Current Research in Egyptology 2016

Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Symposium
Jagiellonian University, Krakow 2016



Edited by

Julia M. Chyla, Joanna Dębowska-Ludwin, Karolina Rosińska-Balik, and Carl Walsh

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Front cover: Miniature figurines from a shrine deposit of Tell el-Farkha, Dynasty 1. Robert Słaboński © Polish Archaeological Expedition to the Eastern Nile Delta.

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Foreword

Current Research in Egyptology (better known as CRE) is a series of international conferences that began at the University of Oxford in 2000. From this first event until the seventeenth, which was held in Krakow, CRE has been a popular and successful annual event hosted by various universities (Oxford, Liverpool, Birmingham, London, Durham, Swansea, Manchester, Leiden and Krakow) that offer courses in Mediterranean archaeology and/or Egyptology. From the start these conferences were meant to gather postgraduate students interested in the history, archaeology and culture of ancient Egypt, but soon they turned into international meetings of researches, mostly at an early stage of their careers, studying every aspect of Egyptian culture from deep prehistory to the early modern period.

CRE XVII took place in the heart of the historical university quarter just by the Main Market Square of Krakow, Poland in the Medieval buildings of the Jagiellonian University (4–7 May 2016) but was organised jointly by numerous institutions: the Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University in Krakow and Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University of Warsaw with the support of the Scientific Association of Ancient Egypt 'Kemet', the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, and the Egyptology Section in the Department of Ancient Near East Studies at Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw. Crucial for the success of the event was also the financial support provided by the city of Krakow, as well as ten bursaries generously founded by the Egypt Exploration Society.

During four days of intense discussions 120 delegates of 24 countries from all over the world presented 69 papers and thirteen posters, and listened to four key lectures given by top Polish archaeologists actively working in Egypt and the Near East. The large variety of topics presented at the conference was arranged in sixteen thematic sessions titled as follows: Crafts and Production, Economy and Tradition, Religion – Gods and Rituals, Religion – People and Practices, Private Social History and Egyptian Women, Art and Iconography, Interpretation of Texts and Literature, Object and Archive Studies, Ancient Egyptian Architecture, Elites of Ancient Egypt, Pre- and Early Dynastic Egypt, Egypt of the New Kingdom, Egypt of the Late Period, The End of the Story – from the Romans to Islamic Times, Field Projects, and *Varia Aegiptiaca*.

But no conference consists only of lectures, and so it was that CRE XVII participants had the opportunity to fully experience the history and culture of Krakow by joining a city guided tour, visiting a unique Museum of the Jagiellonian University (being among the oldest European universities, working uninterruptedly from 1364), and having a charming dinner at the oldest Polish restaurant, 'Wierzynek' – a very special place that dates back as early as the University. We the organisers were honoured to host all the CRE XVII participants and would like to thank them for their wonderful contribution to the success of the event.

Introduction

Julia M. Chyla, Joanna Dębowska-Ludwin, Karolina Rosińska-Balik and Carl Walsh

This volume reflects the most recent state of research on ancient Egypt presented and discussed at the international conference Current Research in Egyptology XVII held from 4 to 7 May 2016 at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. From the many interesting papers discussed during the meeting, fourteen were selected for this publication. The first nine chapters are arranged chronologically covering the wide time span from the Predynastic till the Greco-Roman Period, with the remaining five chapters considering more general thematic, theoretical and cross-cultural topics.

All texts included in the book underwent a meticulous peer-review procedure. In the effective though time consuming process we were working with 24 external specialists in particular fields, who helped us choose the best and most professional articles among all proposed for the volume.

A strongly represented period is the Predynastic discussed in three texts. The chapter by Rinus Ormeling opens the series with presentation of his project that aims at re-evaluation of Walter Emery's field notes made during the excavations at Saqqara North, where he exposed the most important mastaba tombs of the 1st dynasty. As the final publication of the work dates back to the early and mid-20th century it lacks some crucial – for present archaeological standards – details, while the on-going project tries to trace them and bring new light to our knowledge on the important Early Dynastic site. Taichi Kuronuma in his text follows a similar idea of re-evaluation of old notes and field reports but made for another crucial sepulchral site of the early period, which is Naqada. He analyses details of offering placement in burials of the cemetery in order to uncover more information on Predynastic funeral rites. The Predynastic section closes with the chapter by Agnieszka Mączyńska, who systematises problems with basic terminology used in studies on the very beginnings of the Egyptian civilisation. While posing the fundamental question 'Who were the Naqadans?', she discusses the theories on cultural identity and identification, and various ways they are understood in the present archaeology of Predynastic Egypt.

In the following chapter Emanuel Casini studies cartonnage mummy helmet-masks during a long period of their popularity from the late Old Kingdom till the Ramesside Period with a particular stress on their history, development and distinctive decoration patterns. This is followed by the chapter by Martina Bardoňová and Věra Nováková on

elites of the Middle Kingdom, which focuses on the phenomenon of ancient Egyptian patronage using a modern sociological approach and demonstrating the limitations of various sources used for this topic. With Filip Taterka, who analyses military expeditions of Hatshepsut, a female Egyptian king, we jump into the heart of the New Kingdom. Analysing and interpreting a range of texts and objects of art, Taterka suggests that the typical picture of Hatshepsut popularly represented as a peaceful ruler cannot be supported any longer. In her chapter, Inmaculada Vivas Sainz discusses the idea of travelling artists and regional artistic schools styles within Egypt across the New Kingdom. Examining various materials collected from private tombs she takes a closer look at the mobility of ancient high-skilled craftsmen and their possible impact on artistic innovations introduced during this time. In the following chapter, Rennan Lemos provides a discussion of the types of social encounters and interactions within non-elite cemeteries through an examination of sepulchral material collected from three New Kingdom sites (Tell el-Amarna, Medinet el-Ghurab, and Fadrus), which were used from the first half of the 18th dynasty until the 20th dynasty. Closing this section, we move to the Greco-Roman Period, where Marie Peterková Hlouchová presents five newly excavated decorated wooden coffins of this period found at Abusir South during recent field projects conducted at the site by a Czech mission.

The thematic, theoretical, and cross cultural section opens with the chapter by Guilherme Borges Pires, who studies the relation of gods, cosmic sacredness and fertility beliefs, with some stress on the duality of Egyptian concept of world based on the juxtaposition of Red and Black lands. Maxwell Stocker's chapter provides a comparative approach to cultural identity extracted from narrative poetry of Greek and Egyptian origin, namely the iconic pieces of literature *The Odyssey* and *The Tale of Sinuhe*. The cultural comparisons between Greece and Egypt continues with Daniel Sánchez Muñoz chapter, which traces Egyptian musical elements incorporated into Greek traditions. In order to encourage more specialists to study this subject, he outlines the state of our present knowledge and suggests possible avenues and material for further interpretation. A similar goal can be seen in the chapter by Jose M. Alba Gómez, who presents an introductory picture of oil production in ancient Egypt, aiming at a short summary of accessible sources of information on the subject and opening a more specific discussion. Closing the volume is Porin Šćukanec Rezniček's chapter concerning his project on the comparative analysis of artifacts from the Egyptian collection of Zagreb, illustrating the range of information that objects without a certain context have for future research.

This volume provides the culmination of many engaging and interesting issues covering a wide range of current research within the fields of Egyptian archaeology and Egyptology. We believe that all of these comprise a valuable contribution to our picture of ancient Egyptian civilisation, and hope that this volume helps to stimulate future research within this exciting field.

Chapter 1

Revisiting Walter B. Emery at Saqqara: Exploring Emery's excavations, a re-evaluation of his field notes (1946–1956)

Rinus Ormeling

Abstract: By far the most prolific excavator at Saqqara, Walter B. Emery excavated more than twenty large mud brick mastaba tombs from the 1st dynasty at Saqqara. The results of Emery's exploits have been published in six extensive volumes, most of which were published almost directly after the work was accomplished. These publications still lay at the base of our understanding of the construction of 1st-dynasty mastaba tombs.

Fine and elaborate as Emery's publications are, the content of the publications reflects the archaeological methodology and ideas of their times. A modern re-evaluation may be due, but re-excavations is not really possible. Most of the tombs were left exposed to the elements after the first excavations and little of the original structures and/or situation is left.

Keywords: Early Dynastic, mastaba tombs, archive studies, Saqqara North

Introduction

The archaeology of the Early Dynastic Cemetery at Saqqara North is firmly linked to Walter Bryan Emery, who worked and excavated at that site on and off during a period of some 40 years (Smith 1971, 194–197; Tavares 1999, 700). The results were published in a series of five elaborate excavation reports (Emery 1938; 1939; 1949; 1954; 1958), a synthesis on early Egypt (Emery 1961) and a number of smaller papers (Emery 1962; 1965; 1966; 1967; 1968; 1970; 1971).

After his death in 1971, research at the Archaic Necropolis – the older name for the Northern part of the Saqqara plateau – diminished and since then only a handful of activities in the field took place at the site. Some scholars have stipulated that there

is still much to learn from Emery's legacy (Jeffreys and Tavares 1994, 147–149, 151, especially n. 32, 33, 39, 53; Martin 2007, 121–125; Lachner-Raschdorff 2014, ch. 11). In light of the growing interest in the archaeology and history of Early Dynastic Egypt, it seems remarkable that the Early Dynastic cemetery attracts so little attention. This paper is an attempt to revive the interest in this Early Dynastic necropolis at Saqqara and subsequently in W. B. Emery's work.

A large part of the archaeological legacy of W. B. Emery is kept at the archives of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) at London; amongst the extensive body of documents are Emery's field notes from his explorations at the Saqqara site between 1946 and 1956.

An initial scan of these field notes showed much information about later intrusions was not disclosed, mainly due to Emery's focus on the 1st-dynasty funeral installations: mastabas and ramifications.

My current research is aimed at the reconstruction of the pre-excavation landscape of Saqqara North, in order to study the history of this necropolis. A reconstruction of the history of the cemetery may increase our understanding of the Early Dynastic Period. This paper contains a re-evaluation of W. B. Emery's field notes from his excavations of tombs s3500 till s3507 and can be seen as the introductory first part of this reconstruction. The second part will be an elaborate reconstruction of the actual situation W. B. Emery encountered in the 1940s and 1950s around the six large 1st-dynasty mastabas. The latter part of the study is beyond the scope of these proceedings, therefore only a preliminary description of results has been incorporated in this paper.

In order to reconstruct the history of the tombs and the surrounding area, it is necessary to evaluate Emery's methodology. In what way were the excavations executed and what effect that had on the outcome of his explorations? This leads to the following research questions:

1. In what way did Emery excavate the large mastabas s3500–s3507 and how did his *modus operandi* affected the outcome of his explorations?
2. What was the situation around each of these tombs prior to excavation?
3. What was the situation after the tombs were excavated and the operations were ended?

As stated above, the first question and a part of the second question will be addressed in this paper. The remaining outcome of my research will be part of a follow up.

Walter B. Emery's Saqqara legacy at the Egypt Exploration Society

Emery's legacy on the subject of Saqqara in the archives of the Egypt Exploration Society is extensive but also incomplete. The documentation ranges from the 1930s to the late 1960s. However, the bulk of the documentation concerns the explorations in

1946 and between 1952 and 1956.[1] For the focus of this study the following documents are relevant:

1. The field notes, describing the daily activities of the work crew, the situation in the field, the finds and other peculiarities; they include many sketches of architectural features, construction details, finds and/or inscriptions;
2. The daybooks, enhanced hand-written copies of the daily notes in hard-cover ledgers; also including most of the abovementioned sketches;
3. Registers of objects and inscriptions, mainly set up and maintained by assistants (Emery 1954, Preface; 1958, Preface);
4. Large numbers of photographs, made during the excavations; most of them are numbered and/or annotated.

Note- and daybooks

There are six notebooks, two from 1946 and one for each year between 1952 and 1956. Each notebook contains the excavation of one large 1st-dynasty tomb.

There is a booklet which contains the field notes for the years 1952 to 1956. The notes are stacked in reverse order, with s3504 (1952/53) in the back and s3507 (1955/56) in the front (Fig. 1.1a). The notebooks of the two tombs s3500 and s3503 are present as two bundles hold together by a paperclip. They represent two parts of one campaign; tomb s3500 was excavated from 11th May until 15th June and tomb s3503 from 21st October until 24th December 1946. Apparently, Emery maintained the same way of recording during this period.

The daily records were copied in a daybook, interestingly not verbatim; there are remarkable differences in several instances. The daybooks for the campaigns 1952–1955 were recorded in a blue hardcover ledger (Fig. 1.1b); the fourth season (1956) was recorded in a second ledger. There are no daybooks for the tombs s3500 and s3503.

The title of the first daybook ledger – 'Day-book Saqqara Archaic Cemetery 1952–3 (tomb 3504)' (Fig. 1.1b) – suggests that the label was written during the first campaign, the two later campaigns – 1953/4 and 1954/5 – were not added to the title. The title of the notebook – 'Saqqara Archaic Necropolis Emery's Note Books 1952–56' – was apparently written after 1956 and could well have been written by somebody else than W. B. Emery (Fig. 1.1a).

The daybooks records are complete as far as the excavations are concerned, every consecutive day a record was made, even for the non-working days: 'suq day', delay by

[1] Between 1947 and 1951 W. Emery worked for the British Embassy in Cairo, in 1951 he accepted the Edwards Chair of Egyptology at University College of London and was appointed Field Director to the Egypt Exploration Society in 1952. In that capacity, he conducted his field work till 1956, when work at Saqqara was broken off due to the deteriorated relations between Egypt and Great Britain after the Suez crisis (Smith 1971, 194–195).

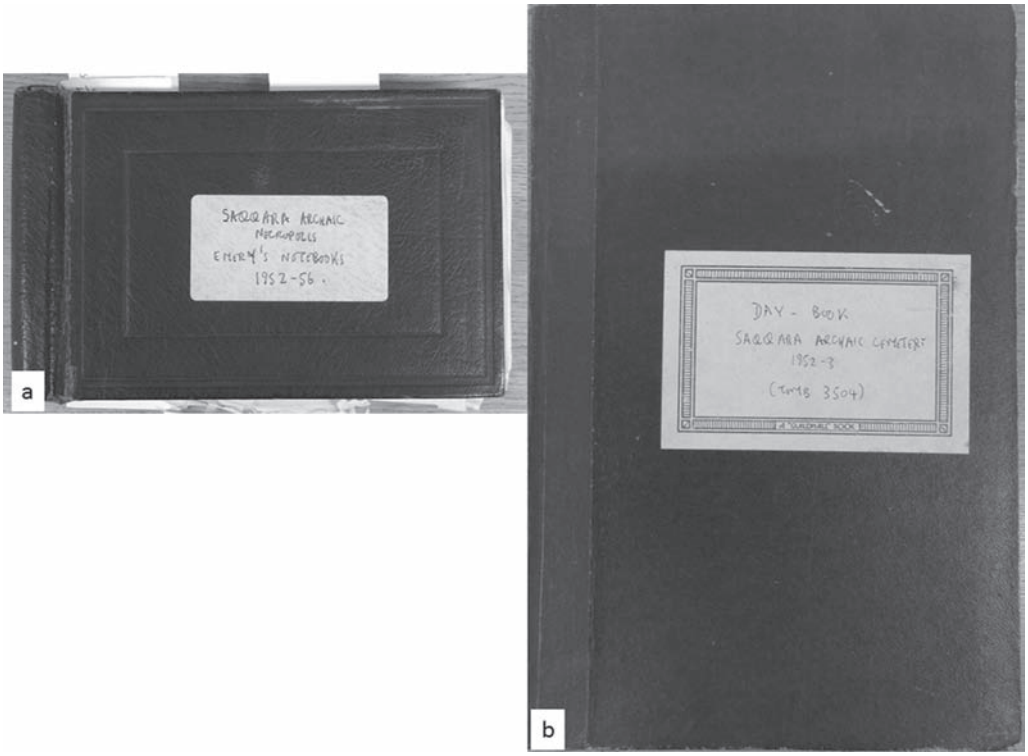

Fig. 1.1: W. B. Emery's notebook and daybook (courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society).

storm, etc. There are some pages (days) missing in the notebooks, probably because of the loose-leaf system. However, the notebook records for 1946 are complete (start and finish were noted).

An example of the entry for 8th February 1953, for tomb s3504, is given in Fig. 1.2a–b. It is a typical/representative entry with the description of the activities of that day and a sketch of the situation that was encountered. In this study, a reference to a date in the notebook of s3504 for 8th February will be given as 3504-NB 08-02, or for the daybook: 3504-DB 08-02. In this example, the daily activities contained work in area J, with finds of engraved ivory and the discovery of Late Roman/Early Coptic burials in a magazine.

This cursory style of notation was maintained throughout the years. The sketches were also quickly drawn and not to scale; in some cases, dimensions were noted in the sketches. Objects and finds were often mentioned, with elaborate descriptions written in the separate registers (below). In the case of inscriptions, the hieroglyphs or marks were often copied in note- and daybook; but not as a rule for all situations. In other words, the entries in the notebooks were apparently not intended as primary register or draft drawings.

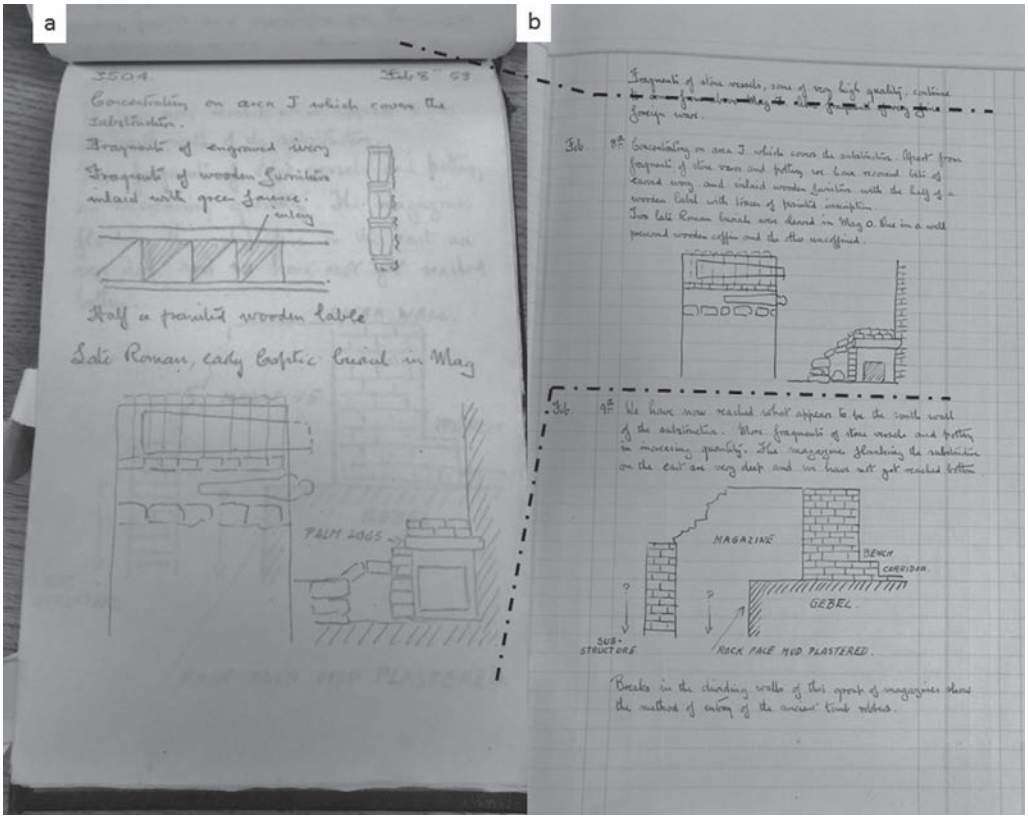

Fig. 1.2: Entry for February 8, 1953; a) notebook, b) daybook (courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society).

Object registers

Only a limited number of registers of objects survived, varying in form, content, and completeness.

1. There is a ledger for the years 1952–1955, according to the label were pots, stone vessels, flint and inscribed material not included.
2. There is a ledger for the registration of the stone vessels for season 1953–1954, which was according to the label maintained by H. S. Smith. Besides a factual registration of stone vessels found in that season, this ledger contains also elaborate notes on stone types, workmanship and burned stone objects. Interestingly, in the back of this book is a register of stone vessels from 2nd and 3rd dynasties tombs surrounding mastaba s3505.
3. In season 1955–1956 a new register was started by A. Klasens, for all objects and incised material. This ledger contains a factual registration of the objects found during that season.

4. A number of different folders containing:
   a. sketches and drawings of pottery from tombs s3504 and s3505,
   b. sketches of unlabelled inscriptions,
   c. drawings of objects from s3505, s3506 and s3507 by A. Klasens and H. Fischer.

Set against the elaborate description of and discussion on the objects in the formal publications of the tombs, this body of documentation is everything but impressive. Objects were occasionally mentioned in the note- and daybooks. In only one instant an extensive listing was made for all objects of tomb s3505 (on 2nd January 1955).

Photographs

A large number of photographs from different seasons survived, both negatives on film and printed copies. All photographs and prints are in black and white; the quality of the prints is still quite good, although some photos in the archives are damaged or discoloured.

It is not clear whether all photographs are still present, they are kept in different folders, unsorted and there are multiple doubles; some photos were not found by the author during his stay in at the EES. Based on the lists of photo numbers in the archives, the number for each of the tombs are presented in Table 1.1. The numbers presented here are the highest in the list in the archives.

The printed copies are quite large, mostly between 10 × 15 cm and 18 × 24 cm. The photographs are the formal excavation photos, taken during and at the end of the actual excavations.

Nice exceptions are the smaller and more informal photographs (snap shots), which provide a more intimate insight of the daily activities.

The daybooks contain two or three entries about taking photos in a particular situation. It is not clear who took the photographs, but likely it was the official photographer of the Saqqara Antiquities Service Inspectorate, Mr Shaduf (pers. comm. H. S. Smith 2016). The so-called snap shots were evidently not taken by W. B. Emery, as he figured in more than one photo. Some of the prints are stamped at the back, and these stamps indicate that the films were developed and printed in Egypt, almost directly after they were taken.

Table 1.1: Numbers of original black and white photos made by the excavator.

mastaba	*photographs*	*snap shots*
s3500	—	—
s3503	45	—
s3504	54	36
s3505	94	4
s3506	198	—
s3507	107	—

Some of the photos were used in the publications, the so-called plates in the back of the books. However, much more photos were taken than used in the publications. The extra photos are important resources for any further research; they were very helpful in this study.

Almost all photographs have a tomb number written on the back, a substantial number is also annotated on the back of the print with a date and/or a description. There are also photo lists available for most of the tombs from the 1950s.

