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12. Painted Plaster: A Glimpse into the Decorative Programme Used in the Amun Temple at Dangeil, Sudan

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Abstract

Excavations at the site of Dangeil, Sudan, have uncovered a red brick and mud brick Amun temple of the Late Kushite period. Examination of the few remnants of painted plaster fragments discovered within, give some insights into the decorative programme of the temple.

Key words

Sudan, Dangeil, Amun temple, Late Kushite, 1st c AD, Meroitic inscription, Painted plaster, Amanitore, Natakamani

Introduction

The Sudanese-Canadian Berber-Abidiya Archaeological Project began conducting site reconnaissance and rescue excavations between Berber and Abidiya in Nile State, Sudan in 1997.¹ This is a region of the middle Nile seldom explored. Its location at the hub of the ancient and modern desert and riverine trade routes indicates historically the area was of great importance; however, until now its archaeology and settlement history have remained little known. It is noteworthy that the limit of Egyptian New Kingdom expansion is located immediately to the north at Hagr el-Merwa (Kurgus) and the Late Kushite capital of Meroe is situated just upstream to the south.

The Project's work has concentrated upon the Late Kushite city of Dangeil (3rd c BC-3rd c AD) located on the east bank, just south of the 5th cataract of the Nile, approximately 350km north of Khartoum. The site is endangered by the modern village which encloses it on three sides and a road and 5000-fedan² irrigation project which run along the fourth side (**Figures 12-1 & 12-2**). It is quite substantial, measuring approximately 300 x 400m and there is evidence to suggest that the ancient settlement extended further westwards and that part is now situated beneath the modern village.

Dangeil derives its name from the abundance of broken red brick debris scattered across the site's surface, although mud brick fragments, painted and white lime plaster pieces, Late Kushite pot sherds, grinding stones and large numbers of bread moulds are also in evidence. As an archaeological site Dangeil has an unusual appearance. Rather than a single mound, it consists of a series of thirteen large individual mounds, the majority of which stand between three and four metres above the surrounding plain (**Figure 12-3**). The centre of the site is dominated by a large enclosure into which access was gained through a monumental red brick gate now covered by mounds E and F (**Figure 12-4**). Currently, this wall stands between 0.50m and 0.75m high in most places. The enclosure measures roughly 150m east-west by 135m north-south and is orientated perpendicular to the Nile. Remains of what appears to be a large bastion (Kom J) occupies the south-east corner. Excavations have focused primarily upon this enclosure and in particular upon Kom H, a 60 x 37m mound that stood 3.8m above the surrounding plain, situated in its centre.

Shortly after the excavation began, it became apparent that Kom H concealed a single well-preserved building and further, that each mound on the site was an individual structure substantially preserved. Five seasons of excavations on Kom H have revealed an Amun-style temple (**Figure 12-5**) largely constructed of red bricks, mud bricks and sandstone. This identification is made on architectural and stylistic grounds and through comparison with other known temples in Sudan such as the Amun temple at Naqa located to the south. Like the temenos enclosure, the temple is orientated east-west with the entrance facing the Nile and is quite large, measuring approximately 48.5m east-west by 33.5m north-south (across the main pylon). The pylon itself is over 5.5m wide and stood almost 4m high at the end of excavation.

Dating of the Temple

Reused materials and Late Kushite pottery suggest subsequent repairs or rebuilding of the temple and occupation well into the Late Kushite period. The combination of red brick and mud brick temple construction is consistent with this date and has been noted in other Amun temples such as Dokki Gel near the 3rd Nile cataract.³ Several pink sandstone fragments of a finely carved altar were uncovered within the sanctuary fill. Some included the band of stars the ran beneath the cavetto cornice, while others were inscribed with portions of well-executed cartouches containing the name Amanitore in Meroitic hieroglyphs and her prenomen *mry-k3-[R^c]* (**Figure 12-6**). A yellow sandstone fragment, originating from the processional way, included the top of two other cartouches, one possibly containing part of the name *hpr-k3-R^c*, the prenomen or Egyptian name of Natakamani. This suggests that Amanitore and Natakamani were major benefactors of the temple and probably constructed and/or renovated a large part of it, as they did elsewhere in the Sudan during their reign in the 1st c AD. Although the majority of associated pottery is Late Kushite in date, the presence of a few Early Kushite bread moulds of the 8th – 4th c BC, suggests there may be an earlier structure somewhere in the vicinity, that could have been rebuilt or enlarged by Natakamani and Amanitore.

The Painted Plaster

Noted both on the mound's surface and discovered during the course of excavation were fragments of painted and unpainted lime and mud-plasters. With the painted plasters, pigments, usually white, blue, red, yellow, or some combination thereof, were applied to a whitewashed surface. Analyses of the painted plaster pigments using Raman spectroscopy yielded few surprises. The red and yellow colours are ochres, identified as hematite and a highly crystalline goethite respectively, while the blue was identified as Egyptian blue and consisted of bright blue particles within a white matrix. Portions of the Amanitore altar also contained traces of yellow and red paint suggesting that the temple had once been brightly decorated. Certainly, this was not unexpected, but until the bases of the six columns in the northern half of the first court and part of the sanctuary were uncovered, little evidence existed to confirm this hypothesis or to suggest the nature of the decorative programme used within the temple.

Within the first court, the preservation of the columns was good, with some standing over 1.5m high. The columns were roughly plastered with white lime plaster 10 – 15mm thick on average. Randomly spaced spirals had been incised into the plaster to enable a thinner finishing layer of finer, and most likely painted, plaster to adhere. The bases were covered with white cement as was verified by the presence of round pebbles mixed in with the lime plaster. Faint traces of blue colour remained on some of the column bases indicating their original, but now somewhat faded,

colour; however, the programme of decoration on the walls and the columns in this court and indeed, in the second court, is not known for certain.

Excavations were undertaken to expose the sanctuary. The debris that filled this area, particularly in the upper levels, contained many large fallen sandstone blocks and fragments. Architectural elements from the sanctuary entrances, such as redbrick torus and cornice mouldings were also recovered from the upper parts of the fill. As elsewhere in the building, within the sanctuary, the foundations and external facings of the walls were constructed of red bricks while the interior of the walls were of mud bricks. The entrances to the chapels were faced with sandstone blocks and the floor paved with well-fitted sandstone flagstones (**Figure 12-7**). Unlike the rest of the temple where the column drums were created from redbrick quarter circles or thirds, the sanctuary columns consist of a series of sandstone drums stacked one upon the other with a thin paste of mud mortar sealing them together.

Several fragments of brightly painted mud plaster were preserved just above the sandstone floor in the northwest corner of the sanctuary (**Figure 12-8**). The plaster had fallen from the lower part of the northwest wall and traces of mud plaster 40-50mm thick still adhered to the base of this wall. The plaster fall covered a maximum area of 1.69m east-west by 1.49m north-south and the thickness of the deposit ranged from 50 to 70mm. It abutted the northwest wall of the sanctuary and was located a maximum of 0.86m away from the north wall. The deposit itself consisted of plaster fragments orientated in a variety of ways, mixed in with laminated layers of wind-laid sand, fragments of roof collapse including charred wooden beams, and solidified rain-washed mud. It is evident that following a fire that destroyed much of the temple roof,⁴ the wall plaster throughout the entire temple was exposed to repeated rains, wind erosion and sand deposition, which largely resulted in its destruction.

Portions of two scenes could be reconstructed from the plaster deposit.⁵ The first was a vertical column of Meroitic hieroglyphs 80mm wide, painted against a royal blue background. It was reassembled from forty-one fragments (**Figure 12-9**). The reconstructed inscription measures 605mm long, and has a maximum width of 380mm. Part of nine hieroglyphs and word dividers were preserved. The word dividers consisted of a horizontal line of three dots. The hieroglyphs, each measuring 60-70mm wide, were outlined in black (munsell 2.5/N) and filled with yellow (munsell 10YR 7/8). A yellow band also outlined in black, borders the inscription on either side. To the right of the inscription, a vertical black stripe, 80mm wide was similarly enclosed between two yellow bands. The inscription may be transliterated as follows:

m?] t : tllw : [d?

Although only a small portion is preserved, the inscription appears to be the same as the middle portion of REM 0026 which comes from the scene inscribed on the first gate of the temple of Amun at Naqa (Leclant *et al.* 2000, 52-53). REM 0026 is a vertical inscription placed between two fecundity figures striding forward pouring libations near the base of the gate. It is shown in **Figure 12-10** with the inscription comparable to Dangeil highlighted.

The second scene was reassembled from twenty-one mud plaster fragments and measured approximately 420 x 320mm when complete. Portions of the lotus flower headdress and hair of a fecundity figure were represented (**Figure 12-11**). The general outlines of the figure were painted in black (munsell gley 2.5/N) while the details were highlighted in red (munsell 10R 5/8) and the body filled in with yellow (munsell 10YR 7/8). Isolated fragments of yellow stars suggest that the

lower wall register was separated from that above by a band of stars.

It appears that fecundity figures pouring libations were painted in the lower register of the sanctuary walls. Notably, such figures occupy the same position on the walls within the decorative programme of the Amun temple at Naqa. Presumably at Dangeil, these figures were depicted marching in the direction of the main altar, in the same manner as their counterparts carved on the sandstone columns. Each column is decorated with 8 fecundity figures striding forward towards the sanctuary (**Figure 12-12**). Each figure carries two water jars (ewers) that are pouring libations to the main God of the temple, presumably Amun. Faint traces of pigment on the columns indicate that the programme of coloured decoration on the walls was consistent with that on the columns, at least in the lowest registers, although the hieroglyphic inscription does not appear to be the same.

The inscription found on the columns is orientated vertically and repeated four times on every column, thus appearing a total of sixteen times in the sanctuary. It divides each column into four quarters and each quarter is occupied by two fecundity figures. A maximum of nine signs can be discerned, although between six and nine hieroglyphs and word dividers are preserved in each line. The transliterated inscription reads:

] : *alse* : *lbrte*

This inscription is the same as the end of REM 0084, REM 0144, and REM 0150⁶ from the temple at Amara East, where it was carved in similar fashion on the columns (Leclant *et al.* 2000, 184-185, 322-323, 334-335). The middle and upper portions of these inscriptions include the cartouches of Amanitore and Natakamani, a part of the inscription no longer preserved in Dangeil; however, the decorative programme of the columns at Dangeil may have appeared similar to that at Amara East, shown in **Figure 12-13**. The inscription found at both Dangeil and Amara East is highlighted and notably the Amara inscription is placed in the same context, between fecundity figures, as at Dangeil. Based upon comparisons with Amara East, the Dangeil column inscriptions could also be comparable to REM 0034 from the Amun temple at Naqa (Leclant *et al.* 2000, 68-69), although much of the end of this inscription is not preserved.

Excavations to the north of the sanctuary area revealed a 27.5 x 5.5m room orientated east-west parallel to the temple's axis. This room was paved with well-laid sandstone flagstones and was accessible via two entrances. The first was through the northernmost sanctuary and the second from a north-south orientated corridor that led to an entrance in the north-east corner of the temple in the north wall. A raised sandstone dais, like that discovered at Naqa in a similarly situated room (Kroeper and Wildung 2002, 137-139, fig.1), adorned the western end (**Figure 12-14**). Three pairs of redbrick columns led up to the dais. No plaster was preserved on the dais; however, the fine chisel marks in the stone indicate that the sandstone blocks had been prepared for a finishing layer of plaster that presumably would have been decorated in some fashion.

Several painted mud plaster fragments were discovered scattered just above the floor, between the dais, southwest column (designated H440) and the south wall of the chamber. Though none could be joined together, the pattern of decoration could be discerned on a few of them. Part of the hieroglyph *n* was present on one small fragment (36 x 24mm) (**Figure 12-15**). Similar to the Meroitic inscription discussed above, it was outlined in black, filled with yellow (munsell 10YR 8/6) and seems to have been painted against a blue background, now much darkened. A second larger fragment (122 x 107mm) had a mat-work pattern of alternating blue and red bands separated horizontally and vertically by thinner yellow stripes (**Figure 12-16**). A third fragment (48 x 43mm)

contained a variation of a *kheker* frieze outlined in black, filled with yellow and painted on a red background. It is not known from where these fragments originated; however, the *kheker* frieze is a decorative element frequently used on the upper part of walls.

Although not part of the temple's officially sanctioned decoration, two stick figures were painted just inside the entrance to the northern sanctuary on the north wall (**Figure 12-17**). Rendered in red paint (munsell 10R 4/8) on the white plaster, the two individuals are depicted striding westward out of the sanctuary door. The first figure appears to be wearing a kilt and as such is probably male. He is carrying a sceptre/wand or mace. The person following seems to also carry a mace or sceptre, but its dress and gender are less clear. The entire scene is 250mm high by 170mm wide. Whether the location of this graffito is accidental, reflects the type of individuals who were allowed access to this part of the temple or those who destroyed the structure is unknown. It is also uncertain whether the graffito was painted during the life of the temple or shortly after its abandonment and destruction, though its placement in a sanctuary chapel might argue for the latter.

While Amara East, Dangeil and Naqa are located quite a distance from one another, the repetition of architectural elements like the dais, and of the inscriptions, both on the columns and on the wall plaster, is certainly no coincidence. It may be suggested that there was a standard royal model in use during the reign of Amanitore and Natakamani that was followed by the temple architects. Further, through careful comparisons with these contemporary temples, the decorative programme throughout much of the Dangeil temple may be postulated.

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Notes

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2. 1 fedan = 0.57 hectares.

3. Cf. Salah Mohamed Ahmed 2004a; 2004b.

4. Cf. Salah Mohamed Ahmed and Anderson 2005, 19.

5. We are grateful to Dr Caroline Rocheleau for her work in reconstructing these plaster scenes.

6. REM 0145-0149 are probably also comparable. Cf. Leclant *et al* 2000, 324-333. We are grateful to C. Rilly (personal communication) for suggesting that the inscription on the Dangeil columns was a repetition of that found at Naqa.



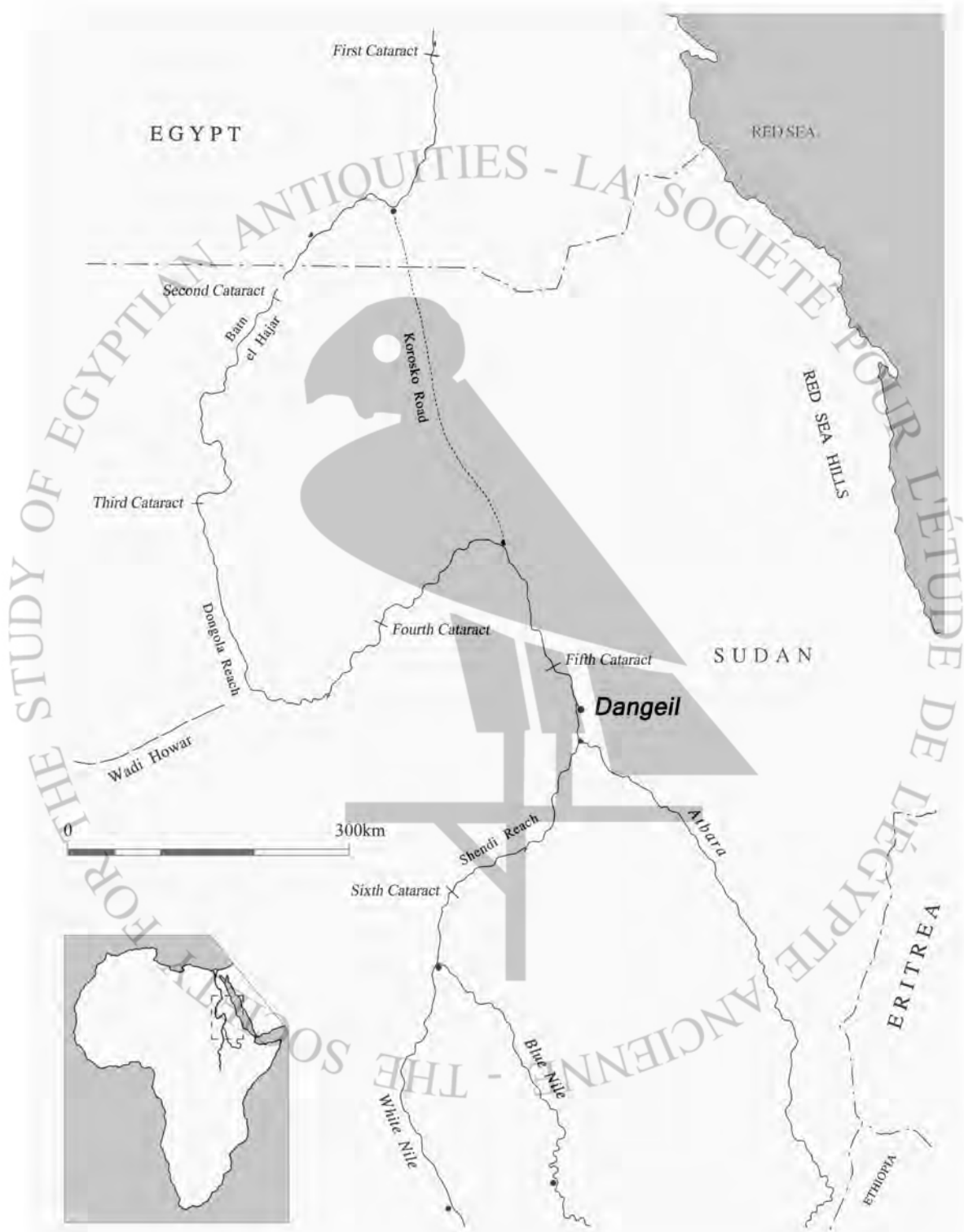


Figure 12-1 - Map showing the location of Dangeil.



Figure 12-3 - The site of Dangeil, facing northeast.

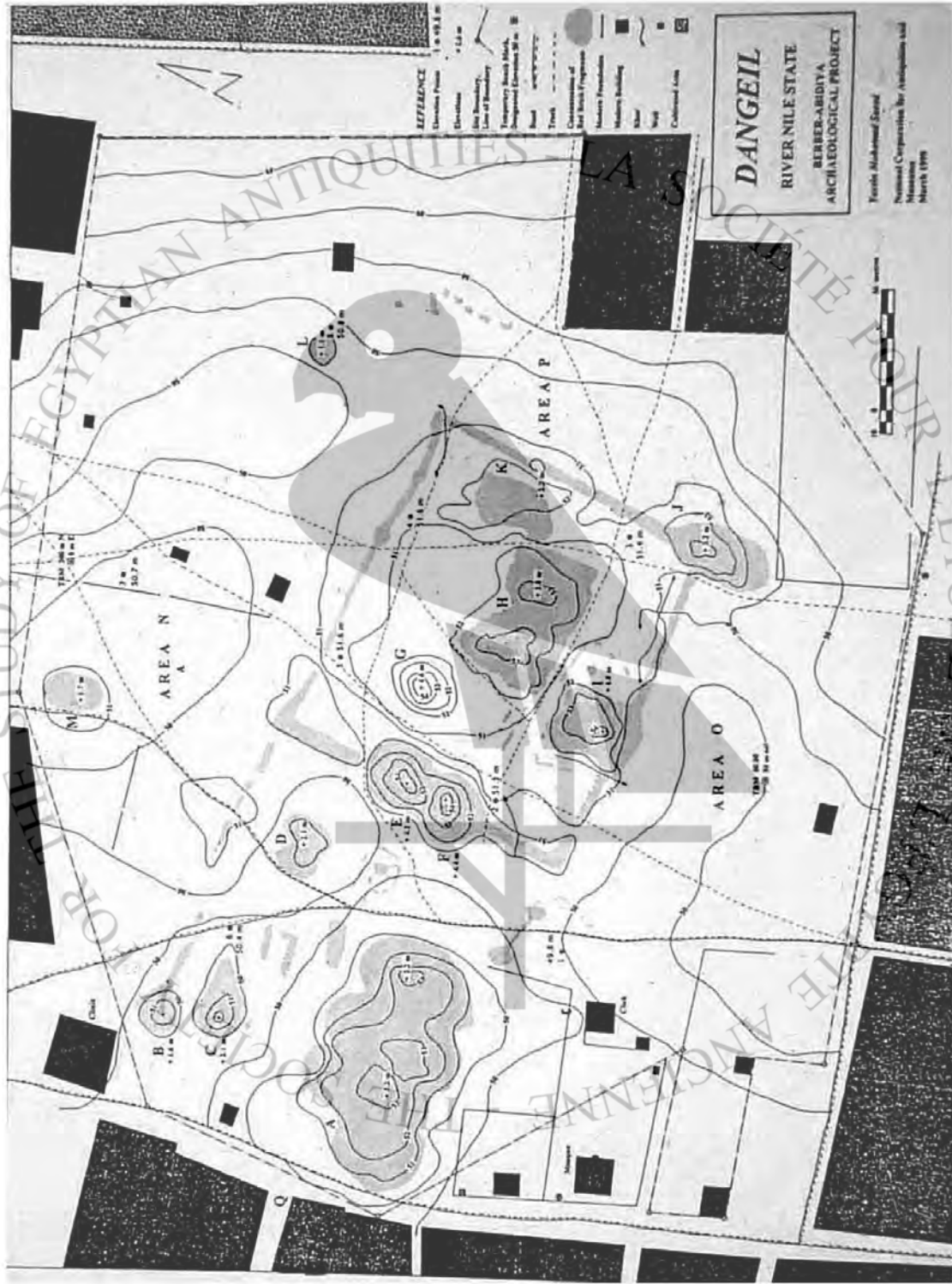


Figure 12-4 - Top plan of Dangeil.

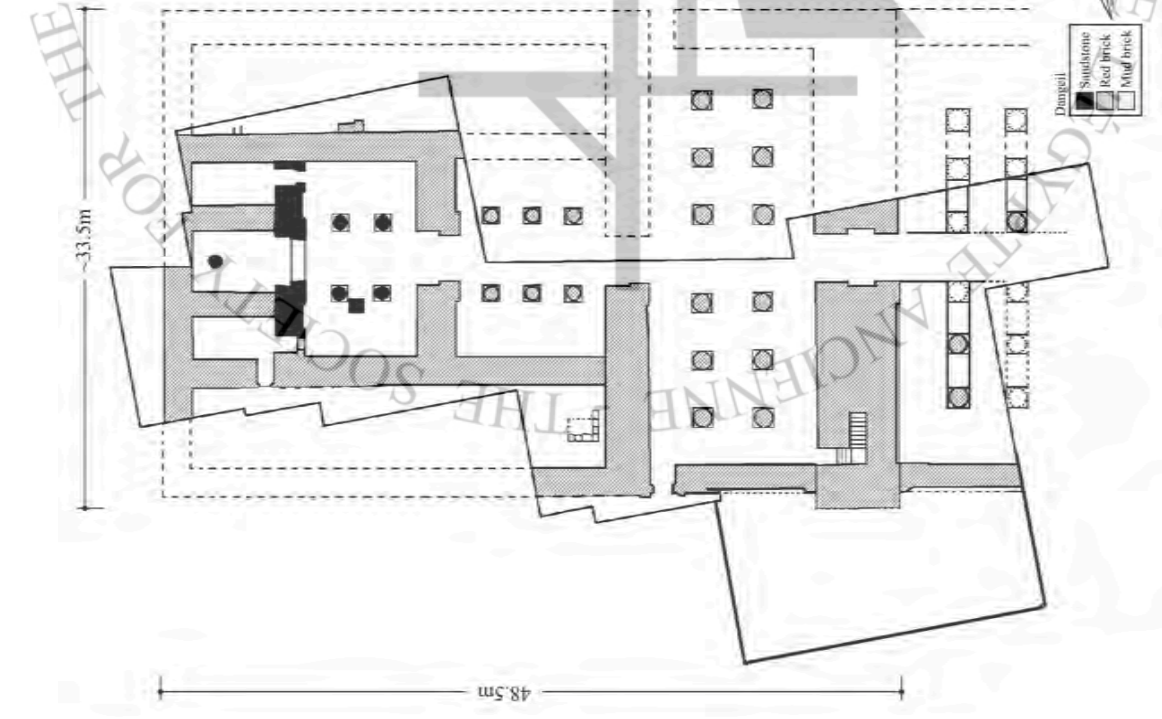


Figure 12-6 - Altar fragment bearing part of the cartouche of Amanitore.

Figure 12-5 - Plan of the Amun temple, Kom H.



Figure 12-7 - The temple sanctuary facing north.

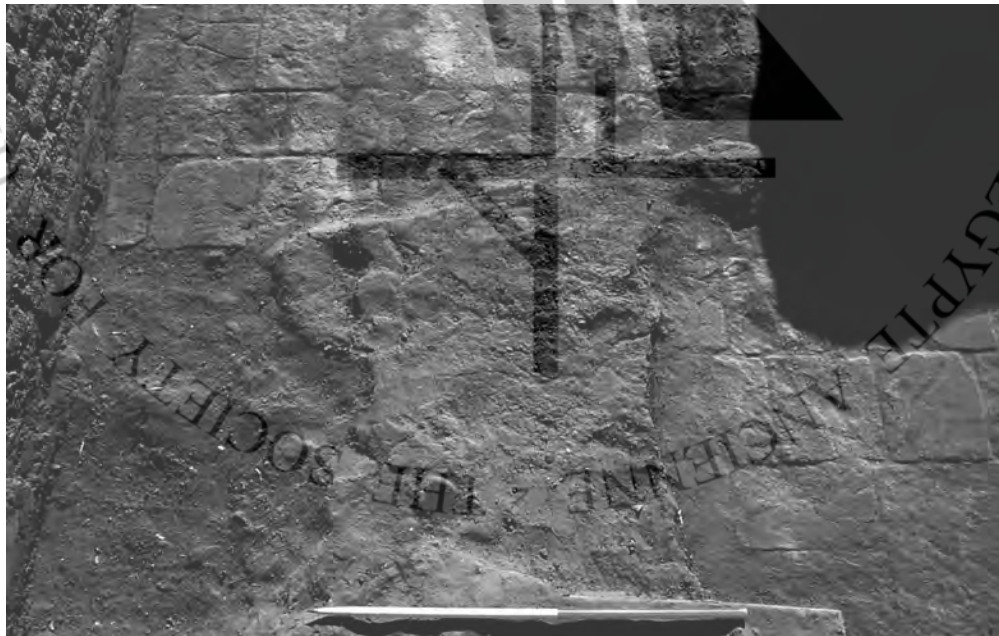


Figure 12-8 - Mud plaster fall in the northwest corner of the sanctuary, from above.

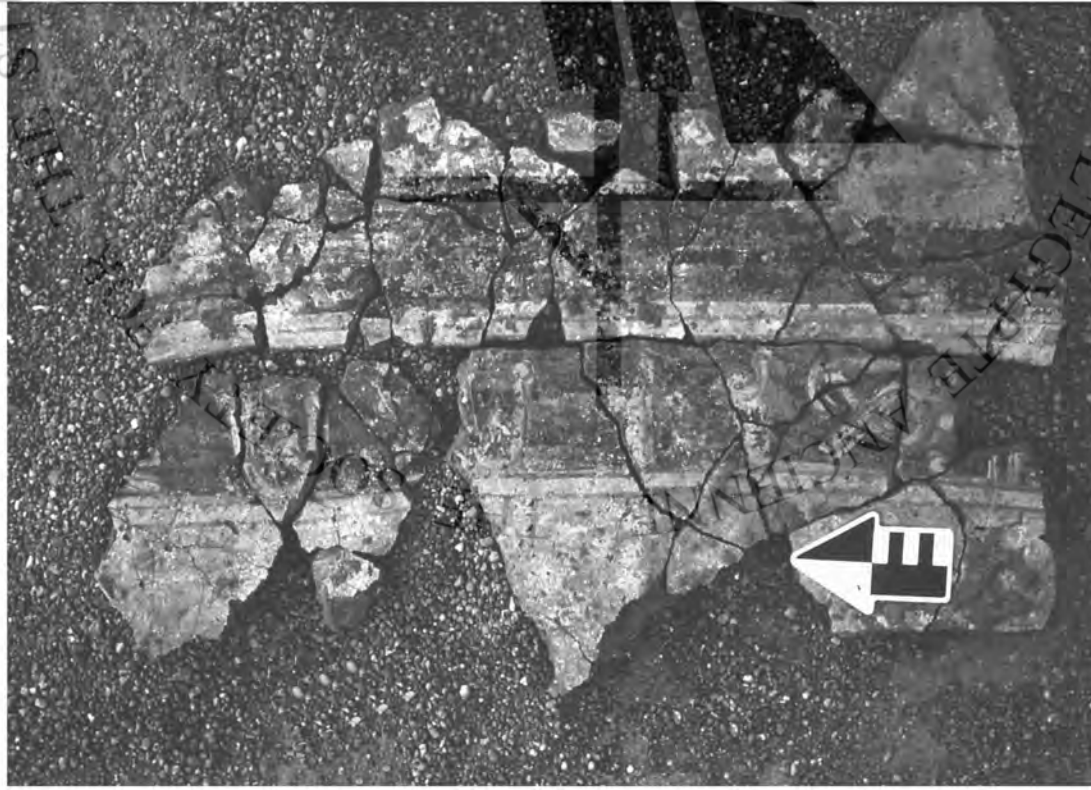


Figure 12-9 - Meroitic hieroglyphic inscription painted on mud plaster.

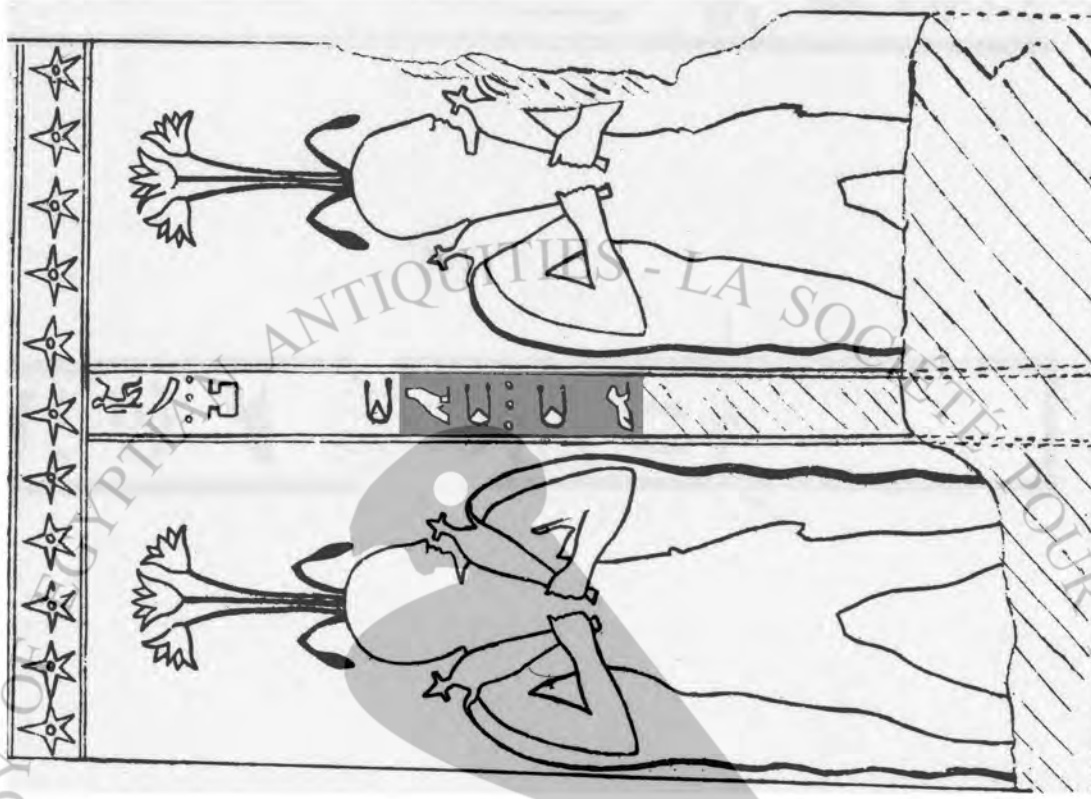


Figure 12-10 - REM 0026, Temple of Amun at Naqa (after Griffith 1911, pl. XXI). The highlighting denotes the inscription found both at Naqa and in Dangeil.

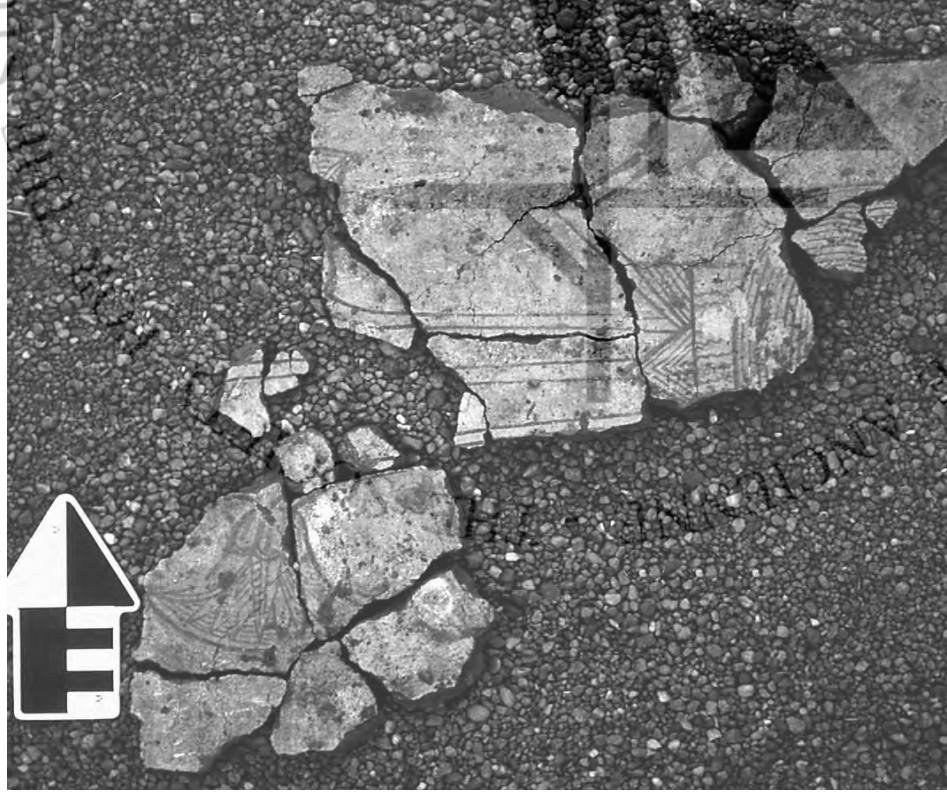


Figure 12-11 - Headdress and hair of a fecundity figure painted on mud plaster.



Figure 12-12 - Sandstone column H276 in the sanctuary.

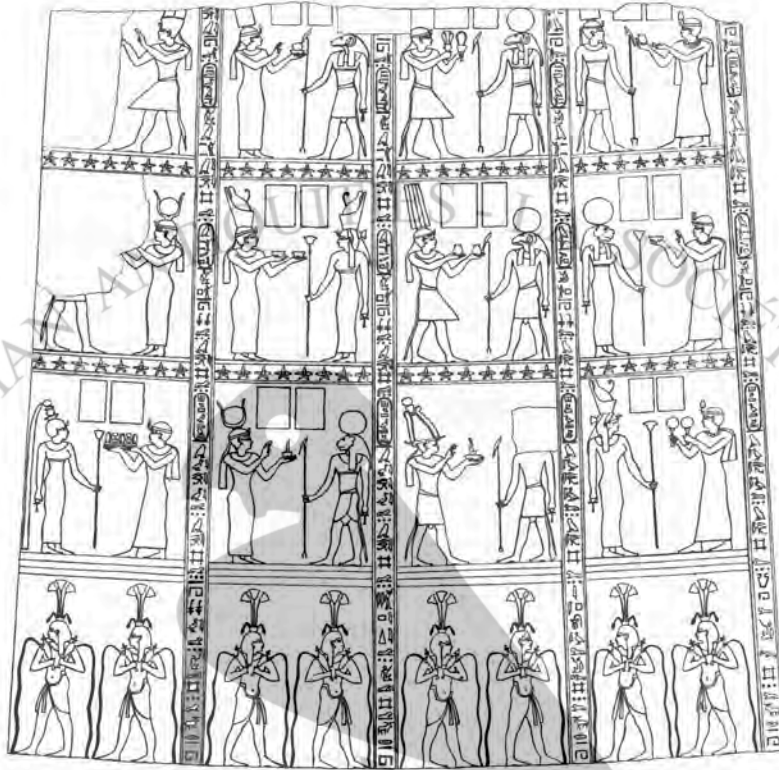


Figure 12-13 - REM 0084, Temple of Amara, column h (after Griffith 1912, pl. VI). The highlighting in the bottom left denotes the inscription found both at Amara and in Dangeil.



Figure 12-14 - Sandstone dais (H185) and two flanking columns.

13. The *Shebyu*-collar in the New Kingdom Part 1

Peter J. Brand

Abstract

Examination of actual examples and artistic representations of the *shebyu*-collar indicate that it came in two varieties. The most familiar type was composed of bi-conical or lenticular shaped beads, but a second type consisted of flat disk-like or wafer-shaped beads. In representational art, the two types of collars were often juxtaposed and distinguished from each other in wall painting and relief. From actual examples of the collar and polychrome representations in art, it is also clear that *shebyu*-collars were often composed of strands of multi-colored beads, most often arranged in sequences of yellow, red and blue beads, although other color combinations occur.

Key words

shebyu-collar, jewelry, New Kingdom, Tutankhamen, relief decoration

It is a great pleasure to dedicate this article in memory of Nick Millet, even more so as it grew out of a term paper I wrote for him in my graduate school days. The stress he placed on empirical research, the union of archaeological with iconographic data and the avoidance of over interpretation of evidence is, I hope, reflected in this contribution.

Introduction

During the New Kingdom a new form of necklace consisting of one or more strands of lenticular beads joined the repertoire of Egyptian jewellery, often called the *shebyu*-collar. This type of jewellery is well known as a token of royal favour frequently bestowed on worthy officials in the “Gold of Honor” ceremony during the New Kingdom, and there are many examples of officials in reward scenes being given these collars.¹ The term *shebyu*-collar is only attested in contexts of royal rewards to officials and we cannot be sure that all necklaces consisting of lenticular or disk-shaped beads in the New Kingdom were called this. Although conjectural, this terminology has become conventional in Egyptological literature, and here will be used to refer to such necklaces as discussed in this paper.

Throughout the New Kingdom, however, there are numerous examples of similar necklaces being worn by deities and royalty in cultic contexts. The main goal of this essay will be to examine this second phenomenon and to offer some insights into the possible significance of the *shebyu*-collar in these contexts through a comprehensive examination of known examples. The king’s use of the collar as a talisman of pharaoh’s divine aspect and his association with the sun god Re has been brought to light by Johnson.² The collection and analysis of examples throughout the New Kingdom suggests that the use of the *shebyu*-collar by kings and gods—and probably its iconographic significance as well—evolved over the course of the New Kingdom. Therefore this study will proceed with a survey of the contexts in which it was employed during the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties by the king, deities and with cultic equipment and icons like sacred

barques. The use of the *shebyu*-collar by private individuals lies beyond the scope of this study. The iconography of the collar will be considered in the second part of this article, but I shall begin with a discussion of the physical description and modes of representing it in two- and three-dimensional art.

Earliest Evidence for of the *Shebyu*-collar

The earliest evidence for the existence of the *shebyu*-collar is an actual example from the grave of an unknown woman of the late Seventeenth Dynasty excavated by Petrie at Dra Abu Naga in western Thebes and now in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh.³ This example has four strands of narrow gold ring beads which are considerably smaller and thinner than many later examples, more closely resembling the Psusennes collars. They are also mounted on thick fibre cores.⁴ The Edinburgh necklace has long been considered the earliest example of a *shebyu*-collar, although this has been challenged recently.⁵ The first securely dated and uncontroversial example of a *shebyu*-collar dates to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Kha at Deir el-Medina. An X-ray of his mummy revealed a necklace composed of a strand of large lenticular beads.⁶

The earliest textual reference to the *shebyu*-collar stems from the time of king Ahmose, where it is mentioned by name in the autobiography of Ahmose-Pennekhet as a part of the “Gold of Honor” bestowed on him by the king for his valour in battle.⁷ Otherwise, it is named but rarely in texts⁸ and representations of it in art only become common beginning with the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.

Physical Description of *Shebyu*-collars

Actual examples of *shebyu*-collars can be made of gold (Figures 13-6 to 13-8), faience (Figures 13-9 to 13-12) and glass (Figures 13-1 to 13-5). These necklaces consist of from one to as many as five or six strands of disk-shaped beads, sometimes with terminal clasps at both ends of each strand. Faience examples and the glass ones from Tutankhamen’s tomb, usually consist of a single strand of lenticular beads, although they could be worn in pairs. Collars made up of multiple strands of beads attached together have also been found: The Edinburgh collar has four strands, a gold example found on Tutankhamen’s mask has three strands⁹ and a glass exemplar has two.¹⁰ The Psusennes collars all have between five and seven strings of beads.¹¹ In each case, these collars are secured to a single clasp and may be considered a unit. Hence I will term any example sharing the same clasp as a single collar whether it has one or multiple strands of beads.

Egyptologists have normally defined the *shebyu*-collar as a necklace consisting of large beads that are bi-conical or lentiform in cross section.¹² During the New Kingdom, lenticular faience beads were mass produced in huge quantities, and individual beads often vary in thickness, diameter and evenness, suggesting that they were modeled by hand and not cast in molds. Some resemble the classic bi-conical beads, but the shape varies widely and includes thin beads with sharp, blade-like rims, or thicker, more rounded rims. Some beads are completely flat and wafer-like. Such beads are pierced with small holes to string them together and were tied around the neck, often without clasps. They are mostly blue or blue-green varying from pale to deeply saturated tones.¹³ Some intact strands have alternating bands of blue, yellow, red and occasionally white beads.¹⁴ Multi-colored strands are well attested in artistic representations of the collar, but actual examples of polychrome necklaces are more commonly found with higher quality ones created for royalty, while lower quality, mass produced *shebyu*-collars generally have only one strand of blue or blue-green beads.

In royal examples of *shebyu*-collars from the tombs of Tutankhamen and the Tanite kings—in both gold and glass—the beads consist of disks with large holes which are strung on a thick, fiber core (**Figure 13-4**). The outer rims often narrow to a blade-like point giving the beads their distinctive bi-conical or lentiform shape when viewed from the side. Gold examples on the funeral mask and innermost gold coffin of Tutankhamen consist of beads formed from a pair of foil rings fused together with a hollow interior cavity, and are roughly 1.5 cm in diameter with large holes about 0.8 cm wide (**Figures 13-6 to 13-7**).¹⁵ These are strung on fiber cores about 0.8 cm in diameter. A number of these gold beads have become crimped or dented indicating that they are in fact hollow.

Five *shebyu*-collars made of glass were also found in Tutankhamen's tomb (**Figures 13-1 to 13-5**).¹⁶ These are composed of lenticular beads, approximately 0.2-0.3 cm thick, 1.8 cm in diameter with a wide interior aperture of 1.2 cm. The beads are mounted on thick rigid cores of fibrous material.¹⁷ These heavy cores were rigid and, unlike thread, kept their circular shape when worn as may be indicated in some reliefs where the collar loops around and above the shoulder line instead of lying flat against it.¹⁸ The thickness of the individual beads narrows to a blade-like edge at the rim giving them the distinctive lenticular shape in profile. One of the gold *shebyu*-collars from Tanis has much thicker lenticular beads, with wide, flattened rims between the bi-conical sections.¹⁹ It, too, was composed of hollow foil beads.²⁰

Another variant of the *shebyu*-collar lacks the distinctive lentiform beads, instead having strings of flat, often wafer-thin disk beads fitting closely together and giving the impression of a flexible tube (**Figure 13-12**). The large gold examples from the royal tombs of Tanis are each composed of more than 5000 wafer thin disks, each between 1-2 mm in thickness. Strung together to resemble a continuous “tube” of gold, they give the impression that a massive quantity of gold was used in their manufacture. In fact, each “bead” had a wide central aperture and is really a thin ring mounted on a very thick fiber core, thus drastically reducing the amount of gold used in the manufacture of each necklace.²¹ Despite this, one of them weighs 6.315 kg.²² The earliest known *shebyu*-collar, the small gold example from Dra Abu Naga, mentioned earlier, is of this type.²³ Another miniature *shebyu*-collar of this type with three strands of flat disk beads is in the British Museum. It is said to be made to fit a cult statue and is composed of three strands of small gold rings,²⁴ as is the Edinburgh collar.

Faience examples of this variant form of the *shebyu*-collar are attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty at Saqqara and were found alongside examples with the more conventional lentiform beads. The faience examples are made up of wafer thin disks with a small perforation in the center to string them together.²⁵ Most are round, but some examples have rosette shaped beads with scalloped edges.²⁶

Common faience *shebyu*-necklaces, which are usually composed of a single strand of beads, generally lack distinctive clasps or terminals,²⁷ or have a simple one such as a tubular spacer bead and were apparently tied around the neck.²⁸ Royal examples from Tutankhamen's tomb—in both gold and glass—have cup-like lotus-form terminals through which, in the case of the glass collars, tasseled strings were threaded to tie the collars on (**Figures 13-1 to 13-2**). One of the glass examples has metal clasps in the form of uraei shown *en face* situated between the lotus terminals and the clasp element itself.²⁹ The two strands of gold and glass attached to the inner gold coffin have only lotus-form clasps,³⁰ while the triple-stranded *shebyu* found on the gold mask also has lotus-form terminals attached to clasps in the form of uraei with solar disks (fig. 6).³¹ The former

was attached directly to the neck of the coffin, while the example found with the mask lay on top of it. Such beads are usually formed like two shallow cones joined together and pierced with small holes to string them together. They could have been worn in life. The Tanis collars have large square or trapezoidal shaped terminals which serve as fasteners. These are set with inlays giving the king's name and have long woven gold chains or braids with bell-shaped lotus terminals attached to them.³² Similar collars with square clasps, some with golden streamers, are depicted in Eighteenth Dynasty temple reliefs (**Figure 13-13**).³³ The shapes of common faience *shebyu*-beads varies widely, lacking the strict uniformity of the finer royal examples. In section, the shape of these beads often vary: they may be flat disks which narrow to a point near the rim, have a more lentiform shape with rounded rims, or more closely resemble a pair of truncated cones set end to end.

In representational art, *shebyu*-necklaces are most often colored a golden yellow, but some representations, along with actual examples from Tutankhamen's tomb, are multi-colored (**Figures 13-1 to 13-5**). The most common pattern in painting and reliefs have alternating groups in the sequence yellow, red, yellow, blue, yellow (**Figures 13-14 to 13-16**).³⁴ Non-royal faience collars are usually composed of all blue or blue-green beads, but some examples consist of a variety of different colors strung together in groups. Sequences of two or more beads of the same color were strung together to produce alternating bands of blue, yellow, red and white. A pair of elaborate glass examples from Tutankhamen's tomb have four distinct sequences of deep blue beads alternating with three bands of multi-colored sequences of yellow, red, white and blue (**Figure 13-2**).³⁵ These polychrome sequences each have symmetrical pairs of yellow, red and white beads, with each multicolored sequence alternating with groups of three blue beads. One example was composed entirely of alternating groups of beige and black beads.³⁶ The two golden examples from Tutankhamen's tomb were also composed of alternating sequences of dark blue glass, red gold and yellow gold beads (**Figures 13-6 to 13-8**).³⁷

Multi-colored *shebyu*-collars are also represented in wall decoration and polychrome reliefs in temples and tombs. In most representations, the pattern has alternating red and blue bands each sandwiched between gold bands on either side.³⁸ Further color combinations are achieved in both actual examples and representations with multi-strand collars. The first and third strands of the triple *shebyu* attached to Tutankhamen's funeral mask has alternating sequences of eight gold and two blue beads, while the central strand is all gold. Similar juxtapositions are found in tomb paintings.³⁹ Still, in most painted representations, the collars are uniformly yellow as if they were made entirely of gold.

Depictions of *Shebyu*-Collars in Art

Painting and Relief

In representational art, *shebyu*-collars are depicted in a variety of fashions. In relief, the lentiform beads can be carved individually, (**Figures 13-13, 13-19, 13-20C, 13-21, 13-25, 13-27, and 13-28**), or the collar may be shown as though composed of one or more smooth bands without differentiating individual beads except in paint (**Figures 13-13 left, 13-18, 13-20B, 13-22, and 13-26**). In wall decoration, the beads may be painted as either lentiform or flat in profile (cf. **Figures 13-14 to 13-17, and 13-23**). In some painted reliefs, where the collars are modeled as smooth rings, either parallel stripes or lentiform lozenges are painted as detail to indicate the form of the individual beads. It may be the case that some unpainted reliefs depicting the *shebyu*-collar as a smooth band

actually represent the variant form of the collar with flat wafer beads like the Psusennes examples. In other instances, the sculptor may have simply failed to carve the requisite level of detail. There are, however, a number of cases where smooth and lenticular bead collars are juxtaposed in the same or nearby reliefs as in some representations of sacred barques where one form occurs on the forward aegis and the other appears on the rear aegis (**Figures 13-20A-C**).⁴⁰ Such juxtapositions are also found in other examples, including Cairo CG 34026, an exquisite triumphal stela of Amenhotep III carved in the elaborate style used late in his reign,⁴¹ in the contemporary tomb of Kheruef,⁴² and contemporary reliefs from a granary of Amenhotep built at Karnak.⁴³ Likewise, among the gifts to Amen in the presentation of scene from the Karnak *Annals* of Thutmose III, examples of *shebyu*-necklaces are distinguished by the types of beads and are arranged in distinct groups (**Figure 13-13**). The two styles also appear side by side in reliefs from the entrance corridor of the tomb of Seti II.⁴⁴ Both flat and lenticular beads may even be shown on the same multi-strand collar, as in examples from the barque chapels of the temples of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari.⁴⁵

Less certain, but nonetheless telling, are groups of reliefs where detailed and undetailed *shebyu*-collars are juxtaposed on the same monument, and even in the same scene (**Figures 13-21 to 13-22**). These may be found in widely distributed tomb and temple reliefs from throughout the New Kingdom. Examples include the tombs of Khaemhet, Kheruef and Ramose from the later reign of Amenhotep III and early Amenhotep IV, where the otherwise elaborately detailed limestone reliefs may show the *shebyu*-collar with carved or uncarved beads.⁴⁶ The same is true of ritual scenes of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV on the Eighth⁴⁷ and Ninth⁴⁸ Pylons at Karnak (cf. **Figures 13-26 to 13-28**). The recurrence of such juxtapositions in many widely distributed examples suggests this is not haphazard, but a deliberate pattern, and that the smooth examples depict *shebyu*-collars with flat disk beads.

The two variants can sometimes even be distinguished in wall paintings. The detailing representing individual beads within each strand may then be painted as either a series of straight lines or as individual lozenge shaped beads⁴⁹ which can be separated from each other slightly (**Figures 13-14 to 13-17**).⁵⁰ A further variant shows the rims of the lenticular beads in profile as triangular points while the separation of the individual beads is depicted as a flat line.⁵¹ This corresponds to the form of high quality glass examples from Tutankhamen's tomb.

As described earlier, the individual lenticular beads of *shebyu*-collars are often carefully delineated in reliefs, but there are also numerous examples of *shebyu*-collars rendered as blank with smooth edges. In such cases, it is often impossible to decide whether the artist intended to represent a collar with the flat wafer beads or one with lentiform beads, especially if such detail was once rendered in paint. As noted above, however, the deliberate juxtaposition of smooth and lenticular bead collars in reliefs suggests that in some cases, at least, the flat wafer beads were intended by the former. Fine detailing of relief was often executed in paint. In the case of *shebyu*-collars, such detailing may carefully distinguish the individual lentiform beads or they may be separated by flat lines. It is not clear whether the artists meant to represent either the lenticular or wafer-bead collars when this second method of detailing painted representations was used. In fact, given that most actual *shebyu*-beads that are known were lentiform, these were probably the intended form in some cases— but clearly, sometimes it was the wafer type that was meant, especially when *shebyu*-necklaces with carved and uncarved beads are juxtaposed in reliefs.

Earliest Representations of the *Shebyu*-collar in Painting and Relief

A scene from the Karnak *Annals* of Thutmose III shows the king presenting various gifts to Amen-Re including ritual objects, vessels and jewelry made of precious metals (**Figure 13-13**).⁵² Here we find some of the earliest representations of the *shebyu*-collar in two-dimensional art. The temple artisans rendered the collars with lentiform beads in a refined, uniform manner that contrasts sharply with near contemporary examples from private Theban tombs of the reign of Amenhotep II such as Sennefer (TT 96) where it can be shown with very large lenticular beads.⁵³ In other tombs from the reign of Amenhotep II, the collar sometimes tapers in thickness and protrudes above the shoulder line as it rounds the wearer's neck, as in the tombs of Kenamun (TT 93)⁵⁴ and Suemniwet (TT 92) (**Figure 13-24**).⁵⁵ Even in the presentation scene of Thutmose III in his *Annals* from Karnak, however, there are variants. Five of the *shebyu*-collars are shown with the conventional lenticular beads. Three others are smooth, with no differentiation of individual beads, indicating that they are composed of flat disk beads.

Statuary

Among the first representations of the *shebyu*-collar in art are a number of early Eighteenth Dynasty statues of officials who were awarded the gold of valor. The earliest example of the collar in three dimensional sculpture is a statue of May, an official from the reign of Thutmose III (Berlin 19286).⁵⁶ The two necklaces are stacked on top of each other, entirely concealing his neck. This same awkward arrangement is attested on a number of Thutmose officials' statues including one of Mentekhenu, an official of Amenhotep II (Berlin 19289). His double collar largely conceals the neck, but is not as constricting as May's.⁵⁷ Mentekhenu's contemporary, the mayor of Western Thebes Sennefer, has a quadruple *shebyu*-collar on his statue (Cairo CG 42126).⁵⁸ So does the statue of an anonymous official of the Thutmose period, former Cairo CG 193, now in the Luxor Museum.⁵⁹ In all these examples, the neck is completely enveloped by multiple strands of *shebyu*-beads stacked one atop the other. This uncomfortable and unaesthetic arrangement was later abandoned in both two- and three-dimensional representations of multi-stranded collars which were then often portrayed as a series of increasingly larger concentric strands that lay flat against the shoulders, chest and the base of the neck as with some glazed steatite statuettes of Amenhotep III⁶⁰ and the wooden statuette of the stable master Tjay (Cairo JE 33255) also dating from the reign of Amenhotep III.⁶¹ It seems likely that the stacked collars were later rejected in artistic representations in favor of concentric strands when more than two were worn.⁶²

Conclusions

An examination of actual examples and artistic representations of *shebyu*-collars shows that there were two variant forms of the necklace. One is the well known form consisting of strands of large lenticular beads. The second variant consists of completely flat, wafer-like disk beads strung tightly together. This form is well attested in the archaeological record from the earliest example from Dra Abu Naga dating to the Seventeenth Dynasty to a number of Third Intermediate Period examples from the royal tombs at Tanis, all of these being of gold. Faience and glass examples are also attested from the New Kingdom. Royal *shebyu*-collars of both types were often strung on thick fiber cores. These reduced the amount of precious material used in the gold examples while rigid fiber cores allowed the collars to keep their circular shape when worn. Artistic representations could also distinguish between rigid collars strung on thick cores and more flexible ones which lay flat on the chest and shoulders.

Although attested from the late 17th and early 18th Dynasties in both the archeological and textual record, it is only starting in the reign of Thutmose III that the *shebyu*-collar is found in the artistic record. Examples of *shebyu*-necklaces in private reliefs, tomb murals and statuary show a number of unusual variants such as those in the tomb of Sennefer and with a number of Thutmoseid statues which show multiple strands of *shebyu*-beads stacked one atop the other, entirely concealing the neck of the wearer. Later statuary shows that multiple strands were worn concentrically so that they lay flat against the shoulders and chest.

From the time of these earliest representations, the two forms of *shebyu*-bead strands are often distinguished in relief. The lentiform beads are often intricately carved, while the wafer beads are liable to be shown as undifferentiated bands. In other cases, the lentiform beads may be left uncarved and were only distinguished in paint. Painted examples may also show the two forms of *shebyu*-beads.

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Notes

1. A. R. Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards*, (Göttingen, 1988); E. Feucht, "Gold, Verleihung des," *LÄ* II, 731-33; H. von Deines, "'Das Gold der Tapferkeit,' eine militärische Auszeichnung oder eine Belohnung?," *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 83-86; H. Schäfer, "Die Simonsche Holzfigur eines Königs der Amarnazeit," *ZÄS* 70 (1934), 1-25, especially 10-13: "Zum Ehrengold"; C. Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis*, (Bruxelles, 1971), 41-48. A recent doctoral study of the Gold of Valor is Susanne Binder, "The Gold of Honour in the New Kingdom," Ph.D. Thesis, Macquarie University, 2004.

2. W. R. Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," in L. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III*, (Cleveland, 1990), 26-46.

3. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh A.1909.527.19. C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, (London, 1971), 198 and pl. 48; C. Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, (London, 1990), 23, figs. 14 and 181-182.

4. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 198.

5. Catharine H. Roehrig, (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, (New Haven, 2005), cat. 3, 19-20.

6. S. Curto and M. Mancini, "News of Kha^c and Meryt," *JEA* 54 (1968), 77-81.

7. *Urk.* IV, 38:14 and 38:16; 39:2. Also given in the reign of Thutmose I to an unknown viceroy of Nubia, *Urk.* IV, 41:1. It should be noted that the actual texts and decoration of the tomb of Ahmose son of Ibana were not carved until the reign of Thutmose III. See B. Bryan, "The Egyptian Perspective on Mittani," in R. Cohen and R. Westbrook, (eds.), *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, (Baltimore, 2000), 71.

8. See Susanne Binder, "The Gold of Honour in the New Kingdom," 8.

9. See n. 14.

10. Carter no. 21Y; Cairo *JdE* 61935.

11. See n. 22.

12. E.g., Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut*, 19, "a *shebiu* collar was made of large, thick, lentoid beads."

13. E.g., Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut*, cat 109, 196.

14. E.g., two Eighteenth Dynasty examples from Firth's excavations at Saqqara with blue, yellow, pale green and red beads (Cairo *JdE* 47810-47811). Cf. two examples from the tomb of Tutankhamen, Carter nos. 44CC (*JdE* 61931, 61932) with blue, yellow, red and white beads and 44DD (*JdE* 61933), with red, blue and black beads. A third example from Tutankhamen's tomb, Carter no. 21Y (*JdE* 61935) has alternating groups of black and white beads.

15. Two strands of *shebyu*-beads attached to the inner gold coffin (T.G.H. James, *Tutankhamun*, [Milan, 2000], 89 and foldout). A three-stranded collar from the gold mask shown *in situ* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Treasure of Tutankhamen*, [New York, 1976], 135; Burton's photo no. p0750a). Despite the frequency with which the gold mask has been published, the collar found with it has seldom been mentioned or published previously.

16. Five collars, each consisting of one strand, were found in the painted casket from the antechamber (Carter nos. 44BB-44DD). Two pairs, although not conjoined, were found coupled *in situ* and were meant to be worn together, viz. 44BB (*JdE* 61929-61930) and 44CC (*JdE* 61931-61932). Carter no. 44DD (*JdE* 61933) consists of a single strand. Another *shebyu*-necklace, Carter no. 21y (*JdE* 61935), has two strands joined at either end by a single clasp. To my knowledge, these remain unpublished, although one of these is shown *in situ* in one of Burton's photographs as the painted casket from the antechamber was unpacked. See Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Treasure of Tutankhamen*, 105, bottom.

17. One of these (*JdE* 61933; Carter no. 44DD) has several missing beads, exposing the central fibrous (reed?) core. The others appear to have cores of some kind of fiber which can only be glimpsed between narrow gaps between some of the beads. All of these are rigid in form so as to keep their circular shape when worn.

18. E.g., the small golden shrine of Tutankhamen (M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, [Oxford, 1985], *passim*); Brooklyn 54.61, a relief of Ramesses II (K. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, [Warsaw, 1976], fig. 230).

19. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, no. 104.

20. Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 183. Likewise, its large clasp is gold foil mounted on a wooden core.

21. It is not clear to me whether these cores are flexible or rigid.

22. Cairo *JdE* 85571, the five-stranded collar of Psusennes I, which includes a large inlaid clasp with multiple braided streamers of gold. R. E. Freed, *Ramesses the Great*, (Dallas, 1989), cat. 36; M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo Official Catalogue*, (Mainz, 1987), cat. 240 and incorrectly labeled *JdE* 85751. It was heavier in antiquity when the sixth outer strand—larger than the others and now missing—was still intact. An even larger example with seven concentric strands is Cairo *JdE* 85751. See F. Tiradritti *et al.*, *Egyptian Treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*, (Vercelli, 1998), 320-321.

23. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 198 and pl. 48; Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 22-23 and fig. 14.

24. British Museum EA 14693: Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 182-183 and fig. 169.

25. Cairo *JdE* 47814, 47815, 47816. Eighteenth Dynasty from Saqqara, Firth excavations, 1923.

26. Cairo *JdE* 47810 and 47811. Also dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty from Saqqara, Firth excavations, 1923. Another example is Cairo 33078B.

27. E.g., two examples in New York: W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 4th ed. rev. (New York, 1990), 181, fig. 100.

28. C. Desroches Noblecourt *et al.*, *Une siècle de fouilles française en Égypte 1880-1980*, (Cairo, 1981), cat. 236.

29. *JdE* 61935.

30. James, *Tutankhamun*, 89.

31. Cairo *JdE* 60672. Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Treasures of Tutankhamen*, cat. 25, pg. 135.

32. Although not attested in New Kingdom examples of the *shebyu* collar, nearly identical streamers are found on other kinds of New Kingdom jewellery such as Tutankhamen's hoop-shaped earrings. These consist of solid metal rings with lentiform beads resembling a *shebyu*-collar encircling them, and have long "streamers" of beads attached to the bottom of the loops. The lentiform beads even have the same color pattern of alternating gold, blue and red beads often found with *shebyu*-collars. James, *Tutankhamun*, 242-243.

33. E.g., the Karnak *Annals* of Thutmose III (*PM* II², 97-98 [282]; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* II, [1923-1942], pl. 33; partly visible in R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *The Temples of Karnak*, (Rochester, Vermont, 1999), pl. 147); see also reliefs from the peristyle festival court of Thutmose IV, still largely unpublished (B. Letellier, "Thoutmosis IV à Karnak:

hommage tardif rendu à un bâtisseur malchanceux,” *BSFE* 122 (1991), 44, fig. 2.

34. Cf. the barque of Amen in the Deir el-Bahari temples of Hatshepsut (*PM II*², 365-366 [132-133]; Z. E. Szafranski (ed.), *Królowa Hatszepsut I jej świątynia 3500 lat później/ Queen Hatshepsut and her temple 3500 years later*, (Warsaw, 2001), 68, 142 & 232) and Thutmose III (H. J. Górski, “La Barque d’Amon dans la décoration du temple de Thoutmosis III à Deir el-Bahari,” *MDAIK* 46 [1990], figs. 1-2); J. Aksamit, “The temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari,” *Egyptian Archaeology* 18 [2001], front cover); in the Osiris chapel of Seti I’s temple at Abydos (A. M. Calverley and M. F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*. I, [London and Chicago, 1933], pls. 7, and 14); the barque of Amen, the king and a goddess in the tomb of Nebamun usurped by Imiseba, TT 65 (*PM I.1*², 130 [3-4]); the king greeting the sun god in the entrance corridor of the tomb of Ramesses III, KV 11 (E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige: Die Ruhestätte der Pharaonen*, [Zurich, 1982], 26, fig. 7); tomb of Ramesses VII, KV 1 (the king at *PM I.2*², 496 [10] and Osiris at 496 [13]); tomb of Ramesses IX, KV 6 (the king at *PM I.2*², 502 [3 and 14]).

35. Carter 44CC; *JdE* 61931 and 61932.

36. Carter 21Y; *JdE* 61935.

37. These arrangements could be varied in multi-stranded examples. On the gold coffin, both strands have sequences of 9-11 of both red gold and yellow gold beads and 2-3 blue glass beads except next to the lotus terminals where there are only 2-3 yellow gold beads (James, *Tutankhamun*, 88). The triple-stranded *shebyu* found on Tutankhamen’s funeral mask has alternating sequences of 8-11 yellow gold and two blue glass beads on the first and third strands, with only three gold beads adjacent to the lotus terminals. The middle strand is composed entirely of gold beads.

38. E.g., the temple of Seti I at Abydos where a tricolor *shebyu* is made up of groups of yellow beads alternating with red and blue (Calverley and Broome, *Abydos I*, pl. 7). The decoration of the temple was originally laid out in cartoon form with a simplified polychrome scheme before the reliefs were carved (See J. Baines *et al.*, “Techniques of Decoration in the Hall of Barques in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos,” *JEA* 75 [1989], 13-30; P. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*, [Leiden, 2000], 161ff). In the unfinished portions of the temple, these painted cartoons laid out for Seti I (Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I* 177-178) have tricolor *shebyu*-collars of red, yellow and blue, the best preserved examples being in the unfinished Hall of Barques (*PM VI*, 26 [z]). One such example is found in the Osireion (H. Frankfort *et al.*, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 2, [London, 1933], pl. 50). Examples of colored reliefs recorded by Rosellini and Champollion may also show these red, yellow and blue *shebyu*-collars, although they were not carved in relief and could represent a different arrangement of regular tube beads of the broad collar (e.g., scenes from the great temple at Abu Simbel recorded in color by Rosellini (See T. G. H. James, *Ramesses II*, [Vercelli, 2002], 75, 86, 93, 98, 103 and 123).

39. E.g., TT 65: Nebamun usurped by Imiseba (*PM I.1*², 130 [3-4]; C. K. Wilkinson and M. Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Collection of Facsimiles*, [New York, 1983], 154-155 = MMA 36.4.1 and 36.4.2). In one scene, both the king and the aegises of Amen-Re’s sacred barque have triple-stranded collars. The central strand has polychrome groups, while

the inner and outer strands are entirely gold.

40. E.g., the barque of Amen-Re in the Triple Shrine at Luxor temple (*PM II*², 310 [39]); the barque of Khonsu in a scene from the south wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall (Nelson, *GHHK I.1*, pl. 76); in the Colonnade Hall at Luxor (Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, Reliefs and Inscriptions from Luxor Temple 1 [Chicago, 1994], pls. 43 and 78). Other barques from the Colonnade Hall have either blank (Epigraphic Survey, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pls. 12, 14, 56, 63) or beaded (pls. 5, 12, 46, 108) *shebyu*-collars.

41. P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, (Cairo, 1909 and 1926), 50-61 and pls. 20-21; Saleh and Sourouzian, *The Cairo Museum Catalogue*, cat. 143; L. Berman, (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, pl. 3c.

42. TT 192: Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192*, (Chicago, 1980), pl. 47.

43. The published examples so far have been of the unadorned collars (e.g., Berman, *The Art of Amenhotep III*, pl. 11, fig. 5 and pl. 13, fig. 2.). There are examples of the detailed, lenticular bead collars in the block yards at Karnak, author's personal observation.

44. *PM I.2*², 532 [2-3].

