family, in particular the figures of Amalia and Elisa. It is known that the latter married Sir Henry Knight Storks (Fig. 181) at Zakynthos during 1841,[133] the year of publication of Amalia's memories. The documentation about this specific event was not particularly abundant but it has been discovered[134] that the news appeared in at least two contemporary publications: *The Bury and Norwich Post, and East Anglian*,[135] and *The Gentleman's Magazine.*[136] These unfortunately did not provide the date but, cross-referencing the scarce data in the press[137] with the hints that Amalia offered in one of her letters,[138] it was previously suggested by the present authors that the wedding must have taken place within the month of May 1841.[139] New investigations carried out in England recently brought new results and hitherto unknown documentation was retrieved, among which the official marriage certificate[140] of Elisa Nizzoli and Sir Henry Knight Storks.[141] The certificate indicates the place and witnesses and shows the date of the marriage was 3 May 1841.

Fig. 181. Sir Henry Knight Storks.

As it is stated in Amalia's aforementioned letter, the couple spent at least three months[142] in Zakynthos; Elisa then followed her husband in his official duties, but it is known that, at least by 1844, they were back in England: the couple attended a charity ball in the city of Kingston upon Hull, the news of which was published in a short paragraph of *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times.*[143]

Elisa regrettably died just a few years later, on the 25 July 1848, in the County of Kent. Her death certificate[144] shows that she died from tuberculosis and that such a condition had already been known – or certified – for at least two years. She was buried in the cemetery adjacent to St. Botolph's church, Northfleet;[145] her tomb is no longer extant, but the records show that her headstone was engraved with the words: *Elisa Adelaide Maria née Nizzoli wife of Major Henry Knight Storks 25 July 1848, [aged] 24.*[146]

[129] The collection remained in the Academy of Fine Arts from the beginning of October 1824 to 11-12 of the same month. SBAS-ARG n. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. B, 28th September 1824. Nieri 1931: 128.
[130] SBAS-ARG n. 48 (1824), Flz. XLVIII, Fasc. 20, Ins. B, 18th November 1824.
[131] Del Francia 1991: 163-164.
[132] The collection could have left Italy.
[133] Gabrielli 1999: 67-68.
[134] Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2014: 156.
[135] Dated 16 June 1841 in the 'Births, Marriages, Deaths' section.
[136] Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2015: 52-53.
[137] The newspaper lists the information in a chronological order and the news right after the wedding of Storks and Nizzoli is dated to the 31st of May.
[138] Gabrielli 1999: 72.
[139] Thanks to the letter cited by Gabrielli 1999 and the newspaper information, it could be suggested that the marriage took place in May. Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2014: 156.
[140] General Register Office (henceforth GRO), England, SA 085370. Certificate of Marriage n. 94, 1841.
[141] Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2015: 54-55.
[142] Gabrielli 1999: 72.
[143] 23 February 1844.
[144] GRO DYC 568284. North Aylesford Registration District, Civil Parish of Northfleet.
[145] Elisa was buried on the 31st of July, 1848, and her grave (n. 586 in the cemetery) was originally located to the East of the path leading from school to church
[146] As in the death certificate, even here the age of Elisa is incorrect: she was at that time 25 years old.

Fig. 182. Henry Nizzoli Reeve Storks.

However, before her death Elisa gave birth to a son in Florence in 1842,[147] who took the family name of the mother, Henry Nizzoli Reeve Storks. (Fig. 182) [148] He followed in the footsteps of his father, choosing himself a career in the military: his certificate of service[149] shows that he enlisted when he was seventeen years old (in 1859) and, having been promoted to Lieutenant (1861), he managed to achieve the rank of Captain in 1864. He married three times but had no children, so it seems that Giuseppe Nizzoli's legacy terminated with the death of his grandson Henry Nizzoli Reeve Storks in 1874.

12. Amalia Nizzoli: a woman (not) in the shadow of her husband

A substantial part of the project was dedicated to the investigation of Amalia, particularly to attempt to expand on her contribution to the work of her husband as well as to clarify what could have happened to her after 1841. There is very little information as to the degree of involvement that Amalia had in her husband's commercial activities but, examining the sources, it is possible to find proof that she contributed in more than one way along the years.

[147] On 25 January. See RINDI NUZZOLO and GUIDOTTI 2014: 157.
[148] This photograph was taken in 1859 before his enlistment in the Army. Courtesy British Library Board, GBC108 K2.
[149] The National Archives; Kew, England; WO 25/545.

The first well-known event dates to 1826 and Amalia's memoirs are, once more, the primary source of information.[150] After the sale of the second collection of Egyptian antiquities to the Royal Galleries of Florence, Nizzoli, once back in Egypt,[151] started to gather additional objects to form a new collection.[152] It is known that the Chancellor must have gathered such antiquities primarily in two ways: by purchasing them, and by direct excavation. There is unfortunately not much information about which objects were purchased or excavated but for the excavation itself, it is possible to learn more from Amalia.

