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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

It is our pleasure to present Vol. 41 of this *Journal* close on the heels of Vol. 40. We are pleased to announce in these pages that, as many colleagues have already seen online, we are dedicating Vol. 42 to the memory of John L. (Jack) Foster and Vol. 43 in memoriam Edwin C. (Ted) Brock. We are very heartened by the response that we have already received to these announcements.

The present volume could not appear, let alone in a timely manner, without the dedication, hard work and expertise of those who have given many hours of their time and ingenuity to the tasks of editing, formatting and production. Once again we thank Prof. John Gee for his yeoman effort. We want to record a special Thank You to Dr. Sally Katary for her tireless work of editing and correspondence, and to apologize for the regrettable omission of her name as Associate Editor for Vol. 40, a capacity in which she continues to serve in the current volume.

So without further ado, enjoy!

Jacqueline E. Jay and Edmund S. Meltzer

Shabtis, Scarabs, Miniature Vessels, and Glass from Abydos in the Calverley Collection: Preliminary Results of the Calverley Artefact Project (CAP)

Meredith Brand and Amber Hutchinson

Abstract:
Amice Calverley was part of the post World War I generation of pioneer female archaeologists working in Egypt and she made valuable contributions to the field through archaeological illustration. Calverley spent nearly a decade at the important religious site of Abydos copying and reproducing in line drawings and watercolours the reliefs in the Temple of Seti I for the Egypt Exploration Society. During her time spent at Abydos, Calverley acquired a significant collection of Egyptian artefacts, which she brought back to Canada when she settled near Oakville, Ontario in the late 1940s. This article presents a selection of objects from Calverley's collection, including shabtis, scarabs, miniature pottery, and glass vessels. A discussion of these finds places them into the broader social, economic, and ritual contexts of both cultic and funerary activities at Abydos. The study of small finds in the Calverley collection demonstrates the potential of material culture analysis to contribute new information to the understanding of ancient Egyptian mortuary and votive practice.

Introduction

The collection of artefacts that Amice Calverley acquired in Egypt during the time she worked as an epigrapher and illustrator at the Seti I temple in Abydos came to the attention of The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities through an article detailing a property for sale in Oakville, Ontario that had been her home. Further investigation revealed that the collection had passed into the care of one of Calverley's descendants, her niece, Sybil Rampen. With the support of Mrs. Rampen, the Calverley Artefact Project (CAP) was conceived in 2011 under the joint auspices of *In Search of Ancient Egypt in Canada*, a project of The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities and the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations at the University of Toronto.[1] The goals of the project were to sort, label, identify, catalogue, draw, and photograph the collection

1 The team consists of Mark Trumpour (lead researcher and writer for *In Search of Ancient Egypt in Canada*) as Project Director, Meredith Brand (Ph.D. candidate, University of Toronto) and Amber Hutchinson (Ph.D. candidate, University of Toronto) as researchers and illustrators, and Gabriele Cole (Master of Fine Arts, York University) as photographer with Profs. Mary-Ann Pouls Wegner and Ronald J. Leprohon acting as Academic Advisors (Department of Near & Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto). The authors would also like to thank Mary-Ann Pouls Wegner, Mark Trumpour, and Bryan Kraemer for their helpful comments and suggestions.

of approximately 165 small artefacts located at the Joshua Creek Heritage Art Centre in Oakville. The primary objective was to create a database of the objects and provide advice on the proper storage and conservation of the artefacts with the long-term aim of making this data accessible to researchers through an online catalogue.

Amice Calverley (1896-1959) acquired the objects that make up her collection during her time spent working in Egypt in the late 1920s. She was born in England where she spent most of her childhood until her family moved to Oakville when she was a teenager. From an early age, Calverley was interested in the arts and in music, a fascination which carried into her later years when she was awarded a scholarship to the Royal College of Music in England. During this time, Calverley became involved with the archaeological community in Oxford. Some of her more famous acquaintances included Sir Leonard Woolley and V. Gordon Childe. In 1927, Calverley was recruited by Prof. A. M. Blackman to work on photographs of the Temple of King Seti I at Abydos for the Egypt Exploration Society. Originally, an entire photographic survey of the temple was intended; however, this quickly changed into a more ambitious project that involved copying all the scenes by hand. Calverley was well known for her exquisite drawings and paintings, which eventually led to her being sent to Abydos in 1928 under the direction of Sir Alan Gardiner to work on supplementing and complementing the photographs of the Seti I Temple with her own line drawings. While Gardiner was establishing the project, he immediately recognized the quality of Calverley's work and was enthusiastic about her involvement.

This immense undertaking was later supported by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. who financed the joint Egypt Exploration Society and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago publications of the drawings and paintings produced by Calverley and her associate Myrtle F. Broome,[2] after James Henry Breasted introduced Rockefeller to the project. The women of the expedition became prominent figures at Abydos and Calverley herself lived at the site for many years entertaining visitors and engaging with the local community. She became particularly well known for her medicinal acumen; she would provide ointments and even administered vaccines. Following the disruption of the Second World War, the project continued until 1948 when the work at Abydos was terminated due to Calverley's desire to continue making a film about daily life in Abydos (reels of which had already been publicly shown), which created tensions with the Egyptian authorities.[3] Calverley then spent some time in Crete filming a documentary before finally returning to Canada and settling down in Oakville in a converted coach house. She continued to work on and plan a fifth and sixth volume of the Seti I Temple publications until her death in 1959, but these were never published.[4]

2 Alan H. Gardiner, ed., *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos,* copied by Amice M. Calverley with the assistance of Myrtle F. Broome, vols. 1-4 (London: Egypt Exploration Society; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933-1958).

3 EES letters dated to 1949 discuss the objections the foreign office held over Calverley's film and the subsequent suspension of her work at Abydos.

4 For an excellent detailed biography of the life and work of Amice Calverley, see Barbara S. Lesko, "Amice Mary Calverley, 1896-1959," *Breaking Ground: Women in Old World Archaeology*, Web Based Project, eds. Martha

Throughout her time drawing at Abydos, Calverley acquired a number of small artefacts that eventually made their way to her niece Sybil Rampen, who inherited her estate. Mrs. Rampen continued her Aunt's legacy by devoting her life to archaeology, art, and historic collections. Mrs. Rampen, who holds a BA degree in Art and Archaeology from the University of Toronto established the Joshua Creek Heritage Art Centre in Oakville, Ontario, where the collection now resides. Joshua Creek is Mrs. Rampen's own cultural legacy to cultivate creativity and foster community gatherings.[5] It also serves to protect the local heritage and ecology of the surrounding landscape. The entire complex consists of a heritage house built in 1827 and includes a press room, studios, loft, computer graphics lab, woodshop, and gallery, which plays host to many different art exhibitions throughout the year. In addition to the artefacts discussed in this paper, the Library (also known as the Amice Calverley Research Room) at Joshua Creek contains a number of Calverley's original drawings and paintings, black and white slides taken in Egypt during the 1930s, some of Calverley's personal letters and correspondence, as well as audio recordings. Calverley was also a talented composer of music, who studied with Vaughan Williams and left behind over 700 pages of hand-written musical manuscripts. Some of her compositions were dedicated to Seti I and she also created a poem entitled "Farewell to Seti I."[6] Today, the Library is a living museum meant to represent Calverley's former heritage home.

Approximately 165 small objects from Abydos that are preserved in the Calverley collection were catalogued and photographed at Joshua Creek during the winter and spring months of 2012. Beads comprise the most numerous type of object in the collection ranging from hundreds of small blue faience tubular type to individual examples of larger dimension.[7] Amulets were also abundant and comprise the second largest quantity of objects with 73 examples represented. The collection also includes shabtis, scarabs, miniature pottery vessels, glass, and other miscellaneous items. The sheer quantity of material in the collection precludes detailed discussion of each artefact here; the present study seeks to provide an overview of select object groups and individual artefacts of particular significance.[8] Unfortunately, none of the artefacts have an exact provenance within the site of Abydos.

Sharp Joukowsky and Barbara S. Lesko (Brown University, 2003). Published online: http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground/results.php?d=1&first=Amice%20Mary&last=Caverley. Other useful sources include, Morris. L. Bierbrier, ed., *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, Fourth Revised Edition (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2012); Janet Leveson-Gower and Alan. H. Gardiner, "Amice Calverley," *JEA* 45 (1959): 85-87; Mark Trumpour, "Egypt in Canada: More Hidden Treasures," *SSEA Newsletter* 1 (2009-10).

5 For more information about Joshua Creek, please visit the Centre's website at www.joshuacreekarts.com.

6 Personal communication with Sybil Rampen. For a published copy of the poem, see Bryan Kraemer, "The Lucy Gura Archive: Abydos: 'by far the finest site in Egypt' *The EES Newsletter* 3 (2011-12): 6-7 at 7.

7 Because of the large quantity of very small blue faience beads in the collection, these were bagged together and assigned one object number. Large, unique beads, on the other hand, were catalogued as individual items in the database.

8 The present work is not meant to be a complete or comprehensive catalogue of the collection. To promote public access to the collection, the project is creating an on-line database of the artefacts that will be linked to the Joshua Creek website. The database will contain all relevant catalogue information and photographs to which one can refer to gain further information about the objects discussed in this article.

Calverley collected some of these finds herself from the site and also from local children, to whom she would give rewards for bringing her the objects.[9]

The site of Abydos spreads over 8 square kilometers (5 square miles) and includes archaeological material ranging from nearly every phase of ancient Egyptian history.[10] This vast site is generally broken down into three broad sub-regions. While ancient settlements have been excavated in Abydos,[11] the site is most renowned for its cultic structures including temples, private chapels, royal and private tombs and associated artefactual material.[12] Though composed of small finds, Calverley's collection attests to diverse votive activities at temples through items associated with foundation deposits and offerings left at Umm el Qa'ab during the Osiris ritual. Artefacts such as amulets, shabtis, scarabs and objects of daily life were included in the burials to help ensure a successful transition into and participation in the afterlife. The following sections describe some of these artefacts discovered in Calverley'scollection in more detail.

Shabtis and Third Intermediate Period Burials at Abydos

Shabti figurines in the Calverley collection represent some of the few recently published shabtis of the late New Kingdom to Third Intermediate Period from Abydos and indicate the importance of small finds for reconstructing religious practices carried out at this important site. There are a total of ten shabtis in Calverley's collection. Six of these are complete figures while two of them are missing the feet. The other two pieces are foot fragments that do not join with the other damaged figures. All of the shabtis in the collection are fairly small, ranging in height from about 4 cm to 7 cm. Three of the shabtis are made of faience, including the two foot fragments, while the remaining five are made of Nile clay, which all appear to be baked, except for no. 2012.01.026 (see Figure 2), which is grey in colour and more crudely modeled. The faience shabtis range in colour from light blue-green to bright blue. Faience was a common material used to make shabtis from the Middle Kingdom through to the end of the Ptolemaic Period, and is especially prominent during the Third Intermediate and Late Periods.[13] In the Third Intermediate Period, the faience cores were more friable causing the shabtis to be less defined in form.[14] Only two faience examples are completely

9 Personal communication with Sybil Rampen.

10 David O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2009), 23.

11 The town of Abydos is most likely located adjacent to and under the modern village of Beni Mansur; a *sebekh* cut shows material dating back to the Old Kingdom. An additional town to the north of the Osiris temple complex was excavated by Petrie in 1901-1903 with remains dating from the Predynastic period onwards; see Barry J. Kemp, "Abydos," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, eds. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: O.Harrassowitz, 1975), col. 28-41 at 29.

12 O'Connor, *Abydos*, 15.

13 Hans D. Schneider, *Shabtis: an introduction to the history of ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes, with a catalogue of the collection of shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van oudheden, 1977), 235.

14 Schneider, *Shabtis* 1: 235.

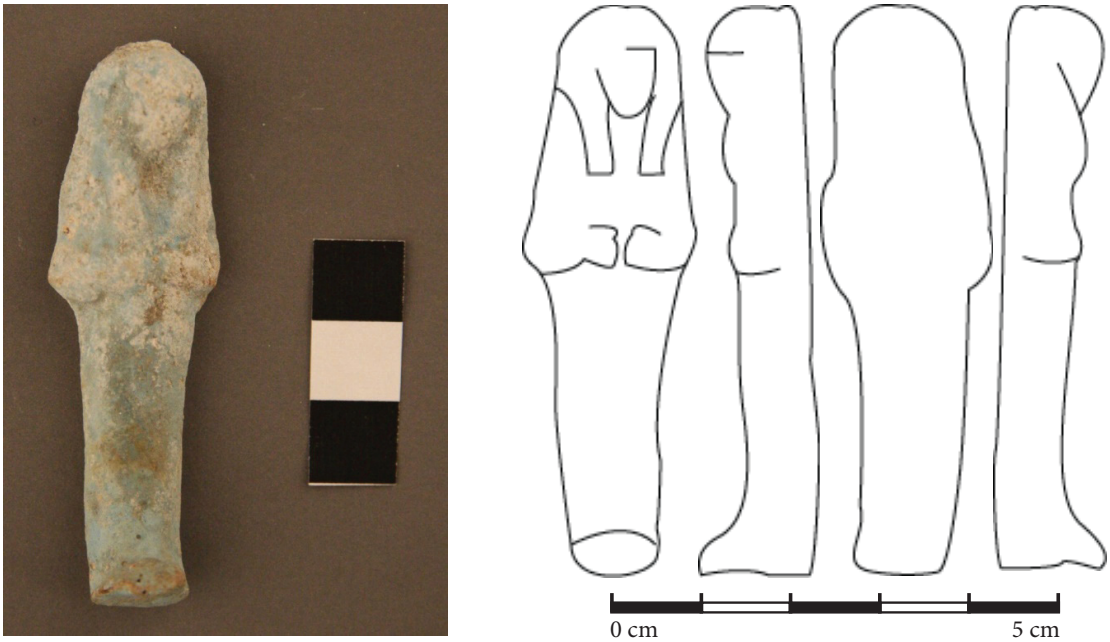


Figure 1. 2012.01.023.

intact in Calverley's collection (nos. 2012.01.023-024, see Figs. 1-2) though they are much worn with no clear facial features or other detailing besides the moulding. No inscriptions have survived on the exterior surfaces of the shabtis in the collection, although they may have originally existed, as inscriptions were commonly painted on the surface of both faience and clay shabtis during the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.[15] All of the Calverley faience shabtis are small and show indications of having been produced in moulds with no modelling of the back. They are also mummiform in shape and wear a tri-partite wig. Similar faience shabtis dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Dynasty 21) have been found in secure contexts in caches I and II at Deir el-Bahri, which provide useful parallels for dating.[16] These examples, however, are better preserved than the Calverley shabtis with black paint and inscriptions clearly visible. They also range in height from 10 cm to 13 cm, which is larger than the tallest Calverley shabti (no. 2012.01.023 at 6.85 cm), making comparisons between the two samples difficult. At other sites, faience shabtis with pale blue glaze similar to Calverley shabtis nos. 2012.01.023-024 have been dated to the late New Kingdom (Dynasties 19-20),[17] as well as the Third Intermediate Period (Dynasty 22),[18] and range

15 Schneider, *Shabtis* 3:37-55; Liliane Aubert, *Les statuettes funéraires de la DeuxièmeCachette à Deir el-Bahari* (Paris: Cybèle, 1998); Glenn Janes, *The Shabti Collections 5. A Selection from the Manchester Museum* (Yorkshire: The Amadeus Press, 2012).

16 Aubert, *Les statuettes*, 52 no. 3 (pl.1), 60 no. 10 (pl. 5), 63 no. 12 (pl.6), 105 no. 51.

17 See, for example, specimens from Gurob, Sedment, and Abydos (Janes, *The Shabti Collections*, 21-22 nos. MM 1445-MM 1446a-e, 53 no. MM 6882a-g, 161-162 nos. MM 6880a-d, 171 no.MM 4681).

18 Janes, *The Shabti Collections*, 196 no. MM 1829a, 207 MM 1808a, 213 no. MM 4677. Jan Moje, *The Ushebtis from Early Excavations in the Necropolis of Asyut, Mainly by David George Hogarth and Ahmed Bey Kamal with Remarks on Ushebti Iconography and Related Burial Practices in Asyut from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 2013), 82-83, no. UM-47, fig. 40.

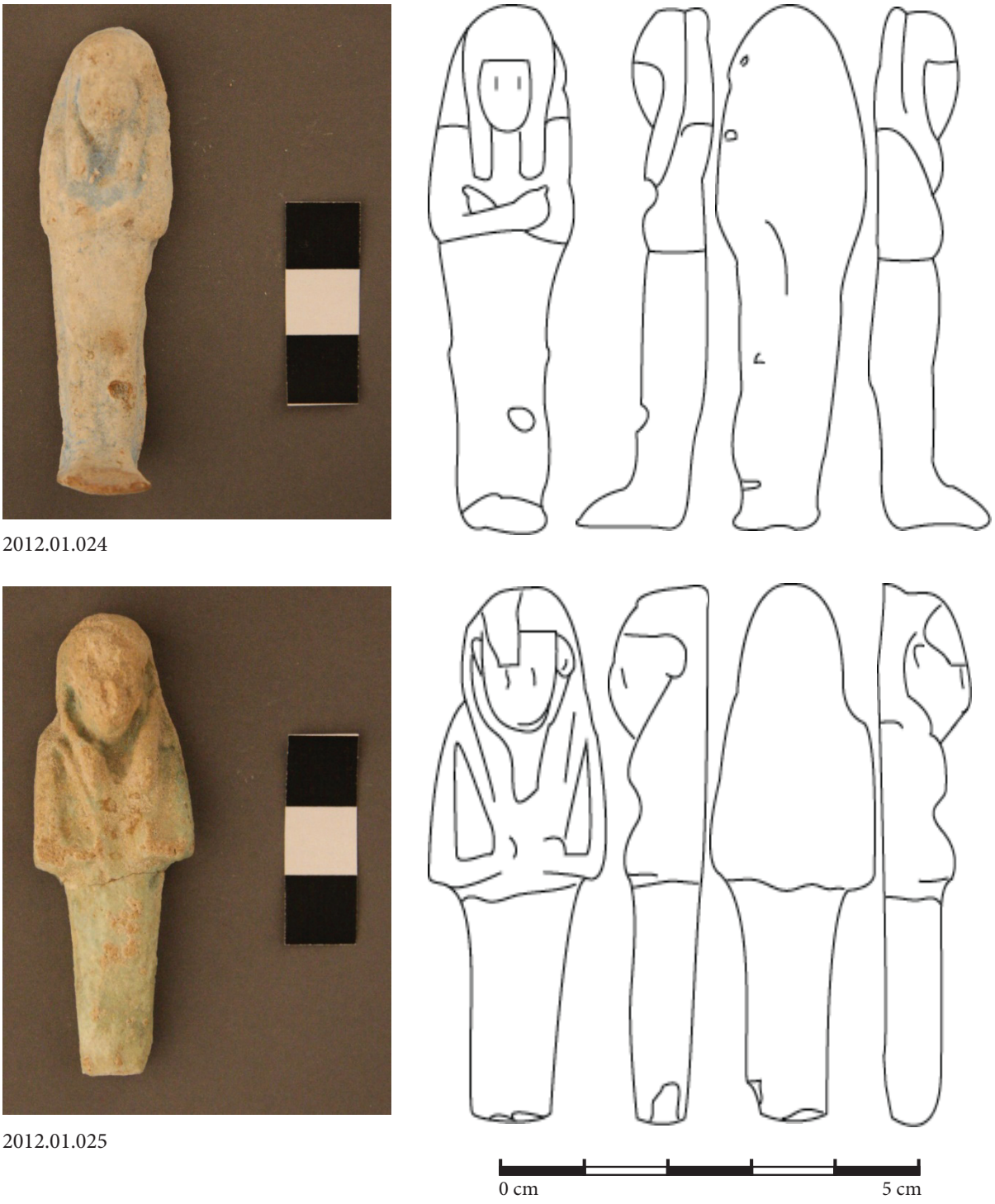


Figure 2. Calverley shabtis.

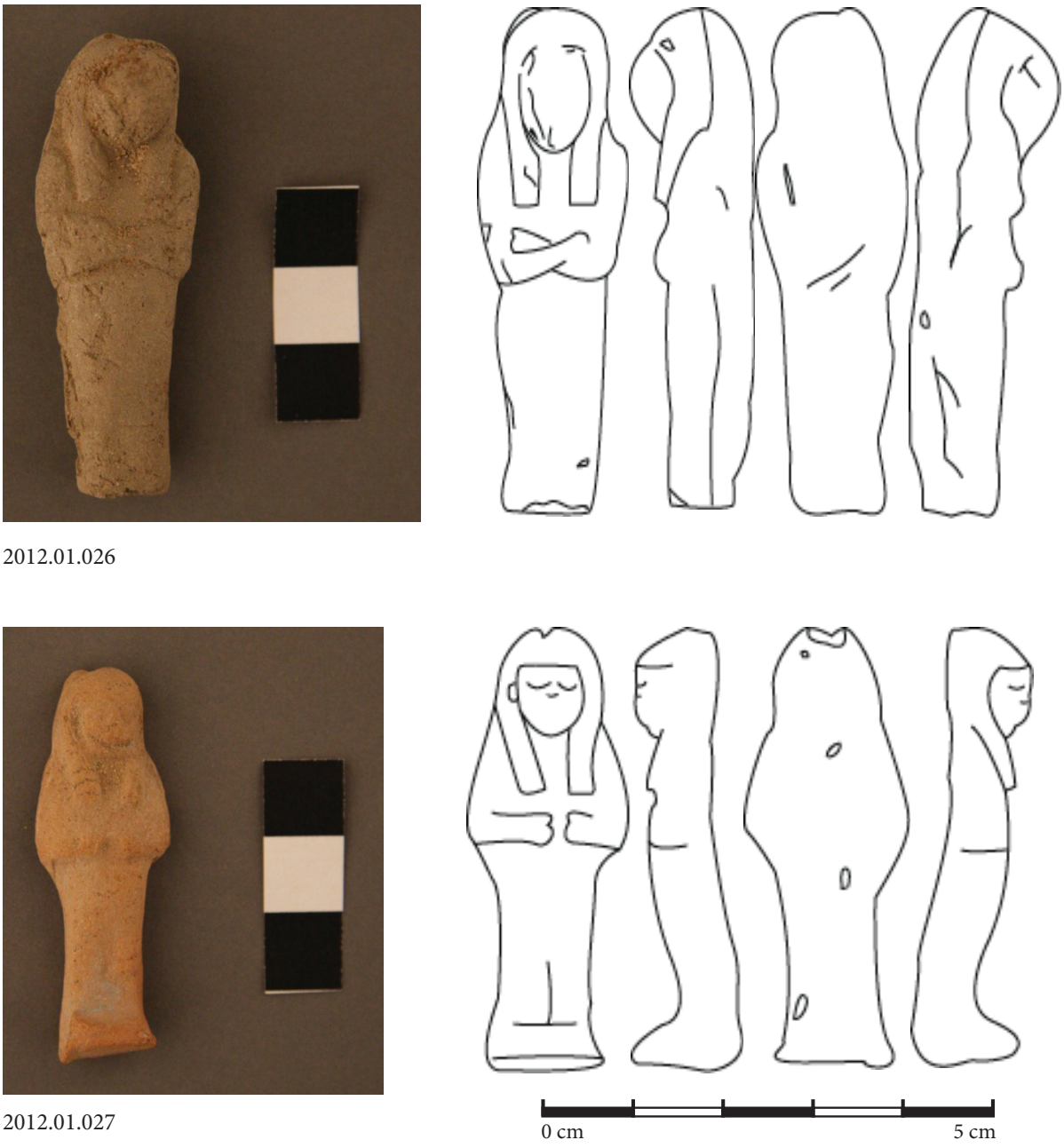
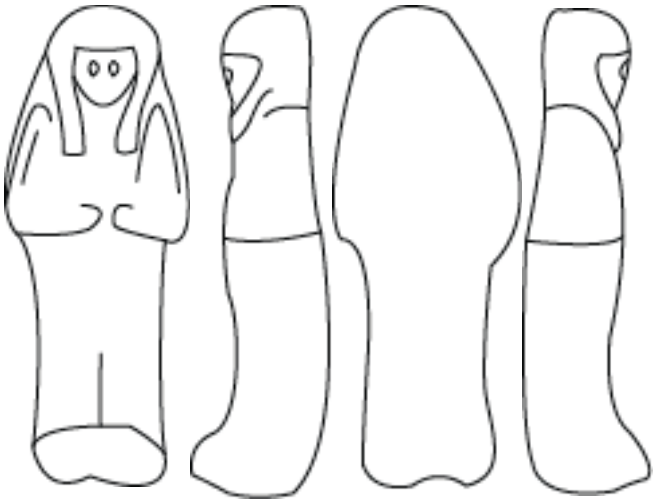


Figure 3. Calverley shabtis.

2012.01.028



2012.01.029

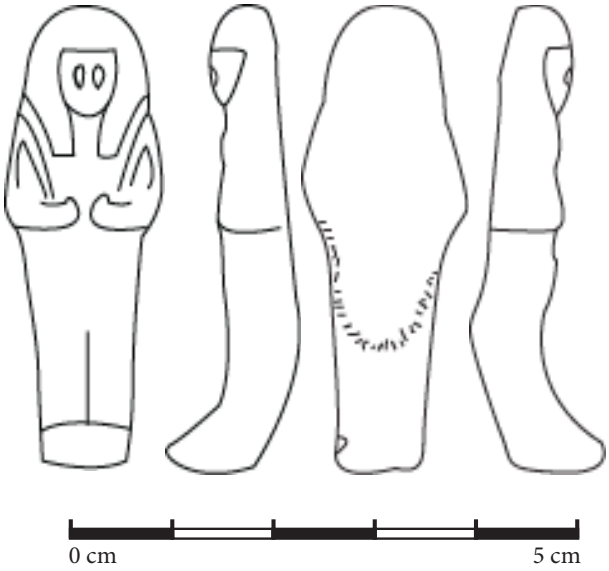


Figure 4. Calverley shabtis.

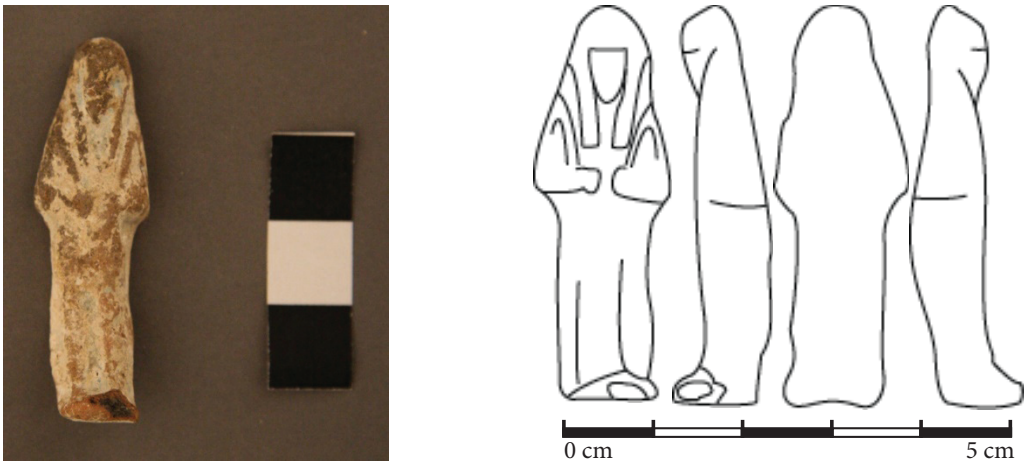


Figure 5. 2012.01.030

in height from 9 cm to 13 cm. Faience shabtis with blue-green glaze similar to Calverley shabti no. 2012.01.025 occur during the same date range (late New Kingdom to Third Intermediate Period).[19] Closer parallels of smaller size (approximately 7 cm in height), however, occur during Dynasties 22-23.[20] The deep blue colour and better workmanship of Calverley foot fragment no. 2012.01.031 (Figure 11) suggests that it has a date range from Dynasties 21-22, when this type of bright blue glaze commonly appears.[21]

All five of the pottery shabtis in Calverley's collection are fairly worn and have crude features. In most cases, the paint has almost completely faded with only slight traces of blue or white wash remaining. As with the faience shabtis, no inscriptions have survived. The pottery shabtis are all modeled on the front, but have flat backs and appear to be mould made with a large, bulbous formation for the feet and ankles. They are very small in size, reaching approximately 5 cm maximum in height. Shabti no. 2012.01.027 provides an example of the small pottery types found in Calverley's collection (see Figure 3). It is very small with a height of 4.9 cm, is mummiform in shape with opposed arms, wears a lappet wig, and is made of Nile clay that has been baked. There are slight traces of blue paint left on the body of the shabti and the back is flat. Interestingly on the back, there are traces of a fingerprint indentation created when the shabti was pressed into a mould. Similar

19 See Janes, *The Shabti Collections*, 98 no. MM 6650b, 181-182 nos. MM 1250, MM1318, and MM 9309, 183 no. MM 9387, 189 no. 9858, 190-191 nos. MM 1243, MM 8090, 201 nos. MM 1802, MM 4641a-b, 215 no. MM 10947. These examples mainly come from the North Cemetery at Abydos and the Ramesseum at Thebes.

20 Moje, *The Ushebtis*, 78-80 nos. UM-44 1-17, fig. 37.

21 For further examples of deep blue faience shabtis dated from Dynasties 21-22, see Glenn Janes, *Shabtis, a Private View: ancient Egyptian funerary statuettes in European Private Collections* (Paris: Cybèle, 2002), 59 no. 29, 76-77 no. 37a-b, 78-79 no. 38, 81 no. 39; Jean-Luc Bovot, *Les serviteurs funéraires royaux et princiers de l'ancienne Égypte. Musée du Louvre Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes Catalogue* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux. 2003), 24 nos. E 7666, E8418, 32 no. E 25377; Janes, *The Shabti Collections*, 174-175 nos. MM 1812, MM 4633a-b, MM 83462.

small baked clay shabtis have been found in cache II at Deir el-Bahri dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Dynasty 21).[22]

Table 1: The Calverley Shabtis

Accession No.	State of Preservation	Material	Length	Height	Width	Date
2012.01.023	Complete	Faience	1 cm	6.85 cm	2 cm (across arms)	Late NK -TIP
2012.01.024	Complete	Faience	1 cm	6.7 cm	1.9 cm (across arms)	Late NK -TIP
2012.01.025	Feet Missing	Faience	1 cm	6.4 cm	2.35 cm (across arms)	TIP
2012.01.026	Feet Missing	Unfired Clay	1.3 cm	5.75 cm	1.8 cm (across arms)	TIP
2012.01.027	Complete	Baked Clay	0.85 cm	4.9 cm	1.8 cm (across arms)	Late NK -TIP
2012.01.028	Complete	Baked Clay	0.9 cm	4.85 cm	1.8 cm (across arms)	Late NK -TIP
2012.01.029	Complete	Baked Clay	0.8 cm	4.7 cm	1.6 cm (across arms)	Late NK -TIP
2012.01.030	Complete	Baked Clay	0.7 cm	4.4 cm	1.45 (across arms)	Late NK -TIP
2012.01.031	Foot Fragment	Faience	1.4 cm	1.7 cm	2 cm	TIP
2012.01.032	Foot Fragment	Faience	1.25 cm	1.9 cm	1.3 cm	TIP

According to Hans Schneider, the first clay shabtis appeared in early Dynasty 18, being made of red-baked Nile clay, and, by the end of Dynasty 19, increased in number because pottery was a relatively cheap, easily workable material that could be efficiently reproduced in mass quantities.[23] Coarse, mass-produced figurines became dominant in the later New Kingdom, when the ideological concept of shabtis became de-personalized. These shabtis were now considered to be mere servants or slaves of their owners that transformed into workers of the afterlife, rather than substitutes for the deceased, and the change in function was accompanied by an increase in demandfrom the populace during this time.[24] By the Third Intermediate Period, numbers of shabtis continued to

22 Aubert, *Les statuettes*, 53 nos. E 14732a-d.
23 Schneider, *Shabtis* 1:237.
24 Schneider, *Shabtis* 1:237 and 320.

increase dramatically and they became smaller in size. The majority were made in open moulds with many specimens remaining unfinished. A shabti for each day of the year was now included in tomb assemblages resulting in large groups of hundreds of figurines, including mummiform 'worker' types and overseer 'reis' shabtis.[25]

Of all the types of funerary equipment dated to the Third Intermediate Period at Abydos, shabtis are one of the most numerous artefacts in terms of quantity. Hundreds of late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period shabtis have been found in the cemeteries of Abydos in several locations,[26] including the shallow pit burials and vaulted tombs so characteristic of the Third Intermediate Period.[27] In fact, a large number of shabtis belonging to various individuals have been recovered from Third Intermediate Period singular shallow pits,[28] which Leahy has suggested points to family or communal vaults during this time.[29] As the sacred cult center of Osiris, it is not surprising that Abydos yielded a great number of shabtis. Shabtis, being representations of human beings who live into eternity, are perpetual images of the human body after death, an iconographic image that relates directly to the Osiris religion.

Unfortunately, contextualizing the Calverley shabtis at Abydos is complicated by several factors. Many excavators have recorded groups of tombs and funerary equipment dating to the late New Kingdom to Third Intermediate Period recovered from many of the cemetery areas at the site.[30] Third Intermediate Period burials and associated funerary material, however, were not well published. In addition to poor publications, many Third Intermediate Period and Late Period burial practices complicate our understanding of funerary activities at this time. Burials of the Third Intermediate Period reused, modified, and built on top of earlier structures distributed throughout the cemeteries, making it difficult to ascertain a complete picture of the development of tombs for this period.[31] More recent excavations, however, have demonstrated that by the Third Intermediate

25 Schneider, *Shabtis* 1:320; Janes, *Shabtis, a Private View*, xvii.

26 Besides pottery, shabtis were the most common funerary equipment found in Third Intermediate Period tombs at Abydos. These were of various types, both large and small, many being made of glazed or baked pottery. During the later dynasties, shabtis became poorer in workmanship and smaller. See, MacIver and Mace, *El-Amrah and Abydos*, 78.

27 Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 46-7. MacIver and Mace, *El-Amrah and Abydos*, 64-5.

28 MacIver and Mace, *El-Amrah and Abydos*, 99 nos. 32, 33, 37.

29 Anthony Leahy, "Abydos in the Libyan Period," in *Libya and Egypt c. 1300-750 B. C.* ed. Anthony Leahy, (London: Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; Society for Libyan Studies, 1990), 155-200 at 161.

30 Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings*, part 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press) 1937, 58-70; Émile Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos: compterendu in extensor des fouilles, description des monuments et objets découverts* (Paris: E. Leroux) 1899-1905; Edward R. Ayrton, Charles T. Currelly, and Arthur E. P. Weigall, *Abydos*, Part III (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905); John Garstang, Percy E. Newberry, and Joseph G. Milne, *El Arabah: A Cemetery of the Middle Kingdom; Survey of the Old Kingdom Tenemos; Graffiti from the Temple of Sety* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1901); Thomas Eric Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, Part II (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914); David Randall-MacIver and Arthur C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902).

31 Janet Richards, "Understanding the Mortuary Remains at Abydos, Northern Cemetery Project: Preliminary Research Report," *NARCE* 142 (1988): 5-8 at 7.

Period, most burial activity had returned to the North Cemetery, which appears to be the site of primary focus for mortuary practices throughout the Third Intermediate, Late, and Graeco-Roman Periods.[32] In one of the few recent publications of Third Intermediate Period burials at Abydos, Diana Craig Patch has described a group of burials of non-elite women and children west of the Komes-Sultan. The most basic elements of funerary equipment, including shabtis and scarabs found elsewhere in Third Intermediate Period burials at Abydos were, however, absent from this context.[33]

The majority of the shabtis at Abydos have been recovered from tomb contexts (see above), which is the likely original origin of the Calverley shabtis. It is, however, nearly impossible to determine the exact location or tomb from which the Calverley shabtis came. The North Cemetery and its surrounding areas provide a probable provenance, due to the high number of Third Intermediate Period burials found there[34] and also due to the fact that the EES Northern House, where Calverley resided, was located in its vicinity.[35] Third Intermediate Period shabtis represent changes in funerary practices associated with changing social, economic, and religious activities at Abydos. The abundance of common, mass produced shabtis found at Abydos indicates that more people had access to funerary assemblages during the Third Intermediate Period, which coincides with the increase in burials found scattered across much of North Abydos during this time. This increasing proliferation of tombs during the Third Intermediate Period is also emphasized by the large quantity of Third Intermediate Period shabtis discovered.

Besides the tombs and cemeteries, a number of shabtis were additionally found in a deposit at Heqreshu Hill near Umm el Qa'ab, which was first discovered by Amelineau and then later investigated by Petrie. Petrie suggested that the area was a venerated site during the 18th Dynasty whereby shabtis were sent along with bronze models of baskets and hoes from persons outside Abydos in order to be buried here.[36] In 1992, the German Archaeological Institute's expedition to Umm el Qa'ab mapped the hill located east of Cemetery U and excavated a number of finds in the area, including shabtis, ceramic vessels, decorated limestone fragments, a small stele, a statuette, and the

32 Janet Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 131; Richards, "Understanding the Mortuary Remains at Abydos," *NARCE* 142: 8.

33 Diana Craig Patch, "Third Intermediate Period Burials of Young Children at Abydos," in *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David. B. O'Connor*, vol. 2, eds. Zahi Hawass and Janet Richards (Cairo: The Supreme Council of Egyptian Antiquities 2007): 237-256 at 248.

34 Richards, Society and Death, 131; Richards, "Understanding the Mortuary Remains at Abydos," *NARCE* 142: 8.

35 Originally built by John Garstang in 1906, the EES Northern House (also called Garstang's House) at Abydos was later purchased by the Egypt Exploration Fund when Thomas Eric Peet was hired as assistant director. The EEF continued to own the house from 1909 until 1948. Today, the current excavation house built by David O'Connor, Barry J. Kemp, and William K. Simpson during the Pennsylvania-Yale-Institute-of-Fine-Arts Expedition to Abydos in the late 1960s rests atop the remains of the original Northern House. See David O'Connor, "Abydos and the University Museum: 1898-1969" *Expedition* (fall 1969): 28-39.

36 William M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, part I (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900), 32-33.

remains of a brick building, among other finds.[37] Of the shabtis found, thirteen individual figures, each in a fragmentary state were recovered, with one type being the most dominant. This type was made of baked Nile clay and was covered in white paint with an inscription in yellow, which the excavators dated to the Ramessid Period.[38] The team also uncovered two faience foot fragments, two unbaked yellow clay shabtis, and a wood shabticoloured red and blue.[39] Like Petrie, the German expedition additionally discovered a number of bronze shabtis tools, such as hoes and baskets in the deposit alongside the shabti fragments.[40] Other than a royal offering plaque of Senwosret I, all the finds uncovered from the hill belonged to private people, the majority dating to the mid-18th Dynasty when activities in the area expanded.[41] Given the votive nature of these objects and the fact that they do not appear at the royal cemetery of Umm el-Qa'ab itself, the German team suggests that Heqreshu Hill was a place for praising Osiris, separate from the cultic activities occurring at the tomb of Djer.[42] The hill, being located at the border of the sacred area connected with the burial of Osiris (identified as the tomb of Djer) appears to have been a place of private ritual that was accessible to the general public. This is the likely explanation for the number of shabtis belonging to high ranking officials and local temple personnel in the 18th to 19th Dynasties.[43] Heqreshu Hill provides an interesting example of shabtis used as offerings in a sacred place that was not a tomb or burial, and may indicate that more than one function can be attested for these objects. Besides the faience foot fragments, however, none of the descriptions of the shabtis from Heqreshu Hill closely match the shabtis in Calverley's collection, making it unlikely that Calverley's shabtis derived from this context at Abydos.

The Calverley Scarabs

The Calverley scarabs attest to administrative or mortuary activity at Abydos from the early Middle Kingdom to the later New Kingdom and can be placed into the chronological sequence of Egyptian scarabs based on comparison with other more securely dated examples. There are a total of thirteen scarabs in the entire collection, including two fragmentary examples in which only the base is preserved. Most are amuletic types, meaning they have an inscription, which includes protective hieroglyphs or a design on the base, though there is one amethyst example that has no decoration. The scarabs vary in date and have a variety of designs. Assigning dates to scarabs presents many challenges due to dangers of misrepresentation based on stylistic grounds and there are, as of yet, no exact criteria for dating these objects. There is also the problem of heirlooms, scarabs

37 Frauke Pumpenmeier, "Heqareschu-Hügel," in "Ummel-Qa'ab Nachuntersuchungen im früzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 9./10. Vorbericht, 77-167, eds. Gunter Dreyer et al. *MDAIK* 54 (1998): 123-137.

38 Pumpernmeier, "Heqareschu-Hügel," *MDAIK* 54: 126.

39 Pumpernmeier, "Heqareschu-Hügel," *MDAIK* 54: 126.

40 Pumpernmeier, "Heqareschu-Hügel," *MDAIK* 54: 127.

41 Pumpernmeier, "Heqareschu-Hügel," *MDAIK* 54: 136.

42 Pumpernmeier, "Heqareschu-Hügel," *MDAIK* 54: 136-137.

43 Pumpernmeier, "Heqareschu-Hügel," *MDAIK* 54: 137.

that appear stylistically older than their archeological context suggests. This is because old scarabs could be brought with owners to new areas and because certain pieces were also commemorative of specific pharaohs, who became venerated after death. These scarabs thus continued to be reissued at later dates due to their cultic significance, which makes dating these objects even more problematic.[44]

Scarabs are commonly published in catalogues and site reports,[45] but many of these studies have tended to emphasize a chronological typology based on designs alone, or on names and titles. As such, there is no reliable system for accurately dating scarabs that can be certain to hold true in all situations.[46] Design scarabs are especially difficult, since they have no names or recognizable sentences and are often difficult to compare with other design amulets. None of the scarabs in Calverley's collection are from secure archaeological contexts and so cannot be dated with complete confidence; however, based on stylistic similarities of the backs and on designs or inscriptions on the base compared with objects from known contexts,[47] as well as the typological analysis of scarab seals produced by David O'Connor,[48] rough dates for the Calverley scarabs can be determined. In the following section, six scarabs from Calverley's collection are analyzed and discussed. These scarabs represent the most significant pieces in terms of dating and raw materials and provide useful information about chronology and production at Abydos. Scarabs were an important part of the ancient Egyptian burial assemblage and are one of most common burial equipment pieces found throughout the cemeteries of Abydos.

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44 This was especially the case with scarabs inscribed with the prenomen of Thutmosis III, which will be further discussed below.

45 Some principal studies of scarabs include, William M. F. Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (Warminster: Aris& Phillips, 1974); William M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with names* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1917); William M. F. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs: a series of drawings from the principal collections arranged chronologically* (Chicago: Ares, 1976); Harry R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum* (London: The Museum, 1913); Percy E. Newberry, *Scarabs: an introduction to the study of Egyptian seals and signet rings* (London: Constable and co. ltd., 1906); Alan Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (Cairo: IFAO, 1936); Geoffrey T. Martin, *Egyptian administrative and private-name seals: principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1971).