45. Górski, *MDAIK* 46 (1990), figs. 1-2; Szafranski, *Queen Hatshepsut and her temple 3500 years later*, 142 & 232; J. Aksamit, *Egyptian Archaeology* 18 (Spring, 2001), front cover.

46. Khaemhet (TT 57): cf. Berlin 14503 and Brussels E. 2484 from TT 57 (A. Kozloff and B. M. Bryan [eds.], *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World*, [Cleveland, 1992], cats. 54 and 55, 288); Kheruef (TT 192): (Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef, passim*); Ramose (TT 55): N. De Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, (London, 1941), mostly lentiform beads, *passim*, but with some smooth collars, pls. 10 and 12.

47. *PM II*², 174-175 (519).

48. *PM II*², 180-181 (538-539).

49. Cf. the two versions of the Amen barque in TT 65. In both cases, the outline of the three strands is uniformly smooth, but the interior detailing of the beads differs. In one, flat parallel lines indicate that the beads are wafers. In the other scene, the beads are drawing individually as lentiform in shape with pointed ends. These variations are consistent with other iconographic differences between the two barques. So the rebus decoration on the cabins and veils differs markedly (*PM I.1*², 130 [3-4]; Wilkinson and Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, 154-155 = MMA 36.4.1 and 36.4.2).

50. E.g., one of the barque scenes in TT 65 (*PM I.1*², 130 [4]); a figure of the king as Osiris from tomb of Ramesses VII, KV 1, (*PM I.2*², 495 [3]). So too in the tomb of Sennefer (TT 96) where the lenticular beads are shown both touching each other or separated. Likewise, in various examples, the strands are sometimes separated from each other by concentric circular outlines, while with

others, there are no outlines. See R. Gundlach *et al.*, *Sennefer: Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben*, (Mainz, 1988), *passim*.

51. E.g., an exquisite wall mural showing Amenhotep III enthroned in a kiosk from TT 226 (*PMI.1*², 327 [4]; J. F. Romano, *et al.*, *Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalogue*, [Cairo, 1979], cat. 101 = 78-79 and pl. 7).

52. *PM II*², 97-98 (282); Schwaller de Lubicz, *The Temples of Karnak*, pl. 147.

53. R. Gundlach *et al.*, *Sennefer: Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben*, *passim*.

54. N. De Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-amūn at Thebes*, (New York, 1930), pl. 11.

55. Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, 29(a); *PMI.1*², 188 (7-8). The tomb has recently been excavated and restored by Betsy Bryan of Johns Hopkins University who will soon publish it. See Bryan, "A work in progress: the unfinished tomb of Suemniwet," *Egyptian Archaeology* 6 (1995), 15; *idem*, "Painting techniques and artisan organization in the Tomb of Suemniwet, Theban Tomb 92," in V. W. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2001), pl. 22.4.

56. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Ägyptisches Museum*, (Berlin, 1991), cat. 54.

57. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Ägyptisches Museum*, cat. 55.

58. Saleh and Sourouzian, *Egyptian Museum Cairo*, cat. 140.

59. Dating to the reign of Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV? Romano *et al.*, *Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalogue*, cat. 82 = 64-65 and pl. 5.

60. Kozloff and Bryan (eds.), *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, cat. 20-21, 198-201.

61. Kozloff and Bryan (eds.), *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, cat. 153.

62. This arrangement is found with the Psusennes collars. Each strand of the two pairs of single stranded collars from Tutakhamen's tomb and the two and three stranded gold examples were also of uniform lengths and would have been "stacked" when worn.



Figure 13-1 - Double glass shebyu-collar of Tutankhamen consisting of blue glass beads (Carter no. 44BBVV; Cairo JdE 31929-30). The two separate strands were meant to be worn together. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute.



Figure 13-2 - Double faience shebyu-collar of Tutankhamen consisting of blue, red, yellow and white beads mounted on a thick fiber core (Carter no. 44CC; Cairo JdE 61931-32). Courtesy of the Griffith Institute.

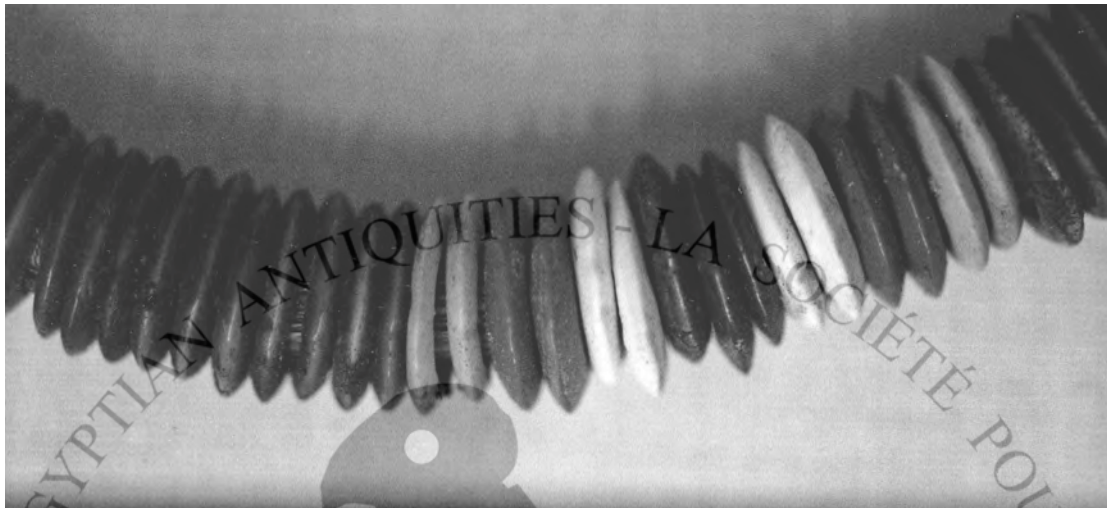


Figure 13-3 - Detail of Cairo JdE 61931.

Figure 13-4 - Single glass shebyu-collars of Tutankhamen consisting of red, blue and black beads (Carter no. 44DD; Cairo JdE 31933). Several beads are missing, exposing the thick fiber core the beads are mounted on. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute.



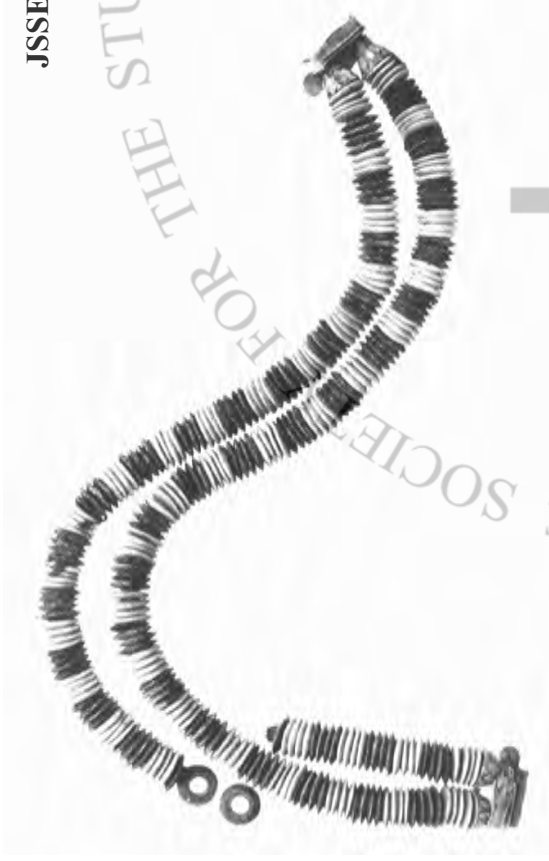


Figure 13-5: Glass shebyu-collar of Tutankhamen consisting of two strands of black and beige beads with lotus terminals and joined with uraeus clasps (Carter no. 21y; Cairo JdE 61935). Courtesy of the Griffith Institute.

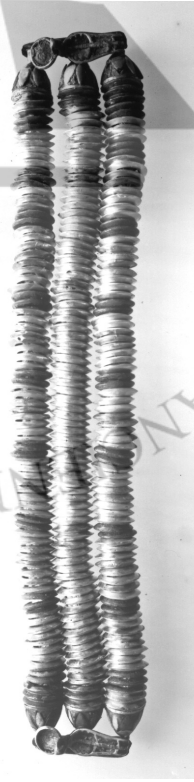


Figure 13-6: Triple gold shebyu-collar found with the gold mask of Tutankhamen. The outer strands consist of alternating groups of red gold, yellow gold and blue glass lenticular disk beads. The central strand is made up entirely of yellow gold. All the gold beads are hollow. All three strands are mounted on flexible fiber cores and are joined by cobra-shaped clasps at either end. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute.



Figure 13-7: Detail of the triple gold collar of Tutankhamen showing crimped and dented gold beads. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute.



Figure 13-8: Detail of the double gold shebyu-collar from the inner gold coffin of Tutankhamen consisting of hollow gold beads and some blue glass ones. The gold beads are hollow.



Figure 13-9 - A string of blue faience shebyu-beads dating to the New Kingdom (Royal Ontario Museum). Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Figure 13-11 - 13 loose faience and glass shebyu-beads from New Kingdom excavations of Petrie demonstrating considerable variation in thickness and regularity (Royal Ontario Museum). Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

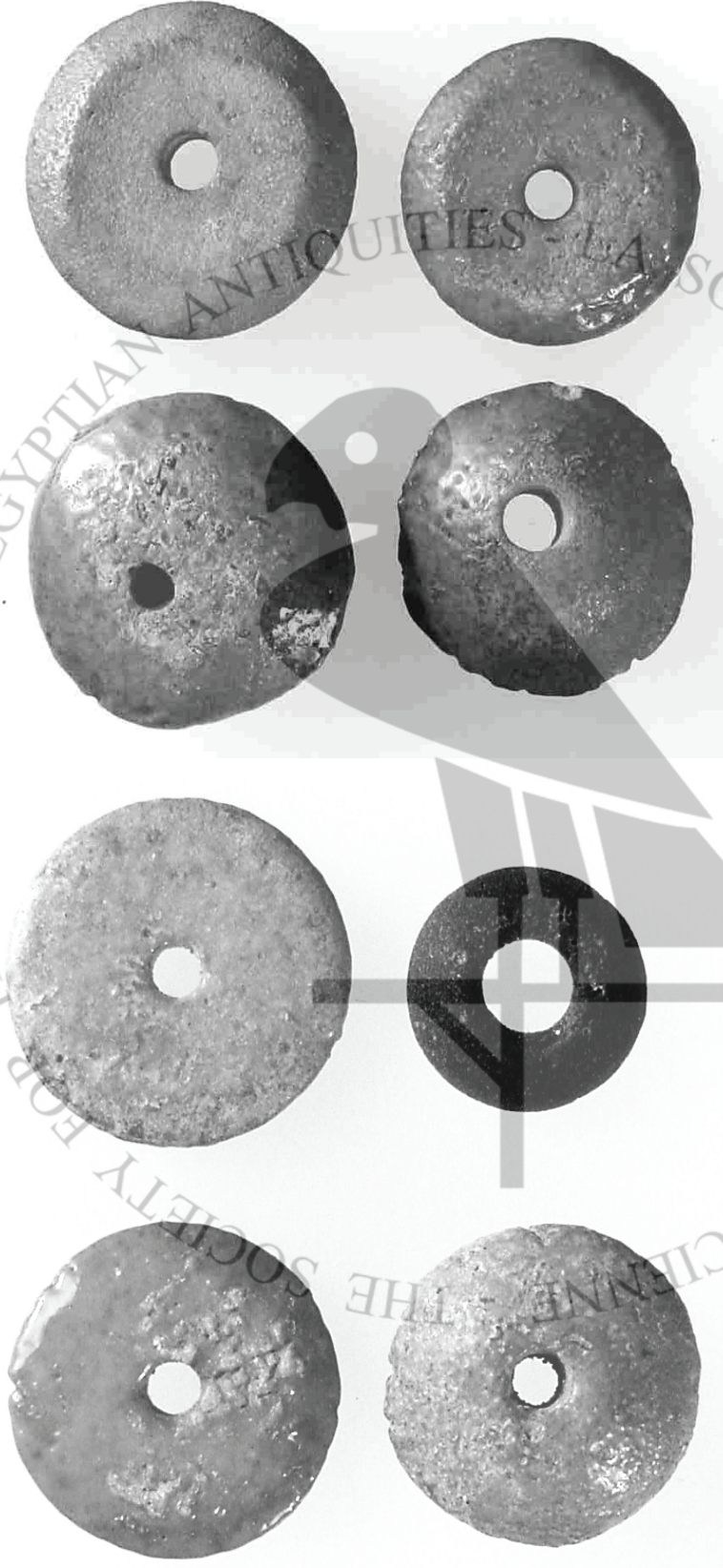


Figure 13-10 - Eight faience and glass shebyu-beads from New Kingdom excavations of Petrie (Royal Ontario Museum). Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Figure 13-12 - Cairo 33078: a blue faience shebyu-collar made up of flat wafer-like disk beads.

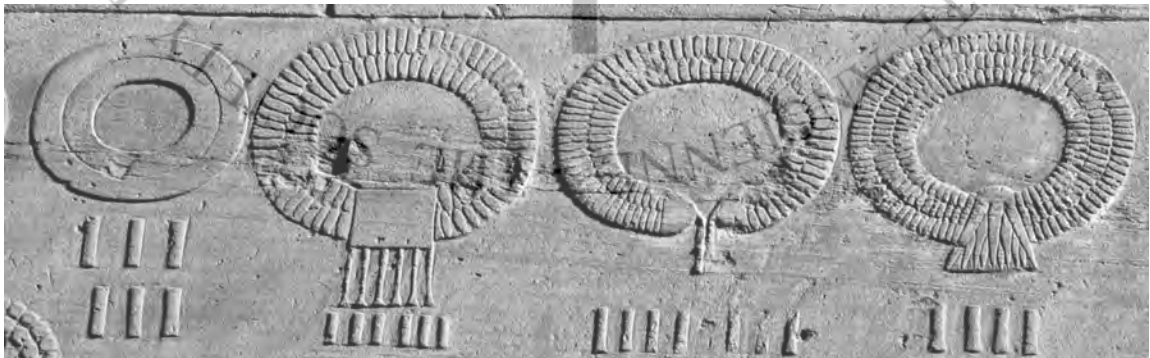


Figure 13-13 - Detail of a relief from the Karnak Annals of Thutmose III showing groups of shebyu-collars among the king's gifts for Amen-Re.

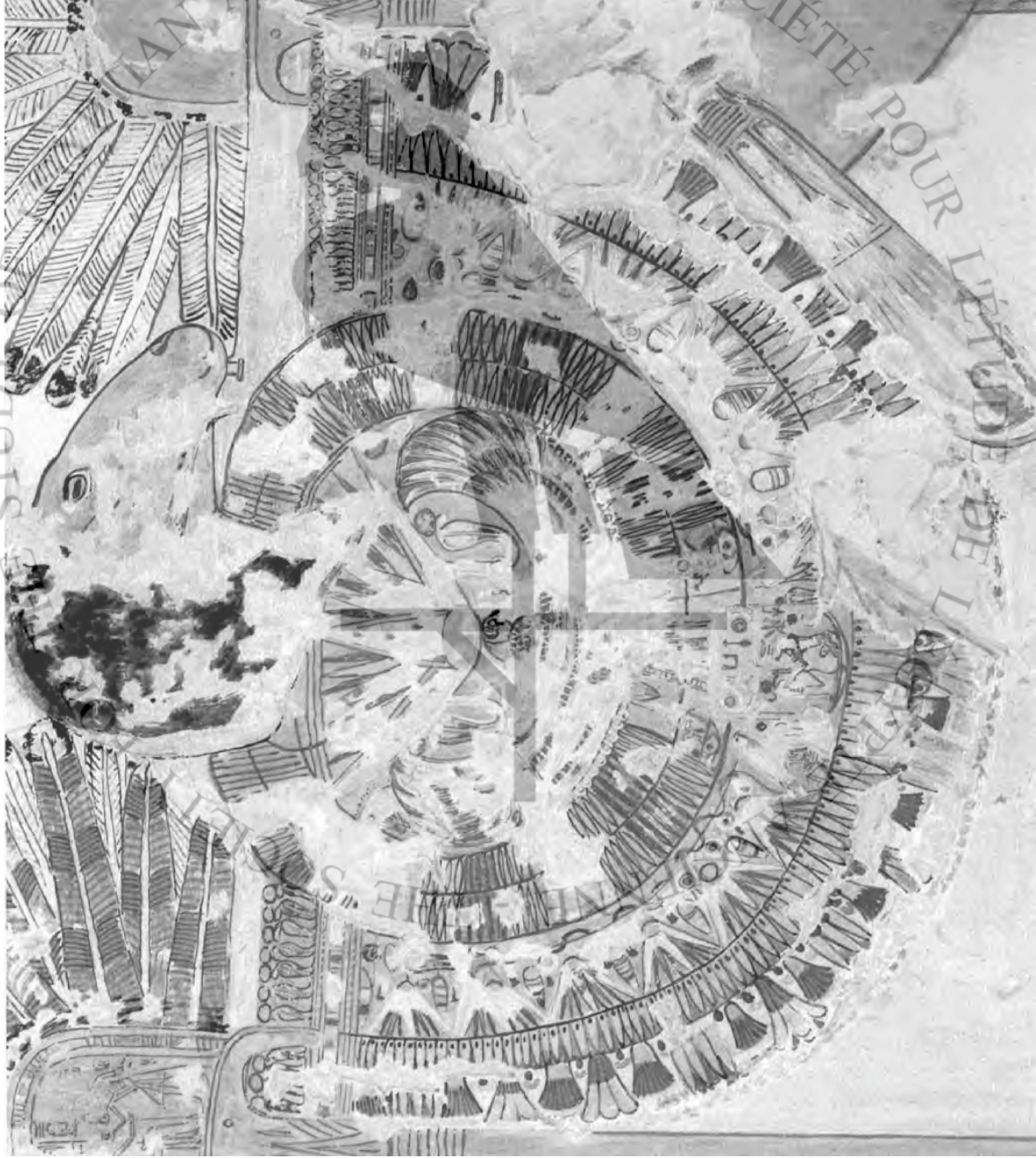


Figure 13-14 - New York
MMA 36.4.1 detail of Amen
barque stern aegis with double
shebyu-collar with lenticular
beads arranged in alternating
groups of yellow, red and blue.
Facsimile from the tomb of
Imiseba (TT 65). Courtesy of
the Metropolitan Museum of
Art.



Figure 13-15 - New York MMA 36.4.2 detail of Ramesses IX wearing a triple shebyu-collared aegis with flat wafer beads. The middle row has alternating groups of gold, blue and red beads. Facsimile from the tomb of Imiseba (TT 65). The collar may be a rigid one meant to keep its shape when worn. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 13-16 - New York MMA 36.4.2 detail of Amen barque prow aegis with triple shebyu-collared aegis with flat wafer beads. The middle row has alternating groups of gold, blue and red beads. Facsimile from the tomb of Imiseba (TT 65). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

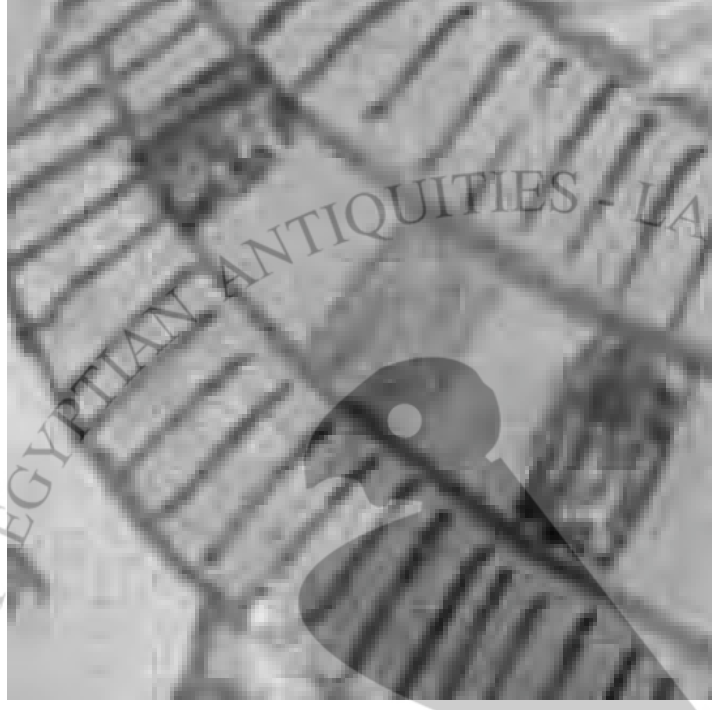
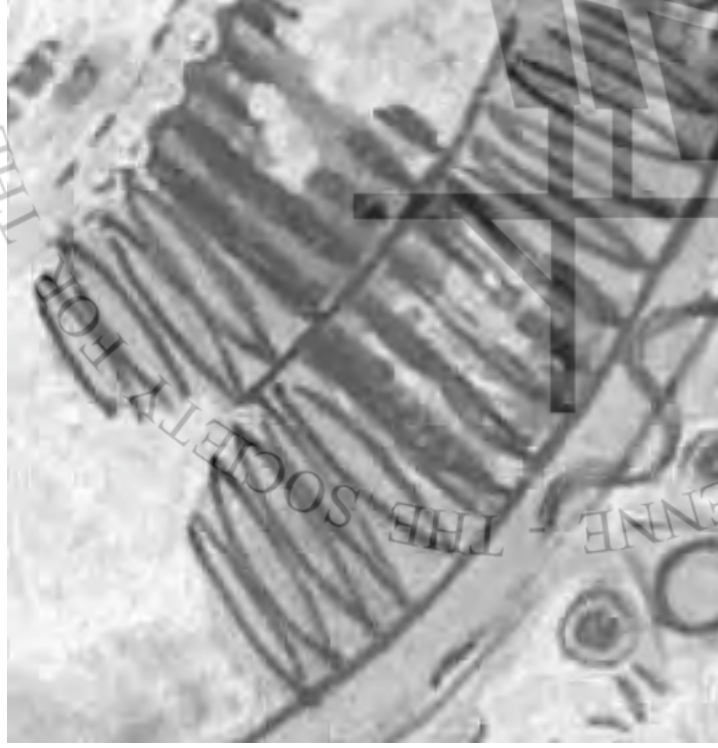


Figure 13-17 - Details of the lenticular and flat bead shebyu-collars from the two sacred barque scenes in TT 65 (A: New York-MMA 36.4.2; B New York MMA 36.4.2). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 13-18 - Tod mid-Eighteenth Dynasty sandstone relief showing prow aegis of the Monthu barque with a double shebyu-collar. The individual beads have been left undetailed.

Figure 13-19 - Tod mid-Eighteenth Dynasty sandstone relief showing the part of the stern aegis of a sacred barque with a double shebyu-collar of lenticular beads.





Figure 13-20A



Figure 13-20B



Figure 13-20C

Figure 13-20 - Luxor temple colonnade hall. Relief of the Khonsu barque (20A) with double shebyu-collars around its fore (20C) and aft aegises (20B).



Figure 13-21 - Relief from a granary of Amenhotep III at Karnak. The king wears a shebyu-collar with lenticular beads.



Figure 13-22 - Relief from a granary of Amenhotep III at Karnak. The king wears a shebyu-collar with smooth beads.

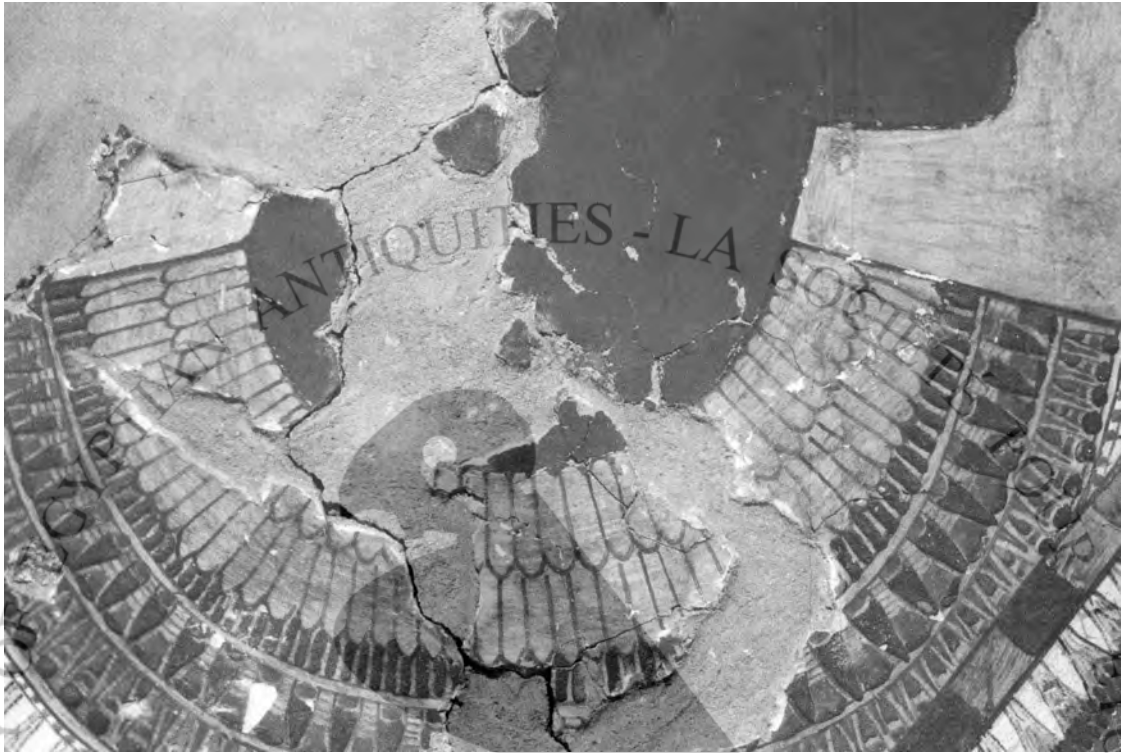


Figure 13-23 - Amenhotep III wearing a double shebyu-collar which lays flat on the shoulders. Mural from TT 226 now in the Luxor Museum.



Figure 13-24 - Cult statue of Amenhotep II.



Figure 13-25 - Relief of Merenptah from his memorial temple in western Thebes.



(top right)

Figure 13-26 - Ithyphallic Amen-Re wearing a shebyu-collar. Relief of Ramesses IX from the north face of the Ninth Pylon at Karnak.

(above)

Figure 13-27 - Rare representation of the sun god Re-Horakhty wearing a shebyu-collar. Relief of Ramesses III from the north face of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak.

(left)

Figure 13-28 - Mut wearing a shebyu-collar. Relief of Ramesses III from the north face of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak.

14. Picking Over Petrie's Pottery Dumps: Some Examples Collected During the 1992 ROM Illahun Expedition Season

Lyla Pinch-Brock

Abstract

The pottery from the earlier excavated dumps at Illahun are examined to determine what information we can extract concerning the range of pottery finds from this important site.

Keywords

Illahun, Fayum, Middle Egypt, pottery, "beer jar," Marl C, Flinders Petrie, Middle Kingdom

I dedicate this article to Nick Millet with nice memories of lunches at the Water Wheel restaurant in the Fayyum.¹

For a brief period at the beginning of Nick Millet's work at Illahun, I drew the small finds from the excavation. Millet was intent upon re-examining Petrie's excavations and checking the extent of the workmen's village of Kahun. Whenever there was nothing in particular coming up, I wandered over to Petrie's dumps and poked at the pottery (with a stick to avoid the scorpions cuddled comfortably under the broken cups and jars!). I drew and described the vessels as best I could since we had no ceramicist with us.

This article is the result of four days of collecting during the 1992 season and was written up in report form after the season was over. As far as I know, no further effort was made to amass and draw the pottery from the site. Since there seem to be many questions about the occupation of the site that might be solved by an investigation of the ceramics, it seems useful to publish this material. Janine Bourriau asked me to look in particular for examples of Marl C pottery. Marl C's distinct fabric and corpus of forms is a way of providing information on chronology at various sites in Egypt. And, as Bader has noted, "[t]here are many 'blank spots' on the Egyptian map where we do not know if Marl C appears or not, especially in Middle Egypt."²

Findspots

Sir Matthew William Flinders Petrie excavated the site of Kahun over two seasons, from 1888-1889 and from 1889-90, returning only briefly in 1914 with Guy Brunton. The main reason for his haste seems to have been to stay ahead of an antiquities dealer named Kruger.³ This sample came from Petrie's largest dumps of material from his excavations, in the northwest area above the town site. I made an attempt to pick up examples of most of the types that were visible on the surface in order to ascertain roughly what was present. Each piece was sampled, numbered, described, and the profile drawn before it was taken to the storehouse, where presumably it still remains.

General Observations

I did not notice any vessels with handles, but there were bowls, necks of jars of various sizes, ring stands, beer jars and bread moulds, jugs, juglets and cups. The pottery seems to have survived well, despite being left out in the open for over a hundred years. The only type obviously disintegrating was the so-called "beer jar." None of these was found intact. The predominating vessel was the aforementioned, followed by very large and heavy spouted jars. The vast majority of pottery was typically Middle Kingdom red-painted wares. Only one piece seems firmly datable to the 18th Dynasty, and one tentatively to the 26th Dynasty. Some examples of Marl C pottery seem to have been identified.

The wares seem, overall, to be fairly consistent. Sections show even firing and most commonly, the addition of ground limestone. Chaff inclusions in this sample are rare.

Analysis

I certainly do not claim to be an expert in this field, so I was fortunate to have been able to importune specialists like David Aston and also briefly Helene Jacquet, who politely offered their opinions on this material, included here. To them I offer my sincere thanks, and also to Rexine Hummel, Irmigard Hein, Janine Bourriau, Manfred Bietak and Jack Holladay for discussions and advice. I compared my finished drawings to examples published by Bourriau⁴ and Arnold.⁵ Arnold's examples came from an area in front of the Pyramid of Amenemhet in Dahschur close to the causeway. Bourriau's are from an exhibition organised by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in 1981.

Following are some preliminary notes and descriptions of each piece. Unfortunately the record is not complete, but at the moment it is not possible to re-check the material and fill in the gaps. Hopefully I have provided enough information here for the experts to draw their own conclusions.

Catalogue:

NW 1: Very large marl bowl, white paint on exterior. Some rope impressions. Section (exterior, core, interior) red/grey/red. Many fine limestone inclusions. It compares with Arnold's type 1 (pl. 8, p. 32) "spouted bowl."

NW 2: Large marl jar, white paint on interior and exterior, folded-over rim. Few fine limestone inclusions; red/red/black in section. Has an incised pot mark on the interior just below the rim, perhaps a variant of Gardiner's sign list V29. This pot compares with Arnold's no. 5 (pl. 8, p. 32). The white paint suggests it may have been a water jar or *zir*.

NW 3: Jar, similar to above, but without the fine carination near the rim or the pot mark. Section red/black/red seems to show chunky, unrefined clay with some broken pottery inclusions.

NW 4: Marl bowl, variant of NW 1, according to Aston. Pot mark incised on the interior of what appear to be two Xs, meaning unknown. Fine riling lines close to rim on exterior and interior, hand-smoothed interior, cream paint on both sides. Red/red/red in section, few large chunks of limestone and quartz apparent. (Bietak: Marl "C," 12th Dyn.)

NW 5: Neck of very thick marl jar or perhaps a large ring stand. Not much preserved. Red paint, burnished, on the exterior. 12th - early 13th dynasty. See Arnold's example no. 20 (pl. 9, p. 33), but much smaller diameter.

NW 6: Very crumbly silt jug, white-painted exterior, flat rim. Red/red/red in section; few small pebbles and large chunks of limestone visible. No comparable examples found in the literature. David Aston suggests it might be late 26th Dynasty.

NW 7: Small juglet, medium coarse silt, section red/red/red; few chaff and fine limestone inclusions visible. Riling on exterior and interior. Similar to Arnold's no. 14 (pl. 9, p. 33).

NW 8: A spouted jar, fine Nile silt, burnished brown paint on exterior, (perhaps once red, now darkened?). The rim is not complete, and the sherd ends at the bottom of the spout. Pink/black/pink in section; no inclusions visible. This example is similar to the one pictured on p. 73 in Bourriau. It is the one piece dateable with reasonable confidence to the 18th Dynasty, up to the reign of Hatshepsut, according to that author.

NW 9: Very different from anything else on site; a wheel-made, fine marl bowl. Red/red/red in section, few large chunks of limestone visible. From the form and fineness of the fabric, it could either be an import (Mycenaean?) or of Roman date. Certainly Aegean pottery is known from the site.

NW 10: This sherd and NW 33 come from two large medium-fine silt bowls. This example has white paint on the exterior and riling marks on the interior. Red/red/red in section, few large chunks of limestone visible. No parallels noted in the literature, but Helen Jacquet indicated these examples probably belong to the Late 2nd Intermediate Period.

NW 11: Small cup, red/red/red in section, few tiny limestone inclusions. Red paint exterior and interior, medium-fine Nile silt. Corresponds to Arnold's no. 12 (pl. 6, p. 30). Bietak: early to late 13th Dynasty.

NW 12: Part of a large bowl, very coarse silt, red/black/red in section, many very fine limestone inclusions. No exact parallels found, but might be a variation of Arnold's no. 6 (pl. 6, p. 30).

NW 13: A large ring stand made of very coarse marl. Red/black/red in section, no inclusions visible. Corresponds to Arnold's no. 5 (pl. 4, p. 28), but is twice the diameter.

NW 14: One of the so-called bread moulds, another example of which can be seen in David, pl. 12, and Bader, p. 45, 25a. Ours is oval in shape and incised with a lotus-like pattern around the interior walls. Although typically made of silt, this example seems to be very thick marl, green/pink-grey/pink-green in section, a very fine ware with many minute limestone inclusions. Perhaps 5% of the original vessel is represented here. Bietak suggests it is Marl C, dated to after the 13th Dynasty; Bader dates it to the 13th Dynasty.

NW 14a: An oddity, perhaps a *zir*, since the vessel is very large and has cream paint on the exterior. Red/black/red in section, medium-coarse silt, Nile clay “E” according to Aston. Some small quartz pebbles visible. Bears some resemblance to Arnold’s no. 6 (pl. 10, p. 34), also made of silt. Aston hazarded a Late New Kingdom date, 20th or 21st Dynasty. Irmigard Hein suggested it might be a late 2nd Intermediate Period cooking pot.

NW 15: Aston thinks this is a New Kingdom beer jar.⁶ It has a small mouth, is made of Nile silt, very heavily corroded on the exterior, and many carination lines on the interior. It appears to have been coated with dark brown paint on the exterior (or red, now darkened?). It is red/black/red in section, with few fine and chunky limestone inclusions. It resembles the other two examples of this type included here, but the neck is different. It is certainly unlike typical Middle Kingdom beer jars.

NW 16: Neck of a jar made of very fine green marl, grey/green in section throughout; some blown-out inclusions. Possibly Marl “A” Riling lines on the interior. A very plain vessel. Could be Roman?

NW 17: Large jar made of very hard yellow marl, reminiscent of so-called “Oasis Ware.” The neck has been added separately. Hand-smoothed exterior; red paint smears on the interior. It is yellow/grey/yellow in section; many large limestone inclusions visible. Perhaps another *zir*? Possibly 13th Dynasty. Could not find any parallels in the literature.

NW 18: Bread mould? Hollow amphora leg? The top of the vessel is missing and there is a small purpose-made hole in middle of base. The thickness of the walls varies considerably. The vessel seems to be handmade of very coarse, thick red silt; red/pink/grey in section; there are many minute limestone inclusions. See Arnold’s no.12 (pl. 7, p. 31). Jack Holladay has suggested that these may in fact be supports for ovens.

NW 19: These jar-necks were very common on site. They are red, made of marl and have fine riling marks on the exterior and interior and also many carination lines. This example is red/red/red in section; a coarse ware with quartz chunks visible. Compare Arnold’s nos. 8,10 (pl. 8, p. 32). Dating may be late 12th Dynasty, second half, according to Aston.

NW 20, 21: Two examples of oval-shaped bread moulds with hatched decoration on the interior. Both crumbly Nile silt, red/grey/red in section, virtually no inclusions visible. No. 21 has a greenish-white paint coating the interior and exterior surfaces. See Bourriau, p. 65, for a complete dish, and the example published by Bader, p. 45, 25c, which she dates to the 13th Dynasty.

NW 22: Unusually hard thick jar rim or a ring stand? Greenish slip or paint on the interior, fine riling marks both sides. Very coarse silt, many pebbly inclusions. Black/ black/red in section; minute limestone fragments visible. May be a variant of Arnolds no. 21 (pl. 7, p. 31); the diameters are similar. Possibly dates to the 12th or 13th Dynasty.

NW 23: Small dark brown silt cup, medium brown/red/medium brown in section; virtually

no inclusions. Riling marks on exterior and interior, torn-off base. Same as Arnold's type 18 (pl. 6, p. 30). These may also have been used as lids. A typical 12th Dynasty type.

NW 24: Medium-sized shallow bowl. Exterior is worn. Medium coarse silt, red/grey/red in section. Many medium-sized limestone inclusions, particularly in core area. No parallels.

NW 25: Same form as NW 22 but made of marl. Yellow paint on interior. Green/grey/green. Very large stone inclusions, dense coarse fabric.

NW 26: Very large deep bowl made of medium coarse silt. Red/grey/red in section; many fine limestone inclusions scattered evenly throughout. Riling lines on exterior. Compare Bietak's type 22, dated to the Second Intermediate Period.

NW 27: Nile silt ring stand? Interior shows signs of twisting; the sherd may perhaps terminate as shown. Thick red painted interior and exterior red/grey/red in section; many fine limestone inclusions throughout. Surface seems hand-smoothed. See Arnold's no. 17 (pl. 17, p. 34), for a shorter version.

NW 28: Same as NW 31. Both are thick heavy vessels. NW 28 may be the base of a footed bowl, made of Marl IIC, painted white both sides. Red/black/red in section. Many medium-sized limestone inclusions seen throughout. Fine riling marks on the interior. Hand-smoothed base? Nothing comparable noted in the literature. Late 12th, early 13th Dynasty?

NW 29: Neck of small jar. Riling marks on exterior and interior. Red paint both sides. Coarse silt, red/black/red in section; chunks and ground limestone visible in moderate quantities. This might be a late 12th Dynasty beer jar, according to the experts.

NW 30: Very fine red-painted silt bowl, profile almost complete. Riling marks on interior. Red/black/red in section. No inclusions visible. Nothing quite comparable found in the literature.

NW 31: Short coarse-ware jar, bowl or even cooking pot. See NW 28. This example has a complete rim and partial base. Red/black in section; many small limestone inclusions. Similar locally-made Bedouin bowls of MB IIA date have been noted.

NW 32: Common fine silt cup that can be precisely dated if the base is intact. Fine riling marks on interior. Red/red/red in section; tiny fragments of limestone scattered evenly throughout. Late 19th Dynasty?

NW 33: Shallow white-painted bowl, similar to NW10 mentioned above. This example has a slightly different profile from NW10 and an hieroglyph incised near the rim on the exterior. Possibly *sntr*, for incense? (Gardiner Sign List R7). Very fine ware, red/grey/red in section, chunks and tiny fragments of limestone scattered evenly throughout. Marl IIC. Late 2nd Intermediate Period, according to Helen Jacquet.

NW 34: Medium fine red silt neck of large jug or bowl. Red slipped exterior and interior; red/black/red in section; thick black core; many fine limestone inclusions scattered throughout. Late 2nd Intermediate Period or early 18th Dynasty, according to Bietak.

NW 35: Neck of silt jar? Red painted exterior and interior. Brown throughout section. Many tiny pebble inclusions. Clay is typical 12th Dynasty. No exact parallels found.

NW 36: This narrow-based type of beer jar may be early 18th or 20th Dynasty, according to David Aston. The base is string-cut. Solid medium brown in section; blown-out and tiny limestone inclusions.

NW 37: Medium-sized bowl made of red Nile silt, yellow slip/paint exterior and interior. Red/grey/red in section. Tiny limestone inclusions barely visible. See Arnold's no. 8 (pl. 3, p. 37).

NW 38: Thick coarse silt vessel, flares out at rim, possibly the top of a beer jar or a bowl like Arnold's no. 11 (pl. 6, p. 30). Red/grey/red in section, many tiny limestone inclusions.

NW 39: Also object number 1. This is a medium-coarse silt bowl, heavily spalled, perhaps once supplied with a pedestal base, now absent. The interior is finely incised with a decorative pattern. Red/black/brown in section, many chunky limestone inclusions. Vessels with pedestal bases can be seen in Bader's corpus of Marl C types, although none are decorated.

NW 40: Possibly part of a bread mould, but the gridded incised decoration is (oddly) on the exterior, rather than the interior. The shape seems to be almost square. Made of very thick marl with many limestone inclusions. Pinkish exterior, but mainly red/grey/red in section.

Notes

¹ For popular articles, see L.P. Brock, "Kahun: untouched for 100 years," *Al-Ahram Weekly*, December 10, 1992, and N. B. Millet, "The Haunted Pyramid," *Bulletin of the Canadian Mediterranean Institute*, 9, No. 2, April, 1989.

² Bettina Bader, "A Concise Guide to Marl C Pottery," *Aegypten und Levant* 12 (2002), pp. 29-54.

³ Sir William Matthew Flinders-Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, New York, 1931, p. 97; David, Rosalie: *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1986, pp. 101-174. There is also a short section in the latter book on the analysis of the pottery from the site (pp. 213-214); some pottery is held at the University of Manchester Museum.

⁴ J. Bourriau, Umm el-Ga'ab, *Pottery from the Nile Valley Before the Arab Conquest*, Cambridge, England, 1981.

⁵ D. Arnold, "Keramikbearbeitung in Dahschur, 1979-198," *MDAIK* 38 (1982), pp. 25-65.

⁶ He referred me to J. Bourriau and D. Aston in G. Martin, ed., *The Tomb Chapels of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqara*, EES publications 5, London, 1985, pp. 18-24.



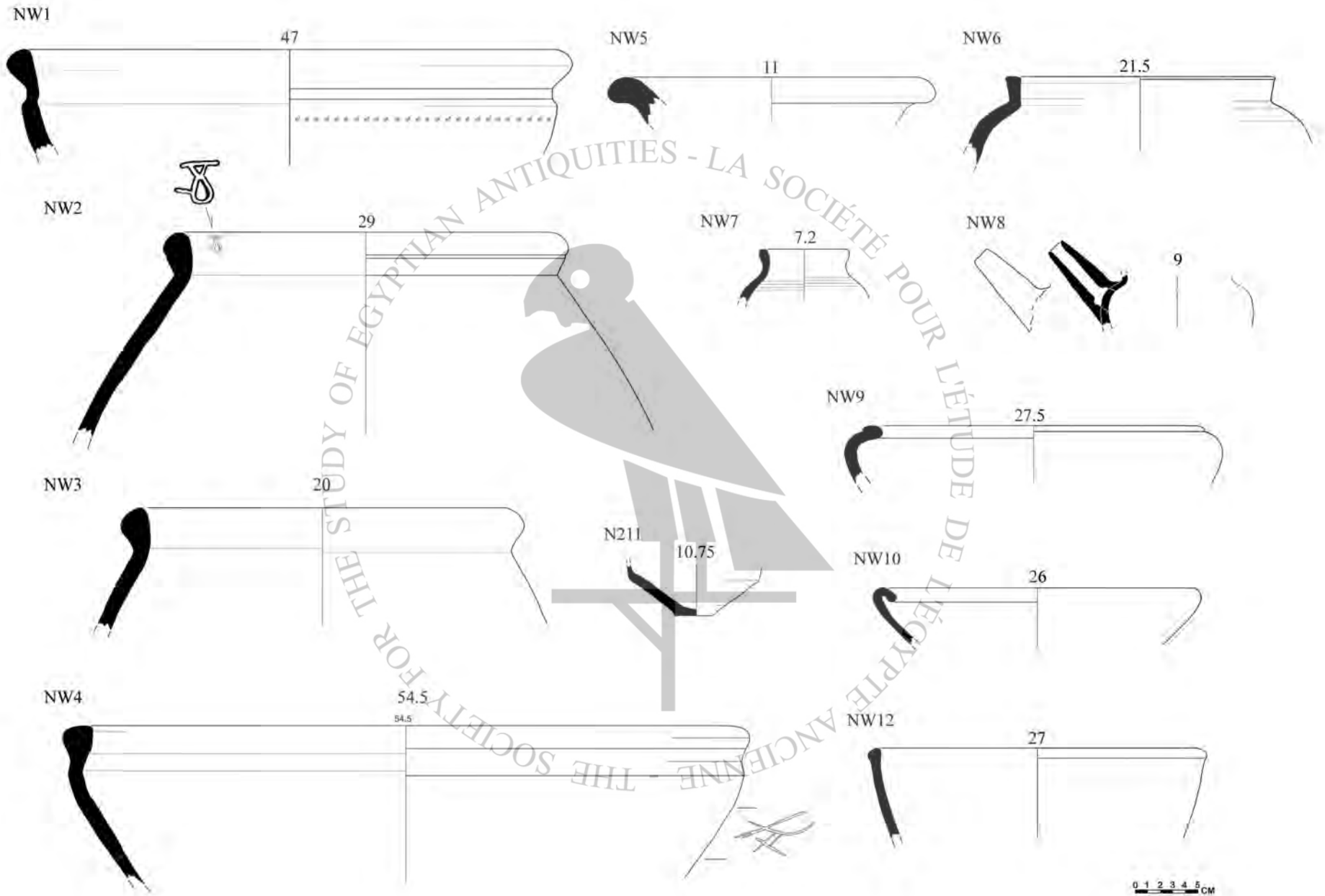


Plate 14-1: Vessels from the 1992 Season of the ROM Illahun Expedition. Computerised illustrations, L. Pinch-Brock.

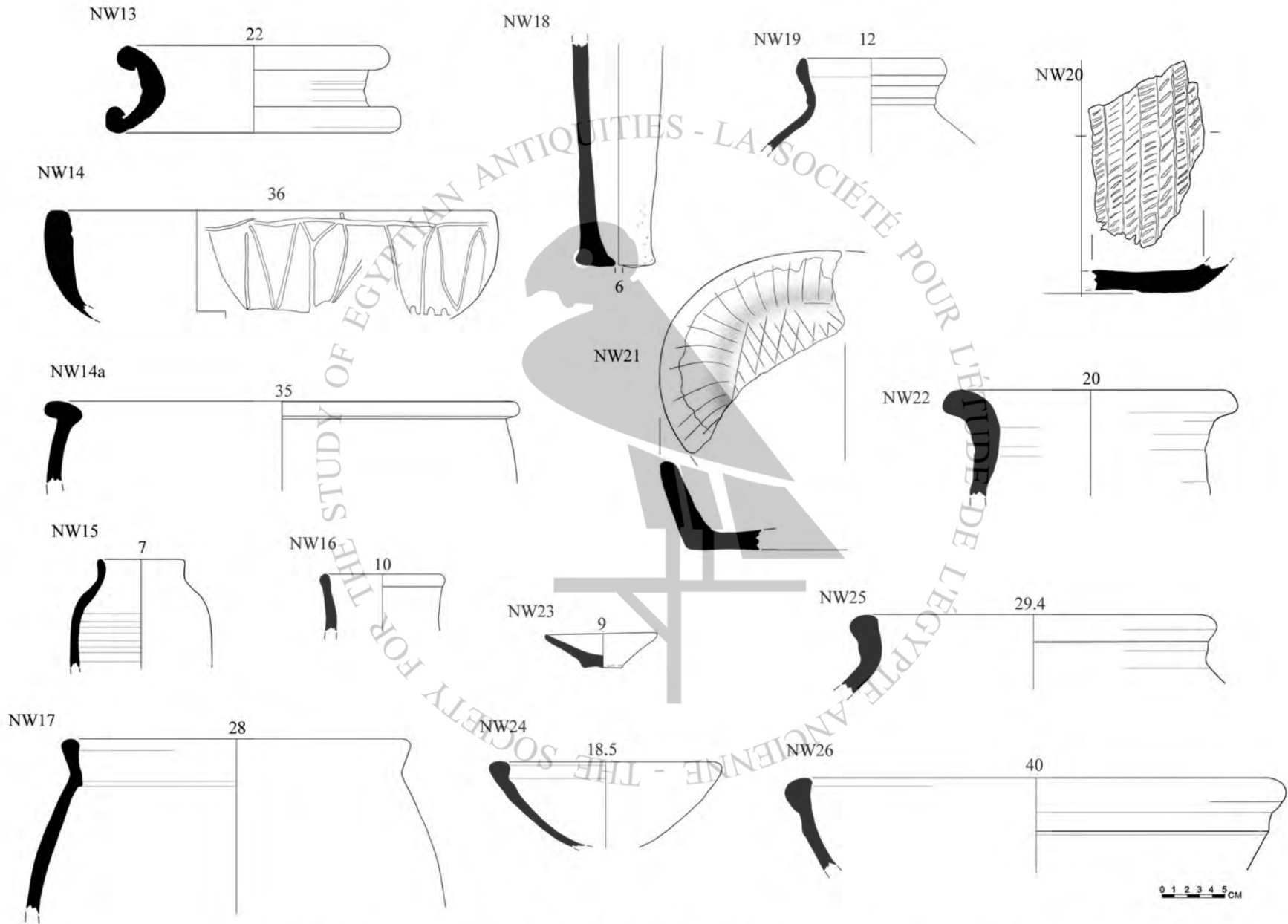


Plate 14-2 : Vessels from the 1992 Season of the ROM Illahun Expedition. Computerised illustrations, L.Pinch-Brock.

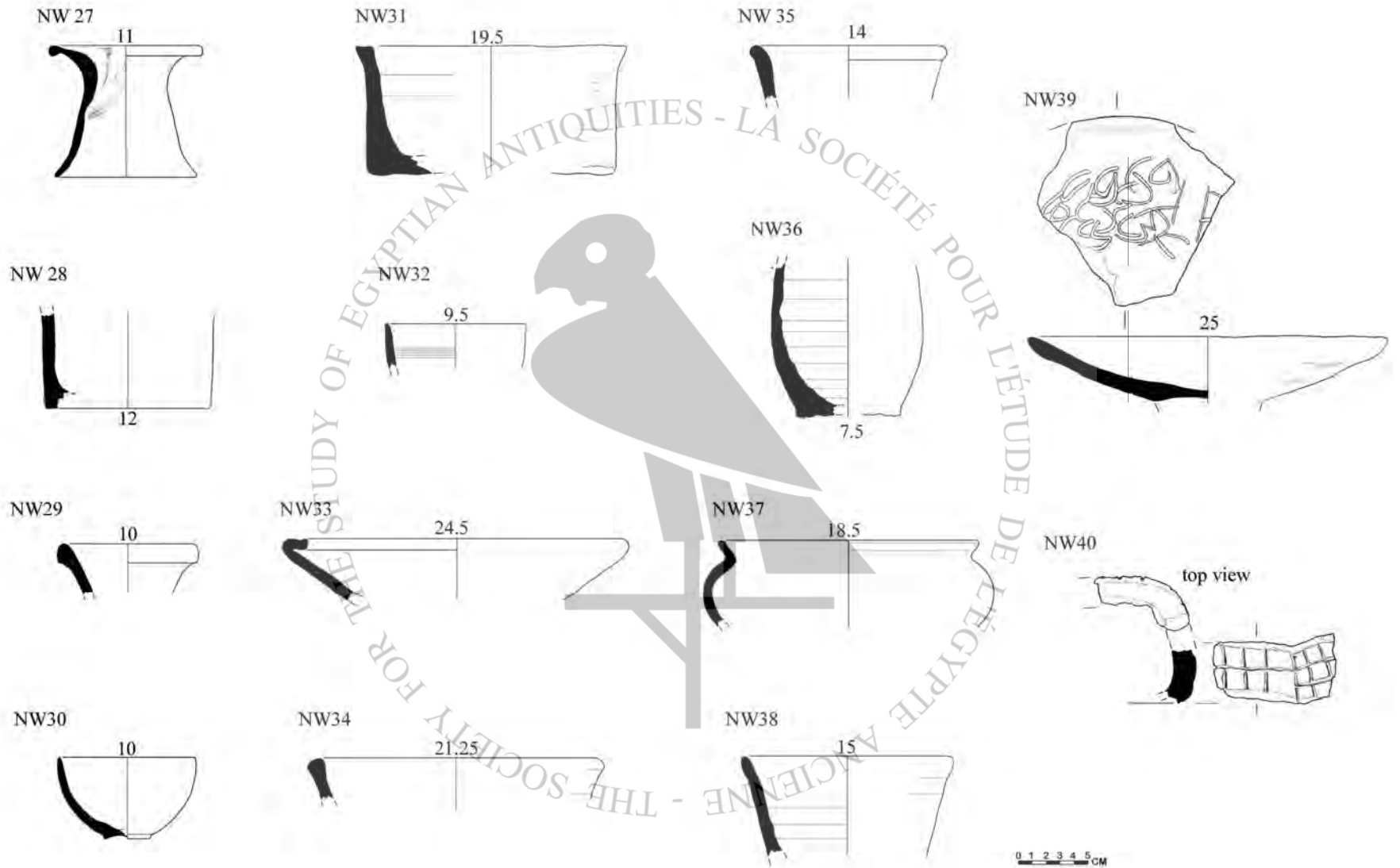


Plate 14-3 : Vessels from the 1992 Season of the ROM Illahun Expedition. Computerised illustrations, L. Pinch-Brock.

**15. Cercueil Anonyme de Femme de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire
ROM 991 x 2.31.1 & .2 (en dépôt) ¹**

Sherine ElSebaie

Abstract


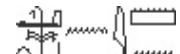
This article gives a detailed description of the scenes decorating an unpublished coffin in storage at the ROM (Toronto, Canada). The coffin dates to the Third Intermediate Period and it belonged to a Chantress of Amun.

Key Words

cruches *nmst*, encens, laitue, plume d'autruche, perruque, couronne *hmhm*, étoile, cône d'onguent, vase d'onguent, collier hathorique, collier *wsh*, collier *mnit*, trône *hwt*, nébride, oiseau *b3*, pilier *dd*, nœud *tit*, signe *ʕnh*, signe *hb*, sphinx, signe *ʕn*, barque solaire, disque solaire, symbole *nbw* de l'or, lotus, papirus, rosette, Amon, Anubis, Hathor, Nout, Rê-Horakhty, cobra, babouin, cynocéphale, vautour, *w3dvt*, œil *wd3t*

L'objet de cette étude est un cercueil inédit conservé au Musée Royal de L'Ontario. Tous ceux qui ont travaillé étroitement avec N. B. Millet savent combien divers étaient ses intérêts et combien il accordait une attention toute particulière à l'étude des cercueils et des sarcophages. Aujourd'hui dans ce volume du JSSEA consacré à la mémoire de ce grand savant, il m'est apparu opportun de dédier à son hommage cette étude. C'était N. B. Millet qui m'a permis de travailler sur le cercueil et qui a veillé à me faciliter ce travail, que son âme trouve ici l'expression de mes remerciements les plus sincères, et de ma reconnaissance la plus profonde.

Nom: Non mentionné ou en lacune.

Titres:  *nb(t) dr*  *ʕmʕvt n(t) Jmn.*

Cette femme était donc une maîtresse de maison qui appartenait au clergé féminin de Thèbes, étant chanteuse d'Amon. Les deux titres sont banals, fréquemment portés par les dames de la Thèbes de l'époque.²

Éléments conservés: De l'ensemble funéraire composé normalement durant cette période de deux cercueils anthropomorphes (un interne et un externe) et de la couverture de momie.³ seul le cercueil interne (couverture et cuve encore joints par des tenons fixés chacun par deux chevilles, l'une percant le haut de la cuve, l'autre le bas du couvercle) a survécu.






État général: Le cercueil a beaucoup souffert d'un pillage antique qui visait la momie. La plaque qui bouchait le bas de la cuve a été enlevée ainsi que la planche inclinée protégeant les pieds au bas du couvercle. C'est de cette ouverture pratiquée que les voleurs ont réussi à retirer la momie.

Provenance: Thèbes, Deir El Bahari. Le cercueil fut amené à Toronto par C. T. Currelly qui l'a acheté en Egypte entre les années 1907-10. N. B. Millet croit que c'est l'un des deux cercueils découverts par Naville dans la tombe no. 5 (*Deir el-Bahari* I, p. 46).

Données techniques: Bois enduit et peint, fond ocre jaune.

Dimensions: Hauteur 161.0 cm.; largeur aux épaules 48.0 cm.; profondeur à la tête 50.5 cm.

Date: XXIème dyn.

Avant d'amorcer la description détaillée du cercueil, on doit signaler que les textes reproduits dans cette recherche ont été calqués sur les photographies et sont donc une copie assez fidèle. Les textes sont originellement écrits en hiéroglyphes simplifiés avec du rouge rehaussé de bleu. Notez en particulier les *h* , les *ʕ* écrits cursivement  ou , les *hnty* , les *n* , les

ʕpdw , et les *kʕw* . Toutefois la graphie n'est pas tout à fait uniforme. Elle diffère

sensiblement entre le côté droit de la cuve et du couvercle d'une part et le côté gauche de ceux-ci de même que le milieu du couvercle d'autre part (le droit et le gauche utilisés ici sont ceux de la momie et non ceux du spectateur). En effet les signes du côté droit semblent en général plus soignés tandis que ceux du côté gauche sont plus hâtifs. Le scribe s'est-il pressé d'achever son travail ? ou bien deux scribes différents se sont occupés de l'inscription de ce cercueil ? La différence apparente entre le signe du lièvre de la colonne n.1 et celui de la colonne n.5 du couvercle semble à l'appui de la dernière thèse.

Quant à la palette de ce cercueil, elle est classique. Le fond ocre jaune est dominé par des motifs rouges et bleu turquoise à l'extérieur, tandis que l'intérieur est éclairé par des blancs et des détails rehaussés de noir.

DESCRIPTION

1. Couvercle

Figure 15-1, Plates 15-1 to 15-4

État: Planches disloquées, celle de l'épaule droit a disparu; fentes apparentes; les poings en bois rapporté n'existent plus, les chevilles qui servaient à les fixer en place sont encore visibles, le sein gauche en plâtre modelé a sauté; Considérable perte d'enduit et de peinture à la partie supérieure jusqu'au niveau du diaphragme et au milieu du tiers inférieur. La planche inclinée des pieds a disparu.

La défunte est représentée avec un visage plein et rond, ses traits à la sculpture sensible sont à peine visibles à cause de l'enduit peint écaillé. La perruque tripartite qui encadre le visage a subi elle aussi beaucoup de détérioration. Le bandeau frontal⁴ s'est effacé et la dépouille de vautour stylisée qui ornait jadis la chevelure a disparu sauf une pointe d'aile encore bien visible à droite. Les deux mèches latérales retombant sur le devant sont cernées chacune par une bande délimitée en haut et en bas par une ligne ocre jaune. Cette bande est décorée de trois rangées de rectangles polychromes alternant avec deux bandes rouges. Le corps des mèches est détaillé par de petits rectangles échelonnés. Ces rectangles sont la figuration stylisée des tresses. Les mèches sont délimitées chacune en bas par une bande ocre. Juste au dessous d'elles apparaissent les seins. Celui de droite encore préservé a le mamelon masqué par une rosace à huit pétales. Entre les deux seins, au niveau du sternum, se croisent les deux extrémités de l'étole. Cette bande originellement en cuir teinté en rouge est doublée d'une autre bande plus longue et non teintée qui en forme la bordure et les pointes. L'étole, stylisation très probable du signe *sʕ* "protection" (Gardiner, Sign-List, V 17) est typique des cercueils de la 21ème et 22ème dynasties.⁵

Au croisement des deux pans de l'étole et entre les deux poings aujourd'hui disparus repose un pectoral carré enchâssé dans une frise de carrés colorés. La scène à l'intérieur du pectoral montre un signe *ʕht* de l'horizon, représentation allégorique de Rê-Horakhty, couronné d'un *hmhm*⁶ surmonté d'un disque solaire. Le signe de l'horizon est flanqué de deux oeils *wʕt* tandis que le

disque solaire est encadré par deux babouins affrontés dressés sur leurs pattes postérieures et élevant leurs pattes antérieures dans le geste de l'adoration.⁷ Ce geste est commenté par des hiéroglyphes arrangés verticalement dans l'espace libre entre chaque babouin et le disque solaire:



“adorer” surmontant un vase à onguent (Gardiner, Sign-list, W 2). Notons que le soleil émergeant des deux collines du signe de l'horizon ainsi que celui au dessus de la couronne *hmhm*, les deux yeux *wḏ3t*, et les poitrines des deux babouins sont tous modelés en relief.

Au dessous de ce pectoral, de l'étoile, et des cheveux de la défunte s'étale un ample collier *wsh* qui couvre la totalité du buste depuis les clavicules et les épaules jusqu'à la limite inférieure de l'abdomen. Ce collier est formé de nombreuses rangées alternant des motifs géométriques (des carrés multicolores arrangés en damier) et des motifs floraux (des pétales divers). La dernière rangée est la plus large et se compose de lotus bleus épanouis flanqués chacun d'une part d'un bouton de lotus bleu encadré par deux rosettes et de l'autre part de ce qui est cru être un papyrus⁸ (Figure 15-4 détail δ).

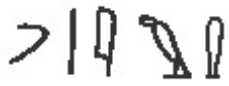
Avec cette rangée s'achève le collier et le décor du tronc et c'est au dessous d'elle que commence le décor des cuisses inauguré par un disque solaire ailé flanqué de deux uraei⁹ (le disque et les poitrines enflées des deux uraei sont modelés en relief). Les ailes¹⁰ de ce disque ne s'étalent pas sur toute la largeur du couvercle. Elles laissent place de chaque côté à deux scènes symétriques (β à droite est détruite, seule β' à gauche est conservée) contenant une série de cinq cobras dressés coiffés du disque solaire et regardant tous vers l'axe du cercueil. Les scènes sont délimitées en haut par une frise de rectangles colorés et en bas par une natte, une bande bleue et une série de points bleus. Au dessus de la frise supérieure, l'espace triangulaire inclus entre la scène et la courbe du collier *wsh* est rempli par une corolle de lotus bleu (α' à gauche est préservée tandis que α à droite est perdue). Le décor qui suit le disque ailé et les cobras qui l'entourent comprend les motifs suivants:

A: Un scarabé orné d'une couronne *hmhm* portant un disque solaire, est dressé sur un signe *šn* surmontant le symbol *nbw* de l'or.¹¹ De part et d'autre de cet ensemble longitudinal, les mêmes signes hiéroglyphiques sont inscrits: *djt ʿnh* douée de vie.

B, B': Deux motifs symétriques adossées au motif A figurant chacun un dieu anthropomorphe barbu et momiforme, coiffé du disque solaire entouré d'un cobra et tenant les sceptres osiriens contre sa poitrine. Le dieu est assis sur un trône cubique¹² reposant sur une natte. Cette natte est placée à son tour sur un socle décoré de petits carrés bleus et ocre jaunes disposés en damier. Le dieu est inscrit de haut en bas le texte suivant: (à gauche) *ntr ʿ3 nb pt* le grand dieu seigneur du ciel et (à droite) *ntr ʿ3 nb dw3t* le grand dieu seigneur du monde souterrain. Les deux textes figurent chacun au dessus d'un vase d'onguent. Dressé devant le dieu, un cobra ailé, orné d'un disque solaire surmonté d'un signe *pt* du ciel, étend ses ailes vers lui tout en protégeant un signe *šn* et un oeil *wḏ3t*. Le cobra est lové sur une natte reposant sur un signe *hb*¹³ décoré d'un motif imitant l'arête d'un poisson (*Herring-bone motif*). Perché sur l'aile la plus relevée du cobra, un oiseau-*b3* à la tête ceinte par un long bandeau fait face à un lotus et des vases d'onguent.¹⁴ Entre le disque qui coiffe le cobra et l'oiseau, les signes *dw3t* adorer, sont inscrits.

C, C': Deux figures symétriques d'un Anubis momiforme sont agenouillés sur une natte placée sur

un signe *hb* décoré d'un motif en arête de poisson. Devant la face des chacals est inscrit:



. Derrière leur dos  *dj nh* doué de vie. Ces Anubis sont chacun adossés

à un cobra ailé coiffé du disque solaire et tourné vers le centre du cercueil. Les cobras nommés 



w3dy(t) protègent chacun un signe *sn* et ensemble un unique disque solaire entouré d'un cobra placé sur un modius couronnant la tête ceinte d'un diadème (Gardiner, Sign-List, S 10) d'une déesse agenouillée, un genou levé, au registre inférieur. Cette déesse, probablement Nout,¹⁵ déploie ses bras ailés sur toute la largeur du couvercle.¹⁶ Au dessous d'elle un autre disque solaire ailé, flanqué de chaque côté d'un cobra, clôt le décor des cuisses. Entre les pointes des ailes de Nout et ceux du disque solaire, on discerne un signe de l'Ouest étendu sur son côté (le même signe devrait figurer à droite: il est aujourd'hui perdu), tandis que sous les ailes du disque, aux coins, se trouve un cobra rampant loin de l'axe du cercueil à la queue formant de multiples ondulations (ce motif est conservé à gauche, son pendant à droite est détruit). Notons enfin que plusieurs détails dans cette partie (scarabé, disques solaires, corps des dieux momiformes et une partie de leurs trônes, yeux *wd3t*, corps des Anubis, corps et chevelure de la déesse agenouillée) ont été modelés en relief.

Le décor des jambes qui suit débute avec une frise de carrés bleus alternant avec des groupes de cinq rectangles ocre jaune dont le rectangle du milieu est repeint en bleu. Cette frise doublée d'une bande ocre jaune plus large encadrée en haut et en bas d'une étroite bande bleue indique une séparation nette entre le décor des cuisses et celui des jambes. Au dessous d'elle la surface disponible a été découpée en six petits tableaux symétriques de part et d'autre de trois lignes hiéroglyphiques séparées par des bandes de rectangles colorés. La ligne médiane n.3 à fond blanc est encadrée par de larges bandes faisant alterner des carreaux bleus et rouges séparés par trois rectangles ocre jaune dont celui du milieu a été repeint en bleu. Les lignes n. 4-5 à fond ocre jaune donnant la formule *dd mdw jn* sont délimitées à droite et à gauche respectivement par des bandes imitant celle qui marque le commencement du décor des jambes.

Les motifs qui remplissent les six tableaux sont:

D, D': une série de sept cobras dressés sur une natte et coiffés de disques solaires bleu vert et rouges ; ils ont tous le regard dirigé vers l'extérieur du cercueil.




E, E': Une bande de longs rectangles étroits colorés en bleu et en rouge sont séparés par des lignes ocre jaune. Van Walsem croit que c'est une stylisation d'une corniche à gorge.¹⁷ Une frise de rectangles colorés sépare ce tableau du suivant.

F, F': Une bande bleue et une série de points bleus surmonte un dieu anthropomorphe momiforme coiffé du disque solaire entouré d'un cobra (un signe *nh* est inscrit derrière ce disque modelé en relief). Le dieu tient le flagellum et le crochet croisés sur son torse. Il trône sur un siège cubique posé sur une natte reposant sur un socle décoré de petits carrés bleus et jaunes en damier. La divinité adossée aux lignes hiéroglyphiques fait face à un groupe de motifs, de haut en bas: un vautour avec un flagellum fiché au dos et une plume d'autruche devant lui sur une natte (les signes  

ntr sont écrits devant l'ensemble), un symbole *nbw* de l'or, et une nébride.