On some photos, the handwriting is evidently Emery's, on others it remains questionable. However, the lists were probably made by someone else (after Emery's death?). For s3507, the list is written with pen on paper for a so-called matrix printer (only introduced in the late sixties) and in a different handwriting. In an occasional case the annotation was clearly not correct; therefore the lists and the annotations should be treated with some care.

Drawings

The archives hold a number of drawings of the tombs under study, mostly in the finished state as used in the publications. A nice exception is a drawing of tomb s3503 with the route of a robber's tunnel through the superstructure.

Conclusions

A tentative reconstruction of Emery's methods of record keeping and registration can be drawn from these documents; at least for his work in the 1950s.

A daily record of the activities, finds and other particulars were made by Emery himself in his notebook.[2] Records were also made for any object found during the day; these records were later – probably in the dig house – copied into the registers and the daybook ledgers. We may assume that the copying of records and notes were done under good and workable conditions; this assumption is based on the clear, clean and regular form of the entries in registers and the daybook.

During the season, objects and inscriptions were studied, measured and drawn in the house by the assistants. The architecture of the tombs, including details of the construction and isometric and axonometric representations were drawn by Emery, either in the field or in the house. In several photos, a tripod of a drawing board is visible: plate 60 (of s3506) from *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty part III* (Emery 1958) and for s3507 on the unpublished photo 3507/66.

[2] The only exception on this rule occurred in 1956, the season of the excavation of s3507. The daily notes for 2nd January were made by A. Klasens on a separate piece of paper, which was kept in the notebook. This entry was copied verbatim in the daybook, clearly in Emery's handwriting. No reference was found regarding this situation. For three other dates of this season Klasens made additional notes on the peculiarities of later intrusive graves: 1st January for a Ptolemaic burial; 13th January for a New Kingdom burial and a 3rd-dynasty tomb; 16th January for a New Kingdom child burial.

Modus Operandi

W. B. Emery favoured the 'excavator's pick' over theories (Emery 1949, iv), but he was working according to a well-considered plan. The war had forced him to suspend excavations, but also allowed him to plan ahead and set up a strategy for new operations. In this light, year 1946 was pivotal in the exploration of the Archaic Necropolis at large. Although it came off the press only in 1949, the preface of *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty part I* contains the outline of Emery's plan for the coming exploration of the site. It was written in March 1946 (Emery 1949, iv), just two months before he started his new excavations and it presented his ambitions, intentions, and topics of interest.

Strategy of exploration and publication

His ambitions for his new excavations were clear: '... systematic plan of excavation ...'; '... serious attempt to solve the great problems in connection with beginnings of Egypt's dynastic history ...' and '... great tombs of the First Dynasty ...' (Emery 1949, iii–iv).

His intention was to start with the large tombs of the 1st dynasty, and then to follow up with structures of the 2nd and 3rd dynasties (ibid., 12). The content of the books shows Emery's view on research topics (ibid., v–vii): inscriptions, objects, architecture, development in construction, and funeral practice (seriation); very similar to his two earlier publications (Emery 1938; 1939).

At first, things went according to plan. Emery excavated in quick succession six large mastabas of the 1st dynasty and published these almost right away in parts II and III in the series *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* (Emery 1954; 1958). In 1956 Emery's explorations were interrupted for political reasons (see note 1). The interruption lasted till October 1964 and was likely the reason that publications of the 2nd and 3rd dynasties tombs were delayed. He was working on publications, but his death prevented this (Martin 2007, 121).

The field notes reflect these intentions; they were probably more an aid for the upcoming publications than an elaborate recording system. The activities and therefore also the notes were focused on the large mastabas of the 1st dynasty. Each campaign, Emery selected the next large tomb and worked from the main body outwards to clear the surrounding grounds. It is therefore likely, that the locations of these large tombs were already known. The field notes suggest as much, he moved from s3503 to s3504 over a distance of some 50 metres that he only later cleared after he had established the northern perimeter of the latter tomb. A consistent pattern was followed, from tomb s3500 southwards to the southern border of the necropolis. He was so consistent, that upon a chance discovery of a large tomb of 1st dynasty date in October 1945 (Emery 1958, 43), he postponed the actual excavation – of what would become s3506 – until the 1954–1955 season.

The smaller structures from the 2nd and 3rd dynasties, and other intrusive features, were treated with an almost casual way in the notes; as if they were mere bye-catch.

Many of these structures were excavated by Emery and none of them were discussed in the publications. The most elaborate note on 2nd- and 3rd-dynasty tombs was provided in *Great Tombs part III* (Emery 1958, General Introduction, 2–3).

So, in what way were these features recorded? Most of the (much) later intrusions (New Kingdom to Greco-Roman era) were recorded in a relative elaborate way (see Fig. 1.2 for a Late Roman example). None of the tombs from the 2nd or 3rd dynasties were recorded in that way. The entries simply stated that a 2nd-dynasty tomb was encountered and not much more than an outline was sketched (see Fig. 1.7). We may therefore assume (or hope?) that another set of notes existed, although there is no mentioning of this in the note- or daybooks under study. Presumably, the information on these structures is part of the archives held by G. T. Martin (2007, 122–124).

Strategy of excavation

Every season, large tombs were anticipated and the scale of the operations was accordingly prepared. Large numbers of men were employed: 50 men for s3500 (3500–NB 12-05) or 114 men for s3506 (3506-NB 27-01); see also Fig. 1.3. The supervision was conducted by Emery himself and three to four assistants. The assistants were mentioned in the publications, the gufties and workmen figured in excavation photos but remained nameless.



Fig. 1.3: Excavation crew for tomb s3505; excavation photo 3505/08 (courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society).

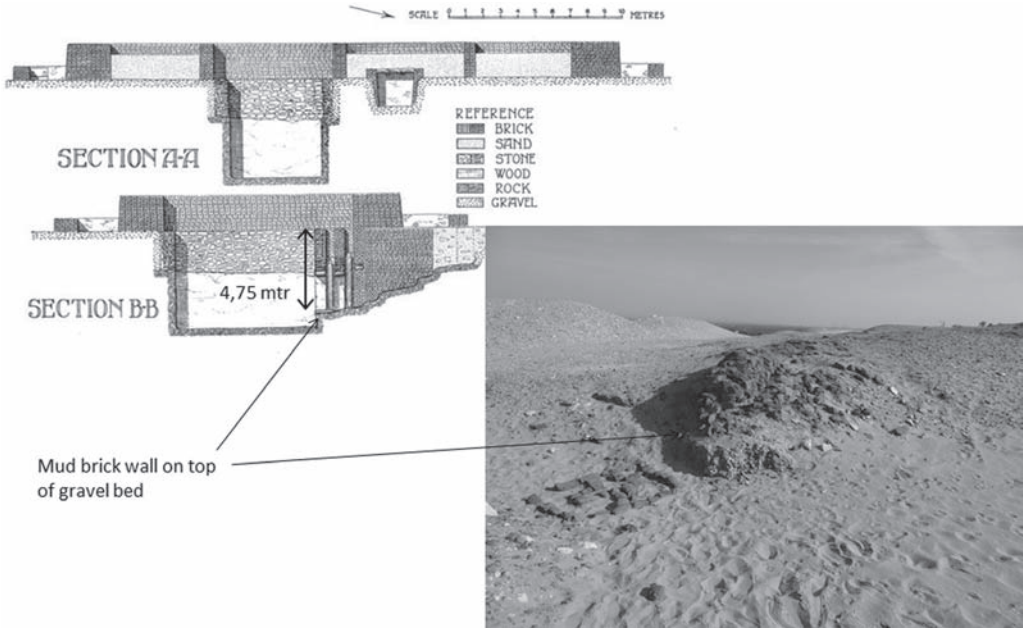

Fig. 1.4: Consequences of excavation of s3500. Left as presented by W. B. Emery in 1958 (after Emery 1958, pl. 114) and right as encountered in November 2015 (author's photo).

The aim for each campaign was to excavate the mastaba completely (Smith 1971, 196). The location of one of the main walls of the structure was targeted and from there the crew worked its way towards the centre of the structure. Prime targets were the magazines and the burial chamber, which were exposed and then excavated down to the bottom (see Fig. 1.4).

The large volumes of excavated soil were moved by carts on railways, the (unsieved) soil was thrown over the edge of the cliff as this was the easiest way: 'We are throwing debris over the escarpment for the distance is too far to attempt to recover 3504.' (3505-DB 12-01).

The campaigns lasted between six weeks (s3500) and sixteen weeks (s3506, s3507). Start and end of each excavation was noted in the daybooks, this further confirms that these notebooks were exclusively for the 1st-dynasty tombs.

Measurements in the field

Measurements were taken within the confinements of the structure, the main body of the tomb and the enclosure wall(s). The relations to the so-called ramifications, the wider landscape and possible interrelations with other tombs were evidently not a matter of interest. Tentatively, the conclusion may be that they were not important to the excavator. Apparently, Emery was comfortable with only approximate distances, 'The tomb (s3504) is situated immediately south of No. 3503 ...' (Emery 1954, 5) or with

the discrepancies for the distance between s3504 and s3505 (Emery 1958: 51 metres on page 5 and 30 metres on page 11).

A similar attitude can be seen towards the landscape, the relations between tombs and their ramifications and the interrelation between tombs. Tomb s3505 was built over a brick pavement belonging to s3506, but Emery did not regard this important enough for publication (Fig. 1.5). A second example may be the simple way the tombs s3501 and s3502 were recorded in the field notes of 1946 (Fig. 1.6), just two simple sketches without details.

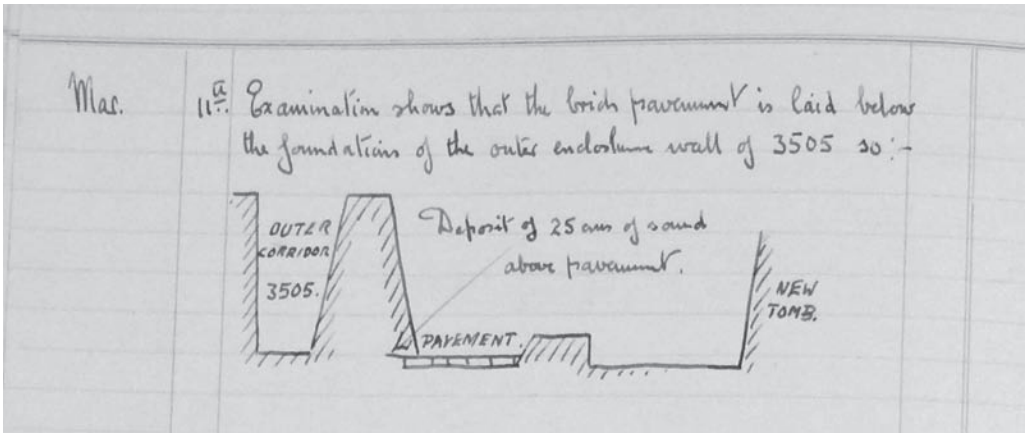

Fig. 1.5: Enclosure wall of s3505 over brick pavement belonging to s3506 (after Emery 3505-DB 11-03, courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society).

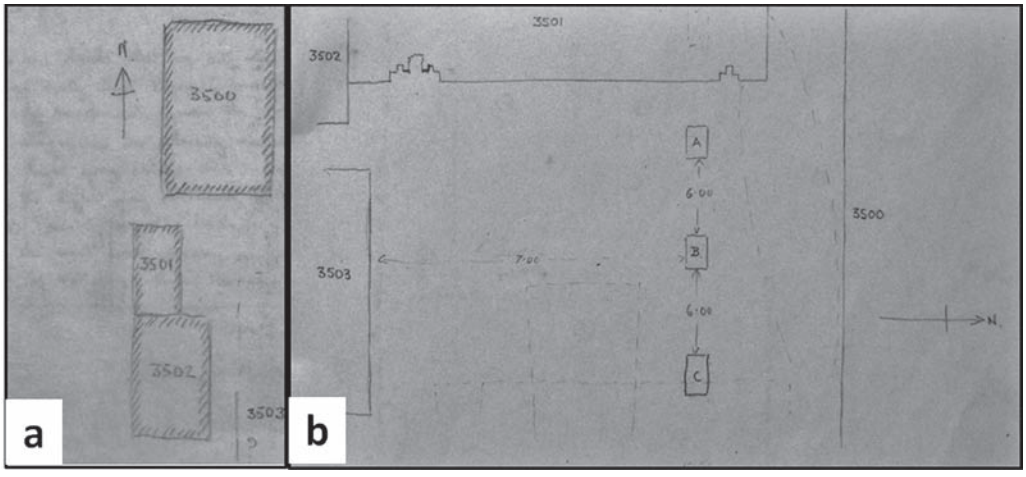

Fig. 1.6: Notebook entries on tombs s3501 and s3502; a) overview (after Emery 3503-NB 21-10) and b) locations subsidiary graves (after Emery 3503-NB 2-12, courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society).

A grid pattern was devised by Emery (1966, pl. XVIII), but not projected on the surface.

The lack of a grid set up in the field may be the reason that all tombs excavated from 1946 onwards were not drawn in detail in the Map of Saqqara North, ascribed to W. B. Emery and part of the Emery legacy in the EES-archives (archive ref. SAQ-GT. MAP).[3] Tombs s3504 till s3507 are marked in pencil (not pen) as simple squares, all other tombs excavated by Emery are marked by just tomb numbers between brackets, like (3503), (3357) or (3471).[4]

The dimensions of the structures were measured and noted in centimetres in the sketches in the note- and daybooks. Elevations of finds and objects were not taken, it was merely noted that an object was found high (or low) in the fill of a magazine or chamber.

There were only a few observations about the composition of the soil that was excavated, mostly when clean sand was observed; apparently to mark the contrast with the usual rubble fills. Changes in the composition of the fill (redime) were not registered, at least no mentioning of this was found in the notes.

Intrusions

From the notes, it becomes obvious that much more intrusions were found than described in the publications. The fact that there were later burials at the site has been discussed by other scholars (e.g. Jeffreys and Tavares 1994, 151; Lachner-Raschdorff 2014, plan 1).

Interesting is the difference in how intrusions were recorded by Emery in the field notes under study. Burials from the later periods – New Kingdom era till the Greco-Roman Period – were sketched and described to some extent in the notebooks. The entry for 8th February 1953 – see Fig. 1.2 – can be seen as representative. Grave gifts were mentioned, pottery was the main tool for dating and age and sex of the deceased was determined and recorded.

For the 2nd and 3rd dynasties, the situation is quite different. Details were hardly presented, structures were only mentioned and only partly sketched; in not one case were burials mentioned or described. These are probably the only records of these tombs, although the shafts were probably not excavated (pers. comm. H. S. Smith 2016). Later tombs that were not built over the 1st-dynasty tombs, were partially cleared but not excavated (pers. comm. H. S. Smith 2016).

The textual records are mostly about unspecified numbers of structures 'from the 2nd and 3rd dynasties' without details or specifications. In none of these records the

[3] It is unclear whether this is the map Martin (2007, 125) refers to; probably not.

[4] One of the major problems regarding the Archaic Necropolis is the lack of a reliable map of the site and structures excavated over the years by many different scholars (Spencer 1974, 1–11; Jeffreys and Tavares 1994, fig. 8, 167; Tavares 1999, fig. 67, 701; Buongarzone 2003, 122–125; Lachner-Raschdorff 2014, Plan 1). This problem becomes instantly clear when one compares the different maps mentioned above.

dating of the specific tomb was substantiated, so it may be wise to treat the dates with some reservation. In the sketches, most structures are just outlined and marked 'Dyn 2' or 'Dyn 3' (Fig. 1.7). The only record of objects from these tombs is the list of stone vessels recorded for the campaign in 1953–1954 (see above).

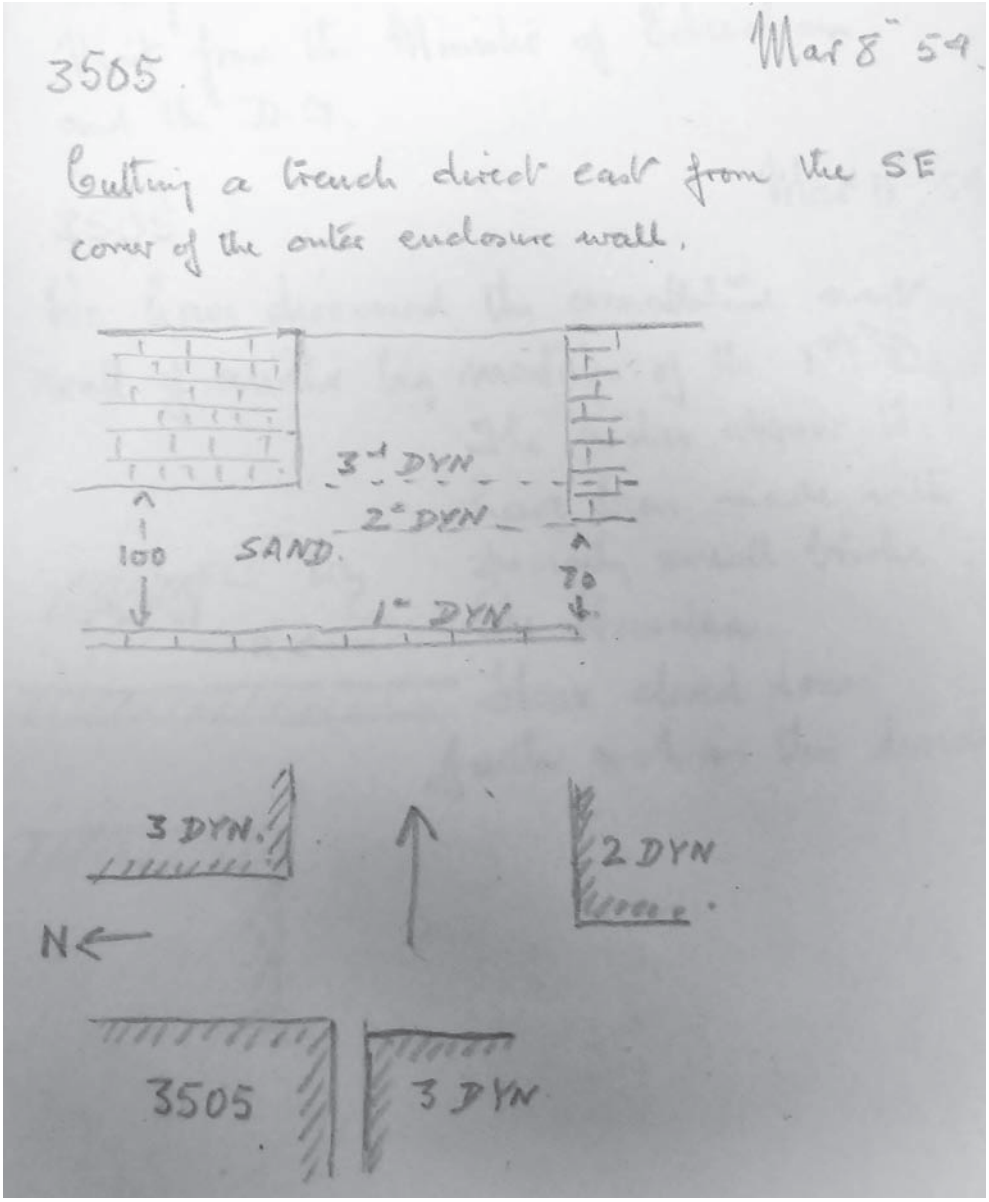

Fig. 1.7: Notebook entry of later structures around s3505 (after Emery 3505-NB 08-03, courtesy of Egypt Exploration Society).

Presentation

Emery chose to present the mastabas in a form that stood out against other publications from that time (Smith 1971, 194–195). His education as an engineer and architect (ibid., 190) is obvious. He presented the tombs in drawings that resembled modern construction drawings, by means of very detailed top and section plans. In multiple cases, he provided additional detailed drawings of roof constructions, entrance constructions with portcullis stones and subsidiary tombs. Occasionally he presented tombs in an axonometric projection (Emery 1954, pl. V, tomb s3504), a new form of three dimensional presentations at the time.

Emery maintained this form of presentation in all his excavation reports, from the first in 1938 until the last in 1958. There are some implicit presentation aspects connected with his choice in presentation: uniform height of the structure in section plan, uniform brick patterns, uniform bonding patters and completeness of enclosure walls. The uniformity appears to be misleading in cases and may distract the attention from the actual situation.

Cursory remarks in the publication already provide some clues, which the field notes further confirm. The state of preservation not only varied between the tombs, but also with different parts of a mastaba. In some cases, heights of more than two meters were observed, in other cases the same structure was partly overbuilt or was eroded away below the level of the bench. On excavation photographs is clearly visible that bricks were not laid with the suggested uniformity, this was also observed by the author during a survey at the site in November 2015.

The field notes contain numerous small sketches and simple drawings of situations: simple sketches of the magazines with reference letters, brick patterns, bonding pattern, distances between construction points, and dimensions of subsidiary graves or inscriptions. However, these sketches do not support the level of details in the publication drawings. It may be prudent to regard the drawings with some reservation.

Prolegomena to landscape reconstruction

A full reconstruction of the landscape and the history of the tombs require a look beyond the standardised drawings and the limited information provided in Emery's formal publications. The lack of precise elevations (and other measurements) requires that heights of remaining features must be assessed from the sketches in the notes – where available – and from the excavation photographs. Fortunately, most photos were taken with a scale (metre stick) present. The notes also specify the state in the different parts of the structure were found: well preserved, reasonable preserved, badly eroded or deeply cut into. The results are satisfactory, but no more than an argued reconstruction. They should be treated as such.

The surface in the 1950s

Features were visible at the surface at that time, so there was no thick covering deposit at the surface of the necropolis. Some of the features were *modern* like over s3505

(by Mariette? Emery 1958, 11), others more ancient: '... traces of large pits cut in the redim which contain the skeletons of dogs similar found to those found last year above the subsidiary burials of 3504.' (3505-DB 15-01). There is no record from the surface survey of tomb s3506. Directly after the collapse in October 1945 the subsidence in the surface was surveyed (Emery 1958, 43) but no records survived. Photo 3506/12 shows that the hole was maybe as deep as two metres. From the notes of 1954, while working on s3505, it appears that the south-western corner of another tomb (later designated s3506) was already excavated (3505-DB 10/12-03) and again no record of any (surface) finds was made.

The dog burials might be associated with the Anubeion, located to the south of the tombs, and date to the Greco-Roman Period. There is no factual record, but we may assume that these pits cut 20–40 cm into the surface. Ptolemaic stone sarcophagi, found at the surface of tombs s3500 and s3503, confirm the widespread use of the area in those times (Bresciani 2003, 73).

New Kingdom

Most of the burials from this period were found cut in the mud brick walls (3507-NB 09-01) or in the fill of the superstructure (3507-NB 08-01; 3504-DB 08-02), see also Fig. 1.2. There is no record in the notes of a superstructure belonging to any of the New Kingdom burials. It seems that there is no way to establish the surface level of the site for this period.