46 Ward tried to rectify this problem by including the sides and backs of scarabs in his typology of scarabs found at Byblos. See, William A. Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals*,vol. 1(Warminster: Aris& Phillips, 1979), 178-84. Ward's study is problematic, however, as O'Connor points out, because the scarabs were found in a single jar in a non-funerary context with a variety of other objects suggesting individual selectivity. For further discussion see, David O'Connor, "The Chronology of Scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period," *JSSEA* 25, no. 1 (1985): 1-41 at 32. Rowe (*A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*) included the backs (both carapace and head-clypeus) and profiles in his important scarab typology.

47 Olga Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals*, vol. 2, part 1, Scarabs in Second Millennium BC (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1984).

48 O'Connor, "The Chronology of Scarabs," *JSSEA* 25: 5, 11 fig. 4, fig. 7.

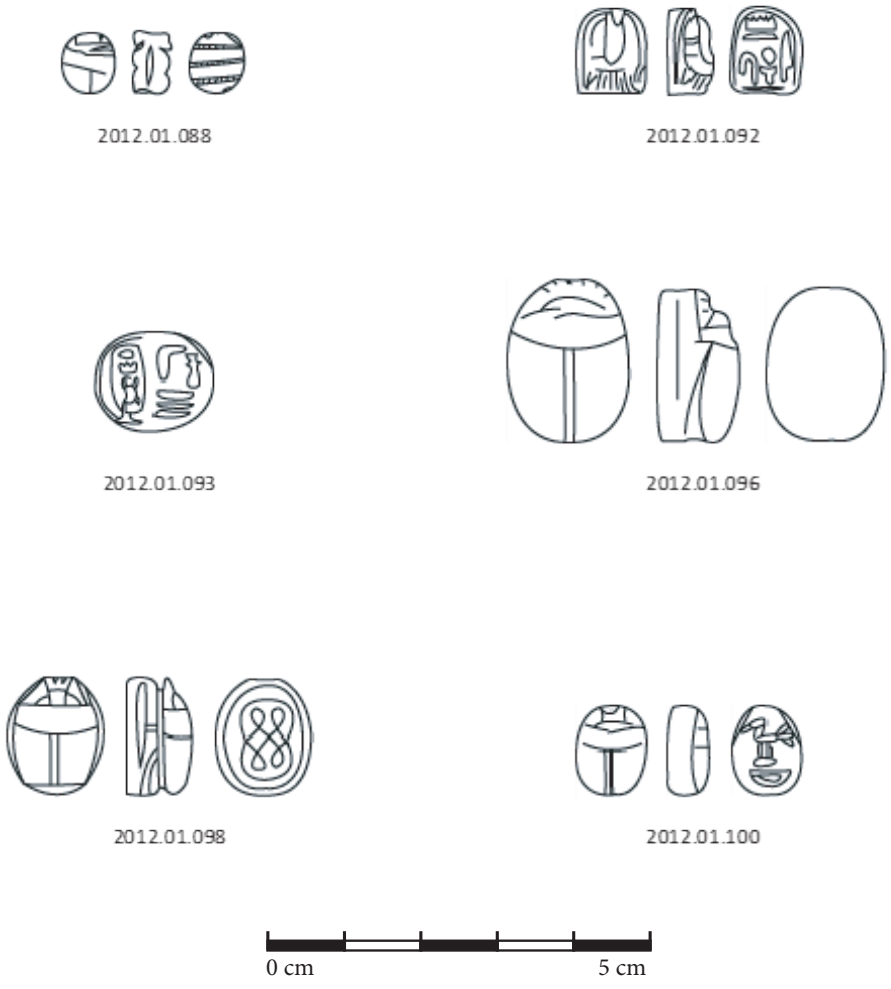

Figure 6. Calverley scarabs.

2012.01.093

Calverley scarab no. 2012.01.093 (see Figure 6) is quite small, measuring about 1. 5 cm in length and is made of ivory. Only the base of the scarab remains, the top being unfortunately broken off, but the inscription on the base consists of a highly significant writing of the prenomen of Thutmosis III in a cartouche. The inscription reads *nṯr nfr nb tȝwy Mn-ḫpr-Rˁ* "The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre." The title and name itself is not unusual. Scarabs with the name of Thutmosis III have been commonly found at various sites throughout Egypt, and at Abydos, a number have been recovered from tomb contexts.[49] What is unique about this artefact, is the arrangement of signs in the title itself. In the inscription, the *nfr* sign has been written before the *nṯr* sign in the epithet, which is not a common occurrence on scarabs with Thutmosis III's name. In fact, only one parallel was found, which exactly matches the Calverley scarab inscription. By examining particular spellings of the prenomen and the position of the cartouches, Jaeger was able to assign specific dates to certain base designs of Menkheperre scarabs.[50] In both the Calverley and Jaeger examples, the cartouche of Thutmosis III is positioned on the left side of the inscription with the epithet placed on the right in the exact same arrangement.

The scarab in Jaeger's collection resides in the British Museum and, unfortunately, there is no provenance for the object; however, Jaeger suggests that the inscription seems to be a variant writing of Thutmosis III's title, which was not very common and most likely occurred after Thutmosis III's death, but cannot be dated with certainty.[51] Scarabs incised with royal names present problems in general, because the king's name may not indicate the date of the scarab's manufacture, as discussed above. This is especially the case with the category of scarabs inscribed with the name, Menkheperre, because Thutmosis III's prenomen remained popular long after his reign. Thutmosis III's name could not only function as a cryptogram for the god Amun,[52] but also became venerated after death due to Thutmosis III's role as protector of the necropolis, which ensured that his name lived on.[53] As such, scarabs inscribed with the name of Thutmosis III could date later than the 18th Dynasty, which seems to be the most likely date for the Calverley scarab based on Jaeger's research.

49 Thomas Eric Peet and William L. S. Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, part III (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1913), 30-31, pl. IV nos. 20, 21, and 22; Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, pl. XXXVII figs. T76, M1; MacIver and Mace, *El-Amrah and Abydos*, pl. LIII.

50 Bertrand Jaeger, *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperrê* (Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), fig. 192.

51 Jaeger, *Essai de classification*, 143-44.

52 Many royal names could function as cryptograms and a large number of cryptograms involved the god Amun. See Alan R. Schulman, "The Ossimo Scarab Reconsidered," *JARCE* 12 (1975): 15-18. Étienne Drioton has written over twenty-five articles on Egyptian cryptography. See for example, Étienne Drioton, "Les Principes de la cryptographie égyptienne," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 97 (3) (1953): 355-364; Étienne Drioton"Voeux inscrits sur des scarabées," *MDAIK* 14 (1956): 34-41; Étienne Drioton "Trigrammes d'Amon," *WZKM* 54 (1957): 11-33. However, the acrophonic derivation of cryptographic values is a subject of controversy. See David Klotz, "Once Again, Min: Acrophony or Phonetic Change?" *GM* 233 (2012): 21-29.

53 Emily Teeter, *Scarabs, scaraboids, seals, and seal impressions from Medinet Habu* (Chicago: Oriental Institute

2012.01.092

Calverley scaraboid no. 2012.01.092 (see Figure 6) is made of faience and is also small, measuring about 2 cm in length. The top has a large piece broken off, so it is difficult to determine the back design for dating comparisons, but it seems to be in the form of a trussed goose, a type that is known elsewhere;[54] however, the inscription on the base provides a better clue. The inscription bears the signs *ꜥnḫ.s n Ỉmn*, which can be translated as the name "Ankhsenamun" or as an oath meaning "she lives for Amun." The signs could also be read as *Ỉmn ꜥnḫ.s* "Amun is her life." An exact parallel of this inscription is published in Teeter's catalogue.[55] Teeter's example derives from a context at Medinet Habu in which it was associated with other scarabs and small artefacts. Teeter dates the scarab to Dynasties 18-20 with the suggestion that if the inscription is a name, then the scarab probably dates to the 18th Dynasty following after the famous Queen of King Tutankhamun.[56] No epithets are included with the name, however, and like other royal-name scarabs, it is difficult to determine if the scarab dates to the reign of the Queen or is a posthumous reissue. Two more examples occur in Petrie's *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*.[57] These two scarabs were found housed in University College, but Petrie indicates that a few more examples exist in other museum collections, including the British Museum and the Louvre.[58] In fact, during his research, Petrie noted only six scarabs in total bearing the name Ankhsenamun.[59] These scarabs thus appear to be a rare find, especially when compared to the high number of scarabs found bearing the names of kings.[60]

Although unusual, scarabs bearing the names and titles of royal women have been found dating back to the Middle Kingdom and seem to coincide with the appearance of the royal-name scarabs of kings, but in fewer numbers.[61] Most female royal-name scarabs of the Middle Kingdom are made of the finest materials, including semiprecious stones and gold, and are often used as parts of rings and necklaces, being placed alongside other types of jewelry in tombs as funerary offerings.[62] Daphne Ben-Tor has suggested that royal-name scarabs functioned as protective amulets or seals

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of the University of Chicago, 2003), 14.

54 Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 53.

55 Teeter, *Scarabs*, 29, no. 17; pl. 5.

56 Teeter, *Scarabs*, 29.

57 William M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1917), pl. XXXVII nos. 32, 33.

58 Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders,* 38.

59 Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders,* 38.

60 For example, there are 86 scarabs with the name of King Tutankhamun. See Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 38.

61 Daphne Ben-Tor, "Two Royal-Name Scarabs of King Amenemhat II from Dashur," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 39 (2004): 17-34 at 27.

62 Ben-Tor, "Two Royal-Name Scarabs," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 39: 23, 26.

that signify the symbolic role of royal women in cults associated with kingship.[63] Interestingly, some of earliest royal-name scarabs of kings were found in securely dated contexts of the Middle Kingdom in tombs of princesses at the pyramid complexes of Lahun and Dashur.[64]

2012.01.088

This very small (0.9 cm) scaraboid example from Calverley's collection is made of faience and exhibits horizontal line bands on its base (see Figure 6). It also has a stylized back. Peet published a few scarabs from his Egypt Exploration Fund excavations at Abydos that look similar, but only the designs on the base are given, so the backs cannot be compared. The scarabs were found separately in two burials from the early Middle Kingdom. The example from T.73 bears horizontal bands similar to the scarab in Calverley's collection.[65] T.73 is a rectangular shaft tomb of early Middle Kingdom date, in which Peet found a disturbed body and the small blue glazed scarab.[66] Ward includes this type of maze and line pattern as one of his type-designs of the First Intermediate Period, based upon his dating of examples found in the Montet Jar at Byblos,[67] but as discussed above, there are problems with this dating of the assemblage. A small scaraboid of similar decoration was also recovered from Medinet Habu.[68] This scarab is dated to Dynasties 20-25 based on Hölscher's assigned dates for associated strata or loci, but that dating may also be problematic because the scaraboid may not be contemporary with other finds in the same locus.[69]

2012.01.096

This large amethyst scarab measures 2.2 cm in length making it the largest of the scarabs in Calverley's collection (see Figure 7). It has no inscription on the base, but on the back two parallel lines mark the outline of the elytra and the head and clypeus is well defined (see Figure 6). Previously used to make beads for necklaces and bracelets in early times,[70] amethyst was not commonly

63 Ben-Tor, "Two Royal-Name Scarabs," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 39: 26.
64 Ben-Tor, "Two Royal-Name Scarabs," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 39: 23.
65 Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 79, pl. XXXVII.
66 Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 79, pl. XXXVII.
67 Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals*, 10, pls. I and II.
68 Teeter, *Scarabs,* 103 no. 165, pl. 12.
69 Teeter, *Scarabs,* 40.
70 Small amethyst beads are known from the Predynastic Period at Abusir el-Meleq. See, Georg Möller and Alexander Scharff, *Die archaeologischen Ergebrisse des vorgeschichtlichen Gräberfeldes von Abusir el-Meleq* (Osnabrück O. Zeller, 1969). At Abydos, early amethyst beads were recovered from a bracelet of King Djer. See, William M. F.

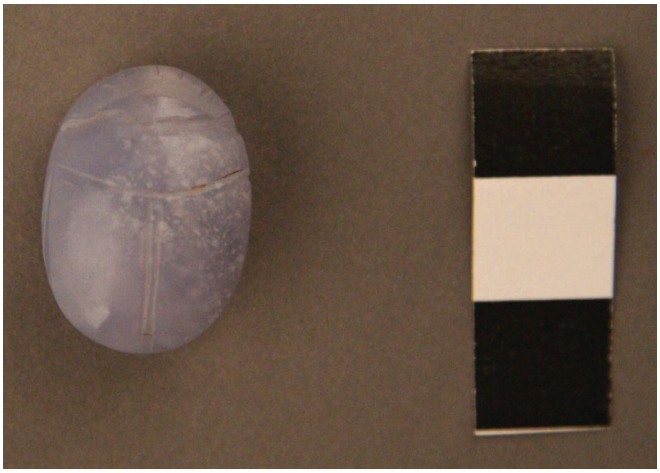


Figure 7. Amethyst scarab no. 2012.01.096.

used for scarabs until the 12th Dynasty.[71] Amethyst scarabs have been found in quantities outside of Egypt dating to the Middle Bronze Age,[72] and, according to Olga Tufnell, amethyst was the most attractive material used to make scarabs found at Jericho, Fara, and Tell el-Ajjul.[73] In Egypt, the most active age of the amethyst quarries at Wadi el Hudi was during the reign of Senwosret I.[74] Due to the hardness of the stone, amethyst scarabs were seldom inscribed; Geoffrey Martin, however, has recorded twenty items with official names and titles of Dynasties 12 and 13.[75] Being a semiprecious stone, amethyst was commonly used for royal personnel,[76] but seems to have become more available to private citizens sometime in the 12th Dynasty.[77] During her research on Middle Kingdom cemeteries at Haraga, Richards discovered that surface graves termed by Engelbach to be of the 'lower classes' had unexpected instances of semiprecious materials, including carnelian, amethyst, gold, and copper.[78] Similar occurrences were also seen at Riqqa and at Abydos in both shaft and

Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties,* part II (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901), 18f.

71 Alfred Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: E. Arnold, 1926), 445.

72 Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals*, 81, 84.

73 Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals*, 39.

74 Ahmed Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries at Wadi el Hudi* (Cairo: Government Press, 1952); Ashraf I. Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi* (Warminster: Aris& Phillips, vol. 1 [1980] and vol. 2 [1985]). Kate Liszka, "Gems in the Desert: Recent Work at Wadi el-Hudi." *Egyptian Archaeology* 46 (2015).

75 Martin, *Egyptian administrative and private-name seals, general index*, 192.

76 Two fine amethyst scarabs inscribed with the name of Amenemhat II were found among the jewelry of Queen Weret II buried in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dashur. See, Ben-Tor,"Two Royal-Name Scarabs," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 39: 17; an amethyst scarab was also found amongst the burial equipment of King Tutankamun's tomb. See Mary Nuttall, *A Handlist to Howard Carter's catalogue of objects in Tutankhamun's tomb* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1963), 3 no. 44k.

77 Amethyst scarabs are frequently found in modest and unassuming burials of Dynasty 12. See, Guy Brunton, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture* (London: B. Quaritch, 1937), pl. lxix no.11; Peet *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 45 pl. ix no. 2.

78 Richards, *Society and Death*, 118.

surface grave contexts.[79] In Cemetery S at Abydos, for instance, Peet recovered an amethyst scarab from one of the pit burials.[80] Another broken amethyst scarab was found in a North Cemetery shaft (C32) at Abydos together with an ivory wand and small carnelian scarab.[81] At the time, Peet considered amethyst and carnelian scarabs to be common finds typical of burials of the 12thDynasty at Abydos.[82] Based on these finds, Richards concludes that a wide range of groups and individuals had access to semiprecious materials during the Middle Kingdom.[83] It is quite likely, therefore, that the amethyst scarab in Calverley's collection dates to this time period.

2012.01.098 and 2012.01.100

There are two carnelian scarabs in Calverely's collection (see Figure 8), both of which are inscribed on the base. No. 2012.01.098 has a linked cord design, while no. 2012.01.100 has what appears to be a duck placed above the *nb* sign (see Figure 8). Parallel carnelian scarabs with linked cords have been recorded by Petrie, who dates this pattern from Dynasties 13-17.[84] Tufnell also noted coiled and woven patterns at Lahun and Uronarti that are similar to the cord design, but none exactly match the pattern of the Calverley scarab.[85] Linked cord designs additionally occur in O'Connor's typology of scarab seal designs, but are considered to be chronologically non-diagnostic.[86] The material of the scarab itself, however, provides a useful criterion for dating.

Abundant in the eastern desert, carnelian was used since predynastic times to make beads and amulets in Egypt,[87] suggesting that it was believed to protect the dead in the afterlife and to have magical powers. According to Tufnell, however, this abundance was periodic and dependent on trade routes.[88] At least eight inscribed carnelian scarabs were found in the Montet Jar at Byblos.[89] If O'Connor is correct in his assessment of the Byblos material, then the most likely date for the scarabs is Dynasty 12 and not the First Intermediate Period as Ward originally thought.[90] This date corresponds well with material recovered from sites in Egypt. Carnelian scarabs have been found in a number of Middle Kingdom burials, usually alongside amethyst scarabs, and other semipre-

79 Richards, *Society and Death*, 175.
80 Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 45, pl. ix no. 2.
81 Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 59.
82 Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 46.
83 Richards, *Society and Death*, 176.
84 Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, 1974, 14-15, pl. viii nos. 128, 129, 130.
85 Olga Tufnell, "Seal Impressions from Kahun town and Uronarti fort: A Comparison," *JEA* 61 (1975): 67-101 at 61, 85 fig. 8.
86 O'Connor, "The Chronology of Scarabs," *JSSEA* 25: fig. 7, type G.
87 Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 448.
88 Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals*, 39.
89 Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals,* 39.
90 O'Connor, "The Chronology of Scarabs," *JSSEA* 25: 32.

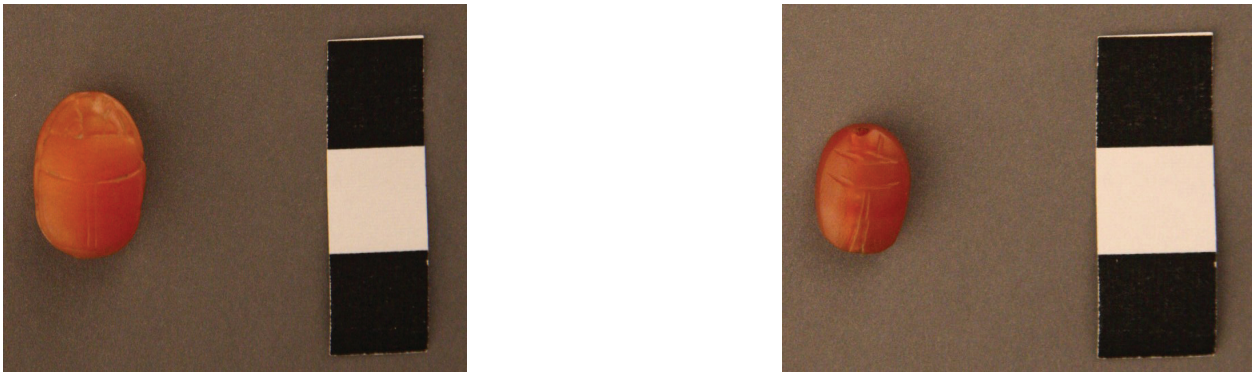


Figure 8. Carnelian Scarab Nos. 2012.01.098 (left) and 2012.01.100 (right)

cious materials.[91] They have also been found in later contexts. At Medinet Habu, for instance, two carnelian scarabs were recovered, which range in date from the 18th to 21st Dynasties, but carnelian scarabs of this date are not very common.[92] Additionally, in the 18th Dynasty tombs located near the pyramid of Ahmose at Abydos, MacIver and Mace discovered a fine carnelian scarab belonging to Queen Ahmose.[93] Yet another example of an inscribed carnelian scarab of the 18thDynasty (possibly of Amenhotep III) resides in the Cairo Museum.[94]

Votive Dishes and Miniaturized Vessels in the Calverley Collection

There are four pots from the dynastic period in Calverley's collection (nos. 2012.01.001-004) from the broader category of miniature vessels and votive dishes (see Figure 9). Miniature pottery vessels[95] are well known at both funerary and cultic sites from the Old Kingdom[96] until the

91 Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 46, 54, 59 C31 and C32.

92 Teeter, *Scarabs*, 88 no. 134, 117 no. 191.

93 MacIver and Mace, *El-Amrah and Abydos*, pl. liii no. 7.

94 Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, no. 819.

95 Susan Allen, "Miniature and Model Vessels in Ancient Egypt," in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague, May 31st-June 4th, 2004*, ed. Miroslav Bárta (Prague: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2006).

96 Allen suggests miniature vessels might date back to the Predynastic period. See, Allen, "Miniature and Model Vessels," 19. Swain also argues that the use of miniature vessels began in the Naqada II period when grave goods became more abundant in general; see Simon Swain, "The Use of Model Objects as Predynastic Egyptian Grave Goods: An ancient Origin for a Dynastic Tradition," in *The Archaeology of Death in the AncientNear East*, eds. Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 36.

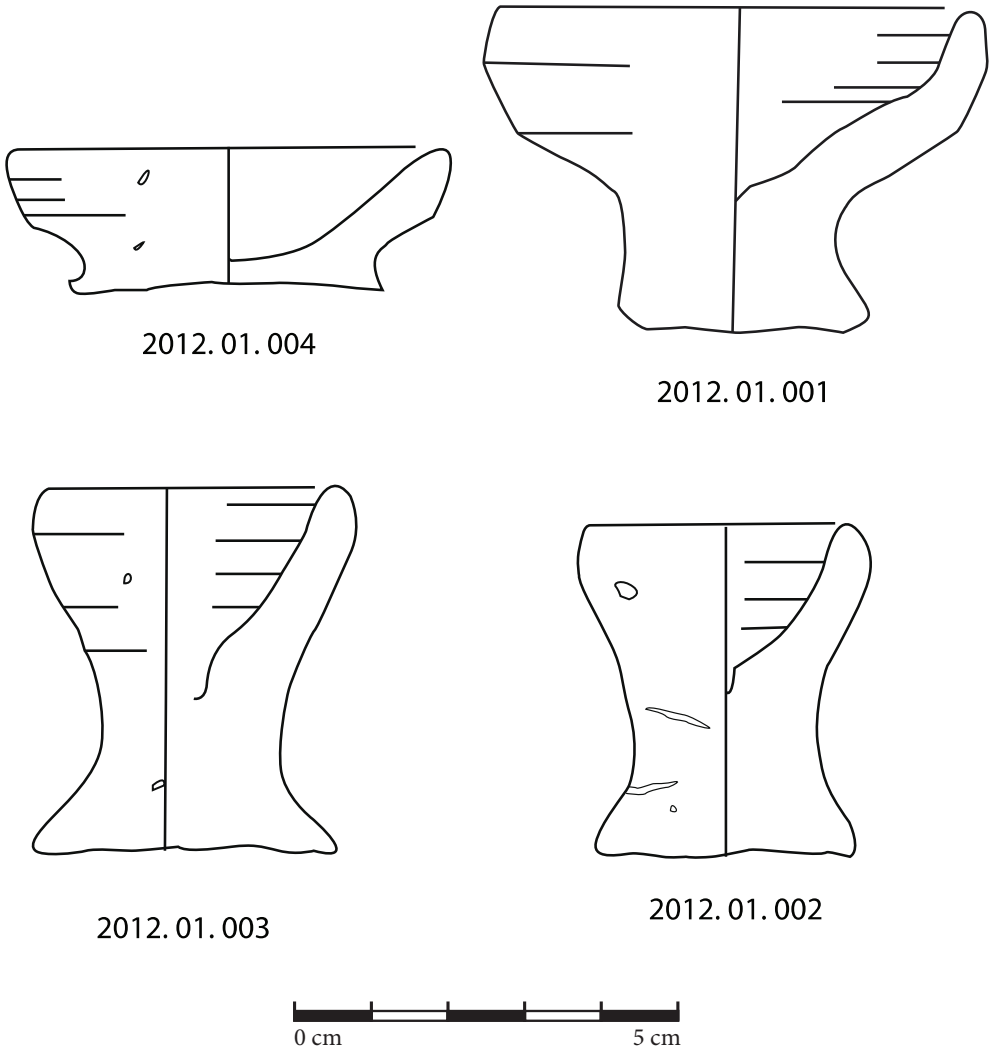


Figure 9. Calverly votive pottery.

Late Period.[97] By the Old Kingdom, miniature vessels were also used in temple or cultic activities,[98]

97 For the Old Kingdom, see MiroslavBárta,"Pottery Inventory at the Beginning of the IVth Dynasty ("Multiplier Effect" in the IVth and the "Law of Diminishing Returns" in the VIth)" *GM* 149 (1995): 15-24 at 16. For the Late Period see, David Aston, *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth SeventhCenturies B.C.E.): Tentative Footsteps in a Foreboding Terrain*(SAGA 13.Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1996) and Helen Jaquet-Gordon, "Miniature Pots," in *Under the Potter's Tree: Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented toJanine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday*, eds. David Aston, Bettina Bader, Carla Gallorini, Paul Nicholson, and Sarah Buckingham (Leuven: UitgeverijPeeters, 2011), 521-529.

98 Marchand and Baud, "La céramique miniature d'AbouRawash," *BIFAO* 96: 6; Allen, "Miniature and Model

deposited in foundation rituals,[99] and to a lesser extent were included in burials as funerary equipment.[100] The production and function of miniature vessels changed in the 4thDynasty when large numbers of miniature pottery were produced on the wheel.[101]This change in the mode of production is reflected in the increasingly prominent role of miniature vessels in cultic activity.

As Teodozja Rzeuska notes, the function of miniature vessels depends on their context.[102] When found in burial chambers, these miniatures are symbolic offerings for the deceased.[103] Some suggest that in the Old Kingdom the number of both stone and ceramic miniature vessels are similar to the number of items on offering lists; as such, these miniatures represent specific items in offering lists.[104] In this scenario, miniature vessels acted as symbolic perpetual offerings to the deceased, and represented larger victual and cultic goods (e.g. incense) depicted in these offering lists.[105] Miniature vessels also had vital roles as offering containers in cultic contexts[106] where they were associated with offering rituals both to the deceased and to the cults of deities. In funerary contexts, large numbers of miniatures have been found in tomb chapels for private people[107] and in royal mortuary temples[108] where they were deposited as offerings. Miroslav Barta argues that with the increase in number of elite burials, the demand for offering vessels would have been so great that it was no longer viable to equip these chapels with stone vessels.[109] As a result, the use of miniature vessels addressed the problem of supplying large numbers of offerings in a cost- and time efficient manner.[110] Daily offerings required vast numbers of miniature offering vessels to be used and discarded in the Old Kingdom.[111] This use continued in the Middle and New Kingdoms at both mortuary and non-mortuary temples, but with smaller numbers of miniature vessels found.

Vessels," 19.

99 James Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1973).

100 A small number of miniature vessels have also been found in settlement sites, particularly post Middle Kingdom, but they are relatively un-common, see Jaquet-Gordon, "Miniature Pots," 521.
The function of miniaturized vessels in settlement sites is still unclear, see Jacquet-Gordon,"Miniature Pots," 522-523.

101 Bárta, "Pottery Inventory," *GM* 149: 16; Sylvie Marchand and Michel Baud, "La céramique miniature d'AbouRawash: undépot à l'entrée des enclosorientaux" *BIFAO* 96 (1996): 255-288 at 269.

102 Teodozja Rzeuska, *Saqqara II: Pottery of the Late Old Kingdom: Funerary Pottery and Burial Customs* (Warsaw: Nerition 2006), 45.

103 Rzeuska, *Saqqara II*, 425.

104 Rzeuska, *Saqqara II*, 425.

105 Allen, "Miniature and Model Vessels," 19.

106 Rzeuska, *Saqqara II*, 425; Marchand and Baud, "La céramique miniature d'AbouRawash," *BIFAO* 96: 269.

107 Rzeuska, *Saqqara II*, 425. This practice of including an abundance of miniature vessels as part of the burial assemblage is primarily restricted to the Old Kingdom.

108 Allen, "Miniatures and Model Vessels," 22; Marchand and Baud, "La céramique miniature d'AbouRawash," *BIFAO* 96.

109 Bárta, "Pottery Inventory," *GM* 149: 17.

110 Bárta, "Pottery Inventory," *GM* 149: 17.

111 Allen, "Miniature and Model Vessels," 22; Marchand and Baud, "La céramique miniature d'Abou Rawash," *BIFAO* 96.

Assigning precise dates to miniature vessels (particularly ones found out of context) is difficult for a variety of reasons.[112] First and foremost, there is a lack of criteria for defining miniature vessels.[113] There are four variables in which miniature vessels are defined: (1) technology or manufacture, (2) size, (3) morphology or form, and (4) function. Most scholars share the consensus that miniature vessels were mass-produced on the wheel[114] and were made from relatively coarse Nile clays such as Nile B2 or Nile C.[115] In terms of size, Bárta includes those vessels measuring 10cm of less in both height and rim diameter, whereas Rostislav Holthoer views miniature vessels as having a maximum rim diameter of less than 12 cm.[116]

There would also seem to be disagreement when it comes to defining the morphology and function of miniature vessels. Bárta views miniature vessels as separate forms in their own right, which includes bowls and dishes that were not simply miniaturized versions of larger pottery. Susan Allen, on the other hand, sees miniature vessels as smaller scale versions of larger pottery forms, i.e. miniaturized versions of larger pots that still retain their functional abilities (as opposed to model vessels with solid bodies that therefore, that cannot hold any contents).[117] While their definitions seem contradictory at first glance, however, Bárta and Allen describe two different types, or two broad categories, of miniature vessels that both appear in the archaeological record.

Bárta's definition describes what this article and numerous other ceramicists call 'votive dishes', which are shallow bowls or plates that are small (i.e. with rim diameters of around 10cm or less) and were included as funerary equipment, or, more commonly, were used in votive ritual. Allen's definition describes a well know category of miniaturized versions of larger pottery vessels that are also found in burial chambers, funerary chapels, temple contexts, and even in settlement sites.[118] As such, this article refers to miniaturized versions of larger known pottery vessels with votive functions as 'miniaturized pottery' or 'miniaturized vessels.' Allen states that since miniaturized vessels were ritual objects, they became stylistically "frozen" in the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Period; as a result, they are not chronologically sensitive like most other pottery forms.[119] This is certainly true for some types of miniaturized pottery. In the Old Kingdom, for example, there was a proliferation of numerous types of miniaturized vessels that includes both smaller ver-

112 Rzeuska, *Saqqara II*, 425.

113 For contrasting definitions, compare Bárta, "Pottery Inventory," *GM* 149: 15-16 and Allen, "Miniature and Model Vessels," 21-22.

114 There are some exceptions to this, for example, a late Middle Kingdom miniaturized vessel in the form of a carinated bowl from Karnak North (no. K.N. P1311) that is handmade, Jaquet-Gordon, "Miniature Pots," 522, fig. 1a.

115 For example, Allen, "Miniature and Model Vessels," 21-22 and Bárta, "Pottery Inventory," *GM* 149: 15. This is a general trend; there are some rare examples of miniature vessels that have surface treatment. Examples include votive dishes form Ehnaysaya el Medina with a red slip, Bettina Bader, "Preliminary Observations on Ceramic Material found at Herakleopolis Magna (Ehnasaya el Medina)," *CCÉ* 9 (2011): 37-71 at 51, fig. 3.40.

116 Rastislav Holthoer,*New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia vol 5:1 (Stockholm: Esselte Studium, 1977), 70.

117 Allen, "Miniature and Model Vessels," 21-22.

118 Jaquet-Gordon, "Miniature Pots," 521-522.

119 Allen, "Miniature and Model Vessels," 19.

sions of well-known forms of funerary pottery like *nemset* jars[120] that are morphologically "frozen." However, there are also miniaturized vessels that are chronologically sensitive and include pottery forms, such as carinated spouted bowls[121] with well known morphological changes. This trend continues in later periods, for example, at Haraga where well-known Middle Kingdom beakers are replicated in miniature form[122] and in the New Kingdom there are even miniaturized blue painted drop pots.[123] It is clear from the Old Kingdom onwards that two traditions of miniaturized vessels developed: those that are indeed stylistically "immutable" and have known votive uses, and those that change according to pottery styles at the time.

Finally, little scholarly attention has been given to chronological changes of votive dishes and miniaturized vessels.[124] Tracking morphological changes in miniature vessels would be a difficult undertaking given the large proliferation of types of miniatures vessels, even within one site and one time period.[125] Further, defining one 'type' of miniature vessel is complex given the rapidity of production, which results in a great deal of variation in form, even among what might be considered the same type. For example, a large deposit of more than 45,000 miniatures was excavated at Radjedef's mortuary temple in Abu Rowash where a great deal of morphological variation is clearly present.[126] Despite the ubiquity of miniature pottery in funerary and cultic sites, more work is needed to both refine definitions of their form and function, and also to help establish more firm chronological developments. This article presents one votive dish and three miniaturized vessels from Abydos in order to emphasize little discussed features of this important class of pottery.

2012.01.004: Votive Dish

There is one example (no. 2012.01.004) in Calverley's collection of a small dish with a flat base and flaring walls with a subtle carination, and a round rim that curves in slightly (See Figure 9). This vessel's height is 1.3cm and the rim diameter is 5.6cm. No. 2012.01.004 is wheel thrown with a string cut base, no surface treatment, and is made of Nile B2 fabric. The morphology of votive dishes, as defined by most ceramicists, is composed of flat base dishes with straight walls

120 George A. Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), fig. 99.

121 Reisner, History of the Giza Necropolis II, 74.

122 Reginald Engelbach, *Harageh* (London: BSAE, 1923), pl. XXXI.

123 For example, a New Kingdom miniature from Deir el Medina.See, Georges Nagel, *La céramique égyptienne du Nouvel Empire à Deir el Médineh I* (Cairo: IFAO, 1938), 93, fig.73 no. 64. It is unclear, however, if these miniturized pots served ritual or cosmetic functions.

124 For exceptions, Marchand and Baud, "La céramique miniature d'AbouRawash," *BIFAO* 96: 255-288, and Julia Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults: Erst Beobachtungen zu Form, Datierung und Funktion," in "Studien zum Osiriskult in Ummel Qa'ab / Abydos – Ein vorbericht –, by Utte Effland, Julia Budka, and Andreas Effland, p. 35 – 69, *MDAIK* 66 (2010): 19- 91at Abb. 17.

125 Marchand and Baud,"La céramique miniature d'Abou Rawash," *BIFAO* 96:271.

126 Marchand and Baud, "La céramique miniature d'Abou Rawash," *BIFAO* 96: 269, 255-288.

and flaring sides.[127] Given the slight carination of the walls and curvature of the rim, this vessel has a subtly different form than most votive dishes. So far, no exact parallels of this vessel have been found in published sources from Abydos. However, given the overall morphological similarity with votive dishes, this study considers Calverley no. 2012.01.004 to be a votive dish.

Votive dishes are known predominately from funerary contexts[128] and temples[129] dating from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period. These dishes are closely associated with offerings due to

127 Aston, Egyptian Pottery, 60; Mary-Ann Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdom Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmosis III at Abydos, Preliminary Analysis and Interpretation," *CCÉ* 9 (2011): 364-412 at 364.

128 The following parallels are intended to give an overview of the kinds of sites where votive dishes are found and do not constitute a complete list of parallels for votive dishes, which is beyond the scope of this study. **Old Kingdom:** From Meidum, (3rd dynasty); William M. F. Petrie, Ernest Mackay, and Gerald Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis III* (London: BSAE, 1910), pl. XXVI, no. 50. From Giza, Reisner's type DLXIXa (4th-6th dynasty), Resiner, Historyof the Giza Necropolis II, 86, fig. 127. The Tomb of Ptahshepses (6th dynasty), Petr Charvát, *The Pottery: The Mastaba of Ptahshepses* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1981), pl. 1 no. 560a and b. From Saqqara (6th dynasty) Rzeuska, Saqqara II, 372-378, pl. 165-167.**Middle Kingdom:** From Herakleopolis Magna (Ehnasaya el Medina), Bader, "Preliminary Observations on Ceramic Material found at Herakleopolis Magna (Ehnasaya el Medina)," *CCÉ* 9: 51, fig. 3.40. From Harageh, Englebach, Harageh, pl. 34, type 5w, 5w2, and 5x. From Sedmet, William M.F. Petrie and Guy Brunton, *Sedmet I* (London: BSAE, 1924), pl. 29, type 9k. Thebes, Tomb of King Nub-Kheper-Re Intef , late Middle Kingdom to the Second Intermediate Period. Anne Seiler, "Bemerkungen zum Ende des Mittleren Meiches in Theben Erste Ergebnisse der Bearbeitung der Keramik aus Arel H," in *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef in Draa Abu el-Naga*, eds. Daniel Polz and Anne Seiler (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2003), 49-71 at Abb. 18, no. 2 and Abb. 20, no. 1. **New Kingdom:**From Royal Tombs: Shaft of the Tomb of Horemheb at Thebes, Annelies Brack and Artur Brack, *Das Grab des Horemheb, Theben Nr. 78* (Mainz am Rein: Philipp von Zabern, 1980), 67, pl. 80; Tomb of Ramesses VI, David Aston, Barbara Aston, and Edwin C. Brock, "Pottery from the Valley of the Kings: Tombs of Mereneptah, Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses VII," *E&L* 8(1998): 137-214 at 121, fig. 2; The Tomb of Mereneptah, shaft fill, Aston et al. "Pottery from the Valley of the Kings," *E&L* 8:146, pl.3 no. 24; The Tomb of Tutankhamun, Rostislav Holthoer and Colin Hope, "The Pottery," in *Stone Vessels, Pottery, and Sealings from the Tomb ofTutankhamun.* eds. Ali Abdel RahmanHassanain El Khouli, Rostislav Holthoer, Colin Hope, and Olaf Kaper (Oxford: The Griffiths Institute, 1993): 37-85 at 70-76. From private burials: Tomb chapel of Pay and Ra'ia at Saqqara(Tutankhamun-Early Rameses II), Janine Bourriau and David Aston, "The Pottery," in*The Tomb Chapels of Paser, Ra'ia at Saqqara* , ed. Geoffrey T. Martin (London: EES, 1985), 32-55 at21-23, 42, pl. 35; The Tomb of Iurudef at Saqqara (Ramesses VI), David Aston, "The Pottery," in *The Tomb of Iurudef. A Memphite Official in the Reign of Ramesses II,* ed. Maarten Raven(London: EES, 1991): 47-54 at 147; The Tomb of Tia and Tia at Saqqara (Late 18th-Early 19thDynasty), David Aston,"The Pottery," in *The Tomb of Tia and Tia*, ed. Geoffrey T. Martin (London: EES, 1997): 83-104, pl. 112;The Cemeteries of Fadrus in Lower Nubia, Holthoer, New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery, pl. 19; From Deir el Medina, tombs of the 18th - 20th dynasty, Nagel, La céramique égyptienne à Deir el Médineh I, 45, 56, 61, 93 etc. and Tombs at Esna, Dorothy Downs, *The Excavations at Esna, 1905-1906*(Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1974), 32. **Third Intermediate Period and Late Period:** From the royal tombs at Tanis (Osokoron II-Sheshonq III), Phillipe Brissaud,Valérie Carpano, Laurence Cotelle, Sylvie Marchand, Laurent Nouaille, and Catherine Veillard,"Répertoire préliminaire de la poterie trouvée à Sân el-Hagar (2em partie),"in *Cahiers de Tanis I, Mission Française des Fouilles de Tanis*, ed. Phillipe Brissaud (Paris: Editions Recherce sur les Civilisations, 1987), 75-99at fig. 16 no. 202-204; From Amarna, the South Tombs, 25th Dynasty, Peter G. French, "Late Dynastic Pottery from the vicinity of the South Tombs," in *Amarna Reports III*, ed. Barry J. Kemp (London: EES, 1986), 147-188 at 181 no. SB7.1.1(K).

129 **Old Kingdom:** From Meidum, a foundation deposit of Snefru (4th dynasty), Petrie, Mackay and Wainwright, Meydum and Memphis III, pl. XXV no. 20-23; From Dahshur, Valley Temple of Snefru, William K. Simpson, "Appendix: Corpus of the Dahshur Pottery," in *The Monuments of Snefru at Dahshur: The Valley Temple Volume II, Part II*, ed. Ahmed Fakhry (Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices, 1961), 105-140 at 139, fig. 24; Pyramid of Snefru at Dahshur, Diana Faltings, "Die Keramikaus den Grabungen an der nördlichen Pyramide des Snofru

their context, evidence of use, and their depictions on offering lists where they are shown located on the bottom of the listed items to be offered.[130]In tomb contexts, votive dishes are rarely excavated from substructures, but rather are more commonly found in the fill of tombs and the areas surrounding funerary chapels where offerings would have been placed.[131] Votive dishes are abundant in the Old Kingdom at Giza where Reisner indicates they were the most common vessel type found in the Western Field.[132] However, votive dishes decrease in number in funerary cult contexts after the Old Kingdom. For example, at Haraga in the Middle Kingdom 14.3% of the recorded tombs contained votive dishes.[133] As Mary-Ann Pouls Wegner points out, the same pattern can be noticed in the New Kingdom where only 17 examples of these votive dishes (out of 2500 vessels total) were found at the cemetery site ofFadrus in lower Nubia.[134] Likewise, in the tombs at Deir el Medina, there is a great diversity of types of miniature vessels, but these are still quite few in number with most tombs having one to six of these dishes.[135]

At Abydos, votive dishes are occasionally found in funerary contexts, namely outside of burial shafts, suggesting they were not commonly included among the grave goods interned with the deceased.[136] One example of this situation is Tomb B13 in the North Cemetery where six miniature vessels (two of which were votive dishes) were found at the top of the burial shaft with

in Dahschur" *MDAIK* 45 (1989): 133-154 at Abb. 3a, no. 144; Userkaf Sun Temple at Abusir, Werner Kaiser, "Die Tongefässe," in *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf. Band II*, ed. Herbert Ricke (Cairo: Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, 1968), 49-82, fig. XLVIII, no. 242; From Abu Rowash, Mortuary Temple of Neferirkara (4th – 5th dynasty), Marchand and Baud "La Céramique Miniature d'AbouRawash," fig. 9 nos. 15-19. **Middle Kingdom**: From Dahshur, pyramid of Amenemhat III (12th dynasty), Dorethea Arnold, "Keramikbearbeitung in Dahschur 1976-1981" *MDAIK* 38 (1982): 25-65 at Abb. 6 no. 18; From the foundation deposit of Senwosret I main pyramid, Dorothea Arnold, "Pottery," in *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, ed. Dieter Arnold (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), fig. 52 nos. 2-7; fig. 53 nos. 1-8, fig. 54 nos. 1-8. **New Kingdom**: Kom el Nana at Amarna, Pamela Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna, Excavation Memoir 83* (London: EES, 2007), 57, 172, 200. Kom el Ahmar, Karnak, Rexine Hummel and Steven Shubert, "Kom el-Ahmar: Ceramic Typology," in *The Akhenaten Temple Project 3: The Excavations of Kom el Ahmar and Environs,* ed. Donald Redford(Toronto: Akhentaten Temple Project /University of Toronto Press 1994), 30-83 at pl. XXXIII; Offering Chapel at Deir el Ballas, Janine Bourriau, "The Pottery," in *Preliminary Report on the Deir el Ballas Excavation 1980- 1986*, ed. Peter Lacovara (Winona Lake: ARCE, 1990), 15-22, fig.4.2. **Third Intermediate Period and Late Period:** Tanis, south of the Mut Temple, Brissaud, Carpano, Cotelle, Marchand, Nouaille, and Veillard, "Répertoire préliminaire de la poterie trouvée à Sân el-Hagar (2em partie),"fig. 14 no. 158-161.