G, G': Entre deux frises de rectangles colorés, deux signes *dd* (symbole d'Osiris) et deux noeuds *tjt* (symbole d'Isis)¹⁸ se rangent.

H, H': Sous une bande bleue et une série de points bleus, un sphinx coiffé d'un *nms*¹⁹ et couronné d'un disque solaire entouré d'un cobra regarde dans la direction opposé à l'axe du cercueil. Le monstre est assis sur ses pattes d'arrière et prend appui sur ses pattes de devant. Dans son dos, un

oeil *wd3t*, un signe d'or et un  sont peints dans la scène H à droite, tandis qu'à gauche (scène H'), les deux signes   *dj ʿnh* doué de vie, sont écrits.

I, I': L'enduit peint et décoré est complètement perdu.


Reste à noter qu'à part et d'autre du décor des cuisses et celui des jambes, juste sous le collier *wsh*, deux lignes hiéroglyphiques s'étendent (textes n. 1 et 2 donnant la formule banale du *htp dj nsw*). L'espace triangulaire enfermé entre le début de chaque ligne marqué par une frise de rectangles colorés et le dernier rang du *wsh* est comblé d'un décor à mailles. Une large bande rouge marque la fin de chaque texte, une autre plus fine sa bordure extérieure tandis qu'une frise de carrés rouges et bleus alternant avec des groupes de trois rectangles (deux ocre jaune encadrant un bleu) sépare les textes du décor des cuisses et des jambes.

Le revers du couvercle est dépourvu de décor (perdu ?).

2. Cuve

État: Des fêlures horizontales de tracé irrégulier sur l'enduit peint font le tour de la cuve; elles trahissent la dislocation des planches. Une brèche est apparente à l'arrière droit du sommet de la tête ainsi que deux fentes, une au milieu du sommet de la tête, l'autre à sa gauche.

EXTÉRIEUR

Le bord de la cuve est parcouru d'une large frise de cobras dressés coiffés de disques solaires et dirigés tous vers la tête de la défunte. Devant chaque cobra, une plume d'autruche couronnée d'un disque lui fait face. Cette frise est encadrée en haut et en bas d'une ligne bleue. Au dessous de la ligne inférieure, une bande faisant alterner des carrés bleus et rouges séparés par des groupes de trois rectangles (deux ocre jaune avec un bleu au milieu) s'étale; elle est elle aussi soulignée en bas d'une ligne bleue (détail γ). L'espace entre cette ligne et le fond de la cuve marqué d'une bande noire est divisé en plusieurs tableaux aux longueurs inégales délimités en bas par une ligne bleue et une autre rouge. D'étroites colonnes de texte reproduisant tous la formule *jm3hy hr* avec le nom d'une divinité séparent les tableaux. Les colonnes de texte elles-mêmes sont interrompues à intervalles irréguliers par des colonnettes occupées par un des motifs suivants: détail α un signe de l'Ouest²⁰ orné d'un disque solaire (ce signe semble être pourvu d'un bras stylisé levé en adoration²¹); détail β un cobra dressé sur une longue queue à plusieurs replis. La tête du reptile est elle aussi surmontée d'un disque solaire. Un signe  *w3d* nomme le cobra. Le sommet de la tête, zone reliant les deux côtés, est fortement délavé. S'il était décoré, ce qui semble invraisemblable, le décor est aujourd'hui perdu.

Côté droit

Figures 15-2 & 15-5, Plates 15-5 to 15-9

A: La moitié droite de cette scène est occupée par un homme debout, la face dirigée vers les pieds du cercueil, qui lève ses bras dans le geste de l'adoration. L'homme, probablement l'époux de la défunte, est vêtu d'un costume de lin plissé. Son cou est orné d'un collier *wsh* et son menton est pourvu d'une petite barbe noire carrée. Sa perruque bleue est surmontée d'un cône d'onguent²² et d'un bouton de lotus. La perruque est aussi ceinte d'un bandeau à longues extrémités.²³ Devant le personnage, il y a un guéridon surchargé d'offrandes et d'un bouquet de fleurs. Entre le guéridon et l'homme, il y a un cobra lové et un signe *ʿnh*. Aucune divinité ne figure au delà de la table d'offrande. C'est seule l'inscription donc qui nous apprenne que l'homme adore le dieu Osiris.

B: À droite (par rapport au spectateur), un dieu anthropocéphale momiforme coiffé du disque solaire et dont la tête est entourée d'un bandeau est assis sur un siège cubique. Une étoile se croise sur sa poitrine et des sceptres osiriens garnissent ses deux mains. Devant lui sont peintes une nébride (*jmy-wt*)²⁴ et une figure d'un Anubis momifié (remarquez l'étoile autour de son cou) lui offrant un petit vase d'onguent. Cet Anubis remplace la défunte.²⁵

C: À gauche se trouve le même dieu de la scène précédente. Face à lui, la défunte debout en costume de vivante (et non pas momiforme) lui tend une cassolette à encens. Un cône d'onguent, un bouton de lotus, et un long bandeau embellissent la chevelure de la femme. Entre le dieu et la défunte se dressent une nébride et une jarre d'onguent.

D: Le motif central de cette scène est la barque solaire à la poupe et la proue façonnées en deux ombelles de papyrus: Le dieu y est représenté sous sa forme de disque couronné d'un *hmhm*. Au dessous de la barque, un signe de vie *ꜥnh* pourvu de bras, soutient l'embarcation et la relève plus haut. Aux quatre angles du tableau sont représentés les motifs suivants:

- En haut, deux cynocéphales affrontés dressés sur leurs pattes postérieures au dessus de deux nattes vénèrent de part et d'autre le dieu solaire.

- En bas, deux oiseaux adossés à têtes humaines (des *b3*)²⁶ flanquent le signe *ꜥnh*. Ils ont de petites barbes au menton, des bandeaux autour de la tête, et des contrepoids du collier *mnjt*²⁷ dans le dos. Devant chaque oiseau, il y a une plume d'autruche. Des vases d'onguent, des fleurs de lotus épanouies ainsi que des boutons de la même fleur sont utilisés dans cette scène par l'artiste pour remplir les espaces libres entre les principaux motifs.

E: Ce dernier tableau du côté droit est occupé par une vignette habituellement représentée à cet endroit: À gauche se trouve la montagne thébaine, reconnue à ses ondulations sablonneuses en diagonale, au sommet de laquelle un soleil rayonnant émerge.²⁸ De cette montagne sort la vache Hathor à la robe tachetée.²⁹ Son dos est couvert d'une étoffe à motifs en losange, son cou entouré d'un collier hathorique,³⁰ et ses yeux fardés à l'imitation d'un oeil *wꜥbt*. Entre ses cornes évasées, deux plumes d'autruche encadrant un disque solaire constituent sa coiffure. Au dessus de l'animal divin, un oeil *wꜥbt* étend de larges ailes protectrices. Vis-à-vis de la vache, un homme (très probablement le même individu que dans la scène A) agenouillé, à un genou levé, dresse les deux mains en signe de vénération.

Côté gauche

Figures 15-3 & 15-6, Plates 15-10 to 15-14


A': Même disposition qu'en A: un homme est figuré en adoration devant une table d'offrande garnie de victuailles. Mais, comme en chiasme avec A, l'homme est à gauche dirigé vers la tête du cercueil au lieu de ses pieds. Remarquez entre la table d'offrande et le personnage un pavois orné d'une banderole. À côté de ce pavois se voit un signe de vie *ꜥnh*. Entre le pavois et la table d'offrande se trouvent des symboles détruits.

B': Cette scène est construite sur le même modèle que la scène C du côté droit: À droite, la défunte en costume de vivante élève vers la face d'un dieu une cassolette dans laquelle brûle de l'encens. Le dieu momiforme³¹ serrant des sceptres osiriens contre sa poitrine est assis sur un siège cubique. Ses pieds reposent sur une natte qui passe au dessous du siège, le tout reposant sur un signe *hb* décoré par un motif en arête de poisson. Le visage du dieu est endommagé. Les vestiges subsistant permettent seulement de conclure qu'il portait une perruque tripartite. Entre la défunte et le dieu se voient une nébride, une jarre d'onguent, un bouton de lotus et un signe *ꜥnh* de vie.

C': Cette scène n'a pas son pendant sur le côté droit. Un homme y figure à gauche offrant un pain à une divinité momiforme à face de babouin assise sur un trône cubique. Une nébride et une table

d'offrande sont représentés entre les deux personnages.

D': Ce cadrat est occupé au centre par un pilier *dd* décoré: autour de son pied est nouée une banderole, tandis que de son sommet surgit une tête humaine regardant vers la droite. La tête est celle d'un homme muni d'une petite barbe au menton. Un bandeau est lié autour de sa chevelure surmontée d'une couronne *hmhm* de laquelle pendent, de part et d'autre du pilier, deux cobras dressés coiffés de couronnes blanches. Deux signes de vie *ḥnh* sont suspendus aux cous des reptiles. De chaque côté de ce pilier *dd* orné, se tiennent deux oiseaux-*b3* perchés sur des signes de l'Occident. De plus des pattes et des ailes, les oiseaux sont pourvus de bras humains qu'ils élèvent très haut en signe d'hommage au *dd* dressé entre eux. La parure des oiseaux se compose d'un cône d'onguent, d'un bouton de lotus et d'un bandeau pour la tête, d'une petite barbe carrée pour le menton, et d'un contrepoids de *mnjt* dans le dos. Au dessous de la queue de chaque oiseau se voit un portail à deux vantaux surmonté d'un pyramidion à lucarne. C'est la figuration stylisée de la tombe.

E': Le pied du sarcophage est occupé, de ce côté comme du côté droit, par une scène traditionnelle à cet emplacement: À l'extrémité gauche se trouve la représentation classique de la montagne de l'Occident évoquant la nécropole. Une tombe surmontée d'un pyramidion à lucarne est adossée à sa paroi. L'espace enfermé, à gauche, entre la tombe et la pente de la montagne est réservé à un oiseau-*b3* adorant, bras levés, un soleil non radiant qui semble se coucher. L'oiseau-*b3* a un bandeau autour de la tête, une petite barbe au menton et une étole croisée sur sa poitrine. Au pied de la montagne est figurée la vache céleste avançant vers la droite. Elle est parée des mêmes ornements que la vache du côté droit. Remarquez toutefois que l'animal ici n'a pas les deux tâches distinctives de l'oeil *w3t* sous ses yeux fardés. La vache est protégée d'un cobra ailé qui plane au-dessus d'elle. Sous la queue du cobra un signe  le nomme: C'est la déesse *w3dyt*. Devant le mufler du bovidé est placée une coupe d'orfèvrerie piquée de tiges de papyrus.³² Au delà de cette coupe, la défunte momifiée se tient debout face à la vache. La tête de la femme est décorée d'un cône funéraire, d'un bouton de lotus et d'un bandeau. Une étole est disposée en croix sur sa poitrine.

INTÉRIEUR


Plates 15-15 to 15-18


Fond

Le revers de la planche qui forme le fond de la cuve a été soigneusement poncé puis abandonné sans appliquer ni d'enduit ni de décor. L'avvers, par contre, a été enduit et décoré. Cette couche d'enduit décoré est complètement arrachée aujourd'hui révélant une doublure de lin.³³

Côtés

La partie médiane, correspondant au sommet de la tête est occupée par l'âme de la défunte représentée sous la forme d'un oiseau-*b3* aux ailes écartées sous un signe de ciel. Le corps de l'oiseau, ses ailes, ses pattes, et sa queue sont vus de face tandis que sa tête humaine est figurée en profil regardant vers la droite. Un bandeau ceint la chevelure de la tête et les deux extrémités d'une étole se voient sous les rémiges bâtarde de la poitrine. De part et d'autre de la tête humaine de l'oiseau sont inscrits les signes suivants:

- à droite  *wsjr nb pt t3 dw3t w3d* Osiris, seigneur du ciel, de la terre, et du monde souterrain. Le dernier mot, *w3d*, nomme probablement une figure aujourd'hui détruite.


- à gauche  *ntr 3 nb 3ht* le grand dieu, seigneur de l'horizon.


De chaque côté des pattes de l'oiseau est figuré, abrité par les ailes, un génie momiforme

debout aujourd'hui très abîmé. Devant le génie de droite, les signes suivants sont inscrits .

À la hauteur des épaules, une décoration fait la transition avec les motifs latéraux. Elle se compose de trois bandes colorées (noire, blanche, et bleue) et un frise de cobras dressés dirigés vers le couvercle alternant avec des plumes d'autruche, tous coiffés de disques solaires, et se tenant tous sur une bandelette de carrés et de rectangles multicolores.

Le décor des flancs est conçu symétriquement. L'espace des épaules aux pieds est divisé en trois tableaux regroupant chacun trois génies dirigés vers le couvercle et vêtus de gaines blanches sur lesquelles tranchent des étoiles rouges. Remarquez les agrafes en cuir bleu qui maintiennent l'entrecroisement des étoiles en place. À part les étoiles, des écharpes sont nouées au niveau des sternums des génies. Dressés devant les silhouettes momiformes, on voit des lotus bleus épanouis déposés sur des cruches-*nmst*, ainsi qu'une laitue.³⁴

Le premier tableau au niveau des bras comprend un génie anthropocéphale barbu (un roseau fleuri  est inscrit devant son visage), un génie ophiocéphale barbu avec une plume d'autruche fichée à l'arrière de la tête, et un génie à la tête d'un félin. Ces trois génies sont debout sur une natte reposant sur un socle décoré d'un motif en arête de poisson.

Le deuxième tableau au niveau des cuisses est surmonté d'un signe de ciel. Au dessous de ce signe, une ligne horizontale de texte donne une formule d'offrande abrégée: .

hṭp dj nsw wsjr nb pt j Fasse le roi que s'apaise³⁵ Osiris, seigneur du ciel.

Sous l'inscription se tiennent debout trois génies à têtes différentes:

- tête d'Anubis. Les signes suivants sont peints autour de lui: 

- tête d'homme, à la barbe divine. Un cône funéraire, un bouton de lotus et un bandeau surmontent sa perruque.

- tête de vautour.

Ces génies sont debout sur une large bande à rayures colorées (noire, blanche, rouge, blanche, bleue).

Le troisième tableau au niveau des jambes est très abîmé. Il paraît qu'il était lui aussi présidé par une inscription dont il ne reste que  *jm3hy hr.....j*. Des trois

génies seul le premier est préservé. Il a la tête d'un homme barbu. Un cône funéraire et un bouton de lotus décorent le sommet de sa chevelure. Ce génie est debout sur trois bandes (noire, blanche, noire).

Maintenant que la description détaillée du cercueil est achevée, on doit noter comme conclusion que tout le décor décrit, textes et scènes, avait un but: celui d'aider la défunte dans son voyage dans l'autre monde. La mort n'était en effet, pour les anciens Égyptiens, qu'une transition à une autre vie, une vie bien plus meilleure que celle vécue sur terre. Le passage n'était pas pourtant aussi aisé. Les morts devaient avoir recours à des symboles magiques qui ressuscitent et protègent, à des rituels d'offrande à diverses divinités afin d'acquérir en échange leur favorable appui contre les dangers que les défunts pouvaient rencontrer, le tout était supposé faciliter leur transition à l'au-delà.

Université de Toronto

Notes

1. Je dois remercier professeur R. J. Leprohon qui m'a vivement encouragé à étudier ce cercueil jusqu'alors inédit. Je dois aussi exprimer ma reconnaissance à monsieur Bill Pratt pour la qualité de ses photographies digitales et à monsieur Brian Boyle pour la prise de photos digitales du côté droit interne de la cuve. L'état fragile du couvercle ne permettant aucune tentative d'ouverture, l'ingéniosité de la disposition de la camera de monsieur Boyle a rendu possible l'acquisition de ces photos sans risquer de déplacer le couvercle.
2. Pour le titre $\text{šm}^{\text{f}}\text{yt } n(t) \text{Jmn}$, voir Naguib, *Clergé*, p. 235-6; Ward, *Feminine Titles*, p. 19. Ce titre était très commun sur les cercueils féminins de la 21^{ème} dynastie: Niwiński, *Coffins*, p. 191, n. 42-43. Pour $\text{nb}(t) \text{pr}$, voir Ward, *Feminine Titles*, p. 8; Naguib, *Clergé*, p. 19.
3. Van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 31; Gasse, *Sarcophages*, p. 7.
4. Ce bandeau jouait très probablement le rôle d'une "couronne de justification." Voir van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 110 sur ce sujet.
5. Pour une discussion sur l'étoile, voir van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 116ff; Goff, *Symbols*, p. 102-104.
6. Sur cette couronne, voir Abubakr, *Kronen*, p. 63-65; van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 328ff.
7. C'est le geste 1 c de *LÄ* II, col. 575.
8. Voir van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 115-16.
9. Pour ceux intéressés au symbolisme de ce motif, voir Goff, *Symbols*, p. 250ff.
10. Pour ceux intéressés aux détails des ailes, voir la discussion de van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 139.
11. Sur ce symbol, voir van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 334. Sur le šn : *LÄ* V, col.577ff. Sur le scarabé: Goff, *Symbols*, p. 209ff.
12. Sur ce trône appelé en égyptien *ḥwt*, voir van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 134, 199.
13. Sur ce signe, voir van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 175.
14. Les vases d'onguent sont dispersés tout le long du décor des cuisses en guise de remplisseurs d'espace. Voir van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 131 à ce propos.
15. Voir van Walsem, *Coffin*, p.150.
16. On voit des bracelets ornant les deux poignets de la déesse et un seul ornant son bras droit.
17. Van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 167, 169.

18. Sur ces symboles, voir *LÄ* I, col. 1100-1105, *LÄ* III, col. 204 respectivement.
19. Sur le sphinx, voir *LÄ* V, col. 1139-47. Sur le *nms*, *LÄ* III, col. 693-94.
20. Sur ce signe, voir Goff, *Symbols*, p. 182.
21. Cette conjecture est basée sur un exemple plus détaillé: Egner & Haslauer, *Särke*, p. 53, 79.
22. Sur ce cône, voir Nadine Cherpion, Le « cône d'onguent », gage de survie, *BIFAO* 94 (1994), p. 79-106.
23. Ce bandeau est peut être un symbole de régénération : van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 130.
24. Sur ce fétiche, voir Köhler, *Imiut*, passim.
25. Le cercueil no. 25008.2.1 & .2 au Vatican offre un exemple pareil où Anubis prend la place de la défunte à deux reprises: Gasse, *Sarcophages*, p. 15.
26. Sur le *b3*, un des constituants de l'homme qui, d'après les anciens Egyptiens, le laissait à la mort et s'envolait en liberté, voir Zäbkar, *The Ba Concept*, passim.
27. Sur ce collier, consultez Jéquier, *Frises*, p. 73-77; *LÄ* IV, cols. 52-53.
28. Pour une discussion sur le soleil rayonnant dans l'art égyptien, voir Raphael Ventura, Sun Rays in Ancient Egyptian Art, p. 15-38 in *Milestones*.
29. On doit noter que la vache surgissant de la falaise thébaine était un motif commun dans les tombes ramessides: Abdul-Qader, *Development*, p. 238ff.
30. Sur ce collier, voir Jéquier, *Frises*, p. 79-83.
31. Le torse et les bras du dieu décorés par des losanges sont, en réalité, couverts d'un filet orné de perles: van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 318.
32. Le papyrus est un des attributs de la déesse. Il fait allusion aux marais de Chemmis où elle avait pris soin du jeune Horus: *LÄ* II, col. 1041. Pour d'autres exemples de la coupe à papyrus, voir Egner & Haslauer, *Särke*, p. 84, 169, 208; Niwiński, *Trouvaille*, p. 31, 51, 77; Niwiński, *Find*, p. 31; Chassinat, *Trouvaille*, p. 21, pl. XIV; Daressy, *Cercueils*, pl. XLVI, XLVIII, LVIII, LIX; Gasse, *Sarcophages*, pl. I, X, XVI, XXV.
33. Sur cette doublure de lin et son usage dans les cercueils, voir van Walsem, *Coffin*, p. 47.
34. Sur la laitue, voir *LÄ* III, col. 938-9. Sur son iconographie, voir Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen* I, p. 167.
35. Sur cette traduction du verbe *hṭp*, voir l'argument de Grandet et de Mathieu: *Cours*, p. 388. Remarquez le *p* qui précède le *t* sur le côté droit; ces deux lettres sont écrites dans le bon ordre sur

le côté gauche.

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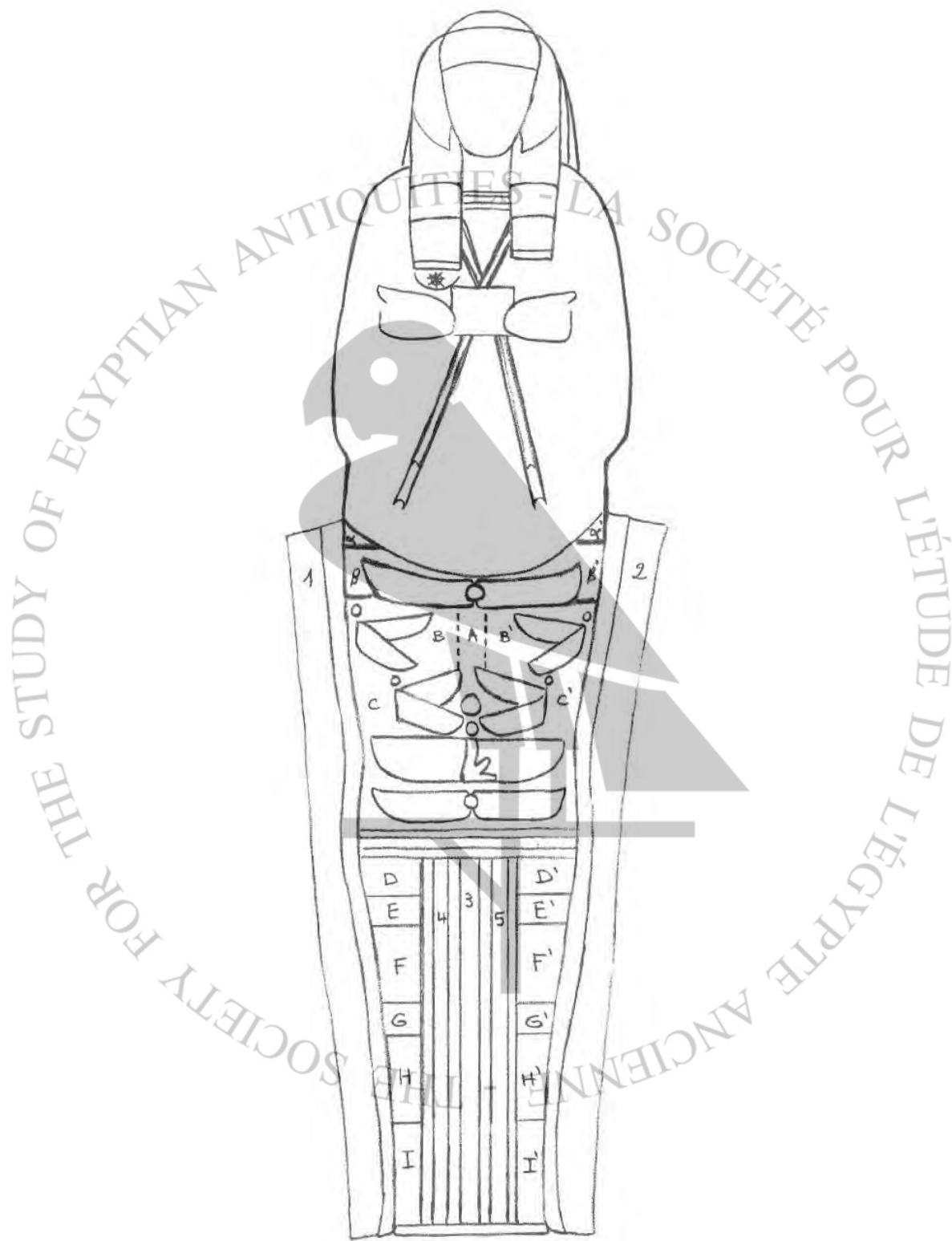


Figure 15 -1

Côté droit

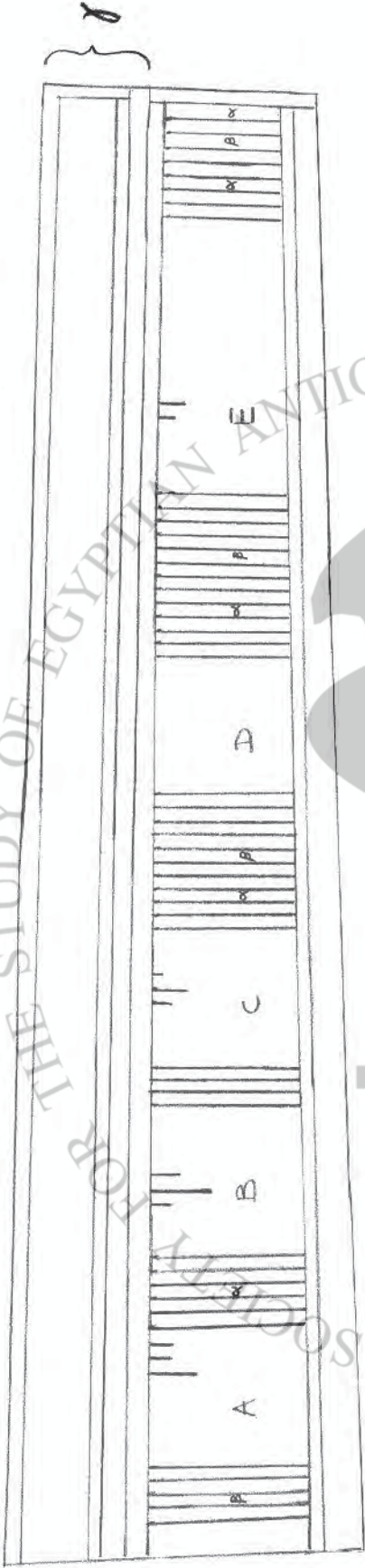


Figure 15-2 - Côté droit

croquis 2

Côté gauche



Figure 15-3 - Côté gauche

croquis 3

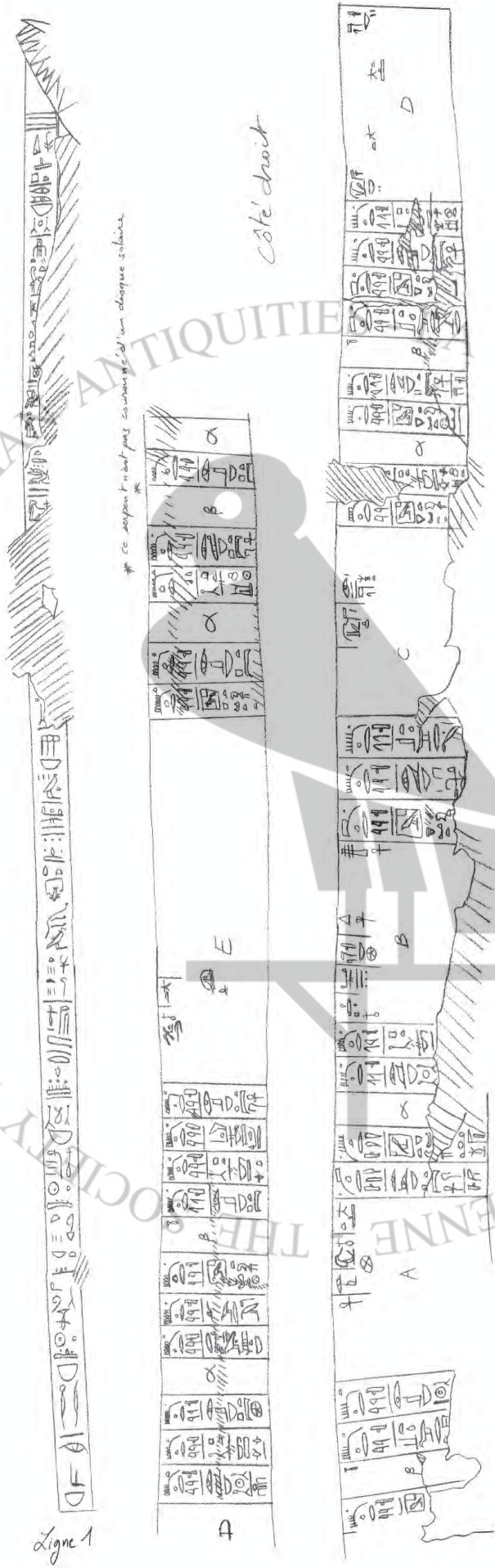


Figure 15-5 Côté droit

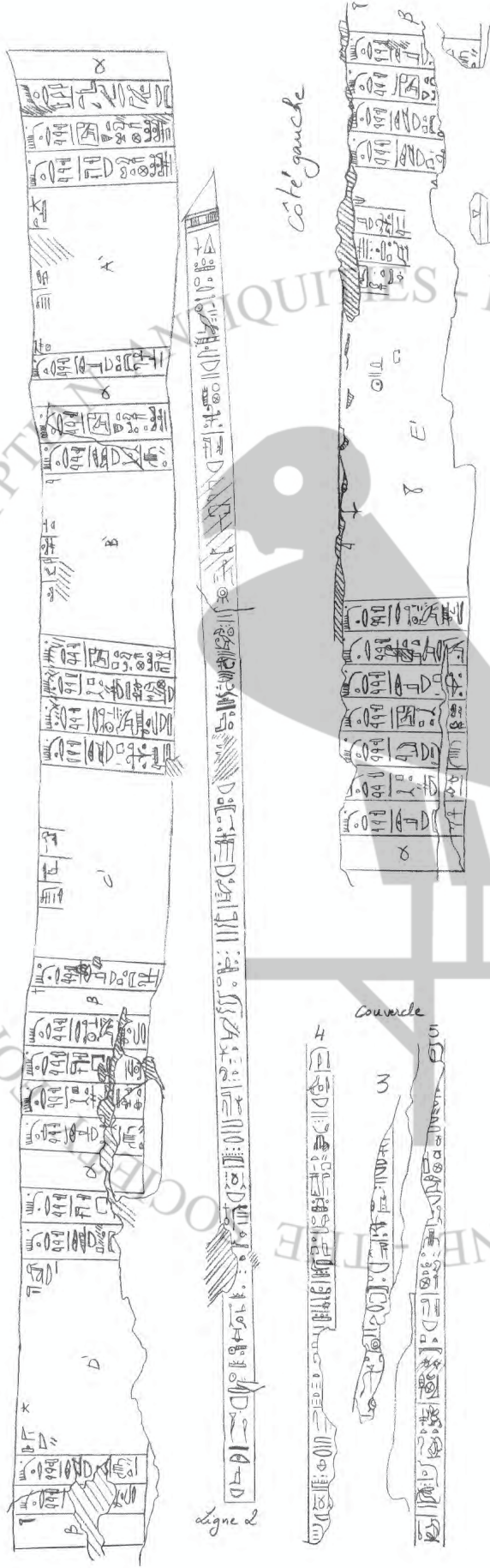


Figure 15-6 Côté gauche



Plate 15-1



Plate 15-2



Plate 15-3



Plate 15-4

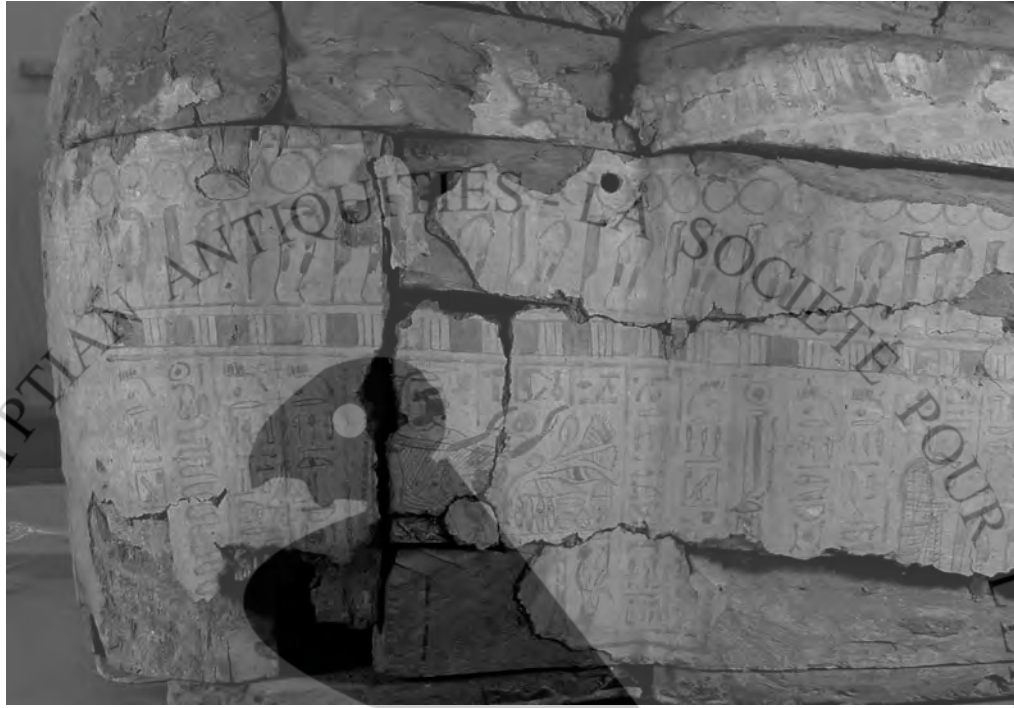


Plate 15-5 - scène A



Plate 15-6 - scène B-C



Plate 15-7 - scène D



Plate 15-8 - scène E (première moitié)



Plate 15-9 - scène E (deuxième moitié)



Plate 15-10 - scène A', B'



Plate 15-11 - scène B', C'

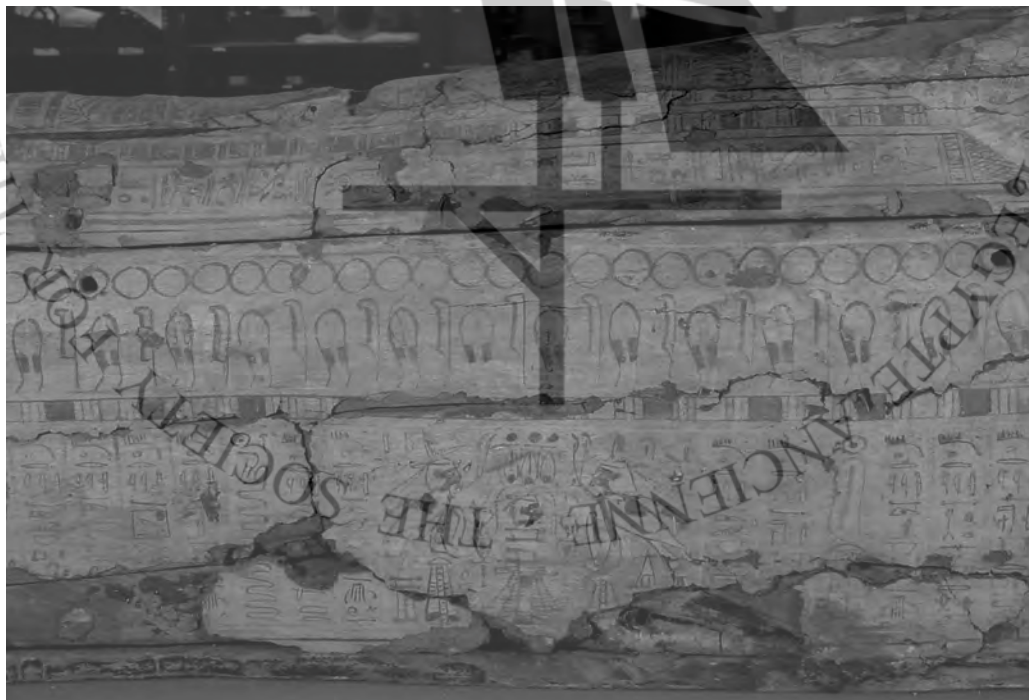


Plate 15-12 - scène D'



Plate 15-13 - scène E'



Plate 15-14



Plate 15-15 - Intérieur



Plate 15-16 - flanc droit, premier tableau



Plate 15-17 - flanc droit, deuxième tableau



Plate 15-18 - flanc droit, troisième tableau

16. The Desolation of Ipuwer

John L. Foster

Abstract

The Desolation of Ipuwer, traditionally known as “The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage,” is an early example of pessimistic literature. This brief article examines it in its primary context of ancient Egyptian literature and culture and includes several translated passages as examples. These passages express the theme of chaos versus order using a series of rich images that become one of *The Desolation of Ipuwer*’s most compelling traits.

Keywords

Ipuwer, pessimistic literature, ancient Egypt, chaos vs. order theme.

I offer the following small piece in honor of my friend and colleague, Nicholas B. Millet. It was Nick who, over thirty years ago, invited me to give my first public lecture in the field of Egyptology. It was delivered in Toronto to the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities and consisted of a reading and discussion of the Egyptian love songs upon which I was then working. The following piece is much more recent; but it attests to a career in translating Egyptian literature that Nick helped initiate.

I.

The recto of Papyrus Leiden I 344 is inscribed with a literary text which Sir Alan Gardiner called “The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage.” Gardiner’s transcription of this text and his commentary are still the starting point for studies of *Ipuwer* even though they appeared almost a hundred years ago, in 1909. The papyrus itself is in a tattered state, with both the beginning and the end missing, and the body full of lacunae. This makes *Ipuwer* difficult to work with, and a connected text is all but impossible to establish.

The general tenor of the work, however, is easy to determine. It belongs to the venerable tradition of “pessimistic literature,” which is hardly limited to Egypt, though the ancient Near East probably has the oldest examples of this type. My own favorite—from a later time—was written by one Gildas, a Briton, who complains bitterly how civilization has gone to hell, now that the Romans have left. The celebrated example for our time is T. S. Eliot’s *Waste Land*, published in 1922, which, despite the time difference, parallels *Ipuwer* in depicting an entire culture gone dangerously wrong.

One last such reference is to the poems of A. E. Housman, the earlier 20th century British poet who wrote a number of short lyrics in the elegaic vein, often exquisite, sometimes overly sad, sentimental, and pessimistic. Eliot’s friend Ezra Pound (who midwived the *Waste Land*, urging Eliot to cut about one-quarter of the poem—which he did)—Ezra Pound took a dislike to Housman and his poetry and lampooned it in a little three stanza satire—one stanza of which will be quite enough for us:

Who is there to talk to today?
There are no righteous men; earth is abandoned to evil.

The *Neferty* is the piece nearest in content to the *Ipuwer*. Both describe a time of social ills, the former of invaders from the East during the First Intermediate Period, and the latter a time—not specified—of total breakdown, with references to Delta invaders but with even greater concentration on chaos from internal causes. *Neferty* is prophecy, while *Ipuwer* is despairing description; but most significantly, a savior comes to the land in *Neferty*—Amenemhat I—and all will be well. No such relief lightens the misery of *Ipuwer*.

III.

Ipuwer is a long series of lamentations—or one long lamentation—over the disintegration of ancient Egyptian civilization. It seems to have been uttered by a man whose name occurs once toward the end of the surviving manuscript: “What Ipuwer said in answer to the Lord of All.” Ipuwer, in cataloguing the ills of the country, addresses both god and the king—the god Ré (though Ptah is cited more than once) and a king who is unnamed in the passages that survive. It is a time of social upheaval and decay; the central power and the usages of the land are gone, and things are topsy-turvy. *Ipuwer* is without historical specifics and thus essentially without “historical” value. Because of the generality of the references scholars have argued for a time-frame of either the First or Second Intermediate Period—or for no Period at all, rather regarding the work as simply an involved *tour de force* on the theme of social chaos.

That the manuscript is tattered is not the author’s fault, but it does heighten the mystery of what is going on. There is no continuity or progression to the events of the text other than brute juxtaposition, neither a sequence in the general lamentation, nor any perceptible direction to the material, nor a rise to a climax, or dénouement. Here is a passage from the beginning of what survives:

The villages are vexed by roving robber bands
so that a man goes plowing with his shield;
The face is ashen, bedouin settle in;
deceit is everywhere, there is no man of yesterday.
Plundering is all about us
the servant is detained for what is found on him.
Hapy overflows, they cannot plough;
each says, “I don’t know what is happening to the land.”
Women are barren, they cannot conceive;
Khnum will not make children due to the land’s condition.
The poor are lords of riches,
he who had no shoes is wealthy.
The servants here, their lives are full of greed;
leaders will not mingle with the people.
The heart is violent, plague rages through the land,
and blood is everywhere.

A passage like this is fine—one sees the turbulent juxtapositions and the staccato use of clauses, and hears the tone of almost raving despair in Ipuwer's voice. But when this is repeated with variations for sixteen riddled manuscript pages, the attention of the reader (or hearer) wanders. There is no ordering, no proportion, no selectivity. And the introductory tags which occur roughly every two clauses are intrusive and boring. No history, no specific setting, no artistic shaping: what a text!

IV.

Ipuwer has little or no historical value. Why read it? Because, with all its very real faults, *Ipuwer* has significant literary value. It has at times striking imagery, it exhibits welcome variations in tone and structure toward the end of the text, it displays a profound despair over the state of ancient Egyptian culture, and, finally, on occasion it rises to an impressive and compelling vision of Egypt in peril.

First of all, the *Ipuwer* has striking images—which are one measure of good literature:

People are like black ibises that foul the land,
and no child shines in white in our time.
The land spins round like a potter's wheel. . . .

Or:

Gateways, columns, walls are burning;
the palace hall is full of weeds.

Or:

Citizens are put to work at millstones,
those in fine linen now shape pots,
while those who never saw the light of day
go free.

Those who lay on the bedsteads of their husbands—
let them sleep on the barges of the dead.

Or:

The hot-head says,
“If I knew where God was, I would worship him.”

There are enough such images to be quite striking to anyone looking for them. Then there is the spinning kaleidoscope of these images across the verse lines. As one thinks of the despair and desolation that *Ipuwer* is attempting to convey, this tumbling together of images nicely and exactly serves his mood. It is a minor point, but one crucial to reading *Ipuwer*. The interminable *iw ms*'s and *mtn*'s which clog the text—and they do—signal the verse couplets by which the material is conveyed, thus facilitating understanding and translation of the poem. Most passages set off by these indicators are two clauses long and form verse sentences.

But most importantly, the *Ipuwer* is an indictment of Egyptian civilization, of the

unnamed ruling pharaoh, and of God. Ipuwer's vision is the bleakest to survive from ancient Egypt, darker than that of the *Lebensmüde*. The effect of events on the two protagonists is equally shattering; but the external world in *Ipuwer* is more devastated.

Here is a passage which sums up the hopelessness that Ipuwer feels. It is a complaint against God for creating humankind:

Why did God take thought to fashion men,
not distinguishing the thief from one with mighty heart?
—Would that he come, tempering what is hot!
They say he is the herdsman of mankind,
there is no evil in his heart;
Few are his herds,
yet he spends his day in tending them,
hot-hearted as they are.

If only he had seen their nature in the early
generations,
he would have dealt with their rebelliousness;
He would have stretched his arm against them
to obliterate their seed and their inheritance.
Fearing this, they craved procreation—then came sadness;
misery was everywhere; wrongdoing.
And it did not go away though gods were watching.
Descendants flowed from the women of mankind;
but they could not find the Way. Fighting broke out.
Injustice made havoc of all that they had built;
no leader led them in their day.
Indeed, where is there such a guide today? Perhaps he sleeps?
—we cannot find a trace of him at work.

If only You would nourish us!—
I cannot find You!
And yet I cannot pray to You as Nothingness—
that were calamity enough to break my heart!

But the tone is not unrelieved somberness. In one place Ipuwer recalls his service as priest. The tone is nostalgic, a longing for a time of lost happiness when the world was ordered, serene, and mindful of the gods:

Remember sailing downstream to the granary, burning incense,
pouring water from the water-jars at daybreak;
Remember the roasted ro-geese, the terep-geese, the ducks,
presenting sacred offerings to the gods;
Remember chewing natron, the readying of white bread
by the priest on the day of purification.

And there is a similar passage depicting the smooth functioning of the society, working and celebrating in harmony—at harvest, while rebuilding, or during festival:

But it is good to stand beside the cultivation
and watch the grain being gathered for the harvest.
It is good to beat the fields
and bind the birds caught in the nets.
It is good to see the great men honored
and the roads made passable.

Despite this reference to civic order the pervasive tone is despairing. Ipuwer himself is anchorless—in society, in politics, and in religious belief. As he says earlier in the poem, “Cursed be the sacred places!”—and from the Egyptian word used (*shetau*) and its seated-god determinative, it is clear he is speaking of the entire realm of the gods.

In sum, the poem of *Ipuwer* is not a literary nullity. It is not a masterpiece; but it is rather more than many of us give it credit for. The overall impression of the work is one of chaos and abandonment; and our author voices very explicit, scathing criticism of Egyptian society, of pharaoh, and of God:

If only there were an end to mankind—no conception, no birth!
Then were the land blest, quieted, freed from disturbance.

So, we really do not want to apply Pound’s travesty of Housman to the *Ipuwer*. *Ipuwer* is not simply a matter of “Oh, woe, woe, woe, etcetera.” I would like to end with Ipuwer’s comment on the human condition. It is the *cri de coeur* of a man *in extremis*. Addressing God, he says:

You are caretaker of all the flocks;
and yet, of the sweetness of life they know nothing at all.
Still, You have put goodness in their hearts—
I pray you, save mankind from all of this!
Things are hidden from us through fear of tomorrow;
and such is man that he grows old and dies.
His son survives as a child without insight
who begins life with no thoughts of the necropolis;
He will not part his lips to speak with You—
so You carry him off, wrapped in the bonds of death.

17. Tracing the Provenance of ROM 983X2.1, The Coffin of Nesmut

Gayle Gibson & Mark Trumpour

Abstract

A coffin currently in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum (983X2.1) is described in detail with comparison to contemporary coffins such as that in the Manchester Museum (5053-a). The coffin dates to the Twenty-Second Dynasty and may come from Gurneh.

Keywords

Coffin ROM 983X2.1, Coffin Manchester 5053-a, Nesmet, Perenbast, chantress of Amun, Dynasty 22

Nick Millet always had a lively interest in coffins and sarcophagi. It had been one of his hopes to have a guide to the coffins in the Royal Ontario Museum's collection published to replace an earlier one that was both out-of-print and out-of-date. Unfortunately, though the work which he had whole-heartedly supported is close to fruition, his death came too soon for him see it in print.¹ The present article stems from that research, and builds on an earlier study of the iconography of ROM 983x2.1. It is gladly submitted in respectful and fond memory of Nick, with gratitude for his support and encouragement.

What is known about the coffin's provenance? The coffin of Nesmut bears an accession number that suggests it was acquired in 1983. It was, in fact, only formally registered in that year, having been found in storage during the planning for the current Egyptian gallery. In this article we hope to establish provenance for the coffin of Nesmut through multiple lines of inquiry including records left by C. T. Currelly, excavation reports, examination of the iconography, and a deductive process centering on the ROM's complete collection.

Charles Trick Currelly became the first director of the Royal Ontario Museum when it opened its doors in 1914. He had acquired the core of the ROM's collection between 1902 and 1910. During these years, Currelly had spent much of his time in Egypt involved directly in excavations with Petrie, Naville and others, and acquiring objects for the proposed museum in Toronto. Artifacts collected during this period normally show an accession number in the 910 series. We believe that Nesmut's coffin entered the collection as part of these acquisitions, prior to 1910.

The iconography of the coffin may suggest its origins. ROM 983x2.1 is the bottom half of an unplastered wooden coffin, 187.6 cm in length, 54.2 cm in width, and 24 cm. deep. In the low light of a gallery, the case appears dark, dull, and damaged: the pathetic remnant of a poor woman's burial. The split and damaged planks, however, are cedar. A closer examination reveals lively black ink drawings painted directly onto the wood, then high-lighted almost impressionistically in red, blue, and white paint that was sometimes applied in a thin wash. The inside surfaces of the coffin are much blackened by resin through which traces of inscriptions and images can be discerned. The planks on the bottom are torn, suggesting that a resin-covered

mummy or cartonnage was wrenched from the coffin. Nesmut's name and titles, *Lady of the House* and *Chantress of Amun* appear at least seven times. Taken all together, the material, decoration, and inscriptions indicate a simple, but respectable, burial for a female member of the priestly classes.

Nesmut's name and titles together with the iconography of the coffin assure us that it comes from the Theban area, and was constructed at the end of the New Kingdom. Mut was the consort of Amun at Thebes, where names compounded with hers are common. The name *Nesmut* is attested in Ranke from the New Kingdom to the Late Period.² Niwinski described six coffins belonging to women named Nesmut among the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty coffins found in the two great discoveries at Deir el Bahri in 1881 and 1891.³

Several of the images on the coffin are specifically Theban. The pink cliffs of Western Thebes, for example, are well attested on coffins during the Twenty-first and early Twenty-second Dynasties. On the exterior right of Nesmut's coffin, the hillside is used instead of vertical registers of text to divide the painted scenes into vignettes. In one, the goddess of the West stands in front of the entrance to a hillside tomb topped with a pyramid and in another, the Hathor cow emerges from the hillside to offer protection to the deceased. The hillside with its tombs is seen again on the left inner wall of the coffin.

Although it is more difficult to date a coffin based on the decoration of the case rather than the lid,⁴ Nesmut's full, pleated, apparently see-through costume points to the Twenty-second dynasty. Her hairstyle, fillet, and festive cone with water lily bud are all in the style typical of this period.⁵

Nesmut's coffin can be confidently identified by iconography and titles as Theban from the late Twenty-first or early Twenty-second Dynasty. It bears striking iconographic similarities⁶ to the coffin of Perenbast, Manchester Museum 5053-a, which was excavated by W. M. Flinders Petrie at Gurneh in 1909.⁷ Petrie recovered the complete burials of Perenbast and an unnamed man. He dated the assemblage to "about the XXVth Dynasty."⁸ It seems, however, that Petrie was mistaken; neither the man's inner and outer coffins nor Perenbast's single coffin display characteristics of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. They instead fit comfortably into a Twenty-second Dynasty typology.⁹ More important for our argument is Perenbast's clear Gurneh provenance.

The two coffins, as might be expected, are not identical, but the similarity of the Manchester coffin to Nesmut's is more than a matter of style. As Perenbast's coffin is currently displayed in the Manchester Museum, the sides of the case can only be seen with difficulty, and no photographs of the entire artifact are currently available. The mummy remains in the coffin, stuck to the floor by "a thin layer of pitch,"¹⁰ which limits examination. Nevertheless, the similarities to Nesmut's are sufficiently numerous and strong to suggest that both coffins were decorated by the same group of artists and must be contemporary. If so, there is a good chance that the ROM coffin also came from Gurneh.

John Taylor has identified the range of characteristics observable in Twenty-second Dynasty coffins from Thebes. The continuous strip of images on the exterior left sides of both Nesmut and Perenbast belongs to Taylor's *Design I* of Twenty-second Dynasty coffins.¹¹ The images on both were drawn in the lively, fluid style of a sketch. At the foot end, both coffins show a giant serpent, the Fiery One, spitting at the bound and decapitated enemies of Re from the ninth hour of the *Book of Gates*. Mummiform sons of Horus stand within the snake's coils. The left shoulder of each woman's coffin was protected by an image of a winged serpent. The

remaining left side images are not identical, though both show protective Underworld beings: the Potent-Ram-Who-is-in-Heracleopolis from Spell Seventeen of the *Book of the Dead*, a Wadjet eye, a mummy on a mound of earth (Osiris himself?), and a kneeling deity (Isis?) guard Perenbast. Ihy, Anubis, two Guardians on a mound of earth, a Bes-like being, and finally a winged, legged and bearded serpent protect Nesmut.

The right sides of the two coffins were decorated with quite different schemes. The most visible of Perenbast's images is Khepri in the barque of Re, from Chapter Seventeen of the Book of the Dead. Nesmut's coffin seems to show not the Journey of the Sun in the Underworld, but her own. The damaged head end of the coffin shows a bearded, winged, walking snake face to face with a mummified figure in front of a standard. At the shoulder, a winged serpent opens her wings towards the central vignettes. Anubis sits atop his box behind three stippled bands which represent the Western hills of Thebes. Three elements, the winged walking serpent, the winged serpent, and Anubis are the same on the right and left sides of the coffin. At the height of the upper arm, Nesmut's pyramid-topped tomb emerges from the hillside. In front of it, the goddess of the West welcomes the dead woman and her (masculine) ba. Facing both Anubis and the goddess, Nesmut is led to her tomb by a god whose damaged face and name preclude certain identification, but who may be Horus. Behind Nesmut, in the center of the composition, the mummy of Osiris lies on a mound while a human-headed winged being (Isis?) hovers over him, carrying the signs for "life, power" and "like Re" in her talons. A second line of hillside divides the scene again, and on the right we see the tomb emerging from the hill. The Ba (this time apparently feminine) perched above the entrance raises her hands in adoration. Nesmut, having come forth by day, stands in front of her tomb praising ReHorakhty who stands guarded by the Mehen snake. At his back, a large seated baboon guardian holds a knife. These scenes identify the deceased with both Re and with Osiris as he lies in the burial chamber. The hillside divides the scene for the third time, and now the Hathor Cow emerges from her shrine in the mountain, making protection for Nesmut. Toward the foot, we see Nesmut herself kneeling, water lily in hand. Finally, a large vulture, probably Mut, protects her namesake. A *kheker* frieze runs along the top of the vignettes on both exterior sides of Nesmut's coffin. Taylor suggests this motif was sometimes used on wooden intermediary coffins of the period to represent the judgement hall.¹²

The floor of Nesmut's coffin corresponds to Taylor's *Design 2D*. A goddess, associated by her attributes with both Nut and Hathor, is depicted frontally with her arms extending upward onto the interior walls of the coffin, embracing the mummified body. Damage to the floor of the coffin prevents an understanding of how her feet were portrayed, and whether or not she stood upon a group of hieroglyphs or another scene. Even though little can be seen of the inside of Perenbast's coffin, there are similarities. The interior walls of coffin were divided into registers. At about shoulder-level on each, a large serpent with an unusual head, (much destroyed in Nesmut's coffin, but rather like a sea serpent in Perenbast's,) coils upward along the walls. Towards the inside right foot, a set of six crossed arrows can be seen in Perenbast. Just above the right foot in Nesmut's coffin are a set of eight crossed arrows and the image of the feline goddess Mafdet with her associated 'instruments of punishment' (PT 230). The arrows may represent the teeth and claws of Mafdet, which are sometimes identified with harpoon barbs and knives. On both coffins, she probably fulfils her ancient role as protectress against snakes and scorpions.

In Nesmut's coffin, between the reaching arm of the goddess and the image of Mafdet,

two scenes on the right relate to the lady's funeral. In the first, a priest with shaven head offers incense to the standing mummy of Nesmut. In the second, two women in attitudes of mourning kneel at the mummy's feet while a priest holds a magical implement. Tables of either offerings or ritual implements stand in front of the priests. Such scenes are frequently found in late Twenty-first and early Twenty-second Dynasty coffins.¹³ At present, such scenes are not visible in Perenbast's coffin.

Perenbast's coffin is painted black, with decoration on the sides and very attractive lid in white and cream. The eyes are inlaid. There were a number of possible colour schemes for coffins in use during the Twenty-second Dynasty. The coffin of Denytenamun in the British Museum EA 6660 combines a black and cream case decorated by a frieze of underworld scenes, with a lid painted in full polychrome with registers of images similar to those used on cartonnages of the period.¹⁴ The lid of Nesmut's coffin might have been painted with the same limited palette as the case, or might have followed the example of Denytenamun. This latter possibility may be important for identification of her coffin with one described by Currelly, given to him by Sir Robert Mond.

Sir Robert Mond was one of the earliest to recognize the value of digging, not in the high-profile tombs of the Valley of the Kings or of the Nobles, but in the private tombs. He began excavating at Sheikh Abd el-Gurneh in 1904, publishing that season himself.¹⁵ His subsequent excavations from the 1905 and 1906 seasons were published by Lydia Collins, based on his original field notes and drawings. They record the discovery of a number of items in the tomb of Khensmose (No. 30), including:

“Double coffin with inscription on inner case, belonging to the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, Nes-mut. Late Period.”¹⁶

There are three logical possibilities for the provenance of ROM's Nesmut coffin. The first is that the coffin is the one identified in the Collins article. The second is that the coffin is not the same as that in the Collins article, but came from some other spot at Sheikh Abd el-Gurneh; not all of Mond's excavation notes have survived. The final possibility is that the coffin is not from Sheikh Abd el-Gurneh at all. Can the available evidence determine which of these is correct?

Based on stylistic similarities to Perenbast, Gurneh is a possible find-spot for the Nesmut coffin. Collins' note about the discovery of the coffin of a Lady of the House and Chantress of Amun named Nesmut makes Gurneh an even stronger possibility, and suggests that Mond was the discoverer. Is there was any other reason to suppose that Mond might indeed have been the donor of this item? Indeed, there is.

Over the years, Sir Robert Mond was a significant benefactor to the ROM. In a paper prepared as a course requirement for the University of Toronto,¹⁷ Elspeth Williams quoted portions of a letter from Currelly to Sir Edmund Walker, one of the ROM's earliest supporters, in which he describes his first meeting with Sir Robert Mond. The letter was traced to the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Collection at the University of Toronto. In its entirety, the relevant passage reads:

“I spoke of our Museum scheme and he endorsed it thoroughly. I said we were bound to finish it, either as a University or a college matter and he promptly gave me about

\$700 worth of antiquities. Four coffins beautifully painted and of great interest both from the inscriptions and to the artistic end of affairs from the really beautiful floral and geometrical designs. Then there were canopic jars with very fine heads, mats that look as if made yesterday, ushabti boxes, carved chair legs, wooden statuettes and a number of smaller things.”¹⁸

The letter, written at Deir el-Bahri, was dated 10 January 1906, precisely the time period of the excavations that Collins has published. It is clear that four coffins were not merely promised to Currelly, but actually given to him by Mond, along with the other items listed.

The Mond excavations at Gurneh were the source of a number of artifacts in the ROM's collection, as mentioned in the Currelly letter, but in particular the Twenty-second Dynasty outer coffin of Pedikhons, which had been excavated not long before Currelly's meeting with him. Its finding is recorded by Collins.¹⁹ The accession numbers for the Pedikhons coffin and other items referred to in the letter were changed to the 906 series to reflect this provenance, likely by Nick Millet himself in the early 1970s.²⁰

The evidence examined thus far shows that Nesmut was probably acquired by Currelly some time before 1910; that Mond gave four coffins to the ROM in 1906, one of which was the coffin of Pedikhons; that along with Pedikhons, a number of other artifacts at the ROM came specifically from Mond's Gurneh excavations in 1905-1906; and that the excavation report of the finding of Pedikhons' coffin also reports the finding of a coffin belonging to “Nesmut, lady of the house, chantress of Amun.”

The clear attribution of the Pedikhons coffin leaves only three coffins in the ROM's collection with no accepted provenance; Nesmut's is one of them.

The description of the coffins Currelly obtained from Mond as “beautifully painted and of great interest both from the inscriptions and to the artistic end of affairs from the really beautiful floral and geometrical designs” might give one pause, considering the very simple colour pattern on Nesmut's case. However, a common style of the Twenty-second Dynasty used a variety of colours for the face and floral collar, and sometimes the texts and figures on the front of the coffin,²¹ but left the background of the lid plain yellow, red or black, or the natural wood. Moreover, the British Museum's Denytenamun offers the possibility that ROM 983x2.1 at one time possessed a colourful lid. Nesmut's missing lid might well have had a “beautifully painted” floral collar. (The present whereabouts of the lid of Nesmut's coffin is a mystery. If the lid had been lost or stolen on the long journey from Egypt to Canada, Currelly's failure to register the artifact becomes more understandable. He may even have hoped to recover it at some point.)

The name Nesmut and the titles *lady of the house*, and *chantress of Amun* were common during the Twenty-second Dynasty; how likely is it that the ROM's coffin and Mond's report refer to the same woman? What may be significant is the simultaneous occurrence of all three together. The formula for determining the odds of a coffin that combines all three elements – the correct name, the correct title, and the correct occupation - is to multiply the odds of each of these occurrences together.

If the name Nesmut occurred very frequently, and if one person in twenty had the name (implying that one woman in ten had the name), the odds of finding a coffin with that name would be one in twenty or 5%. In support of that frequency is the fact that in the 1990's, the most popular name was Michael. It was used for about 2.2% of males. In 1880, a time of more

homogeneity, the name John was used for about one in ten males, or one of twenty people overall. Note that this is for the *most* popular name; all other names occurred less frequently. The suggested odds for Nesmut then are undoubtedly generous, for while Nesmut was a common name, there is nothing to suggest that it was the most common at the time.

The title of *nbt pr*, usually but not always implying that the bearer was a married woman of some property, was very common. The odds of finding the coffin of a female whose owner was a *nbt pr* might be at least three out of four, or 75%. Since not all coffins include titles, and the names and titles are not always legible even when they do exist, this is likely to be very generous.

Finally, even assuming that one of every two females buried in Thebes was a chantress of Amun, the odds of finding a coffin combining all three attributes would be 1.875%. In other words, such a coffin would occur less than two times in a hundred.²²

Would the ROM's coffin have ever been the innermost of two coffins, as the Collins report described it? Taylor notes the common use of "coffin ensembles" at Thebes, consisting of as many as three nested coffins,²³ a practice beginning in Dynasty XXII after the reign of Osorkon II. According to Taylor, it was not unusual to find a coffin at this period, like Nesmut's, featuring a design painted directly on wood:

"most of the coffins were predominantly black, reddish or brown-yellow, colour schemes created sometimes through paint, sometimes through leaving the natural colour of the wood exposed."²⁴

The rather plain finish of Nesmut's coffin, lacking any gesso undercoat, suggests that it might have been the only coffin for the ROM's chantress.²⁵ At only 186.7 cm in length, ROM 983x2.1 seems unlikely to have had space for another wooden coffin inside, unless it were a child's. Unfortunately, in the absence of a lid, it is impossible to determine whether Nesmut's was an inner or outer coffin.

If Gurneh is accepted as the find spot, might the coffin have come from some source other than Mond? Purchases on the open market of large items were seldom feasible for Currelly. He tended to rely on donations such as Mond's which sometimes were made because Currelly himself had assisted in the excavations. Of the ROM's other coffins with known origins, none were obtained by purchase. The Nesmut coffin is thus likely to have come from excavation. The only other person excavating at Gurneh during the period before 1910 was Petrie. He spent a brief time excavating there from 9 December 1908 to 8 February 1909. His published account contains no record of discovery of a coffin bearing the name Nesmut.²⁶

Lydia Collins, who published Mond's excavations from 1905 and 1906, had to construct her report of his excavations on the basis of field notes, which present "A very brief general account of the work done. Inevitably there are gaps where some of the notes are missing... The present whereabouts of the objects, with few exceptions, is not known. In all probability, some went to the Cairo Museum and the rest to Mond, since he financed the excavation. Some would have remained in his own collection, but no doubt many were given away to museums and private collectors."²⁷

From Currelly's letter of January 10, 1906 it is clear that the ROM was one of those "museums and private collectors" that benefitted from Mond's largesse. Four coffins came to the ROM from Mond's excavations at Sheikh Abd el-Gurneh, likely from the 1905 and 1906

seasons. From the ROM's records, on the basis of elimination, we know which four coffins they must be; Pedikhons is established as one, and Nesmut's must be one of the remaining three. Barring information strong enough to challenge the attributions for other coffins in the ROM's collection, it is reasonable to assume that Nesmut's coffin was discovered by Mond at Sheikh Abd el-Gurneh in 1905/06.