She was asked by Nizzoli, who was unavailable due to his duties in Cairo, to conduct an excavation at Saqqara on his behalf during the spring of 1826:[153]

'[…] mio marito essendosi dato ad intraprendere alcuni scavi a Saccarah, villaggio situate presso l'antica Menfi, aveva desiderato che io vi prendessi stanza, e che personalmente soprastassi alla direzione di quei lavori, non potendo egli allontanarsi totalmente dal Cairo. […] Mi trasferii con tutto l'occorrente a Saccarah ove era stato stabilito un alloggio per me'[154]

Amalia moved to Saqqara, conducting the excavation for forty days, a remarkable experience for a woman of the period, and for this she should also be considered one of the first female archaeologists.[155] Our research also managed to discover new documents confirming the fact that, even after this, Amalia was actively involved in the commercial activities of her husband[156] as well as in maintaining correspondence with prominent personalities on behalf of Nizzoli.[157]

The project was also able to trace new documentation confirming that Amalia was still alive after 1841. After the marriage of her daughter Elisa in 1841, Amalia spent some time with her and Major Storks on the island of Zakynthos.[158] Later, she travelled across Europe, lived for some time in Paris,[159] and it is known that she attended a charity ball in the city of Kingston upon Hull,[160] where

[150] NIZZOLI 1841: 234.
[151] They travelled back to Cairo the 12 September 1824. DARIS 2005: *32*.
[152] DARIS 2009: 354;
[153] There has been much discussion whether this excavation took place in the spring of 1825 or 1826, as Amalia does not mention the exact year. However, she provides implicit chronological references that, combined with a letter found during the research, can confirm that 1826 was the year in which the excavation took place. For a detailed discussion concerning this particular topic see RINDI NUZZOLO and GUIDOTTI 2016b.
[154] NIZZOLI 1841: 234, 236-247.
[155] RINDI NUZZOLO and GUIDOTTI 2016b.
[156] RINDI NUZZOLO 2013: 154; RINDI NUZZOLO and GUIDOTTI 2015.
[157] RINDI NUZZOLO 2013; RINDI NUZZOLO and GUIDOTTI 2015: 83-84.
[158] GABRIELLI 1999: 72.
[159] RINDI NUZZOLO and GUIDOTTI 2015: 140-141, 150.
[160] RINDI NUZZOLO and GUIDOTTI 2014: 156-157.

GIUSEPPE NIZZOLI	AMALIA NIZZOLI	ELISA NIZZOLI
284 autograph letters	2 autograph letters	Certificate of marriage
Birth certificate	Birth certificate	Documentation on her last years
Family nucleus and family tree	Family details	Place, date and cause of death
Documentation on his last years	Documentation on her last years	Death certificate
Identification of an anonymous manuscript as pertaining to Nizzoli	Place, date and cause of death	Discovery of the former location of her tomb (no longer extant) and inscription
Birth certificate of all the members of his family	Death certificate	Elisa's son: Henry Nizzoli Reeve Storks
Inventories of the objects and documents concerning the sale of the Florentine collection of Egyptian antiquities	Discovery of her tomb	Henry Nizzoli's original photograph
		Henry Nizzoli Reeve Storks' military career and achievements
81 additional manuscripts and letters concerning the members of the Nizzoli family		

Table 12. Outcomes of the Nizzoli Project

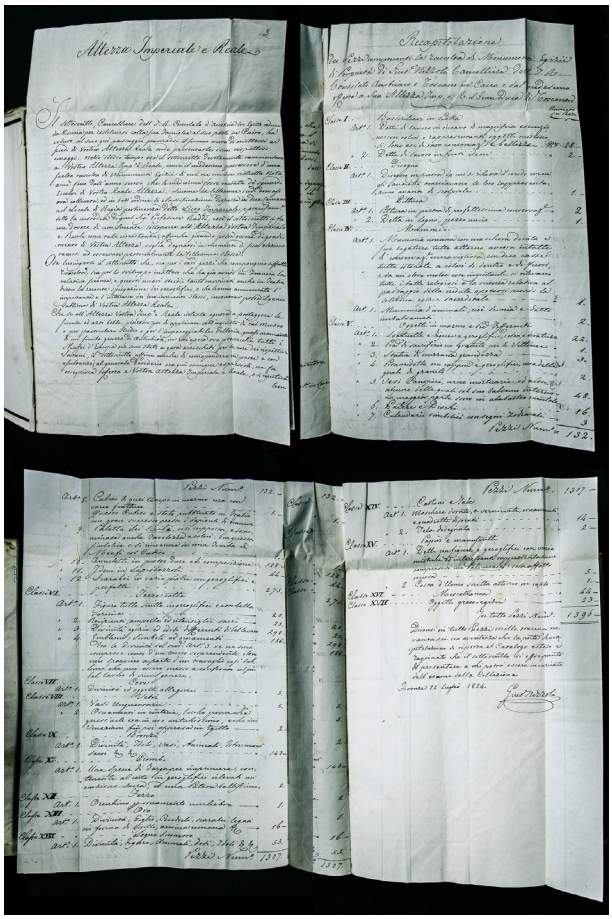

Fig. 183. The original letter with which Nizzoli proposed his second Egyptian collection to Florence

she was listed among the guests together with Elisa and Sir Henry Knight Storks.[161]

13. Conclusions

The Nizzoli project was born from the necessity to tackle certain aspects concerning this interesting Nineteenth century family and has so far recovered a total of 284 autograph letters by Giuseppe Nizzoli and two letters by Amalia, plus a considerable amount (Table 12) of other documentation which helped to fill several gaps in the history of the Nizzoli family. The results of the project will be organised in two volumes: the first completely dedicated to Amalia, recently published,[162] and the second – currently in print – concerning Nizzoli and his activities.[163]

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[161] Her name appears in a long list of English family names.
[162] Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2015.
[163] Rindi Nuzzolo and Guidotti 2016a.

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