130 Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdom Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmosis III at Abydos," *CCÉ* 9:374.

131 Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdom Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmosis III at Abydos," *CCÉ* 9: 374; Rzeuska, *Saqqara II*, 425.

132 Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis II*, 86.

133 This percentage was derived from calculations based on the types of pots and their quantities listed in the tomb registry published by Engelbach, Harageh.

134 Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdom Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmosis III at Abydos," *CCÉ* 9:373; Holthoer, *New Kingdom Sites: The Pottery*, 88-91.

135 Nagel, *La Céramique égyptienne à Deir el Médineh I.*

136 Yet, it should be noted, there are cases where miniature vessels are included inside the burial chamber as part of the grave goods. One example is from the 18th dynasty tomb (Cemetery T, no. 67) where a set of miniature beer jars, trays, and flared mouth vases with narrow bases were buried with the deceased inside the tomb chamber with the coffin, see Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 82-83, pl. XV no. 15.

two model cakes made of clay as an offering for the deceased.[137] In recent excavations directed by Janet Richards in the North Cemetery, votive dishes were one of the most common pottery types found.[138]These votive dishes were found on the surface of the cemetery and not inside the tombs; however, this might be due to plundering rather than burial practices.[139]

In temples across Egypt, votive dishes are frequently found in two contexts: (1) foundation deposits[140] where they represent votive offerings[141] and (2) as refuse from temple activities where they were used as offering containers.[142] There are many examples of votive dishes with traces of burned offerings, most commonly incense,[143] which further proves their function as offering containers. Also, these votive dishes were mass-produced to provide a large quantity of offering containers used in cultic ritual, resulting in the large quantity of votive dishes seen at Abu Rowash, discussed above. The use of votive dishes in temple contexts at Abydos is better documented than in tombs. Votive dishes were found in foundation deposits from the Osiris Temple Enclosure, which date to Senwosret I[144] and Thutmosis III,[145] as well as, five foundation depositsof the 11th and 12th Dynasties.[146] Additionally, votive dishes were found in the in the early 18th dynasty foundation deposit of

137 Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 57, pl. XIV no. 14.

138 Richards, Society and Death, 162, fig. 75.

139 Richards, Society and Death, 163-164.

140 Koptos (Thutmosis III), William M.F Petrie, *Koptos* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896), pl. XIV. Thebes, (Siptah), Aston, Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom, fig. 2b; see also, William. M. F Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*(London: Bernard Quaritch: 1897), pl.XVII. Tell el Yahudia (Ramesses III); Aston, Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom, fig. 4a; see also, William M.F Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*(London: Bernard Quaritch, 1906), pl. XXXVc; Thebes (Tawesret), Aston, Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom, 105; Petrie, Six Temples at Thebes, pl. XVII; Medinet Habu (Ramesses IV), Aston, Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom, fig. 8b; See also, Uvo Hölscher, *Excavations at Medinet Habu IV*(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), pl.56; Terrace Temple Abydos (Ahmose), Ayerton et. al, Abydos III, pl. XLVII.

141 Holthoer, New Kingdom Sites: The Pottery, 88; David Aston, *Die Grabungen des Pelizaeum-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir-Pi-Ramesses. Die Keramik des Grabungsplatze Q1. Teil 1. Corpus of Fabric, Wares, and Shapes*(-Mainzam Rein: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 88.

142 Mary-Ann Pouls Wegner, *The Cult of Osiris at Abydos: an Archaeological Investigation of the Development of an Egyptian Sacred Center during the 18th Dynasty* (University of Pennsylvania: Unpublished PhD Dissertation), 390.

143 For example, in the New Kingdom, miniature vessels show evidence of use, which includes resin from incense on the inside of these miniatures, see Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdom Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmosis III at Abydos," *CCÉ* 9: 371. In addition to burnt offerings, gypsum has been found inside these dishes at Amarna, see Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, 11-12, and in Tutankhamun's tomb, see Holthoer and Hope, "The Pottery," 70.

144 Petrie, *Abydos II*, pl. XLVI no. 187.

145 Petrie, *Abydos II*, pl. LXIII nos.89, 105, 107, 88, 103, and 97.

146 Petrie, *Abydos II*, pl. LXII nos. 70, 109, 93a, 100, and 88. In Petrie's publication, there are no separate plates or images for the objects in these foundation deposits; instead Petrie includes top plan line drawings of the in-situ foundation deposits. This article interprets the small flared walled basins in these in situ line drawings as votive dishes.

the Ahmose Terrace Temple.[147] Recent excavations of temples and chapels at Abydos have produced more evidence of votive dishes used as offering containers.

In the back of Temple A at the Ahmose pyramid complex in South Abydos, is a pottery dump dating to the mid 18th Dynasty that consists of numerous vessels used in ritual activity, such as beer jars (43%), incense burners (10%), and votive dishes that make up 7% of the assemblage.[148] A similar situation occurs at Thutmosis III's chapel in North Abydos (adjacent to the Osiris Temple Enclosure) where votive dishes make up 11.3% of the total ceramic assemblage in Operation 1[149] and they are found in intervening layers of strata of the mud brick paved corridor between the limestone chapel wall and the southern enclosure wall.[150] This deposition pattern is similar to that of Abu Rowash (discussed above) and again suggests repeated use and disposal of votive dishes. Further, at both sites in Abydos, these votive dishes had burning patterns on their interior, as well as traces of resin, indicating their cultic use as incense containers.[151] Also, votive dishes are found in the mortuary temple of Senwosret III at South Abydos where they are one of the most common pottery types from the temple area.[152] In refuse deposits at the Senwosret III mortuary temple they were the second most common type of pottery found and made up 15% of that assemblage.[153]At Umm el Qa'ab, there are also votive dishes dating from the late Middle King to the Late Period.[154] In this case, these votive dishes were used as offering containers deposited at Umm el Qa'ab as part ofritual activities associated with the Osiris cult.[155] In nearby Hekareshu Hill, Pumpenmeier has uncovered votive dishes dating to the New Kingdom[156]and the Third Intermediate Period[157] that also were employed in the cult of Osiris. Votive dishes were not abundant in all regions of Abydos; for example, few were found in the Middle Kingdom cenotaphs in the Terrace of the Great God at Abydos.[158]

147 Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall, *Abydos III*, pl. xlvii nos. 68 and 69.

148 Julia Budka, "The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: The New Kingdom Pottery," *E&L* 15(2006): 83-120 at 90, 95, 99, fig, 3 nos. 5 and 6.

149 Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdom Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmosis III at Abydos," *CCÉ* 9: 371.

150 Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdom Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmosis III at Abydos," *CCÉ* 9: 379.

151 Budka, "Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos: The New Kingdom Pottery," *E&L* 15: 90; Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdoms Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmosis III at Abydos," *CCÉ* 9:379.

152 Josef Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* (New Haven and Philadelphia: The Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University / The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2007), 231, 236; see type 9 fig. 98.

153 Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos, 256. However, Wegner suggests these votive dishes also served as lids for jars with small rim diameters and adds that there is no evidence for their use as dishes, Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos, 236.

154 Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66: Abb. 17.

155 Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66: 43.

156 Frauke Pumpenmeier, "Heqareschu-Hügel," in "Umm el-Qaab, Nachuntersuchengen im früzeitlichen Königs friedhof 9./10. Vorbericht, p. 123 – 137, by Gunter Dreyer et al., *MDAIK 54* (1998): 77 – 175, at 134, Abb. 27

157 Pumpenmeier, "Heqareschu-Hügel", *MDAIK* 54: 134, Abb. 26.

158 Kei Yamomoto, *A Middle Kingdom Pottery Assemblage from North Abydos*, (Unpublished PhD Dissertation,

In the more recent publication of pottery from Abydos, these dishes are shown to be wheel made with no surface treatment.[159] While their manufacture is similar, they were made from different clay types. At the Thutmosis III chapel, votive dishes were made mostly of Nile B2.[160] In the Senwosret III mortuary temple and the Ahmose pyramid complex,[161] the votive dishes were made from both Nile B2 and Nile C.[162] Additionally, in Umm el Qa'ab, most of these votive dishes are made of Budka's fabric group I-b-3, which is a fabric somewhere between Nile B2 and Nile C1.[163]The Calverley votive dish fits with the examples from Umm el Qa'ab with Nile B2 fabric. Further, the Calverley votive dish attests to the widespread cultic activities at Abydos, including offerings to Osiris, funerary offerings for the deceased, as well as grave goods from the numerous burials at the site.

2012.01.002 and 2012.01.003

There are two examples of miniature vessels that are very similar and, as such, might come from the same context. Object nos. 2012.01.002 and .003 are short vessels with a wide mouth and a splayed foot, and have a height of 4.5 cm and 4.8 cm, and rim diameters of 3.5 cm and 3.8 cm, respectively (see Figure 9). They are made of Nile B2 clay, are wheel thrown with a string cut base, and have no surface treatment. The degree of speed and rough finishing with which they are made is evident from the uneven profiles of these pots. Unlike other miniature pots, nos. 2012.01.002 and .003 are relatively more rare and can be dated to the late Old Kingdom from both tomb and temple contexts.

While the number of parallels is limited,[164] similar vessels are known from funerary contexts of the Old Kingdom[165] ranging from the 4th Dynasty at Giza to the 6th Dynasty at Saqqara. The quantity of this type of miniature vessel varies in Old Kingdom tombs. For example, there are

University of Toronto, 2009), 106-107.

159 Budka, "Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos: The New Kingdom Pottery," *E&L* 15: 91; Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66: 43; Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdoms Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmosis III at Abydos," *CCÉ* 9:378 - 379; Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III, 236.

160 Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdom Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmosis III at Abydos," *CCÉ* 9: 394.

161 At the Ahmose pyramid complex, the fabrics for votive dishes range from Nile B2-Nile C1, Budka, "Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos: The New Kingdom Pottery," *E&L* 15: 117, table 1.

162 Budka, "Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos: The New Kingdom Pottery," *E&L* 15: 117, Table 1; Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III*, 236.

163 Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66: 39, Table 1.

164 It should be noted that exact parallels are very rare for these miniature vessels due to the high degree of variation present (discussed above). As such, the term 'parallel' used for these miniatures consists of pots that share the same general form so that they would be considered the same type, but are not exactly the same.

165 Giza, 4th-6th dynasties, Reisner, History of the Giza Necropolis II, 77, fig. 100. Saqqara, 6th Dynasty, Rzeuska, Saqqara II, 366, pl. 162, fig. 839. Tomb of Ptahshepses, Abusir, 6th Dynasty, Charvát, The Pottery: The Masataba of Ptahshepses, pl. 1 no. D179a; pl. 2 no. 228.

only four whole pots and nine bases of this type in the entire corpus from the Western Necropolis at Saqqara.[166] At Giza, however, in tomb G 2169 D there was 39 examples of this type of vessel.[167] Parallels for this vessel can also be found in temple contexts,[168] most notably at Radjedef's mortuary temple at Abu Rowash dating to the 4th-5th Dynasties.[169] In Marchand and Baud's excellent analysis of this deposit, they noted the stratified contexts with thick levels of pottery and miniature vessels followed by a level of sand and then more miniature vessels.[170] This suggests that rather than static models of larger pottery vessels, the miniatures at Abu Rowash were actually used regularly in temple ritual based on their repeated deposition. Importantly, these miniatures are associated with daily temple ritual and not foundation deposits.

With regards to Abydos, there is only one good parallel for these two miniature pots. This is in the Osiris Temple Enclosure, dates to the 6th Dynasty, and is from the foundation deposit of Pepi.[171] While this vessel is very similar, the base does not flare out quite as much as the Calverley examples. Importantly, from published material, we know very little about cultic activity in Abydos in the Old Kingdom; however, these Calverley vessels are a testament to the ritual importance of the site in this time period. Further, these are the only published examples of this type of votive dish outside of Lower Egypt.

2012.01.001

Object no. 2012.01.001 is a small bowl with a pedestal foot and is wheel made, but does not have a string cut base (See Figure 9). This vessel is 4.4cm in height and has a rim diameter of 6.2 cm. Like the other miniature pots in Calverley's collection, this vessel has no surface treatment and is made of Nile B2 fabric. There is a small deposit of ash in the interior of this pot, but it is unclear if this ash derives from ancient use or modern re-use. Unlike the other pots in Calverley's collection, no. 2012.01.001 has a history of utilization at Abydos that is well known. This Calverley pot belongs to the category of the small version of the classic votive dishes that dates from the 25th Dynasty to the Late Period and is sometimes referred to as *qaabs*.[172]

166 Rzeuska, *Saqqara II*, 425.

167 Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis II*, 77.

168 Dahshur, south temple of Snefru, Simpson, Corpus of the Dahshur Pottery, 136, fig. 23, no. 23.19. Dahshurnorth, 5th-6thdynasties, Faltings, "Die Keramik aus den Grabungen an der nördlichen Pyramide des Snofru in Dahschur,"*MDAIK* 45: 147, fig. 7, NOE2-NOE3. Abusir North, sun temple of Userkaf, 5th dynasty, Kaiser, "Die Tongefässe," type XII, no. 81. Abusir, funerary temple of Reneferef, 5th Dynasty, Bárta, "Pottery Inventory," *GM* 149: 22 fig. 1.

169 Marchand and Baud, "La Céramique miniature d'Abou Rawash," *BIFAO* 96: fig. 9.2-3.

170 Marchand and Baud, "La Céramique miniature d'Abou Rawash," *BIFAO* 96: 270-1.

171 Petrie, Abydos II, 39, pl. XLV no. 114.

172 The most thorough discussion of *qaabs* and, more broadly, votive pottery associated with the Osiris cult at Umm el Qa'ab can be found in Utte Effland, Julia Budka, Andreas Effland, "Studien zum Osiriskult in Umm el Qa'ab

Figure 10. Calverley glass vessel fragments Nos.2012.0219a and b, 2012.01.022, and 2012.01.075.

Julia Budka[173] convincingly argues for a long development of this vessel form at Abydos starting in the late Middle Kingdom with small bowls that have a slight pedestal base found in both Umm el Qa'ab and in the mortuary temple of Senwosret III in South Abydos.[174] These proto-*qaabs* are strongly associated with Abydos and appear to be a local form.[175] The development reached its peak in the 25th Dyn. and Late Period with two forms of these dishes that can be differentiated based on size into smaller and larger groups.[176] The smaller version is found most commonly at Umm el Qa'ab, while the larger forms are found at other sites in Egypt dating from the 25th Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period.[177] These are one of the most common pottery forms deposited at Umm el Qa'ab, where they comprise as much as 40% of the total assemblage in some areas.[178] Given the local distribution and the frequency of these pots, Budka argues that these forms are specifically made for votive use at the site in the Osiris cult.[179] Further emphasizing their cultic use, in the southern area of Umm el Qa'ab, vast quantities have been found with associated organic offering material, such as leaves, twigs, and animal dung.[180] The deposition of these vessels attests to two cults from the late Middle

/ Abydos – Ein Vorbericht-" *MDAIK* 66 (2010): 19- 91. The best parallel for the Calverley *qaab* is from Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66:Abb 23, no. 25.

173 Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66:45, 58, 60 and also Abb. 23 for the development of the *qaab* form.

174 Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III, Fig. 125, no. 100, Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66: 45-46.

175 Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66:45.

176 Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66:45.

177 Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66:45. An example of other pottery in the same shape of Abydos *qaabies* can be found in Elephantine dating to the 25th dynasty, see David Aston, *Elephantine XIX. Pottery from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Ptolomeic Period* (Mainz am Rein: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), no. 1614.

178 Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66:56-57.

179 Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66:63.

180 Effland and Effland, "Studien zum Osiriskult," *MDAIK* 66: 25-29, 91.

Kingdom onwards: (1) for offerings to the king / Osiris and (2) personal piety at the local cult of Osiris.[181]

Glass

There are three fragments from the same small glass vessel in Calverley's Collection, no. 2012.0219a and b, 2012.01.022, and 2012.01.075 (See Figure 7). These sherds are made of dark brown glass with white opaque festooned patterns running horizontally across the body, starting at the base. The so-called festooned decoration was popular in the mid 18th Dynasty[182] and eventually died out in the 20th Dynasty.[183] While some glass vessels in the shape of bowls and cups were used for liquid consumption, most were used for cosmetic purposesas containers for perfumes, unguents, and kohl.[184] The Calverley glass vessel is small with a pointed base that is 1.2cm in diameter and,from the narrow curvature of the body fragments, it is clear this vessel was quite thin. As such, this Calverley vessel was most likely some kind of cosmetic container.

The color and base shape of this vessel are relatively uncommon in the New Kingdom. First, the dark brown glass is made from the colorant iron oxide, which is present in many colors of Egyptian glass but if often produced as an impurity.[185] Highlighting this rarity, dark brown glass is only evident in one example from Abydos (see footnotes 188-192 below for a distribution of glass objects at Abydos). Further, at Amarna (which has a large collection of well published 18th Dynasty

181 Budka, "Die Keramik des Osiriskults," *MDAIK* 66: 58.

182 Sidney M. Goldstein, in *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom (1558-1085 B.C.)*, eds. Edward Brovarski, Susan Doll, and Rita Freed (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 163-169, nos. 174-175, 177-178, 182-185, 189; John D. Cooney, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum IV: Glass*(London: The British Museum Press, 1976), 49-54, 141-144, 147-148; William Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt, part II: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675 – 1080 B.C.)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 94, fig. 109.

183 Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt Part II, 404 fig. 225; Cathleen Keller, "Problems in Dating Glass Industries in the Egyptian New Kingdom: Examples from Malkata and Lisht," *Journal of Glass Studies* 25 (1983): 19-28 at 21.

184 Goldstein, Egypt's Golden Age, 161; Paul Nicholson and Julian Henderson, "Glass," in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, eds. Paul Nicholson and Ian Shaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 195-227 at 196

185 Nicholson and Henderson, "Glass," 217-218.

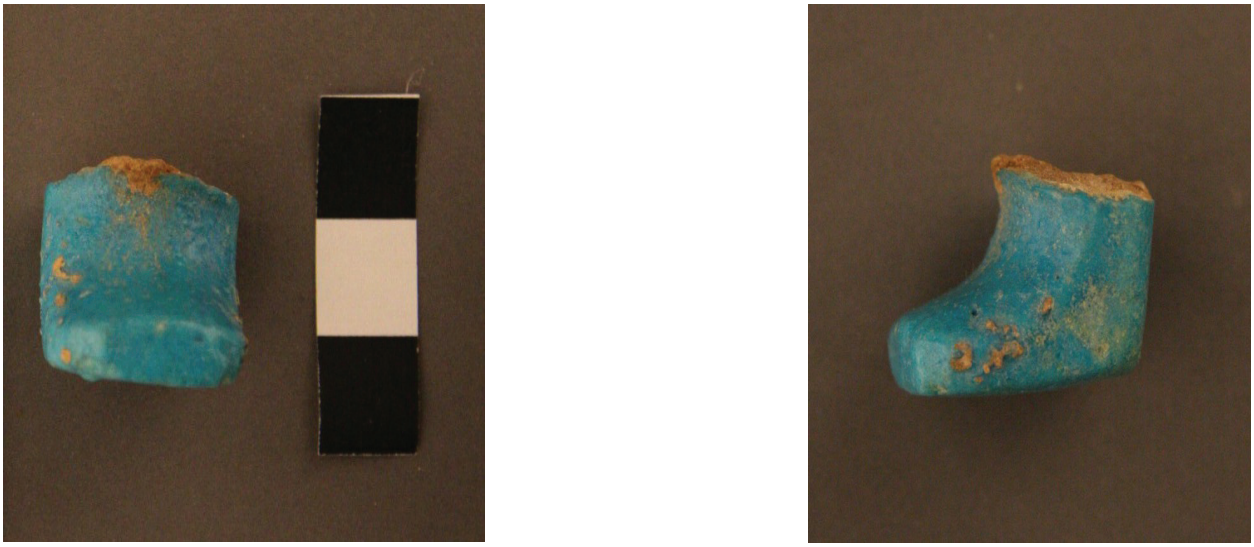


Figure 11. Calverley shabti foot fragment no. 2012.01.031.

glass) dark brown glass objects are rare.[186] Second, the pointed base is quite uncommon,[187] as most glass vessels in the New Kingdom are in the form of small jars, such as krateriskoi with flat bases.[188]

Glass objects were first produced in Egypt in the 18th Dynasty,[189] from ingots imported from the Near East.[190] Given its rarity, glass was a high status commodity (particularly glass vessels) in the New Kingdom and was even possibly a royal monopoly.[191] Glass vessels and figurines were more costly than jewelry items, given the larger amount of glass necessary to make these objects. Glass, as a new technology, was produced in a limited number of locations that are seemingly restricted to royal contexts.[192] The known New Kingdom glass production sites in Egypt include: the

186 Paul Nicholson, *Brilliant Things for Akhenaten: The Production of Glass, Vitreous Materials, and Pottery at Amarna Site O45.1* (London: EES, 2007); Andrew Shortland, *Vitreous Material at Amarna: The Production of Glass and Faience in 18th Dynasty Egypt*, British Archaeological Report International Series 827 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000).

187 Some of the few examples include a small one handled jar with a pointed base, piriform body, tall neck, and a flared rim from Amarna dating to the reign of Akhenaten, see Thomas Eric Peet and C. Leonard Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten Part I: Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at el-Amarneh* (London: EEF, 1923), pl. XII, no. 7. For another round based glass vessel with a piriform body and a long neck from Malkata, see Keller, "Glass Industries in the New Kingdom," *Journal of Glass Studies* 25: fig. 4. For a small two-lug handle amphorae shaped glass vessel with a round base see, Hayes, Scepter of Egypt II, 94, fig. 109. There is also an example of a rounded base glass vessel from Umm el Qa'ab, discussed below.

188 Keller, "Glass Industries in the New Kingdom," *Journal of Glass Studies* 25: 21-22.

189 Some reports of earlier glass made in Egypt have been proven dubious; Christine Lilyquist and Robert Brill, *Studies in Early Egyptian Glass* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), 5-7; Nicholson and Henderson, "Glass," 195; Shortland, Vitreous Materials at Amarna, 5.

190 Nicholson and Henderson, "Glass," 195.

191 Nicholson and Henderson, "Glass," 195-196.

192 It should also be mentioned that Newberry briefly noted the existence of a glass-working site in Menshiyeh in Upper Egypt, Percy Newberry, "A Glass Chalice of Thutmosis III" *JEA* 6 (1920): 155-160 at 156, footnote 11.

royal city and capital during the reign of Akhenaten, Amarna,[193] the Amenhotep III palace site of Malqata, and near the old capital of Memphis at Lisht.[194] Finally, glass was produced in Qantir[195] at the capital of Ramesses II.[196]

From the available published material on Abydos, the distribution of glass at this site in the New Kingdom seems consistent with the idea of a state monopoly of glass production and distribution. In all the published New Kingdom tombs in Abydos, there are only 13 tombs with glass beads,[197] one with a 'glass knob',[198] one figure of a horse in red glass, and one figure of a fish in blue glass.[199] As such, it seems that glass objects in Abydos are mainly jewelry items.[200] Several glass objects have been excavated at Umm el Qaab including: glass beads and wig rings[201] from the vicinity of Djer's tomb, and glass shabti statues from Heqareshu Hill.[202] Also, Ute and Andreas Effland recovered two New Kingdom blue glass rods that were remnants of the glass production process.[203] The excavators suggest that given the high value of these objects, they were perceived as precious and deposited as an offering for Osiris.[204] The only other published New Kingdom glass vessel in Abydos is from Umm el Qa'ab and has a round bottom, a globular body, a short neck and is made from blue

Keller, however, examined Newberry's notes in the Griffith Institute in Oxford and found no reference to a glass production site or any glass fragments in Menshiyeh, see Keller, "Glass Industries in the New Kingdom," *Journal of Glass Studies* 25: 20.

193 Nicholson, *Brilliant Things for Akhenaten; Shortland, Vitreous Materials at Amarna*.

194 Keller, "Glass Industries in the New Kingdom," *Journal of Glass Studies* 25.

195 Thilo Rehren and Edgar Pusch, "New Kingdom Glass Melting Crucibles from Qantir-Piramesses, *JEA* 83 (1997):127-141; Thilo Rehren, Edgar Pusch, and Anja Herold, "Problems and Possibilities in Workshop Reconstruction: Qantir and the Organization of LBA Glass Working Sites," in *The Social Context of Technological Changes Egypt and The Near East. 1650-1550 BC*, ed. Andrew Shortland (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 223-239.

196 Keller, "Glass Industries in the New Kingdom," *Journal of Glass Studies* 25: 20, footnote 4.

197 These tombs are as follows: (1) Tomb 211, Cemetery D, Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos III*, 32; (2) Shaft A1 to the south of Mastaba A in the North Cemetery, Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 70-71; (3) Tomb R18 in the South Cemetery, Peet, The Cemeteries of Abydos II, 81; (4) Tomb T3, South Cemetery, Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 82; (5) A burial near "the well," which is now a deep pit close to German Archaeological Institute's excavation house, Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos II*, 104-106; (6) Tomb 130, Cemetery E, Edouard Naville, *The Cemeteries of Abydos Part I, The mixed Cemetery and Umm el Qa'ab* (London: EEF, 1914), 25; (7) Tomb 165, Cemetery E, Naville, *The Cemeteries of Abydos Part I*, 25; (8) Tomb 102, Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 101; (9) Tomb 107, Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos,* 101; (10) Tomb 109, Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos,* 101; (11) Tomb 44, Cemetery ϕ, Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos,* 90; (12) Tomb 6, Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos,* 90, (12) Heqareshu Hill, Umm el Qa'ab a blue glass shabti 18th dynasty, Petrie, *Royal Tombs of Abydos I*, 33.

198 This object is described as a "knob of banded blue, yellow, white, and black glass from tomb 28" (20th Dynasty), Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos,* 98-99.

199 The red glass horse was found in Tomb 19, Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 98, pl. LII, only the head of the horse remains. The blue glass fish was from a foundation deposit of Amenhotep III in the Osiris Temple, William M.F. Petrie, *Abydos I* (London: EEF, 1902), 31, pl. LXI, no. 9.

200 Effland, "Funde aus dem Mittleren Reich bis zur Mamlukenzeit aus Ummel-Qaab," *MDAIK* 62: 143.

201 Effland, "Funde aus dem Mittleren Reich bis zur Mamlukenzeit aus Ummel-Qaab," *MDAIK* 62: 142 – 143.

202 Pumpenmeier, "Heqareschu-Hügel," *MDAIK* 54, 127 – 127, Abb. 18. Petrie, *Royal Tombs of Abydos I*, 33.

203 Effland, "Funde aus dem Mittleren Reich bis zur Mamlukenzeit aus Umm el-Qaab," *MDAIK* 62: 142.

204 Effland, "Funde aus dem Mittleren Reich bis zur Mamlukenzeit aus Umm el-Qaab," *MDAIK* 62: 142.

glass with white opaque wavy line decorations.[205] Given the relative rarity of such objects at Abydos, this glass vessel adds to an understanding of high status objects at the site used as votive offerings to Osiris at Umm el Qa'ab or as grave goods in various cemeteries at Abydos.

Conclusions

This article is an initial stage in the Calverley Artefact Project and serves to publish previously unknown small finds related to an important figure in the early history of female archeologists working in Egypt. Future goals of the project include the creation of an on-line catalogue of objects in Calverley's collection and the digitization of Calverley's black and white photographs taken in Egypt in the 1920s and 30s, as well as some of Calverley's original line-drawings of the Sety I temple. The present work raises issues regarding our understanding of chronological developments and the function of small finds, including the complexity of dating scarabs and the function of shabtis and miniature vessels. Further consideration is given to the symbolic meaning of raw materials associated with scarabs and socio-economic issues of production and distribution of glass in the New Kingdom at Abydos. These small finds highlight the diverse funerary and votive activity associated with the cult of Osiris in Abydos from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period.

205 Effland, "Funde aus dem Mittleren Reich bis zur Mamlukenzeit aus Umm el-Qaab," *MDAIK* 62: 142-143; Tafel 29d.

La statuaire funéraire des dignitaires provinciaux de l'empire méroïtique

Arnaud Quertinmont[1]

Abstract:
The presence of certain elements in Meroitic funerary statuary—such as jewellery or clothing—allows the identification of high-ranking officials in northern Meroitic territory. Starting with the well documented ba-statue of a man holding the title of *peseto*, we can add to the statuary corpus linked to this high office. The aim of this article is to show that iconographic features can help categorize representations of the deceased, notably with regards to office and status.

Résumé:
La présence de certains éléments dans la statuaire funéraire méroïtique - comme les bijoux ou les vêtements - permet d'identifier les dignitaires de haut rang du nord du territoire méroïtique. En partant de la statue bâ, bien documentée, d'un homme portant le titre de *peseto* nous pouvons alimenter le corpus documentaire se rapportant à ces hautes fonctions. Le but de cet article est de démontrer que les caractéristiques iconographiques peuvent aider à catégoriser les représentations des défunts, notamment au regard de leur fonction et de leur statut.

Mots clefs/Keywords:
Méroé/Meroe, traditions funéraires /funerary custom, statue *ba*/*ba* statue, iconographie/ iconography, Nubie/Nubia, élites/elite.

Bien que la littérature scientifique relative aux nécropoles méroïtiques, royales ou privées, soit assez abondante, force est de constater qu'il n'existe que peu d'études portant sur la statuaire funéraire. Celle-ci est destinée tant aux défunt masculins que féminins. Son apparition semble se situer à l'aube du premier siècle de notre ère, époque à laquelle de profonds changements s'opèrent dans les conceptions funéraires méroïtiques. En témoignent les nombreuses modifications liées au matériel retrouvé associé à la chapelle funéraire ou à la descenderie menant au caveau[2].

Traditionnellement appelée statue-*ba* en écho aux représentations ailées égyptiennes, cette catégorie de ronde bosse diffère cependant de son homologue pharaonique[3]. En effet, là où l'Égyptien optera pour une représentation stéréotypée, le Méroïte lui préférera une représentation plus familière où certains traits ethniques seront parfois représentés (scarification) ainsi que certains éléments attestant du rang social du défunt (vêtements, bijoux, attributs…).

1 Conservateur, Département Égypte / Proche-Orient, Musée royal de Mariemont.

2 A. Quertinmont, *Aux abords de la sépulture méroïtique : Les approches du monument funéraire à l'époque méroïtique*, thèse de doctorat inédite (Université Libre de Bruxelles – Université Charles-de-Gaulle Lille III, 2012). On consultera également V. Francigny, « Preparing for the afterlife in the provinces of Meroe », *Sudan & Nubia* 16 (2012): p. 52-59.

3 On retiendra notamment l'article de V. Francigny, « Dans les mains du défunt », *BzS* 10 (2009) : p. 75-80. Voir aussi V. Francigny, « La statue-*ba* » dans : M. Baud (éd.), *Méroé. Un empire sur le Nil*, Paris (2010) : p. 259-261 ; *id*., « La tombe privée méroïtique », Lille (2008), thèse de doctorat inédite.

La statuaire funéraire méroïtique, hormis quelques rares exceptions, ne semble être attestée qu'entre la troisième et la première cataracte. Si, à l'origine, le défunt était simplement figuré sous la forme d'un oiseau, l'iconographie de la statue du défunt va se modifier jusqu'à ne conserver que l'image d'un humain doté d'une paire d'ailes. De taille et de forme variées, cette mise en scène triomphale du disparu le représente alors dans la gloire de son statut et vise à assurer son passage vers le monde de l'au-delà. On retrouve ces images à différents emplacements, au-dessus de la chapelle comme à Karanog[4], ou fichées en terre à proximité de la superstructure comme à Saï[5].

Bien que certaines fonctions exercées par les officiels de l'empire soient connues par l'épigraphie, elles demeurent obscures. En effet, qu'il s'agisse de charges religieuses ou administratives, comme *beliloke*[6] ou *peseto*[7], la signification de la plupart de ces titres et la réalité qu'elles recouvrent nous échappent encore partiellement.

Plusieurs témoins archéologiques constituent le corpus documentaire se rapportant à ces hautes fonctions. Ainsi, l'exemple le plus connu de statue de haut dignitaire est celle de Maloton[8], *peseto* d'*Akin* (Abina en méroïtique) dont la fonction est conventionnellement traduite par « vice-roi » (Figure 1). Datée des 2^{e}-3^{e} siècles de notre ère, elle fut découverte associée à la tombe G 187 de Karanog. Le défunt est figuré debout, doté d'une paire d'ailes. Ses coudes sont fléchis, les avant-bras tendus vers l'avant. Maloton est vêtu d'une longue tunique à plusieurs pans dont la partie inférieure recouvre un autre vêtement visible au niveau des chevilles. Les pieds sont chaussés d'une paire de sandales. Le torse du *peseto* est orné d'un collier à plusieurs rangs composés de grosses perles et d'un pendentif représentant le dieu Amon. Deux brassards sont également visibles au niveau des biceps. Le sommet de son crâne présente un orifice dans lequel devait s'insérer un disque solaire, symbole de son statut transfiguré. Les éléments autrefois présents dans ses mains ont disparu. Néanmoins, un fragment présent sur le socle tend à indiquer que le défunt tenait un bâton de commandement dans sa main gauche. Il est plus que vraisemblable qu'il devait également tenir un épi de sorgho dans cette main et une guirlande de fleurs dans l'autre[9]. De nombreuses traces de polychromie sont encore visibles sur la pièce, notamment du jaune pour les bijoux et du rouge pour le bas de la tunique.

4 C. L. Woolley & D. Randall-MacIver, *Karanog: the Romano-Nubian Cemetery*, ed. Philadelphia, University museum. (Philadelphia: Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia 3-4, 1910), 61, pl. 10.

5 Fr. Geus, « Sai 1998-1999 », *ANM* 9 (2002): pl. XIb.

6 REM 277, J. Leclant & *al.*, *Répertoire d'Epigraphie Méroïtique. Corpus des Inscriptions publiées*, ed. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. (Paris, 2000), p. 492-493.

7 REM 277, J. Leclant & *al.*, *Répertoire d'Epigraphie Méroïtique. Corpus des Inscriptions publiées*, ed. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. (Paris, 2000), p. 492-493 ; J. Leclant & A. Heyler, « Courte note sur les épitaphes méroïtiques du vice-roi Abratêye », in *Actes du premier Congrès International de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique*, ed. A. Caquot & D. Cohen. (Paris, 1974), p. 381-392 ; L. Török, « Economy in the Empire of Kush : A Review of the Written Evidence », ZÄS 111 (1984), p. 41-69.

8 Assouan, musée de la Nubie, JE 40232. Grès. H. 74,1 ; l. 22 ; pr. 56,1 cm. Karanog, tombe G 187.S. Wenig (éd.), *Africa in Antiquity*, vol. II, New York (1978): p.228-229 (cat. 153) ; C.L. Woolley et D. Randall-MacIver, *Karanog. The Romano-Nubian Cemetery*, Philadelphie (1910) : 38, 47 ; pl. 1-2.

9 Pour une analyse de ces trois éléments cf. V. Francigny, « Dans les mains du défunt », *BzS* 10 (2009): p. 75-80.

Figure 1. Statue du *peseto* Maloton ; grès peint ; Karanog G 187 ; 2e-3e siècle ap. J.- C. ; Assouan, Musée de la Nubie, n. JE 40232 © Arnaud Quertinmont.

Les différents éléments qui caractérisent la haute fonction incarnée par Maloton (vêtement, bijoux…) permettent également d'identifier plusieurs autres statues de ces hauts dignitaires provinciaux. C'est du site de Karanog que provient la majeure partie des exemples de ce genre, essentiellement datées des 2e-3e siècles de notre ère.

Citons trois exemplaires provenant de ce même site et qui présentent tous des caractéristiques similaires. Il s'agit des statues issues des tombes G 182[10] (Figure 2), G 183[11] (Figure 3) et G 203[12] (Figure 4). Il est à noter que l'exemplaire provenant de G 182 a subi une restauration abusive, la pièce ayant été trouvée acéphale et les bras cassés. Le premier élément commun que l'on remarque est cette longue tunique à plusieurs pans dont la partie inférieure recouvre un autre vête-

10 Woolley et Randall-MacIver, *Karanog: the Romano-Nubian Cemetery*, pl. 5/7005.
11 *Ibid.*, pl. 3/7001.
12 *Ibid.*, pl. 5/7000.

Figure 2. Statue de défunt ; grès ; Karanog G 182 ; 2e-3e siècle ap. J.-C. ; Philadelphie, PennMuseum, inv. 7005 © D'après C. L. Woolley & D. Randall-MacIver, *Karanog: the Romano-Nubian Cemetery*, ed. Philadelphia, University museum. (Philadelphia: Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia 3-4, 1910), pl. 51.

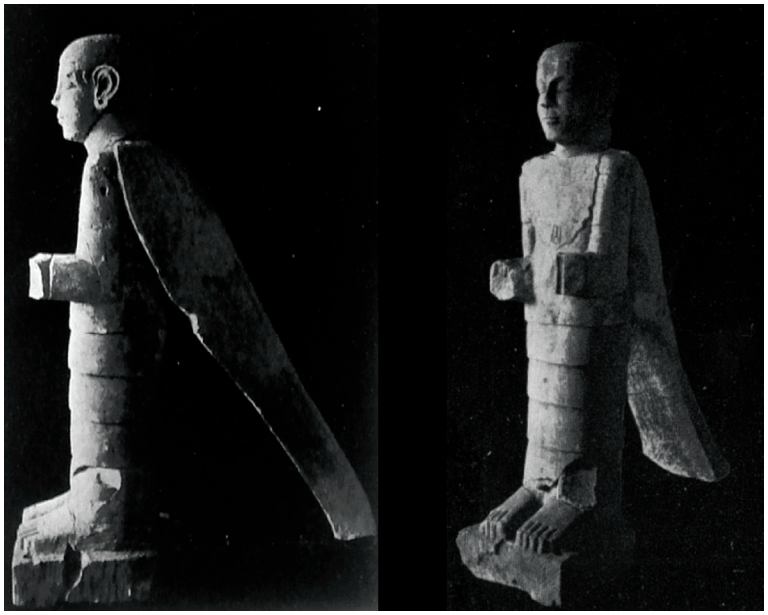


Figure 3. Statue de défunt ; grès ; Karanog G 183 ; 2e-3e siècle ap. J.-C. ; Philadelphie, PennMuseum, inv. 7001 © D'après Woolley et Randall-MacIver, *Karanog: the Romano-Nubian Cemetery*, pl. 3

ment visible au niveau des chevilles. Viennent ensuite le collier à larges perles ainsi que les fragments d'un bâton de commandement et/ou un épi de sorgho. Si les statues ne sont pas toutes chaussées de sandales, ces traits communs tendent à indiquer qu'elles représentent une même catégorie de personnages occupant un haut rang (*peseto* ?). Le collier à plusieurs rangs composés de grosses perles

Figure 4. Statue de défunt ; grès ; Karanog G 203 ; 2e-3e siècle ap. J.-C. ; Philadelphie, PennMuseum, inv. 7000 © Penn Museum object E7000, image #142062.

et d'un pendentif représentant le dieu Amon est un élément bien connu des *regalia* méroïtiques[13]. La présence de ce bijou atteste assurément de l'importance de la fonction exercée par le défunt. Citons aussi un fragment découvert à Karanog présentant le bas d'un vêtement similaire[14].

Il existe d'autres pièces qui présentent également un vêtement long. Néanmoins, nous manquons de preuve pour attester qu'il s'agit également de dignitaires. Ainsi, une stèle cintrée découverte en surface du site d'Arminna Ouest présente un décor en relief dans le creux où l'on peut voir deux personnages masculins, debout sur une ligne de sol et se tenant par la main[15]. Le plus grand occupe l'espace gauche de l'objet et est vêtu d'une longue tunique, à manches longues, décorée de deux bandes de tissus verticales allant de l'encolure jusqu'au bas du vêtement. Sa main droite tient un bâton arrivant à la hauteur de ses épaules. Sa tête est ornée d'un bandeau. Il donne la main gauche à un personnage plus petit, vêtu à l'identique et situé juste derrière lui. Ce vêtement, si

13 A. Lohwasser, „Die Darstellung der koniglichen Frauen von Kusch", in *Images and Gender. Contributions to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art*, ed. S. Schroer. OBO 220 (Fribourg, 2006) : p. 281-294 ; D. Wildung, *Soudan. Royaumes sur le Nil*, *ed. Institut du Monde Arabe.* (Paris, 1996): p. 269.

14 Woolley et Randall-MacIver, *Karanog: the Romano-Nubian Cemetery*, pl. 8/7031.

15 W.K. Simpson, « The Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt: Preliminary Report for 1963: Toshka and Arminna (Nubia) », *JARCE* 3 (1964), pl. III/5.

Figure 5. Statue de défunt ; grès ; Shablul 22B/24 ; 1er-3e siècle ap. J.-C. ; Philadelphie, PennMuseum, inv. 5005 © D'après Woolley et Randall-MacIver, *Areika*, pl. 17/20.

spécifique, renvoie-t-il à une fonction hiérarchique ou n'est-il simplement qu'un habit ? La présence du bandeau semblerait indiquer le contraire comme nous le verrons plus loin.

La statue découverte entre les tombes 22B et 24 de Shablul pourrait également rejoindre ce corpus ; l'habit est cependant d'aspect moins élaboré[16] (Figure 5). Vêtu d'une longue tunique recouvrant un autre vêtement, le défunt, les bras le long du corps, tient dans la main droite un textile (fragmentaire), tandis que la main gauche tient un bâton. Aucun bijou ne semble présent, à moins qu'ils n'aient été peints et aient disparu depuis. Il n'est en effet pas rare d'observer des restes de polychromie sur ces statues, comme l'attestent certains exemplaires de Nag Gamus et de Karanog.

Certains dignitaires se font également représenter sous un aspect plus hybride. C'est le cas de celui qui était inhumé dans la tombe 1218 de Faras. En effet, dans les débris de sa superstructure, on découvrit un oiseau acéphale, aux pieds humains chaussés de sandales. Au cou du défunt se trouve un collier à plusieurs rangs composés de grosses perles et d'un pendentif représentant le

16 D. Randall-MacIver & C. L. Woolley, *Areika*, ed. Philadelphia, University museum. (Philadelphia: Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia 1, 1909), 29, pl. 17.