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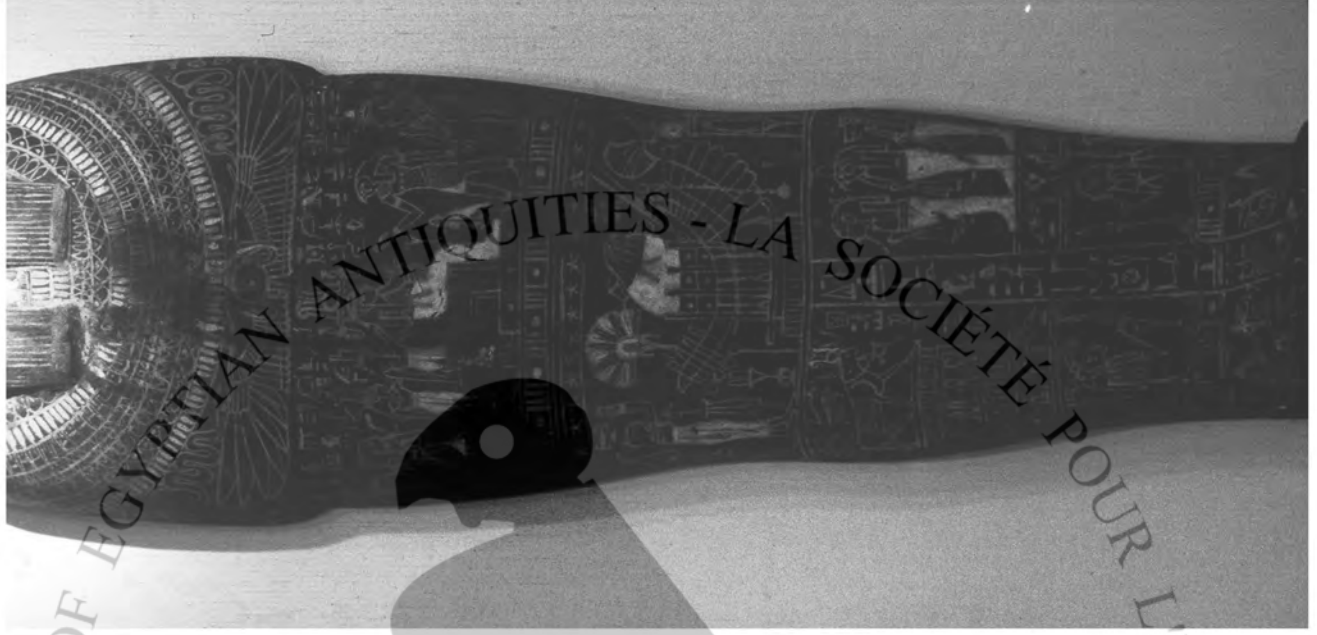
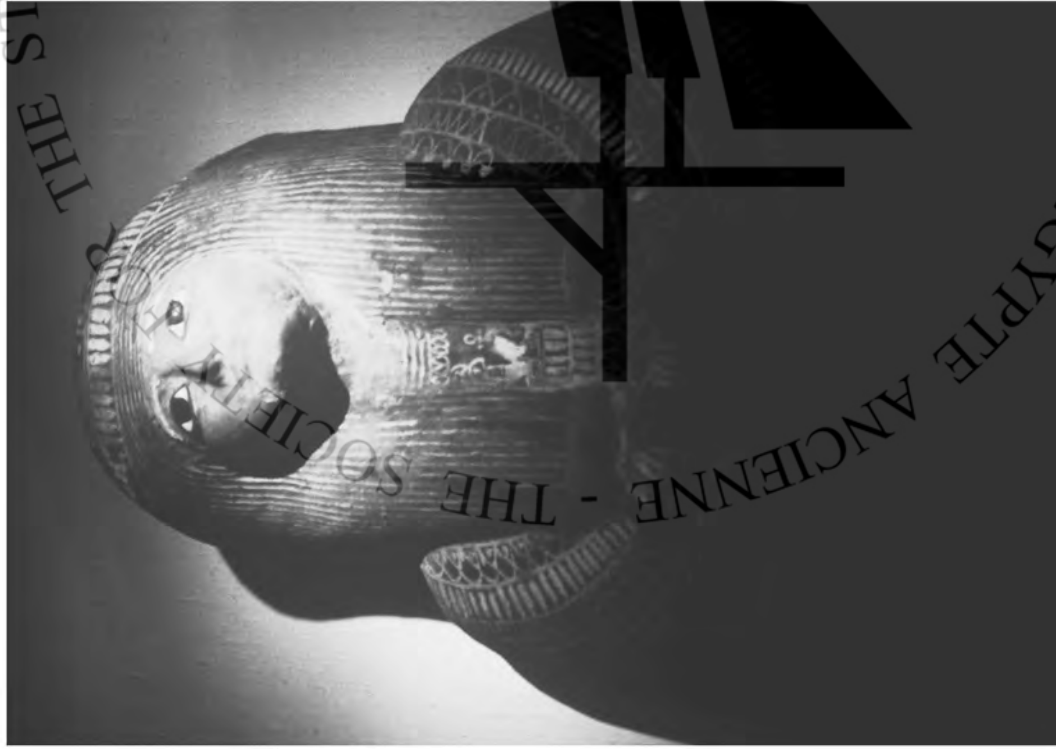
Notes

1. The authors wish to express their gratitude the Library Staff at the Royal Ontario Museum for endless patience and guidance concerning Currelly's papers, to Dr. Christina Riggs of the Manchester Museum for kind permission to publish the drawings of Perenbast, and to Christopher Irie taking the time during a visit to England to photograph the coffin.
2. Herman Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1935), p. 176, #10.
3. Andrzej Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp Von Zabern, 1988). Coffins 91, 184, 206, 271, 299 and 448.
4. "It should be said that the exterior decoration of a coffin case provides relatively little criteria for the dating of the coffins." Niwinski, p. 84.
5. John H. Taylor, "Theban Coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development," in N. Strudwick and J. Taylor, eds., *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, (London: British Museum Press, 2003), p. 100, examples 4 and 5.
6. Gayle Gibson, *Report on the Iconography of the Coffin of Nesmut in the Royal Ontario Museum*, unpublished manuscript, January 12, 1990, passim. Perenbast was excavated by Petrie at Gurneh in 1909. Her coffin and mummy are mentioned and illustrated in Rosalie David, "Catalogue of Egyptian Human and Animal Mummified Remains," *Manchester Mummy Project* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 5.
7. W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Qurneh*, (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1909), p.15.
8. Taylor, "Theban Coffins," p. 107.
9. Although Perenbast's coffin is identified as Twenty-fifth Dynasty in the current display, Dr. Christina Riggs, Curator of Egyptology at Manchester, agrees with our assessment of the coffin as Twenty-second Dynasty.
10. David, p. 5.
11. Taylor, p. 110.
12. Taylor, "Theban Coffins," p. 111, note 155. Perenbast, by contrast, has a band of stars over the scenes.
13. For examples, see Lawrence Berman, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art: The Cleveland Museum of Art* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1999), entries on Nesykhonsu 1914.714.a-b, pp. 325-337, and Amenemope 1921.1029, pp. 338-339. Both identified as Twenty-second Dynasty.

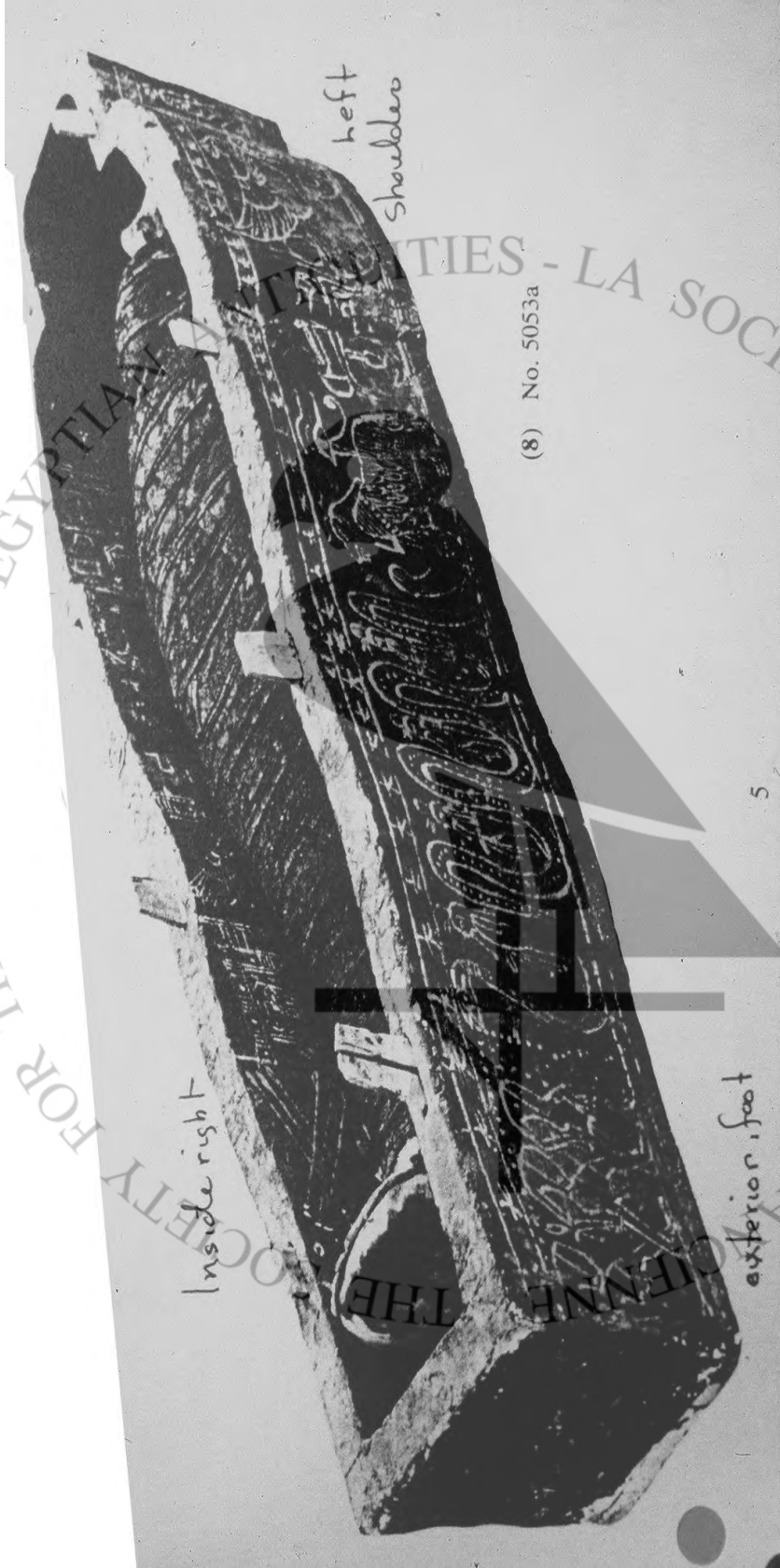
14. John H. Taylor, "Patterns of Colouring on Ancient Egyptian Coffins," in W.V. Davies, Editor, *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), p. 173.
15. Robert Mond, "Report of work in the necropolis of Thebes during the winter of 1903-1904," *ASAE* 6 (1905): 65-96.
16. Lydia Collins, "The Private Tombs of Thebes: Excavations by Sir Robert Mond, 1905 and 1906," *JEA* 62 (1976): 33. Is it possible that the 'inner coffin' was a cartonnage?
17. Elspeth Williams, *The Royal Ontario Museum Egyptian Department: A History of its Collections*, unpublished paper, Egyptian Department files, December 1989, p. 14.
18. Currelly's original letter, from which the quotation is taken, rests in the Walker Papers at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Collection, University of Toronto. Emphasis added by the authors.
19. Collins, p. 38.
20. The handwriting resembles Dr. Millet's, who was the Curator at the time.
21. John H. Taylor, "Patterns of Colouring," p. 173.
22. The odds of all three occurring together are probably actually much higher. Of nineteen instances in the Collins article where either or both titles are used, *nbt pr* occurs alone nine times, Chantress appears alone four times, and the two in combination occur six times.
23. Taylor, "Theban Coffins," p. 103.
24. Taylor, "Theban Coffins," p. 103.
25. "In ensembles where only a single wooden coffin enclosed the cartonnage, . . . either the black or the reddish-yellow/wood palette was selected for the outer coffin," Taylor, p. 110.
26. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Qurneh* (London, School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1909).
27. Collins, p. 19.



Plate 17-1 - Coffin of Nesmut, ROM 983x2.1 as currently on display at ROM.



Plates 17-2 & 17-3 - Face and Body of Coffin of Perenbast, Manchester 5053-a. Photograph by Chris Irie.



(8) No. 5053a

Plate 17-4 - Bottom Half of Coffin of Perenbast, Manchester 5053-a. Courtesy of Manchester Museum.

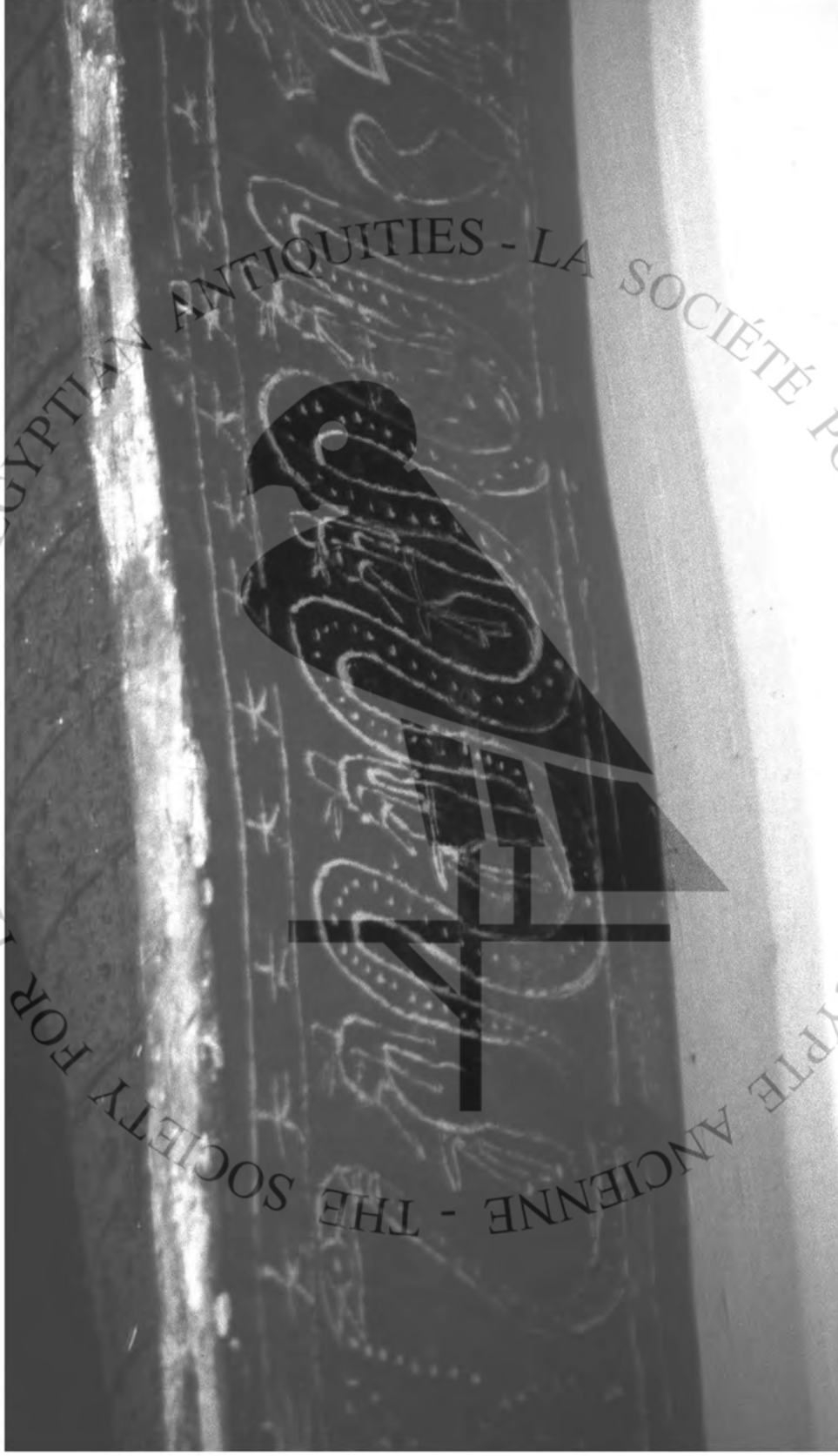


Plate 17-5 - Coffin of Perenbast. Detail of Left Side Showing Sons of Horus within Coils of the Fiery One.
Photograph by Chris Irie.

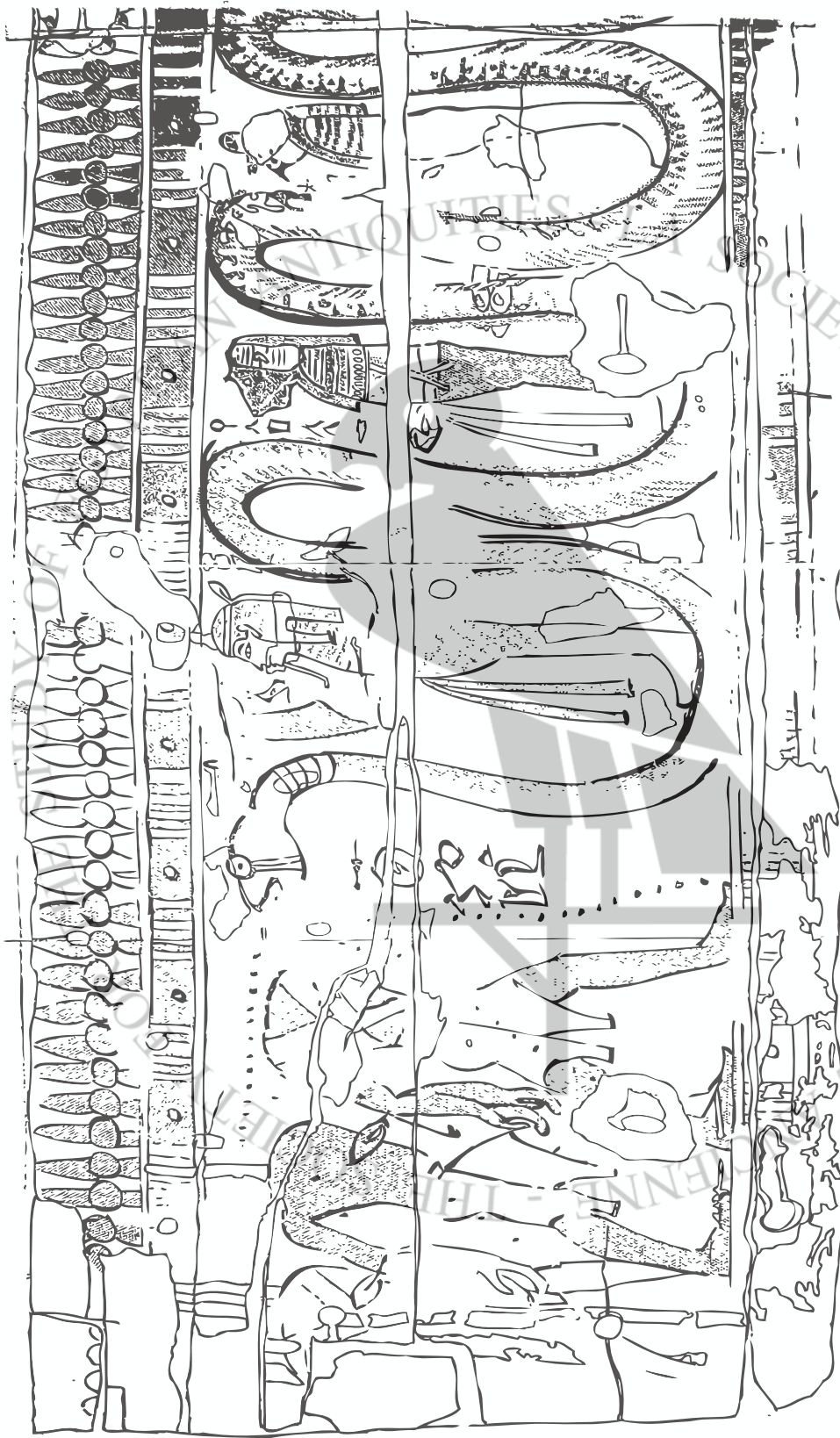


Plate 17-06 - Coffin of Nesmut, Left Side. Bound Enemies of Re, Sons of Horus within Coils of the Fiery One.
 Drawing by Barbara Ibronyi.

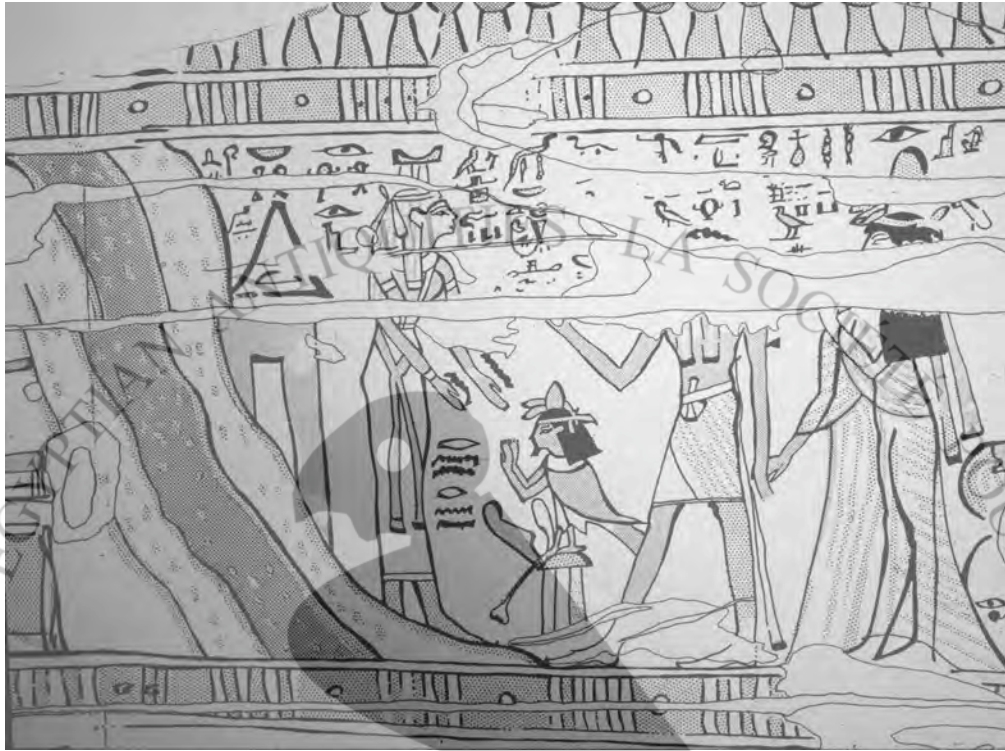


Plate 17-7 - Coffin of Nesmuet, right side, Deceased Meeting the Goddess of the West. Drawing by Barbara Ibronyi.



Plate 17-8 - Photographic Detail of Same.

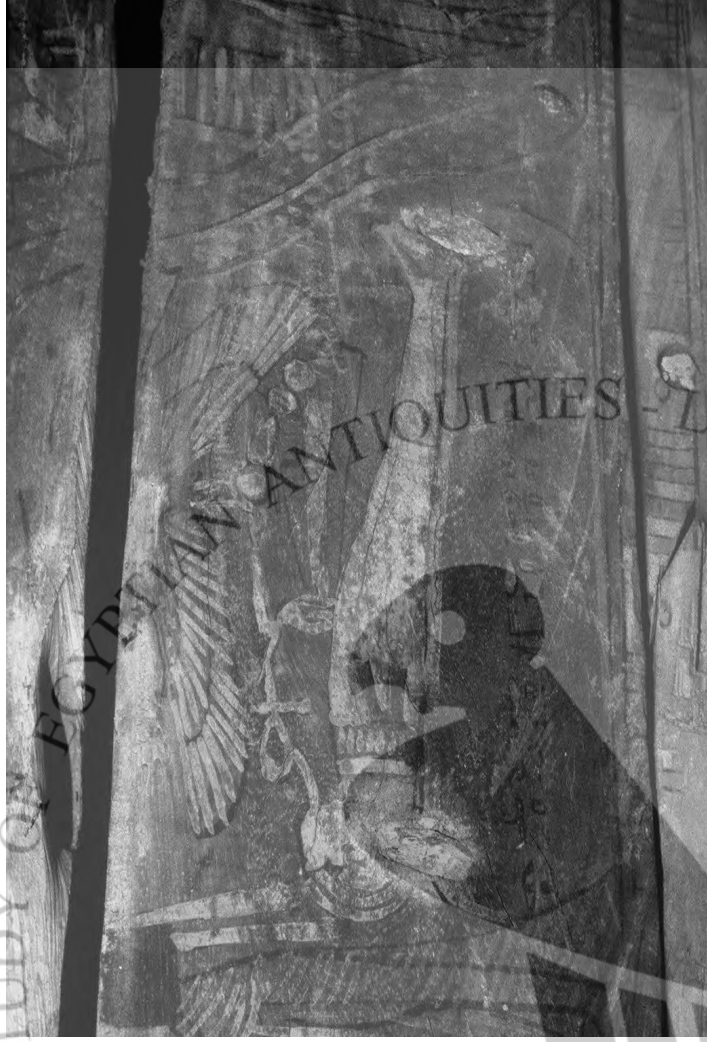
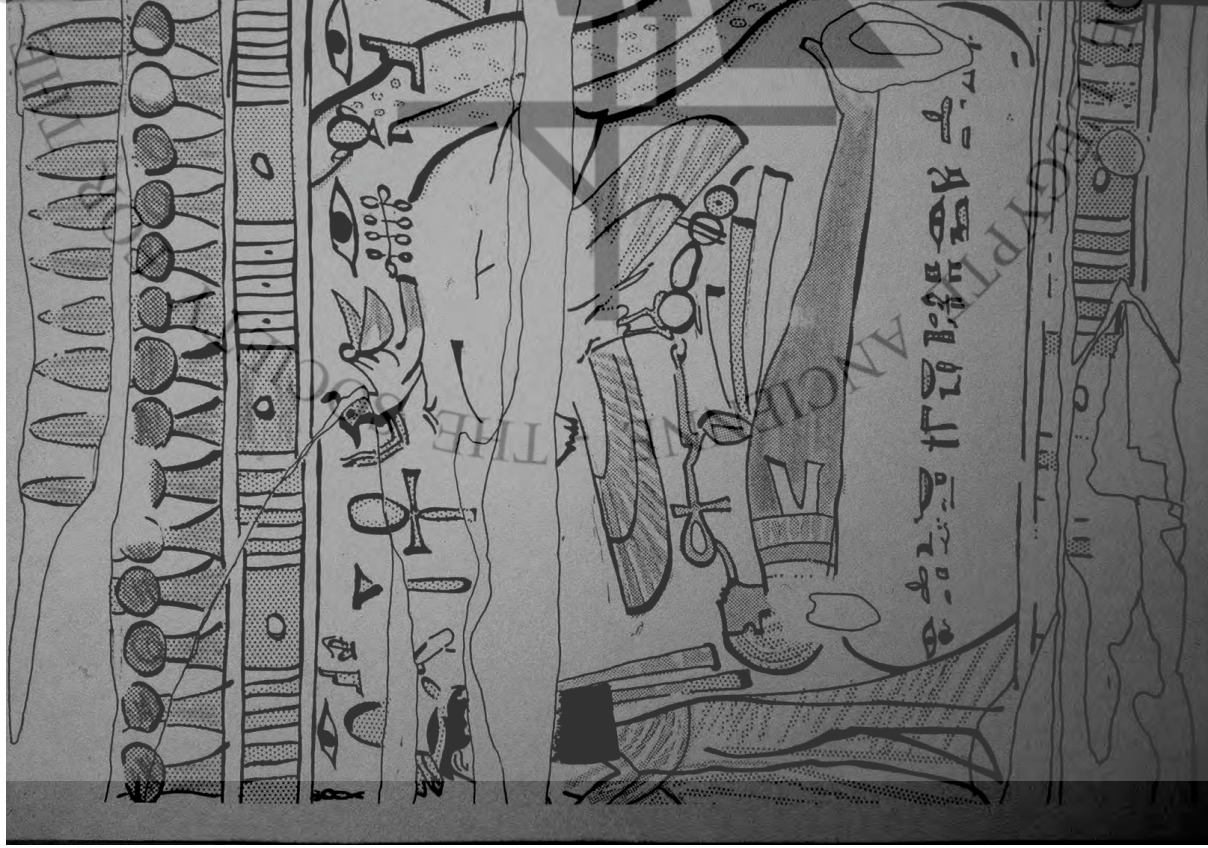


Plate 17-10 - Coffin of Nesmut, Right Side, Center. Detail.

Plate 17-9 - Coffin of Nesmut, Right Side, Center. The Mummy of Osiris. Drawing by Barbara Ironyi

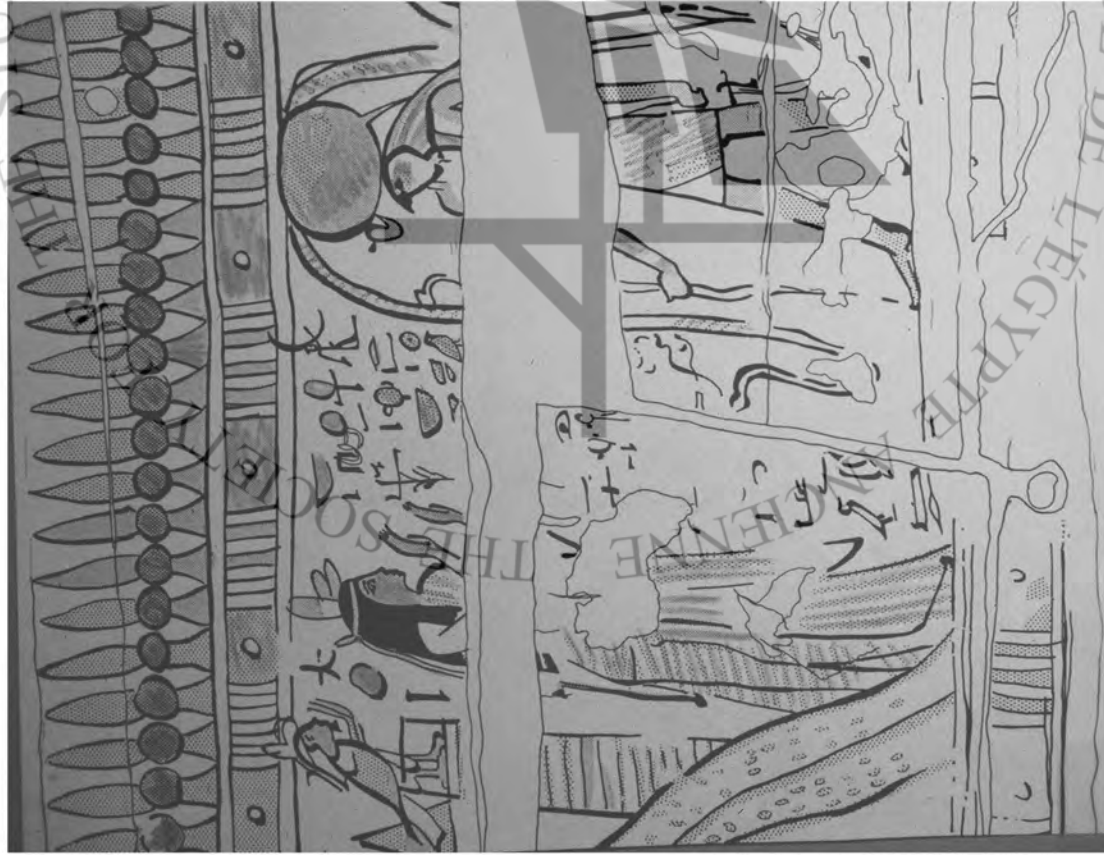


Plate 17-11 - Coffin of Nesmut, Right Side. Nesmut Adoring the Rising Sun. Drawing by Barbara Ibronyi.



Plate 17-12 - Coffin of Nesmut, Right Side. Detail of Same.

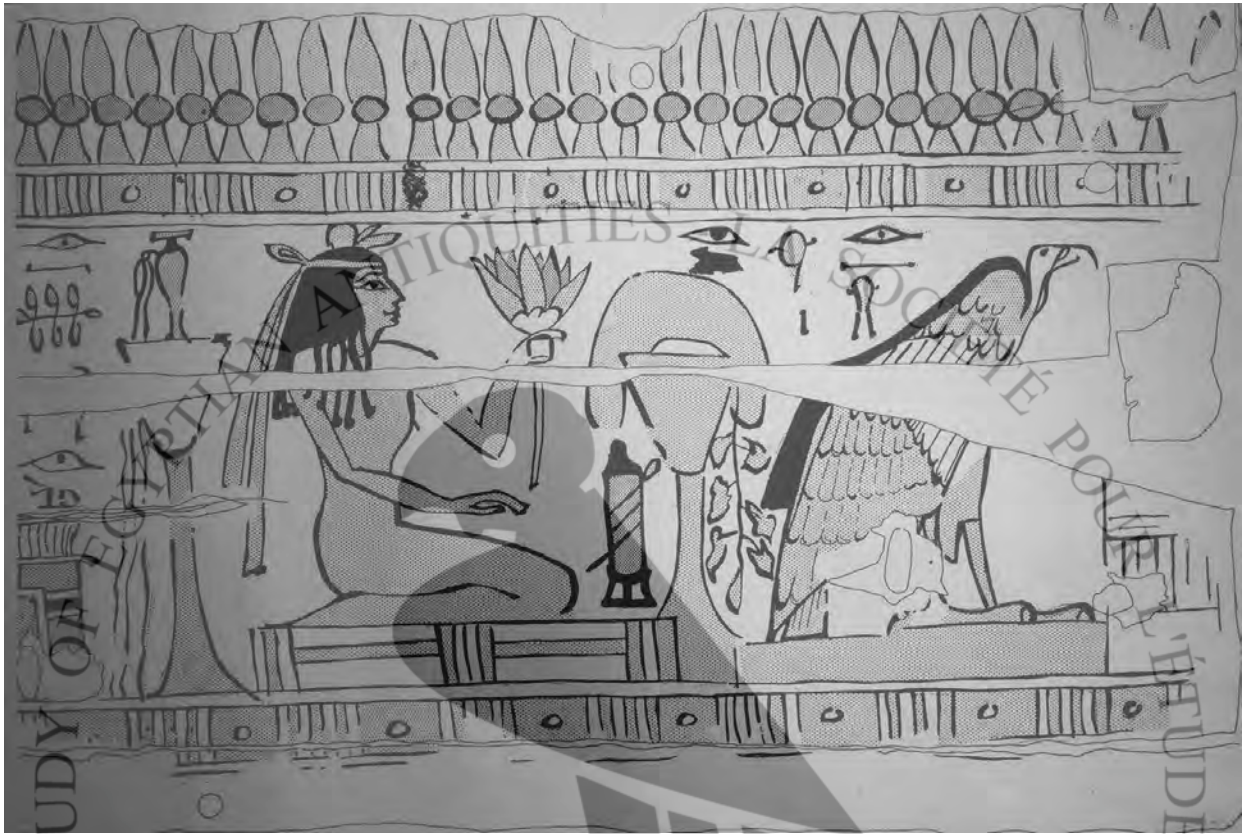
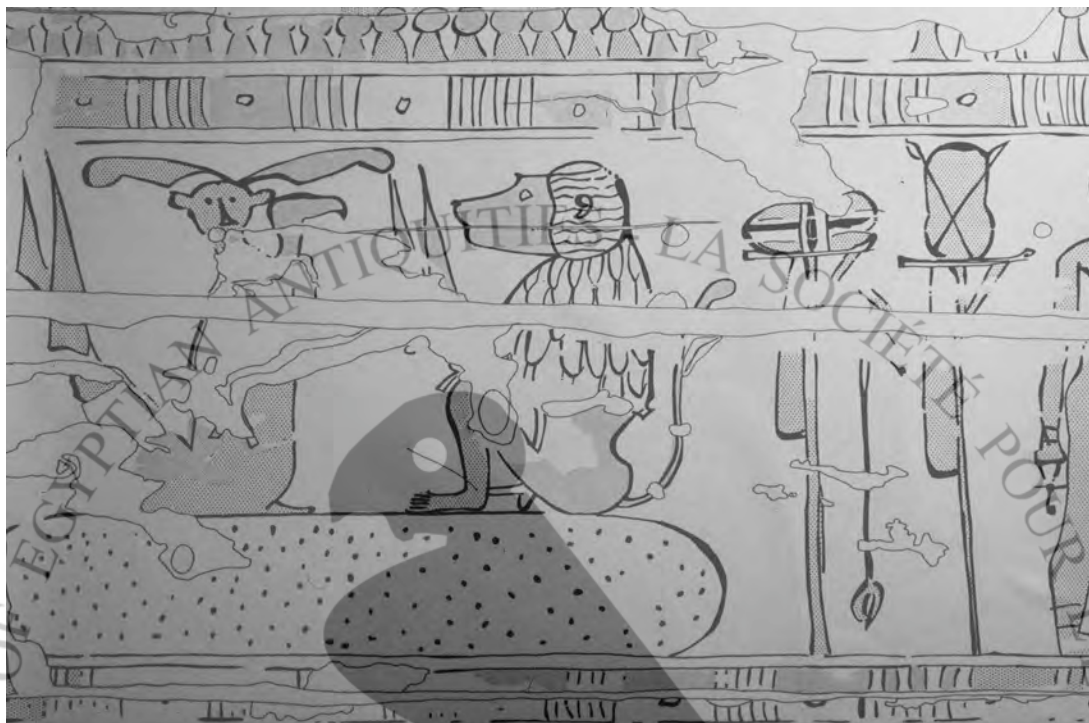


Plate 17-13 - Coffin of Nesmut, Right Side, Foot End. Nesmut and Vulture Goddess. Drawing by Barbara Ibronyi.



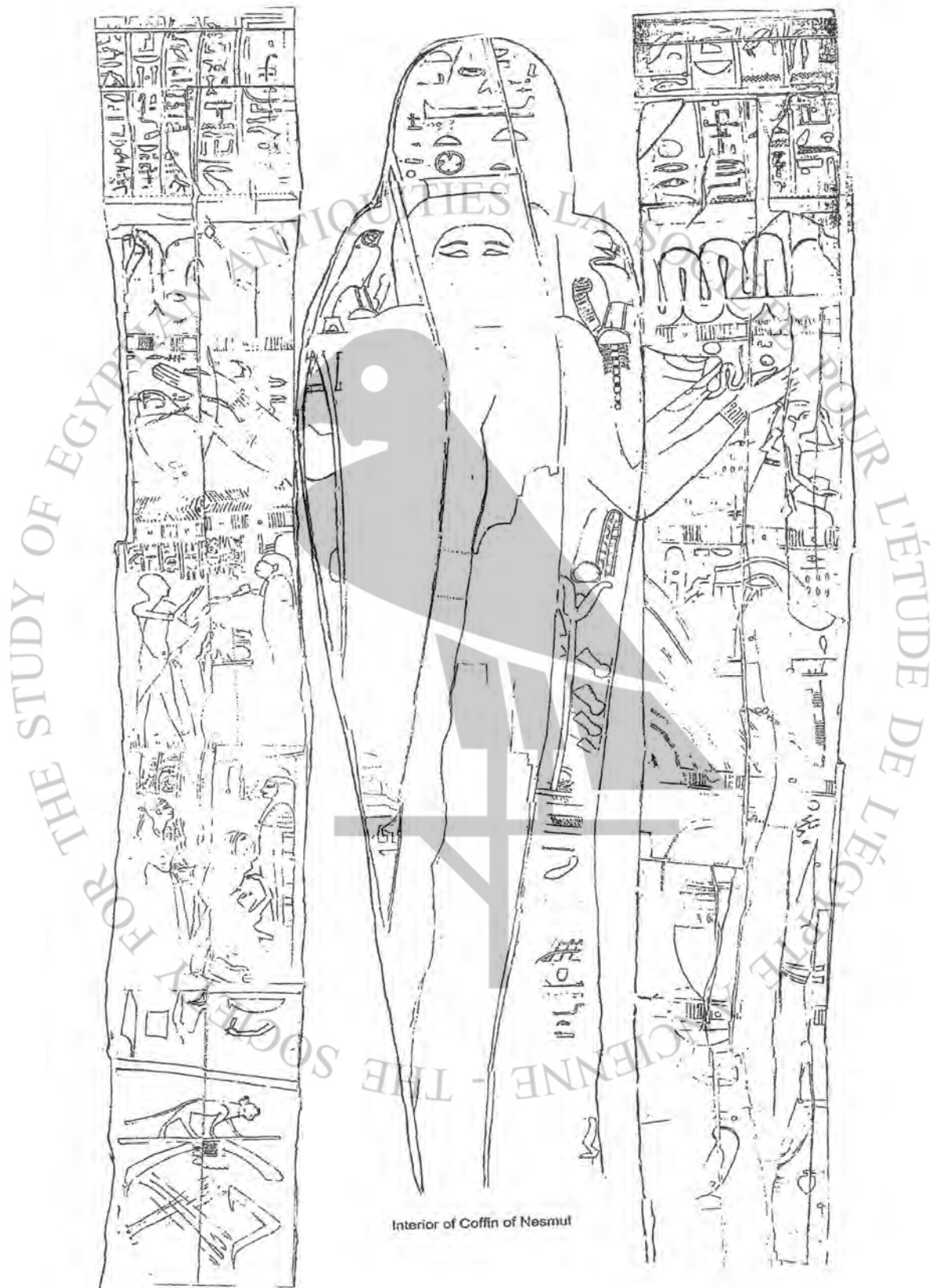
Plate 17-14 - Coffin of Nesmut, Right Side, Foot End. Detail of Same.



**Plate 17-15 - Coffin of Nesmut, Exterior Left. Underworld Guardians.
Drawing by Barbara Ibronyi.**



**Plate 17-16 - Coffin of Nesmut, Right Side at Shoulder. Anubis inside
the Western Hills behind Tomb.**



Interior of Coffin of Nesmut

Plate 17-17 - Interior of Coffin of Nesmut. Drawing by Barbara Ibronyi.

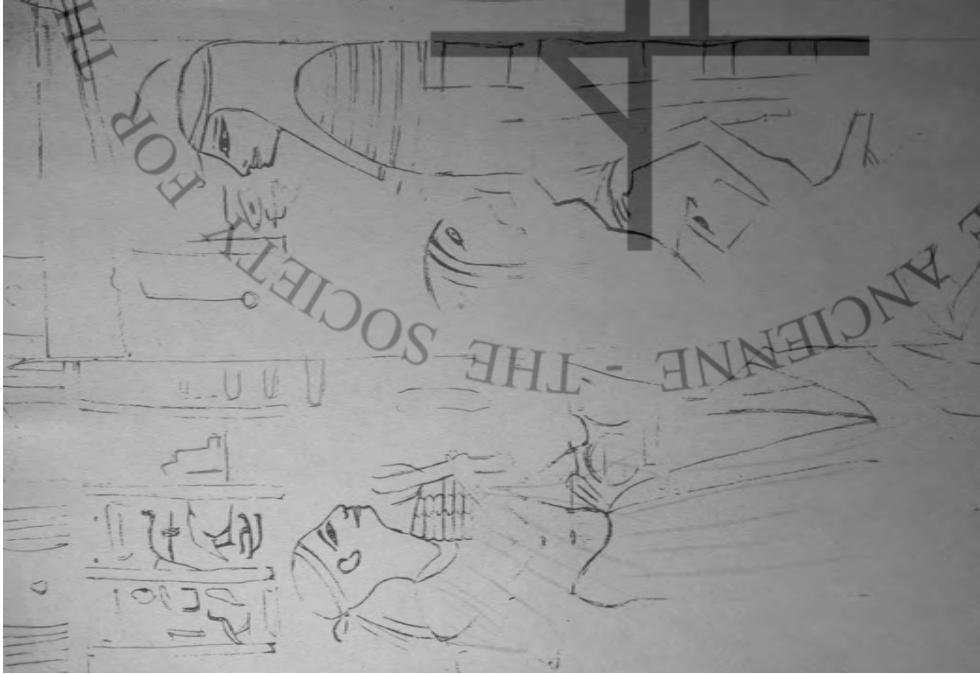


Plate 17-18 - Coffin of Nesmut, Interior, Right. Priest Performs Ritual before Mummy of Nesmut. Drawing by Barbara Ibronyi.



Plate 17-19 - Interior, Left. Mourning Goddess.

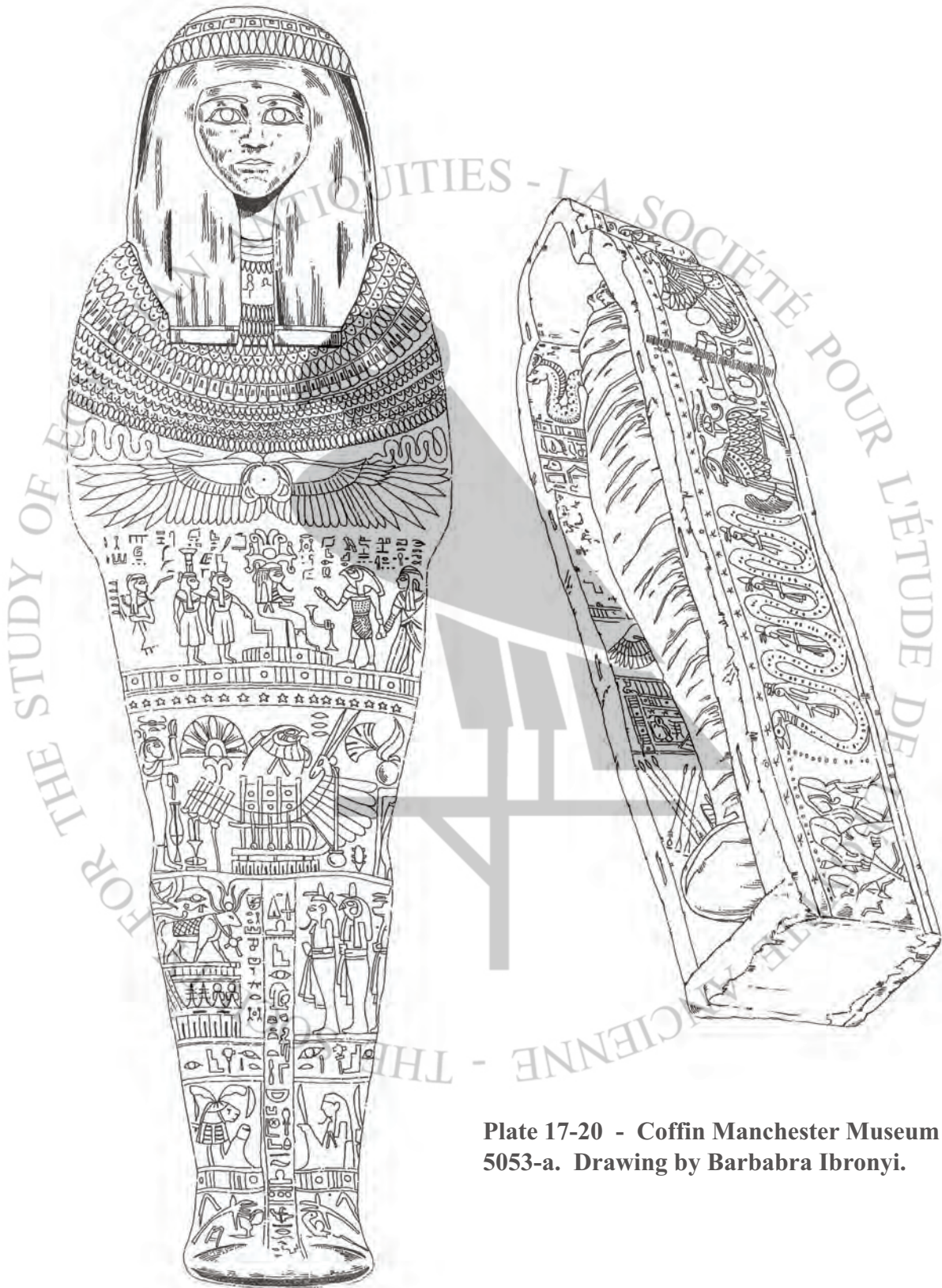


Plate 17-20 - Coffin Manchester Museum
5053-a. Drawing by Barbabra Ibronyi.

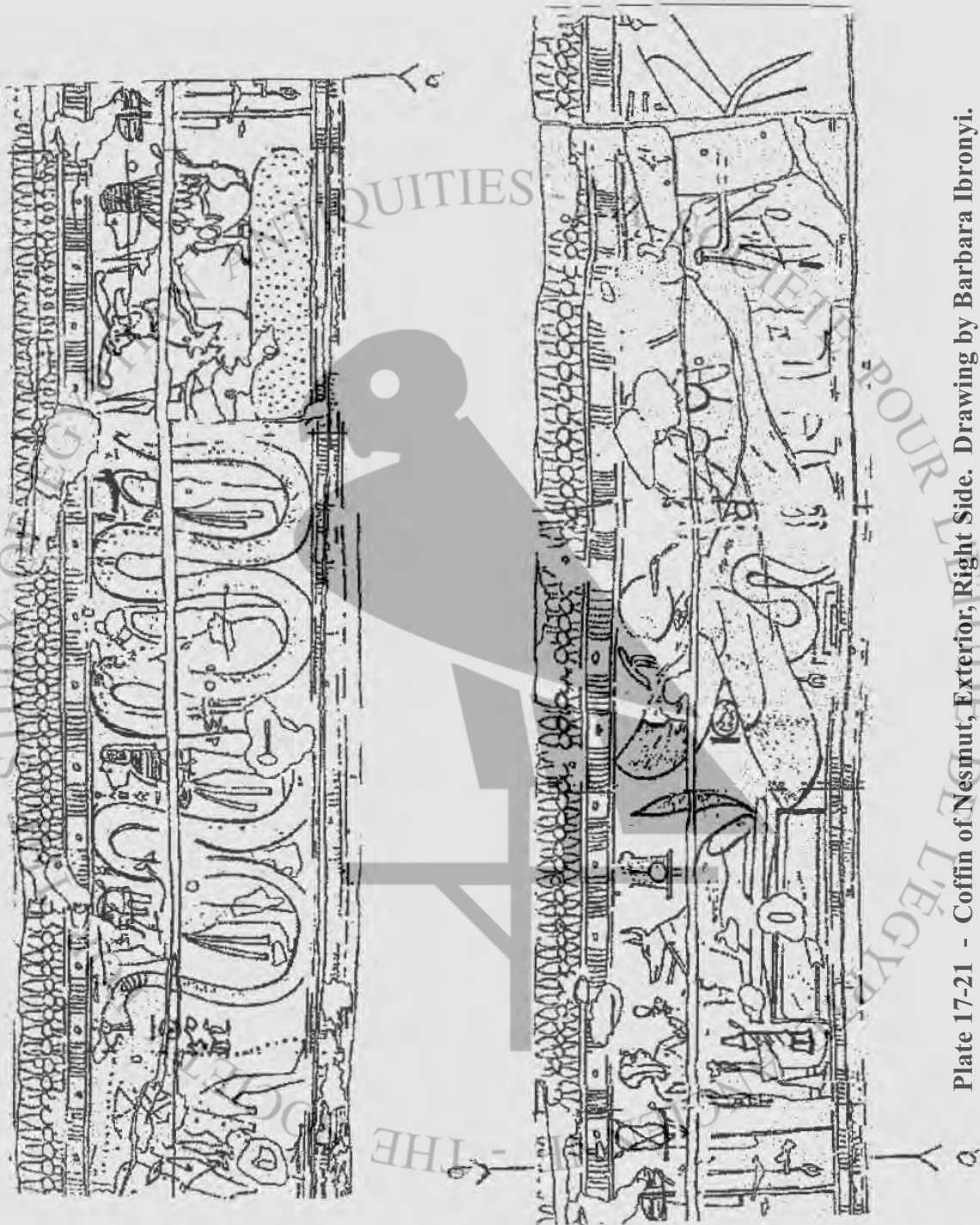


Plate 17-21 - Coffin of Nesmut, Exterior, Right Side. Drawing by Barbara Ibronyi.

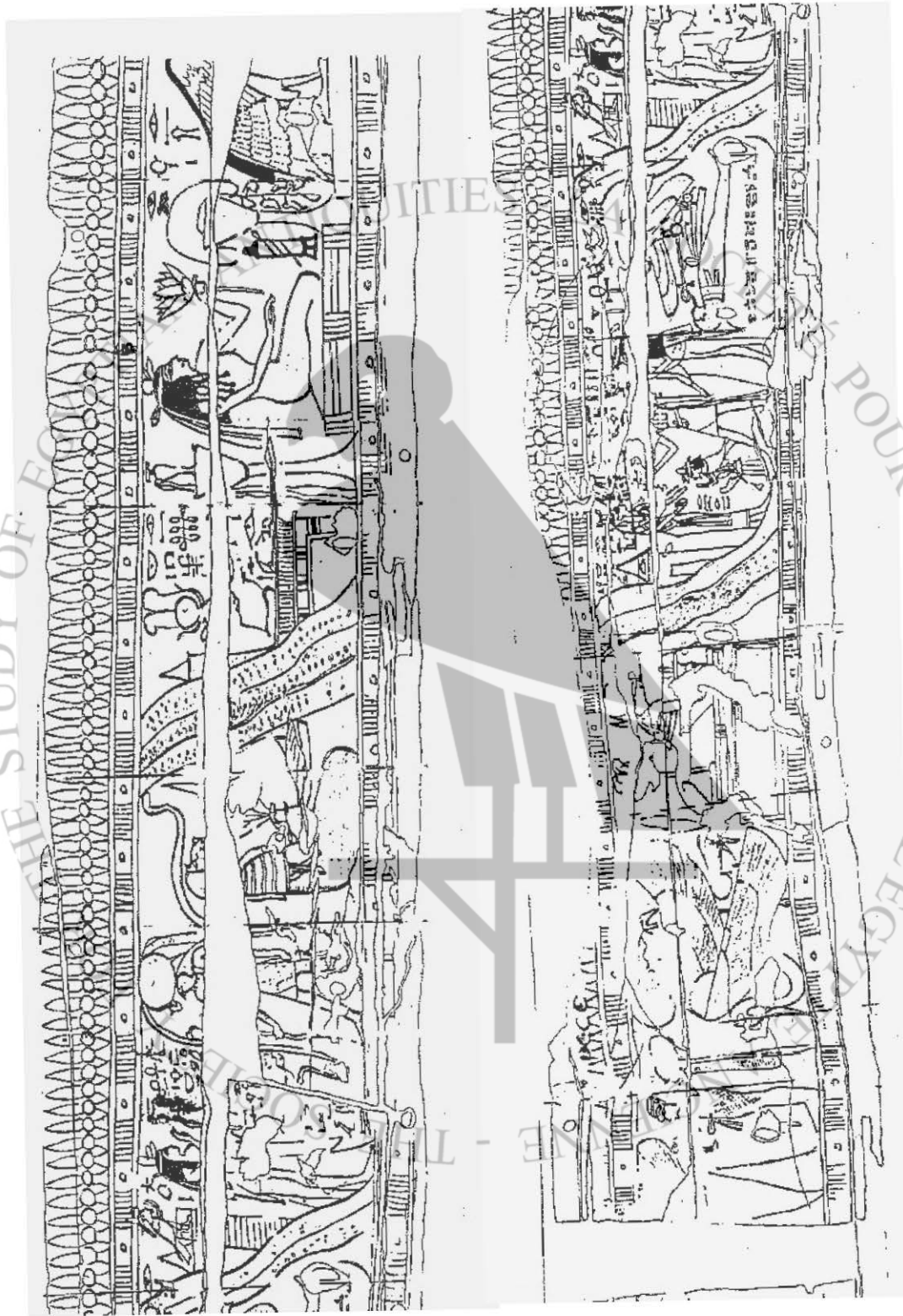


Plate 17-22 - Coffin of Nesmut, Exterior, Right Side. Drawing by Barbara Ibronyi.

18. Egyptian Lamps, Meroitic Candlesticks and Hittite Champagne Glasses

Krzysztof Grzymiski

Abstract

Excavations at Meroe produced several peculiar ceramic objects. This study examines possible explanations for their usage.

Key words

Meroe, pottery, candlestick, lamps, brazier, Late Meroitic period

Archaeologists frequently find objects whose function is often difficult to discern at first glance. Sometimes this leads to further research intended to solve the mystery as was, for example, the case with an unusual pottery stand from Gebel Adda in the shape of a castle with three towers and emblazoned with unusual decoration, which Nick Millet identified as Mamluk heraldic symbols (Millet 1987). Another example was “a peculiar object” depicted in two Ramesside tombs and subsequently identified as a lamp (Davies 1924). In other instances, the excavator simply describes the object by means of its appearance without giving much thought to its actual function as was the case with footed pots found in the Hittite tombs at Karkemish and called “champagne-glasses” by the excavator (Woolley 1913:87 and Pl.XIXa). The author, during his recent excavations at Meroe found fragments of a pottery vessel (**Figure 18-1a; Photograph 18-1**) of the type described by the earlier excavator of the site, Peter L. Shinnie, as a ‘candlestick?’ (Shinnie and Bradley 1980:112, fig.42:135; 129:P.8; **Figure 18-1b**)¹. The use of the question mark implied that Shinnie was referring to the appearance of the vessel, somewhat reminiscent of modern candle holders, rather than to its supposed function. On the other hand, the final report on pottery from Meroe removed the question mark and described the same vessel as a candlestick suggesting that this was its actual function (Robertson and Hill 2004:123 and Pl.IIIb:2).

While we can be fairly certain that the Hittites were unfamiliar with Dom Perignon’s bubbly wine and, if they used the vessels for drinking, this surely was not champagne that was poured into the “champagne-glasses”, the question of the use of candles in ancient Meroe is more complex. Did the Meroites actually know and use candles for lighting their temples and houses and if so did they place them in “candlesticks”?

The vessel type in question was found during our excavations at Meroe in fragments suggesting that it comprised a long, columnar stem whose ends had tulip-shaped cups with everted rims, one serving as a base, the other as a container (Grzymiski 2003:69 and fig.30; **Figure 18-1a**). When found incomplete it was in fact difficult to identify which part was the base. Although the sloping cavity in the stem might suggest that this side was the base, one could argue that if the vessel was indeed a candlestick the cavity had been used for placing a wick. We found charcoal near one of the fragments, but no obvious fire stains or soot remains were noticed in the vessels themselves. For this reason a more neutral term “footed stand” was used in our publication. In the case of Shinnie

and Bradley's "candlestick" we have the description of the vessel itself, but since there is no information regarding its condition one might presume that no traces of burning were noticed (Shinnie and Bradley 1980:129). Interestingly, these authors considered the part with the long cavity to represent the base, presumably because the cup on this side was substantially wider (**Figure 18-1b**). The complete pot register of the Khartoum - Calgary excavations published by Robertson and Hill lists only one "candlestick". This was pot P.8, the very same vessel that had already been published by Shinnie and Bradley, although the illustration differs from that in the original publication: the vessel is bigger and has exterior decoration and the cup is larger (Robertson and Hill 2004:137 and Pl.IIIb.2; **Figure 18-1c**). The Toronto - Khartoum team found only two "candlesticks", both of them incomplete, one in the Amun Temple and the other in the domestic context in the top level at Mound M 712. A charcoal sample from the associated Amun Temple deposit produced a radiocarbon 2 sigma calibrated date (95% probability) of AD 110 - 410, and 1 sigma (68% probability) date of AD 220 - 350 suggesting a Late Meroitic date. Shinnie's find can also be dated to the Late Meroitic Period as it came from the top-most level of trench H50 in the domestic sector of the town.

A similar vessel was apparently found during Garstang's excavations at Meroe. It was published by Török who identified it as a burner and suggested an Early Meroitic date (Török 1997:250 and fig.130 x-52; **Figure 18-1d**)². Török, too, had some doubts about the proper positioning of the vessel and although the illustration has the cavity in the top position he considered the possibility of it being inverted. Several other fragments, namely x-51 and x-58 and perhaps even x-50 (Török 1997:250-251 and figs. 130 and 131; **Figures 18-1e-g**) might also have come from this type of vessel.

Six complete footed stands were found at the Small Enclosure ("Kleine Anlage") at Musawwarat es Sufra. All had the base clearly identifiable because it was wider and shaped like a foot rather than a cup. Here, the stem cavity is clearly part of the footed base (Gerullat 1999:93; Abb. 63, Taf. XII,2-7 **Figure 18-2a**). At 40 cm length these six offering stands were larger than the Meroe examples which were about 30 cm to 34 cm long. A few more examples from Musawwarat es Sufra were studied and published by Edwards who also called them offering stands (Edwards 1999:26 and Pl.IX; **Figure 18-2b**). Only one example in Edwards's group had part of the stem preserved and it was published with the cavity in the upper position. There was no mention of any traces of burning or soot. During earlier German excavations at Musawwarat es Sufra in the 1960th, a rather unusual form, perhaps a variation on the "candlestick", was found inside Temple II D. Unlike other examples, this one had a square base with four feet in place of a rounded cup. It was published by Hintze as a lamp-stand (Hintze 1962:192-193, fig.18, Pl.LXIb; **Figure 18-2c**)³

All the above discussed vessels were found in domestic or temple contexts, but there are others coming from cemeteries. One of the "footed stands" from Gabati, namely vessel fragment 916/1 (Rose 1998:145 and fig.6.15; **Figure 18-2d**), seems to be similar to Meroe form 135. However, since no complete examples were found and other footed stands were simply wide bowls resting directly on a pedestal base rather than a stem (Rose 1998:fig.6.25 <623/1>) it is difficult to draw any parallels to the Meroe examples. Incidentally, no traces of burning were noted on any of the Gabati footed stands to suggest that they might have been braziers. It was the Meroe cemeteries that produced the most interesting examples. Four fragments found in Beg. N. 51 were dated by Dunham to the very late period (Generation 68). One of them, 21-4-430a (Dunham 1957:191, Fig.

125, **figure 2e**) closely resembles those found in Meroe City. A fancy decorated faience footed stand or brazier found in tomb W.109 was also dated late (Dunham 1963:199 and 202, fig.145). An almost complete vessel from Garstang's tomb 800 published by Török (1997:274, fig. 152, Pl.236) is also remarkably similar to Shinnie/Bradley form 135. Török suggested another parallel, namely a vessel found by Reisner in tomb Beg. W 106 (Dunham 1963:194, No.22-1-516; 347 fig.K; **figure 2f**). This particular vessel was 19 cm high and its stem cavity was so wide as to make it hollow. Dunham dated tomb Beg.W 106 to generation 60-70, i.e. approximately 3rd - early 4th century AD, while Török proposed the 1st century AD date. The depth of the cup and the overall proportions of the pot from Beg. W 106 suggest a drinking vessel rather than a brazier or a "candlestick". A similar stemmed cup was found at Beg. N 30 (Dunham 1957:173, 21-3-489, fig.113, Pl. XLVII; **figure 2g**), but its cup was even larger and the stem shorter giving it the appearance of a chalice. This brings us back to the question of the function of the supposed "candlesticks" and similar pedestalled vessels. When discussing the New Kingdom burners (*Rauchenständer*) found in Nubia, Holthoer had pointed out that they certainly not always served as burners and among many other uses, they were apparently also used as liquid containers (Holthoer 1977:106). Considering the many shape variations among the pedestalled pottery vessels from the Meroitic heartland one could expect a similar variety of functions. Those from the Begarawiya cemeteries were most likely drinking vessels, but other examples discussed above are more problematic. Even if we consider many of them to be offering stands the question remains as to what was actually offered: a liquid or an incense. Moreover, the examples from the city of Meroe might indeed have served for lighting rather than as offering stands.

We seem to know very little about the means of artificial lighting employed by the Meroites. I am aware of only one textual reference to lighting, namely line 75 in Kawa Inscription IX of Ireke-Amanote. It is stated there that during an evening procession "(...) all the men had torches in their hands(...)" (Macadam 1949:62 and Pl. 24). The word used is *bs* (Wb.I, 476 "Flamme, Brand, u.ä.") with the usual determinative of a brazier with flame rising from it (hieroglyph Q7, Gardiner 1982:500). In terms of archaeological finds surprisingly few lamps were published in site reports from the Meroitic South, perhaps because, like in Egypt and elsewhere, ordinary household vessels or even concave sherds were used as lamps filled with oil and a wick. During a festival in Sais Herodotus witnessed "(...) the use of lamps in the shape of flat saucers filled with a mixture of oil and salt, on the top of which the wick floats." (Robins 1939:185). One can safely assume that except for fancy bronze lamps found in the royal and noble tombs at Meroe and Barkal, most of the ordinary lamps went unnoticed by the archaeologists. The liquids used in the lamps were presumably oils and fats. Several classical writers made specific references to the use in Egypt of castor oil for burning in lamps (Lucas and Harris 1962:332; see also Serpico and White 2000:391-392). The castor plant is still commonly found in the Sudan (**Photograph 18-2**) but so are other plants that could have conceivably been used for extracting oil: balanös tree, moringa, linseed and sesame. Olive oil was probably rare being imported from the Mediterranean countries (Hofmann 1991, Baginska, in press), and as such more likely used for eating and cooking, for libations, perfume making and medicinal use. The use of animal fat as lighting fuel was very likely. Since animal herding was clearly common in ancient Kush, the Meroites might have used tallow gathered from cattle and sheep suet. This would make for a smoky and very unpleasant smelling lighting fuel, but would be easily accessible and produce the desired effect.

Beeswax might have been known to the Meroites but there is no evidence for its use in the production of candles. We know that beeswax candles were introduced only in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, a passage in Harsiyotef stela, line 50, makes a reference to two bronze 5-branched candlesticks (Eide et al., 1996:446). The word for candlestick, *hr-stj* does indeed show what looks like a candelabrum (**figure 3d**) and Grimal translates it as “candélabre à cinq branches” (Grimal 1981:90). It remains unclear, however, what kind of candle was placed in such a candelabrum. The most likely candidate would be a taper made of a strip of folded linen soaked in fat (Fischer 1977:79-81). Such tapers were either held in hand or placed upright in a stand as shown in several tomb scenes published by Davies (1924:Pl.VII; see **figure 3c-d**; see also Nelson 1949:320, figures 29-30). One such stand shown in **figure 3d** is even reminiscent of Meroe candlestick although it lacks a cup at the base. Some of the Egyptian lamps were actually placed on footed stands while others were simply made as lamps on stands. Many such examples are known from the Bucheum (Mond and Myers 1934, vol.I:89; vol.III:Plates LXXX, CXL CXLI) and those of class 57 are reminiscent of the Meroe candlesticks. While the excavators made specific reference to the incense burners (pottery class 61, 62, 63) as being in most cases blackened from fire in the interior, there is no such mention in regards to the lamps. Since none of the Meroitic objects discussed in this paper seemed to bear any traces of soot or burning the most likely use of the supposed candlesticks was as stands for lamps that were placed in the cups. A scene on the West end of the South wall in the Hypostyle Hall of Taharka's Temple T at Kawa shows a procession scene in which such stands are carried with lamps or braziers clearly placed inside the cup (Macadam 1955:Pl.XVc; **figure 3a**). Although the objects found at Meroe and surrounding areas are clearly characteristic of the later Meroitic period, there can be little doubt that vessels of similar form must date back to the Napatan period. At the same time they seem to be mainly limited to Upper Nubia and Central Sudan as no such form is listed in Adams's 1986 corpus, nor has it been found at Gebel Adda during N. B. Millet's excavations at that site.

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Notes

1. In order to facilitate the comparison of various vessels illustrated in different scales in original publications they were all depicted in the same scale in our figures 18-1 and 18-2.
2. Török (1997:250) actually referred to Shinnie/Bradley's form 115, but this obviously was a typographic error as he clearly meant form 135.
3. Adams found another unusually shaped "incense burner or lamp stand" at Meinarti in Lower Nubia. Only the upper portion was preserved comprising a shallow dish resting on a cylindrical column perforated by cutouts. The vessels is dated to late post-Meroitic period (Adams 2000:89, fig.29, Pl. 20a and 20b).