Old Kingdom

In the eastern corridor of s3505 a burial dated to the 4th dynasty was found but not described in the publication (3505-DB 27-02). A contracted body was buried in a reed basket box, wrapped in linen. It was dated by the pottery that accompanied the body (ibid.) and is the only record of that period in the area under study. The burial was against the eastern enclosure wall (Figs 1.8 and 1.9), at the head of the stairway and just above floor level of the corridor. This may suggest that the tomb structure was then still standing to a level that facilitated a basket burial.

Early Dynastic Period

The history of the site unfolds already during the 1st dynasty. Not only because the tombs were built during successive reigns, as emphasised by the relation between s3505 and the pavement of s3506, but also because of re-use as in the case of s3504, the phased construction of s3506 and the numerous robberies. During the 1st dynasty the cemetery was reserved for the highest levels of society. During the 2nd and 3rd dynasties, the cemetery was more widely used. In this preliminary survey three situations will be dealt with briefly: a) an overview of the area around s3505 and s3506, b) the brick pavement between s3505 and s3506 and c) structures on top of the boat grave of s3506.

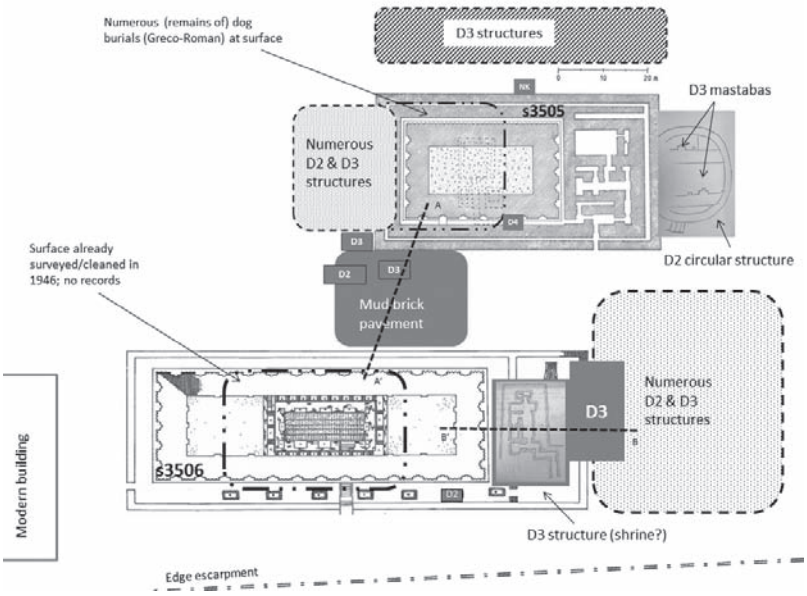

Fig. 1.8: Reconstruction of pre-excavation landscape around tombs s3505 and s3506.

Tombs s3505 and s3506

Tomb s3506 was built during the reign of Den; tomb s3505 was built some decades later, during the reign of Qa'a. Tomb s3506 stood close to the edge of the escarpment, during the reign of Qa'a the edge had become congested and s3505 was built halfway behind the earlier tomb, but still visible from the valley (Fig. 1.8). It was built over the brick pavement that belonged to the earlier tomb; it is unknown whether the construction of s3505 had more consequences for the ramifications of the earlier s3506.

As Fig. 1.8 shows, the area was really congested at the end of the 3rd dynasty, on all sides the large tombs were closed in by smaller and medium structures. Although there are still questions about the dating of the later structures, already in the 2nd-dynasty structures were constructed over parts of the large mastabas. Based on Emery's dating, a 2nd-dynasty circular structure was overbuilt by 3rd-dynasty mastabas (3505-NB 16-03–19-3; Jeffreys and Tavares 1994, 148 and n. 32). As mentioned by Jeffreys and Tavares (ibid.), the circular structure is an interesting feature with an even more interesting stratigraphy. From the very cursory notes, it appears that Emery was not very interested in this. However, the edge of the escarpment apparently remained an interesting location during the later dynasties.

Brick pavement

The situation in the southeast corner of s3505 is interesting; s3505 was constructed on top of the pavement of the earlier s3506. Subsequently the area around and between these two tombs was invaded by later smaller tombs (Figs 1.8 and 1.9).

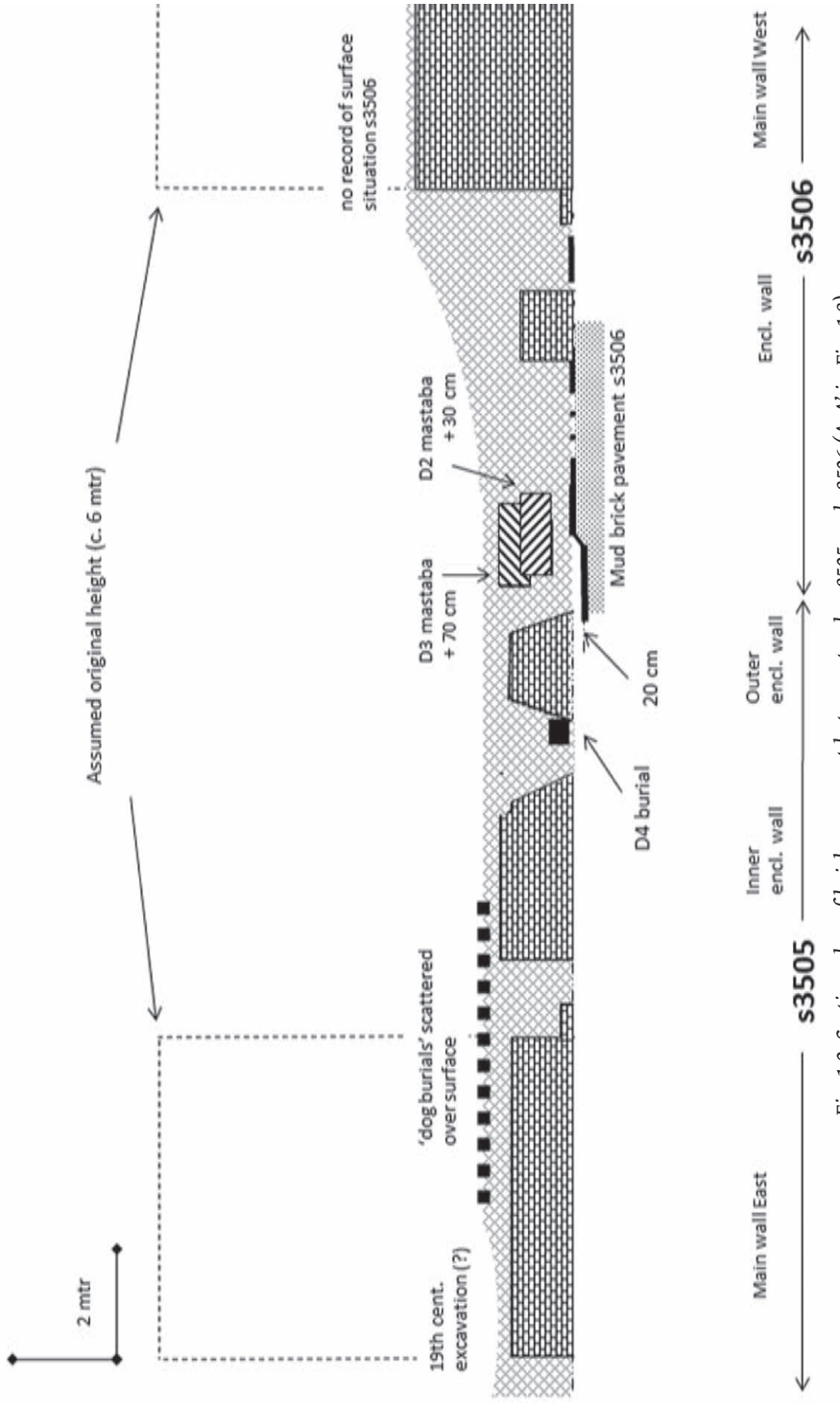

Fig. 1.9: Section plan of brick pavement between tombs s3505 and s3506 (A-A' in Fig. 1.8).

At the south side, these later tombs had cut into the enclosure wall and the main façade of s3505; in the area between the mastabas the later tombs were constructed at some distance of the earlier structures. The background for this different behaviour is not clear: were the free standing tombs built earlier, when the large mastabas and enclosure walls still stood out?

Tomb s3505 was built 20 cm above the pavement (Figs 1.7 and 1.9); this may be the outcome of levelling the site to the level of the scarp between the tombs or due to sand accumulation over time. There was extensive levelling at the northern temple side of the tomb (3505-DB 20-02), and this may have stretched to the south. In this corner, the 2nd-dynasty mastabas were built c. 70 cm above the pavement, the 3rd-dynasty mastabas another 30 cm higher (3505-DB 08-03; Fig. 1.7). As mentioned above, there is no record of any burial, shaft or grave pit in the notes for this area. This area was excavated between the 5th and 12th of March 1954 (3505-NB 05/12-03; 3505-DB 05/12-03).

Boat grave s3506

The boat grave of s3506 was largely destroyed and covered by 3rd-dynasty structures (Figs 1.8 and 1.10). This was only briefly mentioned by Emery in his excavation report (Emery 1958, 43), but the actual situation during the excavation is visible in the publication photos (ibid., pls 67a and 68b). However, the non-published photos are even more clarifying (photos 3506-194, 3506-195 and 3506-198). From the field notes it became also clear that the destruction at the northern end of s3506 was much greater than described. Multiple smaller 2nd- and 3rd-dynasty structures were built over the northern enclosure wall and subsidiary graves (3506-DB 18/24-01 and 28/31-01). The southern structure was probably a shrine or sanctuary, but the northern structure is more enigmatic. Emery described it as a mastaba (ibid.), but a shaft or grave was apparently not found as there is no mentioning of them.

Discussion and conclusions

The field notes from W. B. Emery of his excavations in 1946 and 1952–1956 are not very elaborate. Apparently, they contained just the information he needed for his publications on primarily and exclusively of the 1st-dynasty mastabas.

However short, the notes in combination with the photographs of the large 1st-dynasty tombs contain sufficient details to reconstruct the pre-excavation situation at an acceptable level. As the three examples in the last paragraph clearly show.

A reconstruction for all six tombs and their surroundings will be the next step. The form of presentation of the reconstructions is still subject of study; the three-dimensional development of the necropolis may be best presented in 3D graphics.

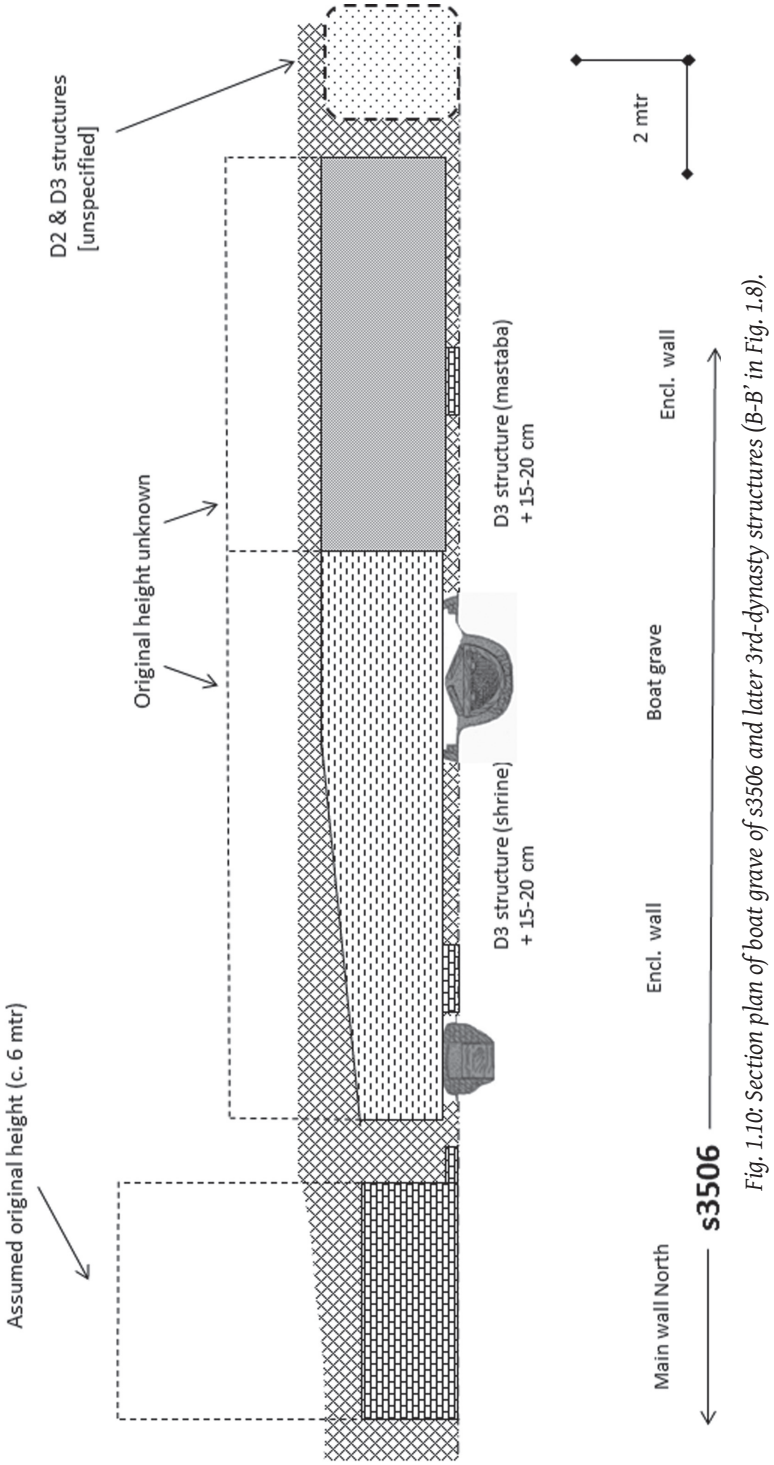

Fig. 1.10: Section plan of boat grave of s3506 and later 3rd-dynasty structures (B-B' in Fig. 1.8).

This preliminary survey allows for some observations. After the 1st dynasty, the cemetery became more and more in use by the middle-class officials of the state. The larger mastabas of the 2nd dynasties had their focus on the wadi on the west side of the promontory. However, the two middle sized structures over the boat grave of s3506 may suggest that visibility from the valley was still a matter of consideration.

Another assumption is that in the course of the 3rd dynasty, the destruction of older structures was apparently not seen as a problem. This raises questions about the surface level at that time and the level of erosion (or destruction?) during the 3rd dynasty.

Hopefully, a further reconstruction of the southern side of the necropolis will shed some more light on this subject.

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Chapter 2

The placement of the Predynastic grave goods and its role in mortuary context: A case study of the cemeteries at Naqada

Taichi Kuronuma

Abstract: This paper tried to figure out the role of goods placement in Predynastic burial by analysing three cemeteries at Naqada excavated by W. M. F. Petrie. The analysis included the data from unpublished records and counted the numbers of objects by type in 14 placement areas. Through the analysis, it became apparent that the objects in the burials at Naqada were basically placed according to their original function, as suggested by preceding studies. From these results, three aspects of goods placement – that is, practical, social, and ritual aspects – could be considered. These three aspects were conceptually subsumed in the Predynastic goods placement and visually formed the burial itself.

Keywords: cemeteries at Naqada, goods placement, Predynastic burial, unpublished records

Introduction

Goods placement in burial embodies an aspect of mortuary ideology in ancient society. This point is also applicable to the society not only in the ancient Egyptian dynastic period, but in the Predynastic–Early Dynastic Period (c. 3800–2867 BCE). This paper will attempt to discuss the roles of grave goods in mortuary contexts, focusing on object placement in burials of the Naqada culture from Upper Egypt. The aims of this paper are: 1) to review preceding research on the mortuary practices of Upper Egyptian Naqada culture relating to goods placement; and 2) to discuss its characteristics, which will be divided into several inherent aspects. To accomplish these aims, I will present the results of the goods placement analysis in Predynastic cemeteries at the site of Naqada (Fig. 2.1), which provides a large quantity of burials for an analysis.

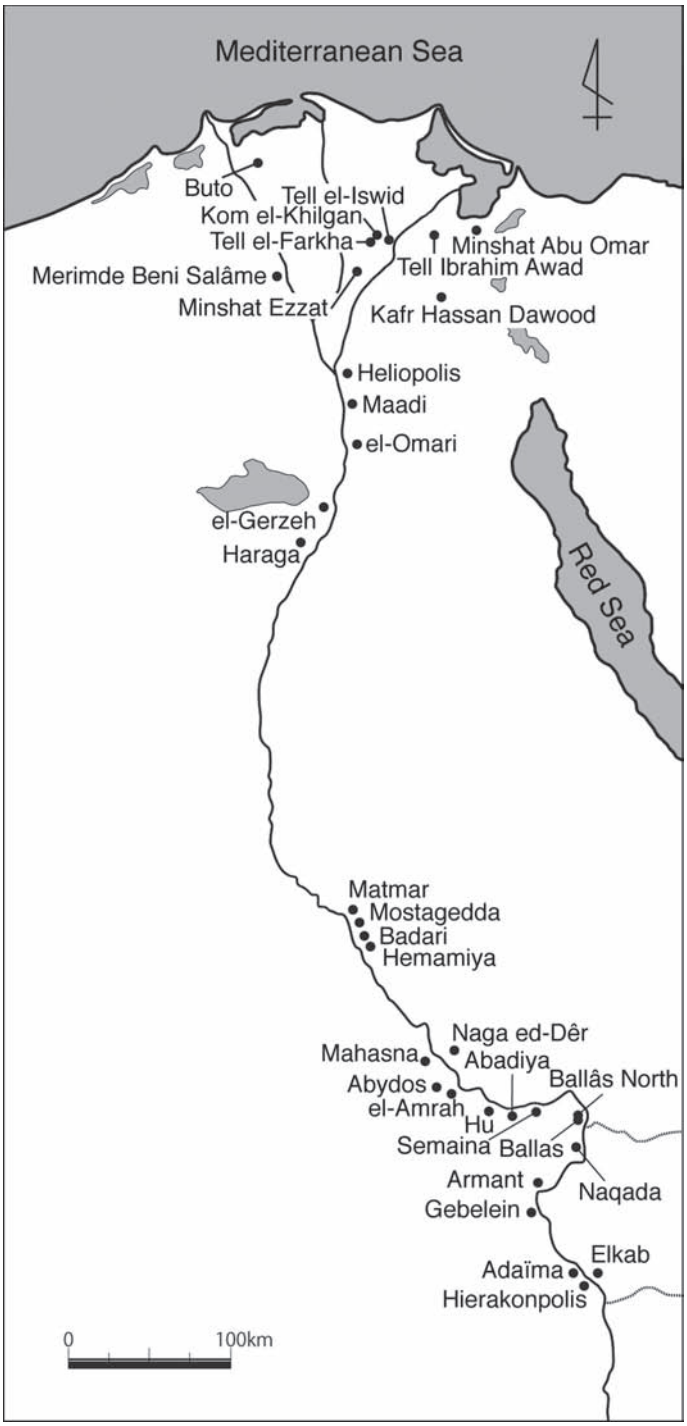

Fig. 2.1: Important Predynastic sites (drawing by T. Kuronuma).

Summary of preceding research

Due to the Predynastic Period being considered a time of 'state formation', research on this period has largely concentrated on the social transformation of the Egyptian state away from mortuary culture, particularly regarding social stratification. Statistical methods, such as cluster analysis, have allowed researchers a method for examining social stratification from the relative aspect of the 'wealth of graves', which was reflected in goods quantity and quality per grave (e.g. Castillos 1982; Bard 1994), or energy expenditure for grave building, measurable from, for example, grave pit volume (e.g. Griswold 1992). As one of these results, the tendency that the emergence and expansion of the more complex social stratum in large cemetery (e.g. Naqada, four strata) contrary to the less complex stratum in small cemetery (e.g. Armant, two strata) were proposed (Bard 1994).

However, microscopic analyses and discussion of Predynastic cemeteries, which inherently contained many attributes relevant to the mortuary ideology, are still infrequent. Recently, research focusing on social identity (Stevenson 2009), body manipulation (e.g. Tamorri 2014), mummification (e.g. Jones 2007) and the like have steadily filled the gaps of our understanding on Predynastic mortuary customs, though much research on grave goods placement remains to be done. Previous research on grave goods placement can be roughly divided into two approaches: primary observation during the excavation, and characterisation in the research of archaeological objects.

Primary observation during the excavation

Goods placement in Predynastic burial was first recorded by W. M. F. Petrie. In his excavation report of the Predynastic cemeteries at Naqada, Petrie meticulously described the regularities of goods placement in burial among the selected 137 graves of c. 2000 (Petrie and Quibell 1896). However, his report descriptions were per grave, and he did not mention much about goods placement on a broader scope across the cemeteries. Confirmation of his accounts was difficult because only 24 graves were published with plans; the other 113 graves were only described. Of course, we must commend Petrie's scrupulousness in reporting in such early years, but accounts of this style continued in reports of other sites, and general characteristics of the Predynastic goods placement continued to be summarily mentioned only from the typical, well preserved, or archaeologically noteworthy examples (e.g. el-Amrah, see Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902). Therefore, preceding research – especially between the late 19th and the early 20th centuries – presented only part of the whole image, and we could not access the actual conditions of the Predynastic cemeteries uncovered in this period in microscopic and macroscopic scales. Additionally, we must note that approximately two-thirds of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic cemeteries were actually excavated or surveyed in this time span (Hendrickx and van den Brink 2002) without adequate data. Therefore, this situation was also reflected in the general accounts of the Predynastic mortuary practices (e.g. Murray 1956) which was induced from summarised primary information.

Despite this inadequate general state of early excavation records, Stevenson (2013) has recently analysed the goods placement in the cemetery of el-Gerzeh (excavated in 1910–1911) by using the information stated on the original field records by G. A. Wainwright ('tomb cards'), which covered almost all graves in el-Gerzeh. The el-Gerzeh cemetery is the exception for the low rate of plundered and looted graves, and as such provided an excellent context to examine grave goods placement. Stevenson examined the placement of the goods by object typologies; R74–R76 jars, wavy-handled jars, R84/84g jars, decorated pottery, stone vessels, palettes, flint knives, and malachite. In addition, she set eleven placement areas with two additions for unknown placement and disturbed contexts. Stevenson compared her results mainly with Petrie's observations, and highlighted both the similarities and differences with his account. Her study found a number of patterns in grave goods placements. For example, two-thirds of wavy-handled jars were associated with the head area, decorated potteries were largely placed in front of the body but also dispersed widely in burial, stone vessels were clearly associated with the front of the body, palettes tended to be placed in front of the body generally, flint knives were seemingly in front of the arms, and malachite was very closely associated with the hands. From these results, she argued that there were patterns of regularity that can be seen from statistical approaches, but also patterns of deviation.