Figure 6. Statue de défunt ; grès ; Faras 1218 ; 2e-3e siècle ap. J.-C. ; Localisation actuelle inconnue © F. Ll. Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia, XXX-XXXIII", *AAALiv* 11 (1924), pl. LXVI/5.

dieu Amon[17] (Figure 6). Si la position occupée par ce personnage est indiquée par ce bijou si caractéristique, il l'est également par la présence des sandales. En effet, la majeure partie des statues conservées présentent le défunt pied nu. Faut-il voir dans cet élément un discriminant social indiquant qu'il s'agit d'un personnage important ?

La statue mise au jour à proximité de la tombe B 242 de Ballana[18] se présente sous la forme d'un oiseau doté de pieds humains et d'une tête humaine. Le sommet du crâne est percé d'un orifice circulaire pour recevoir un disque solaire. Le relevé de cette statue indique que les pieds étaient chaussés de sandales. Cette statue est typologiquement très proche de celle découverte à Faras et vue plus haut. Le relevé n'indique cependant aucune trace de collier. Celui-ci aurait-il pu être peint ?

Si la présence de sandales pourrait s'avérer être un discriminant social, alors plusieurs fragments pourraient être reliés à des représentations de dignitaires. Par exemples, une base de statue de défunt mise au jour à proximité de la tombe 1 du site de Nelluah (Argin)[19]. Celle-ci ne comporte plus que les pieds chaussés de sandales de la statue et l'extrémité inférieure de la paire d'ailes dont elle était dotée. Plusieurs éléments statuaires furent retrouvés associés à la tombe 69 de Faras mais

17 F. Ll. Griffith, « Oxford Excavations in Nubia, XXX-XXXIII », *AAALiv* 11 (1924), pl. LXVI/5.

18 B. B. Williams, *Excavations between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier, Part 8: Meroitic Remains from Qustul cemetery Q, Ballana cemetery B, and a Ballana Settlement*, ed. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 8, 1991), pl. 112a.

19 A. *García Guinea* & J. Texidor, *La Necropolis meroitica de Nelluah. Argin Sur, Sudan* ed. Ministerio de asuntos exteriores. (Madrid, 1965), 17, pl. XLa.

seuls les pieds furent publiés[20]. Ceux-ci présentent un orifice circulaire à la base du gros orteil permettant d'y passer une sangle et d'ainsi matérialiser les sandales du personnage

Il nous faut cependant nuancer l'attribution systématique de pieds chaussés à des dignitaires. En effet, une statue féminine conservée au British Museum est également dotée de sandales[21]. Faut-il, dés lors, établir un lien entre le personnage féminin représenté et une haute fonction ou y voir un élément plus symbolique ?

Un autre discriminant est peut-être à déceler dans le bandeau que l'on retrouve sur deux fragments de statues et qui est également présent sur la tête de Maloton. La petite tête de grès provenant de la tombe WT 8 de Sedeinga présente en effet le défunt coiffé d'un diadème[22]. Cet élément, inhabituel, trouve écho dans une autre pièce découverte à Serra Est, dans la chapelle de la tombe numéro 18[23]. Il s'agit de la partie gauche d'un visage humain dont le front est ceint d'un bandeau décoré de perles. Ce diadème ou bandeau n'est pas sans rappeler celui représenté sur la stèle d'Arminna Ouest vu précédemment.

Reste enfin un cas unique et tout à fait particulier, un fragment particulièrement intéressant provenant de la tombe WT 8 de Sedeinga et dont des morceaux jointifs furent découverts en W 4[24]. Il s'agit de la partie centrale gauche d'un corps humain doté d'une paire d'ailes. Le départ de celle-ci est d'ailleurs clairement visible. Un pectoral en forme de *naos* surmonté d'une corniche décorée d'*uraei* est figuré sur la poitrine du défunt. Le bras gauche, partiellement visible sur la poitrine, était décoré d'un bracelet présentant deux cartouches malheureusement anépigraphes. Le texte était vraisemblablement peint. L'arrière de la pièce présente un décor dont l'identification reste malaisée. L'inventeur l'identifie, avec réserve, à une peau d'animal. La tête précédemment citée est-elle à rattacher à ce fragment ? Le pectoral est en tout cas à comparer avec celui présent sur certaines représentations de divinités comme Amon, Apédémak ou Sébioumeker[25]. Cette iconographie particulière indiquerait-elle que le statut du défunt est à lier à la prêtrise ?

Comme nous pouvons le voir, cette sélection de statues de défunts met en exergue la possibilité de déterminer des discriminants sociaux permettant d'identifier les hauts fonctionnaires de l'empire méroïtique. Même si l'identification de la fonction reste hasardeuse, les costumes et les attributs particuliers utilisés par ces individus permettent de les regrouper au sein d'un même ensemble, celui des responsables administratifs du nord du territoire méroïtique. La plupart des

20 F. Ll. Griffith, « Oxford Excavations in Nubia, XXX-XXXIII », *AAALiv* 11 (1924): 176, pl. LXXVII/3.

21 Londres, British Museum, EA 53965.Grès. H. 45,8 cm. Basse-Nubie (?). 2e-3e s. apr. J.-C. ; M. Baud (éd.), *Méroé. Un empire sur le Nil*, Paris (2010) : p. 261 (n° 350).

22 J. Leclant « Fouilles et travaux en Egypte et au Soudan, 1969-1970 », *Orientalia* 40 (1971): pl. XLIII/52.

23 B. B. Williams, *Excavations at Serra Est. George R. Hughes and James E. Knudstad, Directors, Parts 1-5: A-Group, C-Group, Pan Grave, New Kingdom, and X-Group Remains from Cemeteries A-G and Rock Shelters*, ed. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 10, 1993), pl. 40.

24 J. Leclant, « Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1964-1965 », *Orientalia* 35 (1966) : p. 162 ; M. Schiff-Giorgini, « Sedeinga, 1964-1965 », *Kush* 14 (1966) : p. 257, pl. 30.

25 M. Baud, *Méroé. Un empire sur le Nil*, cat. 245, 248, 249, 250, 254, 259.

œuvres faisant partie de ce corpus semblent dater des 2e-3e siècles de notre ère et provenir de Karanog. Le site, qui présentait l'un des plus grands ensembles funéraires de Basse Nubie et l'un des mieux documentés, était également l'un des grands centres de pouvoir dans la région. Ces deux éléments pourraient en partie expliquer ce fait.

Une étude plus globale portant sur ce type particulier de statuaire et permettant d'actualiser le corpus pourrait certainement apporter bon nombre d'éléments intéressants.

Ancient Egyptian Shields and their Handles: A Functional Explanation of New Kingdom Developments

Nicholas Wernick

Abstract:
More than a decade has passed since Alessandra Nibbi's article on pharaonic shields appeared in ZÄS (2003, v.130). In her commentary, she briefly mentions a shield handle in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and, based on artistic scenes, notes a change in shield handle position and placement, moving from an upper-third, horizontal handle in the First Intermediate Period – Middle Kingdom to a centrally located, vertical handle in the New Kingdom. However, she does not postulate an explanation for this change.
This article will present a representative collection of wooden artifacts that have been identified as shield handles. To place these artifacts in historical context with developments of the ancient shield, we must first consult the representational evidence before we discuss their features. In addition, we will examine the shields found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (1336-1327 BCE). This evidence shows that the design of the shield, its orientation, and placement of the handle changed over time. Furthermore, it can be demonstrated that a central, vertical handle was used not only by New Kingdom Egyptians, but by their contemporaries as well.
A secondary aim of this article is to present a functional explanation for these design changes in terms of the shield's use. Shields in ancient Egypt have been discussed by some researchers in relation to pharaonic warfare, but there has been little speculation regarding how this type of defensive equipment functioned on the battlefield. By a thorough analysis of the artistic and archaeological evidence we can propose how shields were used and why the changes in shield design may have been in response to new technologies and tactics.

Résumé:
Plus d'une décennie a passé depuis la parution de l'article d'Alessandra Nibbi dans le *ZÄS* (2003, v.130) traitant des boucliers d'époque pharaonique. Dans son commentaire, l'auteure mentionne brièvement une poignée de bouclier conservée au Musée égyptien du Caire et, en se basant sur l'analyse de scènes, elle observe un changement de position et d'orientation de la poignée; à la Première Période intermédiaire et au Moyen Empire, la poignée horizontale est située dans le tiers supérieur du bouclier tandis qu'au Nouvel Empire, la poignée désormais verticale se situe au centre. Toutefois, Nibbi ne suggère pas d'explication à ce changement.

Cet article présente une collection représentative d'artéfacts en bois identifiés comme des poignées de bouclier. Afin de comprendre le rapport entre ces artéfacts et le développement des boucliers égyptiens, nous consulterons d'abord les témoignages iconographiques pour ensuite traiter de leurs caractéristiques particulières. De plus, les boucliers trouvés dans la tombe de Toutankhamon (1336-1327 AEC) seront examinés. Ces sources montrent que la conception des boucliers ainsi que l'orientation et la position de la poignée ont effectivement évolué. En outre, il peut être démontré qu'une poignée centrale et verticale n'était pas uniquement utilisée par les Égyptiens du Nouvel Empire, mais également par leurs contemporains.

Le second objectif du présent article est d'expliquer le changement de disposition en fonction de l'usage du bouclier. Si certains chercheurs ont abordé la question des boucliers en relation avec les pratiques guerrières à l'époque pharaonique, peu ont spéculé sur la manière dont l'équipement défensif était utilisé sur le champ de bataille. Par à une analyse minutieuse des sources iconographiques et archéologiques, nous proposerons une explication plausible de la manière dont les boucliers étaient utilisés et de la raison pour laquelle des changements de configuration

eurent lieu en réponse à des tactiques et des technologies nouvelles.

Keywords/Mots clefs: Shield/bouclier, Shield Handle/poignée de bouclier, Brace/entretroise, Archery/tir à l'arc, Weaponry/armement, Defensive Equipment/équipement défensif, Warfare/guerre, Technology/technologie, Battle/bataille

The shield is the oldest piece of defensive equipment in pharaonic military.[1] Its main purpose is to provide a protective barrier from melee attacks and/or missiles. Although the Egyptians have often been characterized as culturally conservative towards innovation and experimentation with respect to their military equipment, the introduction and development of the 'tripartite association' (the chariot, composite bow and scale armour) in the Second Intermediate Period (1650-1550 BCE, SIP) obviously challenged traditional technologies to adapt.[2] These new weapons and equipment also may have affected battlefield tactics in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age (1600-1200 BCE, LBA). However, the extent of how these changes were manifested in combat is very difficult to define conclusively as precise evidence for the unfolding of a violent engagement in warfare is extremely rare in the archaeological record. While there are fleeting mentions of tactics in textual evidence (primarily from the Battle of Megiddo and the Kadesh), often the text's focus is on the battlefield's actors and its outcome. For instance, the Year 1 Beth Shan stele of Sety I indicates an uprising in Canaan but does not relay the specifics of how each division achieved success:

> The despicable chief who is in the town of Hammath has gathered to himself many people, seizing the town of Beth-Shan, and is joined up with those from Pahil (Pella); he is preventing the chief of Rehob from coming out. Then His Majesty (Sety I) sent out the First Division of Amun, 'Rich in Bows', against the town of Hammath; the First Division of Re, 'Abounding in Valour', against the town of Beth Shan; and the First Division of Sutekh (Seth), 'Strong of Bows', against the town of Yenoam. And so, when the span of a day had elapsed, they were (all) fallen to the might of His Majesty, the King of southern and northern Egypt, Menmare, Son of Re, Sety I Merenptah, given life.[3]

With sources as vague as this, any indications of changes in military equipment provide invaluable information regarding how ancient armies could have conducted themselves on the battlefield. Such is the case with a group of wooden artifacts that have been identified as shield handles. When these artifacts are examined in conjunction with pictorial depictions and compared with existing shields (without handles) from the tomb of Tutankhamun, we find clear evidence for a change in handle orientation from horizontal to vertical. Looking temporally across the corpus of materials,

1 G. Gilbert, *Weapons, Warriors and Warfare in Early Egypt*, BAR International Series 1208 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004), 43-44.

2 T. Hulit, *Late Bronze Age Scale Armour in the Near East* (Durham: University of Durham, PhD Thesis, 2002), 16ff.; I. Shaw, *Egyptian Warfare and Weapons*, Shire Egyptology Series 16 (Risborough: Shire Publications, 1991), 31-32; R. Faulkner, "Egyptian Military Organization", *JEA* 39 (1953): 41.

3 *KRI* I, 10, 12:5-12:10

shields appear to have changed in shape and handle orientation in reaction to tactical developments in the late Middle Kingdom – New Kingdom. Although a change in shield handle position and orientation would seem to be a negligible alteration for improving the defensive effectiveness of a shield, further examination suggests that this truly was a functional improvement on the shield's tactical efficiency that translated into a benefit for the wielder.[4]

Shield Composition and Modern Experiments

The composition of the typical Egyptian shield is mainly inferred from Middle Kingdom tomb models that depict a patchy pattern, suggesting it was made out of bovine leather.[5] Nibbi's claim that New Kingdom (1550-1069 BCE, NK) shields were composed entirely of metal cannot be substantiated based on the current archaeological evidence (see below).[6] Indeed, Gonen notes that a shield constructed completely from metal is rare in the archaeological record and is likely a votive object.[7]

As most modern experiments have shown, ancient shields did not make the bearer impervious to attacks. One might jump to the conclusion that organic materials made the shield less effective than a metal counterpart would have been. However, shields, like armour, had to balance the benefits of protection with the mobility necessary for soldiers. The shield must be light enough to be carried for extended periods and, in the case of infantry shields, must be easily moveable to respond to an attack.[8] Experiments conducted at the University of Oxford reveal that a leather shield withstands arrows more effectively than a metal one.[9] Indeed, Hulit and Richardson's analysis of leather and bronze scaled armour demonstrates that leather has a benefit in being roughly 42% lighter, cheaper and more flexible in deflecting arrow-fire.[10] However, their experiments show that

4 I define 'tactical efficiency' as the operational effectiveness of a given type of military equipment (offensive or defensive) for its intended usage.

5 M. El-Khadragy, "The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut", *SAK* 35 (2006): 151, ft. 24. Model shield and javelins/spears, MMA 17.9.3 – 11 (group) (URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100050415, accessed January 2015); Model shields from Tomb 10 at Deir el-Bersha, MFA, Boston No. 21.431 (URL: http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/model-shield-143724, accessed January 2015). The bovine pattern on the MK shields could be rawhide or have gone through a number of processes. Given that we are working from a wooden model and not a real piece of leather, it is impossible to ascertain exactly what those processes were.

6 A. Nibbi, "Some Remarks on the Ancient Egyptian Shield", *ZÄS* 130 (2003): 173.

7 R. Gonen, *Weapons of the Ancient World* (London: Cassel, 1975), 69, notes that the Roman *scutum* was constructed of wood. For an example of a later metal-constructed shield see the Urartian shield (votive item/not used in battle, c. 650 BCE) (BM 22481, [URL:http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=369893&partid=1&searchText=22481&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&currentPage=1], accessed January 2015).

8 T. Hulit, *Late Bronze Age Scale Armour in the Near East*, 3-4.

9 R. Gonen, *Weapons of the Ancient World*, 65 & 67. The shields were tested against a slash of sword and a spear-thrust.

10 T. Hulit and T. Richardson, "The Warriors of the Pharaoh: Experiments with New Kingdom Scale Armour, Archery and Chariots", in *The Cutting Edge: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Combat*, B. Malloy, ed. (Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2007), 59.

leather armour is not as effective in stopping an arrow from penetrating the wearer in comparison with armour composed of bronze scales. One should note that their tests involved arrows that were composed of 88% copper, 10% tin and 2% zinc.[11] Although arrowheads with a higher tin content would have more piercing power into the shields, studies of the remains of the siege of Lachish and Boatright's analysis of Egyptian Bronze Age weaponry suggest that high-tin content arrowheads were a rarity in the LBA and early Iron Age.[12] Recent work by Godehardt et al. seems to confirm that shields in pharaonic Egypt were not entirely impenetrable as this work discovered that all types of arrowheads were capable of penetrating a reconstructed 1.2 cm-thick wooden Roman *scutum* up to a depth of 5 cm.[13] Although this depth sounds trivial, it could have led to considerable injury if the wielder was bracing his body against the shield. Such potential breaches did not, obviously, negate the overall benefit of a shield during the course of battle.

Artistic Depictions of a Change in Shield Handle Orientation

Unfortunately, there are no surviving full-sized shields from the period prior to the NK, so we have to rely upon artistic representations and models to reconstruct shield design, dimensions and composition. From these, it is possible to study changes in shield design and handle orientation. When using artistic scenes, we must be cautious as representations are selectively recreated, not objectively captured; they should not be treated in the same light as definitive proof of events and tactics.[14] However, technological details displayed in Egyptian reliefs can help to 'fill in the blanks' left by a lack of archaeological evidence of ancient shields.

The Apex Shield

The typical depiction of a First Intermediate Period - Middle Kingdom shield (2186-1650 BCE, FIP and MK) has a straight bottom and two perpendicular sides that curve inward to a point around

11 T. Hulit and T. Richardson, "The Warriors of the Pharaoh", 58.

12 Y. Gottlieb, "The Arrowheads and Selected Aspects of the Siege Battle", in *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish: 1973-1994*, Volume 4, David Ussishkin, ed. (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 1913. Although the excavations did find one arrowhead composed of 13.62% tin, this is thought to have been an item of conspicuous consumption and is a rarity in the archaeological remains. Hulit and Richardson do note that most arrowheads in the LBA would not have been composed of bronze due to its expense ("The Warriors of the Pharaoh", 60). D. Boatright, *Composition, Form and Function: Scientific and Stylistic Investigations of Egyptian Bronze Age Weaponry in the Context of the Eastern Mediterranean* (Liverpool: The University of Liverpool, PhD Thesis, 2012), 162, 301 and 304 notes that the use of tin (c. 10%+) was usually present in shock weaponry (axes, maces and thrusting spears) but was usually negligible for arrowheads (c. less than 7%).

13 E.Godehardt, J. Jaworski, P. Pieper, and H. Michael, "The Reconstruction of Scythian Bows", in *The Cutting Edge: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Combat*, B. Malloy, ed. (Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2007), 119-131. Here it is noted that the kite-shaped arrowhead (gradual shoulders with a long shaft) is the most effective for penetration depth.

14 I am particularly sceptical of Yadin's claims about the composite bow being developed in the Early Bronze III period (2700-2200 BCE) based on an artistic scene of Naram Sin (2190-2154 BCE) (Y. Yadin, "The Earliest Representation of a Siege Scene and the 'Scythian Bow' from Mari", *IEJ* 22, 2/3 (1972): 90-91, fig. 2C). A similar sentiment can be expressed with respect to Heagren's claim that martial scenes can be used to reconstruct marching formations. Brett Heagren, *The Art of War in Pharaonic Egypt* (Auckland: University of Auckland, PhD Thesis, 2010).

the shield's top-third proportion, the 'apex design'.[15] On the shield bearer's side, the back, the artistic evidence indicates that a shield's handle was oriented horizontally and positioned in the upper third quadrant. The shape and handle of these early shields can be seen in the model spearmen's shields from the tomb of Mesehti (Fig. 1).[16] From this model we can also deduce a rough measurement for this early shield's dimensions in comparison with the model figures, approximately 70 cm long by 50 cm wide. The size suggests that this shield was designed to protect the torso of the bearer. The exterior side of the shield, the front or face, is shown with a patchy design, presumably representative of a leather covering.[17] Other artistic representations from this early stage, such as the siege scene in the tomb of Intef and other model shields, indicate roughly the same design, dimensions and shape as the Mesehti spearmen (Figs. 2-3).[18] Overall, the size and composition of the typical shield of this period indicates that it would have been constructed to be light enough to respond quickly to an attack. It is clear that this design was nearly universally preferred, as indicated by its depiction over a wide geographic range throughout the country, even in the FIP, a time of political disunity.

The apex design must have been very successful as we find this design transferred to 'mantelets' or siege-shields of the pharaonic military.[19] Early mantelets were essentially the same shape but were much larger in dimensions than a typical Egyptian infantry shield. In tomb scenes at Asyut, FIP soldiers carry an axe or a club and hold a shield that is clearly large enough to protect their entire body (Fig. 4). Although such a large shield would have been problematic to deploy in a field-battle, its size would have been extremely useful for protection from defenders' missile-fire at a fortified location. Thus, these larger shields did not have typical infantry shield dimensions as used for battlefield deployment, as has been suggested by Spalinger and Partridge.[20] Tellingly, these

15 Or Humble's "gothic-church window" (R. Humble, *Warfare in the Ancient World* (London: Cassel, 1980), 40).

16 Mesehti Warriors, Cairo Museum, JE 30986 = CG 258. F. Tiradritti, ed., *The Treasures of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 2003), 458-459; I. Shaw, *Egyptian Warfare and Weapons*, 34, fig. 22.

17 Whether the shield body was composed of solid wood or a wooden framework is unclear from the representational evidence.

18 W. Hamblin, *Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BC* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 447, fig. 11; A. Nibbi, "Some Remarks on the Ancient Egyptian Shield", Pl. XXXIX b; T. Wilkinson, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Random House, 2010), Plate Set 2; B. McDermot, *Warfare in Ancient Egypt* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), Fig. 56; R. Partridge, *Fighting Pharaohs: Weapons and Warfare in Ancient Egypt* (Manchester: Peartree Publishing, 2002), Fig. 49; W. Decker, and M. Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten* Ägypten (Leiden: Brill, 1994), Volume 1, 169-170; Volume 2, G19; William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Volume 1: From the earliest times to the end of the Middle Kingdom* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), 278; P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan: Part II* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1894), Pl. 15.

19 Please note that I use the term 'mantelet' differently than does Schulman, who uses it to describe the protective canopy of the Beni Hassan 'battering ram' (A. Schulman, "The Battle Scenes of the Middle Kingdom", *JSSEA* 12/4 (1982): 177). This is an incorrect usage of the term, with the proper nomenclature of this mobile siege structure being a *'vinea'* (K. Nossov, *Ancient and Medieval Siege Weapons: A Fully Illustrated Guide to Siege Weapons and Tactics* (Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2005), 83 and 272). See also, Wernick, "Once More Unto the Breach", ZÄS 143-1.

20 A. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 16; R. Partridge, *Fighting Pharaohs*, 52.

early mantelets had an apex-shape despite the need to deflect overhand blows (see below), suggesting that the smaller infantry shield was developed first.[21] Later depictions from Deir el-Bersha indicate that the mantelets' tops changed to a more rounded design in the later Middle Kingdom, suggesting that Egyptian shield makers of the time were developing a shield-shape closer to the NK infantry design (Fig. 5).[22]

The Rounded Shield Design and the Change in Handle Orientation and Placement

In the NK, Egyptian forces are usually not shown in violent vignettes prior to the 19th Dynasty, as the focus of earlier martial scenes was not an attempt at narrative but rather was meant to emphasize the king's ability to conquer chaotic, rebellious forces through his divine investiture.[23] Hence, martial scenes of the 18th Dynasty usually consign the king to a heraldic pose smiting Egypt's enemies. In contrast, the more narrative-based scenes of the 19th Dynasty provide an invaluable resource for our purposes, although they are not without their problems. In 19th Dynasty scenes, shield bearers often do not have their shield handles depicted explicitly and the viewer is shown a shield's outline from the exterior face or hovering (without the aid of straps) on the back of a soldier while in procession.[24] This 'hovering shield' motif can also be seen in action poses of minor soldier figures, such as in smiting scenes where an Egyptian infantryman dispatches an enemy combatant (Figs. 6 and 7).[25]

However, the 19th Dynasty reliefs do reveal a change in shield design, providing information that is particularly critical for researchers of the NK shield but is often overlooked. The top of the shield is now rounded and the sides taper toward the bottom. The position and orientation of the shield handle also changes, now being placed vertically near the center of the shield. As mentioned above,

21 W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* I (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935), Pl. 15; M. El-Khadragy, "The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut", 154-155.

22 British Museum EA 1147 (URL: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=120226&partId=1&searchText=1147+&page=1, accessed January 2015; E. Russman, ed., *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Egypt from the British Museum* [Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001], 93-94, no. 22). It is worth noting that these later mantelets also had flared ends, probably for placing the shield on the ground for stability.

23 This may be due to differential preservation in the archaeological record, as Ahmose and Tutankhamun do appear to have some attempt at a 'warfare narrative'. A. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, figs. 1.5-1.7; Stephen P. Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, PhD Thesis, 1998); William R. Johnson, *An Asiatic Battle Scene of Tutankhamun from Thebes: A Late Amarna Antecedent of the Ramesside Battle-Narrative Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago, PhD Thesis, 1992). However, these scenes are very fragmentary so the matter remains unclear.

24 For instance, the soldiers in the Nubian campaign scene of Horemheb. J. Darnell and C. Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies: Battle and Conquest during Ancient Egypt's Late 18th Dynasty* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley, 2007), 123, Fig. 19; S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse*, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 18 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2001), 241, I.4; Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, 161f.

25 A. Burke, '*Walled up to Heaven*': *The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 36 is mistaken in that he claims that shields in artistic scenes are used only to protect against enemy missile-fire as they are absent from infantry engagements.

Nibbi is the only previous scholar to have identified the change in handle orientation from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom, but she does not speculate on why this development took place. Moreover, Nibbi asserts that this change in shield handle orientation took place in the reign of Ramesses III. However, Egyptian forces can be seen using the vertical handle in earlier 19th Dynasty martial scenes, as, for example, in several reliefs of the reign of Ramesses II (Figs. 6, 9 and 12).[26] Additionally, the relief of Merenpath's siege of Ashkelon depicts four Egyptian khepesh-wielding infantrymen holding shields outfitted with vertical handles (Fig. 10).[27]

When evaluating shield handle orientation of Egyptian shields during the NK, there are admittedly two scenes that are problematic. These scenes depict a siege assault on the town of Dapur by Ramessses II and are located at Luxor Temple and the Ramesseum (Fig. 13). The artistic style of the scenes implies that they were carved within a relatively short time and by the same artisans.[28] The scenes attempt to convey a sense of realism as there is extraneous detail rendered with respect to Dapur's fortifications, including multiple towers and fortified outworks, features which are not typically depicted in martial scenes of Ramesses II. Egyptian soldiers attack with melee weapons in the forefield while Dapur's inhabitants attempt their desperate defense of the city by hurling javelins, shooting bows and even resort to hurling stones.[29] The Dapur siege scenes have Egyptian-allied mercenaries and native Egyptian troops depicted as using shields with both vertical and horizontal handles.[30] This would suggest that the horizontal handle had some continued use in the pharaonic military during the NK. We must consider, however, that the chief artisan's decisions in drafting and layout might be responsible for the presence of these horizontal handles rather than an attempt to depict reality.[31] Shields with horizontally oriented handles occur only in these scenes and are thus in the minority within the broader corpus of New Kingdom military art, which predominantly depicts shields whose handles have a vertical orientation and a central placement on the shield's

26 A. Spalinger, "The Battle of Kadesh: The Chariot Frieze at Abydos", E&L 13 (2003): Fig. 3; A. Nibbi, "Some Remarks on the Ancient Egyptian Shield", 174 – 175; S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 250 I.21, 252 I.2, 266 VII.5, 276 VIII.17 (far right) and 288 IV.3.

27 S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 294 I.1.

28 The siege scene of '*Hn* in *Kdj*' could also be added to this list but its preservation is very poor (cf. S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 274 VIII.12; Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 78). I would suspect that the Dapur-siege example at the Ramesseum was carved first as the city's "fetish" has the arrow going through in the correct direction in relation to Ramesses II's position in the composition. The Luxor example retains this fetish-arrow direction even though Ramesses II is depicted attacking in the opposite direction.

29 The predominance of the defenders hurling stones in these scenes might have an ideological dimension, indicating that the rebels had to debase themselves by employing whatever they could to oppose an Egyptian authority outfitted with superior weaponry and an implied divine mandate. Archery in these scenes is severely curtailed, appearing with only two figures in Luxor's eastern Hypostyle exterior example. Even then, both archers are aiming their arrows away from the forefield and any Egyptian troops. Considering the mythological dimension of Egyptian art, specifically that artistic images could have a magical influence on reality, this may be a deliberate attempt by the artisan to render them an ineffective threat. G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (London: The British Museum Press, 1997), 19-24. See also A. Spalinger, *Icons of Power: A Strategy of Reinterpretation* (Prague: Charles University, 2011), 113-115.

30 S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 274 VIII.11 & 278 IX.1.

31 To the artisan's credit though, these horizontal handles are correctly rendered in the upper third of the shield's body.

body. Particularly notable is the fact that Egyptian shield-bearers riding in chariots have shields with vertical handles (Fig. 12), a phenomenon which may have a strong practical explanation (see below).

If we accept Yadin's claim that cultural groups of the ancient Near East appropriated advantageous military technology from one another, especially in the NK/LBA, then it is telling that shield handles were primarily oriented to the vertical plane among many opposing cultural groups throughout the eastern Mediterranean at roughly this time.[32] Vertical shield handles are first shown in the hands of Egypt's enemies a generation earlier, in the reign of Sety I (1294-1279 BCE). In the Hittite Register of the Sety I battle scenes at Karnak, the Hittites are depicted using the vertical, central grip on rectangular shields (Figs. 14A & 14B).[33] Scenes of the Battle of Kadesh depict shield bearers in the Hittite chariotry whose shields also have a vertical, central handle (Fig. 14C).[34] Correspondingly, Canaanites are shown with vertical handles on their shields as they are vanquished by Ramesses II (Fig. 15).[35] Aegean mercenaries and combatants are shown with a central placement on their shields as well (Fig. 16). Significantly, despite the extant representations of the central, vertical handle on the shields of foreigners before it is depicted being used by Egyptian infantrymen, the archaeological evidence suggests that the orientation change occurred late in the Middle Kingdom in Egypt (see below). Thus, it is uncertain when exactly this change occurred and if the Egyptians developed this technology themselves or adopted it as a result of an outside influence.

Archaeological Evidence

Unfortunately, we possess no intact ancient Egyptian shields with a handle attached. However, by examining the preserved shields from the tomb of Tutankhamun (1336 – 1327 BCE) and comparing the size of these extant shields without handles to surviving shield handles, we find further evidence of a shift to the vertical orientation before the 19th Dynasty, for the surviving handles are too long to have been attached horizontally to shields the size of Tutankhamun's.

The Tutankhamun Shields

Eight shields were discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamun. Admittedly, none of these shields had their handles intact, nor do they show impact marks, which might confirm that they had been designed for a utilitarian purpose. Nevertheless, this group of artifacts is useful to ascertain the rough dimensions of serviceable NK shields and can be compared with extant shield handles (Table 1).[36] The shields from the tomb can be categorized into two design groups: animal-skin covered

32 Albeit, artistic evidence for foreign shield handle orientation prior to the NK is very limited (Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1963), 1-4).

33 S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 250 I.21.

34 S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 292 V.3.

35 S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 254 II.6, 265 VII.2, 267 VII.7.

36 A. Nibbi, "The Four Ceremonial Shields from the Tomb of Tutankhamun", *ZÄS* 133 (2006): 67.

Table 1

Shields of Tutankhamun					
Carter Handlist #	**Cairo Museum #**	**Type**	**Length (cm)**	**Width (cm)**	**Notes**
350	JE 61579	Open-worked	83.5	57	
379a	JE 61577	Open-worked	89	54	Tapers to bottom slightly, at the base it measures 50.4 cm
379b	JE 61576	Open-worked	89	54	
488b	JE 61578	Open-worked	N/A	N/A	Fragmentary, similar to 379a & b
488a	JE 61581	Cheetah Skin	75	50.5	
492	JE 61580	Antelope hide	74	51	
545	JE 61582	Antelope hide	74	50.4	Very light in weight, tapers to 45.5 cm at bottom
566	JE 61583	Cheetah-skin	73.5	51.5	

and open-worked. In contrast to the more typical bovine leather, Tutankhamun's shields are made from the skins of cheetah and antelope. Interestingly, a scene in the tomb of Huy (TT40) shows similar shields being offered to the king as part of Nubian offerings.[37]

The shield, much like armour and helmets, could be embellished to be an object of conspicuous consumption for the elite of society. This is confirmed by the Amarna letter EA 22, where Tushratta included shields with components of silver and bronze as part of his daughter's dowry.[38] Presumably, the typical soldier's shield did not possess such adornments. The open-worked shields in Tutankhamun's tomb are clearly votive items and not intended for use in battle. By contrast, the animal-skin shields could be representative of shields designed for actual use on campaign, although

37 J. Darnell and C. Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, 128-129, fig. 20; N. Davies, *The Tomb of Huy: Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamūn* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1926), Pl. 24.

38 EA 22-1, line 47, and EA 22-3, lines 42-44 (W. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 55). Shields with *urukmannu* covered in silver appear to have been more prized, as shields with *urukmannu* of bronze are more numerous (1 to 9 in number). Although the Hurrian term *urukmannu* is not completely understood, it may have a linguistic connection to the Assyrian word *melammu*, which denotes "bright, gleaming, radiating" in relation with divine or royal objects (*CAD* 10 [1977], Part 2, 9).

these examples do not exhibit impact marks. It is well known that the elite echelons of Egyptian society loved to show their societal standing by using costly military equipment.

The shields from Tutankhamun's tomb were intended to protect the wielder's torso and employ the NK 'rounded design'. Furthermore, the face of each shield (especially 545 and 566) shows a slight parabolic shape, with the vertical sides bending back towards the bearer (Figs.17 and 18).[39] The widest part of the shield is near the midpoint with the bottom slightly tapering inward. The back of the better preserved shields has a pair of holes at the top and two sets of holes at the shield's maximum width. It is tempting to view the holes at the top as intended for the 'hanging loop' as represented in the shields depicted in the tombs of Kenamun and Rekhmire (Fig. 19).[40] Similarly, the sets of holes situated along the shield's maximum width are conceivably an attachment for a horizontal strap that has not been preserved. In siege assault scenes depicting infantrymen ascending a siege ladder, the soldier often slings his shield on his back by means of a band (Fig. 8).[41] Presumably, this secondary strap was used when the bearer needed his hands free (e.g. to scale a siege ladder or to engage in close quarters).[42] However, the physical remains of the Tutankhamun shields deviate from the depictions in Kenamun's and Rekhmire's tombs in that the bottom is only slightly smaller than the shield's widest upper part. This variation may be evidence of experimentation in shield design, but we must also consider the possibility that artistic license affected the tomb depictions (Fig. 20).[43]

Tutankhamun's animal-skin covered shields were made from wooden planks that were joined vertically. This construction choice seems surprising, for planks joined vertically would have been more likely to break and split when defending against an overhead blow (see below).[44] However, Shield 545 exhibits an interesting additional plank that was laid horizontally to make up the top rounded portion of the shield (Fig. 17A).[45] It is possible that this top plank was used to produce a

39 A. Nibbi, "Some Remarks on the Ancient Egyptian Shield", 173. The slight curve, if it was common, would have helped to maintain a shield's structural integrity by transferring the force of direct blows. This principle can be observed in the Roman *scutum* design.

40 N. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re'* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943), Pl. XXVII; N. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930): Vol. 1, Pl. XXII.

41 S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 294 I.1.

42 Eph'al and Fagan's suggestion that the Egyptians and Assyrians scaled ladders without the use of their hands must be erroneous considering the considerable height of these ladders (18-22 meters) and the fact that the attackers may have been under fire from the defenders on the parapet (I. Eph'al, *The City Besieged: Siege and its Manifestations in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 71; G. Fagan, "'I Fell upon Him like a Furious Arrow': Toward a Reconstruction of the Assyrian Tactical System", *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare*, G. Fagan, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 95).

43 For instance, compare the aforementioned scene in the tomb of Huy, which depicts these shields with only a slight taper. Similarly, see the scenes from other NK tombs for this variance in shield design, Fig 20 (W. Decker, and M. Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten* Ägypten, Volume 1, 214-228, Volume 2, I 14, I 17, I 31, I 41).

44 Compare the Ptolemaic 'Celtic mercenary' shield from Kasr al-Harit, which has its wooden body constructed in alternating horizontal and vertical strips to prevent splitting (M. C. Bishop and J. C. N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment: From the Punic Wars to the Fall of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006), 61-62, Fig. 30; W. Kammig, "Ein Keltenschild aus Aegypten", *Germania* 24 (1940): 106-111).

45 How these planks are joined together cannot be determined due to the shields' covering (URL: http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/perl/gi-ca-qmakesumm.pl?sid=70.72.190.171-1426282460&qno=1&curr=545, accessed January

Table 2

Extant Ancient Egyptian Shield Handles

Museum	Inventory Number	Dimensions (cm) (largest dimension in length)	Reference/URL
Romer –Pelizaeus Museum	6096	65.8 long 6.7 high	http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=11526
MMA	27.3.70	82	http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100000493
MMA	14.1.413	57	http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100014443
MMA	12.182.52*	154	http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/555985?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=12.182.52&pos=1
Cairo Museum	JE 46193**	70+	Nibbi 2003, Pl. XLIV
British Museum	EA49245	78.8	http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectId=157724&partId=1
British Museum	EA49246	69.5 long 4.9 max width	http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectId=157723&partId=1
Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm	MM 19742	66 7 high 2.8 grip thickness 9.7 X 14.8 Mounting roundel 1.1 crossbar thickness	http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/3013417
Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm	MM 19850	83 6.6 high 3.2 grip thickness 12.6 X 20.5 Mounting roundel 3.0 crossbar thickness	André Veldmeijer, personal communication

* – Suspected mantelet handle

** – Measurements are approximate

design that was more robust, intended to prevent splitting as a result of an overhead strike. However, considering that this is the only example of such an assembly, this proposal cannot be proven definitively. Overall, the material remains of the Tutankhamun shields are critical to our understanding, especially because they deviate from artistic representations (highlighting once again the difficulty in relying solely on pictorial sources). For instance, although the shield's 'boss' is usually depicted in the upper third of Egyptian shields, the animal-skin shields of Tutankhamun are embellished with a cartouche located near the center.[46]

Extant Shield Handles

A number of wooden objects from Egypt have been identified as shield handles (sometimes referred to as 'braces') and have been tentatively dated to the late MK to the early NK (Table 2). Unfortunately, most of these shield handles come from unsecured contexts.[47] Nonetheless, the evidence provided by these objects aligns extremely well with the NK representational evidence, similarly suggesting that shield handles had a central placement and vertical orientation at that time. If we take the shields of Tutankhamun as indicative of the dimensions of NK shields, it is clear from the shield handles' crossbar length that they were meant to be affixed to the shield vertically, as most examples are much too long to be attached horizontally. Furthermore, the shields of Tutankhamun are slightly curved from a top view. If the handles were meant to be attached horizontally, the crossbar would have needed to reflect this curve to make attachment possible (Fig. 23).

The corpus of artifacts presented in this paper was collected from open-access museum databases, a process made possible by the cooperation of colleagues and museum staff. This collection is merely representative of shield handles and cannot be considered exhaustive. Nevertheless, given the general consistency of the examples discussed below, we can be fairly certain that most additional instances will have similar traits.

Each shield handle has only enough room for one hand to hold the grip (approximately 3 cm in thickness and 7-8 cm long), a rounded section below the grip (mounting roundel) and a straight crossbar-support that would have been mounted to the shield's body. All examples were carved

2015). This 'top plank' is not seen on any of the other animal-hide shields (the rest are composed of vertically joined planks). Carter noted that Shield 488a is made of multiple sections of wood that were pegged together and glued (URL: http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/perl/gi-ca-qmakedeta.pl?sid=70.72.190.171-1426282460&qno=1&dfnam=488a-c488a, accessed January 2015).

46 A. Nibbi, "Some Remarks on the Ancient Egyptian Shield", 176, fig. 14 e and g; S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 274 VIII.11, 307 I.18. The use of the term 'boss' here refers to the circular embellishment on Egyptian shields in tomb scenes. It is not to be confused with the metal cap typical of Roman shields that would protrude from the shield's face and provide a recess on the back to accommodate the handle (M. Bishop and J. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, 94, Fig. 50-3; 138, Figs. 83-3 and 83-5). Furthermore, it is clear from the artistic and archaeological evidence that this circular feature in depictions was not a hollow 'peep-hole' for the bearer's visibility.

47 Unfortunately, the mentions of these shield handles in archaeological deposition are made in passing (S. Aufrère, "L' « archer » dans l'au-delà à la PPI. Les tombes du chancellier Nakhty à Assiout (tombe n°7) et du Nomarque Mesehty", Égypte, Afrique et Orient 19 (2000): 37-48; A. Vila, " L'Armement de la Forteresse de Mirgissa-Iken", *RdE* 22 (1970): 171-199).

from a single piece of wood to ensure strength. The shield handle from Tomb TT116 (roughly dating to Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art) is 82 cm long.[48] Its crossbar has a definitive series of grooves, suggesting that it was attached to the shield with lacing (Fig. 21A; this example is closely comparable to the handle in the Roemer and Pelizaeus Museum discussed below). Another example from the MMA (No. 14.1.413) is much shorter (57 cm long) than other examples but appears slightly more robust.[49] The example from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 46193), has a long crossbar (approximately 70 cm) and displays similar traits.[50] The examples from the British Museum have dimensions that coincide with the established corpus of finds, EA49245 having a 78.8 cm long crossbar while EA49246's crossbar is 69.5 cm long (Figs. 21B and 21C).[51]

The handle from Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, remarkably still has lacing and traces of green leather on the articulation surface of the mounting roundel (Fig. 22). The four lacing grooves are approximately 1 cm deep and have 5 revolutions of lacing. Curiously, the lacing of each groove does not terminate singularly but lacing cords extend towards the lacing groove near the mounting roundel. It is tempting to view this lacing technique as the typical method to affix the shield body to the handle by penetrating the leather/wooden surface of the shield's face. However, until an example is found intact with the shield body, this will remain a matter of speculation.

The shield handle in the collection of the Roemer and Pelizaeus Museum is particularly interesting for our purposes, for as currently displayed it has been attached vertically to a mock-up of a Middle Kingdom apex shield.[52] The online entry for this object on the Global Egyptian Museum website claims that this reconstruction is incorrect and that the handle should be oriented horizontally rather than vertically.[53] As parallels, the entry cites Middle Kingdom tomb scenes at Beni

48 MMA No. 27.3.70 (URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100000493, accessed January 2015).

49 MMA No. 14.1.413 (URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100014443, accessed November 2014). There is also a suspected mantelet handle in the MMA, Fig. 21D (W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Volume 1: From the earliest times to the end of the Middle Kingdom* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), 278). Its classification as a mantelet handle mainly comes from the fact that the crossbar's length is over five feet long (1.5 meters). Presumably, this example would also have been oriented in a vertical position as Mari and Assyrian mantelet handles are commonly shown in the vertical position (Fig. 25).