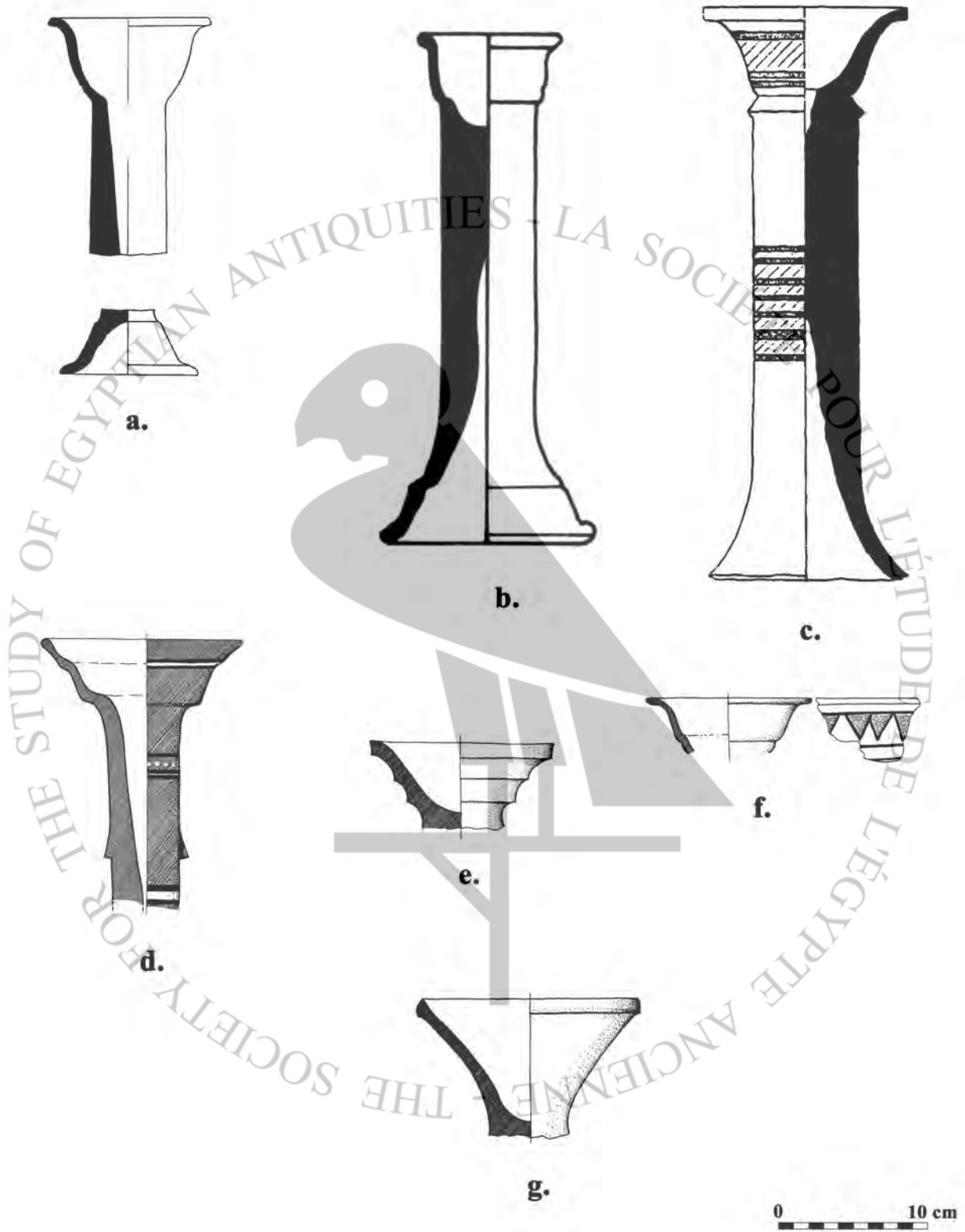


Figure 18-1 - Footed Stands - 1a - Grzymiski 2003: fig. 30; 1b - Shinnie and Bradley 1980: fig.42, form 135; 1c - Robertson and Hill 2004: Pl.IIIb,2; 1d - Török 1997: fig. 130 x-52; 1e - Török 1997: fig. 130 x-51; 1f - Török 1997: fig. 131 x-58; 1g - Török 1997: fig. 130 x-50

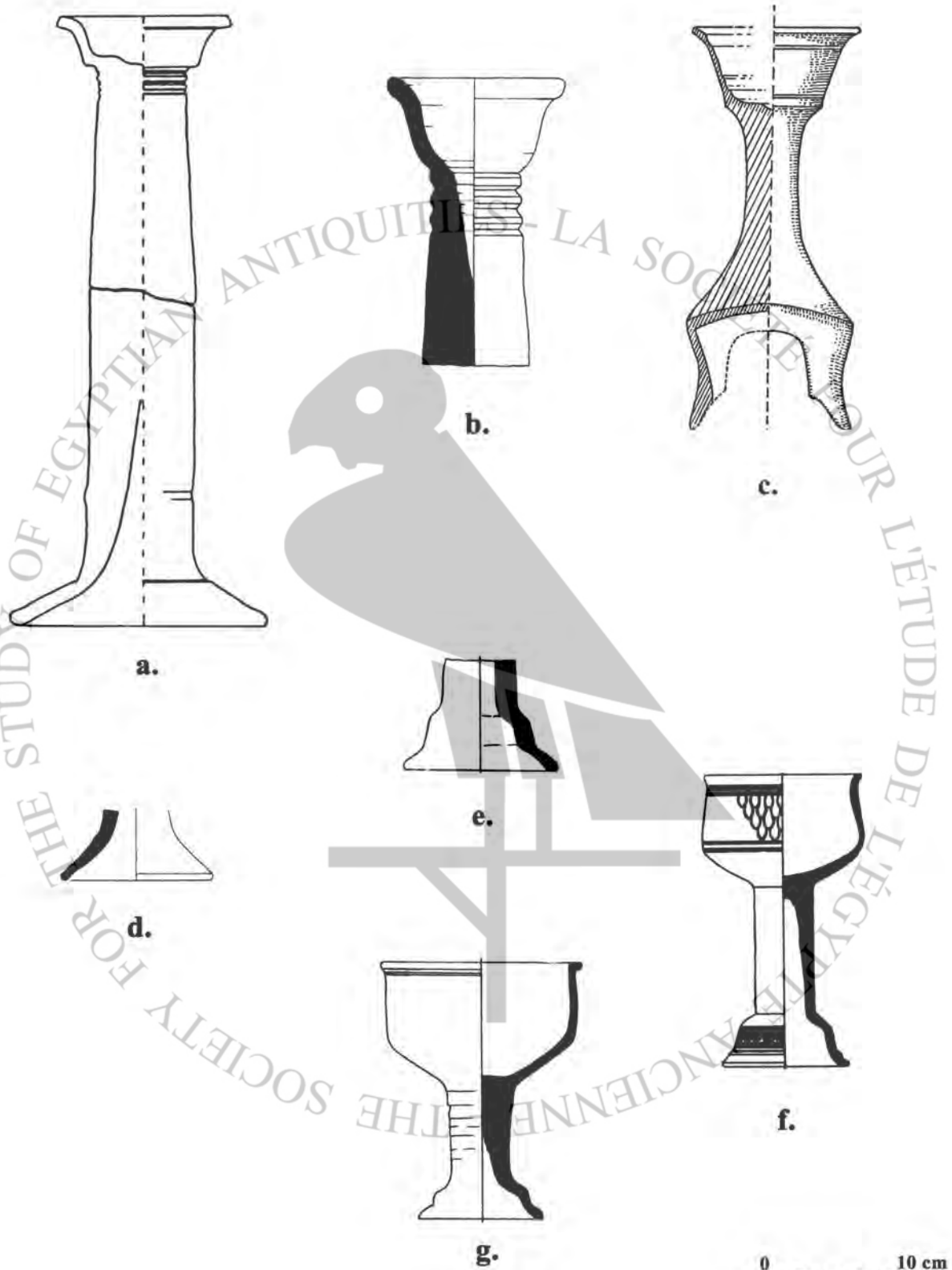


Figure 18-2 - Footed Stools - 2a - Gerullat 1999: Abb. 63c; Figure 2b - Edwards 1999: Pl. IX 778; 2c - Hintze 1962 fig. 18; 2d - Rose 1998: fig. 6.15; 2e - Dunham 1957: fig. 125; 2f - Dunham 1963 : 347 fig. K; 2g - Dunham 1957: fig.113

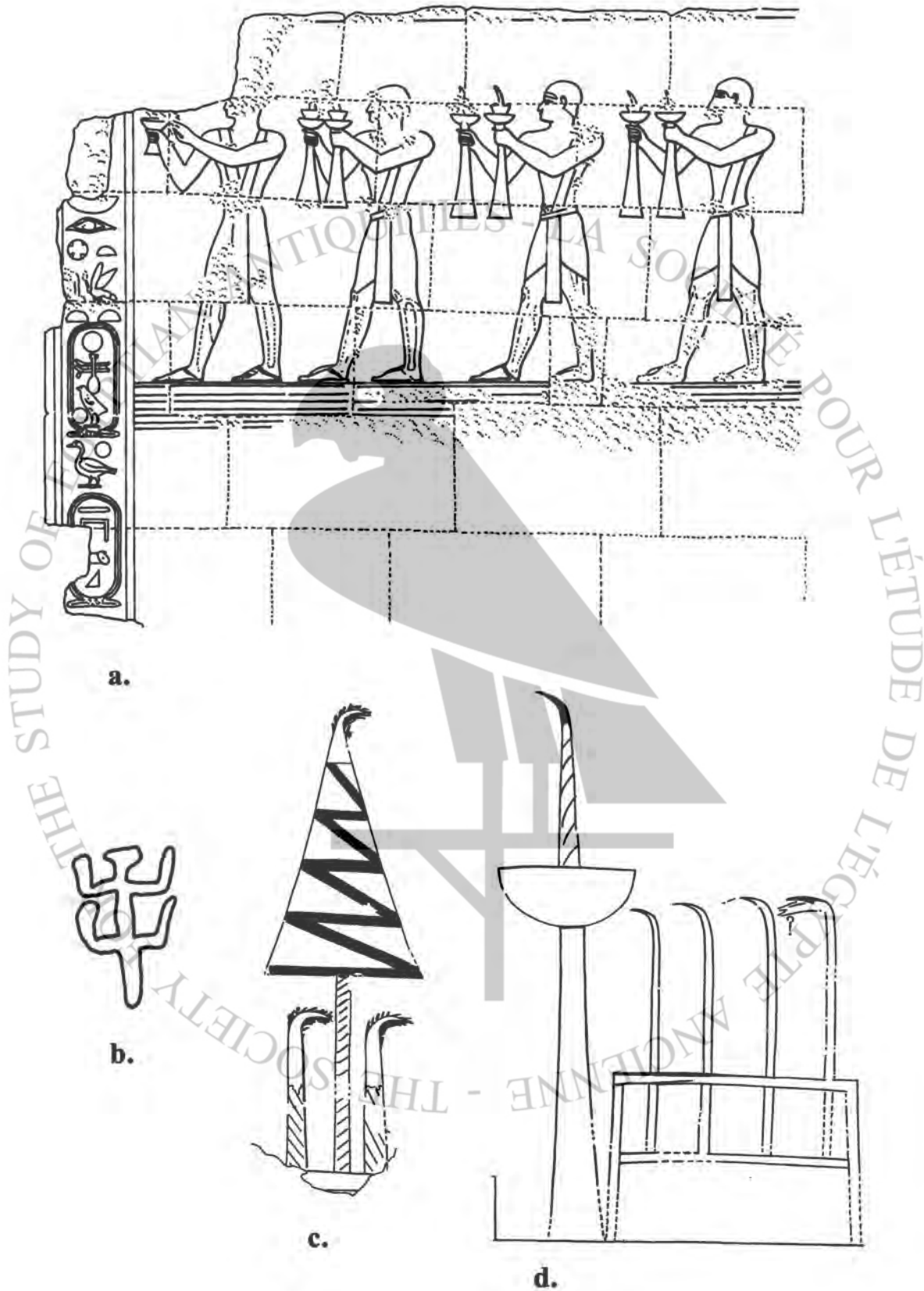


Figure 18-3 - Lamps, stands, candles, tapers - 3a - Macadam 1955: Pl. XVc; 3b - Grimal 1981: Pl. XV, 50; 3c - Davies 1924: Pl. VII, 13; 3d - Davies 1924: Pl. VII, 15



Photograph 18-1 - "Candlestick" found in the Amun Temple, Meroe



Photograph 18-2 - Castor oil plant found in Ghaddar, Upper Nubia

19. A New Nemes for Khafre

Joyce Haynes

Abstract

Thanks to a grant from the NEH, the Egyptian section of the Art of the Ancient World at Museum of Fine Arts, Boston is in the process of cataloguing its extensive storage collection, of approximately 70,000 objects. This project enabled, for the first time, the inventorying of all sculpture fragments which Reisner brought back from his excavations at Giza. In this process a number of fragments which had been overlooked in storage for the past 70 years were found to belong to sculptures in the permanent collection. The most dramatic join was a portion of a nemes headdress that fit onto the finely featured face of King Khafre, Dynasty 4, 2520 to 2494 BC.

Keywords

Reisner, Giza, Khafre, Uraeus, Nemes, Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)

The Museum of Fine Arts Boston was awarded two consecutive grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities for a total of a six year period to rehouse, enter onto the museum database and photograph the approximately 70,000 objects currently in the storerooms of the Art of the Ancient World. The Department is now in the fifth year of this project which will continue until spring of 2007.

One of the most fascinating aspects of this storage project was cataloguing the thousands of sculpture fragments that were brought back from Reisner's excavations at Giza. For the first time this project enabled the inventorying all sculpture fragments from Giza. In this process a number of fragments were found that joined sculptures in our permanent collection. The most dramatic join was a portion of a nemes headdress with a uraeus tail trailing across the top 33-2-204 (**Figure 19-1**). This travertine (Egyptian alabaster) fragment is badly weathered and the surface is stained a yellow-rust color. Its poor condition and coloring almost caused it to be overlooked, as it clearly had been for the past 70 years. But the uraeus tail signaled its importance as part of a royal head. The first candidate for a join to the nemes was the face of King Khafre, Dynasty 4, 2520 to 2494 BC, MFA21.351 (**Figure 19-2**).

However, this match was initially abandoned as the two pieces were so visually different, the nemes rust colored and weathered, while the face pristine and finely rendered. However, a small travertine sculpture fragment Eg.Inv. 7028 that had been catalogued several months earlier, quite coincidentally turned up. It has a curved surface and just the end of a sculpted uraeus tail on it. This tail fragment joined the nemes fragment 33-2-204 (**Figure 19-1**). The important feature of this uraeus fragment was that it has the same rust color on the exterior surface, with an interior, visible at the break area that was translucent white. It was the white interior of this tiny fragment that led to reconsidering that the nemes fragment could actually belong to the snow white face of King Khafre MFA21.351. In fact, all three

fragments fit together perfectly (**Figures 19-3 to 19-4**).

This nearly life-size face was found in 1914 in and around the area of Giza G5330 and G5230. It is composed of two joined fragments. The face itself is 14-12-1¹ and the joining neck and lower portion of the right ear is 14-11-206². The nose is chipped, the beard is broken off, and both ears are missing except for the lobe of the right ear.

The rust colored staining of the nemes fragment 33-2-204 was no doubt due to the fact that it was found in the debris of a water channel in Giza East of Mastaba tomb G2370. The Field Number indicates that Reisner excavated it in 1933, some 19 years after the face MFA21.351 was found in 1914.

It is noteworthy that in addition to these fragments of the head of Khafre, there were several other travertine sculpture fragments of Khafre that were found in the area of G2370.³ Most notably MFA 34.52 = 33-2-221, a 2/3 life-sized head was found embedded in surface south of G 2370; MFA 13.3472 = 12-12-175 about 1/2 life size travertine face with the right eye missing found in the surface debris in front of pit G 2370 B and about G 2382 A; A group of fragments of a throne of a statue base with Khafre's cartouche on it 12-12-176. From surface debris in front of pit G 2370 B and about G 2382 A, and in G 2382 A.

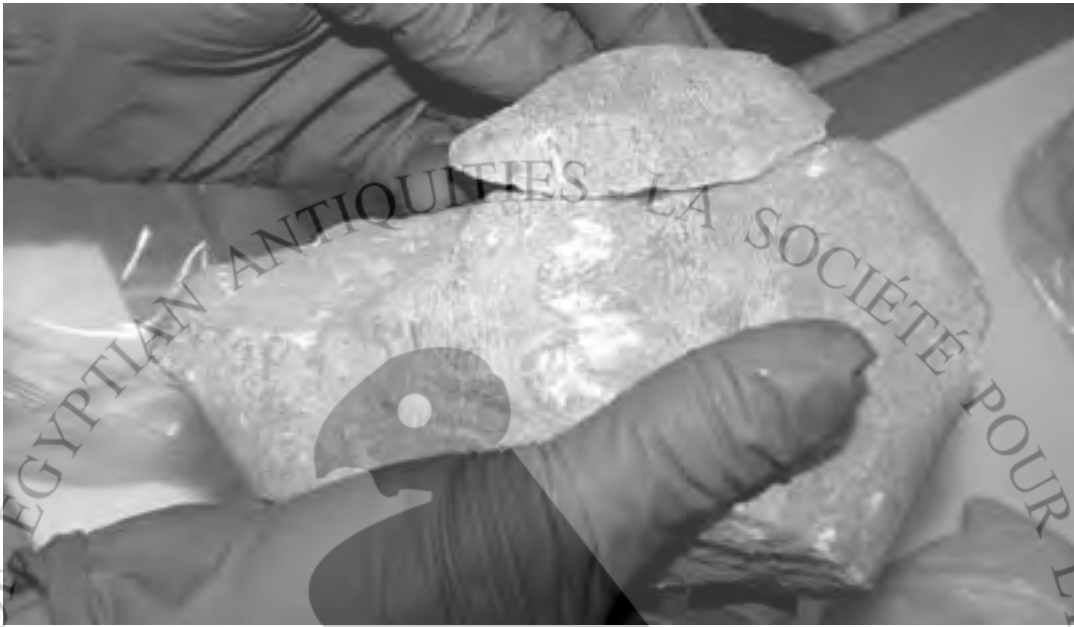
Reisner theorized that this group of Khafre's statue fragments found in the debris around the Sennedjem-ib (G2370) complex had been dragged to this location from Khafre's temple 50 to 100 years later "to break them up for the manufacture of stone vessels."⁴ He unfortunately does not offer any specific evidence for this, other than the presence of many small alabaster offering dishes. The Khafre head MFA21.351 was broken into small fragments, indicating that the raw material itself was not utilized to its fullest. If one were to take a nearly life-sized head it could be made into a number of small-sized offering dishes. But this head was deliberately smashed and some of the pieces can, in fact, can now be rejoined. A more systematic destruction of this object seems to have been the intent. The date and purpose of this destruction is still not completely understood.

What was previously just a face of King Khafre MFA 21.351 is now nearly a head. It is considerably more complete with the full width of the upper corners of the nemes headdress and with a greater depth from the front of the forehead to the back of the crown of the head to the end of the tail of the uraeus. The pieces are currently in the MFA, Boston Objects Conservation Lab awaiting restoration.

Notes

1. Found in the Mound of mud debris at NE corner of Mastaba G5330. I want to thank Sophia Teller for her exceptional photographs of the sculptural joins in storage.
2. Found in sand in front (to E) of Mastaba G 5230 N (=N serdab); For other reference to this head see J. Haynes "Head of King Khafre," p. 55 in Yvonne Markowitz, Joyce Haynes and Rita Freed. *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids*. Boston. 2002.
3. W. S. Smith. *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*. Boston. 1946, p. 34.
4. Reisner, Unpublished Ms. Giza Necropolis, Chapter IX, p. 20; Smith, 1946, p. 34. A face of Khafre very similar to MFA 21.351 is in La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, see Mogenson. *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, La Collection Égyptienne*, pl. II, no. A2a. Purchased from the MacGregor Collection in 1922.





**Figure 18-1 - Nemes 33-2-204 and Uraeus fragment Eg.Inv.7028.
Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.**



**Figure 18-3 - Face of Khafre MFA 21.351 and 33-2-204. Photograph
courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.**



Figure 18-2 - Face of Khafre MFA 21.351.
Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts,
Boston.



Figure 18-4 - Close up of MFA 21.351 and 33-2-204.
Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts,
Boston.



20. A “Kerma bed” from Egypt

Peter Lacovara

Abstract

An examination of furniture fragments in the British Museum, long identified as “A throne of Queen Hatshepsut,” are instead suggested to be parts of a Nubian-style bed.

Keywords

furniture, Kerma, bed

Since little in the way of wooden furniture survives from ancient Egypt, it is remarkable that the true nature of one of the most spectacular pieces known has escaped attention until now. The so-called “throne of Queen Hatshepsut” was given to the British Museum in 1887 and was purported to have come from the tomb of the queen.¹

The throne consists of two wooden supports modeled in the form of a cow’s front legs and two rear legs with upright supports which frame the footboard of a bed (**Figure 20-1**). The legs, supports and braces of the legs were covered in sheet gold, which in part, survives. These elements were long ago recognized as coming from a bed and not a throne,² and now have been displayed as such.³

What has been overlooked, however, is that this is not an Egyptian bed in design, and possibly manufacture, but a Nubian one such as those known from the site of Kerma in the Dongola Reach of the Sudan (**Figure 20-2**). In his excavations at the site from 1913 to 1916, George Andrew Reisner excavated that town’s vast series of cemeteries dating from as early as the end of the Old Kingdom to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴

In keeping with Nubian tradition, the deceased were buried on beds and, after pottery vessels, they were the most commonly found tomb furnishings at the site.⁵ Working from our revised chronology of these tombs, we can see the development of these beds from rather simple forms to far more elaborate (Reisner’s type I:1). These latest beds, dating to the Classic Kerma Period, are almost exact parallels to the British Museum example, having tall, bovine front and rear legs with tenons pegged at the top to secure them into the frame and L-shaped cross braces (**Figure 20-2**).⁶ On both the British Museum bed and the Kerma beds, there is also a low, rectangular footboard that was braced by additional L-shaped brackets. Even the silver and gold fittings on the British Museum bed are paralleled by examples from Kerma.⁷ The serpents that decorate the bed legs and footboard are executed in a style that evokes the *rishi* coffins of the Second Intermediate period and a stone lintel from one of the chapels at Kerma.⁸

Other examples of Kerma Culture furniture or Kerma-inspired furniture include a cow legged stool with braces found in a burial with a *rishi* coffin at Qurna and now in Edinburgh.⁹ This tomb also contained Classic Kerma Pottery, suggesting that the stool also could have been an import. Other fragmentary examples of this type of furniture found in Egypt include three examples in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo¹⁰ and one recently on the art

market.¹¹ This would suggest a date rather earlier than Hatshepsut for the British Museum bed and while the Deir el-Bahri cache was suggested as a possible provenance,¹² perhaps Dra abu el-Naga might be a more plausible source.

While beds from the first Dynasties in Egypt have bovine legs, they are quite squat and low to the ground.¹³ In the Old Kingdom these seem largely to be replaced by low, lion legs and feline supports tend to become the most common thereafter. We have few actual examples of beds from the Middle Kingdom, but a model bed found by Petrie at Harageh¹⁴ is remarkably similar to contemporary Middle Bronze Age furniture found at Jericho.¹⁵

The beds found in Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty largely have leonine feet,¹⁶ however they are tall and are provided with cross braces, which can be seen to have evolved in the Kerma furniture. Whether or not the British Museum bed was made at Kerma, it clearly shows the influence that Nubia had on the artistic output of the Eighteenth Dynasty, just as the arts and inventions of the Near Eastern and Mediterranean worlds have long been acknowledged as sources of inspiration for the arts of the early New Kingdom as a result of the contacts made after the Hyksos expulsion.

Notes

1. There, in fact, seems to be little reliable information about the actual find spot and the association with Hatshepsut is purely circumstantial. For a review of the history of the acquisition see: Dylan Bickerstaffe, "The Discovery of Hatshepsut's Throne" *KMT* vol. 13, No. 1 (spring 2002) pp. 71-77.
2. Hollis S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (London: 1966) pp. 61-2.
3. Catherine H. Roehrig, ed., *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New York: 2005) pp. 257-9.
4. George A. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma IV-V*, Harvard African Studies Vol. 4 (1923); Peter Lacovara, "The Internal Chronology of Kerma" *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 2 (1987) pp. 51-74.
5. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma IV-V* p. 210.
6. Dows Dunham, "An Experiment in Reconstruction at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston" *JEA* 26 (1940) p. 137.
7. Dunham, *JEA* 26 (1940) p. 283.
8. Charles Bonnet, *Edifices et rites funéraires a Kerma* (Paris: 2000) p. 122.
9. W. M. F. Petrie, *Qurneh* (London:1909) p. 7.
10. All Temporary Register 15+6/26+19-21.

11. Charles Ede, Ltd. *Egypt Catalog* (London: 2005) no. 55.
12. Dylan Bickerstaffe, *KMT* vol. 13, No. 1 (spring 2002) pp. 71-77.
13. W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Baltimore: 1967) pp. 241-2.
14. W. M. F. Petrie, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* (London:1912) pp. 35-6, 87.
15. Kathleen Kenyon, *Digging up Jericho: the results of the Jericho Expeditions* (New York: 1957) pp. 240-44, and fig.15.
16. J. A. Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture Vol. 1* (Warminster, England: 1980) pp. 31-2.

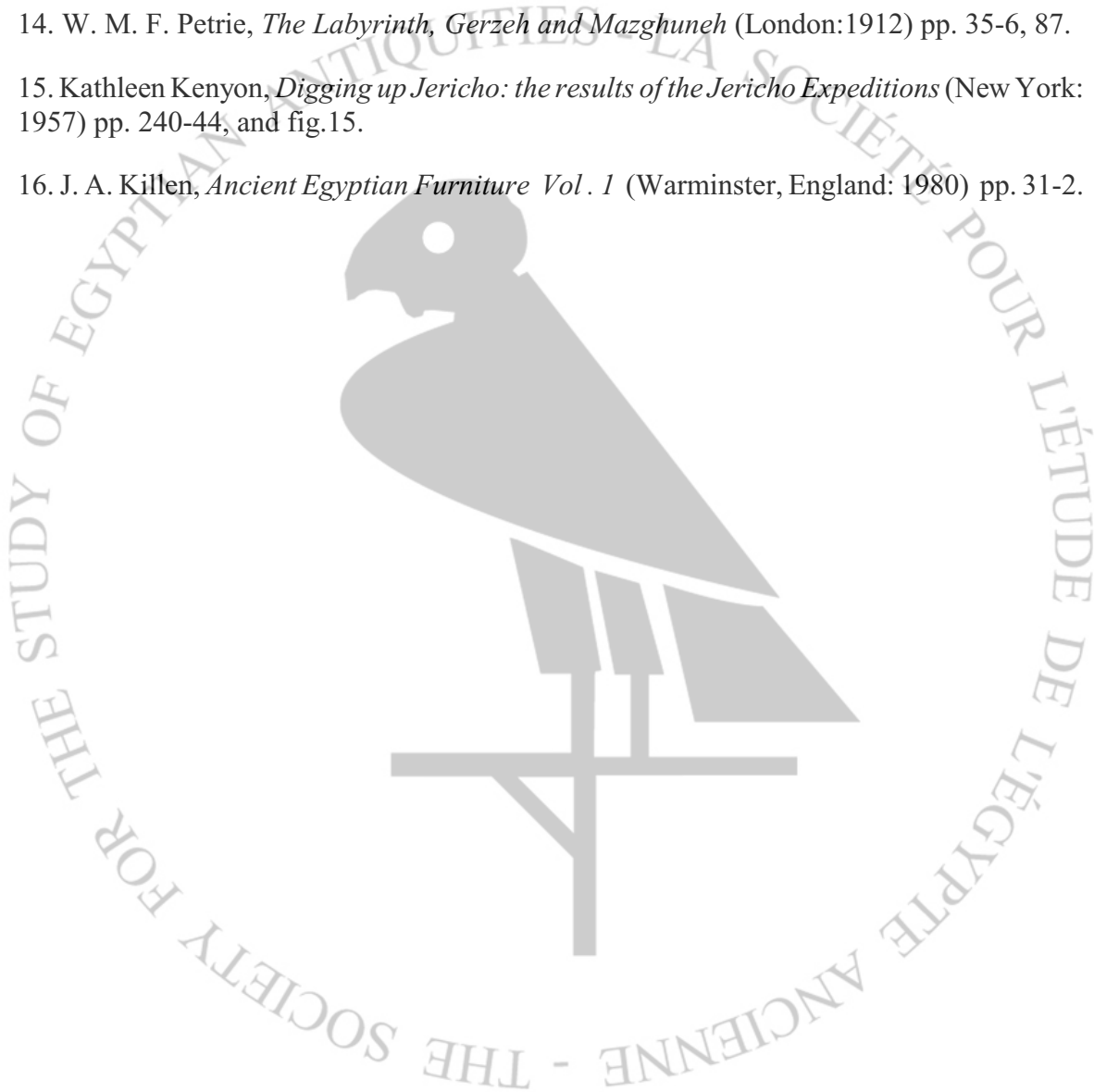




Figure 20-1 - Parts of a bed, wood with gold and silver sheet. Measurements as reconstructed with modern footboard: 73.8 cm. high x 81.3 cm. wide. British Museum EA 21574 & 21613. Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art



Figure 20-2 - Reconstruction of a Kerma bed
Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

21. The Caring God: the Experience and Lexicon of Grace in the Ancient Egyptian Religion*

Edmund S. Meltzer

Abstract

This paper partially summarizes a more comprehensive study in progress of grace in the ancient Egyptian religion. After navigating theological minefields surrounding the concept of grace, a minimal and essential understanding of grace can be regarded as divine favor or mercy arising from divine benevolence.

Taking a phenomenological perspective, a central question is: How did the ancient Egyptians experience what they perceived as divine grace in the world as they knew it? Evidence is not limited to textual sources, though it includes hymns and prayers, literary texts, and mortuary texts including netherworld books. Personal names can often be understood as tokens of the experience of grace in people's lives, including the hearing and presumably answering of prayer, and the gift of the child him- or herself. Votive offerings and stelae testify to the experience of the deity's forgiveness and healing. Another dimension of grace is manifest in soteriological experiences such as that of Simut called Kyky. Also notable is the withholding of grace, as in Ipuwer. A number of etyma emerge as the key expressions of the "lexicon of grace": *mri* and derivatives, "(to) love"; *im3/i3m* and derivatives "kind(ness), gracious(ness)"; *hṯp* and derivatives, "(be) gracious"; *hst*, *hsty* "praise, favor" (suggested by Görg as the origin of Hebrew *ḥsd*); *nṛ* "compassionate, merciful" (= *nṛi* "lenient"); *sfnw* "mild." Grace can be found to operate within the overarching order of *m3ṯt*; it can be suggested that the grace that the deity grants to all created beings is a part of the fabric of creation itself.

Key Words

Egyptian religion, grace, mercy, forgiveness, benevolence, deity, religious experience, Maat

A recent trip to Toronto brought back a flood of memories of the happy and rewarding years I spent there as a graduate student. Unfortunately, that visit came too late to include a reunion with my teacher, colleague and friend Nick Millet. Nick occupies a special place among many outstanding teachers; he knew everything, and he did so in a refreshingly understated and soft-spoken way. He never compartmentalized his knowledge, but integrated areas such as art, archaeology, language and religion, resulting in exceptionally enlightening courses such as "Iconography" and "Archaeology in Egyptian Art." I respectfully and affectionately dedicate this glimpse of divine grace in the lives of the ancient Egyptians to his memory.

The present paper is a partial summary (or, rather, bare overview) of a more comprehensive study in progress of the concept of grace in the ancient Egyptian religion. Upon examination, this is a theme on which there is an abundance of material that has never

been adequately assembled and synthesized. The immediate catalysts for this study have been the royal (i.e. divine) favor extended to Sinuhe, which I have characterized as “absolute mercy” and to which Elke Blumenthal (1998) and R. B. Parkinson (1997, p. 51) apply the term “grace,” and comments on grace by my dear friend and colleague J. Harold Ellens in his widely acclaimed edited work *The Destructive Power of Religion* [2004]. In those remarks, Dr. Ellens expresses the view that freely-given divine grace, as opposed to a *quid-pro-quo* of propitiating the deities, is an innovation of Biblical religion. In subsequent personal communications, he has affirmed that at least the “seed of grace” is to be found in Sinuhe and in prayers in other Egyptian sources, such as that of Ramesses II at the Battle of Kadesh (for which one can now see the beautiful translation in J. L. Foster 2001, pp. 96-99), and he has been most receptive to and supportive of the present study. While I welcome this thoughtful input, I hope to demonstrate that the Egyptian sources show a good deal more than the seed of grace, that they show its fruit as well.

In order to arrive at an understanding or definition of grace, we need to tiptoe across several formidable theological minefields; only then will we be able to identify grace in Egyptian sources in a manner that is not *ad hoc* and that might possibly hold up under the scrutiny of Biblical scholars and theologians. (I do, of course, understand that justice cannot be done to this material within the limits of the present short paper.) The normative understanding of grace, especially in Christianity, is as “unmerited divine favor” (thus G. S. Shogren 1992, p. 1086), which is strongly influenced by Augustine of Hippo’s formulation in his *Treatise on Rebuke and Grace*. This involves the corollary that grace cannot be earned or merited, that in fact people are incapable of doing so. The predominant term for “grace” in New Testament Greek is *charis*, often translated “love” or, in a famous quotation in the King James Version, “charity.” The terms predominantly translated as “grace” in Hebrew Scripture (*Hen* and *Hesed*) are taken as denoting “an undeserved gift or favor” and “loving kindness,” “steadfast love” or “covenant love” (thus J. Kselman 1992, p. 1085). One point at which a problem arises is in the alleged dichotomy between unconditional grace in “Biblical” religions and *quid-pro-quo* propitiation in the Egyptian and other “non-Biblical” ones. Shogren notes that “God’s grace comes to those who are in need and humbly approach God for help” (p. 1087), while all commentators on the Hebrew Scriptures’ characterization of grace (including major studies by K. D. Sakenfeld and G. R. Clark) agree that it operates as a part of a covenant relationship or a reciprocal commitment. The Hebrew term *Hesed* has been regarded as of Egyptian origin, as we shall discuss below. One point on which Biblical concepts of grace converge is in regarding grace as an expression of the divine nature, not a response to the human nature. Here again, in my estimation we will find that the Egyptian concept resonates strongly with the Biblically-based one. At the same time, the humanity (and divine spark) of the human being will turn out not to be entirely insignificant or irrelevant in the divine-human dynamic.

One especially crucial criterion for the identification of “grace” mentioned above is the lack of coercion, the freedom of the deity to grant or withhold grace. In that regard, a presumption is often made that the deity of a “monotheistic world” religion is above being coerced, while a deity in a so-called “polytheistic” or “mythological” or “pagan” or “magical” tradition is automatically subject to coercion, to put it somewhat crudely, rather like an oversized puppet, at the mercy of human manipulation and bullying. When scrutinized in a balanced and sober fashion, however, it emerges that the element of coercion

is greatly exaggerated in prevailing ideas of “pagan” religions and significantly underestimated in widespread perceptions of “monotheistic world” religions. I doubt that any objective reader can claim that the deity of the Leiden Hymn Cycles to Amun is any “smaller” or more subject to coercion than the deity of Genesis 1; or that the deity of the penitential hymn of Nebre at Deir el-Medina has less power to dispense favor, or for that matter chastisement, than the deity of the Psalms. Texts and rituals such as the Egyptian Heart-Weighing or Judgment of the Dead, which have been widely perceived as crude “magical” devices to dictate an outcome to which the deities are bound, are regarded by some scholars as far more profound affirmations of a hoped-for, but not automatic, grace (Meltzer 1991). What of the cases in which the speaker or practitioner identifies him- or herself with the deity or threatens the deity? Self-predications identifying the speaker with the deity are found in the temple ritual as well as such “magical” performances as love-charms, and continue to be a feature of Coptic ritual power practice (Meltzer 1994, pp. 17f). We would suggest that an anthropological perspective is helpful; the role of the *hm-ntr* or “prophet” as an embodiment or “personifier” (suggesting the understanding of *hm-ntr* as “body of the god”?) seems to be strongly indicated (cf. Gee 2004: 97-100 with nn. 25f, 39-46). We might also have to reckon with the possibility, at least, that some of our sources represent practices which exemplify “sorcery” in the sense of “unauthorized” practices not themselves approved by the religious establishment, or what my Claremont colleague Jack Hutchison (1989) has termed “low religion” which can be observed in any tradition. R. K. Ritner (1992) denies this and maintains that the ancient Egyptian concept of the “Great Chain of Being” makes it not only understandable but inevitable for the Egyptian ritual practitioner not only to identify him(her?)self with the deity/ies, but to threaten or coerce other deities, not out of hubris but as a form of *imitatio Dei* (193f). Ritner’s insistence on the legitimacy and legality of “magic” in ancient Egypt, even hostile “magic” – to which we fully subscribe, though we prefer the term “ritual power” – cannot be understood as a blanket acceptance of the legitimacy of all “magic.” True, there is no terminological distinction between “magic” or “ritual power” and “sorcery,” the practitioner is normally a priest, using the ammunition of the temple establishment, etc.

However, some instances or uses of “magic” were clearly unacceptable and unauthorized. As Ritner states, “hostile magic was not inherently illegal” (194), but that formulation carries the recognition that instances of it could be crimes. Execration in the hands of the theocratic state was legitimate, but an individual could not turn around and use it to attack the king – unless he were prepared and poised to take over as the king’s successor. (Analogously, in Israelite religion, authorized divination was performed by the priests in the temple cult, but such practices by others were proscribed.) The general inappropriateness of a dynamic of intimidation or coercion of the Divine on the part of the ancient Egyptians has been argued by C. Cannuyer (1993/1994), who emphasizes that they did indeed adopt a standpoint of humility *vis-à-vis* the deities and professed an awareness of human limitations. When one turns to the other side of the coin, despite protestations and lip-service to the contrary, devout adherents of “monotheistic world” religions often speak and behave as if their perceived relationship with their deity guarantees a successful outcome to their prayer or ritual and to their cosmic destiny, as if the results of their prayer are automatic and binding on the deity – whereas the prayers of those outside their tradition are not heard. This seems to represent or at least imply significant constraints on divine

autonomy and volition. The imperative, which Ritner (194) regards as a telltale feature of the Egyptian system, is no stranger to prayer in the “monotheistic world” traditions. We may be left with the untidy conclusion that in the Egyptian, as in other mentalities, these disparate orientations coexisted. Without further belaboring these and other analogous issues (and digging an even deeper hole for myself), I could suggest a minimal and essential “working” definition of grace as divine favor or mercy arising from divine benevolence.

From a phenomenological perspective (which has been very prominent and productive in the study of Egyptian religion, for instance D. J. Hoens 1982 for Dutch scholars), Grace is above all something that is experienced, a perspective shared by many present-day religious believers as well as by religious philosophers such as Yehuda HaLevi (e.g. *Kuzari* I § 25; Heinemann, ed., p. 35, in H. Lewy, *et al.*, ed. 1969). This is in keeping with the phenomenological perspective according to which religion itself results from a human response of awe when encountering the Numinous, the *Mysterium Tremendum et Fascinosum*. A central question in engaging the ancient Egyptian sources is, how did the ancient Egyptians experience what they perceived as divine grace in their own lives and in the world as they knew it?

One major source of the Egyptians’ own characterization of the impact of grace on their lives is their personal names. R. Givon (1982) lists Egyptian personal names stating that the deity hears or has heard, hears prayer, hears the supplicant’s voice. In many cases, personal names of this type might represent the parents’ perception that the birth of the child was an answer to prayer, as takes place in the Story of the Doomed Prince. Also in this category are the numerous names characterizing children as the gifts of the deity (as already affirmed by Ptahhotpe), such as the *p3-di* theophores (W. Barta 1992), while the *htp*-names can reasonably be understood as proclaiming that the deity is “gracious” (see below). Judging by the onomasticon as well as offerings, the Egyptians seem to have thought that many of their prayers were answered, at least most of the time.

Votive offerings and stelae testify to the experience of the deity’s forgiveness and healing. One of the most striking of these is the stela containing the very Psalm-like penitential hymn of Nebre. Givon comments on the stela as a reflection of the experience of the god’s presence (p. 41):

“On the stela of Neb-Re’ (Berlin 20377) we have a father praying for his son to Amon ‘who hears prayers.’ The extraordinary representation shows the owner of the stela kneeling before Amon who sits in front of the pylon of the temple. The common people were not allowed to the inner parts of the temple where the statue of the god was: Amon, in this case, has gone out of his way to listen to Neb-Re’: *Neb-Re*’ experienced the presence of the great god while visiting the temple gates.”

The soteriological tendencies of Egyptian religion in the later periods are closely related to the experience of grace, and include examples in which a devotee experiences the overwhelming saving power of a deity. Perhaps the most prominent example of this is found in the texts of Simut called *Kyky*, praising Mut and expounding his relationship with her and the fullness of her saving power (e.g. P. Vernus 1978; a complete publication of the tomb, M. Négm 1997). I cannot regard Simut’s narrative as a merely intellectual quest to choose or “shop for” a patron deity, nor reduce it to a simple commercial transaction; his donation seems to me not qualitatively different from actions taken by pious medieval Europeans.

Experience of the presence of the deity, though not of course synonymous with grace, is also closely connected. The ancient Egyptian could encounter the deity in the king, the queen (whose divine nature is very pronounced, *inter alia* in Sinuhe, cf. L. Troy 1986), and other human beings (for instance the prayers of Pahery, J. L. Foster 1995, p. 30; cf. T. DuQuesne 1998b). A recent paper of A. von Lieven (2003) emphasizes the Egyptians' encounter with the divine in nature itself, a theme which is found in the love poem so charmingly translated by Jack Foster under the title "The Memphis Ferry" (a title which perhaps deserves to be spoken in the same breath as Barbara Mertz's / Elizabeth Peters' *Night Train to Memphis*).

The absence or withholding of grace is also notable, such as Ipuwer reacts to with his question, understood by M. Gilula in the *Polotsky Festschrift* [1981] as "Is the loving herdsman dead?" While Gilula's interpretation is extremely persuasive, R. Enmarch (2006: 35) presents a new collation of the original, resulting in the reading "Is (He) a shepherd who loves death?" In connection with this type of response, it can be noted that the Egyptians' predominant reactions to the major existential crises of the end of the Old Kingdom seem to have been rather different from their responses to those marking the waning of the New Kingdom.

Some of the most important and memorable textual sources for grace in ancient Egypt (in addition to Sinuhe) have been discussed in a paper by David Lorton (1993): the four good deeds of the creator in CT 1130, the Instruction for Merykare, and the Hymn to the Aten, in which the common thread is the beneficence of the creator manifest in the creation itself – a theme to which we shall return. This outlook resonates strongly with Philo Judaeus in his work *Allegorical Interpretation*. To these can be added many other prayers and hymns, prominently the Leiden hymn cycles to Amen-Re, and others going down to Roman times. One especially interesting passage occurs in the Book of the Night, where the reason for the nocturnal journey of the sun-god is caring for and looking after the inhabitants of the Duat (G. Roulin 1995, DuQuesne 1998a). In the netherworld literature as well as the hymns, the solar creator wearies himself and indeed goes through death on behalf of his creation. It is noteworthy that even at its most esoteric, ancient Egyptian religion is informed by the concept of a caring deity, and moreover of the caring of the deity as a principal motive in the order of things as they are.

In our discussion so far, we have at times mentioned words belonging to the semantic field of grace, so let us now look briefly at the most obvious items in the Egyptian "lexicon of grace":

Mri and its derivatives, "(to) love," found in similar contexts in Coptic, for instance God's *mntmairo:me* "love of humanity." Especially notable is the moving appeal, on a Middle Kingdom stela discussed by W. A. Ward, *hwiw imi n.f mrt* "Alas, have mercy on him!" (1977: 64f), calling to mind Tennyson's prayer for the Lady of Shalott, "God in His mercy lend her grace." In a paper presented to the ARCE in 1975 (published 1977), Kelly Simpson noted that *mri* is used to convey the love that a deity has for a human being, while *dw3* "to praise" characterizes the person's feeling for the deity.

Im3/i3m and its derivatives, "kind(ness), gentle(ness)," often translated "charm," frequently (though by no means only) predicated of queens.

Htp and derivatives, "(be) gracious," with the noun *htp* being understandable as

“grace”; cf. B. Ockinga (2001), also W. Guglielmi & J. Dittmar (1992).

Hst, hsty “praise, favor,” suggested by M. Görg as the origin of Hebrew *hsd* (1995). Though I am dubious about the proposed etymology, I think the Egyptian root *hst* and its derivatives do belong in our “lexicon.”

Nc “kind, compassionate, merciful,” predicated of God in Coptic (**ⲛⲁ, ⲛⲁⲓ**), *Wb.* II p. 206; despite the different determinative, I think this is the same word as *nci* “lenient” listed by *CDME* p. 126. A deity can be addressed as *ntr nc* “compassionate god,” as is Amen-Re in Hymn 70 of the first Leiden hymn cycle (Zandee 1947, pl. 15, line 20) and Wepwawet on a stela published by DuQuesne (2004): 42-45, 47 (a more detailed treatment is in preparation). On this stela, Wepwawet is addressed in penitential psalm language, “Be gracious (*htp*), O gracious one; A servant is disposed to mischief, a lord(?) is disposed to graciousness (grace).”

sfnw “mild” conveys an analogous meaning, in Strophe 10 of the second Leiden hymn cycle as well as other texts (Zandee 1992, p. 380).

Now that we have identified the concept and experience of grace and explored its expression in Egyptian, a significant question remains: Can grace be related to the central concept of the cosmos in Egyptian culture, *m3ct*, and if so, how? If grace is a concept that articulates itself coherently in Egyptian culture, it should be possible to relate the two. At the same time, we realize that we are dealing with an apple and an orange, as grace is not a single term in the ancient Egyptian lexicon, whereas *m3ct* is. F. T. Miosi (1996/1999) elaborates an ontological basis for Egyptian ethics, positing the nature of every deity, natural object, social institution, state and action - i.e., the realm of the metaphysical as well as the material - as part of creation, and moreover created with an express purpose the performance or realization of which constitutes the right order, namely *M3ct*. One can infer that, as a dynamic of divine/royal action, grace is included in, or under the umbrella of, *m3ct*. Judging by the *magnalia Dei* of the Egyptian deities as recorded in the hymns and other religious texts cited earlier, and discussed though in a somewhat different framework by Miosi, the grace which the Deity grants to all created beings, which is indeed the *raison d’etre* for the way creation is articulated and apportioned, is part of the fabric of creation itself and of the caring stewardship of the Deity.

Finally, what of humanity? One must be careful in this formulation, because as just noted, grace is extended to all of creation, not merely humans. The Egyptians regarded human beings as divine creations and indeed emanations; according to the Instruction for Merykare, “they are his images that came forth out of his flesh” (M. Lichtheim, 1973, p. 106; text W. Helck 1977, p. 83; see also E. Hornung 1982, p. 138). Thus Egypt shares the Biblical idea that the human being is an image or reflection on some level of the deity (Hornung 1967, *idem* 1982, pp. 54, 138f; cf. DuQuesne 2003 and literature there cited, referred to above), and that, in Miosi’s words, “man has a part of the divine in him.” Within the overarching principle of *M3ct*, humans and deities relate to each other; humans receive grace and do *M3ct*, thus showing their capacity for acting in a Grace-full manner even as they experience the Divine acting toward them.

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22. Pharaonic Transformations and Identifications in the Pyramid Texts

Frank T. Miosi

Abstract

This article examines the occurrences of the transformations of the deceased king into and the identifications of him with various gods, animals and objects in the Pyramid Texts. A substantial number of identifications are catalogued, leading the author to distinguish a number of types of identification categories such as; transformations, name identifications; identifications with gods, mammals, birds, body parts, stars; and a final category of God, Spirit and Power. Some of these categories are typed as those which provide the king with functions and aspects that are useful for life in the otherworld, while others bear directly on the essence of the deceased king.

Key words

transformation, identification, god, spirit

One of the first things that Nick Millet did when he came to Toronto as Curator of the Egyptian Department of the Royal Ontario Museum in 1970 was to ask Dr. Donald Redford if he could join Geoffrey Freeman and me in his Old Egyptian class. For the next nine months the four of us had a wonderful time, both in class and “after hours,” puzzling through a substantial portion of the Pyramid Texts, critiquing many of the theories about the texts, and creating a number of new ones. In subsequent years, we would often reminisce about those days, kidding – almost threatening – each other about reconvening so that we could have at each other’s pet theories another time. Of course, all of us were too busy for too many years to actually reconvene our seminar, and now sadly it is no longer possible. I humbly offer this article in tribute to those days, to Nick’s openness, collegiality, and inquisitiveness as a scholar, and to the genuine care and concern that Nick always showed as and to a friend.

In 1960, Walter Federn wrote a truly seminal and highly controversial article on Egyptian mortuary literature that examined the occurrences of the formula *hprw m* (“formation into”) and the related *irt hprw m* (“making the formation into”) in the Coffin Texts.¹ Federn argued that these spells of identification were originally not of a funerary character, but that they were intended for use by the living and “reflect a ceremony of admitting, after due initiation, a person into a ‘secret society,’ in which gods were impersonated by humans,”² for the purpose of establishing an intimate relationship with the divine. These spells were applied in the mortuary context to perform essentially this same function: they established (maintained) the intimate relationship with the divine, in this context to validate and guarantee the acceptance and continued existence of the deceased among the divine.

Although there can be no legitimate question that a number of the Pyramid Texts

were also not of a funerary character,³ the purpose of this article is to explore the extent of the use of identifications in the Pyramid Texts rather than to delve into the possibility of a “secret society” in the Old Kingdom.

Transformations (hpr)

The classic transformation formula *hprw m* is quite common in the Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead, and in the Demotic Book of Transformations, but little notice is given to the fact that it also occurs in the Pyramid texts.

The king is said to “transform into” the gods Sia⁴ and Wepwawet,⁵ into the Great one who is in Shedit,⁶ and into the Spirit which is in the Netherworld.⁷ In addition to these specific transformations, the king is also said to have become a “great god,”⁸ an indication that, although standard Egyptian theology defined the living king as being a god, the Egyptians did find a difference between the earthly divine king and his divine state in the otherworld. Closely related to this are the expressions: “You come into being, an Atum to every god,”⁹ and “god (i.e. the king) comes into being.”¹⁰ The king’s transformations are not limited to gods, however; he is also said to have transformed into an “enduring bull of the wild bulls.”¹¹

Name Identification

Although the examples of transformations are rare, a number of other types of identifications are quite common in the Pyramid Texts. One of the most prominent of these is signalled by the formula “in your name of (*m rn.k n*) ...”. The assumption of a new name not only provides the deceased king with a different identity that permits him to take on the powers and characteristics associated with that name, but it is also frequently used as a password or special identifier that grants the deceased with passage through various entry points to and within the otherworld.

Name identifications are often made with a specific god. Sokar occurs frequently,¹² and we also find Anubis,¹³ Horus,¹⁴ the Lord of Asyut,¹⁵ and the Foremost of the Westerners¹⁶ occurring more than once, with single examples of Andjety,¹⁷ Atum,¹⁸ Duau,¹⁹ Khopre,²⁰ Mehyet,²¹ Milk goddess,²² Re,²³ Soped²⁴ and Wepiu.²⁵ Likely also to be included here are the identifications of the king with divine animals: *nsr-ms* Bull,²⁶ Divine Falcon,²⁷ and the Jackal.²⁸ The most common name identity in this category, however, is the non-specific “in your name of God.”²⁹

The next most common name identity is with a place or a geographic location. The king assumes names such as: Shenut Shrine,³⁰ the Two Conclaves,³¹ Holy Land,³² Horizon,³³ Palace of the Great Saw,³⁴ Thinite Nome,³⁵ Wall of the Bitter Lakes,³⁶ Sea,³⁷ Ocean,³⁸ Mansion of the Monarch,³⁹ Sky,⁴⁰ *Pr-Wr* Shrine,⁴¹ Bitter Lakes,⁴² *ꜥ3-sk*,⁴³ Canal of the God,⁴⁴ Upper *Msnt*,⁴⁵ and Elephantine.⁴⁶

A third category links the king to a place with the resulting combination having the purpose of identifying him with the major divinity of that place. This is found primarily in PT 219 where the king is listed as having a series of names of the type “one who is in” followed by a specific location: Heliopolis,⁴⁷ Andjet,⁴⁸ Mansion of Selket,⁴⁹ God’s Booth,⁵⁰ the Castle of the Mace of *pꜥr*-wood,⁵¹ Orion,⁵² Dep,⁵³ Mansion of the Greatest of Bulls,⁵⁴ Heliopolis of the South,⁵⁵ Heliopolis of the North,⁵⁶ and the City of Lakes.⁵⁷

There are also a number of name identifications that do not fall into any obvious

category. Twice the king has the name He who comes from the Cold Water,⁵⁸ and he is named Fresh Water⁵⁹ three times. Other miscellaneous names are: Soul of the King's Litter,⁶⁰ Sacred Beard,⁶¹ *Dndrw* Boat,⁶² Great Lifted One,⁶³ Begetter,⁶⁴ Surrounders of the Islanders,⁶⁵ Inmate of the Palace,⁶⁶ Great of Magic,⁶⁷ Plenty,⁶⁸ He whom all Spirits fear,⁶⁹ Wag Festival,⁷⁰ Contented Spirit,⁷¹ and Imperishable Star.⁷²

A noteworthy characteristic of the occurrences of the “in your name of ...” formula is that, apart from the PT 210 double formula of “in your name of one who is in ...,” it is almost always the case that the entire name or an element of it is a homonym of a key word in the immediately surrounding context, for example: “You are complete (*km*) and great (*wr*) in your name of Wall of the Bitter Lakes (*km-wr*),”⁷³ or “You are holier (*dsr*) than he is in your name of Holy Land (*t3-dsr*).”⁷⁴

This repetition of sounds is often described by the term “pun” or “wordplay,” but this can be misleading since it might be taken to indicate a simple literary device employed to add a bit of flair to a passage. It not only testifies to the chant and ritual aspect of these spells, but more importantly it demonstrates a fundamental principle of the Ancient Egyptian comprehension of the spiritual world – the vitality of the spoken word and its ability to materialize and to be materialized - that is encountered so frequently in Egyptian texts from the crudely formed incantations found in the magical texts to the high theology of the creative activity of Ptah in the Memphite Theology.

These two categories of “transformation” spells and name identifications constitute, however, only the proverbial “tip of the iceberg” of the identifications that are found in the Pyramid Text corpus. Apart from the ever-present linking of the king with Osiris and his less common but still quite frequent identification with Horus,⁷⁵ there are indeed in excess of five hundred others that are formed through the use of a number of standard grammatical methods of expressing identification:

- Vocative referring to the king by another name: “O One of the Abyss!”⁷⁶
- King's name + *pw* + identification: “The King is Anubis.”⁷⁷
- King's name (or pronoun referring to the king) + *m* of comparison + identification: “The king has soared to the sky as a heron.”⁷⁸
- King's name (or pronoun referring to the king) + *is* of predication + identification: “You (i.e. the king) appear as a soul at the head of the living.”⁷⁹
- A noun or nominal phrase in apposition to the name or other identifier for the king: “The king is (*pw*) the Unique One, the Bull of the Sky.”⁸⁰
- Independent pronoun + identification: “You are this Lone Star.”⁸¹
- Contextual identification: “Make your home in the Field of Offerings among the Imperishable Stars.”⁸²

Parsing the differences indicated by these various grammatical structures and teasing out the related nuances of the type of identification intended by each would provide a fascinating and fruitful study into both the theology and the ontology of the Ancient Egyptians, but that is well beyond the scope of this paper. Our interest here is to give a fairly comprehensive idea of the major categories of identifications and a representative selection of examples within these categories.

God Identification

The most common type of identification is between the king and the gods, with the king being linked with more than fifty different gods. It is possible to group these divine identifications into sub-categories, for example:

- Solar deities: Horakhti,⁸³ Nefertum,⁸⁴ Sia,⁸⁵ Eye of Re,⁸⁶ Hemen,⁸⁷ Pndty,⁸⁸ Wakhty,⁸⁹ Re,⁹⁰ Weneg,⁹¹ Wer,⁹² Seksen,⁹³ Iaret,⁹⁴ Sopdu,⁹⁵ in addition to the pervasive Horus;
- Funerary deities: Anubis,⁹⁶ Wepiu,⁹⁷ Wepwawet,⁹⁸ Andjety,⁹⁹ Sokar,¹⁰⁰ Kherty,¹⁰¹ Duamutef,¹⁰² Thoth,¹⁰³ Hapi,¹⁰⁴ Imsety,¹⁰⁵ Khaty,¹⁰⁶ Eye of Horus,¹⁰⁷ Kebehseuf,¹⁰⁸ Nekhebukaw,¹⁰⁹ Apis,¹¹⁰ Babi,¹¹¹ Shesemu;¹¹²
- Heliopolitan cycle: Atum,¹¹³ Shu,¹¹⁴ Seth,¹¹⁵ Geb,¹¹⁶ in addition to the ever-present Osiris;
- Local gods: Satis,¹¹⁷ Ha,¹¹⁸ Sobek,¹¹⁹ Min,¹²⁰ Satuty,¹²¹ Dedwen,¹²² Amun,¹²³ Monthu,¹²⁴ Ha,¹²⁵ Khaytau.¹²⁶

It is quite likely, however, that such a sub-categorization is not of itself productive for analysis, since no obvious common theme can be found in the relevant texts, as there most clearly is with other categories such as the star or the bird identifications to be discussed later. The point to be learned here rather is that the king could be and was identified with all types of gods, taking on the special characteristics of that god¹²⁷ to ensure that he had continued power, authority, fertility, sustenance, and any other desired characteristic or object for his eternal life in the otherworld. Only a few from the hundreds of examples will suffice to provide a good understanding of the purpose of these divine identifications.

“My face is a jackal, and my middle is the Celestial Serpent. I govern as Sobek who is in Shedet and as Anubis who is in Tabet. I summon the thousand, and the sun-folk come bowing to me.”¹²⁸

“The King is Geb, the eloquent one, the head of the gods, whom Atum has placed at the head of the Ennead, with whose speech the gods are pleased.”¹²⁹

“The two Enneads come bowing to you. You govern the sun-folk as Min who is in his house, as Horus of Djebat.”¹³⁰

“May you go aboard this boat of Re to which the gods love to approach and into which the gods love to board, in which Re is rowed to the horizon. You will go aboard it as Re and you will sit on this throne of Re, and you will govern the gods, because you are Re who came from Nut who gives birth to him daily.”¹³¹

“I have blocked the roads of Seth, and I have escaped from the messengers of Osiris. A god cannot catch me, and no opponent can oppose himself to my road. I am Thoth, the mightiest of the gods.”¹³²

“I appear as Nefertum, as the lotus at the nose of Re, who comes from the horizon every day, and at the sight of whom the gods are purified.”¹³³

“I appear as Sobek, the son of Neith. I eat with my mouth. I urinate and copulate with my phallus. I am the seed that takes women from their husbands when I want and as I desire.”¹³⁴

Mammal Identification

As we first saw in the small group of transformation spells, the king can be identified with a mammal – in that case, with an “enduring bull,” and the mammal identification category is comprised almost exclusively of identifications with two animals. The king is a bull,¹³⁵ a great bull,¹³⁶ a great faced bull,¹³⁷ an enduring bull,¹³⁸ the bull of the Ennead,¹³⁹ of Heliopolis,¹⁴⁰ of the sky,¹⁴¹ and of the baboons;¹⁴² a long horn,¹⁴³ and even of “the flash of the bull of sunshine.”¹⁴⁴ The bovine identification continues in expressions such as calf of gold¹⁴⁵ and fatted calf of gold.¹⁴⁶ The context of the bull identifications usually emphasizes the King’s power to overcome any antagonists to his passage to the otherworld: “... (I am) ... the Bull of the sky; I crushed those who would do this to me and I have destroyed their survivors.”¹⁴⁷ The other mammal with which the king is regularly identified is the jackal: “You have descended as a jackal of Upper Egypt, as Anubis upon his baldachin.”¹⁴⁹

Bird Identification

Perhaps more common is the identification of the king with a bird. He is called a flier¹⁵⁰ and is said to have a bird shape.¹⁵¹ As would be expected for the Horus king, the most common bird identification is with the falcon - either unqualified,¹⁵² great,¹⁵³ or divine.¹⁵⁴ Identifications with a number of other birds are found less frequently: duck,¹⁵⁵ egret,¹⁵⁶ goose,¹⁵⁷ hawk,¹⁵⁸ heron,¹⁵⁹ ibis,¹⁶⁰ kite,¹⁶¹ pelican,¹⁶² and swallow.¹⁶³ The contexts in which these identifications occur regularly relate to the king’s ability to travel to the celestial regions by flying. One spell, which in typical Egyptian fashion, provides the king with substantial avian redundancy, is a good example of this: “The king goes to the clouds as a divine falcon. The king goes to the sky as a heron. The king flies up as a goose. The King’s two wings are those of a divine falcon. This king’s wing feathers are those of a divine falcon.”¹⁶⁴

Body Part Identification

Another common type of identification is one where a part of the king’s body is identified with another entity, and just as the full identifications were frequently made with animals, birds and gods, the body part identifications fall almost exclusively into these same three categories. One passage illustrates this succinctly: “Rejoice, O gods, over my coming! My face is that of the jackal; my arms are those of the falcon; my wing-feathers are those of Thoth; and Geb causes me to fly to the sky.”¹⁶⁵

These body part identifications occur throughout the Pyramid Text corpus, but spells 215 and 539 are noteworthy for their lengthy identification catalogues. The latter spell has twenty-six such identifications, starting from the head (vulture) and ending with the toes (the Souls of On).

As was the case earlier with the god identification category, the number of body part identifications are so numerous that their range is best understood when seen in table form (see Table 1). Some of the identifications are not surprising, such as: feathers with a duck; nose with Thoth; shoulders with Seth; phallus with Apis; and wings with a falcon. In the case of others, however, the connections are not so obvious, for example: chin with Kherty; spine with a wild bull; heart with Bastet; or thighs with Neith and Selket.

Also of note is that, apart from the obvious exception of the face’s almost exclusive identification with a jackal and the jackal gods Anubis and Wepwawet, the same body part

can have different identifications. The arms are identified with Atum, Hapi and Duamutef, Mafdet, a jackal, a goose, or a falcon; the hinder parts can be a falcon, Atum, Heket, Celestial Serpent, or even a broad hall; while the teeth are identified with Soped, the Souls of Pe, or the claws of Her of the Cerastes Mountain. Conversely, the same object is identified with different body parts: Atum is linked with arms, back, flesh, hinder parts and legs; and the jackal connects with arms, face, forepart, legs or nose.

The last few categories dealt with identifications that primarily relate to expediting and safe-guarding the king's passage to the otherworld. In fact, all of the identification categories that we have described up to this point are essentially functional ones in that they identify the king with someone or something that has the ultimate effect of providing some quality, characteristic or thing that facilitates getting to and functioning in the otherworld. This is definitely not the function of the following categories.

Star Identification

The star identification category is concerned with the king's form of existence in the otherworld – the king might get to the otherworld as a bird or a bull, but once there he most definitely exists as one of the stars.¹⁶⁶

He is called the Morning Star: “He (Re) puts you as the Morning Star in the middle of the Field of Rushes;”¹⁶⁷ the lone star: “You are this lone star who comes out of the eastern side of the sky who will not give himself to Horus of the Underworld;”¹⁶⁸ an old star: “I am Old Star, the companion of Old Star. This king is very old; this king never perishes.”¹⁶⁹ He is one of the Unwearying Stars: “Row with the Imperishable Stars; sail with the Unwearying Stars; receive the cargo of the Night-bark; become a spirit in the Netherworld.”¹⁷⁰ He is also linked with specific star-gods: “You come out from the eastern side of the sky with Orion. You come out from the western side of the sky with Orion. Your third is Sothis.”¹⁷¹

There are also frequent examples of the king being identified with unspecific stars,¹⁷² but the contexts are always the same as above in that they describe the form of the king's existence. “I am a holy one ... a star to whom the gods bow and at whom the Two Enneads tremble;”¹⁷³ or “I sit among you, O stars of the Netherworld. May you carry me like Re; may you serve me like Horus; may you elevate me like Wepwawet; and may you love me like Min;”¹⁷⁴ or “I am a star who streaks the sky. I climb up to god, so that I am protected. The sky is not free of me and the earth is not free of me forever.”¹⁷⁵

The king is frequently identified as being one of the imperishable stars: “Geb puts you at the head of the Spirits, the Imperishable Stars,”¹⁷⁶ and “O you greatly exalted among the Imperishable Stars, you will never perish!”¹⁷⁷ The location of the king's everlasting life with the Imperishables is even specified: “Make your home in the Field of Offerings among the Imperishable Stars, the followers of Osiris.”¹⁷⁸

King is God, Spirit, and Power

The Imperishable Star identification is a pregnant one, for just as the Imperishable Stars are gods¹⁷⁹ and spirits,¹⁸⁰ so too the king, having been transformed into a god,¹⁸¹ is regularly identified as a god (*ntr*),¹⁸² and having been spiritualized,¹⁸³ is just as regularly identified as a spirit (*3h*),¹⁸⁴ an imperishable spirit,¹⁸⁵ or an equipped spirit.¹⁸⁶ The texts are quite clear, and they provide us with both particular and connected examples.

The king is a god: “The king has power at his head. The king wields the mace. He (i.e., Thoth) respects the king. This king sits with those who row the boat of Re. The king commands the good, and he does it. The king is a great god.”¹⁸⁷ “Behold, the king is at the head of the gods and is provided as a god. His bones are joined as Osiris. The gods make adoration when approaching the king like they make adoration when encountering Re rising;”¹⁸⁸ and the king is a spirit: “... you (i.e., gods of the horizon) have caused me to be a spirit among the spirits, you have caused me to be powerful among the gods.”¹⁸⁹

The king is a god and a spirit: “They say: The god comes! The god comes! This king comes on the throne of Osiris. The Spirit – the one who is in Nedit and the Power who is in the Thinite nome – comes.”¹⁹⁰ “May Geb guide you, you having a soul as a god, you being strong [as a god] and powerful in your body as a god and as a soul at the head of the living and as Power (*sh̄m*) at the head of the Spirits.”¹⁹¹ “O king, live the life! Live the life in this your name with the gods, you having appeared as Wepiu, as a soul at the head of the living and as a Power at the head of the spirits. This king is Thoth. Assemble yourselves, O gods who are in this Castle of the Mace. The king is with you, Osiris.”¹⁹²

These last passages introduce another term, power (*sh̄m*),¹⁹³ that is intertwined with the king-god-spirit identification. The king is a power: “I am the Great Power in the Great Tribunal in On;”¹⁹⁴ the king is a god and a power: “The king is a god, older than the oldest. Thousands serve him, hundreds offer to him. Warrant is given to him as Great Power;”¹⁹⁵ and, in support to what we have seen above, the king and the gods are powers: “Govern the gods as a Power, at the head of the Powers.”¹⁹⁶

Miscellaneous

There are a large number of identifications that might well be considered to be names but which are not introduced by the name identification formula. In many cases they are objects such as: steering oar,¹⁹⁷ plum line of the Ennead,¹⁹⁸ red head band,¹⁹⁹ flame,²⁰⁰ flowing fluid,²⁰¹ spear of gold,²⁰² word,²⁰³ or flower.²⁰⁴

Other identifications of this type are frequently participles such as: one who is loosed,²⁰⁵ you who have arrived,²⁰⁶ you who know your place,²⁰⁷ or quiverer.²⁰⁸ Some refer to occupations: potter,²⁰⁹ ox-herd,²¹⁰ herdsman,²¹¹ magician,²¹² or scribe of the god's book;²¹³ and there is a group of “lord” titles: Lord of the Horizon,²¹⁴ Lord of the affairs of the place of the four pillars,²¹⁵ Lord of the House,²¹⁶ Lord of the night sky,²¹⁷ or Sole Lord.²¹⁸

There are many other candidates for inclusion into this group, although it is frequently quite difficult to be sure that one is actually dealing with an identification, particularly when the word or phrase is indicated only by its possible apposition to the name of the king rather than by a defining grammatical construction.²¹⁹

Although there are many other identifications that can be added to those cited in this article and a closer analysis is likely to isolate more categories, what has been presented is sufficient to demonstrate the importance of identification to the theology of the otherworld and to understanding Egyptian ontological thought. A more complete and rigorous study could provide us with a better understanding not only of the essence and existence of the deceased but also of such seemingly intractable concepts as compound divinities. Indeed, it is the sort of topic that Nick Millet would have motivated one of his students into taking on as a dissertation. Now that he has most certainly been transformed into an equipped and

imperishable spirit, one can be sure that he is just waiting to provide someone with a bit of divine inspiration.