More recently, new excavations at Predynastic sites in Upper and Lower Egypt have produced excavation reports that contain detailed plans and observations of each grave including object placement. For example, in the Naqada IIIB – Old Kingdom Cemetery in the Eastern Kom of Tell el-Farkha, graves were recorded not only with the placement of objects, but also the traces of funerary feast considered from the abundant animal bones and broken pottery and so on (Dębowska-Ludwin 2010). These publications highlight that the study of grave goods placement has a great deal of new data that will help future study and provide comparisons with older excavated data.

Characterisation in the research of archaeological objects

Grave goods placement has also been mentioned as part of archaeological material studies. Particular examples of this approach can be seen in the study of fish-tailed knives and cosmetic palettes. A. M. Roth (1992, 130–133) researched so called Dynastic *psš-kf* knives for the 'opening of the mouth' ritual, and also collected examples of Predynastic fish-tailed knives which are morphologically similar to the *psš-kf* knife. She cited the examples of Predynastic fish-tailed knives – though not all – from published graves in ten cemeteries in Upper and Middle Egypt, and categorised their placements in graves according to 'Early Predynastic' and 'Later Predynastic'. As a result, she found that 17 of the 29 Early Predynastic examples were placed behind body, especially the pelvis, but in the Later Predynastic, 9 of the 22 examples were placed in front of the body, especially at the level of the chest or abdomen. She interpreted

the function of these fish-tailed knives for cutting, especially for the umbilical cord of newborns. And she also explained the reason of later move of the placement of the fish-tailed knives in relation to the ritual association with other objects such as flare sides bowls, though she did not explain the details of ritual itself.

Regner (1996) and Baduel (2008) have examined the placement of palettes in Predynastic burials. Regner (1996) divided the inside of grave pit into a maximum of ten areas for placement (e.g. near the pelvis) and diachronically analysed the quantity of palettes at ten sites in order to examine any general tendencies between the Naqada I to III Periods. She found some indications of regular patterns, with palettes placed near the face in every period. However, after the Naqada II Period, palettes were also placed between arms and legs of contracted position, with a few examples in other placement areas around the buried person (near the pelvis, at the rear etc.). Baduel (2008) sought to understand the characteristics of the palettes and summarily mentioned the diachronic transition of the placement of palettes in Predynastic burials. According to her study, palettes were dominantly associated with the body especially around the head in the Naqada I Period, but afterwards, the rate of its association were decreased, until the late Naqada III Period where palettes were placed in away from body with other objects like pottery. In light of this, she suggested this pattern was due to a relationship with the evolution of cosmetic practices during the Naqada Period.

In addition to these object typology studies, there are also a few instances of studies which have attempted to describe the general placement of Predynastic grave goods in relation to general and basic mortuary practice in Predynastic Period (Midant-Reynes 2000; Grajetzki 2003).

In summary, previous research on grave goods placement has raised two main points. Firstly, there is a lack of detailed analysis regarding all graves in a specific cemetery or cemeteries. The reasons behind this problem stem from the inadequate state of primary excavation records from the late 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. These reports generally focused on valuable objects and archaeologically noteworthy graves, and the significance of the information of every grave in one particular cemetery was not recognised.

Secondly, while certainly useful, the predominance of object typology studies has come at the expense of integration the results of these different studies together to examine grave goods placement in wider mortuary practice. This is another aspect of the inadequacy of the archaeological contextual information from early excavations, and the object studies were not well integrated their burial contexts. Therefore, the relationship between object types, and between object types and archaeological contexts during the Predynastic have only been partially studied.

Case study: The cemeteries at Naqada

In order to begin to address this gap in current research, I chose to examine the placement of grave goods in the cemeteries at Naqada excavated by Petrie in

1894–1895. Naqada was a probable major political and trading centre (*Nbt*) during the Predynastic Period (Kemp 1989; Wilkinson 2000), and due to its topographical location at the intersection of the Nile valley and Wadi Hammamat (Cox 2012). The cemeteries at Naqada consist of four different cemeteries: New Race, B, T, and G. The number of graves excavated were, over 1900 at New Race Cemetery, 56 at Cemetery B, about 100 at Cemetery T, and at least six at Cemetery G. The ambiguity of excavated graves at New Race Cemetery, Cemetery B, and Cemetery G are due to the inadequate account on the total graves in Petrie's excavation report. Unfortunately, it is currently impossible to confirm this number because of the incomplete nature of the original field reports. However, the scale of the cemeteries at Naqada is undoubtedly unusual, because the number of the Naqada Period cemeteries and of the small nature of the thousands of graves. In addition to the cemeteries at Naqada there are a number of nearby Predynastic cemeteries at Ballas (Petrie and Quibell 1896), Ballâs North (Podzorski 1994), though the extant records of these cemeteries were generally fragmentary and not tenable, with the exception of Ballâs North.

The significance of examining the cemeteries at Naqada is not limited to its historical and archaeological importance. There are over 950 unpublished field records from Petrie's excavations at the cemeteries, which are quantitatively suitable for analysis and can provide new insights regarding grave goods placement at the site. Furthermore, there are supplementary works on the details of grave goods from the cemeteries (Baumgartel 1970; Payne 1987). Baumgartel travelled the museums in Europe and North America for surveying the objects from Petrie's Naqada excavations, which had been distributed amongst many disparate collections, mainly in reward for the financial funding for the excavation. As a result of this survey, she published this supplementary goods list per grave with the information extracted from field records, which had adventitiously been discovered in University College London (Baumgartel 1970). This list was expanded and partially modified by J. C. Payne (1987) later. Therefore, these supplementary lists make it possible to check the find contexts and object placement in many of the graves in the cemeteries at Naqada. However, the integration of the extracted information from the records into the publication was limited, with almost no grave plans illustrated, making it difficult to analyse the grave goods placements in detail. Further, not all of the unpublished records were included in her publication, as another group of reports was found at a later date.

Unfortunately, several museum collections were also not included on the Baumgartel-Payne list. However, thanks to published museum catalogues, we are able to include some additional data from these collections, and I have worked to update the list of Naqada objects put together by Baumgartel-Payne list. The additional museum collections added to this list are the following: Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire de Bruxelles (Hendrickx 1986), Egyptian collections held in Ägyptologisches Seminar, Universität Bonn (Regner 1996; 1997), and Ägyptologisches Museum, Universität Leipzig (Steinmann 1998). With the addition of objects from these collections we can gain a better understanding of the grave contexts of the Naqada cemeteries.

Methodology of the analysis

The updated Naqada object lists from museum collections was instrumental in the analysis of the cemetery material and unpublished field reports. In regards to the categorisation of grave goods placement, I divided these into fourteen spatial categories within the grave (Fig. 2.2; Table 2.1). For graves with recesses or with stepped plans, I added 'Recess', or 'Step' on the list where necessary. To comprehend general characteristics and patterns, the grave goods were placed in different typologies; pottery, stone vessels, lithics, palettes, ornament (beads and pendant), ivory objects, shell, and miscellanea. Miscellanea consisted of many minor types of goods, therefore the data are difficult to apply and raised only as reference. For the timeframe, the relative chronology formed by Hendrickx (2006), and absolute chronology summarised by Stevenson (2016; Table 2.2) were adopted. Originally, Hendrickx's chronology was largely separated into three phases (Naqada I, II, and III Periods), which were further subdivided into fourteen phases. However, some subdivisions were merged together, and four relatively large timeframes were set up (Table 2.2). Some graves without necessary data such as the plan of grave, specific chronological date and so on, were excluded from the analysis. The numbers of graves which were tenable for analysis for this study totalled 334 for the New Race Cemetery, 22 for Cemetery B, and 25 for Cemetery T. The number of graves by timeframe will be mentioned on each analysis

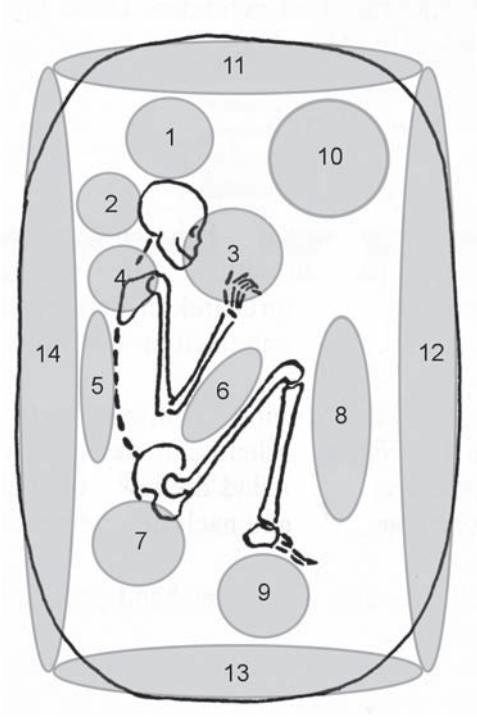

Fig. 2.2: Placement areas for analysis (Regner 1996, Abb. 41 modified).

Table 2.1: Names and its numbers of placement area (by T. Kuronuma).

No.	*Area name*
1	Above head
2	Behind head
3	In front of face and around hands
4	Neck and shoulder
5	Behind back
6	Before body, between arms and upper legs
7	Around pelvis
8	In front of legs
9	Below feet
10	Before upper body
11	Along grave outline above head
12	Along grave outline before face
13	Along grave outline below feet
14	Along grave outline behind back

Table 2.2: Absolute date and relative phase of Naqada Period with timeframe for analysis (after Hendrickx 2006; Stevenson 2016, Table 2).

Absolute date (cal. BCE)*	*Phase***	*Timeframe for analysis*
3800/3750(?)–3400	IA IB IC	Naqada I
	IIA IIB	Early Naqada II
3400–3325	IIC IID1 IID2	Late Naqada II
3325–3085	IIIA1 IIIA2 IIIB	Naqada III
3085–2867	IIIC1 IIIC2 IIID	

* Stevenson 2016; Table 2.2.
** Hendrickx 2006.

per period. Among the cemeteries at Naqada, Cemetery G was excluded from the analysis because of the limited number of graves, fragmentary extant records, and ephemeral cemetery use. Analysis was conducted by combining the information on the other three cemeteries together holistically.

Brief account on the results of the analysis for the cemeteries at Naqada

In Tables 2.3–2.6, the results of the goods placement in burials are presented diachronically, by object types and spatial placement. The numbers of analysed graves per period set up for analyses are also presented in the Tables. As suggested by Stevenson (2013), tendency of the goods placement became apparent in the cemetery of el-Gerzeh.

Excepting the clear dominance of the placement of potteries along the grave pit outline, the other objects were placed both near and at a distance from the body and obvious dominance of placement area could not be observed. Also, clear movement of major placement area could not be confirmed. In detail, the most placed area of goods except potteries were varied per timeframe, but most important point this results indicated is what kind of goods were placed around the body. The assemblage of goods placed around the body were valuable objects, such as stone vessels placed around the head (e.g. Area 1) or near hands (Area 3), and the other analysed objects.

Table 2.3: Placement of the goods in burial in Naqada I Period (by T. Kuronuma).

Area	*Pottery*		*Stone Vessel*		*Lithic*		*Palette*		*Ornament*		*Ivory Object*		*Shell*		*Miscellanea*	
1	7	1.79%	3	42.86%	1	8.33%	1	8.33%	0	0.00%	6	20.69%	1	16.67%	2	11.11%
2	2	0.51%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
3	7	1.79%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	2	16.67%	21	72.41%	1	16.67%	1	5.56%
4	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
5	5	1.28%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	11.11%
6	6	1.53%	1	14.29%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	2	16.67%	0	0.00%	2	33.33%	1	5.56%
7	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	33.33%	3	25.00%	1	8.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	5.56%
8	1	0.26%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
9	10	2.56%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
10	8	2.05%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	25.00%	0	0.00%	2	6.90%	0	0.00%	2	11.11%
11	150	38.36%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	2	16.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	16.67%
12	104	26.60%	1	14.29%	4	33.33%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	0	0.00%	1	16.67%	3	16.67%
13	38	9.72%	1	14.29%	2	16.67%	2	16.67%	2	16.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	16.67%
14	53	13.55%	0	0.00%	1	8.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Step	0	0.00%	1	14.29%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	16.67%	0	0.00%
Total	391	100.0%	7	100.0%	12	100.0%	12	100.0%	12	100.0%	29	100.0%	6	100.0%	18	100.0%

* Numbers of grave for analysis: 57 (55 for New Race Cemetery, 2 for Cemetery B). No graves in Cemetery T in this period.
** For area numbers, see Fig. 2 and Table 1.

Table 2.4: Placement of the goods in burial in Early Naqada II Period (by T. Kuronuma).

Area	*Pottery*		*Stone Vessel*		*Lithic*		*Palette*		*Ornament*		*Ivory Object*		*Shell*		*Miscellanea*	
1	32	2.79%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	3.57%	3	14.29%	8	10.81%	2	12.50%	1	1.33%
2	4	0.35%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	7.14%	3	14.29%	17	22.97%	0	0.00%	6	8.00%
3	17	1.48%	3	11.54%	5	18.52%	17	30.36%	7	33.33%	14	18.92%	10	62.50%	12	16.00%
4	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	7.41%	1	1.79%	1	4.76%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	1.33%
5	9	0.79%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	1.79%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	1.33%
6	20	1.75%	6	23.08%	3	11.11%	4	7.14%	3	14.29%	7	9.46%	0	0.00%	8	10.67%
7	5	0.44%	0	0.00%	2	7.41%	1	1.79%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	1.33%
8	19	1.66%	0	0.00%	1	3.70%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
9	37	3.23%	1	3.85%	3	11.11%	2	3.57%	0	0.00%	3	4.05%	0	0.00%	5	6.67%
10	73	6.37%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	5.36%	0	0.00%	1	1.35%	0	0.00%	3	4.00%
11	358	31.24%	6	23.08%	0	0.00%	7	12.50%	3	14.29%	15	20.27%	1	6.25%	14	18.67%
12	313	27.31%	2	7.69%	0	0.00%	2	3.57%	1	4.76%	0	0.00%	1	6.25%	2	2.67%
13	168	14.66%	8	30.77%	5	18.52%	8	14.29%	0	0.00%	8	10.81%	2	12.50%	8	10.67%
14	69	6.02%	0	0.00%	6	22.22%	3	5.36%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	11	14.67%
Recess	21	1.83%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	1.79%	0	0.00%	1	1.35%	0	0.00%	2	2.67%
Step	1	0.09%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Total	1146	100.0%	26	100.0%	27	100.0%	56	100.0%	21	100.0%	74	100.0%	16	100.0%	75	100.0%

* Numbers of grave for analysis: 157 (148 for New Race Cemetery, 7 for Cemetery B, 2 for Cemetery T).
** For area numbers, see Fig. 2.2 and Table 2.1.

Table 2.5: Placement of the goods in burial in Late Naqada II Period (by T. Kuronuma).

Area	*Pottery*		*Stone Vessel*		*Lithic*		*Palette*		*Ornament*		*Ivory Object*		*Shell*		*Miscellanea*	
1	61	3.40%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	20.00%	3	15.79%	1	25.00%	1	1.82%
2	19	1.06%	1	3.03%	0	0.00%	1	2.33%	0	0.00%	3	15.79%	0	0.00%	3	5.45%
3	8	0.45%	5	15.15%	7	17.50%	1	2.33%	0	0.00%	1	5.26%	1	25.00%	3	5.45%
4	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%
5	12	0.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	4.65%	0	0.00%	1	5.26%	0	0.00%	1	1.82%
6	14	0.78%	5	15.15%	4	10.00%	5	11.63%	0	0.00%	4	21.05%	0	0.00%	10	18.18%
7	8	0.45%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	4.65%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	3.64%
8	25	1.39%	1	3.03%	0	0.00%	1	2.33%	0	0.00%	1	5.26%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
9	327	18.23%	3	9.09%	7	17.50%	3	6.98%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	14.55%
10	149	8.31%	10	30.30%	2	5.00%	3	6.98%	0	0.00%	1	5.26%	1	25.00%	5	9.09%
11	272	15.16%	2	6.06%	9	22.50%	6	13.95%	1	20.00%	4	21.05%	0	0.00%	7	12.73%
12	396	22.07%	4	12.12%	11	27.50%	11	25.58%	3	60.00%	1	5.26%	0	0.00%	10	18.18%
13	330	18.39%	1	3.03%	0	0.00%	1	2.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	5.45%
14	169	9.42%	1	3.03%	0	0.00%	5	11.63%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	1.82%
Recess	1	0.06%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	2.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Step	3	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	2.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	1.82%
Total	1794	100.0%	33	100.0%	40	100.0%	43	100.0%	5	100.0%	19	100.0%	4	100.0%	55	100.0%

* Numbers of grave for analysis: 127 (103 for New Race Cemetery, 11 for Cemetery B, 13 for Cemetery T).
** For area numbers, see Fig. 2.2 and Table 2.1.

Table 2.6: Placement of the goods in burial in Naqada III Period (by T. Kuronuma).

Area	*Pottery*		*Stone Vessel*		*Lithic*		*Palette*		*Ornament*		*Ivory Object*		*Shell*		*Miscellanea*	
1	2	0.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
2	5	1.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
3	8	3.1%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
5	4	1.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
6	9	3.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
7	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
8	5	1.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
9	13	5.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
10	30	11.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
11	51	19.6%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
12	64	24.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
13	31	11.9%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
14	36	13.8%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Step	2	0.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
Total	260	100.0%	5	100.0%	0	—	3	100.0%	1	100.0%	0	—	0	—	1	100.0%

* Numbers of grave for analysis: 40 (28 for New Race Cemetery, 2 for Cemetery B, 10 for Cemetery T).
** For area numbers, see Fig. 2 and Table 1.

The amount was small, but even potteries were found around the bodies, and these were mainly not storage jars usually placed along the grave pit outline but small vessels such like bowls. Therefore, this tendency of goods placement suggests that abundant types of goods including small potteries were placed around the body contrary to large storage jars placed along the grave pit outline. Since this tendency was not largely changed during the use of the cemeteries at Naqada, it can be proposed that mortuary ideological background or regulation worked for this goods placement. Further consideration about meaning and roles of this tendency will be addressed in the following chapter.

What can also be observed from the Tables is that this tendency was maintained even as the numbers of goods per timeframe were increased. The increase of goods numbers – which was mainly responsible for the enlargement of the grave pit – generally occurred in the latter half of Naqada Period. However, the results indicate that even if the space between bodies and outline of grave pit widened, the basic goods placement patterns were not changed. Therefore, the regulation on goods placement was not affected by the volume of grave pit, and the consideration towards the roles of goods placement in the context of burial needs to be approached from other aspect, such as ideology.

Discussions on the characteristics and roles of goods placement

Based on the results of analysis, a number of key points and interpretations regarding the characteristics and roles of goods placement in burial of Naqada culture can be made. One important aspect to approach is the ideological function of burial in ancient Egyptian context. G. A. Reisner (1936, 1) noted two functions of Egyptian grave that are necessary for the afterlife: 1) housing the body and the Ka; and 2) providing a means of supplying the Ka with its daily necessities. From this perspective, looking back to the results of the case study, the distribution of pottery among spatial placement areas is worth noting. Pottery appears to have been placed both close to and at a distance from the body. In the instance of the latter, these mainly consisted of large storage vessels or jars such as R81 or R84 of Petrie's corpus (Petrie 1921), probably used for the storage of provisions to support and sustain the Ka of the deceased. Large storage vessels such as the Rough-Ware of Petrie's Corpus often contained ash, mud, or fat (Petrie and Quibell 1896; Petrie and Mace 1901), and this possibly indicates the original storage of organic material. For ceramic vessels found near the body, it can be said that these mainly consisted of dishes or plates for possible food serving and commensality. The occasional discovery of dried fruits within the graves highly indicates the provisioning of a food supply for the deceased. Therefore, the pottery assemblages appear to have dual roles of storage and consumption according to typology and spatial placement. A similar pattern appears to be in place regarding stone vessels, although the quantity of these objects was much lower. They were placed largely near the body and seem to be connected to commensality and the serving of foodstuffs.

Cosmetic palettes, which were used largely as grinding stones for cosmetics, were also placed in a functional association with the body, near the hands, arms, or face. A similar pattern was noted in the cemeteries at el-Gerzeh (Stevenson 2013, 35). However, this spatial placement seems to change after the Naqada II Period, moving away from the body. Baduel (2008, 1072) has suggested this change might relate to changes in the techniques, intents and importance of cosmetic application.

The spatial placement of lithics also exhibited functional associations. These results seem to generally follow the findings of Roth (1992), though this analysis contained not only fish-tailed knives, but other types of knives and stone blades. They were predominantly placed in the area around hands of the deceased, indicating again the bodily connection.

This functional and bodily connection was perhaps most clearly seen in the ornaments. Though the difference or similarity between the dressing of the living and dead person in Predynastic Period are still obscure, dressing the body of the dead person probably takes a role for the sustenance of the Ka of buried person, because of the unchanged daily life from 'this time' to afterlife in terms of the perspective of costume. A part of ivory objects and shell objects such as combs or hairpins normally found near the head or armlets also seem to be used for the dressing up of the buried person.

The evidence from the analysis indicates that the spatial placement of grave goods in the Predynastic Naqada burials reflects practical aspect such as the supply of goods relating to daily life and provision for the afterlife (e.g. Roth 1992, 131). However, the burial was complexly combined with other aspects. For this, we should not dismiss the social aspect reflected in the burial goods, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Though this seems to be the matter of goods assemblages rather than the goods placement, I would like to mention that the qualitative difference of the goods in burial also reflect the ideology on goods placement. As suggested by Wengrow (2006, 117) by citing the intact graves a96 and a118 in Cemetery A at el-Amrah, the triangular combination of the selected objects, their spatial distribution in relation to the body, and the treatment of the body (such as dismemberment before interment) constitute and display a kind of mortuary scenery. If his suggestion is appropriate, the quality of goods or its combination will also be influenced to the mortuary scenery of burial. As well known in preceding research, one of the indicators of the relative wealth of Predynastic burial was the presence of precious objects which need the specialised skills for manufacturing such as stone vessels (Bard 1994).

Stone vessels need acquisition of the suitable raw materials and specialised skills for manufacturing, as do ripple-flaked knives. Therefore, it can be said that the acquisition and consumption (both in living and mortuary context) of these kinds of objects were restricted to those of higher social status. Other objects such as lapis lazuli, which came from the mines in Badakhshan of Central Asia (Bavay 1997), were also deemed to be high status prestige objects. These prestige objects indicate that grave goods

placement in Predynastic burials also bore social aspects, namely for displaying the social status of the buried person and perhaps communicating relationships and identity with the living. However, it should also be noted that there are also objects like cosmetic palettes, which hold possible heterarchical aspects and do not always relate to the hierarchical aspect of burials (Stevenson 2007), though their contribution to the display of wealth was formed by their part of an entire assemblage of many artefact types.