50 A. Nibbi, "Some Remarks on the Ancient Egyptian Shield", Pl. XLIV.

51 BM No. EA49245 (URL: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectId=157724&partId=1, accessed January 2015) and EA49246 (URL:http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectId=157723&partId=1, accessed January 2015).

52 Roemer and Pelizaeus Museum (RPM) No. 6096 (URL: http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=11526, accessed January 2015). Four grooves can be seen on the RPM example while the comparable MMA example, although fragmentary on one end, shows at least 6 lacing-grooves.

53 "Die Befestigung der Querleiste auf der Rückseite des rekonstruierten Schildes ist falsch…" Pelizaeus-Museum No. 6096 (URL: http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=11526, last accessed March 2015). This statement was presumably made by one of the editors of this record, listed as "Christian Bayer / Matthias Seidel; Heike Ständer / Bettina Schmitz." The dating of this shield handle to the 11th – 12th Dynasty is not secured.

Hassan; as we have seen, the Mesehti model spearmen also bear shields with horizontal handles. Although this piece's context and date are not known, I would suggest that the handle's orientation was likely on a vertical plane since its proportions align with the rest of the corpus.

A Functional Explanation for the Development of NK Shield Shape and Handle Arrangement

In general, military equipment (offensive and defensive) is usually designed in an attempt to increase tactical efficiency. This applies to the ancient world as much as it does today. Thus, the shape, size and composition of a particular piece of equipment should be seen as an adaptation to facilitate the item's use in battle. If a particular aspect does not prove beneficial for optimal operation, experimentation is warranted to make the item more effective in combat.[54]

Up until the SIP-NK periods, field warfare in the ancient Near East appears to have been predominantly conducted with bowmen armed with the self-bow (which has an estimated maximum range of 110 metres), and infantrymen armed with thrusting spears and axes.[55] When two groups approached the battlefield, the infantry formations would close the gap between them while bowmen served to 'soften up' the opposing force.[56] Crucial for both sides was the collapse of the enemy's infantry lines.

In this context, the apex design of early Egyptian shields does not appear to be shaped for the sole purpose of aesthetics but would also have assisted the wielder against melee-strikes. The pointed top served to redirect the energy that would have channeled into the shield from an overhand blow and deflected the force to the side. The handle's position in the shield's upper third and its horizontal orientation would have given the bearer a good grip and allowed him to brace his body against the shield with the use of his forearm. Overall, position and orientation of the handle of the apex shield was similar to that of the Greek *hoplon* shield. Hoplons had a handgrip situated near the top rim of the shield, the *antilabe*, and a metal forearm band for bracing, the *porpax*.[57] Holding the

54 This is not to say that all experimental changes in military equipment were regularly adopted by the majority of a military force. Changes were accepted once the benefit had been proven in comparison with a 'traditional' weapon. The reason for technological acceptance represents a milieu of cultural and political dynamics; this was not the sole result of a demand for more effective weaponry in light of traditional forms being less effective in combat. However, the issue of the adoption of technological features from another culture goes well beyond the scope of this article. For a more protracted discussion, see F. Rey, "Weapons, Technological Determinism and Ancient Warfare", in *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare*, G. Fagan, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 21-56; L. Winner, "Technologies as Forms of Life", in *Readings in the Philosophy of Technology*, D. Kaplan, ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 103-113.

55 C. Berman, E. McEwan and R. Miller, "Experimental Archery: Projectile Velocities and Comparison of Bow Performance", *Antiquity* 62/237 (1998): 663, Table 1.

56 R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 105; I. Shaw, *Egyptian Warfare and Weapons*, 39-40. Note that Drews underestimates the range of the self-bow to 50-60 metres (see above, ft. 55).

57 See, for example, a votive(?) Greek hoplon currently in the MFA, Boston, No. 1971.285 (bronze covering a wooden base, c. 550-500 BCE) (URL: http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/shield-of-hoplon-type-262227 , accessed January 2015). See also G. Viggiano and H. Van Wees, "The Arms, Armor, and Iconography of Early Hoplite Warfare", in *Men of Bronze: Hoplite Warfare in Ancient Greece*, Donald Kagan and Gregory F. Viggiano, eds. (Princeton:

hoplon in an underhand grip allowed the shield bearer to use his weight to brace himself against melee strikes and also facilitated offensive pushes to break an enemy's lines.

By the New Kingdom, dramatic changes in military armaments and styles of battle had occurred, and this seems likely to have caused a corresponding change in shield design. As previously mentioned, the introduction of the composite bow, the chariot and scale armour would have greatly impacted battlefield tactics, resulting in a change to the *modus operandi* of how battle was conducted. The composite bow could loose arrows almost double the distance of its self-bow counterpart. The chariot provided a fast-moving platform from which archers could fire their arrows upon an enemy formation and quickly speed away, leaving the enemy's infantrymen with little recourse for retaliation.[58] In field battles where one side employed chariotry and the other did not, the outcome would overwhelmingly end in a rout. Thus, success in a field battle during the NK was largely contingent on chariot deployment and its use of missile attacks.

Another factor that coincided with the change in shield handle placement and orientation is the proliferation of fortifications during the Middle Bronze Age II (2000-1550 BCE, MBA) in the Levant and in Egyptian Nubian territory in the latter half of the MK.[59] Although fortifications had been constructed in Egypt and at Early Bronze Age Levantine centres previously, it was in the MBA that they become highly developed as an architectural entity.[60] Many of these defensive systems continued in use at major centres in the Levant with continual occupation into the LBA despite southern Canaan's decline in population.[61] To envision the massive size of these fortifications, consider the size of Levantine tells. Some were strengthened by means of a *glacis*, reaching 20-50 metres in height and having a 30° - 45°slope, impeding access to the foot of the curtain wall.[62] The walls of these fortifications could reach an estimated height of 10-15 metres and these settle-

Princeton University Press, 2013), 57, Fig. 2-1; A. Pittman, "'With Your Shield or on it': Combat Applications of the Greek Hoplite Spear and Shield", in *The Cutting Edge: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Combat*, B. Malloy, ed. (Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2007), 69, Figs. 19 and 20; J. Warry, *Warfare in the Classical World* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 35.

58 I do not wish to marginalize the debate over LBA chariot deployment. I plan to address this topic fully in a future article. In the meantime, there appears to be academic consensus on the 'archer's platform' theory. A. Veldmeijer and S. Ikram, eds., *Chasing Chariots: Proceedings of the First International Chariot Conference (Cairo 2012)* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013); R. Archer, "Chariotry to Cavalry: Developments in the First Millennium", in *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare*, G. Fagan, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 66; A. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 15; R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age*, 128; M. Littauer, and J. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 63 and Figs. 35 and 36.

59 A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* (New York: Doubleday Press, 1990), 175-181 & 191-208; W. Emery, H. Smith and A. Millard, *The Fortress of Buhen: The Archaeological Report* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1979); D. Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts: Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1967); D. Dunham and J. Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts: Semna, Kumma* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960).

60 G. Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine* (Leiden: Brill, 1985): Volume 1, 173.

61 M. Broshi and R. Gophna, "Middle Bronze Age Palestine: Its Settlements and Population", *BASOR* 261 (1986), 73-90; R. Gonen, "Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze Period", *BASOR* 253 (1984), 61-73.

62 A. Burke, '*Walled up to Heaven*', 54; P. Akkermans and G. Schwartz, *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c.16,000-300 BC)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 7; A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 202, fig. 6.9; G. Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*, 155.

ments sometimes had further outworks to bolster their defenses.[63] Thus, the barriers between the attacking force and the besieged were significant. In siege warfare, or more precisely, siege assaults, missile weaponry (archery, slingshot, javelins, stones, etc.) on both sides played a vital role in weakening the enemy's resolve.[64] It has been compellingly shown that examples of armour from the LBA are designed to protect principally against piercing missile fire rather than impact weaponry; this seems likely to be the case for shields as well.[65]

Since missile weaponry seems to have played a predominant part in both field and siege warfare in the NK/LBA, it is reasonable to conclude that these developments affected ancient Near Eastern shields and serve to explain the changes evident in the Egyptian shields. Most notably, the impact from missile-fire did not require one's entire body to be pressed up against the shield. From a functional perspective, an upper-third, horizontal grip is preferable when one has to brace his body against the shield. However, a handle located in the upper third is not as beneficial against incoming missile fire as a centrally placed handle. The benefit of holding a shield with a central, vertical handle is that the arm can be fully extended and the shield's size can cover a larger area of the bearer by 'cutting down the angle' (Fig. 24). A shield handle positioned in this way would have also allowed a chariot-borne shield bearer to extend his shield beyond the chariot car as seen in depictions of charioteers from the reign of Ramesess II and Ramesses III.[66] Notably, the NK shield's design lost its pointed top, which suggests that this practical form, used for roughly 300+ years, was adapted to fit a new form of warfare in which overhand strikes were not as common. Furthermore, assuming that shields were designed with function in mind, the widest part of the Egyptian NK shield's mid-point proportionally aligns near the wielder's shoulders in the frontal defensive position, thereby increasing defensive coverage of the upper torso.

Defensive equipment is usually designed to withstand the most common form of attack. As a result, this argument is not meant to suggest that the earlier apex design could not defend against missiles (stones, slingshot, javelins, arrows, etc.). It is true that the Egyptian apex shield could be

63 N. Wernick, *The Logistics of the New Kingdom Egyptian Army in the Levant* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, PhD Thesis, 2014), 117; A. Burke, *'Walled up to Heaven'*, 60-61.

64 This is not to leave the impression that shock weaponry was not used in siege assaults. It would have undoubtedly assisted a soldier who had scaled a ladder onto a fortification's parapet and was facing enemy combatants in close quarters. However, it is clear that most efforts to defend and attack a fortified location would have relied primarily on missile fire. For example, consider the numerous arrowheads and slingshot found in Lachish's siege deposition (Y. Gottlieb, "The Arrowheads and Selected Aspects of the Siege Battle").

65 T. Hulit and T. Richardson, "The Warriors of the Pharaoh", 60-61. That is not to say that NK shields could not have been used in melee defense but that its primary design was to defend against projectiles. Many researchers have noted that missile fire was a primary means of waging war in the LBA (C. Longman, "The Bows of the Ancient Assyrians and Egyptians", *Journal of Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 24 (1895): 50; W. McLeod, "Egyptian Composite Bows in New York", *AJA* 66/1 (1962), 13; J. Darnell and C. Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, 70; W. Hamblin, *Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BC*, 423-424). It is telling that during the Roman Imperial Period, the Roman empire depended on the recruitment of archers from allied eastern Mediterranean areas because of their familiarity with the bow (J. Davies, "Roman Arrowheads from Dinorben and the 'Sagittarii' of the Roman Army", *Brittania* 8 (1977): 260-261).

66 S. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 312 I.29.

raised over head to defend against missile fire (which usually flies in a parabolic arc).[67] I do not wish to downplay the role of archery in this earlier pharaonic period as it must be acknowledged that archery was practiced very early in Egypt's history, as early as the beginning of Predynastic (c. 5500 BCE).[68] However, it is clear that the upper-third, horizontal grip was a functional design and the handle position was devised to protect against overhand melee strikes. The layout was so successful that it was not confined to one region or segment of the Egyptian military.[69]

In the NK, the shield's shape became more rounded, and this change too became the standard of the Egyptian military. If the apex shield was such a widely used and efficient design, how do we explain the NK shield's change in shape? Clearly if the apex shield was just as effective to protect against missiles, we would expect to find a continuation of the same design. Similarly, although one can argue that the horizontally-handled shield can be held at an arm's length to 'cut down the angle', it should be acknowledged that by employing the centrally located and vertically oriented shield handle, the Egyptians and their contemporaries were giving up a benefit for pushing maneuvers in a clash of infantry.[70] Such a deficit most likely had a functional element based on changes in tactics on the battlefield. It must be remembered that the Classical Greek's hoplon handles are not positioned by accident but developed after careful deliberation on the type of warfare that was conducted – namely, melee attacks.[71]

Certainly, it is true that the curvature of the Tutankhamun shields does make possible the argument that shield handles would have been placed vertically simply because a curved crossbar would have increased shield production time. However, I find the argument that NK shield makers were seeking efficiency in production unconvincing. It is well known that Egyptian military equipment often took a considerable amount of time to produce. For instance, the construction estimates for a

67 G. Viggiano and H. Van Wees, "The Arms, Armor, and Iconography of Early Hoplite Warfare", 59.

68 G. Gilbert, *Weapons, Warriors and Warfare in Early Egypt*, 44ff.

69 At least, based on the surviving evidence.

70 *Contra* J. Darnell and C. Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, 83.

71 It is worth noting that Homeric and Classical Greeks (as well as the Romans) viewed attacks with missiles and 'hiding' in a fortified location as 'cowardly' behaviour and the resort of the feeble (J. Leviathan, *Roman Siege Warfare* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2013), 15-17). This could be a cultural perception similar to the Thebans' assessment of Hyksos tactics in the 17th Dynasty. In the Second Kamose Stele, Kamose criticizes the Hyksos for eschewing field battle and holding up behind fortifications: "I espied his women upon his roof, peering out of their windows towards the harbor. Their bellies stirred not as they saw me, peeping from their loop-holes upon their walls like the young of *jnH*-animals in their holes…Does your heart fail, O you vile Asiatic? Look! I drink of the wine of your vineyards which the Asiatics whom I captured pressed out for me. I have smashed up your resthouse, I have cut down your trees, I have forced your women into ships' holds, I have seized [your] horses…" (D. Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period", in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, E. Oren, ed. (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 1-44).

Also note that the hoplon shield's handles made this equipment more cumbersome than its single grip counterpart and that it represents a deliberate design that would sacrifice increased mobility for the sake of improved impregnability from shock weapons (G. Viggiano and H. Van Wees, "The Arms, Armor, and Iconography of Early Hoplite Warfare", 59; J. Warry, *Warfare in the Classical World*, 35 & 37).

composite bow range from 1-10 years if the bowyer had access to all the requisite materials.[72] Chariots required the most advanced forms of technological production and their production must have involved a plethora of craftsmen from a variety of fields working long hours.[73] Admittedly, these examples represent the most significant time investment for armaments. Perhaps shield production was not as time consuming if shields were items for the rank-and-file Egyptian infantryman. However, a cross-cultural comparison of shields and handle placement is indicative of a preference for versatility and coverage across the ancient Near East. There is clear artistic evidence from Mari showing a vertical handle on a mantelet (Fig. 25A).[74] Additionally, the Iron Age's (1200-586 BCE) Neo-Assyrians show a penchant toward vertical handles on their infantry shields and mantelets (Figs. 25B-25D).[75] The return by Classical Greeks to a horizontal handle position does not indicate a regression but a change in battlefield expectations. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence demonstrates that the Celts, Romans and Vikings opted to use a centrally placed handle to increase the shield's versatility and coverage in order to best meet the form of battle offered by their opposing forces.[76] On the whole, although counter-arguments may be raised, the best explanation of the evidence indeed seems to be that the NK shield design and handle changed due to a functional adaptation to more effectively protect forces against increased missile-fire.

Conclusion

Changing conditions on the battlefield in the New Kingdom created a need for more efficient weapons and defensive equipment. In Egypt, the design of the earlier apex shield with its upper-third, horizontal handle strongly suggests that it was designed to facilitate a defensive capability from overhand melee attacks. With the introduction of new military technologies and more massive fortifications, the shield was adapted in the NK to provide more coverage for the bearer's upper torso from increased missile attacks. This modification based on use does not appear to have been confined to Egyptians but was also made by many of their contemporaries. The need to de-

72 C. Bergman, E. McEwen and R. Miller, "Experimental Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Archery", *World Archaeology* 18/2 (1986): 187; W. McLeod, "An Unpublished Egyptian Composite Bow in the Brooklyn Museum", *AJA* 62/4 (1958): 397-401.

73 I. Shaw, "Egyptians, Hyksos and Military Technology: Causes, Effects or Catalysts?", in *The Social Context of Technological Change: Egypt and the Near East, 1650-1550 BC*, A. Shortland, ed. (Oxford: Oxbow, 2001), 63.

74 Y. Yadin, "The Earliest Representation of a Siege Scene and the 'Scythian Bow' from Mari", Fig. 1, 4 and 5.

75 BM No. ANE 118904, WA 124554 and WA 124785. A good summary of extant Assyrian shields can be found in A. Barron, *Late Assyrian Arms and Armour: Art versus Artifact* (Toronto: University of Toronto, PhD Thesis, 2010), 111-146.

76 M. Bishop and J. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, 18, Fig. 8; 62, Fig. 30; 181, Fig. 117, Pl. 4b-c; H. Clarke, "The Vikings", in *Medieval Warfare: A History*, M. Keen, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 43-44; J. Warry, *Warfare in the Classical World*, 135, 165.

fend oneself from the most commonly used form of weaponry on the battlefield (or within a siege assault) appears to have been *the* factor in shield development.[77]

77 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: An extension of great gratitude must be expressed to Dr. André Veldmeijer for not only bringing my attention to shield handles MM 19742 and MM 19850 in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, but also photographing and measuring the artifacts and securing permission with Dr. Sofia Häggman to publish the images of this object in this article. In addition, the author must also thank Dr. Richard Parkinson for his help in accessing the shield handles in the British Museum, the Romer Pelizaeus Museum for image permissions and Dr. Daniel Boatright for allowing me to access his PhD thesis. Lastly, I would like to thank the two anonymous JSSEA reviewers for their helpful suggestions in revising this article and my proof-readers (Samantha Cook, Doreen and Joan Wernick). The author dedicates this paper to the memory of Aaron C. Ramler, a good friend who was met through archaeological pursuits and will be greatly missed.

Figure 1
Model spearmen from the Tomb of Mesehti, Cairo Museum JE 30986 = CG 258
(Copyright: Egyptian Museum, Cairo / Werner Forman Archive).

Figure 2
First Intermediate Period siege scene depicting horizontal shield handles, tomb of Intef (TT 386)
(redrawn from Hamblin, *Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BC*, Fig. 11).

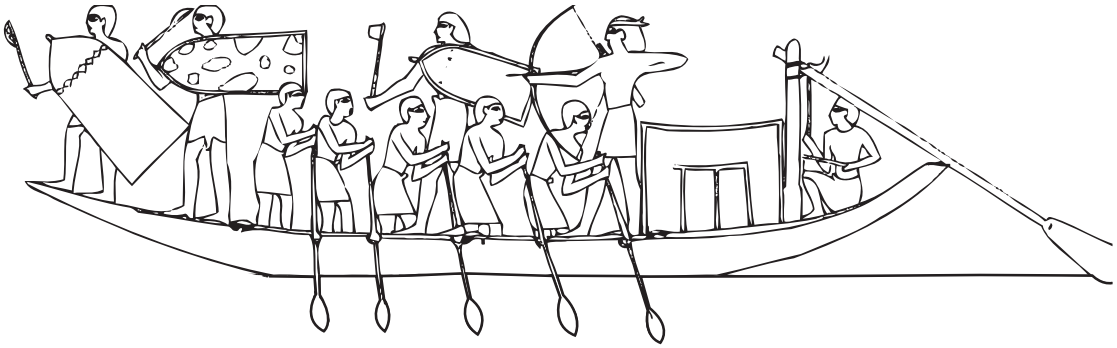


Figure 3
First Intermediate Period shields, tomb of Intef (TT 386) (redrawn from Hamblin, *Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BCE*, Fig. 12).

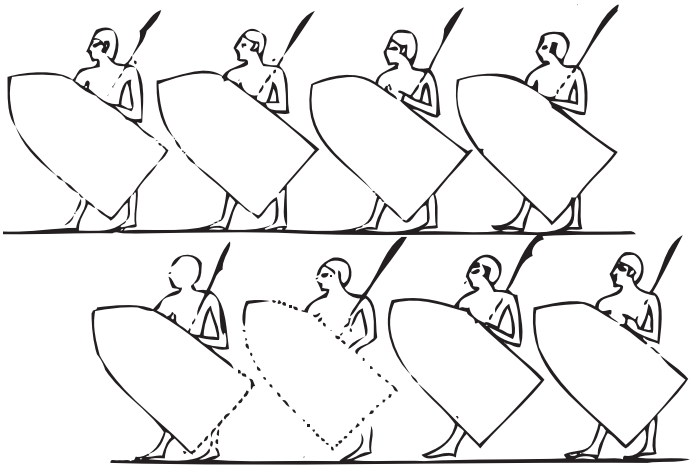


Figure 4
Apex design mantelets from the tomb of Akhtoy (redrawn from Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 15).

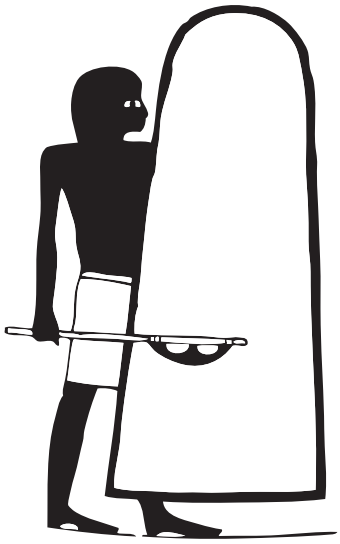


Figure 5
Rounded mantelet depiction from Deir el-Bersha, British Museum EA 1147 (redrawn from Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, 155).

Figure 6
Infantrymen attacking and suduing Libyans, siege of Satuna relief, reign of Ramesses II, Luxor Temple. Note that the shield's horiztonal strap is not shown (redrawn from Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 66).

Figure 7
Infantryman attacking a Libyan, reign of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu (redrawn from The Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* 2, Pl. 68).

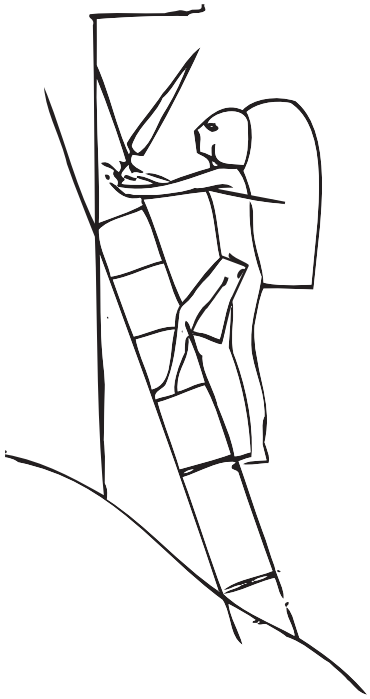


Figure 8
Infantryman scaling a ladder with use of the horizontal shield strap, siege of Ashkelon scene, reign of Merenptah, Karnak Temple (redrawn from Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 58).

Figure 9
New Kingdom shield with central, vertical handle. Battle of Kadesh scene, reign of Ramesses II, Abu Simbel (adapted from Noblecourt et al., *Grand Temple D'Abou Simbel*, foldout).

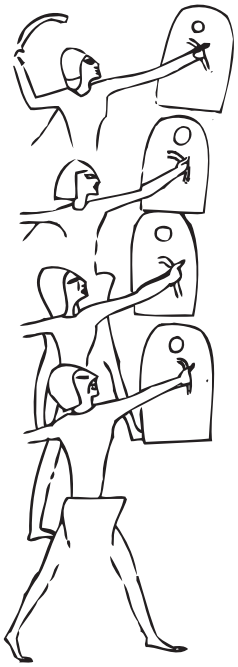


Figure 10
New Kingdom shield with central, vertical handle. Siege of Ashkelon scene, reign of Merenptah, Karnak Temple (adapted from Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 58).

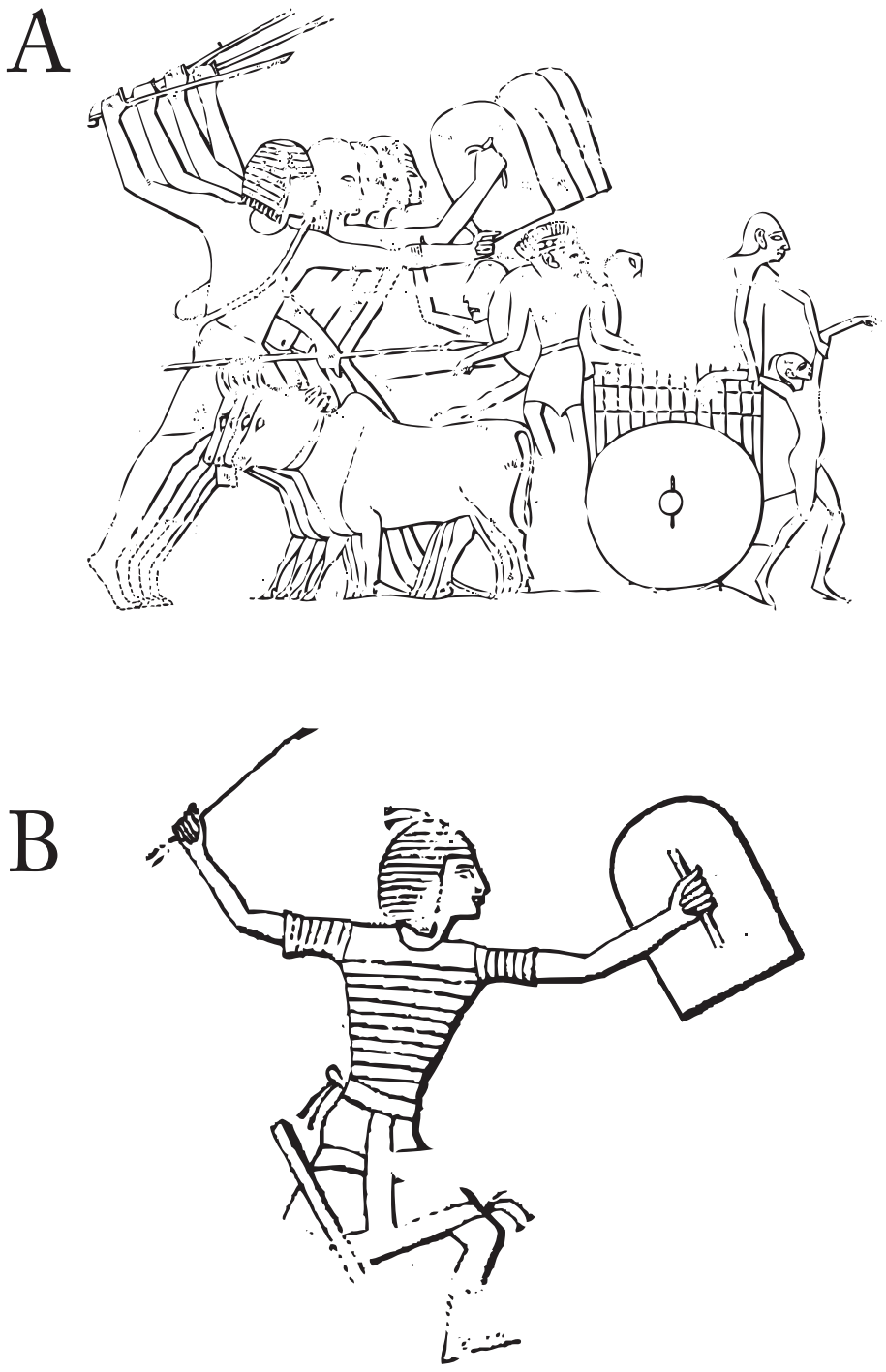


Figure 11
Egyptian soldiers using the central, vertical handled shield in conflicts with the Sea Peoples, reign of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu. A) Land Battle, B) Sea Battle (adapted from The Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* 1, Pls. 34 and 39).

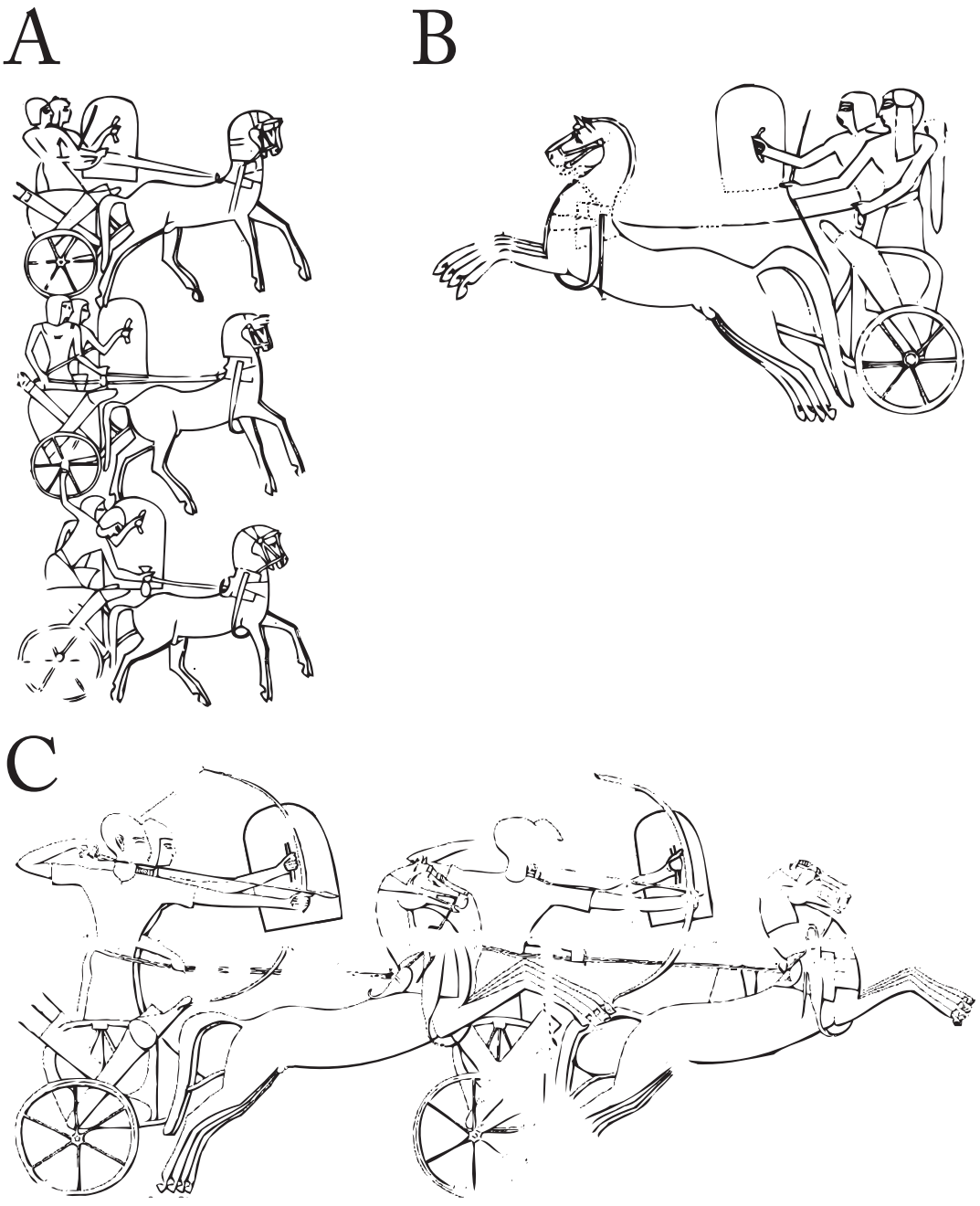


Figure 12
Egyptian charioteers with central, vertical handled shields. A) Battle of Kadesh, reign of Ramesses II, Abu Simbel (redrawn from Noblecourt et al., *Grand Temple D'Abou Simbel*, foldout), B) siege of Satuna scene, reign of Ramesses II, Luxor Temple (redrawn from Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 66), C) Libyan battle, reign of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu (redrawn from The Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* 2, Pl. 72).

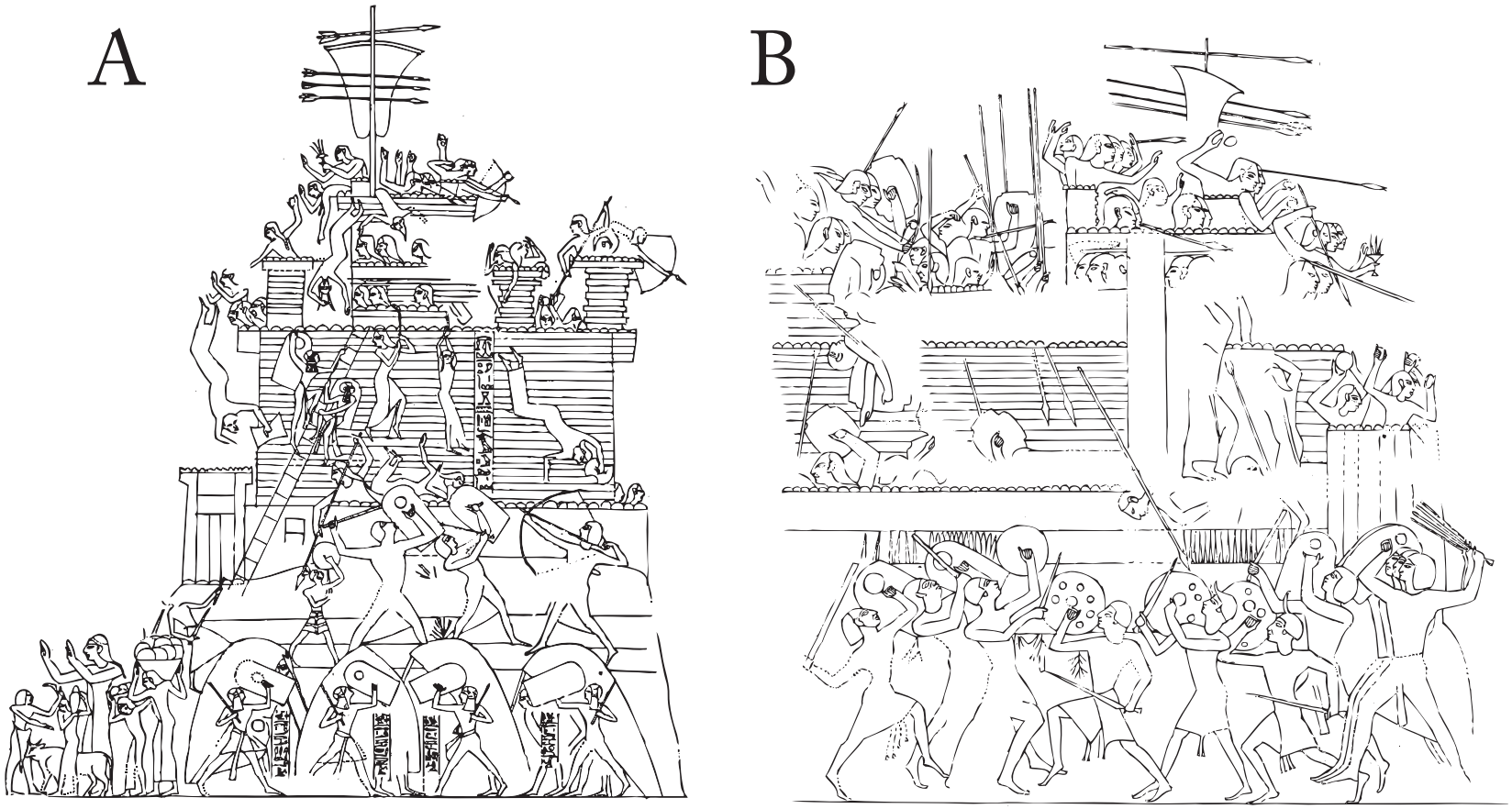


Figure 13
Siege of Dapur, reign of Ramesses II. A) Ramesseum B) Luxor Temple (redrawn from Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pls. 107 and 78).

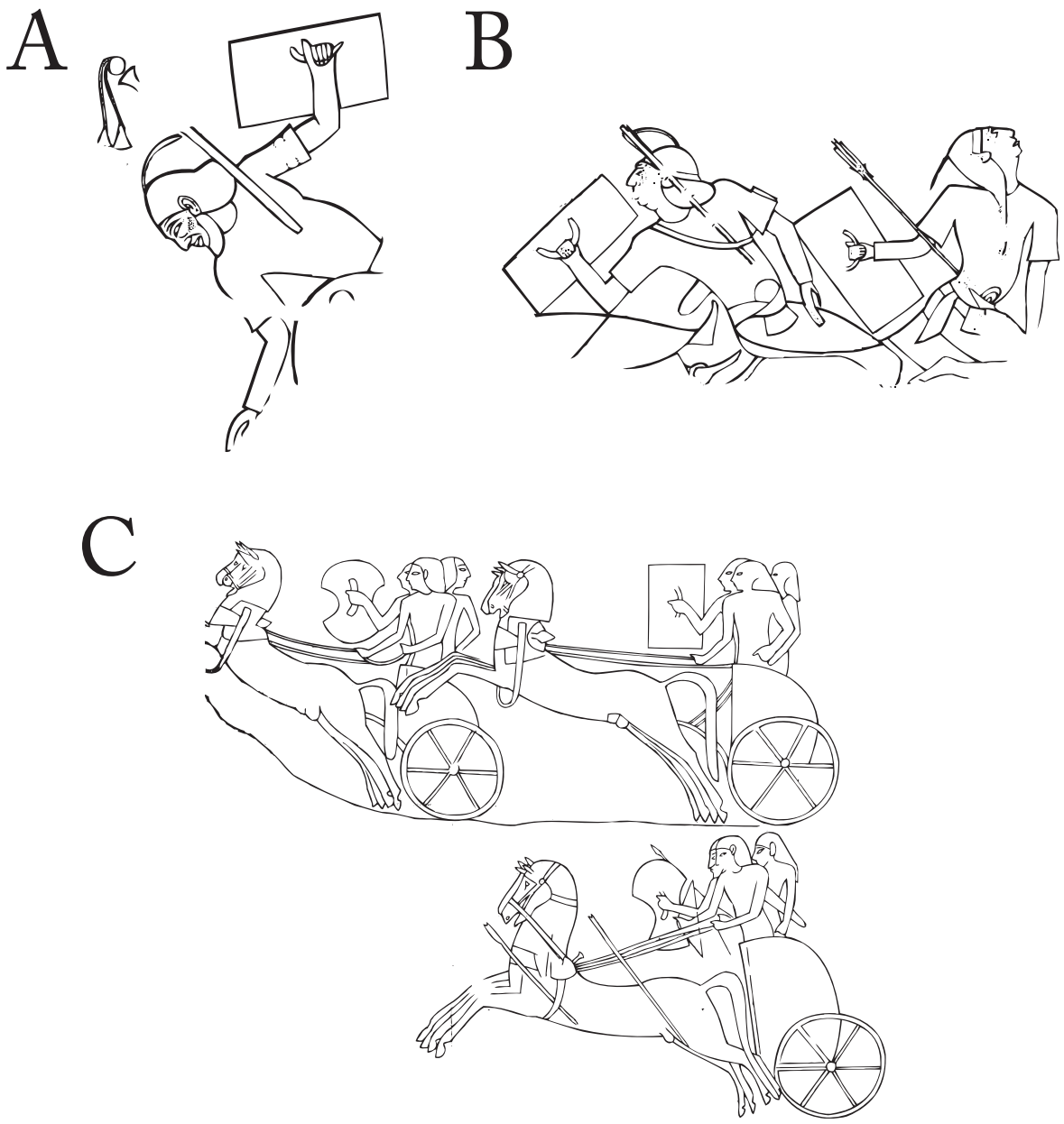
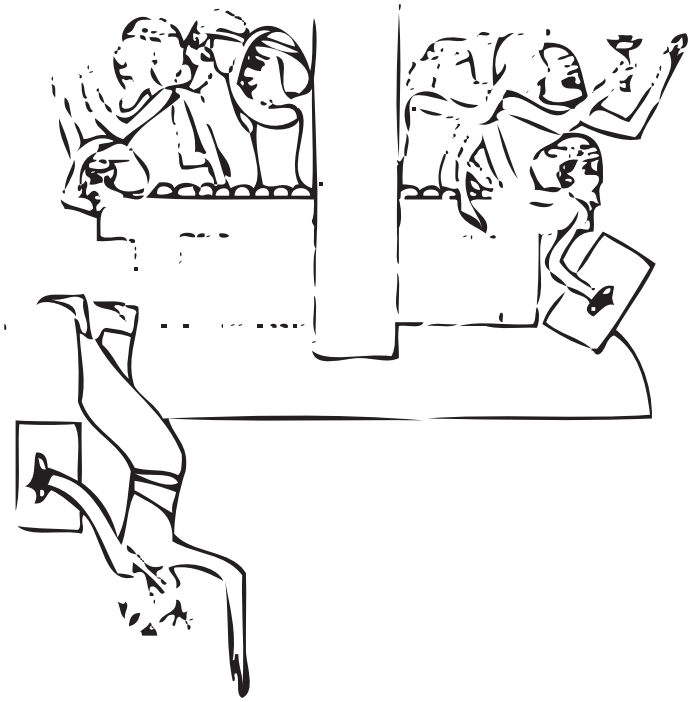


Figure 14
Depictions of Hittites using the central, vertical handled shield. A) Kadesh register, Sety I battle scenes, Karnak (redrawn from The Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, Pl. 23), B) Hittite register, Sety I battle scenes, Karnak (redrawn from The Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, Pl. 34) and C) Battle of Kadesh, reign of Ramesses II, Abu Simbel (redrawn from Noblecourt et al., *The Grand Temple D'Abou Simbel*, foldout).

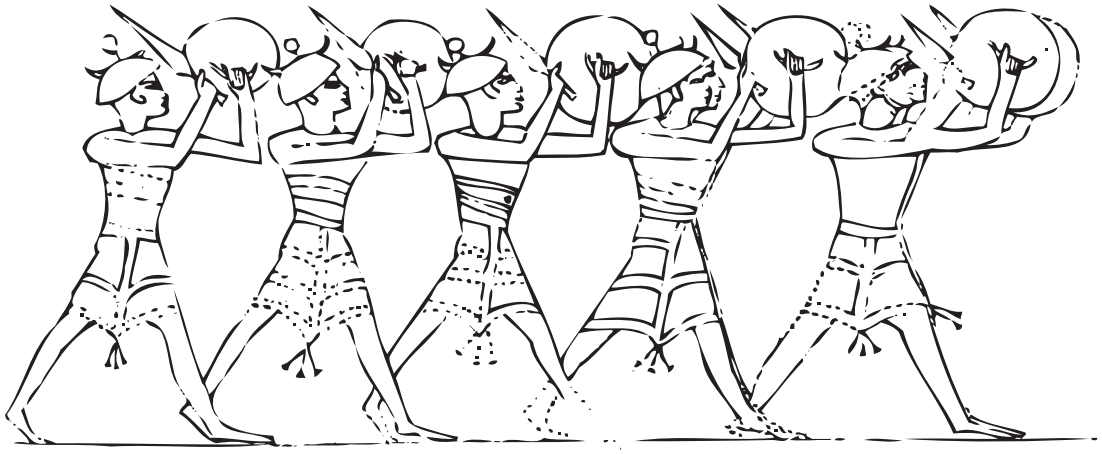
A



B

Figure 15
Canaanites using the central, vertical handled shield, reign of Ramesses II (redrawn from Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pls. 54a and 25b).