Notes

1. Walter Federn, "The 'Transformations' in the Coffin Texts a New Approach," *JNES* 19, 4 (October 1960), pp. 241-257.

2. Federn, *JNES* 19 (1960), pg. 250.

3. A significant number of these texts deal with ensuring that the pharaoh is crowned and assumes his royal duties in the otherworld. These texts were certainly similar, and in some cases likely identical, to the earthly coronation ceremony. Also to be added to this category are the large clusters of chants and spells for warding off serpents and other vermin, as effective for the living as for the dead, along with the clothing and sustenance spells which are most probably based on temple ceremonies for the feeding and clothing of the gods.

4. PT 250, 269a.

5. PT 489, 1009c; PT 670, 1979b.

6. PT 275, 416c.

7. PT 513, 1172b.

8. PT 252, 272c.

9. PT 215, 147b: *hpr.k itm ntr nb*. This mantric-like spell is certainly a good candidate for inclusion in Federn's category of secret ceremony in which the gods were impersonated by humans.

10. PT 685, 2064a: *hpr ntr*.

11. PT 306, 481b; PT 572, 1477c.

12. PT 364, 620c; PT 645, 1824b; PT 647, 1826b; PT 721, 2240b.

13. PT 532, 1257a; PT 535, 1287a; PT 578, 1537a.

14. PT 369, 644e; PT 532, 1257d.

15. PT 366, 630b; PT 593, 1634b.

16. PT 357, 592b; PT 371, 650c.

17. PT 364, 614a.

18. PT 606, 1695c.
19. PT 306, 480d.
20. PT 606, 1695a.
21. PT 578, 1536b.
22. PT 578, 1537b.
23. PT 606, 1695b.
24. PT 578, 1534c.
25. PT 685, 1907e.
26. PT 372, 653d.
27. PT 627, 1783c.
28. PT 532, 1257c; PT 665, 1907d.
29. PT 33, 25b; PT 215, 147b; PT 356, 580b; PT 366, 630c; PT 368, 638b; PT 423, 765c; PT 588, 1607b .
30. PT 356, 577c; PT 370, 645b.
31. PT 356, 577d.
32. PT 356, 581c.
33. PT 357, 585a; PT 364, 621b; PT 368, 636c; PT 664B, 1887b.
34. PT 366, 627a.
35. PT 366, 627b.
36. PT 366, 628b.
37. PT 366, 628c.
38. PT 366, 629a.
39. PT 369, 640b.
40. PT 370, 645b.
41. PT 371, 648d.

42. PT 593, 1630d.

43. PT 593, 1631b.

44. PT 593, 1634c.

45. PT 660, 1871b.

46. PT 658, 1854b.

47. PT 219, 181a.

48. PT 219, 182a.

49. PT 219, 183a.

50. PT 219, 184a.

51. PT 219, 185a.

52. PT 219, 186a.

53. PT 219, 188a.

54. PT 219, 189a.

55. PT 219, 190a.

56. PT 219, 191a.

57. PT 219, 192a.

58. PT 33, 24b; PT 422, 765b.

59. PT 33, 25c; PT 357, 589a; PT 423, 767a.

60. PT 356, 580a.

61. PT 366, 631a.

62. PT 355, 631b.

63. PT 371, 649a.

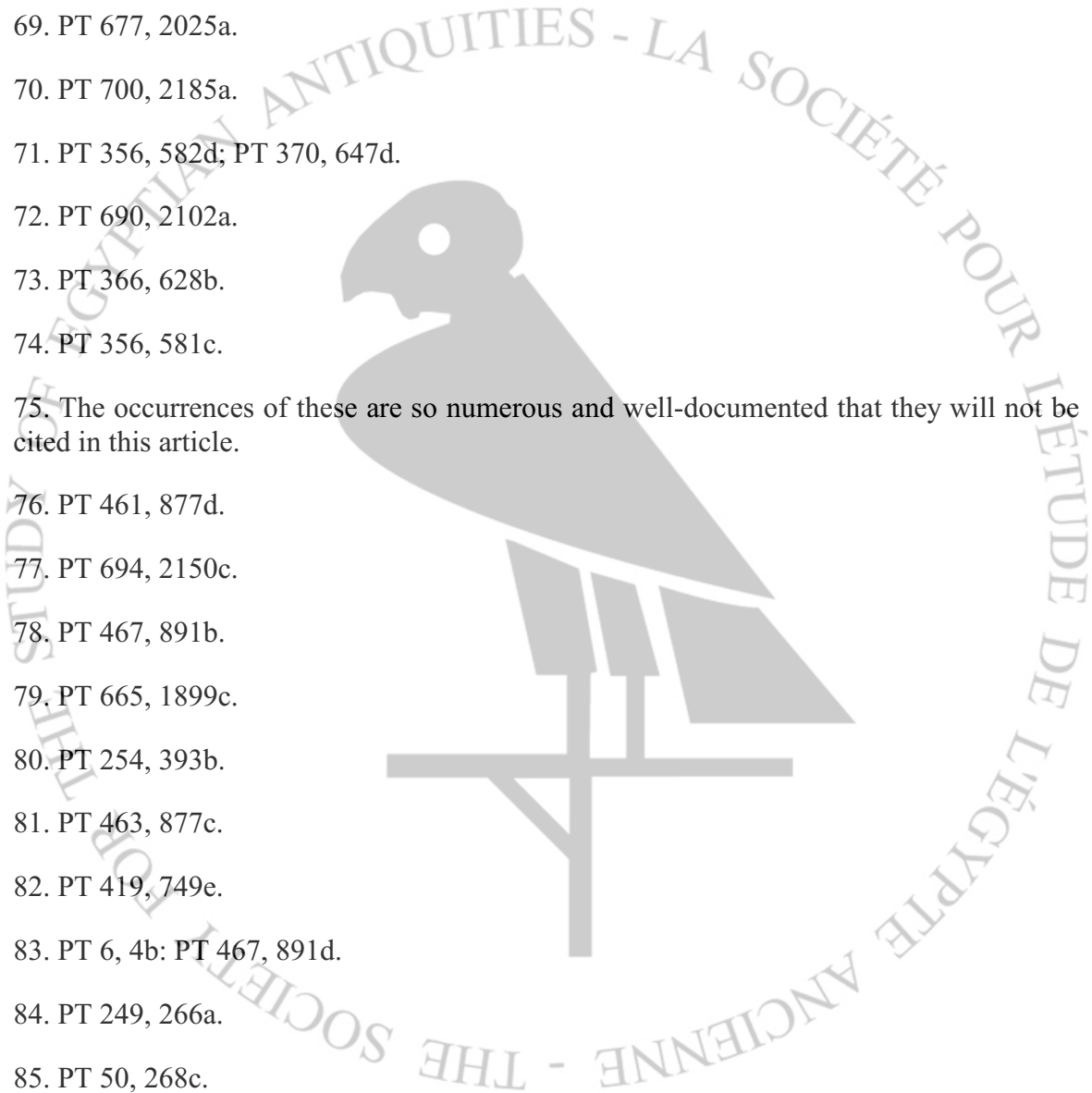
64. PT 371, 650b.

65. PT 593, 1631a.



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66. PT 357, 585b.
67. PT 646, 1825b.
68. PT 658, 1859c.
69. PT 677, 2025a.
70. PT 700, 2185a.
71. PT 356, 582d; PT 370, 647d.
72. PT 690, 2102a.
73. PT 366, 628b.
74. PT 356, 581c.
75. The occurrences of these are so numerous and well-documented that they will not be cited in this article.
76. PT 461, 877d.
77. PT 694, 2150c.
78. PT 467, 891b.
79. PT 665, 1899c.
80. PT 254, 393b.
81. PT 463, 877c.
82. PT 419, 749e.
83. PT 6, 4b; PT 467, 891d.
84. PT 249, 266a.
85. PT 50, 268c.
86. PT 402, 698d; PT 523, 1231b; PT 666, 1919b; PT 717, 2225c; PT 405, 705a.
87. PT 483, 1013d.
88. PT 405, 703a.
89. PT 405, 703a.



90. PT 405, 703a; PT 606, 1687c; PT 606, 1694c.

91. PT 476, 952c.

92. PT 255, 300a; PT 380, 668b; PT 393, 689c; PT 412, 721a; PT 442, 819a; PT 504, 1087b; PT 510, 1145a; PT 570, 1444a; PT 570, 1444c; PT 570, 1445b; PT 570, 1446b; PT 570, 1447b; PT 570, 1448b; PT 610, 1721a; PT 611, 1725a; PT 626, 1770a; PT 694, 2146c; PT 720, 2238a; PT 736, 2266a.

93. PT 569, 1440c.

94. PT478, 979c; PT 570, 1459b; PT 655, 1843; PT683, 2047d; PT 704, 2206e.

95. PT 480, 994e; PT 572, 1476c.

96. PT 81, 57d; PT 224, 220c; PT 412, 727c; PT 437, 793c; PT 437, 804a; PT 468, 896a; PT535, 1287c; PT582, 1564a; PT610, 1713c; PT650, 1833c; PT659, 1867b; PT694, 2150c; PT704, 2198b.

97. PT 412, 727c; PT 534, 1277a; PT 611, 1724b; PT 665, 1899b; PT 665B, 1913b; PT 666A, 1927c.

98. PT 210, 126a; PT 535, 1287c; PT 555, 1374a; PT 556, 1379c; PT 594, 1638b; PT 679, 2032a.

99. PT 224, 220c; PT 650, 1833d.

100. PT 317, 507b; PT 317, 510a; PT 582, 1564b; PT 300, 445b; PT 483, 1013c; PT 510, 1712c; PT 674, 1998c.

101. PT 334, 545a.

102. PT 506, 1097b.

103. PT 524, 1237c; PT 610, 1713c; PT 611, 1725c; PT 665, 1900a; PT 694, 2150c; PT 665B, 1914b.

104. PT 506, 1097b.

105. PT 506, 1097c.

106. PT 535, 1284a.

107. PT 510, 1147b; PT 570, 1459b.

108. PT 506, 1097c.

109. PT 510, 1146b.
110. PT 674, 1998b.
111. PT 320, 515b; PT 320, 516b.
112. PT 334, 545b.
113. PT 322, 518c.
114. PT 360, 603b.
115. PT 413, 734a; PT 665, 1904e; PT 666, 1921g; PT 717, 2228d.
116. PT 468, 895d; PT 599, 1645a; PT 610, 1719d (Governor of the 2 Enneads); PT 650, 1834b; PT 666, 1919c; PT 690, 2103d; PT 717, 2226a.
117. PT 439, 812a.
118. PT 483, 1013d; PT 610, 1712b.
119. PT 317, 507b; PT 317, 510a; PT 582, 1564b; PT 300, 445b; PT 483, 1013c; PT 510, 1712c; PT 674, 1998c.
120. PT 246, 256a; PT 610, 1712b; PT 673, 1993c; PT 674, 1998a; PT 666A, 1928d; PT 667A, 1948a.
121. PT 437,804c.
122. PT 480, 994d; PT 572, 1476b.
123. PT 506, 1095b.
124. PT 555, 1378b.
125. PT 483, 1013d; PT 610, 1712b.
126. PT 322, 518d.
127. Some of these gods, if indeed they are gods, are so obscure that we have no idea what these special characteristics are, for example: *Ztty* and *Zty-Zty* (PT 506, 1094a); *Nmny* (PT 535, 1284a); *Iahes* (PT 480, 994c; PT 572, 1476a); *Bat* (PT 506, 1096b); *Dw3w* (PT 480, 994b); *Dewenau* (PT 506, 1098a).
128. PT 582, 1564a-1565b.
129. PT 599, 1645a-b.

130. PT 673, 1993a-d.
131. PT 606 1687a-1688b.
132. PT 524 1236c-1237c.
133. PT 249, 266a-b.
134. PT 317, 510a-d.
135. PT 307, 486b; PT 319, 513a; PT 474, 944c; PT 694, 2156a.
136. PT 205, 121b; PT 470, 913d; PT 510, 1145c; PT 553, 1359a.
137. PT 307, 486b.
138. PT 480, 998b.
139. PT 318, 511b; PT 409, 717a.
140. PT 408, 716e.
141. PT 254, 280b; PT 254, 283a; PT 254, 293b; PT 273, 397a.
142. PT 320, 516c.
143. PT 683, 2047c.
144. PT 467, 889d.
145. PT 485A, 1029b.
146. PT 485A, 1029c.
147. PT 254, 293b.
148. PT 374, 659b; PT 412, 727b; PT 437, 804d; PT 506, 1097a; PT 610, 1719d; PT 659, 1867b; PT 690, 2103c.
149. PT 659, 1867b.
150. PT 302, 463d.
151. PT 667A, 1948b.
152. PT 218, 162a; PT 467, 891c; PT 470, 917a; PT 488, 1048c; PT 626, 1770a; PT 655, 1843; PT 668, 1959a; PT 668, 1959b; PT 704, 2206d; PT 735, 2265a.

153. PT 627, 1777b.
154. PT 655, 1845b; PT 682, 2042c.
155. PT 577, 1530d.
156. PT 210, 126c; PT 694, 2152a.
157. PT 307, 463b; PT 682, 2042d.
158. PT 488, 1048d.
159. PT 467, 891b; PT 582, 1564a; PT 682, 2042d.
160. PT 603, 1676c.
161. PT 307, 463c.
162. PT 226, 226a; PT 293, 435a; PT 383, 671c; PT 387, 680a.
163. PT 484, 1020a; PT 679, 2032b, although both of these might well be examples of the god *Wrt*.
164. PT 682, 2042c-2043b.
165. PT 524, 1234c-1235c.
166. With few exceptions as noted below, the common word for star is *sb3*.
167. PT 437, 805a. Other morning star, *dw3-ntr* examples are: PT 437, 805d; PT 461, 871b; PT 536, 1295a; PT 553, 1366c; PT 610, 1719f; PT 676, 2014b.
168. PT 463, 877c-d. Other lone star examples are: PT 488, 1048b; PT 665, 1899e; PT 666, 1920e; PT 667A, 1945f; PT 717, 2226d.
169. PT 469, 909c-d (*nhh*). See also: PT 262, 332c; PT 469, 909c.
170. PT 513, 1171c-1172b.
171. PT 442, 821b-822a.
172. PT 248, 263b; PT 264, 347a; PT 266, 362b; PT 328, 537b; PT 329, 538b; PT 437, 802b; PT 447, 821c; PT 464, 878a; PT 466, 882b; PT 467, 889d (*shd*); PT 474, 940a; PT 476, 953a; PT 485C, 1038; PT 509, 1123a; PT 536, 1295a; PT 570, 1455a; PT 610, 1720c; PT 655, 1846; PT 666, 1925a; PT 676, 2014b; PT 586A, 1583b.
173. PT 329, 538a-b.

174. PT 476, 953a-c.

175. PT 570, 1455a-c.

176. PT 373, 565c.

177. PT 464. Other examples are: PT 215, 148a-d, 149c; PT 422, 759c; PT 432, 782e; PT 464, 878a; PT 474, 940a; PT 509, 1123a; PT 513, 1171b; PT 513, 1171c; PT 520, 1222c; PT 570, 1456b; PT 570, 1457a; PT 570, 1458a; PT 571, 1470b; PT 624, 1760a; PT 666, 1926a; PT 667, 1941d; PT 667A, 1944b; PT 739, 2225d; PT 739, 2269a.

178. PT 419, 749e.

179. For example: PT 570, 1456a, 1457b, 1458b.

180. PT 373, 565c.

181. PT 252, 272c. See also, for example, PT 685, 2066b.

182. PT 33, 25b; PT 68, 47c ;PT 252, 274c; PT 258, 309e; PT 259, 313e; PT 274, 408a; PT 296, 439b; PT 302, ; 63a; PT 334, 543c; PT 412, 724c; PT 422, 754b; PT 486, 1041a; PT 570, 1457a; PT 570, 1458a; PT 573, 1483a; PT 643, 1819b; PT 659, ; 863a; PT 666, 1919b; PT 673, 1990b; PT 682, 2046c; PT 687, 2076a; PT 687, 2076c; PT 690, 2093a; PT ; 90, 2093b; PT 690, 2093b; PT 690, 2094b; PT 690, 2096a; PT 690, 2096b; PT 690, 2097a; PT 690, 2108a; PT 690, 2114b; PT 690, 2118c; PT 700, 2183a; PT 717, 2225c; PT 724, 2247b; PT 645A, 1824h; PT 667A, 1948e; PT 676, 2013a.

183. For example, PT 77, 52c; PT 436, 789a; PT 437, 795b, 796c.

184. PT 373, 656c; PT 419, 748a; PT 422, 754c; PT 437, 793b; PT 457, 858b; PT 457, 859d; PT 465, 880c; PT 487, 1046b; PT 506, 1095a; PT 610, 1714b.

185. PT 217, 152a; 153b; 154a; 155b; 156a; 157b; 158a; 159b; PT 218, 161a; 163a; 164c; 165b; 165d; 166b; 166d.

186. PT 473, 930f; PT 627, 1771a.

187. PT 252, 274a-c.

188. PT 687, 2076c-2077b.

189. PT 465, 880c-d.

190. PT 422, 754b-c.

191. PT 690, 2096a-d.

192. PT 665B, 1913a-1914b.

193. PT 422, 754c; PT 665, 1899b; PT 690, 2096d; PT 690, 2110d; PT 665B, 1914a; PT 539, 1319a; PT 611, 1725b; PT 224, 407a.

194. PT 539, 1319a.

195. PT 274, 408a-c.

196. PT 690, 2110d.

197. PT 470, 917b; PT 505, 1093a.

198. PT 518, 1196b.

199. PT 510, 1147a.

200. PT 261, 324c.

201. PT 510, 1146a.

202. PT 467, 889e.

203. PT 506, 1100b.

204. PT 334, 544a,b.

205. PT 506, 1100c.

206. PT 513, 1169b.

207. PT 513, 1170b.

208. PT 506, 1095d.

209. PT 516, 1183c.

210. PT 516, 1183b.

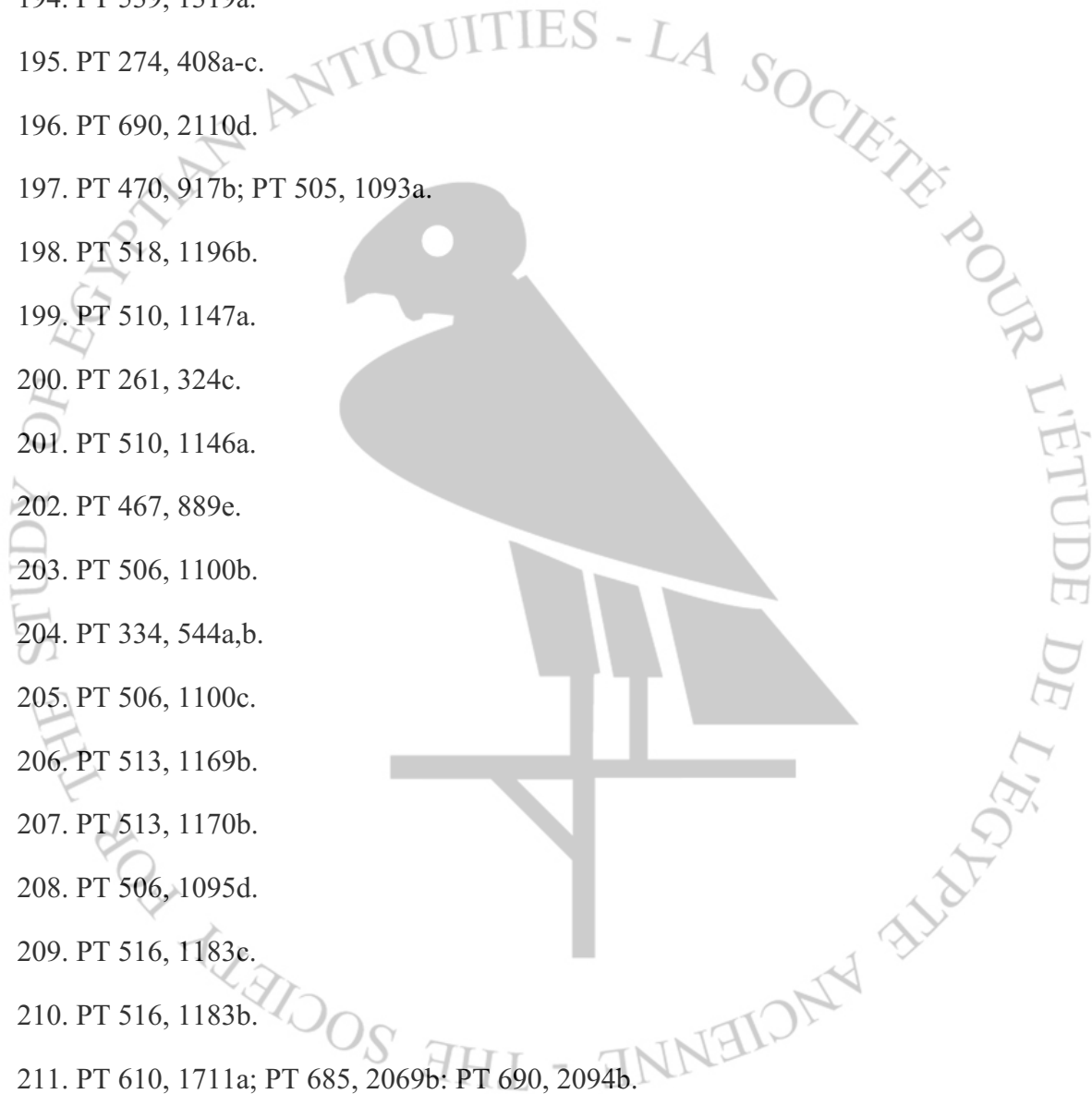
211. PT 610, 1711a; PT 685, 2069b; PT 690, 2094b.

212. PT 472, 924b.

213. PT 510, 1146c.

214. PT 274, 409a.

215. PT 217, 152a; PT 217, 154a; PT 217, 156a; PT 217, 158a.



216. PT 662, 1881b.

217. PT 320, 515d.

218. PT 254, 276c; PT 254, 276c.

219. Some others in this group are: son of the beetle: PT 519, 1210a; swamp dweller: PT 697, 2173c; unique one: PT 254, 293b; waterway traveller: PT 513, 1169a; wise one: PT 247, 258a; one in Nedjet: PT 412, 721b; one great of pace: PT 470, 917c; one who ought to be loosed: PT 506, 1100c; potentate: PT 681, 2041; puller of the cord: PT 390, 684a; Pygmy of the dance of god: PT 517, 1189a; governor of the bows: PT 437, 804d; great one: PT 248, 262a; he who is saved: PT 506, 1096c; he who *tmi*? the 2 lands: PT 506, 1095c; herald of the year: PT 518, 1195a; holy one: PT 329, 537a; PT 329, 538a; lake dweller: PT 461, 871b; Denderahite: PT 496, 1066a; grasper of the White Crown: PT 570, 1459a; master of the Curl of the Green Crown: PT 570, 1459a; blessed one: PT 519, 1203e; drawer of the bowstring: PT 390, 684a; far striding: PT 470, 917c; feeble one: PT 343, 558a; one of the Abyss: PT 461, 877d; Netherworlder: PT 266, 362b; sole one: PT 681, 2041; *dhzi* of gods: PT 309, 490a; pillar: djed: 537, 1301c; PT 690, 2107c; and others: PT 254: 280a b, and 283a; sacred image: PT 274, 407b; circle that surrounds Haunebut: PT 454, 847c; essence of a god: PT 471, 920a; my father is great: PT 507, 1106b; praise: PT 506, 1096a; respect: PT 506, 1096a.



TABLE 1 – BODY PART IDENTIFICATIONS

Body Part or Aspect	Word	Spell	Passage	Identity
Arm	'	556	1380d	Jackal
Arm	'	302	463b	Goose
Arm	'	524	1235a	Falcon
Arm	'	721	2247a	Falcon
Arm	'	213	135a	Atum
Arm	'	215	149a	Hapi and Duamutef
Arm	'	390	685d	Mafdet
Back	<i>s3</i>	213	135a	Atum
Bellv	<i>ht</i>	539	1311a	Nut
Blood	<i>tr</i>	533	1263c	Re
Bones	<i>ks</i>	214	137b	falcon divine
Buttocks	<i>hpdw</i>	539	1313a	Night Bark and Dav Bark
Calves	<i>sbk</i>	539	1314c	Two souls who preside over the Field of <i>Dr</i>
Chin	<i>inv^c</i>	539	1308a	Kherty
Claw	<i>i3ft</i>	627	1779c	bull of evening
Eves	<i>irt</i>	215	148c	Twins of Atum
Eves	<i>irt</i>	539	1305a	<i>Wrt</i>
Eves	<i>irt</i>	627	1778c	Lady of sunshine
Face	<i>hr</i>	355	573a	iackal
Face	<i>hr</i>	524	1235a	iackal
Face	<i>hr</i>	537	1298b	iackal
Face	<i>hr</i>	582	1564a	iackal
Face	<i>hr</i>	619	1749a	iackal
Face	<i>hr</i>	674	1995a	iackal
Face	<i>hr</i>	677	2026b	iackal
Face	<i>hr</i>	690	2108a	iackal
Face	<i>hr</i>	721	2241c	iackal
Face	<i>hr</i>	734	2262a	iackal
Face	<i>hr</i>	302	461b	falcon
Face	<i>hr</i>	213	135b	Anubis
Face	<i>mhnty</i>	215	148b	<i>Mhnty-irty</i>
Face	<i>hr</i>	424	769d	Wenwawet
Face	<i>hr</i>	539	1304c	Wenwawet
Face	<i>hr</i>	667	1935a	Seth
Feather	<i>swt</i>	335	546b	falcon
Feather	<i>swt</i>	470	913b	duck
Feather - wing	<i>tpt-dnhw</i>	524	1235b	Thoth
Feather - wing	<i>tpt-dnhw</i>	682	2043b	falcon divine
Feather - wing	<i>tpt-dnhw</i>	724	2247a	Thoth
Fingers	<i>db^c</i>	385	677d	Mafdet
Flesh	<i>iwf</i>	537	1298b	Atum
Flesh	<i>iwf</i>	690	2098a	Atum
Forepart	<i>h3t</i>	459	865b	iackal
Forepart	<i>h3t</i>	691B	2128b	iackal
Hand	<i>drt</i>	384	672b	Great Filterer
Head	<i>tp</i>	539	1303a	vulture

Body Part or Aspect	Word	Spell	Passage	Identity
Head	<i>tp</i>	215	148a	Horus
Head - sides	<i>drw-tp</i>	539	1303c	starrv skv
Heart	<i>h3t</i>	539	1310c	Bastet
Hinder parts	<i>nh</i>	459	865b	falcon
Hinder parts	<i>nh</i>	213	135b	Atum
Hinder parts	<i>nh</i>	539	1312c	Heket
Hinder parts	<i>nh</i>	674	1995a	Celestial Serpent
Hinder parts	<i>nh</i>	691B	2128b	Celestial Serpent
Hinder parts	<i>nh</i>	619	1749a	broad hall
Horns	<i>db?</i>	246	252a	bulls 2 wild
Legs	<i>rd</i>	556	1380c	iackal
Legs	<i>rd</i>	213	135b	Atum
Legs	<i>rd</i>	215	149b	Imseti and Kebehsenuf
Legs	<i>rd</i>	390	685c	Mafdet
Lips	<i>spt</i>	627	1779c	Bull of holv images
Lips	<i>spt</i>	506	1100a	2 Enneads
Members	<i>wt</i>	215	149c	Twins of Atum
Members	<i>wt</i>	570	1454b	Imperishable Stars
Members	<i>wt</i>	684	2051d	Imperishable Stars
Middle	<i>hr-ib</i>	582	1564a	Celestial Serpent
Middle	<i>hr-ib</i>	619	1749a	Celestial Serpent
Neck	<i>bnt</i>	627	1779b	Mistress of flames
Nose	<i>fnd</i>	215	148d	iackal
Nose	<i>fnd</i>	539	1305c	Thoth
Odor	<i>st</i>	508	1113c	odor of Horus
Phallus	<i>hnn</i>	539	1313c	Abis
Shoulder	<i>rmn</i>	213	135a	Atum
Shoulder	<i>rmn</i>	424	769d	Wpiw
Shoulder	<i>rmn</i>	539	1309a	Seth
Soles	<i>tbw</i>	539	1315a	2 Barks of Righteousness
Spine	<i>ts</i>	539	1308c	Bull wild
Spine	<i>bksw</i>	691B	2128b	door bolt of the god
Strength	<i>dhtv</i>	510	1145b	strength of Horus
Sweat	<i>fdt</i>	508	1113c	sweat of Horus
Sweat	<i>fdt</i>	533	1263c	sweat of Isis
Tail	<i>hbst</i>	355	573a	Lion
Talon	<i>nt</i>	302	461d	Him of the Cerastes Mountain
Teeth	<i>ibh?</i>	215	148d	Soned
Teeth	<i>ibh?</i>	539	1307a	Souls of Pe
Teeth	<i>ibh?</i>	553	1358d	claws of Her of the Cerastes Mountain
Thighs	<i>mnt</i>	539	1314a	Neith and Selket
Toes	<i>s3hw</i>	539	1315c	Souls of On
Tongue	<i>ns</i>	539	1306d	Pilot in charge of Bark of Righteousness
Wing	<i>dnhw</i>	302	461c	Duck
Wing	<i>dnhw</i>	302	463c	Kite
Wing	<i>dnhw</i>	419	748b	Falcon
Wing	<i>dnhw</i>	682	2043a	falcon divine
Wing	<i>dm3</i>	627	1780a	Khentv-imentvw

**23. Egypt's New Kingdom Levantine Empire and Serabit
El-khadim, Including a Newly Attested Votive
Offering of Horemheb**

Gregory Mumford

Abstract

Our current understanding of Egypt's New Kingdom relations with the Sinai and Levant relies heavily upon the extant textual-pictorial record. It has mostly neglected the full potential of the archaeological record, even during periods of relatively few contemporary pertinent, historical sources. This paper summarizes and updates results from this writer's doctoral dissertation, quantifying the nature, proportions, and spatial and temporal distributions of Egyptian and Egyptianizing artefacts from occupation, mortuary and cultic assemblages in the Sinai and 21 selected Levantine sites. This data is balanced by an assessment of the dispersal of New Kingdom royal-name items and monuments throughout the Near East, and textual-pictorial sources recording the nature and dispatch of Egyptian products and personnel to the Levant. The overall Egyptian(izing) artefact proportions from individual and combined contexts at Levantine sites display peaks in Egyptian activity in LB 1B (1450-1400 B.C.) and late LB 2B to Iron 1A (1250-1150 B.C.), with a definite decline in early-mid Iron 1B (late Ramesside period).

Keywords

Horemheb; New Kingdom; Late Bronze Age; early Iron Age; Sinai; Negev; Syria-Palestine; Near East; Levant; Serabit el-Khadim; Timna; Hathor; Sopdu; mining shrines; votives; international relations; diplomacy; trade; imperialism; warfare.

This article is dedicated to Nicholas B. Millet, whose encouragement, support, and boundless knowledge of and enthusiasm for Ancient Egypt inspired many of my Egyptological and related researches. One of his many inspirations includes my examination —as part of my Ph.D. dissertation— of the Royal Ontario Museum's collection of unpublished votive materials from Serabit el-Khadim, amongst which I noticed a fragmentary votive with the prenominal of Horemheb. Together with my doctoral thesis advisor, John S. Holladay, Jr. (who supervised me on the Levantine and structural aspects of my dissertation), Nick played a significant role in fostering my study of Egyptian and Sinaitic materials. Given the dearth of quantitative studies on Egypto-Asiatic relations, it seems appropriate to place the Horemheb votive in the context of its time, both within the New Kingdom royal offerings to Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim and Timna, and in the broader expression of Egypt's Levantine empire and international relations with the Near East during the Late Bronze Age to early Iron Age.

Horemheb at Serabit el-Khadim:

A Royal Ontario Museum index card (B.3111; 906.16.34) describes Horemheb's votive as a fragment of a friable, white faience ring-stand. It contains a straight-sided interior and edges, and a slightly convex-sided exterior surface. The fragment measures 1 7/16 inches high by 7/16 inches

thick (3.7 by 1.1 cm). The surviving exterior portion has a black-painted cartouche enclosing Horemheb's prenomen (Weser-kheperure setep-en-re), which lies above a narrow, raised band with a row of black-painted dots along the ring-stand's base (**Figure 23-22**). The weathered exterior surface "glaze" is light olive green. In a description pertaining to index cards B.3105–178, card B.3105 (906.16.30) mentions that "... all these objects are covered to a varying degree with the same reddish deposit."¹ This ring stand and other items are also described as coming from Flinders Petrie's 1905–06 Egypt Exploration Fund excavations in Sinai, "probably from Serabit el-Khadim" (ROM index card B.3105, 906.16.30).

Material culture remains of New Kingdom votives at Serabit:

Horemheb's ring-stand represents one of at least 2,792 New Kingdom votive offerings placed in the Hathor temple.² Owing to the scattered, varied and incomplete publication of votives from Serabit, it is worthwhile to quantify and summarize them here. These offerings include 1,839 (66%) vessels and pieces from containers of pottery (27+ fragments and vessels), calcite (147 pieces), faience (617 items), and glass (1,048 shards).³ These containers include Hathor cow-figures,⁴ Bes-figures,⁵ and human-figures,⁶ vessels with applied Hathor-heads⁷ and Bes-heads,⁸ a container with a cow head-shaped spout (Hathor), amphorae,⁹ small jars,¹⁰ lentoid flasks,¹¹ spouted vessels,¹² pear-shaped vases,¹³ cylindrical vases,¹⁴ loti-form goblets,¹⁵ lids,¹⁶ ring-stands,¹⁷ bowls,¹⁸ cups,¹⁹ kohl pots,²⁰ kohl-tubes,²¹ stoppers,²² platters, palettes,²³ and unspecified vessel types.²⁴ Of the pottery, some sherds originated from one or more Tell el Yahudiyeh type juglets,²⁵ several sherds came from Mycenaean vessels,²⁶ and a few sherds represented Cypriot Base Ring II containers.²⁷ The next major category of votives, 624 items (22%), are comprised of one gold ornament²⁸ and faience jewellery: cartouche plaques,²⁹ scarabs,³⁰ finger-rings (including bezels with cartouches, Wadjet-eyes, Hathor heads, Neith, Thoth, Bes, an ibex, and floral patterns),³¹ bracelets,³² earrings,³³ menat necklace counterpoises,³⁴ pendants,³⁵ amulets,³⁶ and beads³⁷ (from necklaces). Faience also composes 286 diverse objects (10%), which encompass Hathor-shaped plaques,³⁸ modelled Hathor-heads (sistra),³⁹ plaques portraying Hathor,⁴⁰ plaques with felines,⁴¹ pendants with anthropomorphic figures,⁴² cartouches,⁴³ animals, and animal parts (e.g., hind leg; vulture wing),⁴⁴ figurines of humans (including female-on-bed type figurines),⁴⁵ felines⁴⁶ and other animals,⁴⁷ fish-shaped cosmetic dishes(?),⁴⁸ a votive ear,⁴⁹ and throw-sticks ("wands").⁵⁰ The remaining 37 artefacts (1%) contain miscellaneous forms and functions: a game piece,⁵¹ four miniature papyrus columns,⁵² two trefoil pieces⁵³ and 30 fragments. In addition, other areas of the Hathor Temple yielded six or more items that may represent functional implements rather than votive offerings, namely two or more stone hand polishers, a ceramic crucible, and three copper chisels of different types.⁵⁴ Similar types of votives appear in the New Kingdom Hathor shrines at Timna⁵⁵ (a copper mining region in the southern Negev) and Gebel Zeit⁵⁶ (a galena source in the Eastern Desert). The extant material culture from Serabit emphasizes its virtual purely Egyptian nature, despite some evidence for Asiatics and a few Egyptian officials with Semitic names participating in some New Kingdom expeditions.

Ramesside material culture remains from Timna:

The Hathor Shrine at Timna (probably Ramesside Atika)⁵⁷ is much more diverse in the cultural matrix of its votive offerings. B. Rothenberg discovered 1,482 artefacts and materials that

include 396 items (26.7%) of Egyptian architecture, cultic furnishings, pottery and non-pottery artefacts, and provisions, 170 pieces (11.5%) of Syro-Palestinian and Mediterranean pottery and floral and faunal remains, 78 fragments (5.3%) from Negevite pottery and local materials, 74 sherds (5%) from Midianite pottery (Northwest Arabia: Qurraya ware), and 760 objects (51.3%) representing an admixture of generic and non-Egyptian (i.e., Levantine) cultural remains.⁵⁸ The 396 Egyptian-type items consisted of 16 architectural and related elements (including three sphinx-statuettes; a deity/person; a rock-stela), containers of pottery (34 sherds), alabaster, other stones, faience, and glass, ring-stands of faience, possibly around 55(?) necklaces (represented by 5,457 beads of faience, stone and glass; 48 pendants; 21 amulets; including gold ornaments), faience menat-counterpoises from necklaces, scarabs and seals, faience throw-sticks, feline and other figurine types, and plaques, pieces from Egyptian linen (flax), Nile freshwater shells (*Aspatharia rubens*), ceramic items, a tile, gaming piece, and ushabti of faience, and possibly ten(?) grape bunches (703 pips from Egyptian? cultivated grapes).

The remaining 1,086 non-Egyptian votive artefacts and materials (73.3%)⁵⁹ from Timna include a broader and different range of items than Serabit: 322 sherds from Syro-Palestinian, Negevite, and Midianite (Qurraya ware) pottery, 256 pieces of metal jewellery (35 earrings; 207 rings; two headbands; six bronze/copper strips; three bronze/copper bracelets; one piece of gold foil; a Red Sea Blue Shark vertebra reused as a bead), 227 fragments from smelting equipment (tubes; wire; rods; bars; ferrules; spirals; rivets; fragments; sheeting; unspecified items), 45 pieces of sandstone equipment (offering tables and stands; saddle-backed querns; basins; grinding bowls; mortars; anvils; pestles), 43 metal tools (projectile points; hooks; pins; needles; chisels; punches; spatulas; a balance beam; three bronze points), 35+ smelting items (tuyère fragments; three types of crucibles; a tin droplet; 2-3 kg. of metallurgical slag and copper droplets), 110 votive marine invertebrates (20 corals; 85 marine shells; one sea-urchin), 23 votive fossils, 16 Mediterranean fish (28 bones of the Gilthead Sea Bream; one Meagre), remains from 46 caprovines (offerings?), a group of pistachio nuts (13 examples), four votive chunks of minerals, six copper/bronze figurines (a seated male; an epiphallic male; a serpent with a gilded head; an animal-like quadruped; a “rider-on-animal”; a ram with a suspension-hole at its neck), a wooden disk, a wooden comb, and 44 other items (woolen textiles; haematite; quartz). These findings reveal both Levantine and Egyptian mining and votive offerings in the Hathor shrine at Timna, which are alluded to in the discussion of copper mining at Atika recorded in Papyrus Harris I (temp. Ramesses III). Although the material remains from the Timna shrine are much better recorded and published than the votives from Serabit el-Khadim, the inscriptional evidence from Serabit offers further clues regarding Egypt’s activity in Sinai-Negev.

Textual-pictorial evidence for offerings at Serabit:

Some New Kingdom inscriptions from Wadi Maghara and Serabit mention further types of offerings brought to the Sinai and Hathor Temple. Six Dynasty 18 inscriptions⁶⁰ reveal that the altars of Hathor and other deities received offerings of (white) bread (*bit*; *t-[hḏ]*), beer (*hnkt*), wine (*irp*), milk, water, oxen, fowl, incense (*sntr*), pure ointment, and (linen) clothes, and imply offerings of gold (*nbw*) and silver (*ḥḏ*). For example, inscription no. 182 of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III lists 350 <loaves(?)> of bread(?), 320 <loaves> of white bread, 360 <containers> of beer, 30 <containers> of wine, and 60 ro-geese.⁶¹ Many stelae and wall and pillar scenes⁶² portray a king (or

queen, such as Hatshepsut), who is sometimes accompanied by a queen, a princess, or one or more officials. These rulers appear in multiple roles, offering a figure of Maat, one or two small pots, spouted vessels, containers with water or milk, a triangular white loaf, a basket with a loaf, and incense. Sometimes a tall offering stand is present, often holding a lotus flower or a jar.

In private stelae, and some wall and pillar scenes⁶³, officials are depicted bringing a small bird as an offering, kneeling or standing in adoration (with their palms held out towards a deity or a king's cartouches), and burning incense in a pedestal-based bowl. They also appear offering baskets of rings (bracelets?), a triangular loaf (white bread), a bouquet of lotus flowers, and pairs of small vessels. In some cases, officials pour water over offerings. They also appear pouring water onto the base of a cult statue, or into a larger vessel. In other scenes, one or two tall offering stands support a single lotus flower, or a collection of offerings (e.g., a forelimb, cow's head, cucumber, and loaves). In one depiction, a female offers a pair of Hathor-headed sistra and a menat-necklace counterpoise.⁶⁴

Most of these listed and depicted offerings originated from Egypt, including the material remains from calcite, glass and faience votives. The latter votives were produced in Egyptian workshops, often being specifically crafted for "Hathor, lady of the turquoise."⁶⁵ Kaczmarczyk and Hedges report that the king held a monopoly on glass manufacture during the New Kingdom in contrast to the wider spread faience workshops, which were operated both royally and privately.⁶⁶ Most of the faience offerings bore royal cartouches, while various uninscribed faience and other pieces (e.g., decorated vessels) might reflect elite private offerings, coinciding with the private stelae dedicated at the Hathor Temple. Many offering scenes at Serabit undoubtedly portray the symbolic presence of selected participants (e.g., kings; queens) and offerings. For instance, there is no evidence for the transportation to Serabit of either freshly cut lotus blossoms or oxen (to supply meat and a foreleg offering), unless Egyptian missions brought live or preserved Nile Valley offerings with them, in a nine to eleven day journey traversing 275 km across the desert and Red Sea. If one accepts the latter situation, the nature and scope of New Kingdom expeditions to Serabit (and Timna?) become more complex.

The recipients of offerings at Serabit:

New Kingdom expeditions to Serabit presented royal and non-royal gifts primarily to Hathor, "Mistress of the Turquoise," who appears 49 times (71%) in at least 69 scenes of deities at Serabit.⁶⁷ Royal missions and officials also provided offerings for other deities, some of whom adorn royal scenes and private stelae: Ptah (4.4%), Amun-Re (4.4%), and Horus (4.4%) appear in three depictions apiece, whilst Sopdu, "Lord of the East," is portrayed only twice (2.9%) at Serabit. A further nine illustrated deities, Sutekh, Thoth, Khentekhtay, Anhur-Show, Khnum, Mehyt, Edjo, and two unnamed deities, occur only once each.⁶⁸ The textual citations are generally greater in number for these deities and often include deities otherwise not depicted. The minimal representations and citations of Sopdu are noteworthy, especially considering this deity apparently merited the second, subsidiary shrine beside Hathor's shrine at Serabit.

The purpose behind the votive offerings:

High officials brought these votive offerings, primarily on the behalf of the mission's royal patron, with the aim of obtaining divine intervention to ensure a successful mining venture and

broader benefits for the reigning pharaoh, Egypt and its populace in general. Royal expectations also included the receipt of dominion, stability, prosperity, health, and other divine largesse in both life and the afterlife. In addition, private individuals erected their own stelae and statuary, and often accompany the king on royal monuments dedicated to Hathor and other deities (especially patron deities of their home towns or professions). The inscriptions left by officials often request future visitors to invoke a standard offering formula for the author's ka ("spirit"), in exchange for good health and well-being in their life and afterlife. In return for such divine favours, the Sinai texts list the retrieval of many types of precious stones, turquoise (*mfk3t*), malachite (*šsmt*), green feldspar (*nšmt*), copper and "bronze" (*bi3*; *hmt*), unspecified produce of the divine lands, and even "lapis lazuli" (*hsbd*) of Asia⁶⁹ (the citation of lapis probably reflects indirect trade).

The implications of Horemheb's votive:

Returning to the implications of Horemheb's votive at Serabit, it represents the first known record of this pharaoh in South Sinai.⁷⁰ Its presence suggests that Horemheb dispatched at least one expedition to Serabit el-Khadim, unless one posits a less-likely, albeit not impossible, scenario involving a later expedition introducing his votive amongst other offerings in the Hathor shrine.⁷¹ On the other hand, the likelihood that Horemheb sent an expedition to Serabit is not really surprising. Aside from a possible campaign into Syria-Palestine, Horemheb's name appears on a stamped jar handle at Tel el-Borg (North Sinai),⁷² a scarab at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) in South Palestine⁷³ and on a faience pommel from a Late Cypriot IIIA1 structure at Hala Sultan Tekké in Cyprus.⁷⁴

The relative sequence of New Kingdom votives at Serabit:

Does the absence of Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun, and Ay, reflect a true decline in Egyptian activity in South Sinai and elsewhere in the Levant? One way to assess this question is through the sequence of royal votives at Serabit, the majority of which survived in the portico and sanctuary of the Hathor Temple. In essence, fewer royal votives appear in Dynasty 18 than in the Ramesside period (**Figures 23-1 and 23-4**). In order to gauge both the (surviving) individual and comparative piety for each New Kingdom ruler, regarding the dispatch of votives to Serabit, it is essential to convert the somewhat misleading votive totals per ruler into an average number of votives per regnal year. This allows a fairer assessment of the overall long-term impact upon Serabit el-Khadim of rulers with brief reigns (e.g., one year) versus rulers with long reigns (e.g., 66 years). The resulting sequence of average royal-votives per year per ruler also yields a better idea of changing priorities through time (**Figures 23-1, 23-2, 23-5 and 23-6**). However, the vagrancies of biased preservation, through natural and human agencies, cannot be ignored in interpreting the resulting votive distribution patterns.

Despite the conversion of votive quantities into annual averages per reign, the overall higher figures remain distinct for the Ramesside period. The removal of earlier Dynasty 18 votives to make room for Ramesside offerings may explain, in part, the absence of Amarna period royal votives (specifically Akhenaten through Ay). However, the survival of votives spanning Ahmose through Amenhotep III, and Horemheb, argues against this, unless Ramesside expeditions purposefully searched through and removed any votives bearing the names of 'heretical' kings: Akhenaten through Ay. On the other hand, one must also consider that Petrie's tally of royal-name votives is not entirely accurate. Not only did Petrie apparently omit Horemheb's votive from his published list,

but some surplus numbers of royal name votives have appeared, such as an additional unpublished votive of Thutmose IV (Royal Ontario Museum index card B.3110, 906.16.33). Of note, the presence of the names of Akhenaten(?), Smenkhkare, and Tutankhamun,⁷⁵ on stamped jar handles from Tel el-Borg, confirms that these kings, who are otherwise not attested at Serabit el-Khadim, maintained Egypt's fortifications in Northwest Sinai. In order to augment our confidence concerning the 'veracity' of the emerging patterns from the sequence of royal votive averages at Serabit, it is possible to examine other chronological aspects of pharaonic work in the Hathor Temple.

New Kingdom construction at Serabit:

As in the case of the preceding royal votive totals, calculating the overall wall-base area for each building phase provides only a general comparative sequence of individual royal construction in the Hathor Temple. While such calculations exclude the destruction, reuse, or usurpation of existing structures by the decorative and inscriptional programs sanctioned by later rulers, they do provide general comparative figures. Since each ruler reigned for a different length of time, it is essential to convert such admittedly biased measurements into an average wall-base area (in square metres here) per regnal year for each ruler (**Figures 23-1, 23-7 and 23-8**). Only through this chronological expression of royal construction can we gauge, as fairly as possible, the surviving building efforts per ruler within the Hathor Temple. The figures do not reflect the frequency of turquoise mining expeditions commissioned by specific rulers, they merely reveal the preserved construction, restoration, or decorative program directed by individual rulers and their subordinates.

For Dynasty 18, a roughly similar pattern emerges for Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, and perhaps Thutmose IV, who enjoy peaks in the averages of both wall-base areas and royal votives per regnal year (**Figures 23-7 and 23-8**). It is in the Ramesside period, however, that we observe a stark contrast between the sequence of royal votives and wall-base area averages (**Figures 23-7 and 23-8**). Ramesses IV displays a very high peak for his construction work in the context of his briefer reign, whereas Merenptah, Sety II, Siptah, and Tawosret have non-existent construction programs in contrast to their peaks for royal votives (**Figures 23-5 and 23-6**). Do these figures merely represent biased preservation (such as destroyed or usurped texts in the Hathor Temple), the whims and piety of individual rulers, or a mixture of these and other factors?

A similar quantification and calculation of the averages of individual architectural elements and monuments identified with specific rulers may refine the pattern emerging from the wall-base averages (**Figures 23-1, 23-9 and 23-10**). Here, architectural elements and monuments are considered as discrete units, including an individual wall in a room (usually similarly sized), a pillar, a stela, a statue, and a rock-cut text). Once again, Dynasty 18 produces similar peaks for Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Thutmose IV, and Amenhotep III (**Figures 23-9 and 23-10**). For the Ramesside period, a peak is also apparent for Ramesses IV, but new peaks emerge for Ramesses I, Merenptah, Setnakht, and Ramesses VI (**Figures 23-9 and 23-10**). Only Merenptah and Ramesses VI retain the peaks observed amongst the royal votives, where Merenptah has the highest average of royal votives per regnal year (**Figures 23-5 and 23-6**). Hence, whilst the comparative data for Dynasty 18 is generally similar, the Ramesside data largely contradicts the votive sequence (with the exception of Ramesses IV and to a lesser extent Merenptah). The averages from the royal votives, wall-base areas, and architectural/monumental elements can be compared to other data sequences to assist in making broad generalizations about New Kingdom Egypt's changing relations with Sinai and the Levant.

Egyptian royal-name items and monuments from Levantine contexts:

Over the past century, quantities of New Kingdom royal name artefacts and monuments have been found across the East Mediterranean and Levant, including Turkey, Cyprus, Syria-Palestine, and Mesopotamia. A tally of these discoveries has been compiled for each New Kingdom ruler (**Figures 23-4 and 23-23**), using Porter and Moss (1952), Leclant's annual publications in *Orientalia* (1958–2005), this writer's doctoral dissertation (1998), and other sources. Before introducing these materials, it should be emphasized that the broad dispersal of New Kingdom royal-name items and monuments outside Egypt, in Late Bronze Age (and later) contexts, masks different mechanisms and meanings than the Hathor Temple votives at Serabit el-Khadim. The Egyptian votives throughout the Near East reflect the relations between Egypt, its vassal states in Syria-Palestine, and neighbouring Near Eastern states (e.g., Cypriot polities; Mitanni; Arzawa; Hatti; Assyria; Babylonia).

The Egyptian royal-name objects in the Levant consist mainly of scarab seals, but also include other seals (e.g., a lion-seal; a cylinder seal; plaques), jewellery (rings; amulets), a cane/sceptre pommel, containers of serpentine, calcite, faience, and pottery (e.g., vases; dishes; storage jars; jar-stoppers), weapons (e.g., a sword), correspondence (clay tablets), foundation deposit plaques, disks/plaques, fittings (e.g., bronze strips from city gates; glass inlay), and a "statuette" (figurine) (**Figures 23-4 and 23-23**). Many of these items probably represent royal gifts to loyal vassals and neighbouring Near Eastern rulers, and the remnants of Egyptian installations and possessions in Syria-Palestine. Other Egyptian items occur in later contexts, some of which may represent the retention of heirlooms, the infiltration of earlier debris (previous exports), or the later transport of "antiques" to the Near East.⁷⁶ For instance, a statuette of Merenptah appears in a Neo-Assyrian residence at Tel Miqne-Ekron.⁷⁷ This study indicates, in the endnotes, where individual items occur in later contexts, but has incorporated most royal-names items into an average number of items per year for each New Kingdom ruler (**Figures 23-4, 23-15, 23-16, and 23-23**).

During Late Bronze 1A, Egyptian military campaigns into Syria-Palestine began imposing Egyptian domination, obtaining booty and tribute, and dispersing gifts (artefacts) to loyal vassal rulers.⁷⁸ From this period, twelve items bear the names of Ahmose,⁷⁹ Amenhotep I and his wife ('Ahhotep),⁸⁰ Thutmose I,⁸¹ and Queen Hatshepsut (and her co-regent Thutmose III),⁸² averaging 0.13 items per year in a 93-year period. The succeeding Late Bronze 1B encompasses the most intensive Egyptian military campaigns into Syria-Palestine. It yields a corresponding dramatic increase in royal-name objects, namely 53–54 items for Thutmose III (sole reign),⁸³ Amenhotep II,⁸⁴ and Thutmose IV,⁸⁵ which average 0.78 royal-name objects per year over 68 years. In early Late Bronze 2A, a peak in royal-name objects (i.e., 39 items) occurs for Amenhotep III,⁸⁶ averaging 1.03 royal-name artefacts per year and coinciding with a 38-year reign of peace and stability at home and abroad. In the following 58-year Amarna period (late LB 2A), a decline in royal-name objects (i.e., 16 items) occurs under Akhenaten,⁸⁷ Smenkhkare,⁸⁸ Tutankhamun,⁸⁹ Ay,⁹⁰ and Horemheb.⁹¹ The resulting average of 0.28 royal name items per year in this 58 year period matches the apparent Amarna period decline in artefact quantities.

Royal-name items peak again in early Late Bronze 2B (i.e., 34 items), under Ramesses I,⁹² Sety I,⁹³ and in the first half of Ramesses II's reign,⁹⁴ averaging 0.69 royal name items per year during this 49-year period. Royal-name items decline a little (i.e., 36–38? items) in the second half of Late Bronze Age 2B, under Ramesses II (i.e., the second-half of his reign), Merenptah,⁹⁵

Amenmesse(?),⁹⁶ Sety II,⁹⁷ Siptah,⁹⁸ and Queen Tawosret,⁹⁹ with their collective average falling to 0.65 royal name objects per year in this 60-year period. A continuous, albeit slight, decline in royal-name artefacts (i.e., 31 items) occurs under Ramesses III,¹⁰⁰ Ramesses IV,¹⁰¹ Ramesses V,¹⁰² and Ramesses VI,¹⁰³ who yield an average of 0.58 items per year over 50 years. Of interest, after the fall of Egypt's Levantine empire, six Egyptian royal-name gifts appear in Palestine for Ramesses VIII,¹⁰⁴ Ramesses IX,¹⁰⁵ and Ramesses X,¹⁰⁶ while the cartouches of Ramesses VII and Ramesses XI are absent from artefacts found in the Levant.¹⁰⁷ This 67-year period (ca. 1136–1069 BC) yields a dramatic decline to an annual average of 0.09 royal name items in the Levant.

In contrast to the broad dispersal of royal name items, most New Kingdom monuments are dispersed within the boundaries of Egypt's empire in Syria-Palestine¹⁰⁸ (**Figures 23-4, 23-17 and 23-18**). These monuments include door lintels and jambs (Jaffa; Beth Shan), temple blocks (Gaza; Tell Delhamia), statuary (Beth Shan), and rock-cut and free-standing stelae. Once again, these monuments and architectural elements reflect somewhat more complex and different motives than the South Sinai stelae. They include stelae and rock-cut texts commemorating military victories by Thutmose I, Thutmose III, Sety I and Ramesses II, architectural elements from Egyptian residences, and monuments placed in Egyptian garrison temples. None of these particular monuments appear to represent 'gifts' to loyal vassal rulers, but some originated from Egyptian temples to which local rulers and others apparently donated offerings.¹⁰⁹

Although Thutmose I is historically attested as having erected a victory stela at the Euphrates,¹¹⁰ it averages out to only 0.01 monuments per year in a 93-year period composing Late Bronze 1A. It is not until Late Bronze 1B that a slight "peak" occurs through three monuments placed in Syria-Palestine by Thutmose III (including a reference to a stela erected at the Euphrates), which create an average of 0.04 monuments per year in this 68 year time span. No known Egyptian royal-name monuments appear in the Levant during LB 2A, but 18 monumental remains create a peak in early LB 2B, during the time of Sety I¹¹¹ and Ramesses II.¹¹² By artificially subdividing Ramesses II's reign and monument tally into two parts, which precede and postdate his year 33/34 peace treaty with Hatti and better reflect contemporary Levantine site strata, we obtain averages of 0.24 and 0.12 monuments per year for early LB 2B (49 years until year 33 of Ramesses II) and late LB 2B (60 years from year 34 of Ramesses II to Tawosret), respectively. The four royal monuments attested for Ramesses III¹¹³ and Ramesses IV¹¹⁴ date to Iron 1A, at the end of Egypt's empire in Syria-Palestine, which yield a definite decline to an annual average of 0.08 monuments per year in a 50-year period.

The preceding royal-name averages and their spatial and temporal distributions throughout the Levant provide some independent collaboration for a decline in Egyptian influence in Sinai and Syria-Palestine during the Amarna period, and for an overall increase in Ramesside activity in both regions. This comparative analysis can be taken yet a step further, however, if one incorporates the percentages of Egyptian(izing) artefacts found in more secure, stratified Syro-Palestinian assemblages.

Egyptian artefacts in Levantine Late Bronze Age occupation, mortuary, and cultic contexts:

In a doctoral study, this writer quantified and examined the artefact assemblages from occupation, cultic, and mortuary contexts at published Sinai-Negev sites and at 21 selected Late Bronze Age through Iron Age¹¹⁵ sites in Syria-Palestine: Tell Abu Salima, Timna, Deir el-Balah, Tell

el-‘Ajjul, Beer Sheba, Ashdod, Tell Beit Mirsim, Lachish, Tell Michal, Tell Mevorakh, Tell Qasille, Megiddo, Beth Shan, Tell es-Saidiyeh, Tell Deir Alla, Amman, Tell Keisan, Tyre, Hazor, Sarepta, and Tell Atchana (Alalakh) (**Figure 23-24**). Since the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age strata at these sites are often more broadly dated than individual Egyptian New Kingdom reigns, the artefact, monument, and building averages from Serabit and the Near East have been converted into broadly corresponding time-spans for comparative purposes. In addition, the separate Egyptian artefact percentages from the three Levantine contexts (mortuary; occupation; cultic) have also been collapsed into an overall site/regional context (**Figures 23-2, 23-11 through 23-14, and 23-24**). This has allowed the generation of a larger data base, reducing the standard error present in various smaller, isolated, and sometimes less trustworthy data subsets.

For the Late Bronze Age to mid-Iron 1B strata and periods, a decrease in Egyptian influence is visible in early LB 2A in mortuary, occupation, and all contexts (**Figures 23-12 through 23-14**). The overall decrease in these contexts in LB 2A roughly matches the “gap” in Amarna period activity at Serabit (**Figures 23-5 through 23-10**). For Levantine cultic contexts, a decline in Egyptian influence is detected slightly later, in early LB 2B (**Figure 23-11**), but this might reflect the retention of valued “heirlooms” (or offerings) in cultic assemblages. A decrease in Egyptian(izing) artefacts is found in all the Iron 1B contexts, paralleling other data sets from this period (see **Figures 23-5 through 23-21**).

The Egyptian(izing) artefacts excavated in Syria-Palestine consist of diverse categories:¹¹⁶ provisions (e.g., Nile fish bones; Nile molluscs [*Aspitharia Rubens*]), metals (gold), stones and minerals (Egyptian calcite/“alabaster”; amethyst; carnelian), architecture and architectural elements (from forts; temples; governor’s residencies; housing), monuments (statuary; stelae), figurines (cultic statuettes; shawabtis), furniture (inlay pieces), containers (pottery; stone; faience; glass), toiletries (kohl pots; cosmetic dishes), textiles (flax; linen fragments), jewellery (scarabs; plaques; seals; pendants; amulets; beads), moulds (jewellery; tools at Serabit el-Khadim), luxury items (game board fragments; playing pieces), weights, weaponry (swords; chariot fittings), ships (anchor stones), and coffins (ceramic anthropoid coffins).

Textual-pictorial evidence for Egypto-Levantine relations:

Regarding inscriptional evidence for Egypto-Levantine relations, this writer tallied 30+ individual texts (0.30 per year) in LB 1A, 84+ texts (1.68 per year) in LB 1B, 502+ texts (5.02 per year) in LB 2A, 391+ texts (3.91+ per year) in LB 2B, 8+ texts (0.16 per year) in Iron 1A, and 8+ texts (0.05 per year) in Iron 1B (**Figures 23-3 and 23-21**). These inscriptions include documents from Egypt, Syria-Palestine, Turkey (Hatti), and Mesopotamia. Despite the various biases in the preservation, discovery and genres of these Late Bronze Age Near Eastern and Egyptian textual-pictorial sources, in general their information complements the material evidence from the Levant for the introduction and adaptation of Egyptian materials, artefact types, and motifs.

In regards to South Sinai, Egypt sent provisions (e.g., fowl; beef [oxen]; bread; milk; wine; beer), metals (gold), textiles (linen clothes), aromatics (incense; ointment), and diverse Egyptian personnel.¹¹⁷ Egypt’s Levantine vassal states received similar, but greater categories of things in transitory and long-term contexts:¹¹⁸ provisions (e.g., grain transfers), livestock (horses; donkeys; oxen), fish (Nile catfish), exotic animals (the king’s lion [e.g., Battle of Kadesh]), animal byproducts (some African ivory [in contrast to ivory from Syrian elephants]), statuary (gold statues; cult statues),

metals (gold; [silver]), minerals (carnelian; precious stones), organic items (papyrus rolls; ropes), textiles (linen; royal linen; Upper Egyptian linen; wool), lumber (“ebony” [African blackwood]), furniture (chairs of “ebony”), containers (gold and silver jars), weaponry (i.e., through Egyptian garrisons and campaigns), overland transportation (chariotry), maritime transportation (state, temple and private shipping), miscellaneous items (gifts; “kindness”), and diverse personnel in a broad range of contexts (e.g., a butler; a female singer; an envoy of Amun; traders; messengers; military personnel; Egyptian royalty).

In its relations with neighbouring Near Eastern States (e.g., Alašiya [Cyprus]; Mitanni; Hatti; Assyria; Babylonia), Egypt dispatched similar, albeit often even richer items abroad.¹¹⁹ provisions (e.g., grain shipments for famine relief; jars of oil and sweet oil), livestock (oxen), exotic animals (monkeys/baboons; crocodiles), animal byproducts (ivory), statuary (wooden, gold and silver statues; cult statues), metals (gold; silver), minerals (lapis lazuli: a non-indigenous, valuable gift), organic materials (papyrus), textiles (linen; byssos fabric; fine linen; linen clothes, shawls, robes, mantles, girdles, bedspreads; solemn and festive garments), footwear (sandals), lumber (“ebony” pieces), furniture (wooden? thrones and headrests; “ebony” chairs, beds, headrests and furniture; large stands; gold, silver, stone and “ebony” boxes), containers (gold and silver jars, goblets, animal-form vessels, human-form vessels; bronze and stone jars; ivory human- and animal-form vessels; floral-shaped vessels), toiletries (eye-paint jars; razors; whetstones; combs; mirrors), jewellery (necklaces; gold necklaces; finger rings; bracelets; anklets; toggle pins), weaponry (knives; diverse Egyptian equipment accompanying military expeditions), overland transportation (including chariots with horse teams), maritime transportation (cedar ships; smaller boats), aromatics (implied through citations of various containers), miscellaneous items (gifts; every finery; gold, silver, copper/bronze, glass, stone, “ebony”, and ivory items), and diverse Egyptian personnel (traders; envoys/messengers). Despite this apparent shipment of more luxurious items abroad to states outside Egypt’s Levantine empire, the archaeological record displays an overall south-north decrease in the proportions of Egyptian(izing) items in all contexts within (and beyond) the site sample.

Textual-pictorial evidence for Egyptian Levantine campaigns:

The broad range of textual-pictorial sources from the Late Bronze Age, albeit sporadically preserved with widely varying genres (e.g., literary, administrative, correspondence, monumental, and propagandistic texts), allow one to extrapolate fluctuations in Egyptian military activity, domination, peaceful relations, and weakness in relation to its Levantine empire and neighbouring Near Eastern states. Quantifying and generating averages for New Kingdom military campaigns into Syria-Palestine provides useful comparative data for the preceding data sequences (**Figures 23-3, 23-19 and 23-20**). While such campaigns reflect sufficient economic and political strength for Egypt to dispatch large armies abroad, the reasons behind individual campaigns vary and include imperialism (e.g., extending the boundaries), maintaining control against rebellions (e.g., Amurru) and defensive measures against external enemies (e.g., Mitanni; Hatti; the ‘Sea Peoples’). Conversely, the absence or minimal appearance of military campaigns can mirror periods of strength, stability and peace (e.g., Amenhotep III), times of weakness, instability and strife (e.g., Amarna period), or the decline and collapse of Egypt’s empire (e.g., late Ramesside period).

Despite the complex factors and meanings behind each period of military activity and inactivity, the generation of average annual numbers of campaigns per ruler and per period allows

further comparisons with the preceding data. Beginning in LB Age 1A, Ahmose,¹²⁰ Amenhotep I,¹²¹ and Thutmose I¹²² are each attributed with sending an army into Syria-Palestine, while little evidence exists for military activity under Thutmose II and Hatshepsut. This represents an average of 0.03 campaigns per year in the formative period of Egypt's initial domination of Syria-Palestine (**Figures 23-19 and 23-20**). A peak in military activity and Egyptian subjugation of Syria-Palestine occurs in LB 1B, with 16–17 campaigns by Thutmose III,¹²³ three military expeditions under Amenhotep II (years 3, 7 and 9)¹²⁴, and one campaign in Thutmose IV's reign.¹²⁵ These campaigns average 0.31 per year over a 68 year time span in which Egypt is securing its empire in the Levant (**Figures 23-19 and 23-20**). During the early part of LB 2A, under Amenhotep III, Egypt had reached the peak of its domination of Syria-Palestine, requiring few, if any, major military campaigns to pacify vassal states. The latter part of LB 2A experienced a weakening of Egypt's domination, yielding evidence for some military activity under Akhenaten,¹²⁶ Tutankhamun,¹²⁷ and Horemheb (year 16?),¹²⁸ while no military intervention is attested from the reigns of Smenkhkare or Ay. If one accepts three campaigns during this 58 year time frame, a low average of 0.05 per year is obtained for a period generally interpreted as a decline in Egyptian stability and imperialism (**Figures 23-19 and 23-20**).

In the first part of LB 2B, Ramesses I dispatched his son and co-regent (Sety I)¹²⁹ on campaign in North Sinai and Palestine. Sety I subsequently campaigned against Amurru in year 5/6¹³⁰ and later against Kadesh.¹³¹ In the first half of his reign, Ramesses II led or dispatched eight military expeditions and tours-of-force in years 4, 5, 6/7, 8/9, 10, 16, 18 and 33/34.¹³² This 49 year long era encompasses a return peak in Egyptian military activity, averaging 0.22 campaigns per year (**Figures 23-19 and 23-20**). In the second half of LB 2B, Egypt and Hatti re-established peace and a mutual border in Syria (year 21 of Ramesses II). Only one military campaign occurs under Merenptah,¹³³ who suppressed unrest amongst Egypt's Palestinian vassal states. In contrast, the reigns of Amenmesses, Sety II, Siptah, and Queen Tawosret are evidently devoid of Egyptian military activity in the Levant, while there is increasing internal strife in Egypt towards the end of this period. For this 60 year time frame, known Egyptian military activity averages 0.02 campaigns per year, reflecting both initial peace and strength, but also includes a gradual erosion and decline in Egyptian might in the Levant (**Figures 23-19 and 23-20**). In Iron Age 1A, Egypt's Levantine empire becomes increasingly unstable. In year 8, Ramesses III is able to stop a migratory invasion in southern Palestine (Djahy) and the "Sea Peoples'" maritime attack on Egypt's eastern frontier.¹³⁴ Ramesses IV is attested dispatching a military raid against some "Asiatics,"¹³⁵ who are located possibly in the Eastern Desert, the Sinai, or perhaps even in Southwest Palestine. There is a slight resurgence in Egyptian military activity at this time, averaging 0.04 campaigns per year in 50 years (**Figures 23-19 and 23-20**), but this activity is primarily defensive and includes repulsing attacks on Egypt's western, northern, and eastern frontiers.