In addition to these practical and social aspects, I would finally like to note the ritual aspect of grave goods placement. It is indicated that not all of the pottery types were uncovered from burials compared to that from contemporary settlement, because of the selection of the artefacts distilled for burial (Stevenson 2013, 29–30). This selection means that the objects buried in burial were not always used in daily life, and ideologically indicates the reproduction of daily use of artefact in mortuary context.

She noted that the burial was an abstracted, idealised world compared to living world. At a glance, her notion is not well harmonised with my first emphasis of the practical aspect of the goods placement, but my notion is that the goods placement ideologically reflects the original function of the goods, and the presence or absence of individual goods type are secondary. Therefore, it can be suggested the ritually related aspect of goods placement was reflected in the careful selection of the goods for burial use.

Another ritual aspect can be seen in the presence of amulets or figurines made of ivory, bone, or shells in Predynastic burials. For example, in Grave 271 (early Naqada II Period) in the Main Cemetery at Naqada, four ivory figurines that formed a line were found in the side of the grave pit. Although the exact details of ritual ideology are still obscure due to the limitation of suitable evidence, these amulets or figurines indicated the presence of some form of ritual ideology for burial.

In summary, the pattern of grave goods placement in the Predynastic burials indicates three aspects of consideration in the intent and ideology of their positioning: practical and bodily associations, social status and display, and ritual intent. The grave goods placement in burials embodies these three main aspects of mortuary ideology in close combination and therefore is an important factor for understanding Predynastic mortuary practices.

Concluding remarks

This paper has highlighted that there is a current need in research to consider the placement of grave goods within Predynastic burials. This study has begun to address this issue by putting forward the preliminary results of applying a holistic approach using archive material in reconstructing grave goods placement in the Predynastic burials at Naqada. Although the frequent plundering prevented the adoption of statistical tests and analysis for the results of grave goods placement, a number of key aspects were noted based on the spatial placement of goods within burials. Potteries

had concentrations both near and at a distance from the body, and generally small potteries were placed near the body and large vessels were placed distant. Objects such like lithics, ornaments, ivory objects or shells tended to be placed near the body and this indicated the placement according to their original use. Stone vessels also tended to be discovered near the body, especially around the hands. From these patterns, it is possible to raise the characteristics of the goods placement as having practical, social, and ritual aspects, and these three aspects were mixed together in burial, and indeed embody the burial itself. These mortuary ideological schemes were possibly connected to that of the dynastic period, namely the function of the burial as the place for the sustenance and maintenance of the daily demands of the Ka of the buried person, as Reisner (1936, 1) noted.

This article tried to figure out the one of the important parts of the entire Predynastic burial practices, which had previosuly been prevented due to the lack of published information. Although the results of this article are still macroscopic and a rough model, many points for further study can be raised. One of these points for further study is more microscopic analysis of the goods placement per object type such as decorated pottery or small cups, or other small categories.

Since burial comprises many attributes including goods placement, recurrent examination which focused on individual attributes will connect to the entire in-depth understanding of Predynastic mortuary practices that existed behind the dynamics of state formation. This article takes one of the first steps for further Predynastic mortuary research.

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Chapter 3

Who are the Naqadans? Some remarks on the use and meaning of the term Naqadans in Egyptian Predynastic archaeology

Agnieszka Mączyńska

Abstract: The terms 'Naqadans', 'Naqada people/societies/communities' have been widely used from the beginning of research on the Predynastic Period. In 19th- and 20th-century archaeology, one of the common practices was to 'equate pots with people'. Since then, both terms have been used to denote the representatives of the Naqada culture, i.e. the communities who, between c. 4000 and 3000 BCE, lived in the area surrounding the sites identified as the Naqadan, and who shared some common characteristics of this culture. Although currently the state of the research on the Naqada culture is different than in the 19th and 20th century and our knowledge of the relations between the past societies, archaeological cultures/records, and ethnicity in archaeology has changed, the term 'Naqadans' is still used in the archaeology of Predynastic Egypt. The key objective of this paper is to analyse the contexts in which the term 'Naqadans' appeared in archaeological interpretations and to explore its different meanings.

Keywords: Naqadans, Naqada culture, ethnicity, archaeological culture

Introduction

In the traditional view of Predynastic Egypt, the 4th millennium BCE features two main cultural units: the Naqada culture in the south and the Lower Egyptian culture (known also as the Maadi-Buto culture) in the north (see contra Köhler 1995; 2008; 2016). The first sites associated with the Naqada culture were discovered and explored in the 19th century. Subsequent research on Predynastic Egypt was dominated by evidence and interpretations concerning the Naqada society. Archaeological works focused mostly on Upper Egyptian cemeteries and the interest of the researchers

was directed towards finds, their chronology within the Predynastic Period, their cultural affinity and their classification/typology (e.g.: de Morgan 1896–1897; Petrie and Quibell 1896; Quibell 1900; Petrie 1900–1901; 1901; 1902–1903; 1921; Quibell and Green 1902; Kaiser 1957).

The history of studies on Lower Egyptian culture is much shorter because the Delta and Lower Egypt for many years were treated as an uninhabited swampland (see also Mączyńska 2013; 2014; 2015b). At the beginning of the 20th century, a few important sites were discovered and excavated. However, only the intensive archaeological research of the last 25 years in this region has changed our knowledge of Lower Egyptian communities (Rizkana and Seeher 1987; Debono and Mortensen 1988; van den Brink 1988; 1989; 1992; Chłodnicki et al. 1992; 2012; von der Way 1997; Mączyńska 2013; Midant-Reynes and Buchez 2014; Wilson et al. 2014; Ciałowicz 2016).

Most interpretations of Predynastic Egypt are deeply rooted in the cultural and historical archaeology of the 19th and early 20th century, when one of the common practices was to 'equate pots with people'. All artefacts, defined in terms of time and space dictated by the concept of archaeological culture, were treated as actual representations of past societies. The terms 'Naqadans', 'Naqada people' or 'Upper Egyptians' have been widely used to denote the representatives of the Naqada culture, i.e. the communities who between *c.* 4000 and 3000 BCE lived in the area surrounding the sites identified as the Naqadan in Upper Egypt,[1] and who shared some common characteristics of this culture (Fig. 3.1). For Lower Egyptian culture, other terms – 'Maadians' or 'Lower Egyptians' – have been used. Despite our improved knowledge of the southern and northern Predynastic societies, the imbalance of archaeological evidence (still too few sites in Lower Egypt) and the differences in its character between both regions (dominance of cemeteries in the south and settlement sites in the north) have continued to affect the research on Predynastic Egypt (Hendrickx and van den Brink 2002; Levy and van den Brink 2002, 7–8; Köhler 2008). As a matter of consequence, studies on the Naqada culture have prevailed over those on the Lower Egyptian culture for many years.

The key objective of this article is to analyse the contexts in which the terms 'Naqadans' and 'Naqada people/societies/communities' appeared in the archaeological interpretations and to explore their meanings. In Predynastic archaeology, these terms are used in reference to an ethnic group. For this reason, their definition seems to be clear at first sight. However, the author was surprised by the lack of a precise meaning of these terms. Despite the ethnic 'label', the Naqadans did not create a cohesive group. As a consequence of this ambiguity, the use of the terms often leads to misunderstandings or even useless debates. In this paper the

[1] The Naqada I sites were identified in the area streching from Hemamiya to just past First Cataract. The Naqada II sites appeared outside this area in both direction along the Nile.

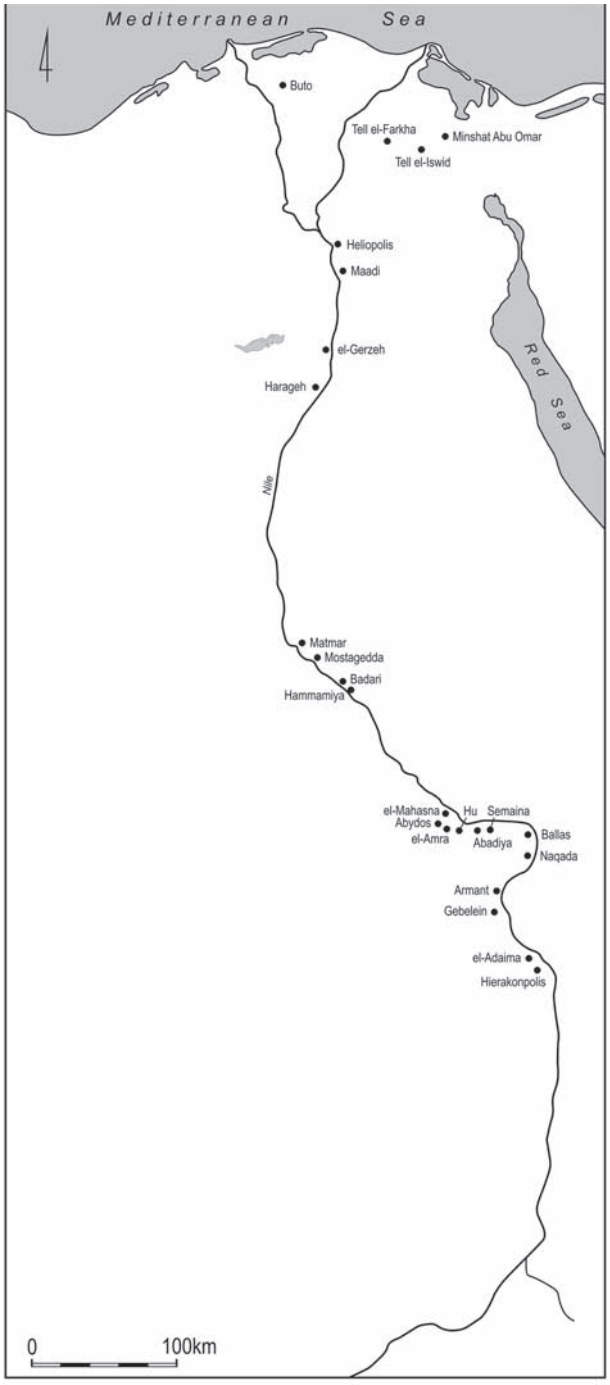

Fig. 3.1: Map of Predynastic Egypt with the most important archaeological sites (prepared by A. Mączyńska, drawn by J. Kędelska).

use of the terms 'Naqadans', 'Naqada people/societies/communities' is analysed in three contexts:

1. cultural interpretations of Predynastic Egypt in the 4th millennium BCE;
2. changes of material culture in the middle of the 4th millennium BCE in Upper and Lower Egypt;
3. relations between Egypt and the Southern Levant in the 4th millennium BCE.

The purpose of this analysis is to determine if 'Naqadans' or 'Naqada people/societies/communities' could be treated as a cohesive ethnic group and if it is justifiable to use these terms in Predynastic archaeology.

The concept of archaeological culture and the problem of ethnicity in Predynastic archaeology

The concept of archaeological culture appeared in the European archaeology in the 19th century. Defined independently by G. Kossina (1911, 3) and then by V. G. Childe (1933, 198–199; 1956, 123) it has been widely used by scholars. Material evidence discovered by researchers was defined in terms of the time and space of the archaeological culture. Moreover, archaeological cultures were treated as actual representations of past societies. The studies on prehistoric societies all over the world were influenced by direct relations between material culture, archaeological culture and ethnic identity in archaeology. Today the concept of archaeological culture belongs to one of the most widely discussed ideas in contemporary archaeology (e.g. Clarke 1968; Hodder 1982). Despite its critics and new, different definitions, it is still widely used by scholars in a variety of ways (cf. Shennan 1994; Roberts and Vander Linden 2011). However, all debates in recent years have raised general awareness about the lack of direct correspondence between material culture and ethnicity. Moreover, in the meantime, the problem of the ethnicity of the past societies also became a fashionable point of discussion in archaeology (e.g. Barth 1969; Eriksen 1991; Shennan 1994; Emberling 1997; Jones 1997; 2008; Stein 1999; Prezely 2000; Mamzer 2004; Lucy 2005; Hakenbeck 2007; Bálint 2009).

In the archaeology of Predynastic Egypt the concept of archaeological culture has been widely used since the beginning of the research. As a consequence, the early history of the Egyptian civilisation was dissected into cultures – past societies occupying the Nile Valley and the Delta. Ceramic vessels excavated in large quantities from Upper Egyptian cemeteries in the 19th and early 20th century were easily identified with people – Tasians, Badarians or Naqadans – linked by many cultural aspects including technologies, economy or beliefs. Moreover, the names of cultures proposed in the 19th or 20th century on the basis of artefacts from Predynastic sites are still applied in interpretations of the new data, despite objections to the very concept of the archaeological culture (cf. Köhler 2016; Mączyńska in press).

Discussions on ethnicity have been neglected in the archaeology of the Predynastic Period and there are only a few works focusing on it. A. Stevenson (2009) analysed it in the context of material remains from el-Gerzeh cemetery. It is worth mentioning also the last paper of Ch. Köhler (2016) concerning the Naqada culture as an archaeological construct in which the ethnic identity was analysed. The problem of ethnicity was also investigated by researchers involved in the studies on the Egyptian presence in Levant in EBI (Kansa and Levy 2002; Braun 2005; Campagno 2008).

In the recent years, the research on Egyptian archaeology has shown the great importance of new evidence and an imbalance between data and theories. On one hand, excavations or surveys give possibilities to find more and more data allowing to find answers for previously unanswered questions; on the other hand, our research is influenced by hypotheses proposed over 50 years ago and the theoretical approaches of the 19th and early 20th century archaeologists who explored the first Predynastic sites in Egypt, following the 'culture = people' hypothesis (cf. Köhler 2016; Mączyńska in press).

In the 4th millennium BCE, Egypt was divided into two archaeological cultures – the Naqada culture and the Lower Egyptian culture – which seemed to be easy to interpret in the traditional cultural-historical approach. However, the last 20 years have brought new discoveries and discussions on the cultural situation in both regions and the relations between societies settled there. Over the last few years the author has taken part in debates on the nature of relations between Upper and Lower Egyptian societies, focusing in particular on the problem of Naqada expansion to the south (Buchez and Midant-Reynes 2007; 2011; Köhler 2008; 2014; 2016; Mączyńska 2011; 2013; 2014; 2015ab; 2016a). Without doubt, scholars who interpreted material culture changes in the middle of the Naqada Period (including the author) related objects to people. Ethnic labels were stuck on people settled in Upper Egypt in the 4th millennium BCE, known mostly from artefacts. 'The Naqadans', 'Naqada people/societies/communities' became one ethnic group and ceramic vessels pots, knives and other material culture elements were used as evidence of their ethnic identity (Fig. 3.2). Moreover, ethnic identification of Naqadans is also visible in the superposition of the Naqada culture on the Lower Egyptian culture, as the two cultures are often defined in opposition to each other (cf. Köhler 2008; Mączyńska 2015ab; 2016b).

The author is aware of problems linked to the research on ethnic identity, ethnic group and ethnicity, however it is not the objective of this paper to focus closely on them. Ethnicity has many different definitions depending on the researcher's theoretical background and the study problem. For the purpose of this paper, general definitions of ethnic identity, ethnic group and ethnicity proposed by S. Jones (1997, VII) are accepted. Identification of the Naqadans as an ethnic group is a starting point for analysing the use of those terms in the context of Predynastic archaeology.

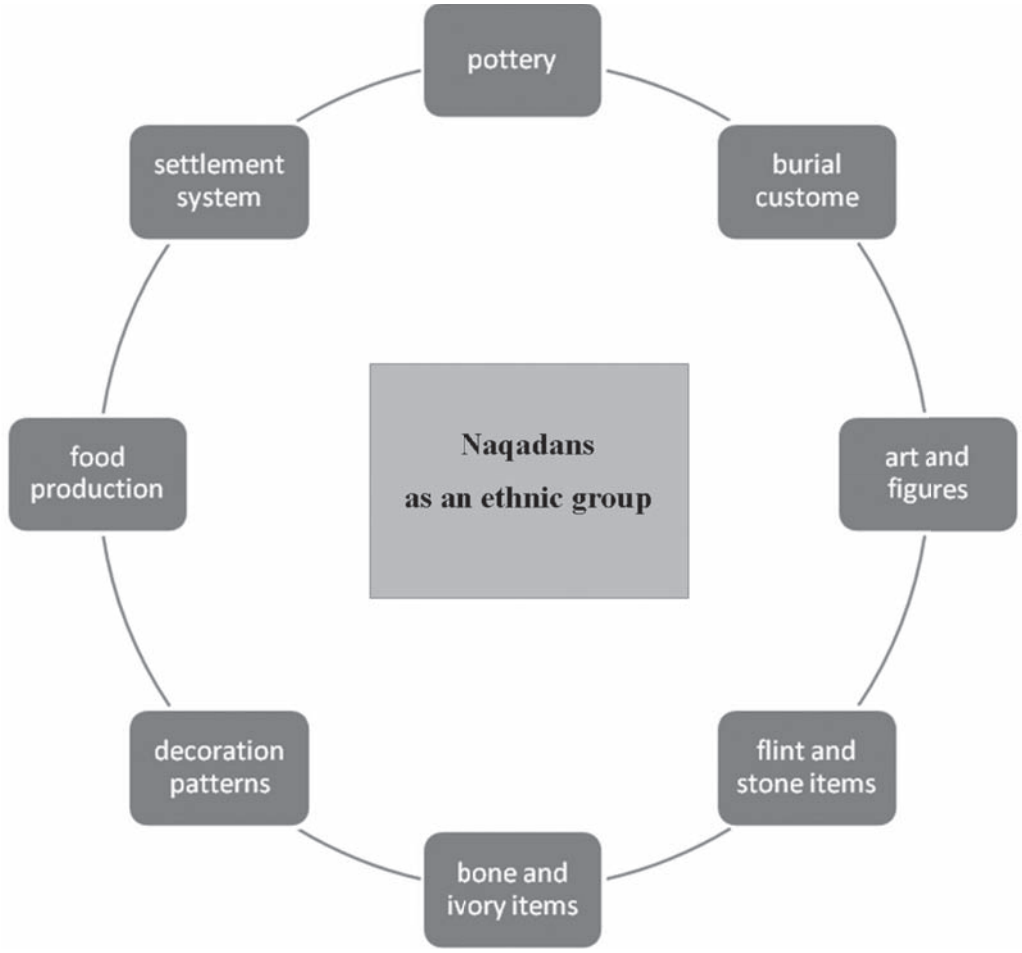

Fig. 3.2: The Naqadans as an ethnic group.

Similarly, it is not the objective of this article to discuss what makes an ethnic group and what ethnic affiliations create it.

Naqadans in archaeological interpretations

The term 'Naqadan/Naqadans, Naqada people/society' has been often used in summary overviews of Predynastic Period archaeology in Egypt. In older publications, the terms 'Amratians/Amratian' groups and 'Gerzeans/Gerzean' groups also appear and it is not difficult to find them in the work 'Early farming cultures on the Lower Nile' by the late L. Krzyżaniak (1977, 101–123, 138–164). In *Egypt before the Pharaohs*,

another important comprehensive manual of the Predynastic Egypt, M. A. Hoffman (1979, 105–124) used a few other alternative terms – 'Upper Egyptians', 'Predynastic Egyptians', 'Naqadans' or 'Naqada people' – to denote the same group. In recent publications focusing on Predynastic Egypt the terms 'Naqadans/Amratians' are still used, but authors prefer other, more neutral terms such as 'Naqada people/society', 'Chalcolithic society' or alternatively use just the names of cultures (e.g. Midant-Reynes 1992; 2003; Ciałowicz 2001; 2016; Wengrow 2006; Köhler 2010; Tassie 2014). In the context of Naqada culture it is also possible to find the term 'Upper Egyptians' or even 'Predynastic or early Egyptians' (e.g.: Buchez and Midant-Reynes 2011; Teeter 2011). Despite different names, the meaning of all terms is very similar. It refers to a group of people who lived in the 4th millennium BCE in the area where material artefacts of the Naqada cultures were identified.

Until the 1980s, Predynastic archaeology treated the Naqada culture as a uniform entity. However, new excavations and studies of the earlier materials from Upper Egypt have shown that Naqada culture was not as homogenous as was once assumed (e.g.: Holmes 1989; Friedman 1994; Köhler 2014; 2016). Moreover, on the basis of available evidence it is suggested that Naqada culture underwent a number of changes during the 4th millennium BCE, such as specialisation of crafts and social differentiation. Moreover, as far as material culture is concerned, one can notice northward spread of Naqadan elements (Midant-Reynes 1992; 2003, 45; Takamiya 2004; Wengrow 2006; Köhler 2008; 2010; Tassie 2014; Mączyńska 2014; 2015a). Internal cultural development of the southern society was accompanied by its territorial development and extension beyond the area occupied in Naqada I Period. In publications concerning this period, the term 'expansion of the Naqada culture to the north' appeared. Most authors who refer to it assume that there must have been a movement of Naqadan people, resulting in the arrival of Upper Egyptians to Lower Egypt (e.g. Kaiser 1985; 1987; 1990; Wilkinson 2002; Bard 2000, 58–59; Ciałowicz 2001, 209–210; 2016; Midant-Reynes 2003, 45; Kemp 2006, 88; Buchez and Midant-Reynes 2007; 2011). Although there is no consensus among scholars regarding its interpretation, this context seems to be useful in understanding the meanings of the terms 'Naqadans' and 'Naqada people/societies/communities'.

In the context of Upper Egyptian presence in Lower Egypt, two sites should be mentioned – el-Gerzeh and Minshat Abu Omar.[2] Both of them are cemeteries with graves goods treated as typical for Naqada and Lower Egyptian cultures; in both cases material culture was used for ethnic identification of individuals buried there and both have been discussed during the last few years. On the basis of the material culture, A. Stevenson (2009, 206–207) suggests that the inhabitants of el-Gerzeh formed a migrant community, embedded in Naqadan traditions. Although she does not use the term 'Upper Egyptians' in the reference to the community using the cemetery,

[2] In the previous publications (Mączyńska 2014; 2015b) the author analysed the Naqadan presence at another important site, Tell el-Farkha.

in her opinion 'the habitus within which identity was performed at el-Gerzeh was most likely to have been created within Upper Egypt' (2009, 215). Another view was presented by N. Buchez and B. Midant-Reynes (2007; 2011) who treat the assemblages from el-Gerzeh as belonging neither to Naqada culture nor to Lower Egyptian culture. In the opinion of both scholars, the cemetery at el-Gerzeh is mixed in the character.