A



B

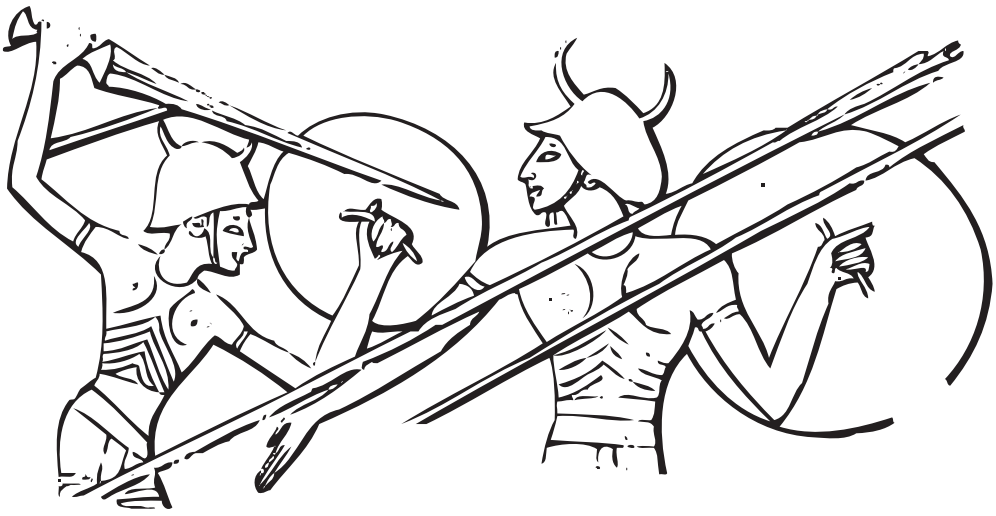


Figure 16
Aegean mercenaries and combatants - both using round shields with central handles, reign of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu (redrawn from: top - Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 146 and bottom - The Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* 1, Pl. 39).

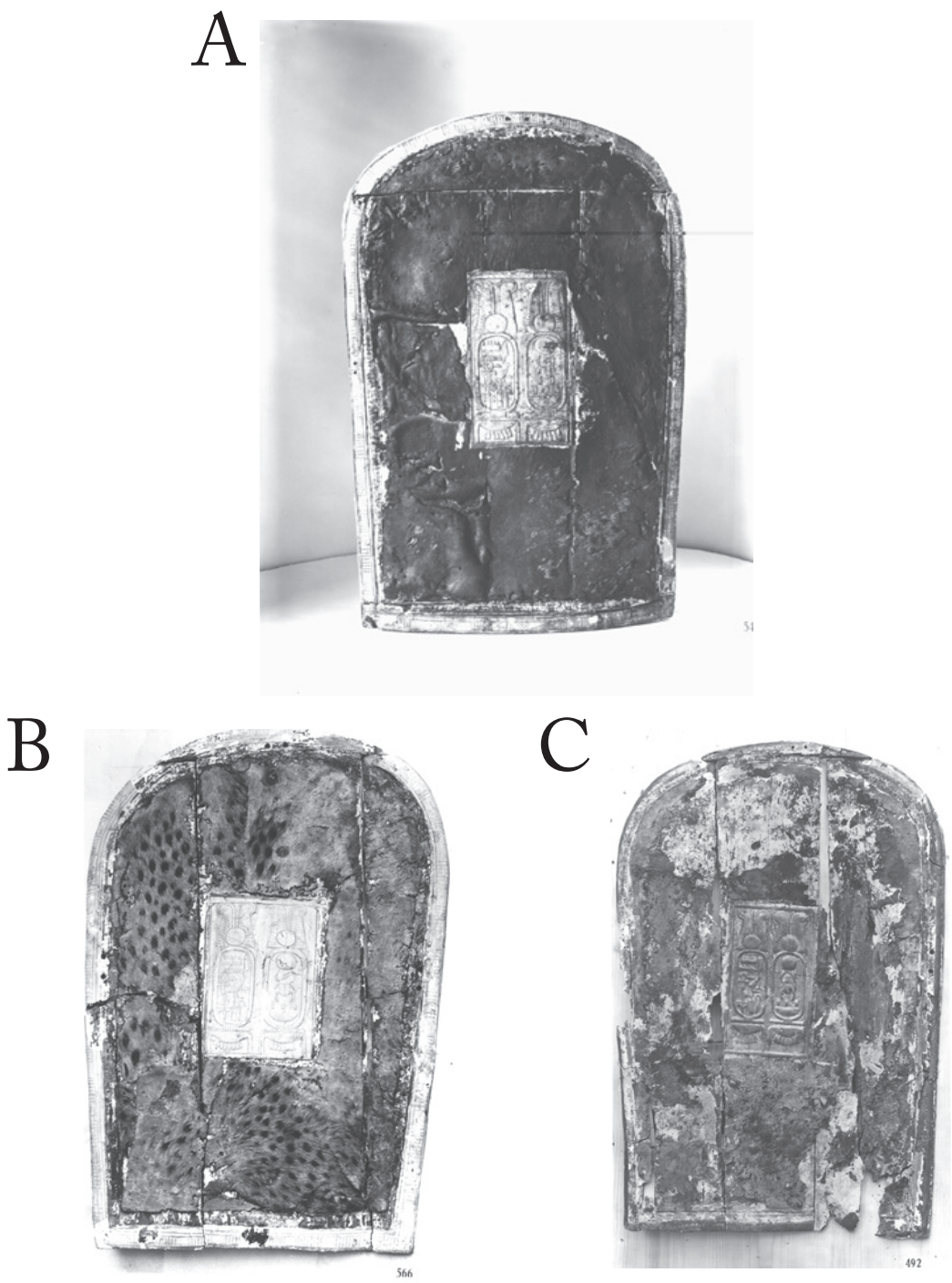


Figure 17
Animal-hide covered shields of Tutankhamun (Copyright: Griffith Institute, University of Oxford).
A) Shield 545
B) Shield 566
C) Shield 492

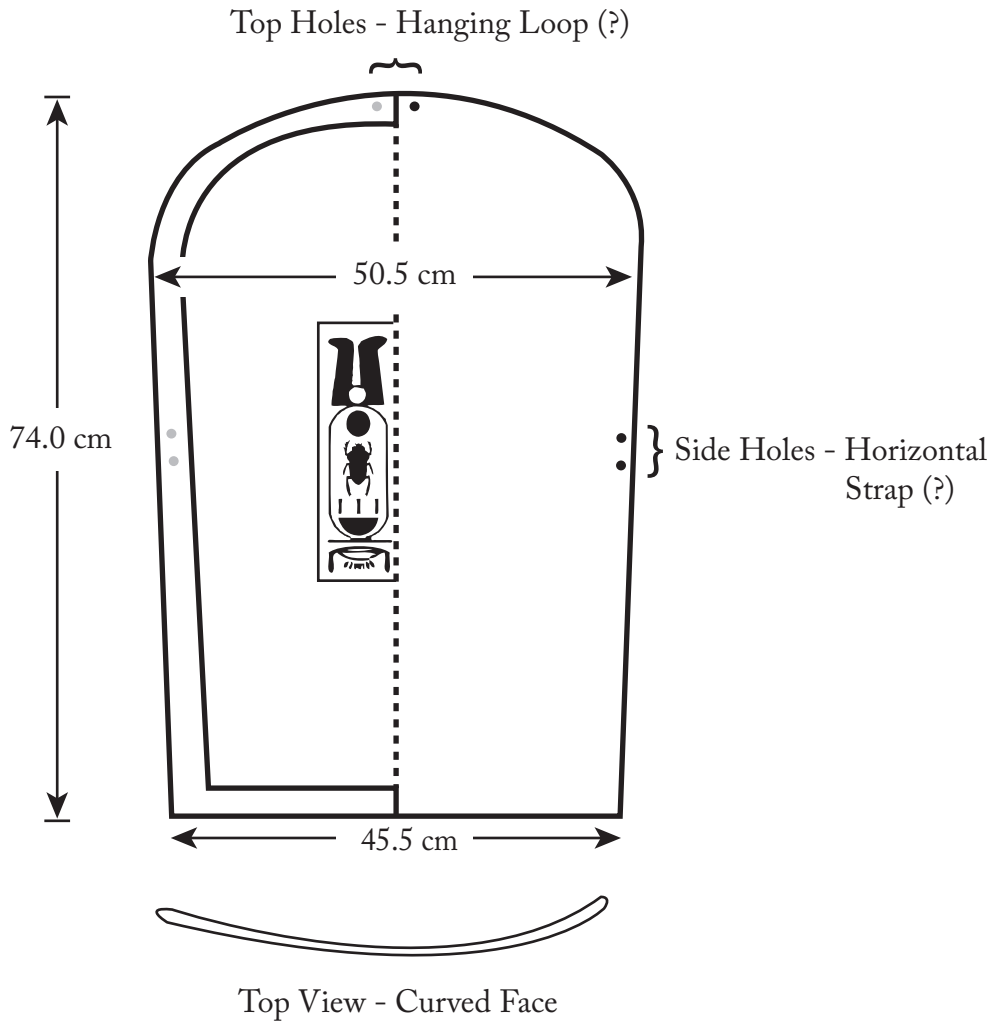


Figure 18
Tutankhamun Shield no. 545, Egyptian Museum JE 61582 (redrawn from Carter Handlist no. 545).

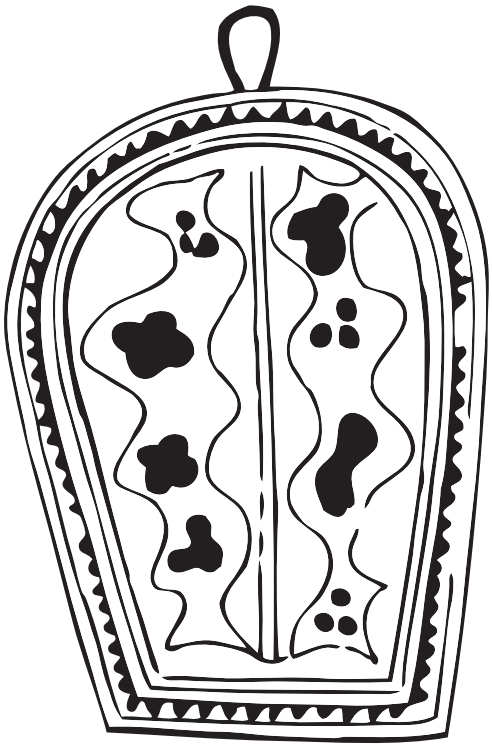


Figure 19
New Kingdom shield representation with hanging loop from the tomb of Kenamun, TT 162 (redrawn from R. Morkot, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian Warfare* (Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2003).

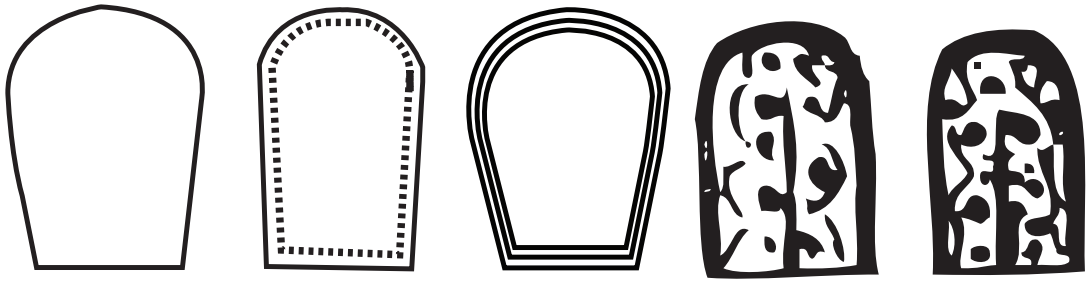


Figure 20
New Kingdom shield representations demonstrating artistic variance
(adapted from Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas Zum Sport Im Alten Agypten* 2, nos. I14, I17, I31 and I42).

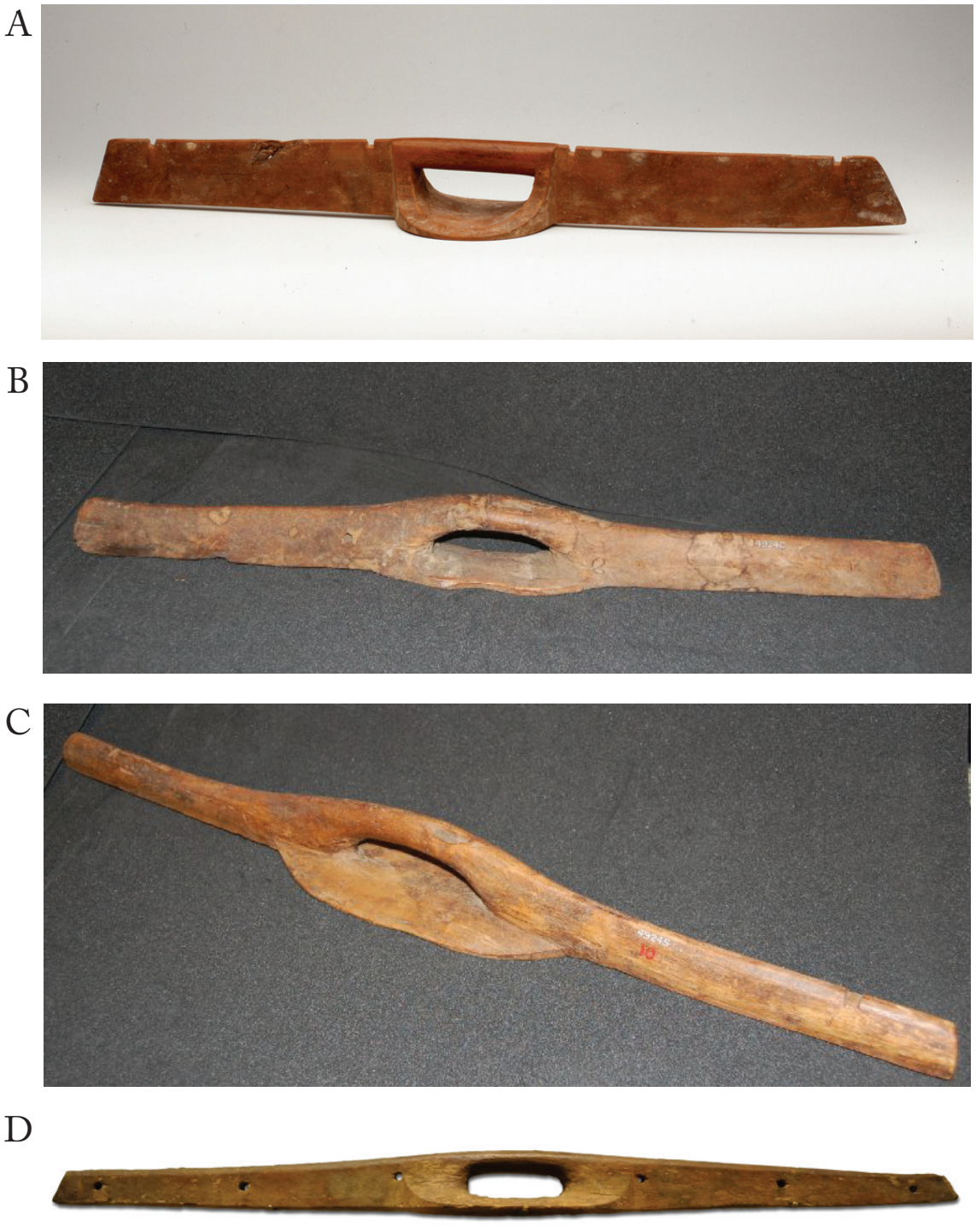


Figure 21
Shield handle artifacts.
A) 65.8 cm long, Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum no. # 6096 (Copyright: Roemer-und-Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim, Photographer: Sh. Shalchi).
B) 69.5 cm long, British Museum no. # EA 49246 (Copyright: Trustees of the British Museum).
C) 78.8 cm long, British Museum no. # EA 49245 (Copyright: Trustees of the British Museum).
D) Suspected mantelet handle. 154 cm long, MMA no.# 12.182.52 (Courtesy of S. Cook).

Figure 22
Shield handle 66 cm long, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm no. MM 19742. A – Top view, B – Profile view, C – Bottom view. Note the lacing cords extending from the distal lacing-groove to the medial lacing-groove (B) and traces of leather on the mounting roundel (C) (Courtesy of Dr. André Veldmeijer with permission from Dr. Sofia Häggman).

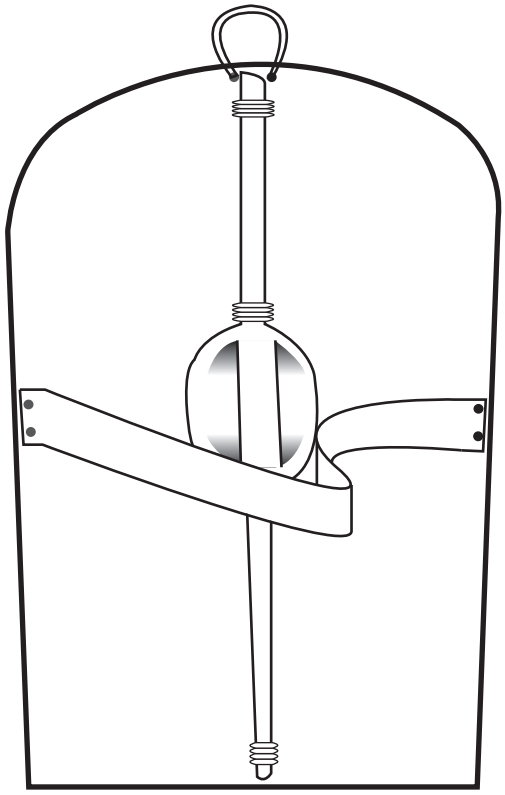
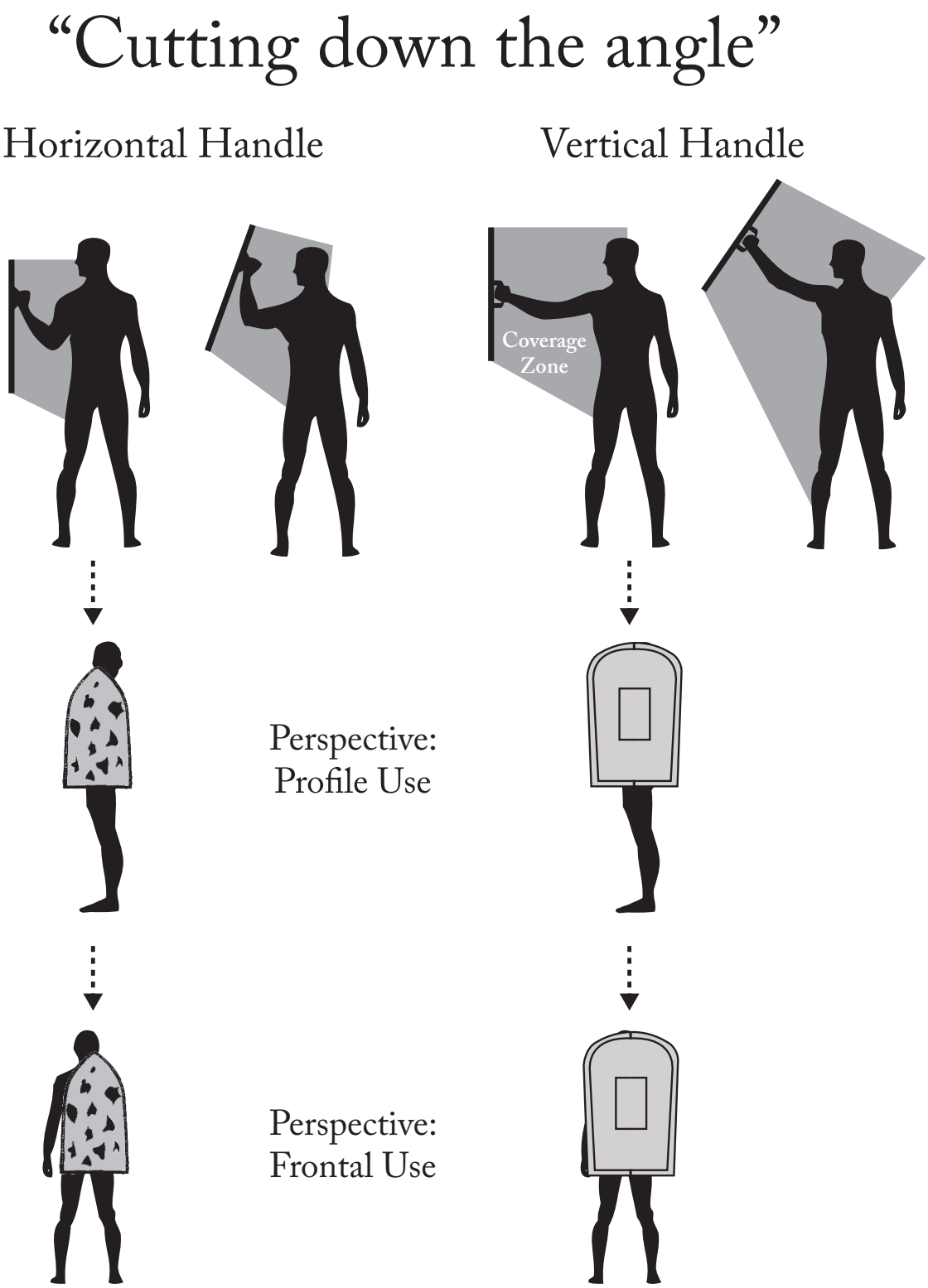


Figure 23
Hypothetical reconstructed shield backing with vertical handle, loop and strap.

Figure 24


"Cutting down the angle"
Horizontal Handle
Vertical Handle
Coverage Zone
Perspective: Profile Use
Perspective: Frontal Use

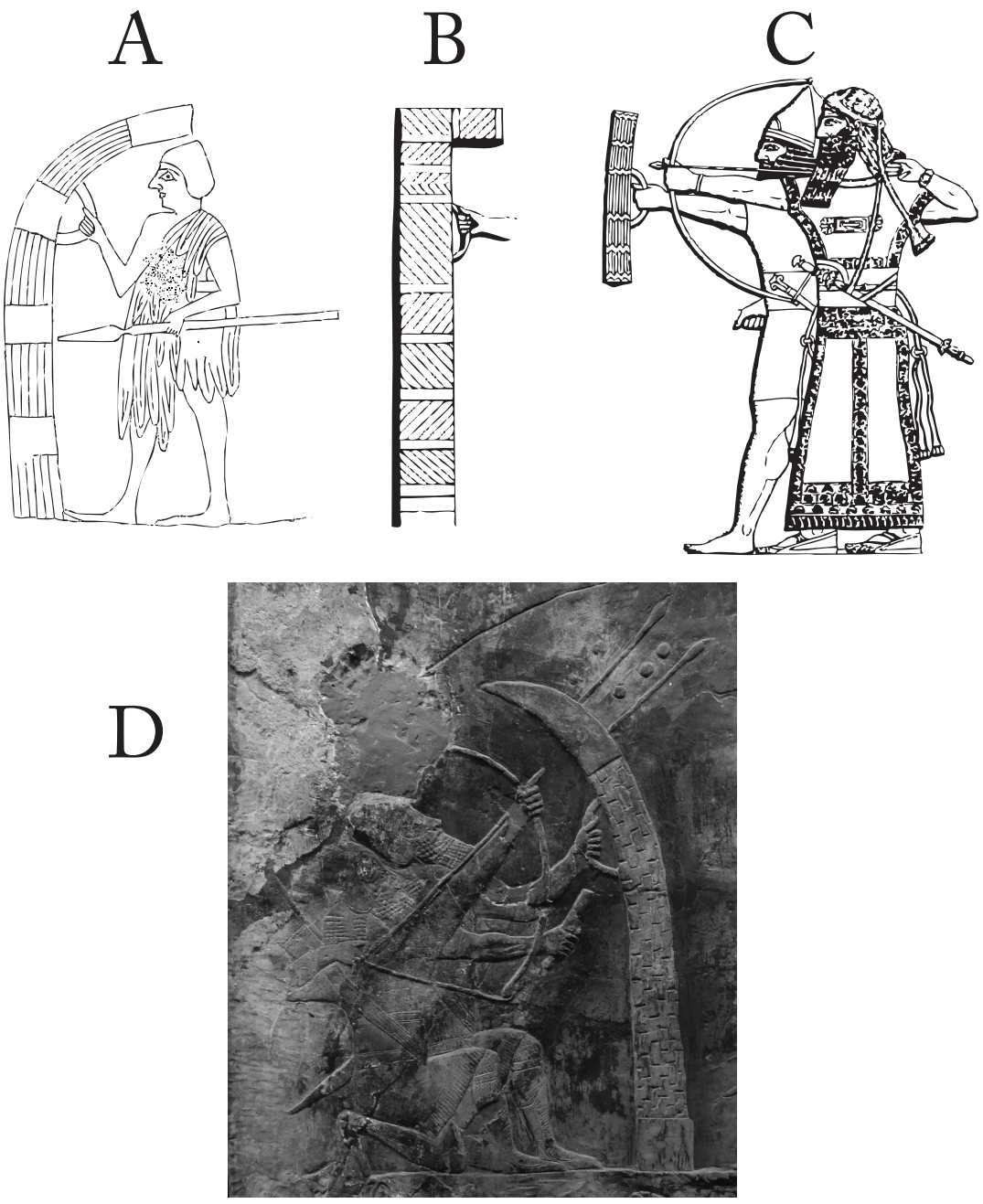


Figure 25
Near Eastern vertical handle usage on shields and mantelets.
A) Siege scene, Mari (adapted from Y. Yadin, "The Earliest Representation of a Siege Scene from Mari and the 'Scythian Bow from Mari", *IEJ 22* (1972), Fig. 1).
B) Assyrian mantelet, reign of Tiglathpileser III (redrawn from Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, 295).
C) Assyrian infantry group, reign of Ashurnasirpal II (adapted from Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, 389 no. 5).
D) Assyrian mantelet, British Museum no. WA 124785 (author's photo).

Book Reviews

Naguib Kanawati, with contributions by E. Alexakis, A. L. Mourad, S. Shafik, N. Victor and A. Woods. *The Cemetery of Meir. Volume 1. The Tomb of Pepyankh the Middle.* **The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 31. Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2012. ISBN: 978-0-85668-845-4. 68 pages + 97 plates. £75.00.**

The tomb of Pepyankh Herib, the Middle, the subject of the monograph reviewed here, is one of eleven inscribed rock cut tombs dating from the Old Kingdom inscribed for the overseers of prophets, high-ranking officials within the boundaries of the 14th Upper Egyptian nome.[1] Since the dating of this tomb and those associated with it constitutes a crux in Old Kingdom studies, it is necessary to review broadly relevant material and issues before passing on to the review proper. This area, called the Nome of the Upper Nefdjet Tree, was located in the southern part of Middle Egypt, just north of Asyût.[2] The capital was *Qis* (Greek/Latin *Kous, Cusae*), the site of modern Al-Qusiya, and the chief deity was Hathor, whose worship can be documented here from the mid-Old Kingdom through late antiquity.[3] Although there are two Old Kingdom tombs and some interments of the New Kingdom located on the east bank at Qusier el Amarna,[4] most of the ancient burials, which date from the Old through Middle Kingdoms and Graeco-Roman period, are to be found on the western side of the valley, near the village of Meir.

The Meir cemetery is a complex site that stretches in an approximate north-south direction along an escarpment and low desert plain, much of which has been recently reclaimed for agricultural use. Its total length is around 4 km, stretching from Meir to the monastery of Deir Al Maharraq.[5] As with other cemeteries in Middle Egypt, the topography was utilized in a way that reflected ancient social hierarchies. Non-elite interments were found on the lower plain, consisting of pit tombs or simple burials sunk into hardened sand or rubble. On the plateau above the escarpment were the

1 A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir Part I: The Tomb Chapel of Ukh-ḥotep's Son Senbi* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914), 5-9.

I would like to thank Hassan el-Bakhry, Inspector of Antiquities at Minia, for making it possible for me to visit Meir in December 2012. I also owe a particular debt of gratitude to Frank Simons of the University of Birmingham for drawing my attention to his recently completed M.A. Thesis on the tomb of Pepyankh Heny Kem and our thought-provoking email discussions of the problems of dating the Old Kingdom tombs of the Cusite Nome.

2 P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne, Deuxième partie* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1961), 141-145.

3 Montet, *Géographie*, 141-3; Blackman *Meir I*, 1-2, R. A. Gillam, "Topographical, Prosopographical, and Historical Studies in the Fourteenth Upper Egyptian Nome," Unpub. Ph.D. Diss., University of Toronto, 1991, 68-112.

4 Blackman, *Meir* I, 8; Kessler, "Meir," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrosswitz, 1977), 14; A. El-Khouli and N. Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh* (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1989).

5 Kessler, *LÄ*, loc. cit., and [fig.]; recent imaging of the low desert south west of Meir available in Digital Globe and Google Earth, compared with earlier Landsat imaging from 1972 and 1987 show no trace of the burials that once covered this area (R. Gillam and T. Remmel, "Cusae, Bulwark of Upper Egypt," Annual Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Boston MA, 2008). The constant expansion of agricultural land into the desert is a major challenge for the conservation of archaeological sites; see J. Trampier, "Reconstructing the Desert and the Sown Landscape of Abydos," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 42 (2005-6), 73–80.

pit tombs of lesser ranking officials and affluent private persons, and, in the Goldilocks zone on the face of the escarpment, with the best quality rock, are to be found the carved and painted tomb chapels and graves of high officials of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.[6]

These tomb chapels, which are the principal monuments of the cemetery, seem to have provided the focus for lesser graves around them, as did the royal tombs in the Memphite cemeteries.[7] A. M. Blackman, who worked in this cemetery between 1914 and 1953, identified five tomb clusters as A through E moving from north to south. The adjacent B and C groups, the most extensive area of the cemetery, date from the Middle Kingdom. The A groups includes tombs from the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom, while D is exclusively Old Kingdom and E is Old Kingdom and Late Period.[8]

The tomb of Pepyankh Herib (D2) is the principal monument of the D group, which contains only one other tomb chapel of a lesser 6th Dynasty official named Pepy (D1). It is located in a depression in the middle of the high escarpment that provides the setting for the D group. It consists of four rooms: a freestanding pillared entrance hall to which was annexed a small rock cut chamber perhaps intended for storage, the main rock-cut cult room, with a false door and tethering stone for the sacrificial animal, and an irregularly-shaped chamber which opened to the west of the main room.[9] Since a pair statue of the deceased and his wife was found in this room when the tomb was first explored, it was likely the serdab.[10] Two shafts giving off the main room terminated in burial chambers for each of the couple, which were adorned with well preserved painted decoration.[11] Although the tomb of Pepyankh Herib is not the largest at Meir, being outstripped by tomb A2 and the annexed A1,[12] it is by far the most elaborately decorated and inscribed, and the only one to have a funerary autobiography.[13] Such texts begin to appear with some frequency in the 5th Dynasty in the tombs of high ranking officials.[14] While Pepyankh Herib held the very high ranking titles *iry pᶜt*

6 Blackman, *Meir* I, 4-5; H. Carter Meir MSS, Griffith Institute, Oxford [1918], II.7; Kessler, *LÄ*, loc.cit.

7 Blackman, *Meir* I, 6-9; A.M. Roth, "Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs and Cemeteries," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 30 (1993), 49-50; J. Richards, "Spatial and verbal rhetorics of power: constructing late Old Kingdom history," *Journal of Egyptian History* 3 (2) (2010), 339-366.

8 Blackman, *Meir* I, 4-9. In addition, Carter identified two non-elite Middle Kingdom cemeteries that he labeled M.N and M.O, Carter MSS, loc.cit.

9 Blackman, *Meir* I, 6-7; *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part IV: The Tomb Chapel of Pepyᶜonkh the Middle Son of Sebkḥotpe and Pekhernefert (D, No.2)* (London: EES:1924), 20-21, 27, 46; Kanawati, *The Tomb of Pepyankh the Middle*, 27-30.

10 A. B. Kamal, "Le tombeau nouveau de Méîr," *ASAE* 15 (1915), 209-211, 258; Blackman *Meir* IV, 20; Kanawati, *Pepyankh the Middle*, 30, 66.

11 Blackman, *Meir* IV, 46-52; Kanawati, *Pepyankh the Middle*., 61-65.

12 N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977), 54, 90-91; F. J. M. Simons, "The Tomb of Pepyankh Henykem," M. A. Thesis, University of Birmingham, Birmingham 2013, 5. http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/4661/. Accessed 23 August, 2014.

13 N. C. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, ed. R. J. Leprohon (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 368.

14 Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 45-46.

and *ḥ3ty-ᶜ* as well as the office of vizier, in common with other officials buried in the Cusite nome,[15] none of them rated such a personal encomium.

Pepyankh's autobiographical inscription, prominently displayed on either side of the main entrance to the cult room from the pillared hall, contains two extremely problematic statements: that he lived to be a hundred years old and that he set up a tomb in the west of the necropolis where one had never been before.[16] These assertions raise questions about the spatial and temporal relationship of his tomb with other parts of the necropolis. They serve to introduce a more general preliminary discussion of the difficulties in understanding the relationships, sequence and dating of the Old Kingdom tombs in the Cusite nome, before passing on to a more detailed discussion of the present publication.

The tomb of Pepyankh Herib lies almost 3 km south of the A group.[17] Access from the north along the escarpment is by way of a narrow, precarious path that is often engulfed by slippery, unexpected deposits of loose sand that are characteristic of the western edge of the valley at this point, marked by large dune fields extending in from the Sahara.[18] Movement between different parts of the cemetery was doubtless no easier in antiquity and probably accomplished through the low desert, if at all.[19] Secondly, the tomb of Pepyankh is carved in rock that is peppered with small inclusions and even large boulders. In this seismically active area, a fault runs right through the tomb, including the cult room, serdab and two burial chambers. This fissure was responsible for the irregular shape of the upper rooms as well as the necessity of filling in parts of the wall between the main chamber and the serdab with limestone blocks.[20] The stone in the area of the A group tombs is of much better quality and has no fissures.[21] The other group of Old Kingdom tomb chapels is over 10 km distant, at Quseir el-Amarna, on the east bank of the river, below the cliffs of Gebel Abou Fodah, which dominates the east bank at this point. There are only two tombs in this group. A large, unfinished one belongs to the *iry pᶜt ḥ3ty-ᶜ* and overseer of prophets, Pepyankh Wer. A smaller chapel belongs to Khuenukh, who although also an overseer of prophets, is a lower

15 R. A. Gillam, "Geographical, Prosopographical and Historical Studies in the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome," Unpub. Ph.D. Diss., University of Toronto, 1991, 144-149.

16 Right Side, lines 1 & 8-9. See Strudwick, *Texts*, 369, 370 (= Urk. I, 221/18, 222/15-223/2), Blackman, *Meir* IV, 24-25, Pls. 4, 4a; Kanawati, *Pepyankh the Middle*, 33-34, pl. 76. For a discussion of these passages, see Gillam, "Studies," 522, 536-543.

17 Kessler, *LÄ* II, loc. cit., 14.

18 Gillam, "Studies," 24-5, 29-31, 43-44 and personal observation, December 13, 2012.

19 This was probably the location of a much longer route ("a good half hour's walk from the group...B") mentioned by Blackman (*Meir* IV, 20). The reviewer's walk along the escarpment from B to D took between 10 and 15 minutes.

20 Kanawati, *Pepyankh the Middle*, 28-30 and personal observation. Kanawati notes that the rock on the north and east walls of the main chamber is of better quality. The rock is similar to that in the tomb of Khuenukh at Quseir el Amarna, Gillam, "Studies," 25, 444.

21 N. Kanawati, "Chronology of the Old Kingdom Nobles of El-Qusiya revisited," in *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski* (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2010), 215-216.

ranking figure. Although these tombs lay on the opposite site of the river to Qis, they were almost 6 km closer, as the western bank of the river is at its widest in Middle Egypt.[22]

Although the tomb of Pepyankh Herib contains a biographical text and numerous inscriptions mentioning relatives and associates, there is little in the way of decisive chronological indicators. In addition to the ubiquitous sobriquet Pepiankh, there are a number of basilophoric names recorded in his tomb. Pepiankh himself also goes by the names Neferka and Meryreankh.[23] Another individual mentioned in his tomb is named Tetiankh.[24] It could be argued that these royal names, which include all the major rulers of the 6th Dynasty, give further support to Pepyankh Herib's assertion that he lived a very long time. However, although these names are often used to date Old Kingdom materials, it may be observed that, at best, they indicate only a *terminus post quem*. Furthermore, both Teti and Pepi I were kings of long revered memory. Teti's funerary cult was carried on right through the First Intermediate Period and Meryre Pepi I's pyramid gave to the city of Memphis its later, celebrated name.[25]

Stylistic criteria have also been applied to the problem of the relative and absolute dating of the Meir tombs. Stevenson Smith discerned characteristics of the very late Old Kingdom in the decoration of Pepiankh's tomb.[26] Indeed, the decorated burial chamber is characteristic of the late 6th Dynasty, although it first appears in the reign of Teti.[27] It is certainly true that many stylistic and iconographic features of Pepiankh Herib's tomb can be compared with materials of the First Intermediate period from sites like Naga ed-Der and Dendera, as well as the tombs at Quseir el-Amarna and the present reviewer, for this reason, was at one time inclined to date them all very late in the 6th Dynasty.[28] However, all the Old Kingdom tomb chapels at Meir display an underlying decorative similarity which may indicate the "second style" of the later Old Kingdom,[29] provincial

22 R. A. Gillam, "From Meir to Quseir el-Amarna and Back Again: The Cusite Nome in SAT and on the Ground," *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati* (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2010), 132-133.

23 Kanawati, *Pepyankh the Middle*, Neferka: pls. 76b, 86 (false door); Meryreherib, 65-66, pl. 72a.

24 Kanawati, *Pepyankh the Middle*, pl. 84. The cartouche in the name on pl. 80 is not legible. Blackman's copy, *Meir* IV, pl. 7, appears to contain an *n*.

25 C. H. Firth and B. G. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéolgie Orientale, 1926), 37-39; J. Málek, "The Old Kingdom," in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. I. Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 114.

26 W. S. Smith, *A History of Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston: Oxford University Press, 1946), 221.

27 Gillam, "Studies," 287, n. 142, 143. They are first found at the end of the 5th Dynasty; see Kanawati, *Decorated Burial Chambers of the Old Kingdom* (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2010), 22-24; 43-55. They become very common by the end of the 6th Dynasty. Jéquier, *Tombeaux des particuliers contemporaines de Pepi II* (Cairo:Institut Français d'Archéolgie Orientale, 1929); W. M. F. Petrie, *Dendereh 1898* (London: EEF, 1900), pl.5a.

28 Gillam, "Studies," 135ff., n. 15.

29 E. R. Russmann, "A second style in Egyptian art of the Old Kingdom," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 51(1995): 269-279.

incompetence or simply the underlying stylistic entropy which makes all Old Kingdom art so hard to date.[30]

Another approach to dating, or at least sequencing, the tombs at Meir is an onomastic and prosopographical approach. This was used by Blackman, who made the first detailed study of the Meir cemetery. He based his relative chronology on the sequence of names of Pepyankh Wer, Herib and Heny Kem (big, middling and, by implication, small or last), all sons of Niankhpepy who was given a tomb adjacent to that of his younger son (A1 and 2).[31] Although this theory borders on the naive and raises questions about the chronological relationship of the centenarian Pepyankh to his father and younger brother Heny Kem, it remained largely unquestioned until Kanawati proposed his first theory.[32]

All three of Kanawati's theories[33] are largely based on prosopographical identifications between persons named and titled in the various tombs, as is that of Polet. In these various reconstructions, for example, Sobekhotep son of Pepyankh Wer is identified with the father of Pepyankh Herib or, using the principle of paponymy, to suggest a like-named grandfather.[34] A like-named son of Pepyankh Herib has been identified as Khuenukh of Quseir el-Amarna.[35] Kanawati has identified Shesheset, the wife of Pepyankh Wer, as a daughter of Teti on the strength of her unusual name, and his son, Sobekhotep Hepi, as an official buried at Saqqara. He has also indicated Ni-ankhpepy Kem, the son of Pepyankh Herib, as the owner of tomb A1.[36] Although some of these identifications are more plausible than others, there is a serious problem with the use of prosopographic identification. In the cemeteries of the Cusite nome, as elsewhere in the ancient record, we are confronted with an extreme lack of variety in names and titles. Names like Pepyankh, Hepi, Heny, Khuenukh and Sobekhotep are very widely used, as are titles such as *ḥri tp nsw, ḥri ḥbt, imy-r pr, smr pr, smr wʿty, šps nsw* or *s3b ḏ mr*,[37] which are also often used as the basis of such identifications.

Another approach to the problem of sequence and dating is to study the relationship of the Cusite nome cemeteries to local topography. The use of this approach by the reviewer led her

30 See further, A. Woods, "A date for the tomb of Seneb at Giza: revisited," in *Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati 2*, op. cit., 301-331.

31 Blackman, *Meir* I, 9-10.

32 S. Polet, "Généalogie et chronologie chez les nobles de Meir et de Koçeir à l'Ancien Empire," *Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia* [SEP] 5 (2008), 81-82.

33 For Kanawati's second and third theories, see "The Chronology of the Overseers of Priests at el-Qusiya in the Sixth Dynasty," *GM* 111 (1989),75-80; A. El-Khouli and N. Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh* (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1989), 11-26; Kanawati, *Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, 207-220.

34 Kanawati, *GM* 111, 77; *Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, 211-13, "Niankhpepy/Sebekhotep/Hepi: Unusual Tomb and Unusual Career," *GM* 201(2002), 49-61; Polet, *SEP* 5, 87, 91.

35 Polet, *SEP* 5, 88-89, 91.

36 Kanawati, *Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, 209-216; *GM* 201, loc. cit.

37 Pepyankh occurs 11 times. Gillam, "Studies," 596-599: Hepi (12), ibid., 618-20; Hen(n)i(t) (10), ibid, 624-26; Khuenukh (8), 390-98; Sobekhotep (6), 440-45. See also the above reference for titles held by these persons.

to revise the relative dates formerly given to the principal Old Kingdom tombs. A study of the available materials, including SAT data, suggested that the cemetery of Cusae was moved from the east bank, the customary location at this period in Middle Egypt, to the site at Meir, in response to changing environmental conditions and anthropogenic development of the landscape.[38]

During the Predynastic period, Middle Egypt, comprising the Nile valley between Asyût and Beni Suef, was apparently uninhabited. The earliest settlements in this area, at Deir Bisra, Zawyet el Amwat and Deir el Gebrawi, are on the east bank, a pattern that continued and was expanded through the Old Kingdom.[39] That this development was a result of deliberate, centralized planning is suggested by the appearance of officials with the title *imy-r niwwt m3wt,* Overseers of New Towns, in sites in this area beginning in the late 4th Dynasty.[40] The ongoing development of new settlements is also signaled by the appearance of tombs belonging to controllers of religious and economic institutions in the midmost nomes.[41] The initial settlement on the eastern bank with its very narrow strip of cultivatable land can be understood in relation to the moister climate of the earlier 3rd millennium which favoured desert edge settlements, often situated near Wadi fans.[42] In contrast, the extensive, swampy west bank most likely proved too challenging for any other activity than cattle grazing. Although the end of this wet phase, around 2300 BCE, probably caused problems for traditional food production, it would have made possible the opening up of the extensive Middle Egyptian western flood plain to more intensive agriculture.[43]

In the reign of Pepy I, Nekhebu, an overseer of works and master builder, was sent to Qis to dig a canal for Hathor in Qis.[44] While it cannot be proven that the place name Meir originates in the Egyptian word for canal,[45] Nekhebu's inscription does suggest that the west bank of this area was being opened up, although the canal was more likely for transport than irrigation. This would suggest that the burial places of the local administrators were shifted from Quseir el-Amarna on

38 Gillam, *Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, loc. cit.

39 D. Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region Zwischen Mallawi und Samalut* (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei L. Reichert, 1981).