During the remaining reigns of Ramesses VII–XI, Ramesses IX dispatched troops against Shasu Bedouin somewhere along the Red Sea.¹³⁶ Other textual sources, such as the Journey of Wenamon (*temp.* Ramesses XI), and archaeological evidence, reveal Egypt's weakened state following the reign of Ramesses VI and the loss of Egypt's Levantine empire. In this period of decline, the only known military activity averages 0.015 campaigns in 67 years (**Figure 23-20**), underscoring the inability, and possibly the disinterest, of Egypt's rulers to restore their former Levantine empire.

Conclusions:

The preceding wide range of New Kingdom data from various contexts at Serabit el-Khadim and the Levant allows us to refine our observations about Egypt's relations with these regions. Against a backdrop of diverse Egyptian military activity in the Levant, there is little or no evidence for campaigns in the reigns of Thutmose II to Hatshepsut, Amenhotep III, Smenkhkare, Ay, Amenmesses to Setnakht, Ramesses V–VIII, and Ramesses XI (**Figures 23-3, 23-19 and 23-20**). This view is tempered by the discoveries and remains of Egyptian royal name items, mostly diplomatic gifts, from Egypt's Levantine vassal states and neighbouring Near Eastern kingdoms (**Figures 23-4, 23-15, 23-16 and 23-23**). These variously preserved gifts and trade items bear the names of virtually every New Kingdom ruler (excepting Thutmose II and Setnakht), and, in conjunction with known military activity and international correspondence, they attest to continuous, albeit fluctuating, Egyptian contact with the Near East. The aforementioned data sets reveal reliable peaks in Egyptian campaigns and royal influence during the reigns of Thutmose III, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Sety I, Ramesses II, Ramesses IV–V, and Ramesses VIII, a surprising “low” result for Ramesses III, a suggestive peak for Sety II, and anomalous “peaks” for short-lived rulers (e.g., Smenkhkare; Ay; Ramesses I) (**see Figure 23-15**). The more reliable peaks suggest tenuous links between military campaigning and an intensified dispersal of royal gifts,¹³⁷ but in general the data is more revealing when it is collapsed into broader periods (**Figure 23-16**) and compared with other data sets (**Figures 23-11, 23-14, 23-18 and 23-20**).

A perusal of the spatial, temporal, and quantitative dispersal of Egyptian royal-name items throughout the Levant indicates a minimal presence in Syria-Palestine, Cyprus and Assyria in LB 1A (Ahmose to Hatshepsut), far greater numbers and a broader distribution in LB 1B to early LB 2A (Thutmose III to Amenhotep III), and a dramatic decrease in late LB 2A (Akhenaten to Horemheb) (**see Figure 23-23**). Early LB 2B experiences a revival in the quantities and dispersal of royal-name items under Sety I and Ramesses II, but following Ramesses II's reign royal-name items are much rarer in northern Palestine, Syria, Cyprus and further abroad (**Figure 23-23**). The resurgence of activity under Ramesses III–IV concentrates mostly in Palestine, while subsequent Ramesside royal-name items are sporadic and restricted to South Palestine, reflecting a decline, albeit a continuation, of Egyptian royal relations with Palestine.

The less tightly defined and variously dated strata from 21 Levantine sites (**Figures 23-11 through 23-14**) yield additional supporting evidence for continuous Egyptian relations with Syria-Palestine throughout the New Kingdom, producing somewhat diluted peaks in Egyptian(izing) artefacts from broad contexts dating to LB 1B (Thutmose III–IV; **Figure 23-14**) and late LB 2B (Ramesses II through Tawosret; **Figure 23-14**). Of interest, an examination of individual contexts displays different peaks in Egyptian(izing) items in LB 2A cultic contexts, Iron 1A burials (heirlooms?), and late LB 2B to Iron 1A occupation contexts (**Figures 23-11 through 23-13**). The latter mixed results may represent a wide range of factors, including biased preservation, mixed strata, heirlooms, intrusive debris, and other factors.

In the broader setting of Egypt's Levantine empire, Egyptian activity at Serabit el-Khadim, and Sinai-Palestine in general, intensified dramatically from Dynasty 18 to the Ramesside period. This Ramesside expansion is evident through increased and new copper exploitation in the Eastern Desert and Sinai-Negev (including a Hathor shrine at Timna),¹³⁸ the introduction of a fortification system along the Isthmus of Suez and North Sinai, and the installation of more commemorative

monuments throughout Syria-Palestine (**Figure 23-18**). Although construction decreases somewhat at Serabit el-Khadim in the Ramesside period (**Figure 23-8**), there is a noticeable increase in the quantities and regnal year averages for royal name votives in the Hathor Temple (**Figure 23-6**). The increase of Ramesside votives at Serabit (**figures 5-6, 9-10**) is matched by a visible growth in the proportions of Egyptian(izing) items in contemporary cultic (and occupation) deposits in Syria-Palestine (**Figures 23-11, 23-13 and 23-14**), suggesting a situation that is closer to reality rather than reflecting biased preservation. Last, the re-discovery of Horemheb's votive from Serabit augments the roster of pharaonic missions to Serabit, sharpening our understanding of pharaonic mining and piety within the broader context of Egypt's Levantine empire.

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Notes

¹ Kaczmarczyk and Hedges (1983: 143, 200–1) mention that some pieces contain a very fine, pink sand found in the Sinai, but add that pink sand is not restricted to the Sinai and often actually represents a surface stain rather than the original colour of faience pieces from Serabit el-Khadim.

² Pages 971–1302 and tables 4.154–55 in G. Mumford (1998) provide quantifications and references for each votive or groups of votives. Aside from unpublished materials in the Royal Ontario Museum collections, the quantification of votives from Serabit has been compiled from materials published or mentioned in C. Blankenberg (1969), J. D. Cooney (1972; 1976), A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet and J. Černý (1952; 1955), R. Giveon (1975; 1978), A. Kaczmarczyk and R. E. M. Hedges (1983), E. T. Leeds (1922), R. S. Merrillees (1968), G. Pinch (1993), W. M. F. Petrie (1906), B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss (1952), P. Simpson (1990), L. Speleers (1923), R. F. S. Starr and R. F. Butin (1936), and R. Weill (1904).

³ Bourriau 1996: 19–32; Cooney 1972: 284, pl. 45; Cooney 1976: 5 no. 5, 55–57 nos. 508–72; Pinch 1993: 315–16; Simpson 1990: 185–86; Starr and Butin (1936).

⁴ Petrie 1906: 137, fig. 144: 2–3, 8, 10; Pinch 1993: 160, 168, 303, 320, pl. 38d.

⁵ Petrie 1906: 138, 149, fig. 144:11.

⁶ Leeds 1922: 2, pl. II: 3, 5; Petrie 1906: 137–8, 139–40, 147, 149, fig. 145: 2–5, 7, fig. 166: 4–5.

⁷ Pinch 1993: 149, 310; Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 12, fig. 26, reg. no. 65.

⁸ Petrie 1906: 150; fig. 155: 18; Pinch 1993: 291.

⁹ Pinch 1993: 320.

¹⁰ Starr and Butin 1936: 24, nos. 4, 7 and 11, 27, no. 7, pl. 13, fig. 29, no. 118.

¹¹ Starr and Butin 1936: 24, no. 2, 26, no. 2a-b.

¹² Starr and Butin 1936: 24, no. 3b.

¹³ Petrie 1906: 138, 139–40, 149, fig. 146: 1–3.

¹⁴ Petrie 1906: 139–40, 149, 151–2, fig. 146: 6–10, pl. 157; Pinch 1993: 306; Weill 1904: 225, no. 152.

¹⁵ Leeds 1922: 1–2, pls. I–II; Petrie 1906: 138, 149, 151, fig. 145: 1, fig. 156: 5.

¹⁶ Cooney 1972: 284, pl. 45; Pinch 1993: 306–7; Starr and Butin 1936: 25, no. 14, 27, no. 14.

¹⁷ Bienkowski and Southworth 1986: 93; Petrie 1906: 145–46, 149, fig. 150: 14–16, fig. 151: 1–3; Pinch 1993: 149–50, 188, 307, 310 pl. 32D, pl. 39 and pl. 45A-D; Starr and Butin 1936: 24, nos. 1, 8, and 10, 25, no. 15, 26, no. 1, 27, no. 10, pl. 13, fig. 29, reg. nos. 12, 28, 62, 107, and 114–15, 117.

¹⁸ Adams 1977: 36, no. 713; Petrie 1906: 141, 144, 149, fig. 147: 1–15, 17, fig. 155:20–26, 28, fig. 156: 1–3, 6–11; Pinch 1993: 170, 308–10; Starr and Butin 1936: 24, no. 5, 25, nos. 12–13, 26, no. 5, fig. 25 top row, pls. 12–13, reg. nos. 41, 51, 52A-B, 55, 59, 110, 112–13, 116; Weill 1904: 224, no. 146, 225, nos. 151–3.

¹⁹ Adams 1977: 36, no. 722; Petrie 1906: 137, 139–40, 141, 149, fig. 144: 5–7, fig. 146: 11–12, 14, fig. 147: 11, fig. 156: 4; Starr and Butin 1936: 24, nos. 6 and 9, 26, no. 6, 27, no. 9.

²⁰ Pinch 1993: 303.

²¹ Petrie 1906: 148, fig. 153: 16; Pinch 1993: 285.

²² Starr and Butin 1936: 24, no. 3c, 26, no. 3c.

²³ Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1955: 187, no. 274a; Porter and Moss 1952: 364; Weill 1904: 227, no. 140.

²⁴ Leeds 1922: 1–3; Pinch 1993: 303; Petrie 1906: 141, fig. 147: 16, 18–20; Weill 1904: 224, no. 152, 225, nos. 147, 149, 151.

²⁵ Giveon (1978: 61).

²⁶ Merrillees 1968: 4; Pinch 1993: 320.

²⁷ Merrillees 1968: 4, 179; Pinch 1993: 320.

²⁸ Pinch 1993: 275.

²⁹ Petrie 1906: 149, fig. 155: 4–5; Pinch 1993: 298; Porter and Moss 1952: 364.

³⁰ Blankenberg 1969: 16–17, 59 B2, pl. x b2; Petrie 1906: 289–90, fig. 155:7, fig. 159, row 5 (scarab beads); Pinch 1993: 55, 255, 275, 290.

³¹ Bienkowski and Southworth 1986: 93; Pinch 1993: 255, 273–5, 151, pl. 33C.

³² Adams 1977: 35–36, nos. 701b, 710 and 718; Petrie 1906: 143–4, 149, 150, fig. 149: 1–16, 21–9, fig. 155: 27; Pinch 1993: 273, 274; Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 12: 1–2, fig. 25, reg. no.1; Weill 1904: 225, nos.150, 152 and 153.

³³ Pinch 1993: 275.

³⁴ Giveon 1975: 35–7; Petrie 1906: 138–9, 142–3, 149, fig. 148: 7–10, 13–16; Pinch 1993: 270, 271, pl. 50, pl. 58; Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 12, fig. 26; Weill 1904: 224, nos. 144–5.

³⁵ Petrie 1906: 150, fig. 155: 2–3.

- ³⁶ Amulets and pendants include many types: palm-leaf, daisy, petal, lotus, lily, grape cluster, mandrake fruit, lotus palmette, rosette, cornflower, date fruit, drop-shapes, razor/axe, hes-jar, tit-girdle, nefer-sign, ankh-sign, a neb-sign (supporting an ankh-sign flanked by scepters; supporting a djed-sign flanked by ankh-signs), djed-pillar, heh-sign, ankh and w3s-sign, Hathor, Taweret-bead, Taweret figure, Bes (playing a tambourine; squatting), Thoth (Baboon), a falcon, and an uraeus. See Cooney 1972: 285; Petrie 1906: 150, fig. 155: 6, fig. 159; Pinch 1993: 283, 285–6, 288, 291–3, 299, 300.
- ³⁷ Petrie 1906: 152, fig. 155: 9, 14, fig. 159; Pinch 1993: 266.
- ³⁸ Giveon 1975: 38–9; Petrie 1906: 138–39, 147, fig. 152: 1–4, 7–11; Pinch 1993: 147, pl. 31.
- ³⁹ Adams 1977: 36, no. 721; Petrie 1906: 138–39, 146–7, 149, fig. 151: 4–15, 18–20; Pinch 1993: 137, 142, 144–6, pl. 29, pl. 30B; Smith 1960: 124; Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 12, fig. 25, reg. no. 2.
- ⁴⁰ Giveon 1975: 37–8, 40–44; Petrie 1906: 147–8, fig. 153: 1–5; Pinch 1993: 146, pl. 30D, pl. 31.
- ⁴¹ Bienkowski and Southworth 1986: 93; Giveon 1975: 45; Petrie 1906: 148, 149, fig. 154: 2–15; Pinch 1993: 186–7, pls. 43–4; Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 13, fig. 13, reg. no. 13.
- ⁴² Starr and Butin 1936: pl.12, fig.26; Royal Ontario Museum 906.16.74.
- ⁴³ Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 12, fig. 26, reg. no. 67.
- ⁴⁴ Royal Ontario Museum 906.16.72–73.
- ⁴⁵ Petrie 1906: 147, 150, fig. 151: 14, fig. 155:1, 10; Pinch 1993: 207–8, 233–4, pl. 51D.
- ⁴⁶ Cooney 1972: 285; Petrie 1906: 148, fig. 153: 6–11; Pinch 1993: 184, 185, pl. 42A.
- ⁴⁷ Petrie 1906: 138–9, 148, fig. 153: 9, 12–14; Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 12, fig. 26, reg. no. 66.
- ⁴⁸ Petrie 1906: 148; fig. 153: 15; Pinch, 1993: 287 and pl.42a bottom right; Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 13, fig. 29, reg. no. 9.
- ⁴⁹ Petrie 1906: 150; fig. 155: 15; Pinch, 1993: 246, 247.
- ⁵⁰ Bienkowski and Southworth 1986: 93; Petrie 1906: 138–9, 144–5, 149, figs. 149: 18–19, fig. 150: 3–13; Pinch 1993: 295–6; Weill 1904: 225, no. 151.
- ⁵¹ Royal Ontario Museum 906.16.105.
- ⁵² Petrie 1906: 150, fig. 155: 17; Pinch 1993: 283.
- ⁵³ Petrie 1906: 150; fig.155: 8a; Pinch 1993: 276.

⁵⁴ Cooney 1972: 285; Petrie 1906: 161–2, fig. 161.

⁵⁵ See B. Rothenberg et. al., 1988.

⁵⁶ See Castel, Soukassian and Pouit (1998: 334–38). At Gebel Zeit, site 1 contains a small sanctuary with votives from the New Kingdom and other periods. This shrine is dedicated mainly to Hathor, “mistress of galena” (*nbt msdmt*) and Horus, “lord of the deserts” (*nb h3swt*) (Castel et. al., 1998: 335).

⁵⁷ The association between Ramesside Atika and the copper mining region around Timna has been strengthened greatly by the excavations here by Rothenberg (1972; 1988). Papyrus Harris I contains a pertinent passage detailing the Ramesside operations in this region: “I (Rameses III) sent my emissaries to the land of Atika, to the great copper mines which are there; their ships carried them (along) and others went overland on their donkeys. ... Their mines were found and (they) yielded copper which was loaded by 10,000s into their ships, they being sent in their care to Egypt, and arriving safely” (Peden 1994a: 219).

⁵⁸ The quantifications for the following section draw upon Rothenberg’s various publications (primarily those from 1972 and 1988), and are itemized in detail in my doctoral dissertation; see Mumford 1998: 1,327–95.

⁵⁹ See note 58 above..

⁶⁰ See Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 74, no. 44, 152–3, no. 181, 153–4, no. 182, 162, no. 200, 169, no. 221, and 171, no. 231; Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1952: pl. 14: 44, pl. 56: 182, pl. 57: 181, pl. 61: 200, pl. 65: 221, and pl. 67: 231.

⁶¹ See Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 153–4, no. 182.

⁶² Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 151–3, nos. 177 and 179–81, 156–7, nos. 189 and 191, 160–2, nos. 198–9, 165–7, nos. 211–12, 174–5, no. 245, 176, no. 249, 178, no. 254, 184, nos. 267 and 271, 186–7, no. 273 and 275, 189–90, nos. 277 and 279, 199, no. 322, 201, no. 336; Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1952: pl. 56: 177, pl. 58: 179, pl. 59: 189, pl. 60: 206, pl. 61: 180, pl. 62: 191, pl. 64: 198, pl. 65: 199, pl. 66: 211–12, pl. 68: 247, pl. 69: 245, 249 and 254, pl. 70: 252 and 255, pl. 72: 293, pl. 73: 267, 271 and 273, pl. 74: 275, pl. 75: 277, pl. 77: 279, pl. 80: 322, and pl. 81: 336.

⁶³ Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 81, no. 58, 158–9, no. 194, 172–3, nos. 234–7 and 239, 181, no. 261, 186–9, nos. 271, 275–6, 193–6, nos. 295–6, 300–1, 306 and 308, 199–200, nos. 321 and 332, 212–13, nos. 424–5; Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1952: pl. 20: 58, pl. 63: 194 and 269, pl. 67: 234–7, pl. 68: 242–3 and 247, pl. 69: 239–40 and 254, pl. 70: 252, pl. 71: 261 and 276, pl. 73: 271, pl. 74: 275, pl. 76: 295–6, pl. 77: 300–1, pl. 78: 306, pl. 79: 308, pl. 80: 321, pl. 81: 332, pl. 89: 424–5.

⁶⁴ Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1952: 201, no. 338; Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: pl. 82: 338.

⁶⁵ Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983: 223.

⁶⁶ Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983: 223.

⁶⁷ Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 234–5.

⁶⁸ In 49 Middle Kingdom depictions of deities at Serabit, Hathor appears 25 times (68%), Ptah occurs nine times (24%), and Sopdu, ‘Anty, and Sutekh are shown once (3%) each. In at least 126 citations of Middle Kingdom deities in the inscriptions from Serabit, Hathor is mentioned 73 times (58%), Ptah is noted 16 times (13%), Sopdu and Geb are named seven times (6%) each, Khentekhtay is cited five times (4%), and Thoth and Horus are mentioned three times (2%) apiece. Other deities appear once (0.8%): ‘Anty, Sutekh, Atum, Re, Anubis, Nut, Hekenem-Maat, Kherty, Neith, Osiris, Sokar, and Min.

⁶⁹ Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 9, 152 no. 180, 153–4, no. 182.

⁷⁰ Tallied from Gardiner, Peet and Černý (1952: 1955).

⁷¹ It should be noted, however, that the transportation of earlier items (e.g., Old and Middle Kingdom stone vessels) from Egypt to the Levant is well-attested at the Late Bronze Age Amman Airport Structure in Jordan (see V. Hankey 1974: 160–8).

⁷² A stamped jar handle with the cartouche of Horemheb was found in a New Kingdom occupation context in Field VI at the site of Tell Borg (North Sinai) (J. Hoffmeier: www.telborg.org/report2005preliminary.htm; personal communication).

⁷³ B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss 1952: 372.

⁷⁴ Leclant and Clerc 1986: 315, no.4-e, Hala Sultan Tekké.

⁷⁵ Hoffmeier and Abd el-Maksoud 2003: 169, 180–1, 190; a fragmentary seal impression from the 2003 season at Tel el-Borg may yield Akhenaten’s name, or an immediate successor. Otherwise, the neighbouring vineyards of Tjaru are attested in wine jar dockets from Malkata, Tell el-Amarna, and Tutankhamun’s tomb (Mumford 1998: 575–86), while the Amarna letters imply continuous traffic across North Sinai (Moran 1992: 330–31, EA 288, 391 Silu [Tjaru?; Sile?]).

⁷⁶ The export of Egyptian antiques is well-attested at the Late Bronze Age Amman Airport structure (see V. Hankey, 1974; 1995).

⁷⁷ See Leclant and Clerc 1995: 349, no. 2i.

⁷⁸ See Mumford 1998.

⁷⁹ The cartouche of Ahmose is attested on a fragment from a serpentine vase found at Tomb 104 at Kouklia-Palaepaphos (Cyprus) (Leclant and Clerc 1993: 290, no. 3a).

⁸⁰ Amenhotep I’s name occurs on scarabs at Tell Farah (South) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), Tell el-Duweir (Lachish) (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), and Beth Shemesh (‘Ain Shems) (Porter and

Moss 1952: 372). In addition, Amenhotep I's wife may be represented by the name 'Ahhotep on a scarab at Tell el-Hesi (Porter and Moss 1952: 371).

⁸¹ Thutmose I is mentioned on a scarab (possibly a forgery) discovered at Akhziv (Leclant 1982: 486 no. 2m), a ring at Hama (Syria) (Porter and Moss 1952: 392), and possibly on a scarab at Qal'at Sherghat (Ashur, Iraq) (Porter and Moss 1952: 396, Thutmose I or IV).

⁸² During the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, their names appear on a potsherd from Tell el-'Ajjul (Southwest Palestine) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), while Hatshepsut's name occurs on scarabs at Jericho (Tell el-Sultan) (Porter and Moss 1952: 373), Beth Shan (Tell el-Hosn) (Porter and Moss 1952: 379), and Khirbet esh-Sheikh Ishak (in the eastern Jezreel Valley) (Leclant, 1982: 487, no. 2p; *idem.*, 1976: 310, no. 2b).

⁸³ The name of Thutmose III appears on a pottery vessel from Site A289 (near Haruba, North Sinai) (Oren 1994: 1390), a scarab-impression on a clay bulla (boule d'argile) from Tell Michal (Leclant 1980: 415, no. 2d), a lion amulet from a later Iron Age level at Tell Dor (Leclant and Clerc 1993: 289, no. 1f), a seal at Ophel (in Jerusalem) (Porter and Moss 1952: 373), an oval plaque-seal from necropolis K at Byblos (Leclant 1982: 117, no. 3), and on scarab seals from the Late Bronze Age necropolis at Deir el-Balah (Leclant, 1972: 279, no. 2d), Tell Farah (South) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), Tell Jemmeh (Gerar) (Porter and Moss, 1952: 370; including a 7th century B.C. occupation level: Leclant 1977: 289, no. 4k), Tell el-'Ajjul (Porter and Moss 1952: 371), Lachish (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Tell el-Safi/Zakariya (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Beth Shemesh (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), level 5 (LB 2) of Area E/3 at Tell Harasim (Leclant and Clerc 1996: 351, no. 2g), Jericho (Porter and Moss 1952: 373), Tell el-Nasba (Mizpah?) (Porter and Moss 1952: 373), Tell Ashdod (several examples; Leclant 1969: 296, no. 2f), Gezer (Tell Jazari) (several examples: Porter and Moss 1952: 375; Leclant 1976: 310, no. 2f), a LB Age level at Tell Mevorakh (Leclant 1977: 288, no. 4d), Beth Shan (Porter and Moss 1952: 379), Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim) (Porter and Moss 1952: 381), Nahal Barqai (Tel Harasim) (Leclant and Clerc 1998: 436, no. 3j), Saida (Sidon) (Porter and Moss 1952: 384), Kamid el-Loz (Leclant 1972: 280–1, no. 3a), Hama (Porter and Moss 1952: 392), Arban (Iraq) (Porter and Moss 1952: 396), the Persian levels at Masjid-i Solaiman (Iran) (Leclant 1977: 287, no. 3b), an intact Early Geometric period tomb (no. 142) at Amathonte (Cyprus) (Leclant 1977: 292, no. 10b), Enkomi (Cyprus) (three examples: Leclant 1976: 312, no. 7a; *idem.*, 1973: 437, no. 4d and note 93), and various sites in Cyprus (Porter and Moss, 1952: 404).

⁸⁴ Amenhotep II's cartouche occurs on a pottery vessel sherd from Tel el-Borg (Hoffmeier and Abd el-Maksoud 2003: 188, fig. 13), a scarab seal-impressed dish from a "MB II" (?) level in Area A at Tell Yoqne'am (Leclant and Clerc 1989: 421, no. 5c), and on scarabs from the LB Age necropolis at Deir el-Balah (Leclant 1972: 279, no. 2d), Tell Farah (South) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), Tell el-'Ajjul (Porter and Moss 1952: 371), Lachish (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Beth Shemesh (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Beth Shan (Porter and Moss 1952: 379), and Megiddo (Porter and Moss 1952: 381).

⁸⁵ Thutmose IV's name appears on scarabs from Tell el-'Ajjul (Porter and Moss 1952: 371), Tell Beit Mirsim (Porter and Moss 1952: 371), Lachish (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Gezer (Porter and Moss

1952: 375), Beth Shan (Porter and Moss 1952: 379), Ugarit (Ras Shamra) (Leclant and Clerc 1994: 467, no. 3b), and possibly Ashur (Porter and Moss 1952: 396 Thutmose I or IV).

⁸⁶ Amenhotep III's name is found on an oval plaque from necropolis K at Byblos (Leclant 1982: 117 no. 3), a plaque from an Assyrian period tomb (no. 656) at Mari (Leclant 1977: 291, no. 7b), an electrum ring at Enkomi (Queen Tye? before Amenhotep III?: Porter and Moss 1952: 404), and on scarabs from the necropolis at Deir el-Balah (Leclant 1972: 279, no. 2d), Tell Farah (South) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), Tell Jemmeh (Gerar) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), Tell el-'Ajjul (Porter and Moss 1952: 371), Tell Beit Mirsim (Porter and Moss 1952: 371), Lachish (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Tell el-Safi/Zakariya (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Beth Shemesh (Porter and Moss 1952: 372; including a large commemorative "marriage" scarab: Leclant 1983: 536, no. 1a; Porter and Moss, 1952: 373), a LB Age 2 building in Area 1000 at Emeq Refa'im (Manahat) (Leclant and Clerc 1992: 313, no. 1j), Jericho (Porter and Moss 1952: 373), Tell el-Nasba (Porter and Moss 1952: 373), Gezer (a "marriage" scarab with Queen Tye: Porter and Moss, 1952: 375), LB Age tombs near Tell Foukhar (Acco) (Leclant 1972: 278–79, no. 2a), Beth Shan (Porter and Moss 1952: 379), Tell Abu Hawam (Porter and Moss 1952: 381), Tell Qla' et-Twal (near Petra) (a fragmentary "lion hunt" scarab: Leclant 1980: 416, no. 3), Tell Soukas (Syria) (Leclant 1963: 209, no. 3), Ugarit (a "marriage" scarab and other scarabs: Leclant and Clerc 1994: 467, no. 3b; Leclant, 1958: 93–94, no. 3; Porter and Moss 1952: 395), Arban (Iraq) (Porter and Moss 1952: 396), Phrygian level to Neo-Hittite contexts at Firakdin (Turkey) (Leclant 1958: 96, no. 7), an 11th century B.C. tomb at Palaepaphos (Cyprus) (a "lion hunt" scarab: Leclant and Clerc 1985: 409 no. 5b), and various sites in Cyprus (Porter and Moss 1952: 404). The name of Queen Tiye is attested on scarabs from the LB Age necropolis at Deir el-Balah (Leclant 1972: 279, no. 2d), Tell el-'Ajjul (Porter and Moss 1952: 371), Tell Hesi (Porter and Moss 1952: 371), Lachish (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Shechem (Tell Balatah) (Leclant 1963: 208–9, no. 2a), a Ramesside period context in a temple at Jaffa (Leclant 1974: 219 no. 4e), Tomb 93 at Enkomi (Porter and Moss 1952: 404), and various sites in Cyprus (Porter and Moss 1952: 404).

⁸⁷ Akhenaten's name is attested on a silver ring from Tomb 93 at Enkomi (Porter and Moss 1952: 404), scarabs from Tell el-Safi/Zakariya (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Gezer (Porter and Moss 1952: 375), and various sites in Cyprus (Porter and Moss 1952: 404), and may appear on a stamped jar handle from Tel el-Borg (see note 75).

⁸⁸ Smenkhkare's name is found on a jar handle from Tel el-Borg (Hoffmeier and Abd el-Maksoud 2003: 169, 180–1, 190) and a jar handle from the surface at Tell Jerishe (near Jaffa) (Leclant and Clerc 1991: 268, no. 1c).

⁸⁹ The name of Tutankhamun occurs on a jar handle from Tel el-Borg (Hoffmeier and Abd el-Maksoud 2003: 169, 180–1, 190) and a gold ring at Tell el-'Ajjul (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), while Princess 'Ankhesenamun's name appears on scaraboid seals at Lachish (Porter and Moss 1952: 372) and Beth Shemesh (Porter and Moss 1952: 373).

⁹⁰ Ay's cartouches are attested on scarabs at Lachish (Porter and Moss, 1952: 372) and Ashur (Porter and Moss 1952: 396).

⁹¹ Horemheb's name appears on a jar handle from Tel el-Borg (see note 70), a scarab at Lachish (Porter and Moss 1952: 372) and on a faience pommel from a cane/sceptre from a Late Cypriot III A1 structure at Hala Sultan Tekké (Cyprus) (Leclant and Clerc 1986: 315, no. 4e).

⁹² The name of Ramesses I occurs on scarabs at Beth Shemesh (Porter and Moss 1952: 372) and Gezer (Porter and Moss 1952: 375), and on a foundation deposit from Beth Shan (Porter and Moss 1952: 378).

⁹³ Sety I's name is found on a circular faience item from Timna (southern Arabah, Negev) (Leclant and Clerc 1985: 408, no. 3b), a seal-impressed amphora handle at Bir el-'Abd (site BEA 10, North Sinai) (Leclant 1977: 290, no. 5b; Oren 1994: 1389), an amphora handle from Hala Sultan Tekké (Leclant and Clerc 1985: 410, no. 5g), sealing impressions on two "beer bottle" vessels from the environs of Haruba (site A289) (Oren 1994: 1390, 1390 upper right photo), and on scarabs from Beth Shemesh (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), and Megiddo (Porter and Moss 1952: 381). Some possible occurrences of Sety I's name appear on a sistrum fragment (also possibly, albeit less likely, Amenmesse) and a cartouche amulet (possibly Sety II), both of which come from Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 118, 139, figs.28: 1 and 47: 8, pl.119: 1).

⁹⁴ Half (i.e., 22) of the following 44 undated votives have been assigned arbitrarily to the first half of Ramesses II's reign and their associated representation in the Levant: a seal-impressed vessel from site A289 (near Haruba, North Sinai) (Oren 1994: 1390), two to six votives (a glass pomegranate bottle sherd; a menat fragment; possibly a bracelet, a tile, a vessel sherd [Amenmesse?], and a glass vessel piece [Amenmesse?]) at Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 120, 122–23, 128, 136, 246, figs.29: 3, 32: 6, 35: 7, 39: 3 and 40: 6, pls.120: 4, 121: 8 and 122: 6; G. Lehrer-Jacobson in Rothenberg 1988: 216, fig.86: 7), a stamped jar handle at Tell Jemmeh (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), a circular faience plaque at Tell el-'Ajjul (Porter and Moss 1952: 371), a piece of glass inlay from Area G at Ashdod (Leclant and Clerc 1996: 351, no. 2f), a calcite jar fragment and a stopper from Gezer (Porter and Moss 1952: 374), a faience foundation plaque at Tell Aphek (Leclant 1980: 415, no. 2e), a cylinder seal at Beth Shan (Porter and Moss 1952: 379), a calcite vessel fragment from a disturbed tomb in Beruit (Leclant and Clerc 1988: 397, no. 7c), a calcite vase at Ugarit (Porter and Moss 1952: 395), a fragmentary calcite vessel from Ugarit (Leclant 1974: 221 no. 6), several Egyptian clay tablets at Hattusas (Boghazköy in Turkey) (Leclant 1979: 403, no. 5), and on scarabs from Deir el-Balah (Leclant 1972: 279, no. 2d), Tell Farah (South) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), Tell Jemmeh (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), Tell el-'Ajjul (Porter and Moss 1952: 370, 371), Tell Beit Mirsim (Porter and Moss 1952: 371), Lachish (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Khirbet el-Tubeiqa (Beth Zur) (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Tell el-Safi/Zakariya (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Beth Shemesh (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), near Tell Ashdod (Leclant 1966: 167 no. 3f), Philistine levels at Tell Ashdod (several scarabs: Leclant 1969: 296, no. 2f), Gezer (Porter and Moss 1952: 375), Acco (Leclant 1980: 415, no. 2c), a disturbed level in Area Y at Tell Dan (Leclant 1978: 313, no. 4c), Beth Shan (Porter and Moss 1952: 379), Megiddo (Porter and Moss 1952: 381), Tell Keisan (Leclant 1982: 116–17, no. 2b), Tomb 23 at Hala Sultan Tekké (Cyprus) (Leclant and Clerc 1986: 315, no. 4e), and various sites in Cyprus (Porter and Moss 1952: 404). In addition, Amenirkhopshef, a son of Ramesses II, is attested on a scarab at Beth Shemesh (Porter and Moss 1952: 372–3). The name of Ramesses II or IV occurs on a faience jar stand from Timna (Schulman

in Rothenberg 1988: 127, fig.31: 6, pl.121: 2).

⁹⁵ Merenptah's name appears on one to two votives (a bracelet?; an incised bowl sherd) from Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 123, 128, figs.28: 3 and 35: 3, pls.120: 1 and 122: 1), a statuette from a Neo-Assyrian palace at Tel Migne-Ekron (Leclant and Clerc 1995: 349, no. 2i) and a sword from Ugarit (Leclant 1958: 93–4, no. 3).

⁹⁶ The cartouche of Amenmesse may occur on a faience jar stand fragment from Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 127, fig.31: 4).

⁹⁷ Sety II's name is associated with a broken pithos from a fort at site A289 (Haruba, North Sinai) (Oren 1994: 1390; Oren 1987: 92, fig. 8, pl. F), a menat-necklace counterpoise votive from Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 119, fig. 31: 3, pl. 121: 2), a jar potsherd at Tell Farah (South) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), and scarabs from Deir el-Balah (Leclant 1972: 279, no. 2d) and an Iron II structure at Khirbet el-Mashash (Tell Masos) (Leclant 1974: 220, no. 4h).

⁹⁸ The cartouches of Siptah are attested on scarabs from Beth Shemesh (Porter and Moss 1952: 372) and Gezer (Porter and Moss 1952: 375; Leclant, 1964: 390, no. 4b), and an ex-situ scarab purchased in Jerusalem (Leclant, 1982: 485, no. 2a). Siptah's or Setnakhte's cartouche may also appear on a votive from Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 120, fig. 29: 6).

⁹⁹ Queen Tawosret's name is associated with a bracelet fragment from Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 122, fig. 34: 3, pl. 121: 4), a scarab from Area B at Acco (Leclant 1981/2: 485, no. 2c) and a vase fragment from Deir 'Alla (Leclant 1966: 168, no. 4b).

¹⁰⁰ Ramesses III's name occurs on two votives (a jar stand and a bracelet/menat fragment) from Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 127, 241, figs. 31: 5 and 40: 5, pls. 119: 3 and 122: 9), a bronze gate plaque from Lachish (Leclant 1982: 486, no. 21), a faience vase fragment (assigned to "Ramesses II") at Gezer (Porter and Moss 1952: 374, Ramesses III), a fragment of a calcite vessel at Byblos (Porter and Moss 1952: 391), and on scarabs from a site near Wadi el-Arish in North Sinai (Oren 1979: 190, not illustrated), Tell Farah (South) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), Tell Jemmeh (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), Beth Shemesh (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), an 11th century B.C. Tomb-1 at Salamine (Cyprus) (Leclant 1972: 282, no. 4e), and various sites in Cyprus (Porter and Moss 1952: 404). In addition, a potsherd from Tell Sera bears a portion of a hieratic inscription which may date to Ramesses III (Leclant and Clerc 1986: 313, no. 1c).

¹⁰¹ Ramesses IV's name occurs on five votives (two bracelets; two menat-necklace counterpoise pieces; an inscribed cup sherd) at Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 120, 128, figs. 31: 2, 32: 5, 34: 1, 35: 6, and 40: 7, pls. 120: 6, 121: 3, 121: 6, and 122: 5), scarabs from Deir el-Balah (Giveon 1977: 66, fig. 1: 2, pl. 3: 2; Giveon 1978: 108–9, note 1), Tell Farah (South) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370), Tell el-Safi/Zakariya (Porter and Moss 1952: 372), Gezer (Porter and Moss 1952: 375), and Tell Aphek (Ras el-'Ain) (Leclant 1979: 401–2, no. 3d).

¹⁰² The name of Ramesses V occurs on three bracelet fragments at Timna (Negev) (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 122, fig. 35: 2–3, fig. 36: 3, pl. 22: 7–8).

¹⁰³ Ramesses VI's cartouches are present on a finger ring from Deir el-Balah (Giveon 1977: 66, fig. 1: 2, pl. 3: 2; Giveon, 1978: 108–9, note 1), a bronze statue base at Megiddo (Porter and Moss 1952: 381), and possibly a scarab at Atchana (Alalakh) (Porter and Moss 1952: 395).

¹⁰⁴ The name of Ramesses VIII is attested on a scarab from Gezer (Porter and Moss 1952: 375) and an ivory button from Tel Miqne-Ekron (Leclant and Clerc 1998: 436, no. 3h).

¹⁰⁵ Ramesses IX's name is found on an inlay fragment from Gezer (Porter and Moss 1952: 374).

¹⁰⁶ The name of Ramesses X appears on scarabs from Khirbet el-Mashash (Tell Masos) (Leclant and Clerc 19: 379–80, no. 3n), Tomb 1 at Beth-Shemesh (Brandl, 1982: 383–4), and Tomb 532 at Tell Farah (South) (Porter and Moss 1952: 370, Ramesses X). The Tell Farah (South) scarab was reassigned to Ramesses X by Brandl (1982: 383).

¹⁰⁷ Petrie (1930: 7, pl. 22: 202) and Starkey and Harding (1932: 31) incorrectly equated Ramesses XI with a scarab from Tomb 532 at Tell Farah (South). This scarab has now been reassigned to Ramesses X by Brandl (1982: 383).

¹⁰⁸ In addition, many other Egyptian monuments found their way outside Egypt as trophies for the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Roman, Ottoman, French, and British empires.

¹⁰⁹ Papyrus Harris mentions Asiatic vassal rulers bringing offerings to an Egyptian temple established at Pa-Canaan (Gaza), during the reign of Ramesses III, while the discovery near Gaza of two ex-situ granite blocks assigned to Ramesses II (Leclant 1977: 290, no. 5a) may reflect the presence of a Ramesside monumental structure in this region.

¹¹⁰ Thutmose III's name is associated with a basalt stela fragment (which dates to either Thutmose III or Amenhotep II) at Tell el-'Oreima on Lake Tiberias (Porter and Moss 1952: 382) and a stone fragment at Byblos (Porter and Moss 1952: 389). He also reportedly placed a victory stela at the Euphrates beside the stela of his predecessor, Thutmose I (see Wilson in Pritchard 1969: 239 d-a).

¹¹¹ Sety I's name appears on a stela at Beth Shan (Porter and Moss 1952: 380), a stela fragment at Tell el-Shihab (near el-Muzeirib) (Porter and Moss 1952: 383), part of a stela from Tyre (Leclant 1961: 394, no. 6), possibly on stela fragments at Byblos (Porter and Moss 1952: 389), and a broken stela at Tell Nebi Mend (Kadesh) (Porter and Moss, 1952: 392). Of note, a stone anchor, carved from a block depicting Hathor presenting a menat to a king, has been generally attributed to "Sety I". It was found underwater, near Haifa, alongside six other anchors and a khepesh-type sword (Leclant 1984: 409, no.2c; see Hadashot Arkheologiyot [Archaeological Newsletter] nos.80–81 [1982]: 9–10). In addition, Sety I is known from an octagonal door jamb at Tell Heboua II (Tjaru) in North Sinai (Abd El-Maksoud 1989: 175; Abd El-Maksoud, 1987: 15, 15, note 8; Valbelle et. al., 1992: 17, pl. 1B).

¹¹² Ramesses II is associated with a relief fragment at Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg et. al. 1988: 115–16, fig. 22: 10, pl. 50 and pl. 110: 3), two stone blocks discovered during road construction near Gaza (Leclant 1977: 290, no. 5a), an inscribed stone door lintel from the ancient fortress of Jaffa

(Leclant 1964: 389, no. 3d), a basalt stela (regnal year 9) at Beth Shan (Porter and Moss, 1952: 379), a stela fragment from Tyre (Leclant 1961: 394, no. 6), three rock-cut stelae (regnal years four, 10?, and [x?]) at Nahr el-Kelb (Porter and Moss 1952: 385), stela fragments at Byblos (Porter and Moss 1952: 389), a lintel and door jamb fragments at Byblos (Porter and Moss 1952: 389–90), a fragmentary rock-cut stela at Sheikh Sa'id (Porter and Moss 1952: 383), a rock-stela at 'Adlun (Porter and Moss 1952: 383), and a fragmentary basalt stela (year 56) found at Keswé, near Damas (Leclant and Clerc 1996: 352, no. 3b; Leclant and Minault-Goult 2000: 169, no. 4b, 327, no. 5).

¹¹³ Ramesses III's name is equated with a cartouche on a rock-cut stela from Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 143, fig. 52 and pl. 105), rock-cut cartouches at Nahal Rodid, near the Gulf of Elat (Leclant 1975: 239, no. 2j; Rothenberg 1972: 201, fig. 62), and a basalt statue at Beth Shan (Porter and Moss 1952: 379). A relief fragment from Timna is better equated with Ramesses II (Leclant 1977: 290, no. 4r; Schulman in Rothenberg et. al. 1988: 115–16).

¹¹⁴ Ramesses IV is associated with a stone block fragment from the surface of Tell Delhamia in the northern Jordan Valley (Leclant 1982: 485, no. 2e, fig. 83).

¹¹⁵ For a published overview of the results for Egypto-Levantine relations in Iron 1B through the early Persian periods, see this writer's sections in W. Van Neer et. al. 2004: 101–48. See also a forthcoming article, by this writer, on "Egypto-Levantine relations during the Iron Age to early Persian periods (Dynasties late 20 to 26)," (forthcoming).

¹¹⁶ For more details on the nature and find spots of individual Egyptian(izing) artefacts from Syria-Palestine, see G. Mumford, 1998.

¹¹⁷ See Sinai portion of table 1.1 on pages 10-12 in G. Mumford, 1998.

¹¹⁸ See Syria-Palestine section in table 1.1 on pages 10-12 in G. Mumford, 1998.

¹¹⁹ See Near Eastern states in table 1.1 shown on pages 10-12 in G. Mumford, 1998.

¹²⁰ Wilson in Pritchard 1969: 233–34.

¹²¹ Redford 1979: 270–87, pl. 1 and pl. 16; Redford 1992: 149–50.

¹²² Redford 1992: 153; Spalinger 1983.

¹²³ Wilson in Pritchard 1969: 234–43.

¹²⁴ Cumming 1982: 26–7, 29–35.

¹²⁵ Cumming 1984: 253, 256–8.

¹²⁶ Redford 1988: 53–68, fig.17, pl. 13:2, pl. 14: 1–4.

¹²⁷ Davies 1995: 32–3.

¹²⁸ Redford 1973: 42, fig. 1.

¹²⁹ Kitchen 1993: 93–4.

¹³⁰ Kitchen 1982: 24.

¹³¹ Kitchen 1982: 24–25; Murnane 1990: 51–65.

¹³² Kitchen 1982: 26–7, 27–9, 69, 79, 80, 242, chart 2.

¹³³ Wilson in Pritchard 1969: 376. Merneptah is also attested shipping grain to Hatti to relieve a famine (see Liverani 1990: 235).

¹³⁴ Wilson in Pritchard 1969: 262–3; Peden 1994: 23–35.

¹³⁵ Peden 1994b: 93.

¹³⁶ Peden 1994a: 73–6.

¹³⁷ For example, in Thutmose III's campaign against Megiddo he gave "gifts" to loyal vassal states.

¹³⁸ Hikade 1998: 51; Mumford 1998: 1, 440.

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Levantine periods and Egyptian rulers:	Reign Lengths (dates BC)	Architectural elements and monuments: Average per regnal year and number:	Construction (room) area: Average per regnal year and Sq. metres:	Wall-base area: Average per regnal yr & Sq. metres	Votive objects: Average per regnal year and number:
Late Bronze 1A	1550–1457				
Ahmosé (I)	25	- -	- -	- -	0.24 6
Amenhotep I	21	0.10 2	- -	- -	0.19 4
Thutmose I	12	- -	- -	- -	0.83 10
Thutmose II	2/*13	- -	- -	- -	0.15 2
Hatshepsut-T.3	22	0.73 16	3.34 73.37	0.72 15.85	0.95 21
TOTAL:	(93)	0.19 18	0.79 73.37	0.17 15.85	0.46 43
Late Bronze 1B	1457–1391				
Thutmose III	32	0.81 26	2.57 82.29	0.75 23.98	0.94 30
Amenhotep II	26	0.08 1-*2	0.48 12.55	0.12 3.22	0.15 4
Thutmose IV	10	0.50 5	1.30 13.03	0.31 3.08	0.30 3
TOTAL:	(68)	0.49 33	1.59 107.87	0.45 30.28	0.54 37
Late Bronze 2A	1391–1295				
Amenhotep III	38	0.40 15	1.73 65.84	0.38 14.58	0.87 33
TOTAL:	(38)	0.40 15	1.73 65.84	0.38 14.58	0.87 33
Late Bronze 2A	16				
A.IV-Akhenaten	1	- -	- -	- -	- -
Smenkhkare	9	- -	- -	- -	- -
Tutankhamun	4	- -	- -	- -	- -
Ay	28	- -	- -	- -	- -
Horemheb	(58)	- -	- -	- -	0.04 1
TOTAL:		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.02 1
Late Bronze 2B	1295–1186				
Ramesses I	1	1.00 1	- -	- -	1.00 1
Sety I	15	0.20 3	0.74 11.16	0.19 2.84	1.87 28
Ramesses II	33 (of 66)	0.27 9 (of 18)	0.85 28.2/56.4	0.175 _{.52} /11.03	2.62 86.5/173
TOTAL:	(49)	0.27 13	0.80 39.36	0.17 8.36	2.37 115.5
Ramesses II	33 (of 66)	0.27 9 (of 18)	0.85 28.2/56.4	0.175 _{.52} /11.03	2.62 86.5/173
Merenptah	10	0.50 5	- -	- -	6.50 65
Amenmesses	3	- -	- -	- -	- -
Sety II	6	0.17 1	- -	- -	5.33 32
Siptah-Tawosret	6	- -	- -	- -	(below) (below)
Tawosret	(6)+2	- -	- -	- -	3.75 30
TOTAL:	(60)	0.25 15	0.47 67.56	0.09 13.87	3.57 213.5
Iron Age 1A	1186–1136				
Setnakht	2	0.50 1	- -	- -	0.50 1
Ramesses III	31	0.06 2	- -	- -	1.48 46
Ramesses IV	6	3.33 20	5.74 34.42	1.81 10.84	2.00 12
Ramesses V	4	- -	- -	- -	1.50 6
Ramesses VI	7	0.71 5	- -	- -	0.29 2
TOTAL:	(50)	0.56 28	0.69 34.42	0.22 10.84	1.32 66
Iron Age 1 B	1136-1069	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE

Figure 23-1: New Kingdom royal construction, monuments and votives at Serabit el-Khadim.

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Periods:	Serabit el-Khadim: Average number of royal votives per period	Occupation contexts: Percentage of Egyptian items in non-pottery assemblages	Mortuary contexts: Percentage of Egyptian items in non-pottery assemblages	Cultic contexts: Percentage of Egyptian items in non-pottery assemblages	All contexts: Percentage of Egyptian items in non-pottery assemblages (selected Levantine sites)
LB 1A: 1550-1450 BC	0.46 in 93 years (n = 43 votives)	10% (22 of 207) standard error +/-2.1%	22% (72 of 326) standard error +/-2.3%	7% (2 of 31) standard error +/-4.8%	17% (96 of 564) standard error +/-1.6%
LB 1B: 1450-1400 BC	0.54 in 68 years (n = 37 votives)	9% (31 of 348) standard error +/-1.5%	40% (118 of 290) standard error +/-2.9%	13% (12 of 92) standard error +/-3.5%	22% (162 of 730) standard error +/-1.6%
LB 2A: 1400-1350 BC	0.40 in 38 years (n=34 votives)	6% (24 of 382) standard error +/-1.2%	24% (57 of 239) standard error +/-2.8%	27% (24 of 87) standard error +/-4.8%	15% (104 of 707) standard error +/-1.3%
LB 2A: 1350-1300 BC	0.0 in 58 yrs (n = 0 votives)	7% (19 of 264) standard error +/-1.6%	27% (62 of 229) standard error +/-2.9%	28% (23 of 83.5) standard error +/-4.9%	18% (104 of 577) standard error +/-1.6%
LB 2B: 1300-1250 BC	2.37 in 49 yrs (n = 116 votives)	8% (36 of 456) standard error +/-1.3%	27% (94 of 349) standard error +/-2.4%	23% (93 of 406) standard error +/-2.1%	18% (223 of 1,211) standard error +/-1.1%
LB 2B: 1250-1200 BC	3.57 in 60 yrs (n = 214 votives)	16% (122 of 756) standard error +/-1.3%	24% (94 of 398) standard error +/-2.1%	37% (257 of 686) standard error +/-1.8%	26% (473 of 1,840) standard error +/-1.0%
Iron 1A: 1200-1150 BC	1.32 in 66 yrs (n = 66 votives)	17% (69 of 399) standard error +/-1.9%	35% (62 of 177) standard error +/-3.6%	26% (19 of 73) standard error +/-5.1%	23% (149 of 649) standard error +/-1.7%
Iron 1B: 1150-1100 BC	NONE	7% (13 of 180) Std. error +/- 1.9%	19% (5 of 23) Std. error +/- 8.2%	17% (1 of 6) Std. error +/- 15.2%	9% (18 of 208) Std. error +/- 2.0%
1100-1050 BC	NONE	7% (13 of 183) Std. error +/- 1.9%	19% (5 of 23) Std. error +/- 8.2%	11% (5 of 42) Std. error +/- 4.8%	9% (23 of 248) Std. error +/- 1.8%

Figure 23-2: Average votives at Serabit and percentages of Egyptian(izing) items at selected Levantine sites.

Periods:	Egyptian rulers:	Regnal Length:	Campaigns Av./year	No. Campaigns	Campaigns Av./period:	No. of Near East texts citing Egypto-Levantine relations	Av. no. of texts per period
LB 1A 1550-1457	Ahmosé Amenhotep I Thutmose I	25 21 12	0.04 0.05 0.08	1 1 1	0.03 per yr	30+ texts	0.30 texts per year per period
LB 1B 1457-1391	Thutmose III Amenhotep II Thutmose IV	32 26 10	0.53 0.12 0.10	17 3 1	0.31 per yr	84+ texts	1.68 texts per year per period
LB 2A-a 1391-1353	-	-	-	-	0.00 per yr	502+ texts	5.02 texts per year per period
LB 2A-b 1353-1295	Akhenaten Tutankhamun Horemheb	16 9 28	0.06 0.11 0.04	1 1 1	0.05 per yr		
LB 2B-a 1295-1246	Ramesses I Sety I Ramesses II	1 15 33/66	1.00 0.13 0.24	1 2 8	0.22 per yr		
LB 2B-b 1246-1186	(Ramesses II) Merenptah	(33/66) 10	- 0.10	- 1	0.02 per yr	391+ texts	3.91 texts per year per period
Iron 1A 1186-1136	Ramesses III Ramesses IV	31 6	0.03 0.17	1 1	0.04 per yr	8+ texts	0.16 texts per year per period
Iron 1B 1136-1069	Ramesses IX	18	0.06	1	0.015 per yr	8+ texts	0.05 texts per year per period

Figure 23-3: Average military campaigns per year/ruler; averages of texts citing Egypto-Levantine relations.

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Levantine periods and Egyptian rulers:	Reign Lengths (dates BC)	Royal-name monuments: Average & No. per regnal year:	Royal-name objects: Average & Sq. metres per regnal year:	Royal-name objects and monuments: Average & no. per period:
Late Bronze 1A Ahmose (I) Amenhotep I Thutmose I Thutmose II Hatshepsut-T.3 TOTAL:	1550–1457 25 21 12 2/*13 22 (93)	- - - - 0.08 1 (ref.) - - - - 0.01 1 (ref.)	0.04 1 0.19 4 0.25 3 - - 0.18 4 0.13 12	0.04 1 0.19 4 0.33 4 - - 0.18 4 0.14 13
Late Bronze 1B Thutmose III Amenhotep II Thutmose IV TOTAL:	1457–1391 32 26 10 (68)	0.09 2-3 (ref.) - - - - 0.04 2-3 (ref.)	1.19 38+ 0.35 9 0.70 7 0.78 54	1.28 41 0.35 9 0.70 7 0.84 57
Late Bronze 2A Amenhotep III TOTAL:	1391–1295 38 (38)	- - - -	1.03 39+ 1.03 39	1.03 39 1.03 39
Late Bronze 2A A.IV-Akhenaten Smenkhkare Tutankhamun Ay Horemheb TOTAL:	16 1 9 4 28 (58)	- - - - - - - - - - - -	0.31 4-5 2.00 2 0.44 4 0.50 2 0.11 3 0.28 16	0.31 4-5 2.00 2 0.44 4 0.50 2 0.11 3 0.28 16
Late Bronze 2B Ramesses I Sety I Ramesses II TOTAL:	1295–1186 1 15 33 (of 66) (49)	- - 0.33 5 0.21 7 (of 14) 0.24 12	3.00 3 0.53 7-8+ 0.70 23 (of 46) 0.69 34	3.00 3 0.87 13 0.50 30 (of 60) 0.94 46
Ramesses II Merenptah Amenmesses Sety II Siptah-Tawosret Tawosret TOTAL:	33 (of 66) 33 (of 66) 10 3 6 6 (6)+ 2 (60)	0.21 7 (of 14) - - - - - - - - - - 0.12 7 (of 14)	0.70 23 (of 46) 0.40 3-4? 0.33 1? 0.83 5 0.50 2-3 0.38 3 (in 8 yrs) 0.65 37-39?	0.80 30 (of 60) 0.20 3-4? - 1? 0.83 5 0.50 2-3 Siptah 0.38 3 (in 8 yrs) 0.77 44-46
Iron Age 1A Setnakht Ramesses III Ramesses IV Ramesses V Ramesses VI TOTAL:	1186–1136 2 31 6 4 7 (50)	- - 0.10 3 0.17 1 - - - - 0.08 4	- - 0.42 13+ 1.67 10 0.75 3 0.43 3 0.58 29	- - 0.45 16 1.83 11 0.75 3 0.43 3 0.66 33
Iron Age 1 B Ramesses VIII Ramesses IX Ramesses X TOTAL:	1136–1069 3 18 9 (67)	- - - - - - - -	0.66 2 0.06 1 0.33 3 0.09 6	0.66 2 0.06 1 0.33 3 0.09 6

Figure 23-4: New Kingdom royal-name monuments and artefacts and Egyptian artefacts in the Levant.

**New Kingdom royal votives at Serabit el-Khadim:
the average number of votives per regnal year, from 0.00 to 6.50 items.**

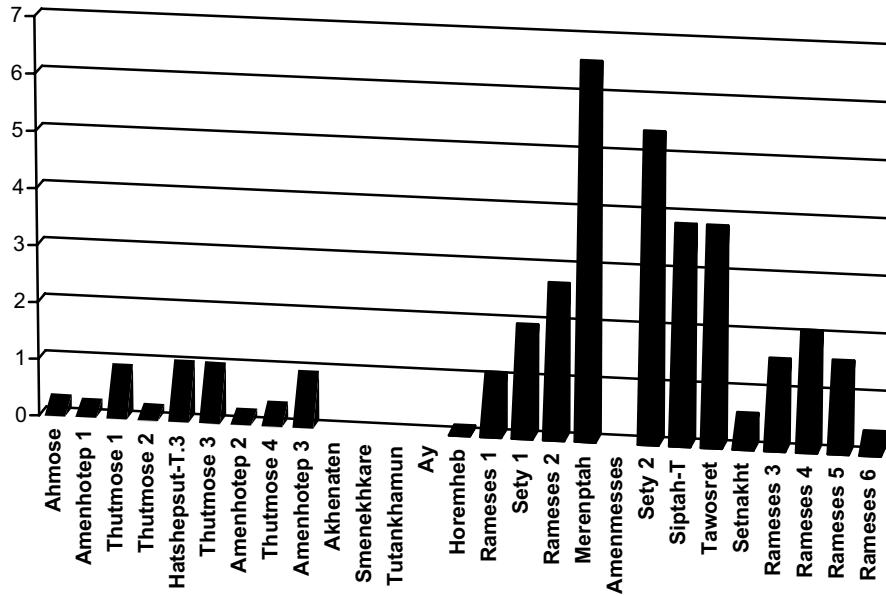


Figure 23-5: Annual averages of New Kingdom votives at Serabit per ruler.

**New Kingdom royal votives at Serabit el-Khadim:
the average number of votives per Levantine period from 0.02 to 3.57
items.**

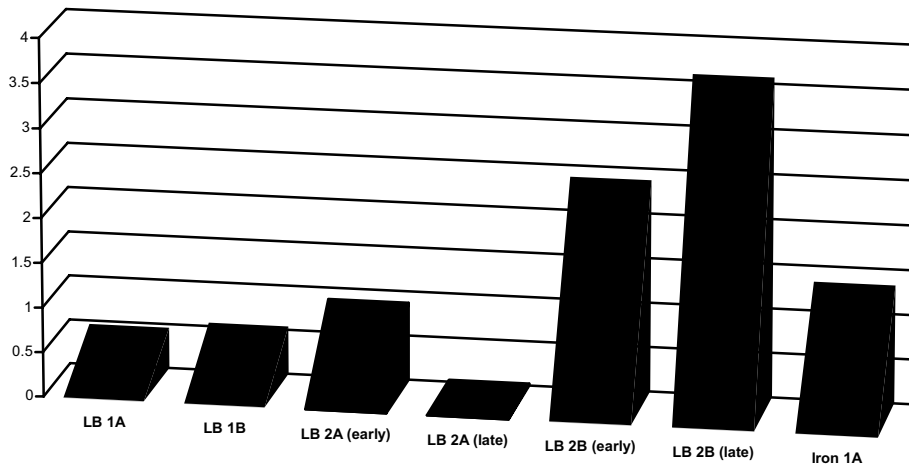


Figure 23-6: Annual averages of New Kingdom votives at Serabit for LB 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B and Iron 1A.

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New Kingdom construction (wall base area) at Serabit el-Khadim temple:
the average square metres per regnal year, from 0.00 to 1.81 items.

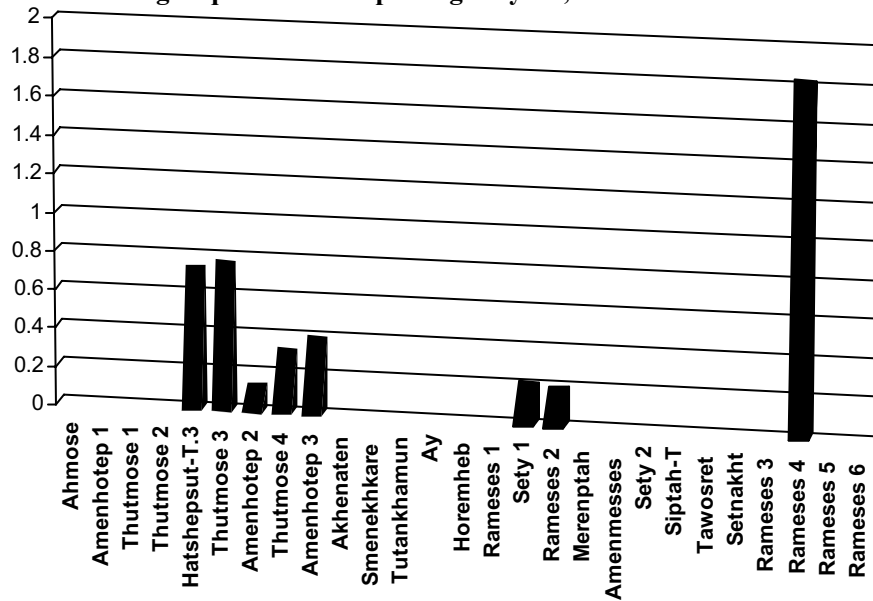


Figure 23-7: Annual averages of New Kingdom wall base area (square metres) per ruler.

New Kingdom construction (wall base area) at Serabit el-Khadim temple:
the average square metres per regnal year, from 0.00 to 1.81 items.

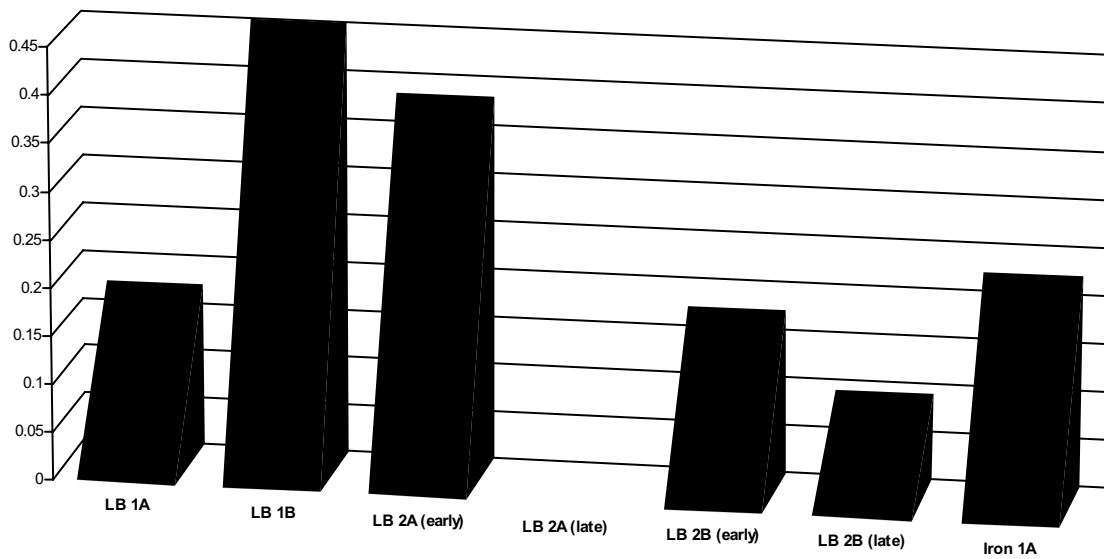


Figure 23-8: Annual averages of New Kingdom wall base areas (sq. m) for LB 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B and Iron 1A.

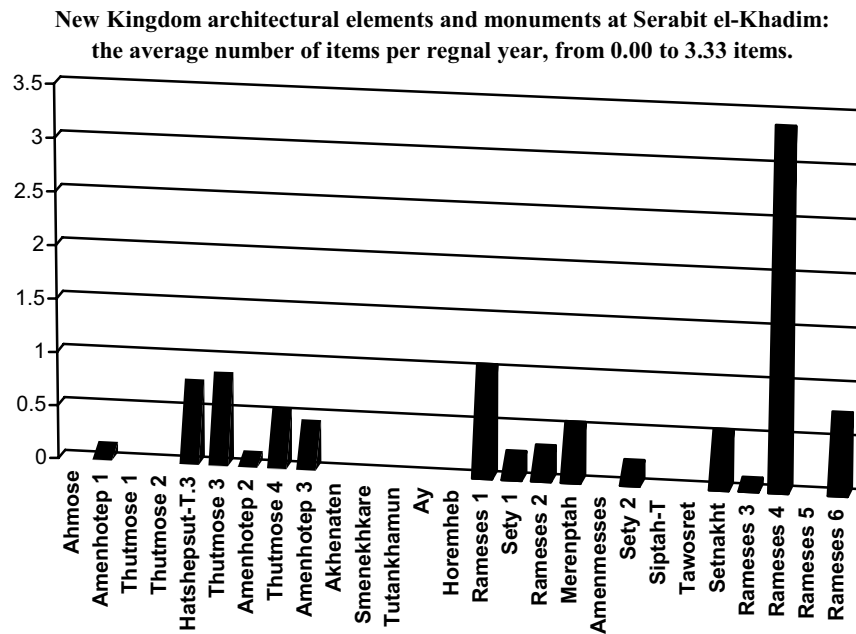


Figure 23-9: Annual averages of New Kingdom architectural elements/monuments per ruler.

New Kingdom architectural elements and monuments at Serabit el-Khadim:
the average number of items per year per period, from 0.00 to 0.56.

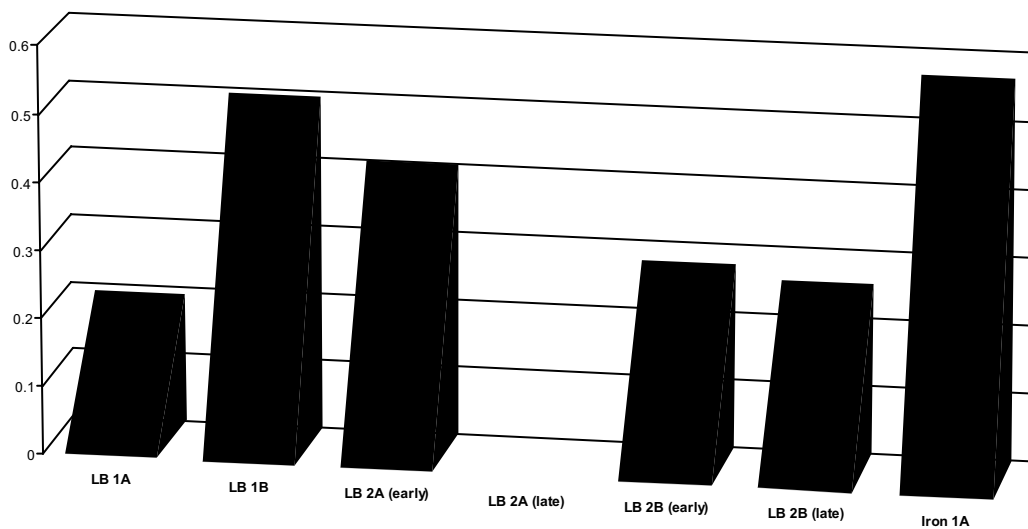


Figure 23-10: Annual averages of New Kingdom architecture/monuments for LB 1A-B, 2A-B, Iron 1A.