The lack of consensus on cultural/ethnic identity can be observed also in the case of Minshat Abu Omar. For many years, this cemetery was treated as Naqadan, and consequently used as evidence supporting Naqadan expansion and presence in the north. As in the case of el-Gerzeh, the presence of Naqadan objects in the graves influences the identity of people buried there (i.e. Ciałowicz 2001, 92; Kaiser 1985; 1987, 124; Midant-Reynes 1992, 178, 206; Wilkinson 2002, 29; 2003, 163; Wengrow 2006, 84). Recent years have brought new, opposite interpretations. In the opinion of E. Ch. Köhler (2008), Minshat Abu Omar 'is entirely Lower Egyptian cemetery, whose occupants consumed mainly locally produced pottery and some imported goods'. Furthermore, the analysis of pottery from the oldest graves of Minshat Abu Omar of the author showed local character of pottery assemblages, despite the presence of imports from Upper Egypt and the Levant (Mączyńska 2015c).

These two examples of investigating ethnicity on the basis of material culture clearly show the difficulties faced by researchers involved in this topic. Different analyses of the same materials lead to different results, as relations between material culture and ethnicity are hardly defined. In the opinion of author the presence of Naqadan grave goods at both cemeteries could be treated as evidence of diversified relations between both regions, but does not directly indicate the ethnic identity of people who used the cemetery (Mączyńska 2015c; see also Köhler 2008).

To conclude, it needs to be remarked that in the context of the northward spread of Naqadan elements in the second part of Naqada II Period the terms 'Naqadans' and 'Naqada people/societies/communities' refer to comers from Upper Egypt – 'Upper Egyptians' embedded in the Naqadan tradition, as opposed to the local Lower Egyptian society, referred to as 'Maadians' or 'Lower Egyptians'. The meaning of the terms remains similar, as in the case of the general interpretation of Predynastic Upper Egypt.

In beginning of the Naqada III Period, some changes of material culture of Upper and Lower Egypt could be observed (Tassie 2014, 405). Assuming the movement of the Naqada people from the south, this process is interpreted as an effect of assimilation of the local Lower Egyptian society to Naqada culture introduced by the comers (Buchez and Midant-Reynes 2007; 2011; Ciałowicz 2016). The terms 'Naqadans' and 'Naqada people/societies/communities' used in this context could relate not only to Upper Egyptians, but also to those Lower Egyptians who were assimilated by Naqadans. However, this interpretation becomes unclear if one denies the arrival of Upper Egyptians to Lower Egypt. For Ch. Köhler (2008), changes in the material culture of Upper and Lower Egypt at the end of Naqada II and at the beginning of Naqada III Period result from gradual, organic development of both regions, interacting with each

other. The use of the terms 'Naqadans' and 'Naqada people/societies/communities' in reference to people occupying both regions causes problems and varies depending on individual interpretations of the same evidence (Mączyńska 2014).

The third context of using the terms 'Naqadans' and 'Naqada people/societies/communities' is the exchange between Egypt and the Southern Levant. The small distance between Lower Egypt and the Levant is probably one of the reasons for and factors contributing to contacts between the two regions (Wetterström 1993, 200; Mączyńska 2014; 2015b). Some early links connecting these two areas can be found among materials from the 6th and 5th millennium BCE. However, in the beginning of the 4th millennium BCE the societies of Lower Egypt and the Levant probably entered a new phase of contacts and initiated exchange of goods that accompanied the flow of information. The organisation of exchange and also the roles of Lower Egyptians and Levantines are still a matter of discussion (Levy and van den Brink 2002, 18–19; de Miroschedji 2002, 39–40; Braun and van den Brink 2008, 644–650; Braun 2011, 107–108; Guyot 2008, 709–714; Mączyńska 2008; 2014; 2015b). The exchange between Lower Egypt and the Southern Levant probably influenced the intensification of contacts between Naqada and Lower Egyptian cultures. The most often mentioned reason for the 'Naqada expansions' is the Naqadans' appetite for Lower Egypt's wealth and control over trade with the Southern Levant (Siegemund 1999; Wilkinson 2002; Bard 2000, 58; Ciałowicz 2001; Campagno 2004). In this context, the terms 'Naqadans', 'Naqada people/societies/communities' might be linked to Upper Egyptians (e.g. Rizkana and Seeher 1987, 80; Anđelković 1995; Levy 1995, 278).

The character of the relations between Egypt and the Southern Levant changed in the course of Naqada III Period, probably due to political, social and economic changes in Egypt. The nature of interactions between Egyptians and Southern Levantines became complicated and their intensity changed over time. The problem of Egyptian presence or even Egyptian colonisation of the Levant often appears in archaeological interpretations (i.e. Braun 2002, 181–183; 2005; de Miroshedji 2002, 41–42; Kansa and Levy 2002). In the context of Naqada III Period and early EB I the terms 'Naqadans', 'Naqada people/societies/communities' cover both Upper and Lower Egyptians (Dębowska-Ludwin et al. 2012; Czarnowicz et al. 2015, 242). Moreover, some scholars, mostly those analysing materials from the Levantine perspective, used only the term Egyptians in the context of Naqada culture, referring in this way to visitors from the whole Nile Valley and the Delta (i.e. Kansa and Levy 2002; Braun 2005; 2011; Anđelković 2011, 30).

To sum up, although at first sight the Naqadans seem to form a cohesive ethnic group in the interpretation of the Predynastic Period, the analysis of the context in which the terms are used shows their ambiguous nature. The semantic scope of this ethnic group changed over the time and space. The term includes 'Upper Egyptians' only or both 'Upper and Lower Egyptians' (Fig. 3.3). The changes of meaning are closely related to the researcher's idea of Predynastic Egypt.

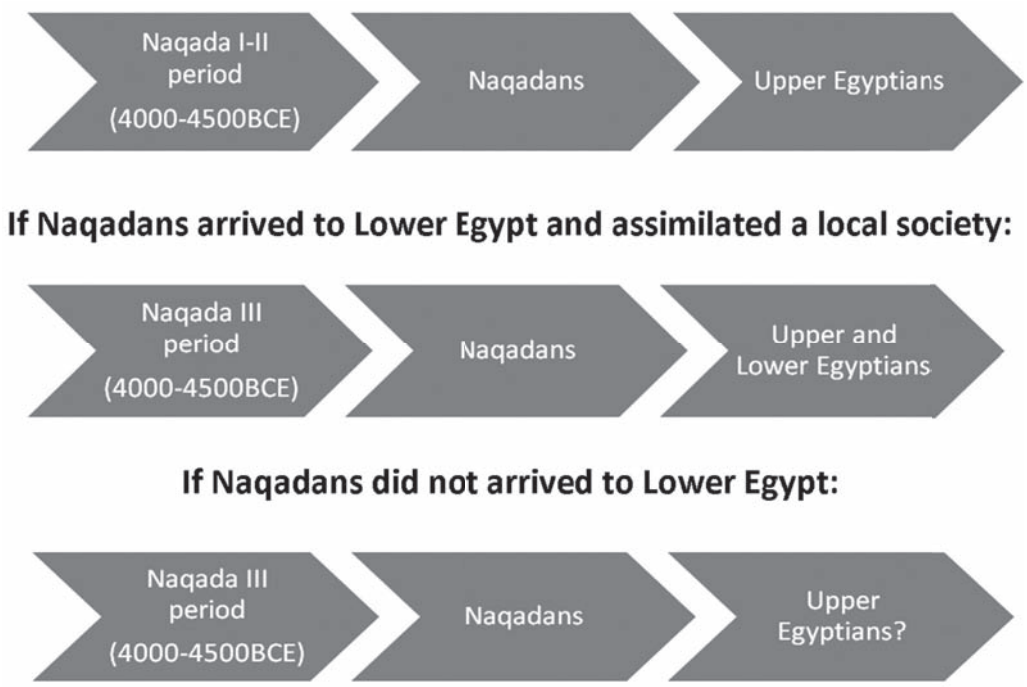

Fig. 3.3: The meanings of the term Naqadans.

Concluding remarks

The foundations of Predynastic archaeology were laid by cultural-historical archaeology in the 19th and early 20th century. For many years, this theoretical approach was influencing prehistoric studies in the area. Some terms proposed almost 100 years ago are still applied. Although the research on Predynastic Egypt is now in a different place than a century ago, the use of some terminology may still cause a problem since their precise definition is difficult, if not simply impossible. The terms 'Naqadans', 'Naqada people/societies/communities' are fine examples. Despite being used to label one ethnic group, their meaning differs and depends on the context in which they are applied, the theoretical approach of the researcher who uses them and their interpretations of Predynastic Egypt (Fig. 3.3). The processes that began in Egypt in the middle of the 4th millennium BCE are difficult to interpret. The analysis of available evidence leads to different results and opposing interpretations. As a consequence, the group named as 'Naqadans' could be understood in different ways. The aim of this article was not to resolve this problem or to propose any other precise term, the author leaves it for further research. The paper is only an attempt to draw researchers' attention to possible multiple meanings, sometimes leading to misunderstandings in debates. In discussions, we often forget the unclear character of those terms, assuming that their meaning is obvious for everybody.

The other problem only superficially mentioned is the relationship between material culture and ethnicity. Without doubt archaeologist almost always treats material culture as a starting point for further research. However, the question about how material culture represents ethnicity is not easy to answer. Many definitions for the term 'ethnicity' do not help in these considerations and very often lead to the problem being ignored. In the opinion of author, material culture is an integral part of human life, and thus ethnicity. Ethnic identity could be partially manifested by material remains and it could be recognised through the time and space. But like many fellow researchers, the author is unable to see how ethnicity is expressed in it. For these reasons we should be very careful in putting ethnic labels to material remains of the past societies, because we do not know for certain if they are correct. We simply do not know who made artefacts used and owned by a given group. The terms 'Naqadans' and 'Naqada people/societies/communities' linked all people lived in a limited area to one ethnic group because of similarities in material culture and registered differences to other groups. The way they produced and decorated ceramic vessels, made tools, buried the dead and so on allows us to treat them as one compact and uniform group. However, we miss many other aspects of past human life as archaeologists. Ethnicity refers to people's self-conscious identification to which we do not have access. We have to be aware that in our interpretations we do not reconstruct the past, but in fact construct it on the basis of remains. The following questions: how did people identify themselves in the Upper Egypt in the 4th millennium BCE, what made them a cohesive ethnic group (assuming they were one) and how they referred to each other remain unanswered. The question whether or not these people exist only in the minds of archaeologists must be answered individually by each of us.

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Chapter 4

Remarks on ancient Egyptian cartonnage mummy masks from the Late Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom

Emanuele Casini

Abstract: Among the external ornamentations of the ancient Egyptian mummies, funerary masks show traces of a very enduring use, from the Old Kingdom down to the Roman Period. This paper offers an overview on a peculiar type of funerary masks, the cartonnage helmet-shaped masks that were produced from the end of the Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom. After a brief introduction and some remarks on the terminology and function of these 'beautiful faces', the paper will outline the chronological and geographical development of cartonnage helmet-masks through a comparative analysis of chosen samples. The attention will focus not only on the funerary masks but also on the burial assemblages (in particular, those belonging to the few but invaluable intact tombs) in order to try to investigate the criteria behind the absence/presence of the mummy masks and their relation with rectangular/anthropoid coffins.

Keywords: anthropoid coffin, burial customs, cartonnage, funerary mask, helmet-mask, Middle Kingdom, mummy mask, New Kingdom, rectangular coffin

Introduction

Among the external ornamentations and trappings placed upon the ancient Egyptian mummies, the masks show traces of a very enduring use, extending from the Old Kingdom down to the Roman Period. The present paper aims at addressing attention to the cartonnage helmet-masks produced in the timespan between the end of the Old Kingdom and the Ramesside Period, by offering a reassessment of the materials and focussing on their geographical diffusion, stylistic features, and chronological development. In particular, some new considerations and ideas will be developed

on the New Kingdom mummy masks. Furthermore, some reflections on intact and disturbed coffin sets as well as burial assemblages will be put forward in order to illustrate the correlation between these 'beautiful faces' and their containers, both the rectangular and anthropoid coffins.

Terminology and function of mummy masks

With regard to the terminology, little evidence is known about the terms referring to the mummy masks, whose few traces come from funerary texts and socio-economic accounts on Ramesside *ostraca*.

The version of spell 531 of the Coffin Texts, as attested on the protruding tab of the Lady Ankhet's mask (Grajetzki 2014a, 105), begins with the expression *ḥr nfr* ('beautiful face'), which refers to the mask of the Osirianised deceased (Varga 1998, 64). Spell *CT* 531 appears in the 11th dynasty (Wüthrich 2010, 53) in association with funerary masks only: for the first time a funerary object and the text relating to its use are put together in order to assure the highest protection to the deceased (Varga 1998, 64), in this case to guarantee the integrity of the head. The same expression occurs in spell *BD* 151A as well and it clearly refers to the mask itself, as suggested by the associated vignette depicting a funerary mask (Quirke 2013, 372–373). This spell begins with the phrase *r n tp n sšt*$_3$ ('formula for the head of secrets'), another locution that characterises the mummy masks (Quirke 2013, 373).

Funerary masks are mentioned in socio-economic accounts as *tp* ('head') and *wt w*$_3$, an expression in which *wt* (usually indicating the 'anthropoid coffin') may suggest a general 'body covering' and *w*$_3$ bears the meaning of 'string', 'cord'. Thus, the expression *wt w*$_3$ may refer to the method of attachment of the mask to the mummy (Cooney 2007, 28–30), as confirmed by the holes in the lower edge of some samples that served to fasten the mask to the corpse by strings.

Furthermore, another term indicating the funerary masks seems to be attested to in the Ramesside papyrus Amherst-Léopold II. In the description of the plundering of king Sobekemsaf I's tomb (17th dynasty), the interrogated robber says that over the king's head there was a gilded mask (*tptyw n nbw*; see Kitchen 1983, 484, 2:14).

In terms of function, mummy masks did not offer any portrait of the deceased nor have any dissimulation function, differently from the masks worn by priests and magicians during rituals (Sweeney 1993). Rather, these helmet-masks worked as 'a medium of elevation of the wearer to the level of divinity' (Taylor 1994, 171) and as the 'head of a god' (Assmann 2005, 107), a new head that would have empowered the deceased to see and behave as a divine, transfigured, supernatural being (Taylor 2001, 60). The mask, whose facial features were associated to different gods and to the divine barques of the day and of the night, performed an apotropaic function, by guiding the deceased in the afterlife and warding off enemies and any kind of danger from him (Taylor 1994, 171; Bazin Rizzo 2014, 37). In addition, since the loss of the head would not have allowed the deceased any continuation of existence in

the afterlife, the masks worked as a protective shell for the head in order to preserve the integrity of the deceased's body (Taylor 2001, 62).

The emergence of funerary masks and the appearance of the helmet-type

The most ancient funerary masks may be the ceramic samples found in the Predynastic elite cemetery HK6 at Hierakonpolis (Friedman et al. 2011, 160–161), which currently represent a chronologically and geographically isolated case. Later on, starting from the end of the 5th dynasty, plaster facial masks were placed upon the face of the deceased, a funerary practice of the Memphite area that continued during the 6th dynasty (Tacke 1996). However, only towards the end of the Old Kingdom did the helmet-masks, the object of the present paper, make their appearance (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 167; Grajetzki 2003, 29).

The helmet-masks consisted of a shell protecting the head and a front and rear panel extending over the chest and the back, with the cut-aways fitting over the deceased's shoulders. They were mainly made of cartonnage, even if we know of samples made of plaster only (like most of the masks found at Mirgissa: Vila 1976, 151–268; Rigault-Déon 2012), wood (e.g. the mask of the 13th-dynasty king Hor, from Dahshur: De Morgan 1895, 98–99, fig. 229; the 18th-dynasty anonymous mask *London BM EA 22912*: Taylor 1994, 169, fig. 117), and solid gold (Tutankhamun's mask *Cairo JE 60672*). Cartonnage had more success compared with wood because it was a cheaper alternative to it (Taylor 2001, 62; Cooney 2007, 29), furthermore, it allowed the craftsmen to easily shape the form of the mask. This was possible because cartonnage was made of many layers of linen cloth glued on both sides, pressed together and then moulded into the desired shape. The outer surface of the mask was usually plastered and then painted (or coated with gold leaf), while the inner surface could be coated with white plaster (e.g. *London BM EA 27790*, unknown find-spot: Taylor 1996, 36), plastered and painted (e.g. *Liverpool M11020*, unknown find-spot: Dodson 2011, 345, fig. 5), or coated with black resin (e.g. *New York MMA 30.8.69*, likely from Thebes: Reeves 2013, 17). Some elements could be added separately, for instance inlaid eyes and eyebrows, a wooden straight false beard as well as cartonnage ears.

The three mummy masks found in the 8th-dynasty intact tomb of Hefefi (D11) at el-Hagarsa represent the oldest helmet-shaped samples (Kanawati 1993, 11-24). These masks were found within coffins *Hag.89.C2* (Kanawati 1993, pl. 30), *Hag.89.C3* (Kanawati 1993, pl. 31), and *Hag.89.C6* (Kanawati 1993, pl. 34). The limited number does not allow one to draw generalized conclusions, however some features like the textured, shoulder-length wig of the female masks (reminiscent of non-royal female headdresses of the Old Kingdom) and the peculiar zig-zag pattern decorating the broad collars are the marks of a local tradition that did not have any continuation in the following periods.

Concerning the First Intermediate Period, we know of some meaningful cartonnage helmet-masks found in the 9th/10th-dynasty cemetery at Sedment. Eighteen masks are mentioned by Petrie and Brunton (1924, 6); however, in his reassessment of the Sedment-cemeteries, Seidlmayer mentions many more masks but he does not specify if they are made of cartonnage or plaster only, nor their shape (Seidlmayer 1990, 311–341). The Sedment cartonnage masks have flat faces, sulky mouths, very thin and fine modelled noses as well as big, arched eyes, all elements that are indicative of an evident local style (e.g. *London UC 31377*: Stewart 1986, 4, pl. 1). The few well-preserved masks have tripartite wigs with long frontal lappets and polychrome, multi-banded broad collars that are typical of the cartonnage helmet-masks of the Middle Kingdom. However, the picture of the situation for the period in question remains incomplete and fuzzy because of the limited geographical diffusion of such funerary objects.

The Early Middle Kingdom: standardised and unconventional masks, geographical and chronological indicators

The Middle Kingdom tomb equipment included a rich set of funerary items among which the cartonnage helmet-masks enjoyed a strengthened use and a widespread diffusion with samples found all over Egypt, including Lower Nubia. The large amount of currently attested masks seems to reflect a well-functioning 'industry of death' fed by wealthy commissioners such as the nomarchs and their courtiers. Even though no intact burial of high officials of the 11th and early 12th dynasties has been discovered, the analysis of the untouched tombs of middle-ranking officials (Podvin 2000; Grajetzki 2003, 42) is sufficient to understand the importance of being provided with helmet-masks. The 'Overseer of the Storehouse' Wah (end of the 11th/beginning of the 12th dynasty, southern Asasif (tomb MMA 102: Roehrig 2003) wore a beautiful cartonnage mummy mask with a gilded face and peculiar green and blue striated wig (*New York MMA 40.3.54*); a coeval courtier, the 'Sole Friend' Antef, was found in his intact tomb at Beni Hasan with the remains of a mummy mask that fitted over the head (Garstang 1907, 54–65). These few examples suggest that mummy masks were not a prerogative of kings, members of the royal family, and high officials only, but they were widespread funerary items whose presence in Middle Kingdom tomb equipment mainly depended on financial resources.

The Middle Kingdom helmet-masks are recognizable since they often display some common features like the *usekh* collar made of polychrome, multiple strings of tubular beads, with the last string made of drop-shaped beads, tripartite wigs with long frontal lappets, moustaches and sometimes false straight beards. Moreover, they have a standardised mask shape with squarish frontal and back panels extending to the chest. Most of the attested samples were mass-produced; however, some samples avoided this standardised shape and stereotyped features. For instance, the nameless mummy mask found by Garstang in tomb 140 at Beni Hasan (11th/12th dynasty) has front and back panels that extended downwards to cover the full length of the

body (Garstang 1907, 173, fig. 179). This mask shows, upon the long front panel, the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* formula with the space provided for the name of the deceased left blank: this is an evident clue that this object had been bought ready-made and the name of the deceased, for some reason, had not been added (other examples in: Dodson 2011, 335–337, figs 2–5; Rigault-Déon 2012, 49, pl. VI/d). Another example, the mask of Upay, found in tomb 17 at Assiut, is remarkable because of a unique feature: In place of a painted wig, real little braids are attached to the head (Chassinat and Palanque 1911, 177–178, pl. III/3). These few abovementioned examples point out the variety and widespread range of solutions within the uniformity under which the Middle Kingdom masks are often classified.

By comparing the Middle Kingdom masks, it is possible to identify some common stylistic features. Furthermore, some of these features may work as geographical and chronological indicators: For instance, the presence of moustaches and beard is characteristic of the mummy masks of the period in question, thus reflecting a trend of the epoch (Bazin Rizzo 2014, 36), whilst the samples of the Late Middle Kingdom do not share this feature. An example of local variation is provided by the masks of Herishefhotep (*Leipzig Inv.-Nr. 5*: Schäfer 1908, 60–61, fig. 86; Krauspe 1997, 60–61 [50]) and of Gemniemhat (*Copenaghen* ÆIN *1625*: Jørgensen 1996, 147), found at Abusir and Saqqara respectively. They are for the most part identical, sharing the same stylistic features: the blue painted tripartite wig with long frontal lappets ending in squared bottoms; the complex beard composed of moustache, hair under the lower lip, goatee, and wooden straight, false beard; the sideburns joining the beard with a curved line and creating a sharp edge on the cheeks. Lastly, the terminals of the broad collars are semi-circular in shape and the polychrome, tubular bead bands always alternate in the same sequence (Fig. 4.1). The examination of such features may offer help in the dating and determining of a likely find-spot of similar out-of-context masks. For instance, both the decontextualised masks *Cairo TR 7/9/33/1* (Bongioanni and Croce 2005, 453) and *Cairo TR 24.4.26.1* (Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, [96]) show the same stylistic features as those of the abovementioned masks from Abusir and Saqqara, so that their likely provenance from the same northern region can be hypothesised.