40 See Strudwick, *Administration*, 262. This wave of development is also thought to have been connected with opening up further estates to service the royal pyramid towns; H. Junker, *Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza*, 12 Volumes (Vienna; Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1929-1955), III, 77-78; VIII, 111-112.

41 W. Kaiser, "Bericht über eine archäologische Felduntersuchung in Ober- und Mittelägypten," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologisches Instituts Abteilung Kairo[MDAIK]* 13(1961), 25-7; "Zur Südausdehnung der vorgeschichtlichen Deltakulturen und frühen Entwicklung Oberaegyptens," *MDAIK* 41 (1985): 61–87.

42 K. W. Butzer, "Archäologische Fundstellen Ober- und Mittelägyptens in ihrer geologischen Landschaft," *MDAIK* 13 (1961), 59.

43 K. W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 15-20, 26-27; Kessler, *Topographie*, 16-17; R. Said, *The River Nile: Geology, Hydrology and Utilization* (New York: Pergamon, 1993), 136–141.

44 Urk. 1 221:6-8 = BMFA 13.4331, l. 8-9; Strudwick, *Texts*, 266. See also D. Dunham, "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo," *JEA* 24 (1938): 1–8; E. Brovarksi, *The Senedjemib Complex, Part 1* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 2001), 31-33.

45 As first suggested by É. Chassinat, "Notes sur la lecture d'un nom propre en usage sous le Moyen Empire," *RT* 25 (1903): 63, n.6.

the east to Meir in the west as a result of these engineering works, although the siting of Middle Egyptian burials in the west continued to be exception rather than the rule.[46] Kanawati suggests that Pepiankh Herib's original D area cemetery was abandoned when better stone was found further north, were the A group was later located.[47]

Another, more holistic approach to the problems of absolute dating and sequencing of these tombs has been suggested by Simons. Through a close study of the plan and building history of the tomb of Pepyankh Heny Kem as well as a comparison with datable analogues to the unusual serdab chamber, he has been able to show a very close relationship between the design of this tomb and that of the Senedjemib family in the Giza necropolis.[48]

The serdab chamber in Pepyankh Heny Kem's tomb was decorated with around 250 painted images of statues of the deceased, of which 218 were labeled with various renderings of his names and titles.[49] This unusual design is only found in the early 6th Dynasty, after which it was abandoned. In fact, the only other examples are found in the Senedjemib family tomb, among them one made for Nekhebu, who constructed the Kis canal.[50] Although such an installation would not have been open to public view,[51] an explanation for how it might have been copied into Pepyankh Heny Kem's tomb may be provided by the prominent depiction of draftsmen and sculptors of the tomb in his funerary chapel.[52] It seems likely that they were high status workmen from the capital who had worked on Nekhebu's tomb, as well as the nearby tomb of Qar, whose depiction of the funerary procession is very similar to that found in Pepyankh Heny Kem.[53] All this suggests that Pepiankh Heny Kem could well have been an associate or client of Nekhebu and his family and points to a date for his tomb in the reign of Pepy I.[54] If this were the case, it would also imply that the joint tomb of Heny Kem and that of his father (A1-2) is the first tomb in the western cemetery, not Pepyankh Herib's. While this may appear to directly contradict the latter's statement in his autobiography, it can be argued that it refers to a part of the cemetery not the whole.[55]

46 Kessler, *Topographie*, 25-6, 56-68; Gillam, *Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, 137, 141-44.

47 Kanawati, *Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, 215-16.

48 Simons, "The Tomb of Pepyankh Henykem," 18-20.

49 A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir Part V* (London: EES, 1953), 48-49, pls. 37-40, 50.3, 65; Simons, op. cit., 13-18.

50 Smith, *Painting and Sculpture*, 221; H. G. Fischer, "Varia Aegyptiaca," *JARCE* 2 (1963): 21-22; Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, 23-4, 29-33 34; Simons, op. cit, 18-20.

51 Simons, op. cit., 20, who provides a different explanation for the relationship of the serdabs to that given below.

52 Blackman, *Meir V*, pls. 17-19, 21; H. Junker, "Die Maler *irj*," *Anzeiger Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1956): 59-79; Gillam, *Studies*, 178.

53 W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu* (Boston: MFA, 1976), fig. 24, cf. Blackman, *Meir* V, pls. 42, 43; B. Grdseloff, *Das Ägyptische Reinigungszelt: archäologische Untersuchung* (Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1941), 7, 16. The tomb of Qar, G7101, is located at the north-eastern corner of the Khufu Pyramid, while the Senedjemib complex is located at its northwestern corner; see Giza Mastabas, Aerial view map at http://www.gizapyramids.org/static/html/visualsearch_split.jsp (accessed on October 14, 2014).

54 Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex*, 31-33.

55 As suggested in Blackman, *Meir IV*, 19 and Gillam, "Studies," 112, 539. Similar passages cited by Kloth; N. Kloth, *Die (auto)biographiscen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zu Phraseologie und Entwick-*

* * *

The tomb of Pepyankh Herib was first discovered and explored by Ahmed Bey Kamal in 1913. Kamal made brief notes on the wall decoration and inscriptions, discovered and removed the pair statue of the owner and his wife and found fragments of a coffin inscribed for Meryreankh Herib in the owner's burial shaft.[56] Blackman studied the tomb, taking photographs in 1913 shortly after its discovery, and making epigraphic copies in 1921.[57] Since 2006 the Australian Centre for Egyptology, under the direction of Naguib Kanawati, has been re-excavating, recording and restoring the known Old Kingdom tombs of the Meir cemetery.[58] This volume, the first in this series, begins with a table of contents, list of plates, preface and acknowledgments and abbreviations (pp. 1-10). After the front matter, the text proper commences with a listing of the names and titles of the tomb owner, his family and dependents in transliteration (§I, pp. 11-24). This is followed by a brief discussion of the dating and context of Pepyankh Herib (§II, pp. 24-26). The third and fourth sections describe the architectural features of the tomb and its burial apartments (§§ III, IV, pp. 27-31) and the fifth and longest section of the text discusses the scenes and inscriptions in the tomb (§V, pp. 31-63). The two final sections briefly describe the coffin fragments associated with the tomb and the pair statue found in the serdab by Kamal (§§ VI, VII, pp. 65-66). The text concludes with an index of Egyptian names and titles in transliteration (pp. 67-68). There are 97 plates, including 71 colour photographs of the tomb and its wall decoration. The photograph of the pair statue (pl. 73c-e) shows its intact state before August 2013, when it was damaged during the destruction of the Mallawi museum.[59] The remainder of the plates consists of plans and sections of the tomb and epigraphic copies of its wall decoration (in the form of folded plates).

The discussion of the plan, location and building history of the tomb (pp. 27-29) reveals both its distinctive character and how it was modified over time. The sepulcher is located in a hollow on a high outcrop which commands an impressive view of the city of Qusiya/Qis and the Gebel Abou Fodah behind it on the east bank, almost directly opposite the old cemetery at Quseir el-Amarna.[60] It is approached from the direction of the valley by a long, stone lined pathway, a feature more commonly associated with Middle Kingdom rock tombs.[61] The outer chamber, which

lung (Hamburg: Buske, 2002), 125, all (with the exception of the inscription of Khentikaw-pepy at Balat in Dakhla Oasis) refer to locations within preexisting cemeteries in the Memphite necropolis area.

56 Kamal, *ASAE* 15, 209-258.

57 Blackman, *Meir IV*, Preface [v].

58 A. Woods, "The cemetery of Meir: Macquarie University's Recent Excavation and Evacuation," *The Rundle Foundation for Egyptian Archaeology Newsletter* 115 (April 2011): 2-3.

59 For its present condition, see illustration in J. Reilly, "Looters attack Egyptian antiques museum," Daily Mail–Mail Online, 17th August, 2013. Accessed October 19, 2014.

60 Personal observation, December 13, 2012.

61 This feature, which is almost unknown in Old Kingdom rock tombs, may have been added by the overseer of prophets under Amenemhat II, Ukh-hotep son of Ukh-hotep. His tomb chapel (B4) contains a representation of past *ḥ3tyw-ᶜ* of the Cusite Nome and their wives. É. Chassinat, "Notes prises à Meir," *RT* 22 (1900): 76-77; Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir Part III, The tomb-chapel of Ukh-Hotp son of Ukh-Hotp and Mersi (B, No.4)* (London: EES, 1916), pls. 10-11 and colour plate 29, 16-21; 156-157; W. Grajetzki, "Zwei Fallbeispiele für Genalogien im Mittleren Reich," in

was originally roofed with stone slabs and columns cut from the living rock, was apparently added later, as the inscriptions and reliefs on the façade of the tomb were executed in sunk relief (pp. 31-36, pls. 3-7), suggesting that it was originally the façade of the tomb (p. 27). As noted above, the same arrangement can also be seen in the tomb of Khuenukh at Quseir el Amarna, which also has a small chamber annexed to the outer room, as here (pl. 1c).[62] A wooden door was added to the inner chapel after the decoration was completed (p. 28). The serdab beyond the chapel appears to have been in the process of being enlarged in an easterly direction when work ceased (p. 30). The good quality of the painting in the burial chamber of Hutiah, Pepyankh Herib's wife, suggests that she predeceased him (pls. 65-71; pp. 61-3).[63] The presence of graffiti by ka priests around the door of the inner cult room (p. 32, pls 2, 75d-f) indicates that the cult of the tomb owner and/or his wife continued after his death.[64]

As mentioned above, Kanawati's discussion of Pepyankh Herib's date (pp. 24-26), a shortened version of an argument presented elsewhere,[65] maintains that he was the first high official in the Cusite nome to construct a tomb at Meir and that he was the grandson of Pepyankh Wer of Quseir el-Amarna. Kanawati identifies Pepyankh Wer's son, the *špss nsw* Sobekhotep, depicted on his false door, with Pepyankh Herib's father, the *ḫri tp nsw* and overseer of the prophets of Hathor, Sobekhotep/Hepi. Furthermore, Kanawati identifies this person with Ni-ankh-pepy/Sebek-hotep-hepi, who was buried at Saqqara near the Unas causeway in the reign of Pepy I, suggesting that he does not have a tomb in the Cusite nome as he served most of his career in Memphis. He also suggests that the tomb owner's son Hepi Kem, the *ḫri tp nsw, smr*

wʿty and overseer of prophets, is to be identified with the overseer of prophets, Niankhpepy Hepy Kem of Tomb A1.[66] On the basis of her unusual name, Seshseshet, Kanawati identifies Pepyankh Herib's paternal grandmother, the wife of Pepyankh Wer at Quseir el-Amarna, as a daughter of Teti, thus placing his family at the heart of the governing elite. While this would explain the many

Martin Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Genealogie: Realität und Fiktion von Identität; Workshop am 04. und 05. Juni 2004* (London: Golden House, 2005), 57-59. In an accompanying inscription, Ukh-hotep asserts that he created the list in order that their names be remembered and that they receive offerings in perpetuity. This memorialization of his predecessors places Ukh-hotep squarely in a tradition found among nomarchs of the First Intermediate period and Middle Kingdom of celebrating office holders of the past and restoring their tombs; Gillam, *Studies*, 247-248; D. B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Iists, Annals and Day Books* (Mississauga: Benben, 1986); M. De Meyer, "Restoring the tomb of his ancestors? Djehutinakht, son of Teti, at Deir al-Barsha and Sheikh Said," in Fitzenreiter, op. cit., 125-136. http://www2.hu-berlin.de.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/nilus/net-publications/ibaes5/publikation.html Accessed October 29, 2014.

62 See above and El-Khouli and Kanwati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 39-40; Gillam, *Studies*, 442-443.

63 Kanawati also notes that the figure of Hutiah is often shown as large as or larger than her husband, as is that of his mother Pekhertnefret (pp. 47-50) and suggests that this, along with her titles, indicated that she was a member of the highest elite (p. 25). It should be noted that the depiction of her on the south wall, standing behind her husband, who is sitting on the ground (pl. 83), clearly uses the device of stance subordination to make her appear more prominent; E. Goffman, *Gender Adverstisements* (London: Macmillan, 1976), 28, 40-56; G. Robins, "Some principles of compositional dominance and gender hierarchy in Egyptian art," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 31 (1994): 33-40.

64 See Blackman, *Meir IV*, 21; Gillam, "Studies," 138, n. 15.

65 Kanawati, *Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, 209-213.

66 Ibid., 214-16.

high ranking and court titles that Pepyankh Herib and other members of his family hold,[67] it does not account for the fact that Khuenukh, who Kanawati describes as earlier and unrelated,[68] also holds similar ritual and court titles.[69] Indeed, Khuenukh's tomb at Quseir el-Amarna, although much smaller than D2, shows a number of striking similarities. Both tombs have a hallway with a built roof added onto the front of the tomb, with the principal inscription on the actual façade of the rock-cut chapel; both have a serdab positioned directly behind the main cult room;[70] and in both tombs almost all the subsidiary figures are labeled with names and titles.[71] The offering scenes on the east wall of Khuenukh's chapel show significant similarities to those on the west wall of Pepyankh Herib's[72] and both tombs give considerable prominence to the deceased's female relatives as prophetesses of Hathor.[73] Nevertheless, however suggestive these similarities may be, tombs A1 and 2 as well as the subsidiary tombs of the D and E groups also have considerable stylistic commonalities and most have features linking them to the reign of Pepy I.[74] If the "opening up" of the west bank of Cusae dates from Nekhebu's construction of the canal and Pepyankh Heny Kem's tomb suggests a close connection with this official, then problems of sequencing and dating

67 Ibid., 209-10; *Pepyankh the Middle*, 11-13, 26. These titles include that of vizier and some very unusual designations suggesting royal ceremonial or ritual activity (the titles held by Pepyankh Herib include: *imy is, ḥry tp Nb, mdw Ḥp, r P nb, imy-r w ꜥb.ty, ḥm nṯr 3st Ḥthr, ḥm nṯr Sṯ, ḥm nṯr Psḏt ꜣt, ḥm nṯr Nwwt** [*reading uncertain], *ḫw-ꜥ, ḥq3 B3t, ḫrp ḥs km, mdw rḫyt* and *iwn knmwt*). See further, Gillam, "Studies," 146-148 and Simons, "The Tomb of Pepyankh Henykem," 29-31.

68 Kanawati, *Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, 209.

69 El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 17-18, 33-35. Some of these titles are extremely rare. See further, W.V. Davies, A. el-Khouli, A.B. Lloyd and A.B. Spencer, *Saqqara Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London: EES,1984), 21-9; Gillam, "Studies," 183-198.

70 El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 28-29; Gillam, "Studies," 137, n. 15.

71 El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 39-39, cf. Kanawati, *Pepyankh the Middle*, 13-24. See Gillam, "Studies," 137, n. 15. This practice, which first appears at the Memphite necropolis in the early 6th Dynasty, consists of adding names and titles to figures in standard tomb chapel scenes. This is most obvious in the tomb of Pepyankh Herib, where the designations of the figures have been added in ink to the carved and painted scenes (Blackman, *Meir IV*, 34, 43; Kanawati, *Pepyankh the Middle*, pls. 38, 55b) but not as much in Khuenukh where the chapel decoration is painted only. This practice can also be seen in Pepyankh Heny Kem (A1) (Blackman, *Meir V*, pls.15-43) but is not so intensive. See further Gillam, "Studies," 354, n.81 This practice may reflect the proliferation of persons engaged in private funerary cults in the late Old Kingdom, due the heritability of their positions; see P. Kaplony, "Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Totenkultes im alten Ägypten," *Asiatische Studien* 18-19 (1-4) (1965): 290-307.

72 Cf. El Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 41 and *Pepyankh the Middle*, pls. 85 and 88.

73 El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 35, 36, pls. 34-5, 44, 46; *Pepyankh the Middle*, 13,16, 18, pls. 81, 83, 88. In the scene of the funerary banquet of the tomb owner and his wife on the north wall, Pepyankh's daughters *Pšḫr-nfrt* and *Mrt-itt* are shown performing a hymn to Hathor that praises her resurrection of the deceased; see H. Altenmüller, "Zur Bedeutung der Harfenlieder des Alten Reiches," *SAK* 6 (1978): 1-24.

74 That the other D and E tombs should thus resemble D2 is not surprising as their siting suggests they are subsidiary burials of Pepyankh Herib's followers and/or family members (Blackman, *Meir I*, 6-7; *Meir V*, 57-60, pls. 44-49, 66). However, the more remotely located A 1 and 2 also share common stylistic features, as well as the practice of labeling subsidiary figures (see above, n. 73, and Blackman, *Meir V*, pls. 4-43). A number of scenes in the D group tombs and A 1 and 2 also have a close resemblance to corresponding subjects in the tomb of Mereruka; see Gillam, "Studies," 48, 141, n. 23; H. Junker, "Die Maler *irj*," *Anzeiger Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenscbaften Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1956): 59-79. On the dating of A1-2 to the reign of Pepy I, see above, n. 56, and Simons, "The Tomb of Pepyankh Henykem," 18-20.

for the Cusite tombs of the Old Kingdom remain as intractable as ever. Almost all of these tombs could be dated to the reign of Pepi I or thereabouts, making the positioning of Pepyankh Herib's long career even more difficult.

The author states that the aim of the publication was to produce a complete record, and where materials were no longer available, Blackman's copies were used with acknowledgments, but that numerous details not found in the earlier publications were also included (p. 8). In practice, this makes this volume sometimes awkward to use. The noting of vanished material known from Blackman's copies is neither exhaustive nor consistent, nor is the inclusion of details not found in the original publication, which are often included without comment or explanation (see below).

The copy of the autobiographical inscription (pls.3b, 7, 76) adds some signs and clearer readings to the sections shown as damaged in Blackman's copy but does not make any substantive changes to the text. However, the order of reading is reversed from what is usual, with the right hand inscription following that on the left (pp. 33-36). No explanation is given. Moreover, a significant variation in interpretation is offered in Kanawati's reading of *sr(y)t* in Left, l. 1 (Pl. 76). While still interpreting this group as a noun derived from the III inf. root *sri*, "to be an official,"[75] he suggests, instead of a abstract noun meaning something like "officialdom, " a reference to a council of senior functionaries, before whom important matters of state were brought (p. 34). Unfortunately, the author does not explain his reasons for this conclusion any further, but it appears to be part of the larger theory that associates Pepyankh Herib's family with Teti, discussed above.[76] The tomb owner's high rank is also implied by a depiction of him seated on a cube seat of the type reserved for the king on the original façade of the tomb, the west wall of Room 1 (pp. 25, 33, pls. 4c, 75a). As noted above, Kanawati also suggests that Hutiah, the tomb owner's wife, is a high ranking individual, whose family members are also depicted in the tomb and who is shown several times as the same size as her husband (pp. 46, 47, 61).[77]

The epigraphic copies of the reliefs and inscriptions are admirably clear and consistent, without the stylistic variations that marred Blackman's generally excellent publication. The drawings also indicate the borders of the scenes, which were generally not included in the older work, allowing the reader to better comprehend the overall layout of the wall decoration. All the epigraphic drawings are supplied with a scale. The coloured photographs are helpful in understanding the execution and style of the work, which mostly consists of carved and painted raised relief completed with plaster, with a grey background. It is both technically and stylistically similar to work done in elite tombs in the Memphite necropolis in the late 5th and early 6th Dynasty.[78] However, the pictures do not always show details clearly, on account of the small size of the reproductions and the use of a flash that creates too many shadows. The black and white photographs taken by Blackman with a plate

75 Cf. E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, 2 Volumes (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum,1955-64), §§ 425,497; Gillam, "Studies," 521, 554; Strudwick, *Texts*, 370.

76 Kanawati, *Pepyankh the Middle*, 25; *Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, loc.cit.

77 See also Kanawati, *Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, 214.

78 See C. Ransom Williams, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Perneb* (New York: MMA, 1932), 70.

camera are still the best record of the tomb chapel, but most remain unpublished. However, both the drawings and photographs of the decorated burial chamber in the present volume (pls. 62-71, 90-97) provide excellent documentation, and are especially valuable for showing the position of the hieratic inscriptions that Blackman recorded separately.[79] They can also be studied along with other examples of the genre in the author's informative and useful publication of decorated burial chambers.[80]

This volume provides an indispensable and authoritative record of the most lavishly decorated and inscribed tomb at Meir. We look forward to the subsequent volumes in this series in the hope that they may resolve many of the unanswered questions that remain about this important necropolis. It will remain a central work of reference for many years to come.

The following are some specific observations about the present publication:

Pl. 75 (d-f), Room 1: graffiti by the ka priests. The graffito labeled 3 is copied from Blackman. No indication is given in the text and no photography of this portion of the wall is provided.

Pl. 80 (D). The sistrum player sign (cf. B 47, Extended Library) in Hutiah's title *nwt Ḥt ḥr* which is shown partially destroyed in Blackman's copy (*Meir IV*, pl. 7) has been incorrectly restored with the figure holding a *wḫ*. The confusion between the *wḫ* and the sistrum was first made by Blackman.[81] Blackman's copy, which shows the sign much better preserved than at present (pl. 21b), reveals that the determinative figure is also carrying a bag over her shoulder. The correct form of the sign is with the sistrum of the *sḫm* type.[82]

Pl. 81. Scene of Pepyankh Herib fowling in the marshes. In the commentary (p.40), he is said to be wearing a "sports tunic." This is not visible in either the drawing or the photograph.

Pl. 82. Scene of Pepyankh Herib watching a cattle census and boat procession. A completely different name is given for the second figure from the bottom behind the tomb owner: read as *Wᶜ* by Blackman, pl. 16, it is read as *w-htp* here.

Pl. 83. Scene of Pepyankh Herib with his parents. The text states that his mother, *Pḫrt-nfrt*, is seating on an ebony chair (p. 47). No further corroboration for this assertion is offered.

79 Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. 20.

80 Kanawati, *Decorated Burial Chambers of the Old Kingdom* (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2010).

81 Blackman, *Meir I*, 3-4; see Gillam, "Studies," 241-243.

82 H. G. Fischer, "A False Door of the Old Kingdom in Bologna," in *Varia* (New York: MMA, 1976), 10-13. See also L. Klebs, "Die verschiedene Formen des Sistrums," *ZÄS* 67 (1931): 60-62.

Pl. 83. Scene of Pepyankh Herib with his parents. The name of the first male figure in the row underneath them is to be read *Wtšwm3* (p. 20), rather than *Mšṯwm3*, as read by Blackman.

Pl. 84. Scene of Pepyankh Herib watching ploughing and other activities with animals. The name of the second figure in the third row from the top of the activities is to be read *Sbk-ḥnt* rather than *Sbk-ḥnn*, as read by Blackman.

Pl. 88. Scene of funerary repast for Pepyankh Herib and his wife. The name of the second figure offering the goose in the bottom row, which is not read in the text (p. 61), clearly reads *Ppy-ʿnḫ* (see also pl. 57b).

Robyn Gillam

Ronald J. Leprohon. *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary*. **Writings from the Ancient World 33. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013. ISBN: 978-1-58983-735-5. 292 pages. Price: US $43.21 (hardcover); $32.61 (paperback).**

Ancient royal titulary has been a critical part of Egyptology from the discipline's very beginning, serving as the key to the decipherment of the hieroglyphs. Although this fact would seem to suggest that there is little new to be added to the corpus of scholarly literature on this topic, the present volume proves that this is not the case. In ancient Egypt, names had symbolic meaning, and were given to endure and to live for all eternity. Thus, Egyptian names, whether royal or non-royal, comprise a rich field of study and cast light on topics ranging from Egyptian language and literature, political, social and economic history, to the concept of identity and self-representation. *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary* highlights the importance of the institution of kingship and its principal figure, the king, the structure upon which the whole state and society was based in ancient Egypt. Among the most important symbols of authority and power is the titulary that the ruler assumed for himself or herself at the time of his or her coronation, thereby becoming associated with the realm of the divine world.

The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary by Ronald J. Leprohon, Professor of Egyptology at the University of Toronto, takes a new, comprehensive approach to the subject of ancient Egyptian royal titulary. The previous core studies on the topic are those of Gauthier,[1] Quirke,[2] Clay-

1 Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte: Recueil de titreset protocols royaux*, 4 vols., MIFAO 17-20 (Cairo: IFAO,1907-1916).

2 Stephen Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs? A History of Their Names With a List of Cartouches* (London: British Museum Publications, 1990).

ton,[3] von Beckerath,[4] and Dessoudeix.[5] With such sound predecessors, what new material does this book present? Leprohon, in contrast to previous studies, includes all Egyptian kings' names for some three millennia from Dynasty 0 to the last Ptolemaic ruler in the late first century BCE, with translations into English. Gauthier, von Beckerath, and Quirke do not offer translations in French or German or English; Clayton does not present or translate all royal names, while Dessoudeix offers only a French translation. Even briefer, Hannig[6] includes an alphabetical list of royal names in their common German spelling and a list in transliteration (and common rendering) of the separate elements in the royal titulary. Leprohon's study lacks only a transcription of the royal names in hieroglyphs, the inclusion of which would have added much essential information and made it unique among the publications on this topic.

In the introduction, Leprohon explains his approach to the topic. He sheds light on the audience and previous scholarship of the subject matter, the sources that he uses, and his notes on the translation. In a very concise section (section 2, pp. 5-7), he offers some insights on names and their importance in ancient Egyptian culture, introducing and citing fundamental Egyptian verbs, terms, epithets, and phraseology related to names from Egyptian sources, and the desire of their holders to be remembered. After introductory remarks on the composition of royal names and who would have chosen and proclaimed the titulary of the king, Leprohon discusses the five names of the king: the Horus Name, the Two Ladies Name, the Golden Horus Name, the Throne Name, and the Birth Name.

In subsequent chapters Leprohon introduces each historical period with a brief essay. The names of the kings are then presented in chronological order. However, Leprohon's corpus does not include the names of queens, except for the ruling queens including Nitocris, Sobeknefru, Hatshepsut, Tawosret, Arsinoe II, Berenike II, Cleopatra I, Cleopatra II, Berenike III, and Cleopatra VII. Moreover, he lists only the names of Kushite rulers of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Alara, Kashta, Piye/Piankhy, Shabaka, Shabataka/Shebitko, Taharqa, and Tanutamun) without discussing the titulary of any of these kings.

In general, a fuller discussion of the Kushite kings would have better served to elucidate the place of this dynasty within Egyptian history more broadly. The iconography of Kushite kings is highly expressed in their royal art, and the sources of the power of the king and his duties are based on the principles of Egyptian kingship. But, it might have been noted that the double kingship of Kush and Egypt was emphasized starting from king Kashta to the reunification of Egypt

3 Peter A. Clayton, *The Complete Pharaohs: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2006).

4 Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1999).

5 Michel Dessoudeix, *Chronique de l'Égypte Ancienne: Les Pharaons, Leur Règne, Leurs Contemporains* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2008).

6 Rainer Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Deutsch-Ägyptisch (2800-950 v. Chr.): Die Sprache der Pharaonen* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2000).

in the Saite Dynasty.[7] Moreover, Kushite revival played an important role in the representation of Kushite kings in their inscriptions and titularies.[8] Overall, a new philological approach was developed for the Kushite Twenty-fifth Dynasty, which in turn had a major impact upon the literary renaissance of the Saite Dynasty.

Leprohon employs the traditional transliteration of English-speaking scholars, following Gardiner.[9] In addition to the map of Egypt, the book's illustrations include figure 11: the fivefold titulary of the Eighteenth Dynasty king, Thutmose I, and figure 14: the *serekh* of the First Dynasty king, Djet. The volume also contains a chronological table, abbreviations, bibliography, indexes of names of kings, deities, personal names, subjects, sources, three appendixes of royal names, an alphabetical list of kings, and Greek-Egyptian equivalents of royal names. At the end, the book presents concordances containing texts in *Urkunden* IV[10] and texts in Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions*.[11]

Leprohon displays great temporal depth as he translates the more than one thousand names in this volume. As an outstanding philologist, the author uses Egyptian grammar to defend choices of the rendering of some royal names offered. However, the author points out that he prefers to give only one rendering, rather than several choices, in order not to confuse the reader. Although this direction could be reasonable in some cases, some names are subject to debate and require more explanation and supporting references, which are not provided.

The history of ancient Egypt is introduced in a fairly clear and straightforward manner. The structure and historical development of royal names are presented, as are insights into the reading and interpretation of Egyptian royal names. The Horus Name was the first of the king's full five-fold titulary in the First Dynasty, established by the Middle Kingdom and utilized by Egyptian kings thereafter. Next, the Golden Horus Name appeared in the reign of King Den, followed by what Leprohon calls "The One Who Belongs to Upper and Lower Egypt" (*nsw bity*) and the Two Ladies' Name in the mid to late First Dynasty (the reigns of Adjib and Semerkhet, respectively). King Radjedef of the Fourth Dynasty is the first king to introduce the epithet "Son of Re" in the royal titulary. The cartouche first appeared in the reign of King Sanakht in the Third Dynasty. According to Leprohon, citing Bonhême,[12] the Great Name, *rn=f wr* or *rn=s wr* and *rn*, may refer "to each royal

7 For more, see Jeremy Pope, *The Double Kingdom under Taharqo: Studies in the History of Kush and Egypt, c. 690-664 BC* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014).

8 For more, see LászlóTörök, *The Kingdom of Kush :Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization* (Leiden: Brill,1997).

9 Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (London: Griffith Institute, 1957).

10 Kurt Sethe and Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Leipzig: Hinrichs; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1906-1958).

11 Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, 8 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975-1991).

12 Marie-Ange Bonhême, "Les désignations de la 'titulature' royale au Nouvel Empire," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 78 (1978): 347-387.

name separately as well as the full five names" (p. 8), and the texts usually unitized the term *nḫbt*, which may refer either to "the Horus Name alone" or "stand for the complete titulary" (pp. 8-9), while *rn mꜣʿ* "Real Name" occurs only in a text from the reign of Queen Hatshepsut. Interestingly, Leprohon points out that because of its solar associations, the Throne Name was used for sacred matters, while the Birth Name was utilized for mundane administrative affairs.

With the many strengths of this work, Leprohon, unfortunately, does not present the ideology of ancient Egyptian kingship in any detail. He only refers to the introduction of O'Connor and Silverman's edited volume, *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*,[13] overlooking important references to the topic such as Gundlach[14] (who stresses the importance of the royal titulary for the king as earthly ruler and the necessity of sharply distinguishing between the types of text dealing with Egyptian kingship). As Gundlach states, it is virtually impossible to dissociate kingship from the state and culture. However, the concept of kingship in its official manifestations, specifically with regard to titularies and their extensions, is strongly featured in art and literature.[15]

The ideological relationship between the king's physical appearance and regalia and his titulary could have been more fully addressed in this volume. The various kings' roles and images throughout Egyptian history are not presented, and if they had been, they would reveal developments and changes in royal names over time. For example, changes to the king's role and image are apparent in the first millennium BCE, especially in the Ptolemaic Period, when Macedonian rulers made the titulary conform to their political interests.[16] Several aspects of the king's role, such as food-provider, source of law and defender of the country, the ultimate fighter against chaos in all its aspects, and conqueror of the world could perhaps have been addressed. The king's role as caretaker of the deities, as builder of temples, and as performer of rituals could also have been treated. Admittedly, the inclusion of discussions on these topics might have made the book excessively long.

The book is straightforward, simple in structure, easy to read, and well organized. The catalog of names provides a great deal of information clearly and concisely. This book is an important addition to the field of Egyptian philology and the author, as well as the editor of the

13 David O'Connor, and David P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

14 Rolf Gundlach, "Zu Inhalt und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Königsideologie," in Rolf Gundlach and Christine Raedler (eds.), *Selbstverständnis und Realität: Akten des Symposiums zu ägyptischen Königsideologie in Mainz 15.-17.6.1995* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 1-8.

15 John Baines, "Ancient Egyptian Kingship: Official Forms, Rhetoric, Context," in John Day (ed.), *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 16-53.

16 See, for example, Sally-Ann Ashton, "The Ptolemaic Royal Image and the Egyptian Tradition," in John Tait (ed.), *"Never Had The Like Occurred": Egypt's View of Its Past* (London: UCL Press, 2003), 213-223; Paul Edmund Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002); Antonio Loprieno, "Le Pharaon reconstruit: la figure du roi dans la literature égyptienne au Ier millénaire avant J.C.," *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 142 (1998), 4-24.

series, Denise M. Doxey, are to be commended for an excellent effort. In addition to its outstanding scholarship, this book will also be useful as a reference book and handy textbook on ancient Egyptian royal names for students and scholars of Egyptology, the ancient Near East, ancient history, and ancient literature. In the preface, the author states that he wishes that his book be used as "a springboard from which more work can be done on the topic." This book, indeed, stimulates many ideas on this key topic.

Hussein Bassir

Koenraad Donker van Heel. *Mrs. Tsenhor: A Female Entrepreneur in Ancient Egypt.* **Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014. ISBN: 978- 977-416-634-1. 229 pages. Price: US $29.95.**

When the news first circulated through Egyptological circles that Koenraad Donker van Heel was leaving Egyptology for a career in business, Egyptologists expressed sincere frustration and regret. We were losing a star demotist because of the necessity of securing more reliable employment by which to support a family. This had happened to others and would happen again and again in Egyptology. But that decision fortunately had a silver lining. Gaining financial security meant that the scholar could turn Egyptology into his hobby and, in that way, continue to contribute to Egyptology, and the highly specialized field of demotic studies in particular. Now lecturing at Leiden University in the Netherlands, Dr. Donker van Heel has found the time and opportunity to take material from his unpublished doctoral thesis and finally make it available to both Egyptologists and the general reading public. How could he accomplish this when the topic of choachytes was so obscure and the readings dense, not readily appealing to public taste? This is, after all, not a book about royal mummies, pyramids, Tutankhamun, or Cleopatra; there is no source of Egyptomania here. Thus, Donker van Heel was, in a sense, creating his own new genre of Egyptology: popular non-fiction specifically targeted at a narrow subject. Some "coffee-table" books meet this definition, but this is no mere coffee-table book since it has no glorious full colour shots to rely upon. Instead, it tells a sustained story whose very highlight is its detailed documentation.

Dr. Donker van Heel decided first to write a popular book about two entrepreneurs of the Persian Period whose job it was (among other things) to carry libations to the tombs of clients as choachytes. This book was called *Djekhy and Son: Doing Business in Ancient Egypt* (American University of Cairo Press, 2012). Two years later (2014) this book has been followed by a natural and worthy successor/companion, *Mrs. Tsenhor: A Female Entrepreneur in Ancient Egypt*, also published by the American University Press in Cairo. In this new book, it is this reader's opinion that Donker van Heel has truly hit his stride, no longer at all unsure about the public's reaction and taking the atti-

tude that he will write whatever pleases him the most about the everyday Egyptian people whose lives fill the papyri and sherds of his Late Period and Ptolemaic demotic and abnormal hieratic documentation. Donker van Heel's books are charmingly written, laced with strategic bits of humour and local colour, and an optimism that we can still hope to find much in these forsaken scraps of ragged papyrus and badly broken potsherds if only there were scholars enough to study them all out throughout the world's museum storerooms and private collections. It is also to be hoped that scholars will fill in the gaps in the documentation we have already translated but have not always perfectly understood. I write as one of those Egyptologists sad, and at the same time happy, when the compulsory first year of demotic and the subsequent attempt at abnormal hieratic drew to a close and I could return to more easily comprehensible hieratic. But I certainly admired colleagues like Donker van Heel who had a passion for what I obviously did not have the talent for.

Donker van Heel begins his book by introducing Mrs. Tsenhor as an unusual woman of her time who would not be out of place in today's world, multitasking her various and sundry business concerns while raising a family and surviving two marriages. But she was clearly no wealthy "hostess with the mostess" in the Egyptian equivalent of a Valentino gown, helping her husband increase his corporate profits by giving elaborate parties and attending evening arts events. The public is very familiar with famous queens like Ahmose Nefertari, Hatshepsut, Tiye, Nefertiti, Nefertari, Berenice, and especially Cleopatra VII; the last two, born in Egypt of Macedonian ethnic stock, were not Egyptian at all. Mrs. Tsenhor was not in their universe. Nor was Mrs. Tsenhor even an elite native Egyptian woman. Tsenhor was a married middle-class Upper Egyptian woman who owned property of her own and worked as a professional choachyte (water-pourer), a lower level funerary officiant living in Karnak in the fifth century BCE. She worked in the Theban tombs on the west bank to perpetuate the funerary offerings for the deceased who in life had contracted her services. History failed to remember her because she was not sufficiently well known or well paid, yet within her own community, she was obviously a woman to be reckoned with for her flair for business and a personality that could be suitably humble when necessary and pointedly argumentative when required. She knew what mask to wear when, what role to play to get her way in the end. How do we know this? The contents of her dossiers provide the evidence. As Donker van Heel himself puts it so succinctly, "In fact, what we have here is an unprecedented and privileged peek into the life of an ancient Egyptian girl next door that will never make it into the official history books" (dust jacket).

Here I would like to mention that the book under review has a total of 13 black and white illustrations, twelve tables, a list of the Tsenhor Papyri, a preface, acknowledgements, a map, and a chronology. The book is cleanly edited with nary a slip. There are also useful notes to the chapters and helpful indices. The audience at which the book is directed has already been identified, but as to whether or not a book can be addressed successfully to a broad popular audience with scholars also benefiting is not so easily foreseen. There is much that is complex in the contents of the book and the author has certainly gone to some lengths to make it possible for a popular audience to comprehend the complicated financial and legal issues. However, the numerous segues into related subjects in other historical periods entirely can make it challenging for most members of a popular

audience. Scholars, on the other hand, will want more details on the texts referred to, especially in the much less well-known period of Egyptian history to which Mrs. Tsenhor belongs. Demotists will follow along very easily and no doubt be happy to see how the material relates to their own specialty. It is this reviewer's hope that despite the frequent repetition of the names of unfamiliar documents and the profusion of details in the encapsulation of complicated events of later Egyptian history, the general reader will persevere in following the fascinating career of Mrs. Tsenhor.

Chapter 1 begins with a description of the players: Tsenhor's family beginning with her parents, uncle, her husbands, and her many children, only two of whom survived their parents as was often the case in ancient Egypt.

Even when pregnant, Tsenhor trudged along the paths leading to the tombs she serviced with libations and prayers, presumably with her husband's approval. Table I (pp. 10-11) provides a summary of the events in Tsenhor's life with as accurate a date as possible and the name of the papyrus that gives us the details. Non-specialists may choose to read the running account of the events in her life without bothering to look at papyrus references; scholars, on the other hand, may be frustrated by the absence of line references!

The chapters contain little asides into the kinds of records the choachytes kept – mainly sketchy in the Saite and Persian periods (p. 12). From the Ptolemaic records concerning one Mrs. Shakhepery, it is learned somewhat surprisingly that the choachyte possessed only half or even one-third of the rights to some mummies tended. Fortunately for Shakhepery, there were substantial numbers of mummies stashed away in the Theban tombs (wherever the space could be found) and, in the end, with a never-ending supply, the income was good, each funerary service taking maybe only five minutes. Still, the question arises how the female choachytes such as Shakhepery managed to carry out perhaps 150 short services for every ten-day week and major festival days, especially if they were pregnant! By holding collective services for all those in one tomb? This is likely but does little to alleviate the strenuous character of the work, especially in the hot months of summer.

The question of whether choachytes stashed mummies in a house on the east bank before ferrying them over to the west bank for interment and services is also raised, introducing us to Hermias in the Ptolemaic period who fought in court for years to remove choachytes from a home which his father had owned before Greeks were unceremoniously pushed southward. In 119 BCE Hermias claimed choachtyes were not only living there but apparently using the house to store mummies before shipment to the west bank. Donker van Heel cleverly intertwines such stories into the presentation of Tsenhor's family to give the reader an idea of the kinds of legal and financial complications that could be happening with their neighbours, or their peers, while Mrs. Tsenhor carried on her work.

In chapter 2, consideration is given to Tsenhor growing up in her family of choachyte parents, her name having been chosen to honour her grandmother. In discussing P. Louvre E 10935, which records the buying history of the fields of Ms. Tsenhor's father, the choachyte Nesmin, the chapter

provides an aside about the history of demotic and late cursive hieratic writing as Lower Egyptian demotic came to dominate scribal practice in Thebes under the Saites. The chapter goes on to relate the history of the fields bought by Tsenhor's father going back to the god's father Petosiris, son of Wenamun, a chief of priests and fourth prophet of a number of gods, as well as a governor of Thebes. There is also a detailed description of the tomb of Pabasa, another titled individual connected with the ownership of Nesmin's fields, in the Assasif where many Late Period elite tombs are situated.

Chapter 3, entitled "Love and Death," deals with the entry into Mrs. Tsenhor's life of her second husband Psenese, their children, and their property. The situation of the inheritance by Psenese of half of the estate his older brother Rery had inherited from their parents lets the readership into the vagaries of Egyptian inheritance where siblings, children, and spouses are involved. In light of the accession of the Persian king Cambyses (II) at this time, the author goes on to a consideration of his accession and eventual interference in the temple economy according to the so-called (Ptolemaic) Demotic Chronicle (P. Bibl. Nat. 215) that describes Cambyses' homage to the Saite goddess Neith and subsequent deeds. The worship of Neith is no doubt drawn from the autobiography of Wedjahorresne, a controversial figure to whom we shall return. Donker van Heel also recapitulates the story of P. Rylands 9 from the reign of Darius I, often referred to as the Petition of Petiese, which tells the woeful tale of the fall of the house of Petiese with the seizure of Petiese's (I) offices and property by the local priests of Amun of al-Hiba. Before returning to Mrs. Tsenhor and her modest world of libation delivery and field management, the narrative segues into the career of Wedjahorresne, overseer of doctors under Amasis and high official during the Persian Period, for the light it sheds upon the roles of Cambyses and Wedjahorresne in the thorny politics of these problematic times and the acute problem of conflict in source material manifest when Wedjahorresne's autobiography is compared with Herodotus's *Histories*. Careful scrutiny reveals that Tsenhor's documents reflect micro scale changes (p. 54) in the administration of Theban finance over these years that we do not fully understand.