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**Egyptian(izing) artefacts in Levantine cultic contexts (selected sites):
the percentage (%) of Egyptian items in non-pottery assemblages.**

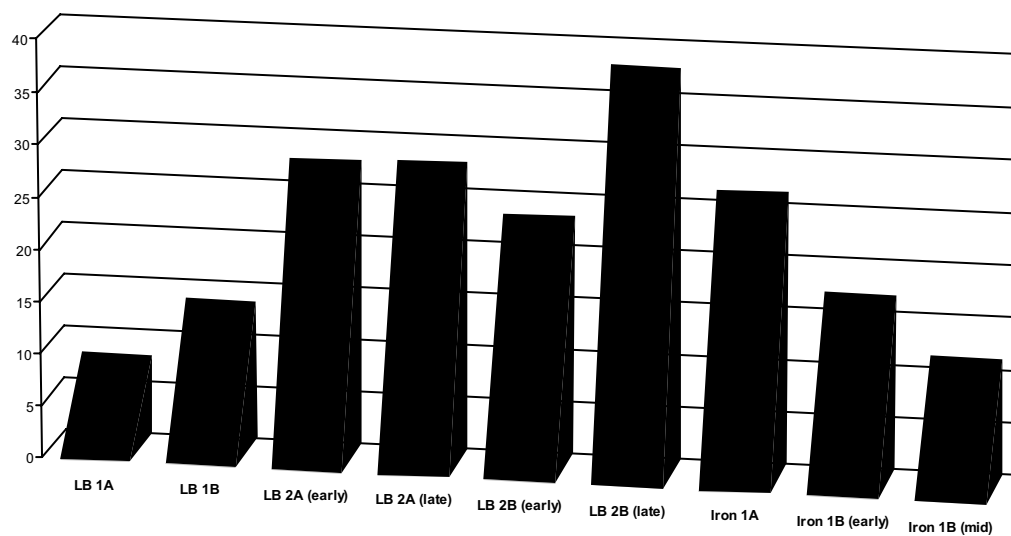


Figure 23-11: Averages of Egyptian artefacts in selected Levantine cultic contexts (LB Age to Iron 1B).

**Egyptian(izing) artefacts in Levantine mortuary contexts (selected sites):
the percentage (%) of Egyptian items in non-pottery assemblages.**

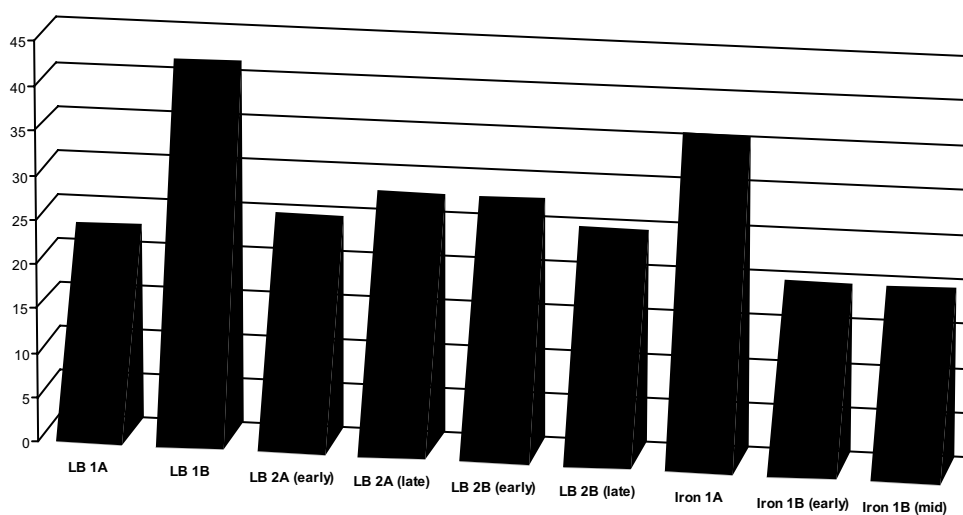


Figure 23-12: Averages of Egyptian artefacts in selected Levantine mortuary contexts (LB Age to Iron 1B).

**Egyptian(izing) artefacts in Levantine occupation contexts (selected sites):
the percentage (%) of Egyptian items in non-pottery assemblages.**

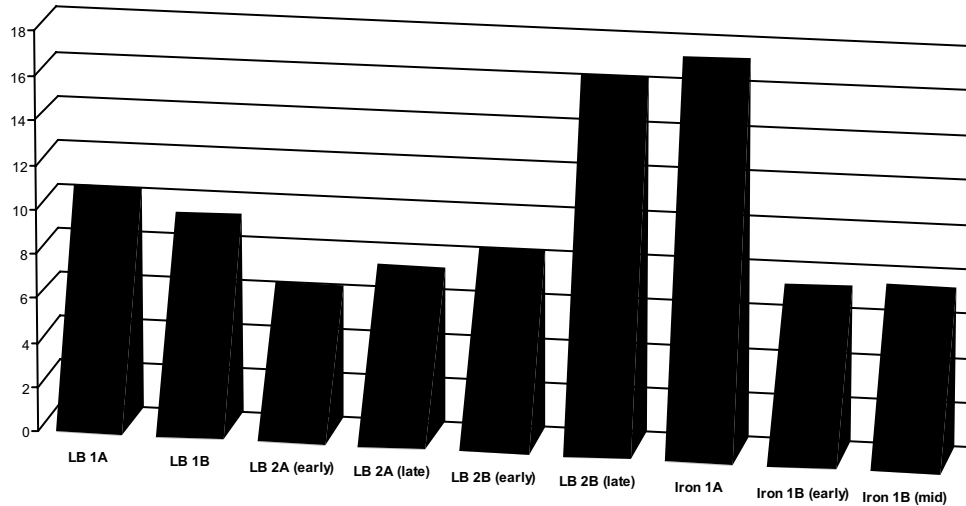


Figure 23-13: Averages of Egyptian artefacts in selected Levantine occupation contexts (LB Age to Iron 1B).

**Egyptian(izing) artefacts in all Levantine contexts (selected sites):
the percentage (%) of Egyptian items in non-pottery assemblages.**

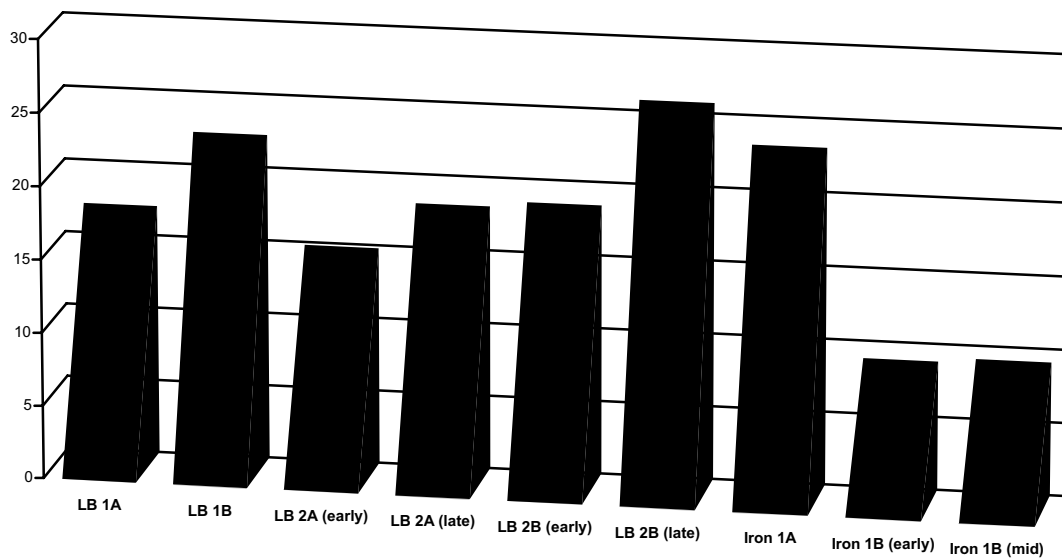


Figure 23-14: Averages of Egyptian artefacts in all Levantine contexts (selected LB Age to Iron 1B sites).

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New Kingdom royal-name artefacts per ruler in the Near East:
the average number of items per regnal year, from 0.00 to 3.00 items.

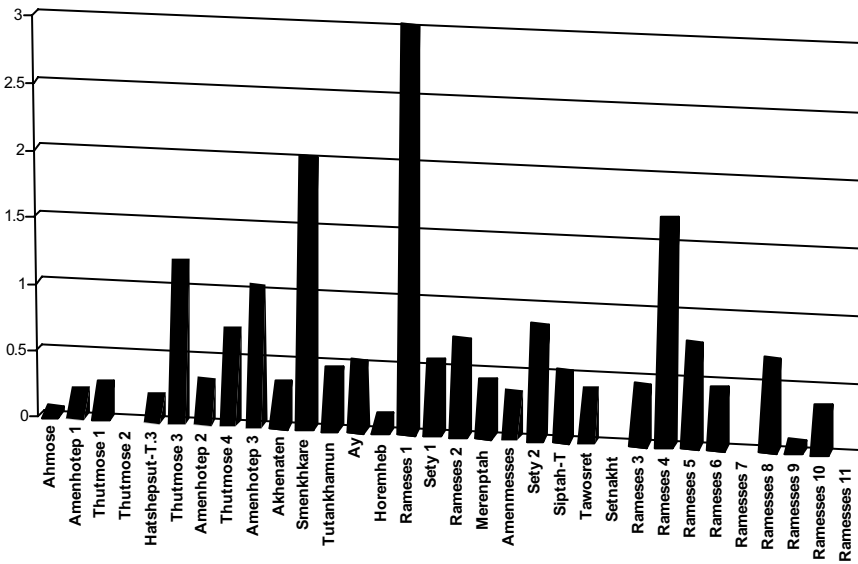


Figure 23-15: Annual averages of Egyptian royal-name artefacts per ruler in the Near East.

New Kingdom Egyptian royal-name artefacts per annum within each period:
Averages range from 0.13 to 1.03 items per year per period LB1A-Iron 1B

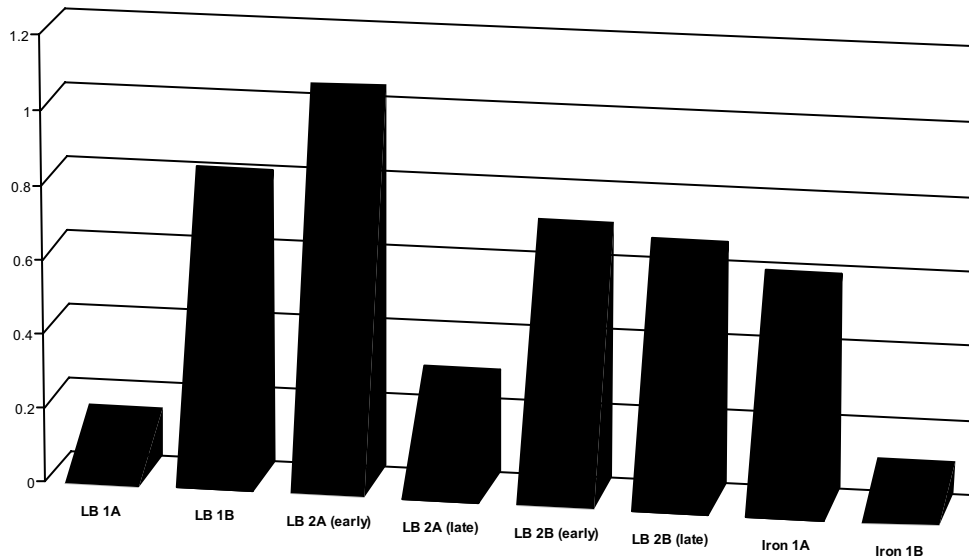


Figure 23-16: Annual averages of Egyptian royal-name artefacts in Near East in LB 1A-B, 2A-B, Iron 1.

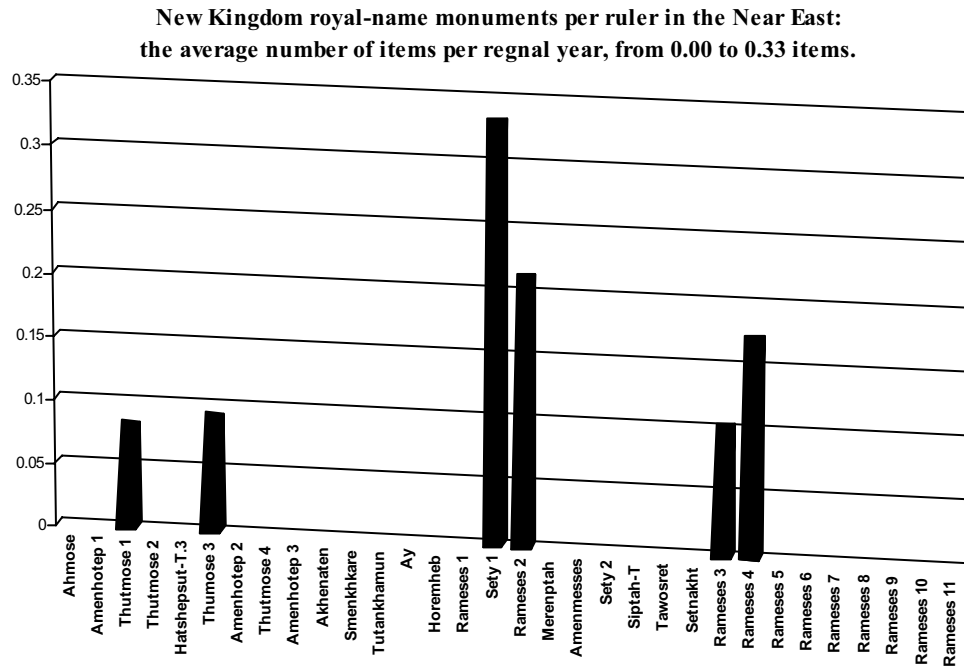


Figure 23-17: Annual averages of Egyptian royal-name monuments per ruler in the Near East.

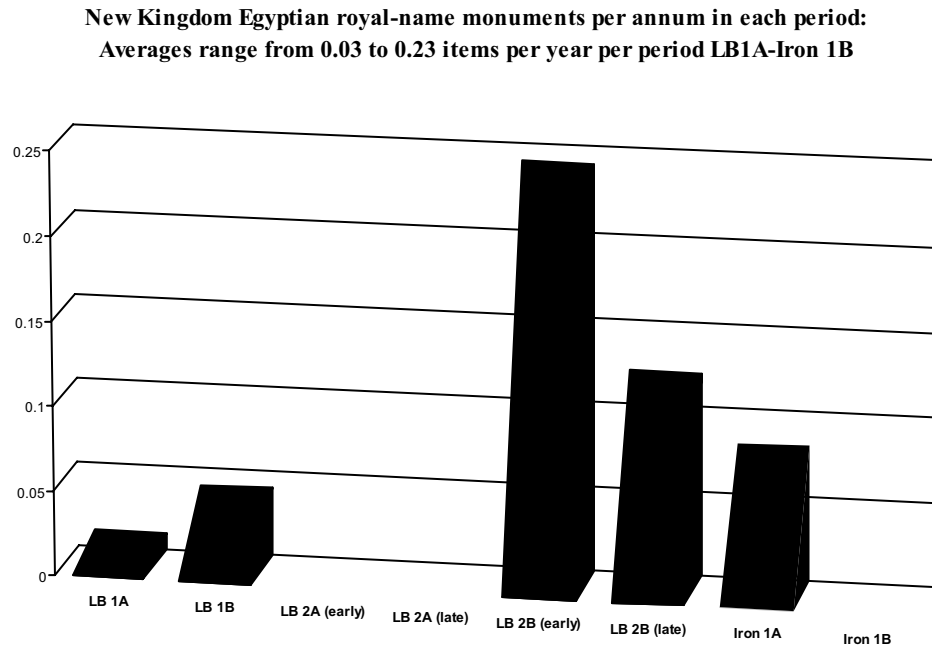
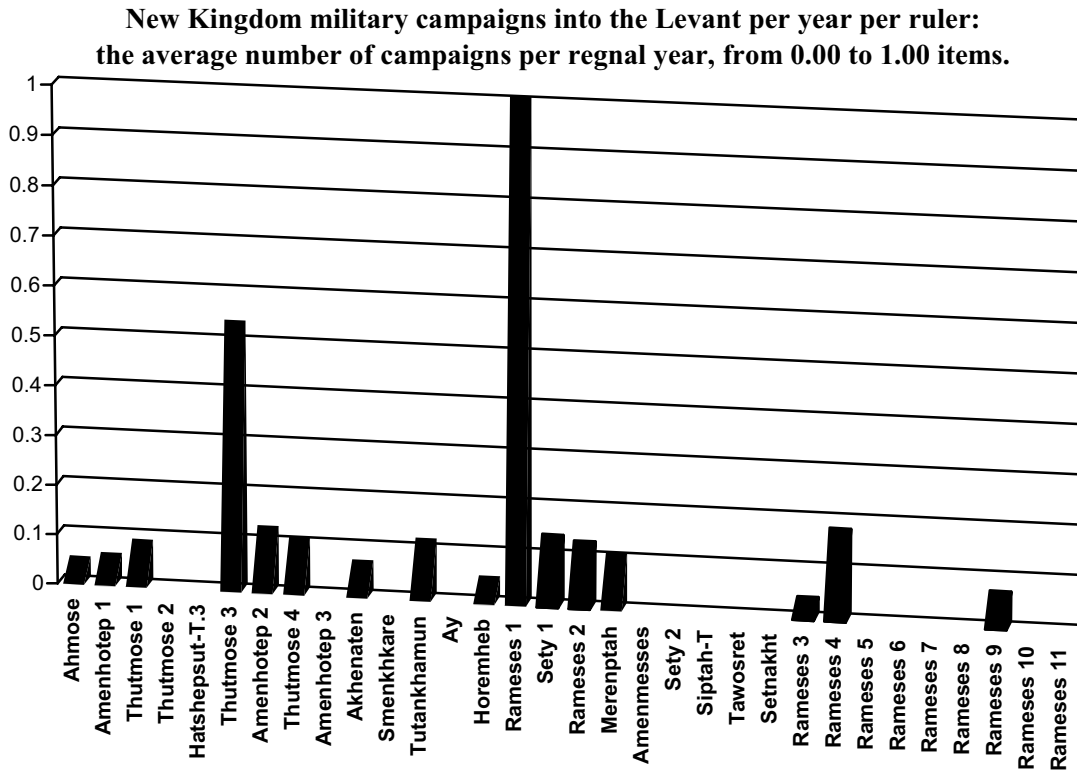


Figure 23-18: Annual averages of Egyptian royal-name monuments in Near East in LB1A to Iron 1.

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**Figure 23-19: Annual averages of Egyptian military campaigns into Levant per ruler.
Note: Campaigns for Ramesses II average 0.24/year in his first 33 years (Figure 23-3).**

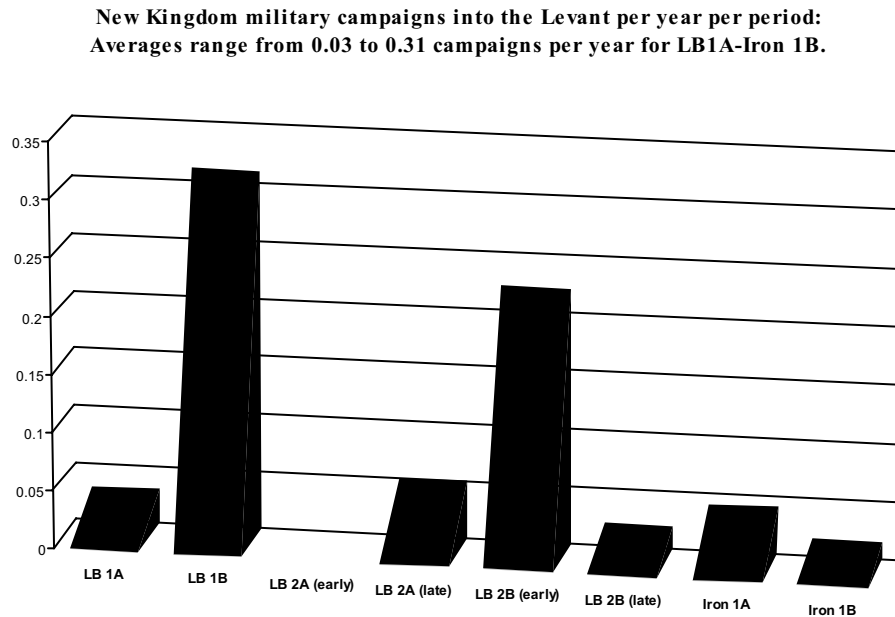


Figure 23-20: Annual averages of Egyptian military campaigns into Levant in LB1A to Iron 1A.

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Average number of Late Bronze Age texts citing Egypto-Levantine relations
(0.05 to 5.02 average number of texts per year per period, LB1A-Iron 1B)

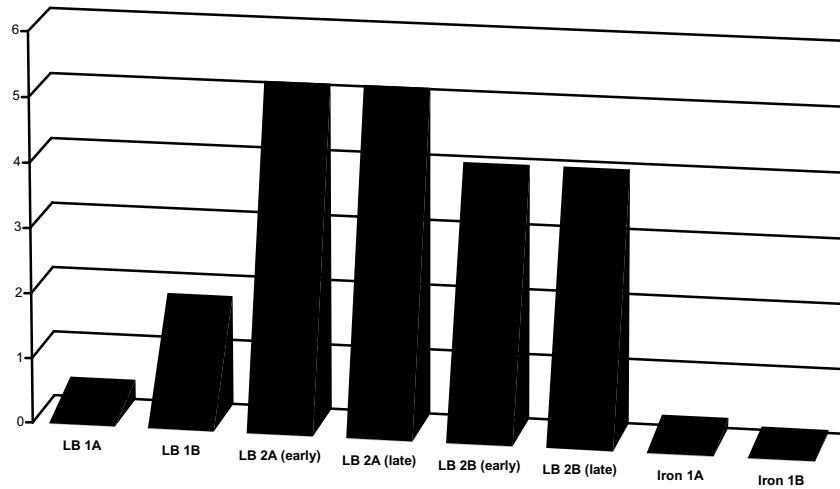


Figure 23-21: Annual averages of Late Bronze Age texts citing Egypto-Levantine relations.

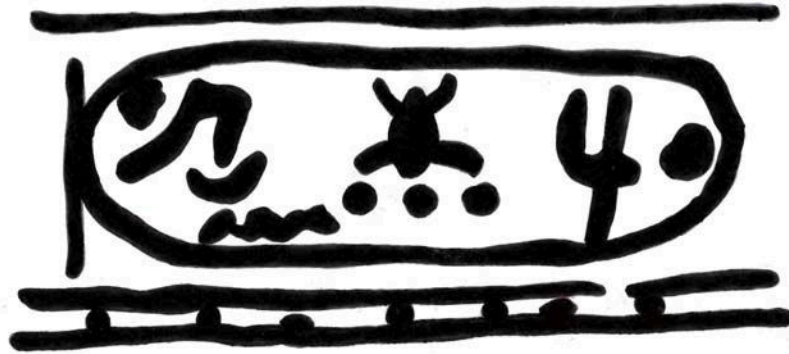


Figure 23-22: Copy of Horemheb's cartouche from Royal Ontario Museum index card B.3111; 906.16.34.

									1/6	4/21
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Tel Michal	Occupation	15% 2/13	15% 2/13	9% 2/23	9% 2/23	9% 2/23	9% 2/23	GAP	GAP	GAP
Tell es-Saidiyeh	Mortuary	GAP	GAP	GAP	GAP	35% 17/49	35% 17/49	30% 6/20	GAP	GAP
Deir Alla	Cultic	0% 0/8	0% 0/1	0% No obj.	0% No obj.	25% 1/4	17% 31/179	0% No obj.	-	-
Amman	Occupation	20% 1/5	19% 11/59	19% 11/59	0% No obj.	0% 0/27	88% 7/8	(?)	GAP	GAP
Tell Mevorakh	Cultic	(?)	29% 2/7	17% 3/18	17% 3/18	0% No obj.	0% No obj.	0% No obj.	GAP	GAP
Tell Keisan	Occupation	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	6% 1/17
Megiddo	Mortuary	21% 32/158	28% 25/90	4% 4/90	4% 4/90	18% 42/232	18% 42/232	19% 17/91	19% 17/91	19% 17/91
Beth Shan	Mortuary		44% 25/57	33% 6/18	33% 6/18	41% 25/61	41% 25/61	23% 20/86	-	-
	Occupation	GAP	(?)	(?)	(?)	12% 18/154	17% 90/531	24% 42/173	22% 4/22	22% 4/22
	Cultic		33% 7/21	28% 10/36	28% 10/36	20% 54/272	51% 188/368	26% 19/73	-	-
Tyre	Mortuary	33% 1/3	33% 1/3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Occupation	0% 0/9	0% 0/9	8% 1/12	10% 2/21	10% 2/21	10% 2/21	17% 4/23	17% 4/23	18% 2/11
Hazor	Mortuary		33% 2/6	16% 1/19	16% 1/19	-	-	-	-	-
	Occupation	GAP	10% 6/58	3% 3/110	3% 3/110	10% 2/20	10% 2/20	5% 1/21	5% 1/21	0% 0/3
	Cultic		4% 2/49	11% 6/57	11% 6/57	10% 10/102	10% 10/102	-	-	2% 1/42
PERIODS:	Contexts	LB 1A	LB 1B	LB 2A (early)	LB 2A (late)	LB 2B (early)	LB 2B (late)	Iron 1A	Iron 1B	Iron 1B
SITES:	Cultic							1200-1150 BC	1150-1100 BC	1100-1050 BC
	Mortuary	1550-1450 BC	1450-1400 BC	1400-1350 BC	1350-1300 BC	1300-1250 BC	1250-1200 BC			
	Occupation									
Sarepta	Occupation	0% 0/32	0% 0/7	0% 0/14	1% 1/75	0% 0/72	0% 0/98	0% 0/98	4% 2/58	4% 2/58
Alalakh	Mortuary	4% 3/76	3% 2/77	3% 2/77	13% 3/24	0% 0/22	0% 0/76	40% 2/5		
	Occupation	4% 4/94	3% 11/403	3% 11/403	0% 0/49	3% 3/130	4% 3/81	0% No obj.	GAP	GAP
	Cultic	17% 1/8	7% 1/14	7% 1/14	0% 0/4	8% 1/13	5% 1/22	0% No obj.		
TOTAL: Artefacts totals are divided by the number of periods they span	Mortuary	22% 72/326	40% 118/290	24% 57/239	27% 62/229	27% 94/349	24% 94/398	35% 62/177	19% 5/23	19% 5/23
	Occupation	10% 22/207	9% 31/348	6% 24/382	7% 19/264	8% 36/456	16% 122/756	17% 69/399	7% 13/180	7% 13/183
	Cultic	7% 2/31	13% 12/92	27% 24/87	28% 23/83.5	23% 93/406	37% 257/686	26% 19/73	17% 1/6	11% 5/42
TOTAL:	Overall:	17% 96/564	22% 162/730	15% 104/707	18% 104/577	18% 223/1,211	26% 473/1,840	23% 149/649	9% 18/208	9% 23/248

Figure 23-24: Egyptian(izing) non-pottery artefacts in various contexts at selected Levantine sites. Note: Artefacts in strata that span multiple periods have been divided by the number of time periods they span to reduce the distortion in the % for each time span column.

24. The Decorative Scheme in TT89 (Amenmose)

Roberta Shaw

Abstract

The author provides a description, with illustrations, of all the wall paintings in the tomb of Amenmose. Identification of the owner is connected to existing inscriptions and the anomaly of the footprint and decoration reflects the owner's duties as Steward in the Southern City.

Key Words

sntr, tomb decoration, Steward in the Southern City, mayor, focal wall, Punt, icon

Millet's classes in Egyptian art and iconography instilled in me an abiding wonder for things Egyptian. My study of TT89 was suggested by Nick and I dedicate the following in memory of him.

The preliminary report on TT89 was published by Pinch-Brock and Shaw¹ and contains a general description of the first season of work there. A previous study had been carried out by Nina and Norman de Garis Davies.² Lyla Pinch-Brock, co-director of the project, has recently published a description of the tribute scene³ and many of the inscriptions were recorded by Sethe.⁴ Hartwig refers extensively to TT89 in her study.⁵ All of the inscriptions, both published and unpublished, will be dealt with as a unit in a future publication. Work on the tomb continues: a complete photographic record is in hand and all of the paintings have been traced. Collation of the drawings is in progress as well as tracings and translations of the inscriptions. A detailed description of the exterior of the tomb can be found in Kampp.⁶ The information below will provide a description of all the wall paintings, only some of which have been published.⁷

The tomb is situated so that the axis is aligned N-S; therefore, the symbolic E-W scheme of architecture and decoration is some 90 degrees disoriented (**Figure 24-1**). Discussion of the decorative scheme will refer to the symbolic, or "fictional," directions rather than the true.⁸ (When in the tomb, the fictional directions "feel" true.)

Many of the paintings have borne severe damage (virtually all of the stele wall has completely disappeared) and some areas were unfinished. As well, nearly all of the black paint has fallen off (or never added), leaving us with "eyeless blonds" populating this tomb. Faint traces of red pigment in some of the eyes suggest that underpainting was done in at least some areas. It may be of some significance that of the four figures of Amenmose that remain, all are in a seated "passive" position - three on Wall F and one on Wall B.

The entrance to TT89 has been consolidated with modern cement and little decoration remains. Only a small portion of the left ("south") reveal bears any paint, a depiction of the front of a woman's bare foot with the front outline of the leg from just above the knee, oriented "eastward" (i.e., leaving the tomb). This is likely the owner's wife, although she is not named anywhere in the tomb. The toes of the near foot are evident.

Wall A (**Figure 24-2** - outer room, "northeast" wall): The dominant feature is the tomb

owner (erased) offering with the usual assortment of foodstuffs, ointment jars, etc. While the inscription below his arms is clear,⁹ those above his head are almost completely faded. Below the offerings, like an afterthought, is where the owner (or artist) decided to place “Sedjem-amun, butcher of the Steward Amenmose” (**Figure 24-3**). The colour here (including black) is still quite fresh, possibly a different artist’s hand. To the left of the butcher, a man (**Figure 24-4**) presents a censuring spoon on a bowl and a cone of incense on smaller dish. Behind the owner are four offerers in two registers carrying bouquets, lotus and tables with gum and probably blue glass ingots (**Figure 24-5 & 24-6** - see below n. 29). The upper left of the wall shows the owner (erased) seated before a table of offerings with his son (?) offering a bouquet (**Figure 24-7**). Behind Amenmose are two women with offering tables, the grid showing on both, especially on the unfinished upper figure (**Figures 24-8 & 24-9**), and behind the son sit the banquet guests, two registers of men - the upper with a server - and one of women with a server (**Figures 24-10, 24-11, & 24-12**). The lower left register features two seated couples (erased) being presented with a full table of offerings; to the right of this eight men bring lotus, fowl, wine, garlanded bull, resin chips and bouquets (**Figures 24-13, 24-14, & 24-15**).

Wall B (**Figure 24-16** - outer room, “southeast” wall): The three dominant figures are completely erased. The left figure represents Amenmose consecrating a table of offerings with jars beneath. The other two, a man and a woman (goddess?) are facing each other. To the right of these is the fishing and fowling scene with the usual features. Both images of the owner are erased, but two women remain visible (**Figure 24-17**). The “cormorant” mentioned by Davies is a duck or goose (decoy?¹⁰), one with its beak open. The fish are the expected tilapia and perch¹¹ (**Figure 24-18**) and over them, very faint images of a papyrus thicket with a heron, ichneumon, nests with eggs and hovering birds. To the right of this, the third scene is blackened and cracked from later cooking fires. Amenmose has not been erased here and he sits in front of his offering table of the usual provisions, including live ducks and the tilapia beneath (**Figure 24-19**).¹² On the other side of the table, his son(?) offers bouquets.

Wall C (**Figure 24-20** - outer room, “north” wall): Very little remains of this wall. Traces of the lunette reveal it as the stele wall but no inscription remains. The stele was surmounted by two seated gods (Osiris (?) and ?), while a small portion of a standing man on the left suggests a series of offering figures framing the stele.

Wall D (**Figure 24-21** - outer room, “south” wall): This is dedicated to the obeisance of Amenmose. It features a central figure of Osiris, enthroned within a naos with an offering table of stylized bread loaves. Behind the naos three registers contain Anubis (**Figure 24-22**), the Goddess of the West (**Figure 24-23**) and Hathor (**Figure 24-24**), each with an table of offerings - that of Hathor is destroyed and that of the Goddess of the West has the stylized loaves, like Osiris. Amenmose, in symmetry, offers to these on the other side of the naos. The upper two are erased, the lower not, but no trace of a figure can be seen - perhaps it was unfinished. The inscriptions, surrounding Osiris and in front of the Goddess of the West, are of the “negative” variety, as the paint has fallen off and has left only the ghost-like remnants (**Figure 24-25**).

Wall E (**Figure 24-26** - outer room, “northwest” wall): This focal wall¹³ features the worship of Osiris by Amenmose and his son(?).¹⁴ Both worshippers have been erased but the seated Osiris figure (**Figure 24-27**) is damaged but complete. The front column of the kiosk has been moved closer to Osiris, perhaps to accommodate the front worshipper. The red outline of the original is

clearly visible (**Figure 24-28**). So little remains of the much smaller register below that the “small figures in three rows” seen by the Davies and Davies cannot be understood. There are the remnants of one small figure on the left and one just below the kiosk. The figure of Amenmose (and offering table?) has been erased.

Wall F (Figure 24-29 - outer room, “southwest” wall): Since the only inscription on the entire wall is the word *sntr*, it is most likely a scene depicting the preparation of incense (or varnish¹⁵). The hieroglyph appears faintly over a liquid being poured by a worker of a decidedly blue/black skin tone (**Figure 24-30**), while the hieratic version appears directly beneath it, just under the bottom register line (**Figure 24-31**), which would have been over-painted had the dado been finished, suggesting some sort of “instruction” to the painter of the scene. There are three registers with Amenmose (not erased) overseeing the production of the *sntr*. A detailed line drawing appears in Davies and Davies, and shows the industry and resulting products.¹⁶ The top two registers, each with two rows, entail the inventory of ingredients in jars, platters (?) and heaps by the requisite scribes. These are poured, heated and stirred, the final product then formed into the shapes of oxen, oryxes, trussed fowl, cones and two obelisks - i.e., substitute offerings (**Figure 24-32**).¹⁷ The bottom register shows some inventory and some hands-on activity with a heap on a table, but the focus is on delivery. Some thirty four men bearing jars, “platters,” and sacks march with the provisions assembled in the above registers.¹⁸ Identical jars to those on the right are found in the tomb of Rekhmire, labelled *sntr*.¹⁹

Wall G (“east” face of “south” pillar): A much-damaged area that shows an erased Amenmose and a few barely-discernible hieroglyphs.

Wall H (“east” face of “north” pillar): Almost completely stripped of plaster. Some small bits of colour remain.

Wall J (Figure 24-33 - “south” face of “north” pilaster): A seated figure of the tomb owner (erased) with five tapers, four set in a rack, one in a “candle holder.”²⁰ Very little colour remains.

Wall K (“west” face of “north” pillar). This wall is discussed and illustrated in Brock and Shaw.²¹ It shows Amenmose (erased) fanning the enthroned Thutmose III (**Figure 24-34**).

Walls L and M (Figure 24-35 - inner room, “east” and “south” walls): These deal with the funeral procession and include many familiar images of the expected offerings,²² the oxen dragging the coffin, the canopic chest carried by eight men accompanied by a mourning woman (**Figure 24-36**) and one (sail unfurled) of the four(?) funerary boats, representing the Voyage to Abydos (**Figure 24-37**).²³ Much of Wall M is destroyed.

Wall N (Figure 24-38 - inner room, “southwest” wall): This focal wall is divided into three registers, the top two dedicated to the Opening of the Mouth Ritual. The top row shows two depictions of libating the mummy (**Figure 24-39**) and two with the *ntrty adze* (**Figure 24-40**). The inscriptions are barely discernible, many completely gone. The lower row features Scenes 31, 33 and 37 of the ritual (**Figures 24-41 & 24-42**).²⁴ The bottom register shows a file of men with offerings. This relates to the right half of the wall (**Figure 24-43**) that contains the “offering table icon”²⁵ showing two male figures (erased), the rear one holding up an elaborate offering stand featuring papyrus, ducks and lotuses, the front one offering a life-bouquet (erased) to (erased) Amenmose and his wife.

Wall O (Figure 24-44 - inner room “northwest” wall): Here the focal wall consists of the tribute scene and the royal kiosk scene (icons²⁶). The tribute scene, on the right, is comprised of

three registers: the top depicts Aegeans/Syrians and their tribute (**Figure 24-45**),²⁷ the middle Nubians and their goods (**Figure 24-46**), and the bottom shows us the Egyptian officials and troops accompanying the foreigners (**Figures 24-47 & 24-48**). The “blue and green materials” listed by Davies and Davies²⁸ is most likely glass.²⁹ Figure 2 in Davies and Davies (p. 135) is in error. The “curious lotus wand” (a double lotus) is, on close inspection, merely a single lotus sceptre (**Figure 24-49** - the middle sepal is clear), as depicted in Wreszinski’s line drawing.³⁰ The left side of the wall depicts the enthroned Amenhotep III in the royal kiosk, with Hathor behind (**Figure 24-50**)³¹ and the erased figure of Amenmose. The portrait of Amenhotep III is discussed in Brock and Shaw.³² Between these two “west” walls is an unfinished, or destroyed, niche.

Wall P (Figure 24-51 - inner room, “north” wall): The subject matter of this wall is trade with “the great ones of Punt” (**Figure 24-52**).³³ The two figures of the tomb owner are again erased, the lower one riding a chariot (**Figure 24-53**). Most of the remainder is intact, including “the receiving scribes” (**Figure 24-54**), Puntite products, such as the resin used in the manufacture of incense (great piles of it), feline skins, live cheetahs, platters and sacks of resin(?) and cones of resin(?). The Egyptians offer in return bags, sandals and a stool(?) (**Figure 24-55**). The accompanying police, some carrying logs, are armed with sticks and the traded goods are loaded on donkeys (**Figure 24-56**).³⁴

Kozloff³⁵ dates the tomb decoration to early in the reign of Amenhotep III; however, several references suggest the owner lived well past this time. Without the stele wall (Wall C), it is impossible to accurately identify this Steward in the Southern City, but there are a few tantalizing inscriptions that may refer to this man. Hayes³⁶ ascribes the 83 jars dating to year 37, bearing the title King’s Scribe Amenmose, to this tomb, although King’s Scribe does not appear in the TT89 titles (Iry-pat, Haty-a, Seal-Bearer of Upper Egypt, Sole Companion of the Unique One, King’s Retainer of Foreign Expeditions, Steward in the Southern City).³⁷ An inscription of an Amenmose in the Temple of Hathor in Sinai dated year 36³⁸ tells of the mission of the Overseer of the Treasury, Sobekhotep, to receive turquoise from the goddess Hathor. It goes on to describe how his assistant “the scribe...Amenmose...gave praise every day” [to Hathor]. Amenmose is also quoted as having “trodden the country of this goddess. I have directed the working of turquoise ...” and having “followed my Lord in the foreign country, and I have held to the business that he placed in my charge. I have gone forth by the shore of the sea in order to make known the wonders of Punt, and to receive gum-resin ... the expedition that was under my authority was safe, without loss, absolutely complete on its arrival at the Southern City in peace.” In view of the tomb decoration described above (Wall P), it is tempting to assign this inscription to the owner. His title of King’s Retainer of Foreign Expeditions (consider Wall O as well) would further support this. A statue ascribed to the tomb owner³⁹ holds the titles Steward in the Southern City and Doorkeeper of Hathor Mistress of Aphroditopolis, who describes himself as a *chauve* of that goddess.⁴⁰ This connection with Hathor perhaps earned his place on the Sinai stele. Again, “Doorkeeper of Hathor ...” does not appear in the titles extant in the tomb.

As Mayor in the Southern City,⁴¹ Amenmose worked closely with the depots of the estate of Amun,⁴² thus having “a foot in both camps”, i.e., state and temple administration. The decoration of TT89 would support the duality of the office. As pointed out by Hartwig, the mix of Temple (Wall N) and Court (Wall O) Styles on the focal walls (of the inner room) reflects Amenmose’s double duties;⁴³ however, the footprint of the tomb is an anomaly as well. The plan is neither the

characteristic inverted “T” nor the simple rectangular room common to this era.⁴⁴ The “double-T” plan produces four, rather than two, focal walls. The extra walls further demonstrate the dual nature of his office. The two focal walls of the outer room depict the Registration Icon - (Wall F) and the Worshipping of Osiris Icon (Wall E).⁴⁵ Although the production of incense (Wall F) might be construed as a Natural Resource Icon⁴⁶ in that it deals with industry (a Temple Style icon), I would suggest that it better fits the Registration Icon⁴⁷ - or Career Icon⁴⁸ - in that it relates to a product using an imported ingredient(s) obtained through trade/imperialism/diplomacy, a domain of the king, i.e., Court Style. This imperial element is underlined by the Puntite scene (Wall P), the two together emphasizing Amenmose’s service to his king. This would result in a more symmetrical (a concept dear to the heart of ancient Egyptians) rendering of the “visual rhetoric” of the tomb. In the outer room the Court reference is on the left and the Temple reference on the right; whereas, in the inner room the reverse is effected. If one stands to the right of the passageway between the two rooms, viewing the right outer wall and left inner wall, the tomb is Temple Style. Shift a little to the left and the gaze falls on the left outer wall and right inner wall and, *voilà*, a Court Style tomb!

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Notes

1. Brock and Shaw (1997).
2. Davies and Davies (1940).
3. Brock (2000): 129-137.
4. Sethe (1961): 1021-1025.
5. Hartwig (2004).
6. Kampp (1996): 1, 344-348. See also the brief note in Mond (1905): 76.
7. In addition to the above, see references in Davies (1924b), fig.6; Davies (1924a), fig. 15; Kozloff (1990): 57ff.; Meeks (2003): 58ff.; Wreszinski (1988): pls. 284, 285, 286.
8. Hodel-Hoenes (2000): 13.
9. Sethe (1961): 1022 and Davies (1940): 132.
10. Binder (2000): 112.
11. Hartwig (2004): 103ff.
12. See also Brock and Shaw (1997): fig. 3.
13. For a discussion of focal walls and their icons, see Hartwig (2004), ch. 3.

14. Not his wife, as in Davies and Davies (1940): 132.
15. Serpico (2000): 456-460; Serpico and White (2001): 36-37.
16. Davies and Davies (1940): pl. XXII. See also Wreszinski (1988): pl. 286.
17. Englund (2001): 568, and van Siclen (2001): 561.
18. Davies and Davies (1940): 133, suggests production of fullers' earth; however, this substance (used in wool production) does not appear in Nicholson and Shaw (2000).
19. Davies (1943): vol. 2, 46 and pl. XLVII.
20. Davies (1924a): fig. 15.
21. Brock and Shaw (1997): 174, fig. 4.
22. Listed in Davies and Davies (1940): 134.
23. Manniche (1988): 38 ff.
24. Hartwig (2004): 117.
25. Hartwig (2004): 86 ff.
26. Hartwig (2004): 73 ff.
27. Illustrated in Davies and Davies (1940): pls. XXIII and XXIV, and discussed in Brock (2000).
28. Davies and Davies (1940): 134.
29. Brock (2000): 133-34.
30. Wreszinski (1988): pl. 285.
31. Hartwig (2004): 54 ff.
32. Brock and Shaw (1997): 175-77.
33. Davies and Davies (1940): pl. XXV, and Wreszinski (1988): pl. 284.
34. For the link between this 'Tribute' Icon and the Royal Kiosk Icon, see Hartwig (2004): 73ff.
35. Kozleff (1990): 57ff.
36. Hayes (1951): 100, fig. 17.

37. Sethe (1961): 1024 G.
38. Davies (1997): 47, #687.
39. PM VIII, Pt. 2: 624 (801-643-740).
40. Clère (1995): 166.
41. Listed as “Burgermeister” in *LÄ* I: 875 (W. Helck); however, Warburton (2001): 583, states that Helck’s work is out of date and speculative.
42. Murnane (1998): 193.
43. Hartwig (2004): 123.
44. Hartwig (2004): 15.
45. Hartwig’s Court Style icons are: Royal Kiosk, ‘Tribute’, Registration, Gift and Award of Distinction. The Temple Style icons are: Offering Table, Banquet, Fishing and Fowling, Natural Resource, Worship of Osiris and Funerary Rites.
46. Hartwig (2004): 106ff.
47. Hartwig (2004): 76ff.
48. Hartwig (2003): 301ff.

TOMB OF AMENMOSE TT89

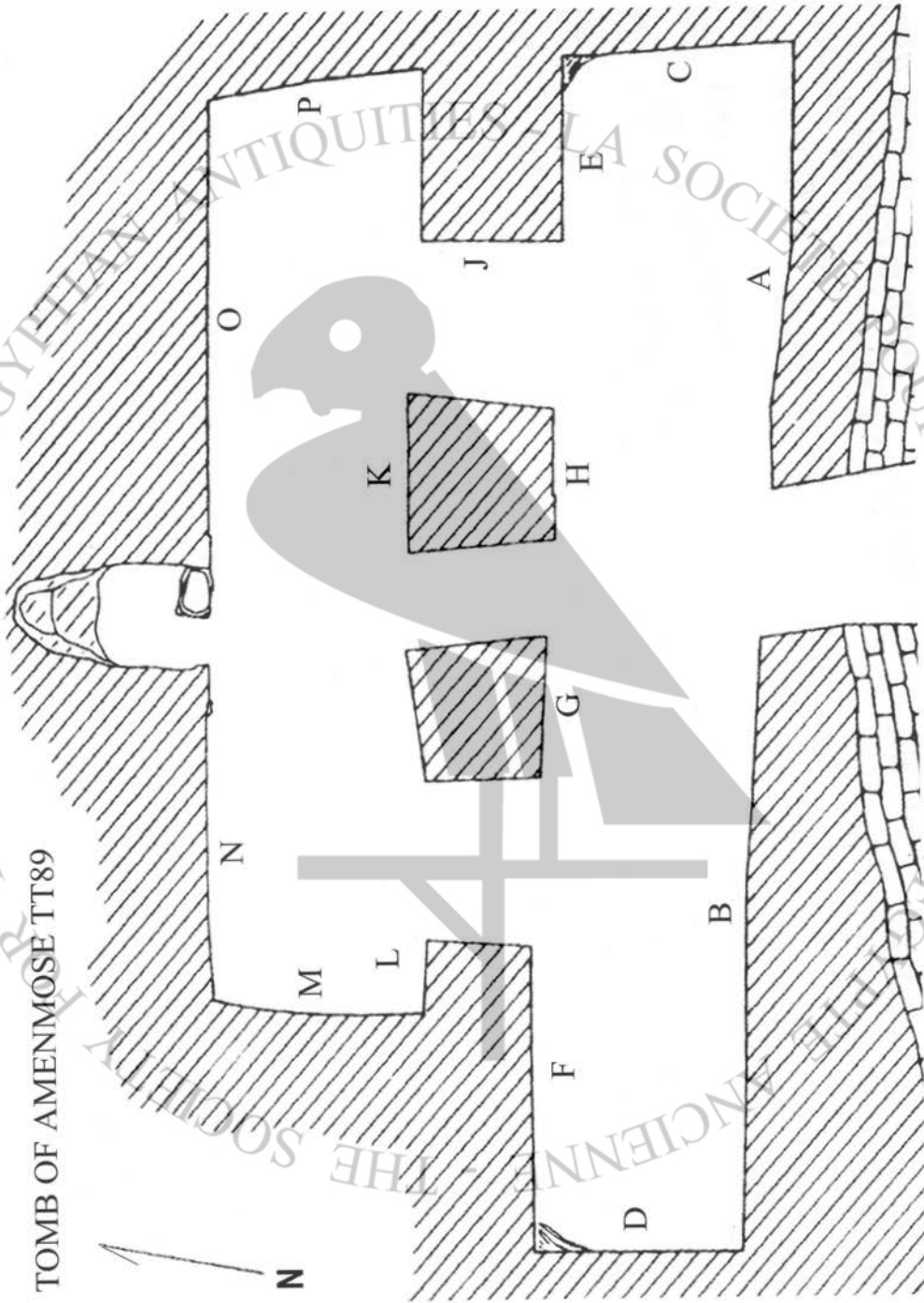


Figure 24-1 Plan of the Tomb of Amenmose with Davies' Letters

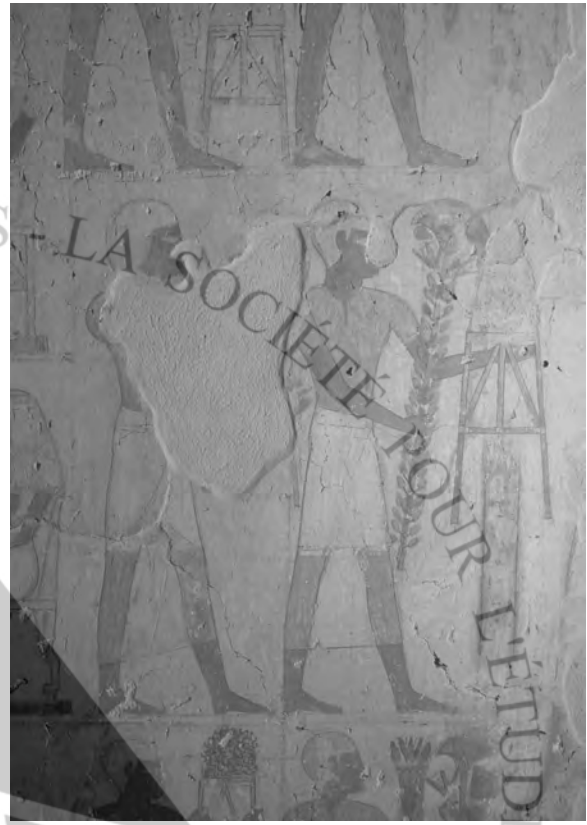


(Upper Left) Figure 24-2 - Wall A

(Left) Figure 24-3 - Butcher

(Upper Right) Figure 24-4 - Man with Censing Equipment



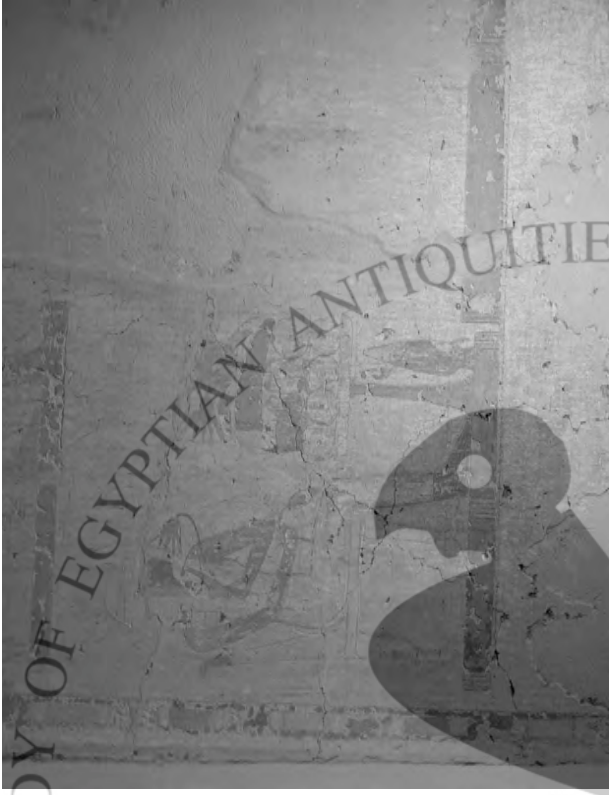


(top left) Figure 24-5 - Upper Offerers

(top right) Figure 24-6 - Offerers



(left) Figure 24-7 - Son Offering a Bouquet



(top left) Figure 24-8 - Upper Female Figures



(top right) Figure 24-9 - Lower Female Figure

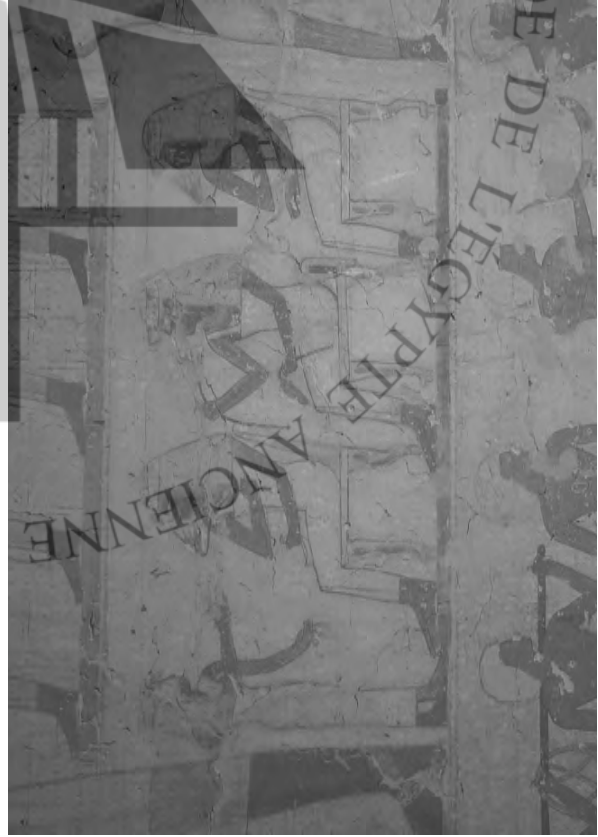
(left) Figure 24-10 - Upper Male Guests



(Upper left) Figure 24-11 - Lower Male Guests

(Left) Figure 24-12 - Female Guests

(Upper right) Figure 24-13 - Men and Offerings





(Upper left) Figure 24-14 - Men with Offerings



(Left) Figure 24-15 - Men with Offerings

(Upper right) Figure 24-16 - Wall B



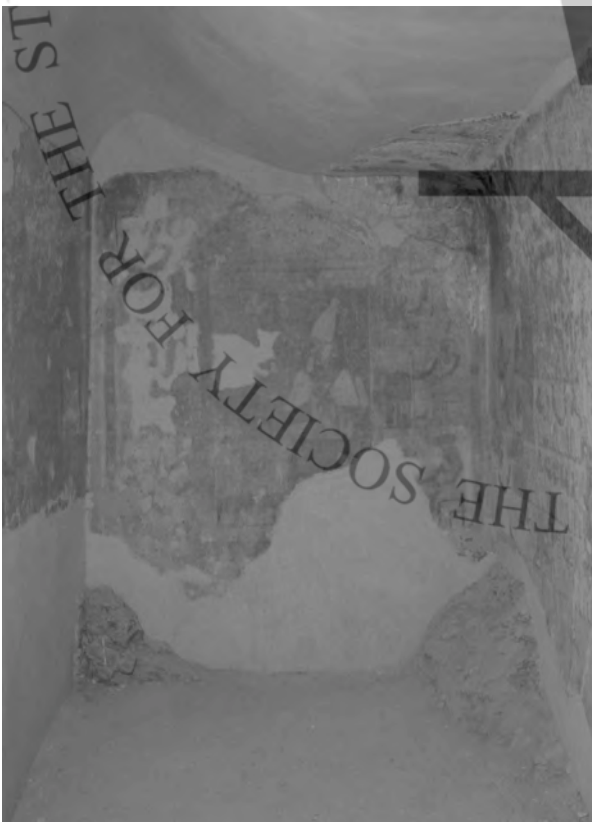
Figure 24-17 - Fishing and Fowling



Figure 24-18 - Tilapia and Perch



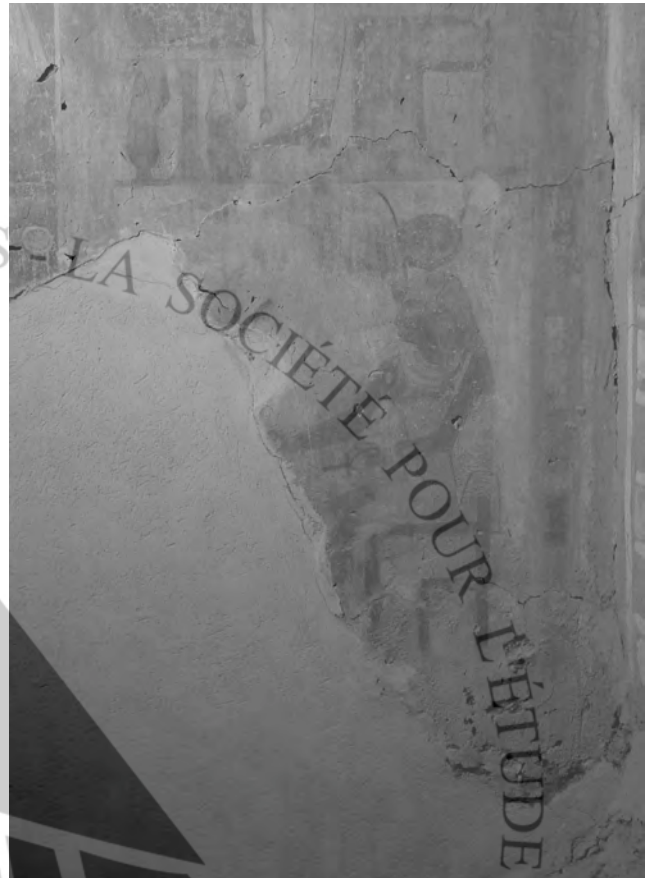
Figure 24-19 - Amenmose



(Upper left) Figure 24-20 - Wall C

(Left) Figure 24-21 - Wall D

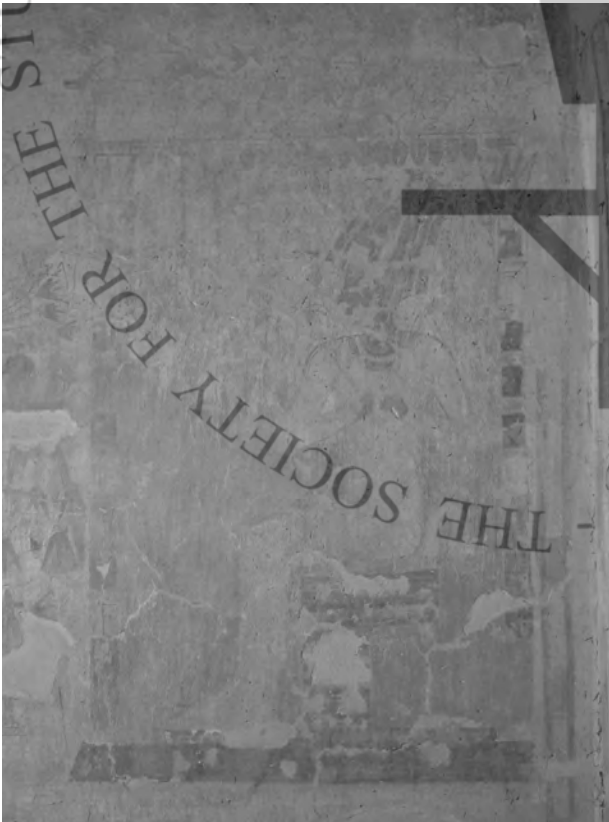
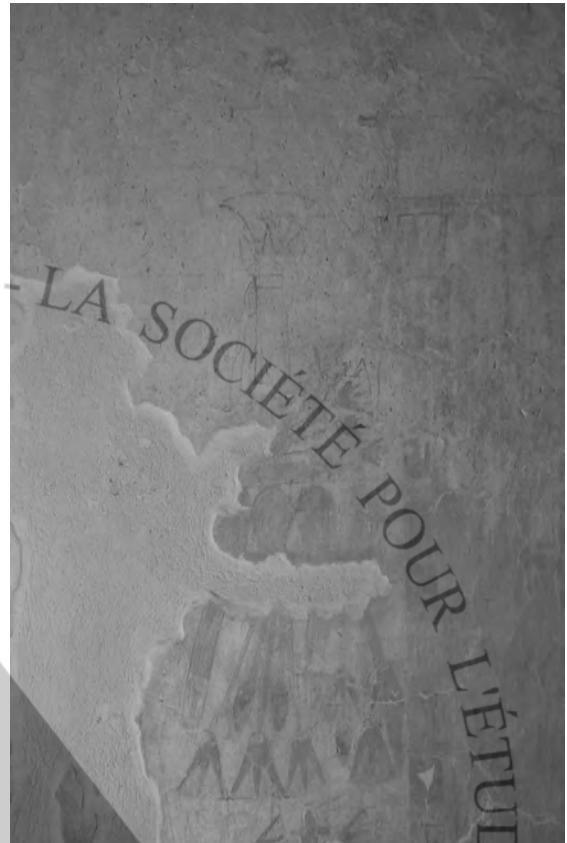
(Upper right) Figure 24-22 - Anubis



(Upper left)
Figure 24-23 -
Goddess of the
West

(Upper right)
Figure 24-24 -
Hathor

(Left)
Figure 24-25 -
'Negative
Hieroglyphs'



**(Upper left) Figure 24-26 -
Wall E**

**(Left) Figure 24-27 -
Osiris**

**(Upper right) Figure 24-28 -
Change in Column Position**



(Above left) Figure 24-29 - Wall F

(Above right) Figure 24-30 - 'Blue' Man and Inscription above Liquid

(Right) Figure 24-31 - Inscription below Bottom Register





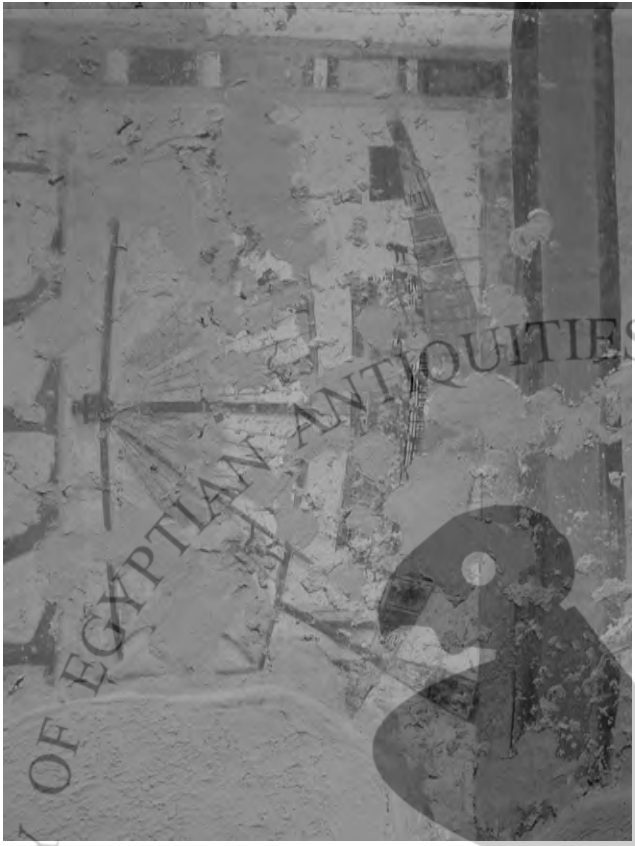
Figure 24-32 - Substitute Offerings



Figure 24-33 - Wall J



Figure 24-34 - Thutmosis III



(Upper left) Figure 24-35 - Walls L and M

(Left) Figure 24-36 - Canopic Chest and Mourning Woman

(Upper right) Figure 24-37 - Funerary Boat





(Upper left) Figure 24-38 - Wall N

(Left) Figure 24-39 - Opening of the Mouth, Upper Right

(Upper right) Figure 24-40 - Opening of the Mouth, Upper Left



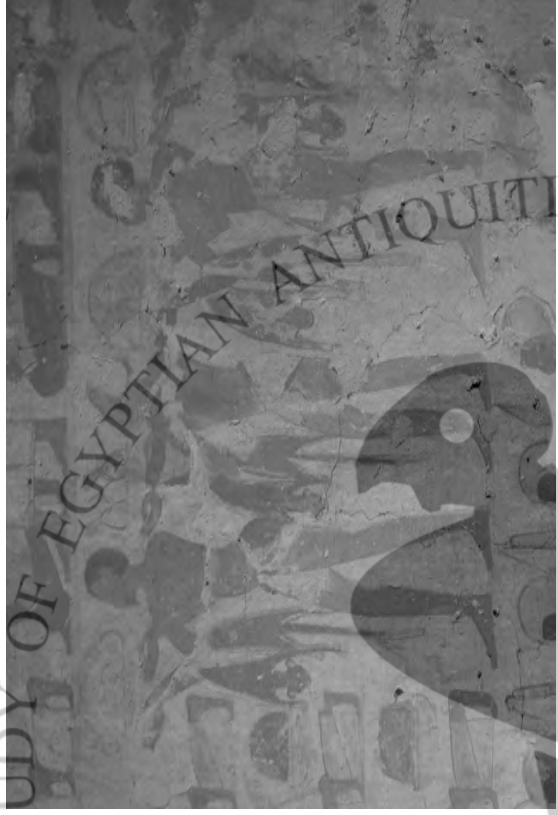


(Upper left) Figure 24-41 - Opening of the Mouth, Lower Right

(Left) Figure 24-42 - Opening of the Mouth, Lower Left

(Upper right) Figure 24-43 - Offerings Table Icon





(Upper left) Figure 24-44 - Wall O

(Left) Figure 24-45 - Syrians and Aegeans with 'Tribute'

(Upper right) Figure 24-46 - Nubians with 'Tribute'



(Upper left) Figure 24-47 - Expedition Officials

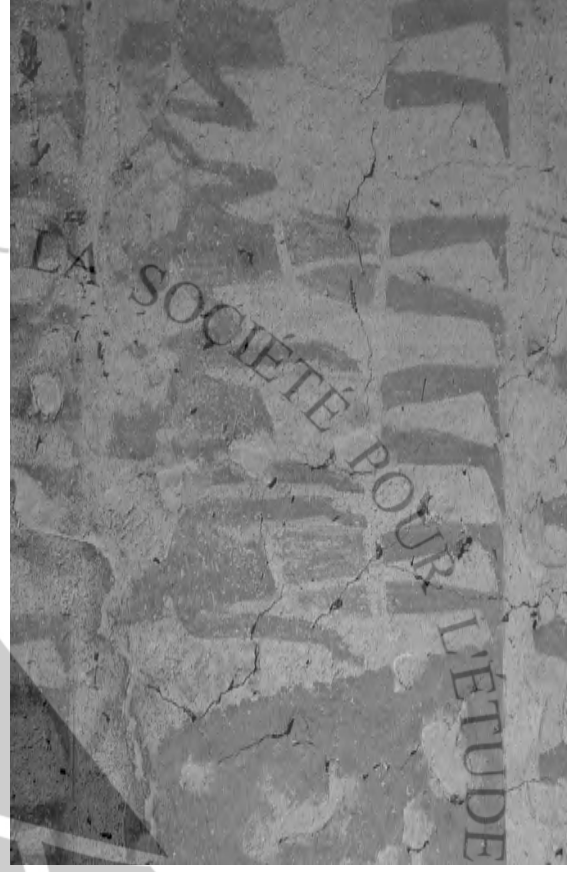
(Left) Figure 24-48 - Expedition Troops

(Upper right) Figure 24-49 - Lotus Sceptre Detail





(Upper left) Figure 24-50 - Amenhotep III



(Upper right) Figure 24-51 - Wall P

(Right) Figure 24-52 - Chiefs of Punt



Figure 24-53 - Horse and Chariot



Figure 24-54 - Receiving Scribes



Figure 24-55 - Egyptian Trade Goods



Figure 24-56 - Donkey and Trade Police