Another example of a regional variant is provided by some funerary masks found in the cemetery of Assiut. They share common characteristics that make them recognisable as items likely produced in the same workshop: for example, *Baltimore 78.4* (Schulz and Seidel 2009, 36–37 [10]), *Hildesheim Pelizaeus-Museum 6226* (Schmitz 1993, 44–45 [35]) (Fig. 4.2), *Boston MFA 1987.54* (Brovarski 1988, 119–120 [46]), and *Paris Louvre E 11995* (Chassinat and Palanque 1911, 12, pl. III/1). They have a black tripartite wig with long, frontal lappets ending with roundish bottoms; the contour of the wig lappets is adorned with a sort of beaded string; beard and moustache are painted blue and decorated with a black dotted (or *chevron*) pattern suggesting beard bristles. Some small red strokes are painted on the eyeball to indicate the veins. The polychrome and fine detailed collars have falcon-head terminals, moreover there is a string with a single carnelian bead worn at the throat (Grajetzki 2014a, 27). Lastly, all these masks

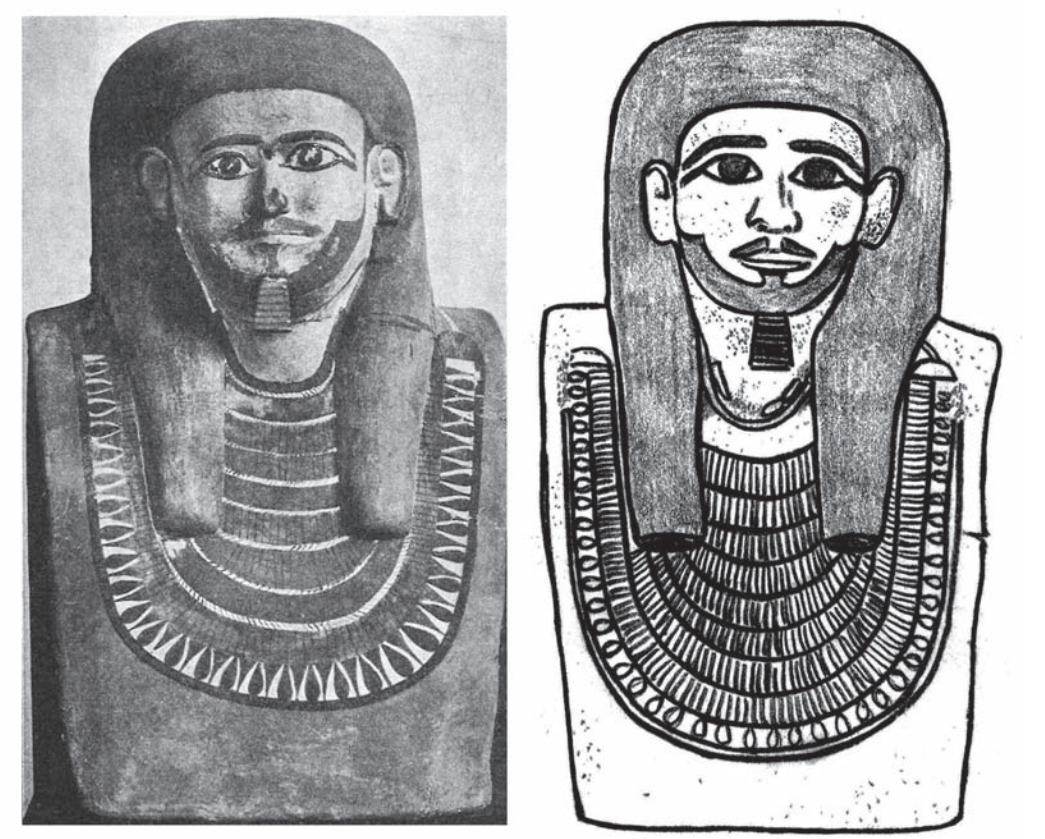

Fig. 4.1: Left: mask of Herishefhotep (h. 60 cm) (from Schäfer 1908, fig. 86); right: mask of Gemniemhat (h. 55 cm) (drawing by E. Casini).

wear a floral diadem decorated with lotus flowers and a carnelian or jasper stone in the middle, sometimes with painted vultures.

Notwithstanding, many other masks found at Assiut reflect the 'other face' of a more heterogeneous situation than previously thought, with some samples diverging from the abovementioned compact group because of a different type of headband, collar decoration and colours, so suggesting a production diversified in several workshops.

Some remarks on the use of helmet-masks in the Late Middle Kingdom and the emergence of the wing and feather pattern

Concerning the Late Middle Kingdom, the little information on cartonnage masks is partly due to the excavation data, sometimes incomplete, the lack of adequate photographic documents, as well as tomb lootings and bad preservation of materials. The decline of the great provincial cemeteries from the reign of Sesostris III onwards



Fig. 4.2: Left: mask Baltimore 78.4 *(h. 62.9 cm) (drawing by E. Casini); right: mask Hildesheim* Pelizaeus-Museum 6226 *(h. 51.8 cm) (drawing by E. Casini).*

(Grajetzki 2003, 54; Miniaci 2011, 1), in connection with the shift of wealth to the north (Franke 1991, 65), mirrors the progressive disappearance of the nomarchs and their courtiers, whose commissions of grave goods had supported, until then, the 'industry of death'. However, the decline of the 'nomarch system' does not explain on its own the minor evidence of funerary masks, the production of which, *de facto*, continued through time. Indeed, Bourriau (2001, 10) mentions fragments of 90 masks found in the 500 shaft tombs of the Late Middle Kingdom North Cemetery at Lisht, although no information on mask material and shape is given. Fragments of cartonnage masks (or the remains of their inlaid elements) were found in ten tombs of the Late Middle Kingdom cemetery at Harageh (Grajetzki 2014b, 100). Petrie recorded mummy masks from thirteen burials of the Late Middle Kingdom–Second Intermediate Period cemetery at Hu (Petrie 1901; Grajetzki 2014b, 111). Considering these abovementioned examples, it is apparent that the overall situation is more complex than previously thought and it is therefore incorrect to talk about a downscaling use of funerary masks for the period in question (in fact, only the cartonnage helmet-shaped type is scarcely attested).

The little evidence of cartonnage helmet-masks seems to be correlated with the gestation of the anthropoid coffins. The current archaeological evidence, in fact, does not attest to any example of mummy masks found within anthropoid coffins (Dodson 1998, 99), whose emergence is placed by scholars around the mid-/late 12th dynasty (Taylor 1989, 23–24; Ikram and Dodson 1998, 202; Miniaci in press). This new coffin shape, which very likely developed as an extension of the front and back panels of the cartonnage helmet-masks (Taylor 1994, 180–181), seems to have caused, in turn, the gradual disappearance of masks within the high-status burials (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 169; Varga 1998, 64; Taylor 2001, 222–223). The masks of the anthropoid coffins seemingly became sufficient on their own since they reproduced the same idealised and transfigured face of the deceased as the mummy masks did, thus rendering the helmet-masks useless.

Among the few recorded samples, the helmet-mask of 'the commander' Senu (discovered at Dahshur North in 2005: Hawass et al. 2008, 31 [48]) is a unique case in the Late Middle Kingdom Memphite area, especially because of the wing pattern framing its face. This 'pre-*rishi*' mask predates the so-called 'pure *rishi*' mask of the Lady Nubhirerdi found at Deir el-Bahari (*Cairo CG 28109*, late 13th dynasty) (Fig. 4.3.A), characterised by a gilded face framed by wings and the wing and feather pattern entirely covering the headdress (Lacau 1906, 87–88, pl. XXIII). The feather pattern, moreover, decorates the headdresses of many fragmentary masks found at Mirgissa (Vila 1976, 151–268; Rigault-Déon 2012), some of which date to the mid-13th dynasty. Thus, assessing the current situation, the Memphite/Fayum area may be suggested as the point of origin of the wing and feather pattern (with the mask of Senu as one of the likely forerunners; on this regard, see Miniaci 2011, 138), which may have been imported, along with objects of material culture (Bourriau 2001, 5), to Lower Nubia during the 12th and 13th dynasties. In fact, some of these Mirgissa masks with a feather pattern decorating the headdress are slightly earlier in date than the mask of the Lady Nubhirerdi and this may offer a new perspective on the origin of the *rishi* pattern. Furthermore, since the mask of the Lady Nubhirerdi shows evident similarities with some earlier Mirgissa masks (similar shape of the eyes and of the mouth, as well as the chevron pattern inside the eyebrows, and the feather decoration itself), a Nubian origin of the pure *rishi* pattern cannot be completely excluded.

Concerning the 17th-dynasty *rishi* masks found in Egypt, they are very few but noteworthy since they display some unique features (Dodson 1998, 95–99; Dodson 2011; Miniaci 2011, 136–138). They have a peculiar minuscule face framed by the feather pattern and wings (e.g. *Cairo JE 45629*, from Asasif: Dodson 1998, 96–97, pl. XV/2), as if the deceased's head had been transformed into a *bꜣ*-bird (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 169; Dodson 2011, 333). In addition, the *rishi* masks sometimes include figurative representations, for instance the goddesses Isis or Nephthys (*Liverpool M11020*: Dodson 2011, 335–336) or the mourners (*Cairo JE 45629*: Ikram and Dodson 1998, 169, fig. 196).

The 18th-dynasty masks: 'beautiful faces' for wealthy people

To the beginning of the 18th dynasty belongs a group of three masks that have been defined as 'post-*rishi*' (Dodson 2011, 337), since they show stylistic features recalling the *rishi* samples; however, new features collocate them in the very early New Kingdom. These are: 1) The mask of the Lady Satdjehuty (*London BM EA 29770*, unknown find-spot: Taylor 1996), whose headdress is decorated with a wing pattern very reminiscent of the pre-*rishi* mask of Senu; its protruding tabs (the front one is lost) resemble those of the *rishi* masks, nevertheless the face is not as minuscule as that of the *rishi* samples and the facial lineaments are reminiscent of the statuary of the early 18th dynasty (Taylor 1996, 35); 2) The *Durham EG 733* mask (unknown find-spot: Dodson 1998, 93–95, pl. XIV/1–2), which is very similar to that of Satdjehuty, with similar facial lineaments, striped wig, smaller-than-natural (but not minuscule) face and protruding broken-off tabs under the extending panels (Fig. 4.3.B); furthermore, the typical Middle Kingdom multi-banded collar is an evident link with the previous epochs; and 3) A mask kept in a private collection (unknown provenance), which presents a very peculiar decoration with lotus flowers framing the face and falling down onto the shoulders; the grid pattern covering the rear of the head speaks in favour of a dating to the early 18th dynasty (Dodson 2011, 337–338, figs 6–7).

The picture of the situation is rather heterogeneous in the course of the 18th dynasty, with a large stylistic variety and limited number of samples, so that it is challenging to anchor the masks in a diachronic sequence of development. Since these masks are different from each other, it seems preferable to examine them as single cases, avoiding any sort of generalisation. The entirely gilded mummy mask of Hatnefer (*New York MMA 36.3.1*, reign of Hatshepsut, from the tomb of Hatnefer and Ramose at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna: Roehrig 2002, 38, fig. 53) does not have the cut-aways to fit over the shoulders but its framework envelopes them, consequently resulting in a massive and heavy shape. The same bulky shape is shared by the black and gilded striped mask of Maiherperi (*Cairo CG 24096*, reigns of Amenhotep II – Thutmosis IV, from KV 36: Ikram and Dodson 1998, 170, fig. 198; Lakomy 2016, 142–146); it has small cut-aways but these do not fit over the mummy's shoulders. This framework enveloping the deceased's shoulders may seem to be the style *en vogue* in the timespan Hatshepsut – Thutmosis IV, however the very recent identification of Amenhotep, 'Overseer of Builders of Amun', as the owner of the mask *New York MMA 30.8.69* (reign of Amenhotep II, probably from Thebes: Reeves 2013, 18–20) leads one to avoid this conjecture. In fact, the mask of Amenhotep is chronologically included between the masks of Hatnefer and Maiherperi, suggesting that their heavy, bulky shapes were, very likely, an isolated experiment or the product of a specific workshop.

During the reign of Amenhotep III the helmet-masks with cut-aways leaving the shoulders free were the rule. The proportions were more elegant (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 170) and the dimensions were reduced in comparison with the masks of the preceding periods. The lack of identical samples suggests that these masks were

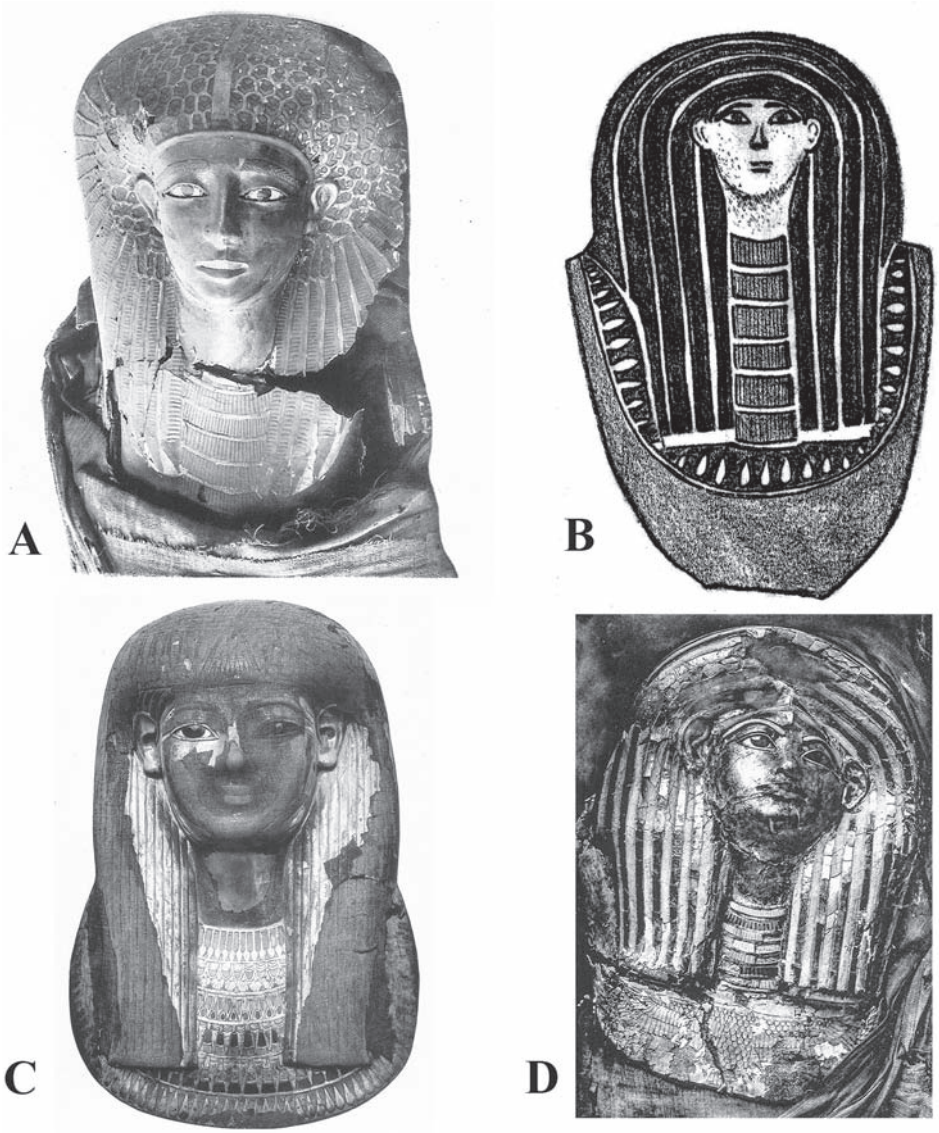

Fig. 4.3: A) Mask of the Lady Nubhirerdi (unknown dimensions) (from Lacau 1906, pl. XXIII); B) Durham EG 733 mask (h. 45 cm) (drawing by E. Casini); C) Mask of Tuya (h. 40 cm) (from Quibell 1908, pl. XIII); D) Mask of Merit (h. 52 cm) (from Schiaparelli 1927, 31).

custom-tailored and not bought ready-made as in the Middle Kingdom. The gilded cartonnage masks of Yuya (*Cairo CG 51008*, from KV 46: Quibell 1908, 28) and Tuya (*Cairo CG 51009*, from KV 46: Quibell 1908, 28, pl. XIII) (Fig. 4.3.C), the latter one having the broad collar decorated with glass and stone inlay, are among the finest samples of this epoch. The coeval mask of Merit (*Turin ME S. 8473*, from TT 8: Schiaparelli 1927,

31; Vassilika 2010, 40–41) displays slightly different features, for instance a striped gold and blue-painted wig and a lower cartonnage section under the collar, with a depicted vulture figure protecting the chest (Fig. 4.3.D).

In any case, the situation is much more complex than one may think. The manifold cartonnage fragments that the University of Basel Kings' Valley Project has brought to light from KV 40 (Bickel 2015) may broaden our knowledge on the funerary masks produced during the reign of Amenhotep III. These fragments, which are currently being studied (for the forthcoming publication on tombs KV 40 and KV 64, under the supervision of Prof. S. Bickel, University of Basel), do not show traces of gold leaf, so suggesting a relatively 'less' rich social spectrum, however the peculiar decorative patterns, as well as the bright colours, the details contoured in red-line and the peculiar mask shape (with the mask front being squared and not rounded at the bottom), are all features that make them unique pieces.

The only mask certainly datable to the late 18th dynasty is that of Sennefer (from tomb DeM 1159: Bruyère 1929, 52, pl. V), a dating that was proposed by the excavator because of the finding, among the grave goods, of two shabtis that clearly showed the influence of the Amarna Period style (Smith 1992, 229; Ikram and Dodson 1998, 215). The analysis of Sennefer's mask offers an evident example of how dangerous the dating of out-of-context samples may be when this is done solely by means of stylistic criteria. In fact, by taking into account the facial lineaments of this mask, in particular the overlarge, narrow eyes (typical of the two-dimensional representations under the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III: Dziobek et al. 1992, 22), the small nose, as well as the decorative pattern of the collar (with multiple bands between the lappets and the outer bands consisting of drop-shaped beads and lotus petal patterns), we may suggest an earlier dating, towards the reign of Amenhotep III. Nevertheless, the well-known find-spot unequivocally places Sennefer's mask in the post Amarna Period.

The assessment of some 18th-dynasty intact tombs shows how difficult it is to determine a rule about the occurrence of mummy masks. Hatnefer, Maiherperi, Merit, Yuya, Tuya, and Sennefer wore mummy masks and were all placed within one or more anthropoid coffins (contrary to what happened in the Middle Kingdom). The open question is why, within the same tomb, did some people wear a mask while their partners did not. Both Yuya and Tuya wore a mask. Maiherperi's face was covered by a mask (he was buried alone in his tomb). As for Hatnefer and Ramose, only the woman wore a mask. One may suggest that her burial, richer than that of her predeceased husband, depended on her independent wealth (Smith 1992, 225). Otherwise, Senenmut may have provided his mother with a rich burial assemblage, including the gilded mask, after his rise on the career ladder (which occurred after his father's death). The architect Kha was not equipped with a mask and considering his rich burial assemblage, it is hard to think that Kha could not afford such an item. In fact, even if the mask of his predeceased wife Merit was intended for him (Vassilika 2010, 41), Kha himself would have had the time and financial resources to have a

new mask produced. As a last example, Sennefer wore a helmet-mask, though his wife Nefertiti did not.

These few examples taken from 18th-dynasty intact burials show a complex situation and seem to suggest that, during the Thutmoside Period at least, mummy masks were very likely only an additional funerary object for high-mid and high status people. Only wealthy people could afford such funerary items, and if they could not afford a mask, they were provided with it by others (as in the case of Hatnefer). A last remark on funerary masks of this period deserves attention: apart from a few samples found in Mostagedda (Brunton 1937, 135), Abydos (Garstang 1901, 26–27, pl. XX) and Saqqara (Podvin 1997, 195–196), almost the entirety of the cartonnage masks has been found in the Theban necropolis.

The Ramesside Period mummy masks: new decorative patterns and shapes

Concerning the Ramesside Period, the few attested cartonnage funerary masks are inadequate to fully interpret the extent of their use during the 19th and 20th dynasties. Indeed, it is difficult to understand if the funerary masks underwent a real downscaling use since so far only one Ramesside tomb, that of Sennedjem at Deir el-Medina (TT 1) (Mahmoud Abd el-Qader 2011), has been found intact. Within this sepulchre, Sennedjem (*Cairo JE 27308*: Cooney 2007, 434–435), Isis (*Cairo JE 27309a*: Cooney 2007, 437–438), Khonsu (*New York MMA 86.1.4*: Cooney 2007, 449–450) (Fig. 4.4, left) and Iyineferty (*New York MMA 86.1.6A*: Cooney 2007, 454–455) wore cartonnage helmet-masks (Casini in press).

The emergence of the mummy-boards, during the early 19th dynasty (Taylor 1989, 35–39), may have caused a decline of the helmet-masks. Concerning this, Ikram and Dodson (1998, 173) deny the coexistence of mummy masks and mummy-boards within the same burial, however the mummies of Sennedjem, Iyineferty and Isis (found in TT 1) lay under mummy-boards and wore, at the same time, cartonnage masks. Thus, it is apparent that the phenomenon appears to be more problematic than previously thought and any kind of generalization is to be avoided.

Turning back to the TT 1 masks, they form a stylistically compact, homogeneous group very likely produced in the same workshop but in different moments (Casini in press). The male masks have a textured duplex wig, with the braids realistically rendered in raised relief. The female masks have a detailed, textured long wig with two locks coming out from the forehead indicating real hair. Headbands in the form of floral garlands are decorated with lotus petals and lotus buds descending onto the forehead. The broad collar is polychrome painted with lotus petals and bands of mandrake fruits. Moreover, it is worth remarking that the framework of the cartonnage masks has changed: The back panel has disappeared and the masks consist of a shell protecting only the head and an extended, rounded front panel. The observation of this feature is interesting since a funerary mask kept at the Brussels



Fig. 4.4: Left: mask of Khonsu (h. 52 cm) (drawing by E. Casini); right: Brussels mask (h. 49 cm) (drawing by E. Casini).

Royal Museum of Art and History (*KMKG E.6884*, unknown find-spot) has aroused different opinions on its dating (Fig. 4.4, right). In fact, according to Niwiński (1988, 144 [57]) this mask belongs to the 19th dynasty whilst Cooney (2007, 477) is in favour of an earlier dating to the late 18th dynasty. If on the one hand the facial lineaments of the Brussels sample speak in favour of Cooney's proposal, on the other hand the back side of the mask, consisting of a shell enveloping the head without the extending rear panel (as observed in the abovementioned Deir el-Medina masks), would lead one to accept Niwiński's dating.

Besides the Deir el-Medina masks, we know of one cartonnage helmet-mask only, that of the Lady Kanefernefer (*Saint Louis SLAM 19:1998*), who was found enveloped in reed mats covering the full length of the corpse at Saqqara (Goneim 1957, 6, pls LXVIIb, LXVIIIa; Cooney 2007, 482–483). The high quality of this mask compared with the poor aspect of the burial may suggest its reuse during the Third Intermediate Period (Cooney 2007, 482). This beautiful mask is richly decorated by means of an incised, textured wig, pieces of inlaid glass, gilded face (currently red, as a result

of oxidation), floral garland on the forehead, and polychrome painted details. The crossed arms with fisted hands holding wooden amulets constitute a new feature never before portrayed on the helmet-masks. Another innovation is represented by the presence, between the wrists, of a figurative scene with the deceased depicted on the sacred barque of the god Osiris while worshipping him.