Chapter 4 concerns Mrs. Tsenhor's purchase of a slave, a situation that opens up the question of slave ownership in ancient Egypt, the murky distinction between *hem* and *bak*, and the difficulty in understanding such documents as the Middle Kingdom P. Brooklyn 35.1446, which concerns all varieties of slaves, male and female. Since women were held accountable by law for any offenses they committed, Donker van Heel brings up the well-known story of the thirteenth century woman Iryneferet, accused of buying two slaves from funds that were not hers to use as she had borrowed them (JdE 65739). Gardiner described this barter transaction as likely having been contracted with a door-to-door slave trader, adept at finding a good candidate for a buyer.[1] Iryneferet presumably searched her home to find items that together would have constituted the asking price for the slave girl. However, she was not successful and therefore visited neighbours for help in raising the sum. Problems inevitably ensued. Despite the huge difference in date between the two texts, it appears

1 Alan H. Gardiner, "A Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase of Two Slaves," *JEA* 35 (1935): 140-146.

that like Mrs. Tsenhor, Iryneferet was a married woman who wished to lighten her work with the purchase of a slave (although unlike Iryneferet, Mrs. Tsenhor had other slaves). Slavery clearly continued to be embedded in the fabric of Egyptian society over this long span of time.

Chapter 5 has a discussion of the acquisition of ownership by Psenese, second husband of Tsenhor, of a house or building plot described as *per* at a time when we would expect the word *awy* for such a context. It is almost impossible to know what Tsenhor and her husband Psenese had in mind when they referred to their *per* in the necropolis in Thebes West in a place called the Tomb of Pharaoh l.p.h., Osorkon l.p.h. This place is also known from the archive of Djekhy. The question arises as to whether this "house" was a residential home or a derelict building of some sort. Possibly this acquisition was merely the purchase of a building plot. In any case, the Processional Way of Amun, to which reference is made, was one of the major roads in the necropolis that served as a useful local landmark. Details of documentation for this building or planned structure are followed by a consideration of a contemporary *per nefer* "good house", a structure used for embalming (also rendered *wabet*, the two terms becoming interchangeable). The discussion segues into a reconsideration of The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon that recounts the successful military campaign of "the high priest of Amun, the general and leader" Osorkon against Theban troops during his father Takelot II's reign. Another expedition in year 15 of Takelot II continued the process of eliminating Theban insurgents. This Osorkon is most likely the Osorkon mentioned in the Tomb of Pharaoh l.p.h. that plays a role in the story of Mrs. Tsenhor.

Later in the chapter, there is treatment of the family's business expansion by purchasing a house or building site adjacent to their own property in the necropolis that gave access to the Processional Way (P. Louvre E 7128). This in turn introduces the contract entered into for the purchase of 500 sq. cubits of land with a sales tax of 10 percent payable to the God's Offering of Amun. The God's Offering of Amun functioned as the economic arm of the Domain of Amun, an institution that could use further comment. Another equally intriguing topic discussed in relation to family property is that of "right of way" (sharing of a house staircase) as something that could be added to demotic contracts at the request of the purchaser and was often a problematic subject.

The purchase/rental of cattle is the subject of chapter 6. Here Mrs. Tsenhor's inheritance of 11 arouras, acquired by her father (P. Louvre E 10935), is discussed with attention to the difficulty that might ensue for Tsenhor in gaining her brothers' consent to the splitting off of 11 arouras of fine farmland without compensation. Co-owning the property where revenues could be shared is a possible solution. The leasing of a ploughing ox is one issue that had to be resolved. Donker van Heel segues into another related topic where he discusses the collection of Bernardino Drovetti, summarized into Table 9, "Where do Tsenhor's papyri come from?" (p. 159), and the problems of tracing the Tsenhor correspondence across a number of collections.

Chapter 7 pursues the papyri related to the ageing of the choachyte couple and the inheritance of their children, complicated by there being children of two marriages. The legal manual P. Mattha (ca. 250 BCE and therefore Ptolemaic) likely has validity here since elements suggest an original with a much earlier date. The inheritance of Mrs. Tsenhor's daughter Ruru is detailed in Table 10

(p. 176). In one of his fascinating asides, Donker van Heel examines the issue of what happened on days when Tsenhor could not work, these including days of menstruation when a woman's freedom was severely constrained. After looking at sources from all over the world, he recalls data of Deir el-Medina from the work journal of year 40 of Ramesses II, as well as later journals recording the absence of workmen from the job. Jac. J. Janssen's suggestion is that journal references to workmen's absences because of what is usually translated as their wives' "menstruation" could in fact signify the purification ceremony following childbirth which would make more sense, the Egyptian terms for menstruation and purification being the same. Since a demotic text suggests that Late Period menstruating women spent time in a space located beneath the stairs and not in a separate menstrual hut some distance away as at Deir el-Medina, this may have been the case with the family property under discussion (Tsenhor's father's house being divided among three (half-) brothers) However, it is mentioned only that the stairs are shared property and nothing is said about the area beneath the stairs (176-181).

Eventually, the subject of Mrs. Tsenhor's last will and testament is reached. This brings to mind the famous Will of Naunakhte from Deir el-Medina in the Twentieth Dynasty. Naunakhte is the renowned materfamilias who divided her estate amongst her children to recognize those children who respected and cared for her in life and to disinherit those who did not. In attempting to reconstruct the atmosphere of such an occasion where family members would likely have emerged embittered for life, and reviewing the documents related to the Will, it becomes evident that Naunakhte was able to persevere and get precisely what she wanted. So too Mrs. Tsenhor appears to have been equally successful in her day as a study of her dossier of originally some forty literary and administrative papyri establishes.

The final chapter concerns the end of Mrs. Tsenhor's life and the taking over of her job by daughter Ruru. We can assume that Ruru was taught by her mother from a young age which tombs to visit, what rituals to perform, and what prayers to offer, thus taking over her mother's job seamlessly. The daughter's participation likely increased as Mrs. Tsenhor aged and eventually came to live with the daughter's family (or they with her). Difficulties in tracking the last years of Mrs. Tsenhor's life with the disappearance of Ruru's name after regnal year 25 of Darius mean that although we have a collection of Mrs. Tsenhor's papers, it may be more akin to a dossier of papers relating to a single person, but put together in more modern times, than an actual archive where we can prove that the documents were kept together in antiquity. We do not know whether Ruru died after her last appearance in the texts or Mrs. Tsenhor's files were simply deposited with Ruru's brother Ituru. Donker van Heel treats the missing Tsenhor papyri, including P. Louvre E 3231B and C, which were kept together in antiquity wrapped in P. Louvre E 3231A.

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2 Jac. J. Janssen, "Absence from Work by the Necropolis Workmen of Thebes," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 8 (1980): 127-52.

The last two pages of the book return to Mrs. Tsenhor's life, at a time when she was extremely old for an ancient Egyptian woman (60 years) and no doubt required care from her family. Proud and independent, she finally passed away and was forgotten. Today, however, she lives on in Donker van Heel's little book that covers so much ground and offers so many points for serious consideration. We thank him for bringing Mrs. Tsenhor to life once again and hope there is yet another choachyte deserving of similar biographical treatment that Donker van Heel is willing to take on as his next project. Scholars as well as general readers will relish the story of Mrs. Tsenhor, and probably many will want to explore the original source material.

Sally L.D. Katary

André J. Veldmeijer and Salima Ikram (eds.). *Chasing Chariots: Proceedings of the First International Chariot Conference (Cairo 2012)*. **Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013. ISBN 978-90-8890-209-3. 273 pages. Price €39.95 (hardcopy); €4.50 (PDF download).**

Online Access: http://www.scribd.com/doc/190655642/Veldmeijer-Ikram-2013-Chasing-Chariots-eBook

The First International Chariot Conference, cooperatively organised by the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo (NVIC) and the American University in Cairo (AUC), was held in Egypt at the close of 2012 (30-Nov to 02-Dec). Chariots and the use of chariotry had a complex process of development and were interlaced within the social fabric of societies in the eastern Mediterranean (primarily from the Late Bronze Age [LBA]), and, as a result, have long been held with high esteem in academic circles as a research theme. The main aim of this conference was to draw together a wide variety of researchers who are investigating various aspects of chariotry in pharaonic Egypt and, by extension, the ancient Near East.

The conference proceedings consist of 17 articles with a variety of views and investigations. As some articles appear to contradict one another, it seems the editors opted not to exclude conflicting contributions, leaving the reader to decide for him or herself the plausibility of divergent arguments. Although I applaud such an approach in academic edited volumes, it is problematic for newcomers to the field if they are not familiar with these debates, as they can be misled with suppositions that have very little evidence.

Moreover, the volume's discussion of chariots in warfare is rather limited. Given that most of the authors refer to chariots as vehicles used in ancient conflict, it is surprising that there is not one article solely devoted to how chariots were used in battle. Indeed, the mention of the role of chariots on the battlefield is mainly confined to the few comments by Crouwel and the conclusion of Spalinger in his analysis (see below). Surely, the varying views of the battle-taxi, rout vehicle, troop-transport and mobile archer's platform should have been discussed more fully.

The themes of the volume fall into four main topics: linguistic/philological, technological, sociological (specifically the usage and role of chariotry) and cross-cultural research. Somewhat unfortunately, however, the volume itself orders the articles alphabetically, by the author's last name. As a result, the reader has to "change modes" from article to article, making the debates between authors more difficult to observe. The incorporation of articles from outside pharaonic Egypt is informative for the reader not familiar with these other cultures but are perhaps too brief for the casual reader to glean lasting details (i.e. – how much did Assyrian or Urartian chariots differ from Egyptian New Kingdom types?).

Several contributions combine linguistic and sociological levels of analysis. M. Abbas explores the way in which Ramesside charioteers acted as travelling diplomats in the Levant and served as vital lines of communications with established powers in the ancient Near East. O. Herslund conducts a philological examination of the chariot-workers from the ancient documentation from Egypt. His contribution is indeed important within the context of the discussion on chariot production but the formatting of the text seems to have impacted some of the depictions of hieroglyphs, which are rendered unreadable in their present state. Nevertheless, Herslund's valuable examination provides a compendium of the more 'working class' personnel associated with chariot-workshops. C. Manassa's section examines the Hymn to the King in his Chariot (known from two ostraca – Edinburgh O.916 and Turin S.9588). Besides illustrating the composition of the chariot, the Hymn also illustrates high-status weaponry (composite bows, bronze weapons with embellishments). She emphasizes that the Hymn should be viewed as a literary text and concisely argues that a simple translation will not yield all the poetic constructs the ancient scribe employed to make this a literary work of art; inclusion of the weaponry described may be more inventive than real.

Six of the articles in this volume are focused on technological discussions of chariotry. Curiously, there is a lack of significant reference to the materials from Qantir. Although Pusch and Herold's publication is difficult to obtain, there are numerous instances where this material would have fit into the discussion of chariots as a piece of technology.[1]

E. Brock presents a possible chariot-canopy from the tomb of Tutankhamun. Although this object has been on display for some time in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Brock re-evaluates it as having come from Royal Chariot A1 (Carter's 'State Chariot' no. 122) rather than being a stationary canopy to protect the ruler from the sun while sitting on a chair. His article demonstrates that even though some objects in museums are well known to Egyptologists, it is beneficial to question our presumptions about pieces to determine if they served a different purpose. Along similar lines, J. Crouwel contributes a submission on Tutankhamun's six chariots, illustrating the various extant components. Crouwel suggests that the foreign wooden elements are representative of the exchange system of the eastern Mediterranean communities during the LBA. Crouwel also gives a cursory analysis of the deployment methods for chariots in LBA warfare so readers unfamiliar with chariotry deployment theories can quickly understand the current academic suggestions. S.

1 E. Pusch and A. Herold, S*treitwagen technologie in der Ramses-Stadt: Bronze an Pferd und Wagen* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999).

Prell presents some of the material found at the workshops at Piramesses. This is a very significant article that should be consulted along with Pusch and Herold's analysis of the chariot stables at Qantir. However, the piece itself seems a little out of place in this volume as the article does not specifically address the remains of chariotry equipment. Instead, the article discusses the possible tools in the production of leatherwork and military equipment. Y. Sasada presents an argument that the "Buhen horse" may not be an example of a domesticated horse used in chariotry. The article is informative about equine dentition and how the second premolar would not be the expected place to find bit-wear in a horse attached to a chariot. In fact, Sasada sufficiently demonstrates that a correctly fitted bit would lie between a horse's incisors and second premolars. As a result, I foresee that many claims of equine bit-wear will have to be re-evaluated as a result of Sasada's analysis.

B. Sandor's contribution examines engineering aspects of chariotry. In his section, Sandor surveys New Kingdom Egyptian chariotry and makes comparisons to Celtic and Roman chariots to illustrate how the New Kingdom Egyptians may have employed certain engineering aspects to enhance the speed and stability of their vehicles. Although the article is useful for those academic researchers not familiar with rotational inertia or dampeners, the article only seems to slightly build upon Sandor's previous article.[2]

The final "technological" article, produced by Veldmeijer et al., details the current level of investigation of the Egyptian Museum Chariot Project (EMCP). In this section, the authors describe the remains of leatherwork associated with the accoutrements of a New Kingdom Egyptian chariot. The images and text accompanying this chapter are very well done and serve to better illustrate this unique find since it was reported on in 2011 by *Nature*.[3] The chapter's content focuses on the type(s?) of animal skin utilised and the team's conservation efforts to prevent further degradation. It is a very strong article and this reviewer hopes that the results of their work are published frequently considering the quality of their research.

The volume's third theme is that of the social impact of chariotry upon New Kingdom society. A. Calvert's section is an extensive discussion about the Thutmose IV chariot body or car-casing. Calvert illustrates how this artefact has iconographic representations of the Egyptian concept of *ma'at* and the investiture of the gods that were associated with the king. Calvert suggests that the Thutmose IV chariot casing and, by extension, the more elaborately decorated chariots from Tutankhamun's tomb, would have been functional vehicles in battle. Although Calvert argues that the reason for these embellishments is that the royal chariot would have served as the royal throne while the king was abroad, this claim is not sufficiently explored to change the reader's perceptions of these royal chariots. Moreover, Calvert's attempt to place this object into a New Kingdom artistic context is puzzling in that she opts for a direct comparison to the 19th Dynasty battle scenes on the exterior of temples. As Gaballa has sufficiently argued, 19th Dynasty battle scenes, whose narrative

2 B. Sandor, "The Rise and Decline of the Tutankhamun-Class Chariot," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 23:2 (2004): 153-175.

3 J. Marchant, "Ancient Egyptian Chariot Trappings Rediscovered," *Nature*, November 23, 2011.http://www.nature.com/news/ancient-egyptian-chariot-trappings-rediscovered-1.9388

components are derivative of artistic works of the Amarna period, are unique in comparison with earlier 18th Dynasty martial scenes; they are not eternal but rather portray a specific point in time.[4] Despite some issues with the underlying methodology, this section does an admirable job of presenting an in-depth discussion of this artefact as being representative of the pervasive nature of Egyptian religious thought in materialised form.

H. Köpp-Junk argues that Egyptian chariots were also used in civilian contexts. Köpp-Junk claims that chariotry was "…an obvious component of daily life as a mode of locomotion" (p. 131). In addition, she suggests that female royal family members regularly used them for transport. Although she includes two sections on Hunting and Sports, they are treated with such brevity that it would lead one to question why she would include this point at all, particularly as there is no reference to Herb and Decker's volume illustrating these topics in detail.[5] Köpp-Junk's contribution also attempts to argue that chariots were used in long-distance travel along specialised road networks built during the pharaonic period. However, the evidence for such extensive pharaonic roadways is unconvincing. Furthermore, the lack of images in this article as a whole impedes its arguments. For example, the section "Chariot Transport by Water" has no illustrations to elucidate tomb scenes of chariots carried by ships.

L. Sabbahy's article focuses on the artistic representations of chariots. In direct contrast to Köpp-Junk, Sabbahy claims that the depiction of females in chariots is extremely limited and that chariot conveyance was the prerogative of the king initially before it spread *only* to the use of high officials. Similarly, the depictions of a king tying the chariot-reins behind the chariot driver's waist is something that Sabbahy claims is not possible (p. 192) even though this was mention by Crouwel to be a plausible method of driving for the king in the midst of well-orchestrated hunting activities (p. 86). In addition, Sabbahy also points out that depictions of Egyptian deities in association with chariotry are indeed very rare, which seems to argue against Calvert's claims. The various conclusions of Sabbahy, Crouwel and Köpp-Junk highlight the on-going scholarly debates in research on the topic of ancient Egyptian chariotry.

A. Spalinger's article in this volume attempts to examine the role of Egyptian chariotry in New Kingdom warfare. In the first section of his article, Spalinger discusses briefly the various terms for chariot warriors and shield-bearers. He chooses to view Egyptian chariotry as providing a protective screen for marching infantry but does not discuss how other authors have pointed out that chariots were light-weight vehicles that would have broken frequently if driven too hard or for a long period of time.[6] The chronology of his discussion is somewhat disjointed, for he first briefly explains how chariots were used in relation to the battles of Megiddo and Kadesh through the means of textual analysis before jumping to an examination of chariotry in the reign of Ramesses III in

4 G. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (Mainz: Philip von Zabern, 1976.)

5 W. Decker and M. Decker, *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten: Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen*, 2 Volumes (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

6 L. Sabbahy, in *Chasing Chariots,* ed. André Veldmeijer & SalimaIkram (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2012), 191-202; T. Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2002), 113.

the 20th Dynasty. For this second analysis, he examines the artistic scenes from Medinat Habu, but the accompanying images are much too pixelated to clearly make out the details to which Spalinger refers. Another curious aspect of Spalinger's analysis is that he claims there is no possible way for researchers to determine how the Egyptian army marched while on campaign (p. 247). However, one of Spalinger's former students spent a significant amount of time devoted to this very topic in his PhD thesis.[7]

The cross-cultural articles are very interesting as they represent the impact of chariotry across the ancient Near Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean contexts. H. Genz's contribution explores how archery gained revered status due to charioteers using the vehicle as a mobile missile platform in Levantine and Anatolian cultures during the LBA. B. Gökce et al. illustrate aspects of Urartian chariots from the 9th – 7th centuries BCE and so inform the reader about the physical and iconographic remains from this area of the Lake Van Basin and eastern Anatolia. This section is a welcome addition to existing academic research on Urartian chariotry since the articles by Özgen were written more than three decades ago.[8] Most importantly, this section illustrates that these vehicles were used in mountainous terrain where one would not initially expect to find them employed. M. Raccidi's section on wagons and carts in the third millennium contributes as well to the wide scope of the chariotry conference. This article illustrates the development of four-wheeled vehicles (wagons) and two-wheeled transports (carts) throughout the ancient Near East. As is known to most researchers, the information is mainly confined to models and glyphic depictions. Besides these sources, the article also provides an invaluable description of the physical wheel impressions found at Tell Hariri/Mari that have not been thoroughly discussed.

Sacco's article is a comparative study of artistic depictions of chariotry from New Kingdom Egypt and first millennium Assyria. The author claims that Egyptian chariots were functional war-vehicles in the LBA while Iron Age Assyrian chariots were instead relegated to symbols of high status. In this contribution, there are many sweeping statements that range from technological determinism and the imperial motives for the New Kingdom Egyptians *vis-à-vis* the Assyrian Empire. A major *faux pas* is Sacco's claim that chariotry was developed and deployed in Egyptian and Assyrian armies because of the relatively flat landscape of these riverine civilizations. This statement ignores the plethora of evidence that these vehicles were used in the Levant (by the Canaanites and the Mitanni), Anatolia (the Hittites), and northern Iraq (the Assyrians and the Urartians), contemporary cultures of the LBA and Iron Age respectively. Surprisingly, there is no comparison of Assyrian chariotry depictions in relation to New Kingdom Egyptian types to illustrate the technological differences that took place in the transition to the Iron Age, nor is there a consultation with more recent Assyriological research, such as De Backer's 2012 study.[9] Throughout the article, it becomes

7 B. Heagren, *The Art of War in Pharaonic Egypt* (PhD Dissertation, Auckland University, 2010).

8 E. Özgen, "The Urartian Chariot Reconsidered: II. Archaeological Evidence, 9th - 7th Centuries B.C.," *Anatolica* 11 (1984): 91-154; E. Özgen, "The Urartian Chariot Reconsidered: I. Representational Evidence, 9th - 7th centuries B.C.," *Anatolica* 10 (1983): 111-131.

9 F. De Backer, *L'art du siege néo-assyrien* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

clear that Sacco accepts Drews' claim that Iron Age chariotry was relegated to transport for elite persons.[10] However, she does not make mention of Drews until the last page (p. 213) and even then, only his latest book's first three pages.[11] Although many academic researchers are divided on Drews' claims, if Sacco agrees with him, it must be stated explicitly and be fully explained why the role of chariotry changed so noticeably.

The discussion of Egyptian chariotry in Egyptological and ancient Near Eastern circles will always be a popular topic. Perhaps the reason for this kind of pervasive discussion derives from the chariot's many aspects. For instance, one can focus on the role that charioteers played within Egyptian society or the vehicles' technological features. The overall impression of this volume is one of contrasted interests and a differential quality of submissions. As such, some matters of ancient LBA chariotry need to be approached in a much more cautious manner, highlighting the fact that further investigations cannot solely rely upon Egyptian evidence to reconstruct how chariotry was employed. Although the lack of images in some articles hurts the discussion and arguments put forth, the publishers of this volume should be commended in that its publication was immediately available for purchase via PDF download. Furthermore, a copy of the book was put online for ease of access to researchers. Such actions will ensure that this volume is widely read by those with an interest in ancient chariots despite the shortcomings of some of the articles.

Nicholas Wernick

10 R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

11 R. Drews, *Early Riders: The Beginnings of Mounted Warfare in Asia and Europe* (London: Routledge, 2004).

Jason Thompson. Foreword by Jaromir Malek. *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology 1: From Antiquity to 1881*. **Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015. ISBN: 978-9774165993. 357 pages. Price: US $39.95.**

The first in a forthcoming series, *Wonderful Things* is named after the line Howard Carter uttered upon opening Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922—likely the most famous episode in the history of Egyptology. Despite its name, the book is not a study of material things, but a wide-ranging history of interest in understanding ancient Egypt, from the Middle Kingdom to the 1881 death of August Mariette, the French Egyptologist who founded the Egyptian Antiquities Service.

The book is a much-needed chronicle of who did what first, and when. It is an immensely useful resource simply because Thompson has managed to gather together many disparate episodes in the history of the field here in one place—something that had yet to be done in a critical way.[1] In the 21st

1 Popular accounts include Leslie Greener, *The Discovery of Egypt* (London: Cassell, 1966), also ending with the 1881 death of Mariette, and Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt: How a Lost Civilization was Rediscovered* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006). A concise history of the field can also be found in Edmund S. Meltzer, "Egyptol-

century, Egyptologists have shown an increasing interest in the history of their discipline, resulting in a smattering of case studies,[2] a number of monograph biographies,[3]and some excellent thematic approaches.[4] However, the study is fractured, and Thompson's newest book, though predominantly focusing on developments within the nineteenth century, manages a highly readable synthesis.

Thompson starts by outlining the limitations of putting together a history of Egyptology, a multifaceted field that is "not just one discipline but rather a collection of two dozen or so disciplines moving in loose formation" (p. 2). Problems include basic questions of periodization and categorization. For instance, was "Egyptology" formed in antiquity when interest in ancient Egypt began, or by Europeans in the nineteenth century who coined the term and systematized the practice? The answer lies in how we choose to define Egyptology (for example, John Baines has suggested that Egyptology be considered a branch of "area studies" rather than an independent discipline),[5] and more importantly, who gets to be considered an Egyptologist.[6] Academics today might not place geologists, architects, artists, or prehistorians in Egyptology proper, but as more is written on the history of the field, it is evident that there has never been one consistent way to do Egyptology. For Thompson, "everyone involved with ancient Egyptian studies in one way or another may be subsumed within the story of Egyptology" (p. 3). While Thompson spends considerable time discussing the big names in pre-1881 Egyptology, like Jean-François Champollion and Karl Richard Lepsius, he also focuses on the "minor characters" whose impacts are commonly left out of the history of the field, such as Sir William Gell and Robert Hay.

Wonderful Things consists of fourteen chapters, four of which cover Egyptology before the nineteenth century. Chapter 1 summarizes preoccupations with ancient Egypt in antiquity, starting

ogy," in Donald B. Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford University Press, 2001) with useful insights on philological developements in the history of Egyptology.

2 Those devoted to Egyptology before 1881 include (but are not limited to) Okasha El-Daly, *Egyptology: The Missing Millennium* (London: UCL Press, 2005); Peter Ucko and Timothy Champion, eds., *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions through the Ages* (London: UCL Press, 2003); Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); and a slew of publications on the Napoleonic expedition and hieroglyphic decipherment.

3 Several in recent years, including biographies of William Bankes, Giovanni Battista Belzoni, James Henry Breasted, Howard Carter, Karl Richard Lepsius, Flinders Petrie, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson (to name just a few). The go-to encyclopedia is M. L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, rev. 4th edition (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2012).

4 See especially Donald M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Stephanie Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities: Ancient Egypt at the British Museum* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006); Elliott Colla, *Conflicted. Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); David Gange, *Dialogues with the Dead: Egyptology in British Culture and Religion, 1822-1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); William Carruthers, ed., *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures*, Routledge Studies in Egyptology (London: Routledge, 2014); and Christina Riggs, *Unwrapping ancient Egypt* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

5 John Baines, "Egyptology and the Social Sciences: thirty years on," in *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie*, eds. Alexandra Verbovsek, Burkhard Backes, and Catherine Jones (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2011), 573.

6 A discussion of disciplinary exclusions in the history of Egyptology can be found in William Carruthers, "Introduction: Thinking about Histories of Egyptology," in W. Carruthers, ed., *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures* (2014), pp. 1-8.

with the ancient Egyptians' reflexive view of their own past, moving on to Greco-Roman-era Egyptomania. Crediting several recent studies,[7] Chapter 2 quashes the common misconception that medieval Islamic scholars were not particularly interested in Pharaonic history, showing, for example, early efforts by Muslim scholars to translate hieroglyphs. Chapters 3 and 4 survey Egyptological developments during the Renaissance and Enlightenment, including several unsuccessful attempts at deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphs that, as Thompson puts it, were destined to fail because of the preconception that the script was purely symbolic in nature. A common thread throughout these first chapters is Thompson's assertion that belief in the texts of the sage Hermes Trismegistus—a historical amalgam between the Egyptian god Thoth and the Greek Hermes, thought to have lived contemporaneously with Moses—played a vital role in the development of Egyptology. The Hermetic corpus materialized in Classical antiquity and was embraced during the Medieval and Renaissance periods when it was believed that Hermetism correctly predicted both the decline of ancient Egyptian civilization and the advent of Christianity (p. 59). This preoccupation (dubbed "Egyptosophy" by Erik Hornung), effectively lingered well into nineteenth century Egyptology (pp. 60, 184).[8]

Chapter 5 tackles the Napoleonic expedition of 1798, the storied discovery of the Rosetta Stone, and the two-decades long publication of the multi-volume *Description de l'Égypte*. While acknowledging the book's lasting importance to the history of Egyptology, Thompson argues that following the initial publication, the book made little impact on its European audience due to the difficulty of collecting the entire set (p. 108).[9]

Chapter 6 focuses on Thomas Young and Jean-François Champollion's respective breakthroughs in the decipherment of hieroglyphs, as well as their reputed feud. Thompson challenges the common misconception—sometimes held by Egyptologists—that hieroglyphs were fully deciphered following Champollion's publication of *Lettre à M. Dacier*, and astutely points out that Egyptologists remain hesitant to criticize Champollion's methods because of the high status he has been given as the father of Egyptology.

Chapters 7 to 10 cover the remainder of the first half of the nineteenth century, with particular focus on the mutual hostility between the British and French. While efforts to decipher the hieroglyphs unfolded in Europe, the British consul-general in Egypt Henry Salt and his French adversary Bernadino Drovetti separately arranged the large-scale removal of antiquities from Egypt through the hands of Giovanni Belzoni, Giovanni Caviglia, and Jean-Jacques Rifaud. The Egyptian expeditions of the 1820s were predominantly conducted by amateur self-funded Egyptologists, such as Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and several lesser-known individuals (p. 161). Champollion's death in 1832 was followed by several mostly failed attempts to continue decipherment where the French pioneer

7 Especially el-Daly, *Egyptology: The Missing Millennium*.

8 Erik Hornung, *The Secret Lore of Egypt: Its Impact on the West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

9 Andrew Bednarski previously discussed the inaccessibility of the *Description de l'Égypte* in Great Britain and the tendency to overstate its initial impact there in *Holding Egypt: Tracing the reception of the Description de l'Égypte in nineteenth-century Great Britain* (London: Golden House Publications, 2005), especially pp. 52, 95.

left off. The 1830s and 40s saw a few wealthy Europeans who resided permanently in Egypt to amass their own private collections, for instance, Anthony Charles Harris and Henry Abbott of papyrus fame. Lastly, Thompson spends ample pages on the legacy of the Prussian Expedition in Egypt, led by Karl Richard Lepsius, as a turning-point in mid-nineteenth century Egyptology. Moreover, Lepsius's publications on Egyptian grammar around this time initiated the shift from hieroglyphic decipherment to translation (pp. 198-207).

Chapter 11 discusses the monetary distribution of finds from Egypt in the mid-nineteenth century and the establishment of the first major Egyptian collections in London, Paris, Leiden, Turin, and Berlin. Efforts to document and display these large collections "constituted an institutionalization of Egyptology long before the discipline was conceptualized, or even named" (p. 209). While developments in museology propelled the professional development of the field, it simultaneously elicited the wide-scale destruction of many Egyptian sites by Europeans—previously coined "the rape of the Nile."[10]

Chapters 12 and 14 narrate Auguste Marriete's career as the director-general of the Egyptian Antiquities Service (founded 1858), which allowed him a virtual monopoly over Egyptian sites and antiquities. He is credited with overseeing at least 35 hasty excavations in Egypt—commonly by use of dynamite—and selectively removing the best monuments to be displayed in the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, which he established in Bulaq in 1863. Although Mariette's archaeological methods were deplorable by today's standards, he believed his hurried excavations were necessary for the preservation of ancient sites, and that the containment of antiquities in Egypt would help make the museum there a scientific centre for Egyptological research. During "Mariette's monopoly," few outsiders were allowed to conduct excavation in Egypt, and his death marked another turning point in the history of Egyptology.

Lastly, chapter 13 breaks from the chronological format of the book to talk thematically about advances in lithography and photography in nineteenth century Egyptian expeditions, and European Egyptomania. As public interest in ancient Egypt grew, Egyptian tourism spiked, facilitated by technological advances for quicker travel. Egyptological writing and popular travel accounts became entangled, as many tourists used guidebooks written by Egyptologists, and scholarly publications were geared towards tourists.

Indeed the biggest strength of *Wonderful Things* is as a compendium of sources on the history of Egyptology as it meticulously records changes in Egyptological thinking going back to ancient Egypt itself. The book is more descriptive than argumentative, although Thompson offers some very pointed insights on commonly overlooked or misunderstood events, such as the initial impact of Champollion's grammar, or the marginalization of the Italian contribution to the development of the field (p. 214). Readers might prefer to choose more in-depth studies for particular moments in Egyptology before the nineteenth century. However, the book prods at some of the

10 Brian M. Fagan, *The Rape of the Nile: Tomb Robbers, Tourists, and Archaeologists in Egypt,* 3rd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004).

bigger questions those interested in the history of the discipline should consider, namely, what is the history of Egyptology and how should it be narrated? To date, *Wonderful Things* is the best consolidated history of Egyptology, and Jason Thompson should be commended for his efforts. This book will be especially interesting to Egyptologists and archaeologists interested in the professional development of the field and will be an excellent resource for students and general readers of Egyptology.

Meira Gold

***Ippolito Rosellini and the Dawn of Egyptology. Original Drawings and Manuscripts of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition to Egypt (1828-29) from the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa* ed. Marilina Betrò (London: Golden House Publications, 2011-09). ISBN 10: 1906137269 / ISBN 13: 9781906137267**

Between 1828 and 1829, Ippolito Rosellini and Jean-François Champollion led a joint Franco-Tuscan expedition to Egypt in an effort to record better its monuments, and to amass accurate copies of hieroglyphic inscriptions. The result of this effort was the famous Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia, published largely through Rosellini's sheer force of will between 1832 and 1844. Betrò's edited work presents fascinating, and mostly unseen, archival material from Pisa University's library, related to both the joint expedition and Monumenti. This material comprised an exhibition in Cairo's Egyptian Museum, held between 27 January and 23 February 2010. Betrò's lavishly illustrated work is roughly divided into two parts: the first presents scholarly essays related to the joint expedition; the second is the exhibition catalogue.

The first essay, written by Betrò, generally discusses Rosellini, his travels, and his contributions to Egyptology. Setting the stage for the rest of the catalogue, Betrò explains that the 15 month expedition, in fact, was both conceived of and executed as two separate missions, one French, the other Tuscan. These two missions worked parallel to each and shared their findings. Of interest to researchers is the fact that previously unpublished Rosellini materials, some of which are depicted in this catalogue, were under investigation by scholars at the time of Betrò's work, and that the goal was to make them available online. As a means of introducing Rosellini to readers, Betrò recounts his biography, including his early alliance with Champollion. She explains their initial relationship as one between master, Champollion, and disciple, Rosellini, but is quick to point out how this relationship changed over time. She also points out that the seeds of the joint expedition to Egypt were laid while Rosellini spent a year studying in Paris, and helping Champollion catalogue newly acquired Egyptian material in the Louvre. Support for the joint expedition was eventually secured from both the Grand Duke of Tuscany and France's Charles X. For a brief moment, in fact, Charles' patriotism asserted itself and he appeared inclined to make the expedition a wholly French effort.

Betrò explains that, upon learning this, Champollion threatened to quit the expedition, and the initial plans continued apace. As the essay continues, Betrò explains that the drawings and MS presented in the exhibition represented the main stages of the expedition's progress: from Giza, to Saqqara and Memphis, to Beni Hasan, to Thebes, Philae, and eventually into Nubia proper. This effort resulted in the amassment of an enormous number of documents and antiquities fundamental to the birth of Egyptology. In total, 76 boxes of antiquities were transported back to France and Tuscany, the expedition's artists created 1325 drawings, and 14 handwritten volumes of hieroglyphic inscriptions, observations, sketches, and notes were compiled. As the two expeditions shared the means and results of their research, two identical sets of notes and drawings were created, although, as Rosellini's notes state, the Tuscan portfolio of drawings initially contained more historical and civil scenes than the French. The final product was meant to be a joint, and evenly divided, publication by Firmin Didot, but the plans for this fell through after Champollion's death in 1832. While discussing the planned publication, Betrò points out that the joint expedition sought not to repeat the work, and errors, of the Napoleonic Description de l'Égypte. In this vein, the joint expedition emphasized accurate textual material for translation, and avoided topographical and architectural illustrations. Maps and measurements were made to verify the Description, but these were never published. Betrò's chapter also discusses the sheer breadth of information amassed, and its usefulness in studying ancient Egyptian civilization both at the time of the expedition and now. With the death of Champollion, the task of publishing this material fell on Rosellini, who paid a high price both with his health and his personal money, as the Grand Duke mysteriously tired of supporting the project. To further complicate his efforts, Champollion's brother continually opposed the project. Despite these hardships, Betrò points out that the Rosellini's efforts earned him the praise and respect of many of his contemporaries.

The second essay, written by Alessandra Pesante, begins with a discussion of the Rosellini material held by Pisa University Library, as well as what became of Rosellini's papers, notes and other material after his death. The chapter offers a useful enumeration of this material, interspersed with personal information about Rosellini's family. Pesante describes the archaeological material brought back from Egypt by the joint expedition, and, in particular, how the structure of the mission resulted in sets of material being split between the Louvre and Florence. With regard to the impact this material had on Italian Egyptology, Pesante draws attention to an exhibition in Florence that Rosellini mounted one year after his return. This exhibition, according to Pesante, led to the establishment of the first Egyptian Museum collection in Florence. The essay also offers a useful description and discussion of some of the nearly 2000 objects brought back from Egypt by Rosellini. Of particular note are relief from the tomb of Seti I in the Valley of the Kings, relief from the tomb of Horemheb in Saqqara, and the foundation deposit of Hatshepsut's tomb. Flora Silvano's third essay continues the theme of items brought back from Egypt, but focusses on the efforts of Rosellini's uncle, Gaetano. The majority of these items were bought on the antiquities market, and

as mentioned by Silvano, their recent re-examination has resulted in the ascription of provenances to some of the objects.

The second part of Betrò's work comprises a catalogue of exhibited material, divided into three sections. Section one centers on the genesis of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition, and contains images of MS material accompanied by descriptions. An interesting selection of this material includes: letters relevant to the origins of the expedition; a letter from Rosellini to his wife Zenobia after the expedition set out; a series of notebooks by Rosellini containing information on Egyptian material he saw in Europe and observations while in Egypt; a set of rules for expedition members, drafted and signed by both Rosellini and Champollion; and the translation of the firman, or official license, granted to Rosellini by Mohamed Ali.

The second section of the catalogue offers material directly related to the making of Rosellini's Monumenti. Depictions and explanations of original drawings are presented, some of which formed preliminary works for the final plates. Importantly, such material offers insight into how the plates were visually constructed. Related to the task of building Monumenti's plates is an inventory of materials used by the illustrators. More generally, the chapter documents Rosellini and Champollion's interest in daily life archaeological objects, as well as their attention to archaeological detail. Insight into the joint expedition's progress and activities can be gained through Rosellini's journal, which was meant to be a preface to his Monumenti, but which was only published a century after its creation. Similarly, insight into the joint expedition's finances can be gained through an examination of its account book, a portion of which is displayed in the catalogue. A list of boxes containing personal items for the expedition members is also shown. While some of the items contained in these boxes are predictable, such as books about Egypt, others are of a more charming personal quality, such as an entry for Champollion's cologne. Of more Egyptological interest to readers is the plan and section drawing of the tomb of Seti I, as well as a recitation of the joint expedition's six months of work in the Valley of the Kings and the fruits of these labors. Within this section of the catalogue's depictions, and explanations, of images incorporated into Monumenti, is preliminary work for Rosellini's famous image of Ramesses II on a chariot, plate LXXXI. This portion of the catalogue ends with a discussion of letters from Rosellini to his colleagues in Pisa concerning the expedition. As a whole, these letters offer further valuable insight into, and another source on, the work and life of the joint expedition in Egypt.

The third section of the catalogue is devoted to Rosellini's legacy, in particular his Monumenti and his teaching efforts. It mentions both the agreement for the publication of the joint expedition's results and an 1831 advertisement for it. This advertisement claimed the publication would appear imminently and summarized its intended contents. A discussion of delays to the publication, Champollion's failing health, and Champollion's brother's resistance to the proposed publication is then offered. A book containing 92 official letters addresses the preparations taken for the joint expedition and gives insight into Rosellini's life in Paris prior to his departure. Other letters in the catalogue also demonstrate Rosellini's connections to the wider, growing world of Egyptology after

the joint expedition, including one by Karl Lepsius. Finally, notes for a lecture by Rosellini on Egyptology can be found at the end of the catalogue.

Betrò's work forms an important resource for anyone interested in Rosellini and the history of Egyptology. Not only does it draw attention to hitherto unknown archival material, it presents a good deal of it in stunning reproductions. This book is a must-have for Egyptophiles, and those who wish to learn more about the fascinating early years of Egyptology.

Andrew Bednarski

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- Les textes en anglais doivent utiliser les notes de bas de page du style Chicago. Les textes en français et en allemand doivent employer le style conventionnellement utilisé par les chercheurs en égyptologie pour ces langues respectives. Veuillez éviter d'utiliser les abréviations latines telles que *ibid*., *loc. cit*. et *op. cit*., à l'exception des cas où il est fait plusieurs fois référence au même ouvrage dans une même note ou dans des notes subséquentes.
- Veuillez fournir une version PDF de votre texte à titre de référence pour d'éventuels problèmes relatifs à la fonte utilisée aussi bien que pour la disposition initiale de tableaux ou de citations.

Fontes

- La translitération de textes égyptiens doit être en format *Manuel de Codage*; idéalement, le grec, l'hébreu et l'arabe doivent être rédigés avec la fonte Unicode. Les textes hiéroglyphiques doivent préférablement être édités à l'aide du logiciel Vector Office qu'il est possible de télécharger à l'adresse suivante : http://www.hornet-sys.com/VectorOffice.html

Images

Les images doivent avoir une résolution minimale de 600 ppp et doivent idéalement être soumises en formats .tif ou .jpg. Notez que nous acceptons les images en noir et blanc et en couleur, cependant celles-ci seront imprimées uniquement en noir et blanc. L'édition en ligne du *JSSEA* permet néanmoins la publication d'images en couleur. Notez qu'il est de la responsabilité de l'auteur d'obtenir les droits d'auteur sur la diffusion du contenu visuel.

COMPTES RENDUS

- Les comptes rendus d'ouvrage sont acceptés en français et en anglais.
- Les directives concernant la fonte sont les mêmes que celles pour les articles.
- Les comptes rendus peuvent contenir des notes de bas de page, le cas échéant le style Chicago doit être utilisé.
- Un modèle pour les comptes rendus est également disponible à l'adresse suivante : http://www.thessea.org/journal_submission.php
- Les comptes rendus doivent être soumis à bookreviews@thessea.org

DATE DE TOMBÉE

La date limite pour soumettre un texte est le 31 janvier de chaque année. Toutes les soumissions seront évaluées par un comité de lecture. Les auteurs peuvent apporter des changements une fois que le processus de lecture est complété. Une fois que les épreuves finales sont soumises, seules des corrections mineures seront acceptées.

About The SSEA/SÉÉA

The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities was founded in Toronto in 1969 and duly incorporated in August of 1970. It was registered as a charitable organization under the laws of Canada in a year later. In 1984, the Calgary Chapter of the SSEA was formed and in 1999, a chapter was opened in Montreal under the name "La Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne" (SÉÉA). In 2007, the Toronto Chapter was established as an entity distinct from the Head office of the Society (The head office or parent organization is now known as The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne). A chapter in Vancouver has been operational since the summer of 2010. Each Chapter organizes local events for its members and is maintained by a Chapter Executive, under the authority of the Bylaws of the Society.

The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne is governed by a Board of Trustees elected annually. It organizes the Annual General Meeting, Symposium, Scholars' Colloquium and Poster Session, maintains the membership database and sundry websites, and publishes both the *Journal of the SSEA* and the *Newsletter*, in addition to other occasional publications.

To join the SSEA, contact info@thesea.org or visit www.thesea.org.

Below is information regarding The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / La Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne in the year of printing of this journal (2015-2016). Information about the Board of the SSEA/SÉÉA in the cover year of volume 40 (2014-2015) is appended separately.

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