Finally, we know of some Ramesside masks that constitute a rather homogeneous group. They are made of cartonnage or wood and display the same stylistic features and crossed arms as those of the Lady Kanefernefer's mask. Notwithstanding, unlike the earlier masks we mentioned before, these Ramesside masks are no longer helmet-shaped (with the mask of Katebet as an exception: *London BM EA 6665*, wood, from Thebes: Cooney 2007, 406–407, figs 23–24; Taylor 2010, 118 [47]) but they consist of a frontal panel only (no shell envelops the head), moreover they often occur with a lower wooden open-work board, thus constituting the upper part of two-piece mummy-boards (Taylor 1989, 37). Some known examples of these 'lid-masks' are those of Ueretuakhset (*Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.47E*, cartonnage, likely from Deir el-Medina: Cooney 2007, 29, 422–423), Henutmehyt (*London BM EA 48001*, wood, likely from Thebes: Cooney 2007, 402–403), Takhayt (*Frankfurt Liebighaus 1651e*, wood, likely from Thebes: Cooney 2007, 410–411), Tamutneferet (*Paris Louvre N 2623*, wood, likely from Thebes: Cooney 2007, 416–417), and Ram (*Hermitage Inv. Nr. 187*, cartonnage, unknown find-spot: Piotrovski et al. 1974, n. 105; Cooney 2007, 440–442). Although they are often in connection with lower boards, these lid-shaped masks, which represent the deceased as a transfigured and divine being (and protect the upper part of the body), can be considered for all intents and purposes as proper masks.

Conclusions

This paper presents an overview of the chronological development of the cartonnage helmet-masks from the Late Old Kingdom to the Ramesside Period, offering some new reflections mainly for the New Kingdom. The importance that mummy masks had within the burial assemblages is confirmed by their widespread – though sometimes seesawing – occurrence, geographical diffusion and enduring use in the long timespan here investigated, with an apparent downscaling presence during the Ramesside Period.

The use of cartonnage helmet-masks during the end of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period is geographically and quantitatively limited. In particular, the little evidence of helmet-masks seems to suggest that the funerary practice connected with the use of these objects was deeply-rooted in a few local traditions, rather than depending on financial circumstances and social status.

In the Early Middle Kingdom, these masks were rather abundantly produced all over Egypt, having been attested to in Lower Nubia as well. Despite the large stylistic variety of the analysed samples, a comparative approach sheds light on the existence of some regional variants. On a concrete level, the abundance of cartonnage masks mirrors the importance that such funerary items had within wealthy burials, giving

the impression that the masks were seemingly necessary for the afterlife. In the Late Middle Kingdom, cartonnage helmet-masks continued to be produced; however, the incomplete archaeological evidence does not allow one to have a satisfying picture of the situation and in any case a downscaling use of the helmet-shaped type seems apparent. The scarce evidence of cartonnage helmet-masks may be correlated with the emergence of the anthropoid coffins, which seems to have 'excluded' the masks at least in high-status burials. Moreover, a remark on the Middle Kingdom helmet-masks deserves attention: the masks provided with funerary offering formulas sometimes have the space assigned for the deceased's name left blank, thus suggesting that they were not custom tailored but bought ready-made.

Concerning the New Kingdom, in particular the 18th dynasty, the excavation documentation reveals that most of the attested cartonnage helmet-masks were mainly, but not only, produced at Thebes (the data on masks found outside Thebes are incomplete, moreover little information on their shape and material is given). In addition, as the burial equipment of some intact tombs attests, funerary masks were not a necessary but an additional element within high and mid-high elite burials. The uniqueness and richness of the 18th-dynasty samples may be interpreted as a sign of their custom-made production, connected with the wealth and social status of the deceased. As for the 19th-dynasty cartonnage helmet-masks, we know of a few samples and the current documentation of intact burial assemblages of the Ramesside Period is very limited. Among these, there are the masks from TT 1, which belong to a stylistically homogeneous group and thus cannot be used to draw generalised conclusions. Moreover, a peculiar group is constituted by the Ramesside lid-shaped masks. Contrary to the Middle Kingdom tendency, it is certain that during the New Kingdom cartonnage helmet-masks and anthropoid coffins did not exclude each other, as attested to by all the masks found in intact funerary contexts. Presumably, the economic means remain the predominant, discriminating factor dictating the presence/absence of such items, even though the criteria change from case to case and sometimes still remain nebulous.

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Chapter 5

Generous patrons, loyal clients? Some remarks on patronage of Middle Kingdom elites

Martina Bardoňová and Věra Nováková

Abstract: Patronage, without doubt due to its relevance for the study of the ancient Egyptian socio-economic structure, execution of power, economy, or resource allocation, has lately become an oft-discussed topic. Several issues – most of them related to the character of sources at our disposal – makes the study of patronage in ancient Egypt a rather complicated matter. However, these difficulties, despite their importance for any further study, has not been sufficiently studied. Therefore, we would like to present a key study in which we demonstrate some of the most palpable patronage related questions. We have deliberately decided to focus on the sources dating to the Middle Kingdom and related to central and provincial elites. To this aim, we have chosen six elite officials – equally from central and provincial administration. We minutely analysed the preserved autobiographies, tombs and other evidence left by these individuals.

Keywords: Middle Kingdom, elites, administration, necropolis, autobiographies, iconography, patronage, patron, client

Introduction

Patronage has become a much-discussed topic, especially in the case of Middle Kingdom society (see Gnirs 2000, 125–155; Franke 2006, 159–185; Seidelmayer 2007, 351–368; Eyre 2011, 701–711; Moreno Garcia 2013a, 88–101; 2013b, 1030–1065; 2014, 39–74; Warden 2013; Campagno 2014, 1–33). Patronage is a topic closely related to the study of ancient Egyptian socio-economic structure. The existence, preponderance, or non-existence of patron-client relations all enable us to draw far-reaching conclusions about subjects such as the execution of power, economy, or resource allocation (Johnson and Dandecker 1989, 230).

Opinions on patronage in ancient Egypt have recently been revolving around its supposed importance (see especially Seidelmayer 1987, 175–217; 2007, 351–368; Vernus 1999, 140–151; Gnirs 2000, 125–155; Assmann 2002; Franke 2006, 159–815; Morenz 2009, 177–192; Eyre 2011, 701–711; Moreno García 2013a, 88–101; 2013b, 1030–1065; 2014, 39–74; Warden 2013; Campagno 2014, 1–33). Moreno García considers it the basic pillar of Egyptian society (2013a, 89). Gnirs (2000, 149–153) also suggests that Middle Kingdom society was a patronage and clientele society, with all this entails. Her study focused on the analysis of the *Tale of Eloquent Peasant*, once again drawing attention to the corruption and existing abuse of the poor from the part of the elites. She portrays the Middle Kingdom society as an environment where promotion, success and social interrelation depended on connections with influential people (Gnirs 2000, 149). However, she also points out, that patronage relations must necessarily have been supplemented by other social institutions such as kinship bonds, neighbourhood solidarity or state support (Gnirs 2000, 150; Eyre 2004, 165).

All these works on patronage are very inspiring. Indeed, many aspects and patterns so far discovered in sources seem to make better sense when viewed as a product or reflection of patronage relations. The arguments of those authors are, furthermore, seemingly well based in sources. However, the studies often fail to discuss sufficiently one of the most essential questions: what problems do we face when studying patronage in ancient Egypt?

In fact, when we study patronage, several difficult areas arise that deserve closer discussion, such as the definition of the subject itself, sources and the research methods, patronage language, and participant parties in the relation. The list of problems is a long one and we can only focus on some of them while necessarily neglecting others. In this paper, we will focus only on some of the most palpable problems related to the first two aspects on the list, definition and sources, which we consider essential for the further research of patronage. In our study, we have chosen a sample of six officials from both the central and provincial administration. We sought to make a selection that represents the best of the available sources we have at our disposal and their typical state of preservation. All of these officials might be, considered patrons, while one of them, Djehutinakht of el-Bersha, could be at the same time classified as a client. We analysed preserved autobiographies, tombs and other evidence left by these individuals, in order to critically discuss the relevance of the traditionally studied Egyptological sources for research of patronage relationship as defined by a modern sociological concept.

The three selected court officials belonged to the highest echelons of society and they represent the three highest offices of the central administration. In fact, the group of high ranking persons in close relation to the king was probably never too large and could include only about ten persons (Grajetzki 2012, 67). The viziers (*ṯ3tj*) and treasurers (*jmj-r3 ḫtm.t*) were the most important among them (see no.1 Dagi and no.4 Mentuhotep). Towards the late Middle Kingdom, they – the vizier and treasurer –

Table 5.1: Overview of selected officials and analysed sources (by M. Bardoňová and V. Nováková).

Name	*Dating*	*Sphere of activity*	*Tomb*	*Iconography*	*Autobiography*	*Other*
Dagi	Mentuhotep II	vizier	Theban tomb TT 103	YES	NO	
Djehutinakht	Mentuhotep II	official of nomarch Ahanakht I	tomb at el-Bersha (17K74/1)	YES	YES	Hatnub gr. 23
Hapidjefai I	Senusret I	provincial governor	Assiut tomb 1	YES	YES	
Mentuhotep	Senusret I-Amenemhat II	treasurer and later vizier	tomb at Lisht	NO	YES	
Khnumhotep II	Amenemhat II-Senusret II	mayor of Menat-Khufu	Beni Hassan tomb 3	YES	YES	
Siese	mid. 12th Dynasty	high steward	tomb at Dahshur	NO	NO	2 Abydos stelae

apparently presided over two main branches of the central administration. The vizier was at the head of scribal offices, legal affairs, workforce for the royal projects and possibly also of the provincial administration. The treasurer was responsible for the economic affairs (Grajetzki 2012, 68–69). It seems that during the late Middle Kingdom an official made a career either in the administrative branch 'under the vizier', or that 'under the treasurer'. Similar formalisation within the administrative apparatus is, nevertheless, not so evident during the earlier part of the Middle Kingdom (for example see our selected official Mentuhotep (no.4) (Grajetzki 2012, 68–69). The third most important office was that of the high steward (*jmj-r3 pr wr*). This official belonged to the administrative branch 'under the treasurer' (Siese no.6) and he was probably responsible for the agricultural produce and its delivery to the residence. The office of high steward represents the best attested type of court official from available sources (Grajetzki 2012, 80).

Two of the three selected officials from the provincial administration, Hapidjefai I (no.3) and Khnumhotep II (no.5), represent individuals from the top of the provincial administration. The last selected official, Djehutinakht (no.2), was responsible for provisions, baking and brewing and was a relatively high official under a provincial governor (Willems et al. 2007, 43–44).

What is patronage?

In ancient Rome, the term 'patronage' denoted a specific relationship between a man of wealth and influence (patron) and a free client; the client acknowledged his dependence on the patron and received protection in return. The patron might have supported his client in the court or supply him with daily food, often converted into cash (*sportula*). The client was expected to show deference to his patron during the morning greeting (*salutatio)* (www.global.britannica.com/topic/clientship). It was generally accepted that this sort of relationship was recognized in law. However, Verboven (2002, 54, 61) states that no reliable source attests it.

Today, we consider the Roman patronage relationship as one of the many types of social bond, which exist in practically any society. The term patronage not only denotes a type of relationship but also a particular system, which is much more than a mere cluster of these relationships (Johnson and Dandecker 1989, 230). A relationship necessarily has a myriad of variants depending on a particular society, historical era and on the social environment in which it takes place. Therefore, it is possible to distinguish different types of patronage relationships, such as the patronage of artists/craftsmen, political patronage (patronage among elites) and the patronage of the poor. Despite the existence of just one common definition, differences such as purpose or means of maintenance do occur (Wallace-Hadrill 1989a; 1989b). The common characteristics of all of them are reciprocity, intimacy, inequality, voluntariness and the absence of legal enforceability (Wallace-Hadrill 1989b; Levy-Peck 1990).

These relationships are reciprocal as they include the exchange of ill-defined services and goods through personal links of exchange lasting over a period of time between men of unequal status (Wallace-Hadrill 1989b, 5). One essential and often accentuated aspect of the patronage is the loyalty of clients towards patrons. However, common interests and mutual advantages are just as important or possible even more so (Verboven 2002, 12–19). The loyalty of clients is then 'paid for'. Ideally, the nature of the relationship is intimate and social, which implies that one cannot be a client of a deceased individual. However, in some circumstances, the formation of bonds between groups (entities such as towns or nations) appeared (see ancient Rome and its city/state clients). Patronage is a sort of shadowy structure in a society, where all obligations between the two parties always have moral basis and are never legally enforceable (Wallace-Hadrill 1989b, 3).

Patron-client relations are very similar to other dependency relations (lord–serf etc.), or even the kinship and friendship relations. The only differences are often the aspect of voluntariness, absence of a legal/blood bond, and/or reciprocity (Johnson and Dandecker 1989, 221–222). The situation can be even more complex as sometimes an individual can be both a 'paid employee' and a 'client'. This may occur especially in cases when the 'position' of the client gives him a great deal of independent authority and/or power.

Sources

The essential prerequisite of any type of study are the available relevant sources. We would like to draw attention to what we consider the weakest and most problematic point of patronage related studies in the Middle Kingdom Egypt. It seems almost redundant to point out the scarcity and bad preservation of any kind of evidence from Middle Kingdom Egypt. As has been already mentioned, we focus on traditional Egyptological sources – archaeological evidence, iconography, and autobiographies. We have attempted to combine all three types of sources in a holistic analysis relating to each particular official. However, this proved out to be almost impossible, due to the bad preservation of the evidence. Our main focus, therefore, constitute autobiographies and iconography. Whenever possible, we tried to complement our analysis with tomb architecture, layout and rock inscriptions. Table 5.1 shows the overview of officials and sources we have chosen for our analysis.

Only four of our six selected officials left us their autobiographies. One of them, the autobiography of Djehutinakht of el-Bersha, represents a particularly interesting and specific case in which he emphasised his bond with his superior, the governor Ahanakht, much more than with his inferiors (Willems et al. 2007). The mid-12th-dynasty high steward Siese possessed two Abydos stelae (ANOC 41.1 and 41.2), one of which is housed in the British Museum (BM EA561) and the other in Leiden (V 71). Both are typical of this period in the Middle Kingdom. These stelae contain no extensive account of his deeds, but a broad spectrum of individuals and possible

implied relationships are depicted in their imagery. On the British Museum stela, his parents, brothers and sisters appear, while on the Leiden stela, a number of different people are present.

Similarly, only four officials have tomb reliefs that have been preserved (at least to some extent), with some having been preserved better than others. The best preserved, and therefore most discussed, reliefs were found in the tomb of Khnumhotep II. (Newberry 1983; Kanawati 2014). In contrast, the reliefs of Hapidjefai I (Kahl et al. 2008, figs 11–13) and Mentuhotep (Di. Arnold 2008, pls 76–79, 82, 84) are so fragmentary that hardly any conclusions can be made based on them. The reliefs in the tomb of Dagi (Davies 1913, pls XXX–XXXVIII) and the tomb of Djehutinakht (Griffith and Newberry 1894; Willems 2007, pls XLIX, XLV–XLVIII, LI–LII), are better preserved than the previous two examples, though in the case of Djehutinakht, the iconography is a little unusual, as we will see below. Even though the tombs of all chosen officials are known, the nature and extent of their publication is often different, making them difficult to analyse and compare. This is especially true in the case of tombs of Hapidjefai I (Reisner 1918, 79–98; Kahl et al. 2008, 81–103), Dagi (Davies 1913) and Siese (De Morgan 1894), which are not well documented. In contrast, the remaining three tombs of Mentuhotep (Arnold 2008, 38–50), Khnumhotep II, later studied by Seidelmayer (2007, 351–367) and Djehutinakht (Willems et al. 2007) have been published with detailed excavation reports.

In addition to the issues of preservation and documentation, is the range of available sources. Naturally, the selection of a source to be studied depends on the kind of patronage we are interested in, though the unofficial nature of patronage and its function can often be a limiting factor. In European historiography concerning patronage, correspondence and letters provide the clearest information and are therefore the most studied sources (Westbrook 2005; Marek 2007; McLean 2007; Idem 2014). Other sources include references to patronage in works of literature, defamatory articles, or accounts of patrons (Millet 1989, 16–48; Levy-Peck 1990; Bardoňová 2015). Egyptologists most frequently work with autobiographies (Franke 2006, 159–185; Campagno 2014, 1–33), spatial distribution of tombs in cemeteries and with iconography (Seidelmayer 1987, 175–217; 2007, 351–368; Morenz 2009, 177–92). Literary works and correspondence are examined less frequently in relation to patronage (Vernus 1999, 140–51; Gnirs 2000, 125–155; Moreno García 2013a, 88–101; 2013b, 1030–1065; 2014, 39–74).

Autobiographies certainly provide a potential avenue in examining some aspects of everyday life in Middle Kingdom Egypt, such as the abuse of authority on part of officials (Gnirs 2000, 149). They are an important means of leaving an account of the deceased's activities and to commemorate their social position and achievements in life (Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2011, XII). But, can this particular genre, whose purpose was mainly to persuade visitors to make an offering to the 'author' or utter the offering formulae, reveal anything about the existence or nature of possible patron–client bonds at this time? Similarly, can a holistic analysis of archaeological

evidence and iconography provide further evidence for these types of relationships? This paper will critically assess these questions in our examination of patronage-client relationships.

Autobiographies

An analysis of any written source is necessarily related to the question of language. The language of patronage is both verbal and non-verbal. The verbal aspect includes both the terms designating patron and client, and the phrases used to start and maintain the bond between the two (McLean 2007). Several terms have been considered to designate participants in patronage relations. Among the most probable are the terms *nb t* (Gnirs 2000, 138) and *jtj* (Franke 2006, 175), which are supposed to designate patron, and the words *mḫnk* (Gnirs 2000, 138), and *tw3* (Gnirs 2000, 138; Franke 2006, 175) for clients. The two latter terms, *mḫnk* and *tw3,* are thought to refer to two different types of clients (Gnirs 2000, 138). Terms designating household groups, *3b.t* and *wḫw.t*, are also considered to be relevant to the discussion about possible patronage. *3b.t* refers to a group of kin and dependents (some of them might have been clients), with a mainly juridical and economic function. *Wḫw.t* designated a number of households (headman with his relatives and other subordinates, possibly also clients). In texts, it is often quoted in relation to the possession of cattle, subordinates and *mr.t* servants (Moreno García 2013a, 89). Some terms relating to children, such as *ḫrd=f*, are sometimes put in relation with patronage relations (Moreno García 2013a, 91). Sometimes the word *nḏs* is put in relation with possible clientship or patronage in general (Franke 2006, 170, 175; Campagno 2014, 8). This term is, nevertheless, problematic. It certainly does refer to individuals receiving 'care' dispensed by powerful men, but it is unclear if these individuals were free (Franke 1998, 43–47). Not all the patronage related sources must necessarily contain specific terms denoting one of the two parts of the bond. Therefore, the fact that from all our selected officials, only Djehutinakht's inscriptions mention both, *3b.t* and *wḫw.t,* is in no way conclusive (Willems et al. 2007, 43–44, pl. XLVII, line 6).

Egyptologists have not studied the phrases serving to start and maintain the patronage bond as deeply as the phrases considered to express the bond. Patronage in autobiographies was primarily studied through certain phrases, which can be summed up as 'help to the needy' (Franke 2006, 159–185; Campagno 2014, 1–33). Such 'help' could be related to the allocation of resources. Franke (2006, 160–162) pointed out that the needy in some, but not all, formulae in fact asked the deceased for help, which would testify the aspect of voluntariness, so important to patron–client relations. In some texts, such as in the autobiography of the First Intermediate Period provincial leader Ankhtify, the aspect of loyalty is also clearly apparent. Ankhtify states that those who do not heed him were his foes (Campagno 2014, 7).

Similar phrases are also present in the autobiographies of officials selected for this paper (see Table 5.2), with aspects of protection, nourishment and promotion among the most frequent themes. These aspects are stressed by the deceased in order

Table 5.2: Selected phrases from autobiographies of Mentuhotep (Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2012, 169–179), Hapidjefai I (Obsomer 1995, 570–577), Khnumhotep II (Newberry 1893, 57–67, pls XXV–XXVI) and from Djehutinakht's graffito Hatnub no. 23 (Anthes 1928, 52–53).

Mentuhotep	*Hapidjefai I*	*Khnumhotep II*
protection/nourishment/promotion	stress on his wealth	selection of dependants
nḫ.w m3 r nḫm.w jw.tj=sn **who protected the wretched and saved** **the one who was not anythig** *dd k3.w* **who gives nourishment** *sḫn.t j3w.wt* **who promotes offices** *w' wr s'nḫ rḫyt* **the only great who sustains rekhyt**	*mḥ '.wy m špss.w nb.w m ḏf3.w* **full of hands with every noble thing, with provisions** *wr ḏf'3.w* *nb ḏf'3.w* *nb k3.w* *nb ḥbs.w* *nb 'ḥ' jn.w* *ḫwd m 'nḫ.wt*	*srwḏ=f m n qnb.t=f* *smnḫ.w ḫft j3.wt=sn mnḫ.w jmj.* *w-nw pr.w=f ṯn.n=f* *ḫn.t mr.t=f/j3.t nb.t ḫrp.t.n=f* *ḥm.wt nb.t mj ḫpr=s*
		monuments for his town
		... n smnḫ njw.t=f
		Djehutinakht (Hatnub no. 23)
		taking care
kindness/being loved	being loved	*Jnk dmj nḏm n wḫw.t=f 'pr n 3b.t=f* **I was a pleasant harbour for his *wḫt.t*,** **I supplied his *3b.t*** *snš.n=j šnw.t=j n bw nb* **I opened my granary to every place**
w'ḥ-jb *tw.t m3' n mrw.t*	*mr.y njw.t=f* *mrr.w ḫnmw n njw.t=f*	
	taking care of needy	
	s'nḫ ḥqr n sp3.t=j **who nourishes the hungry in his region**	
	bad to the adversary/ good to those loyal to him	
	dšr jb m33=f tkr; nb bnj.t n jrr.w mṯn=f	
	being impartial	
	jwt.y gs3=f *wpj.w sn.wy nn nm'*	

to express their wealth, piety, and an idealised morality and benevolence. They can also refer to the oppressing of adversaries and the rewarding of loyal subordinates (Campagno 2014, 7). All these aspects could relate to something we would classify as an unequal relationship, one of the characteristics of a patronage bond. Some of them (for example, the autobiography of Khnumhotep II) (Newberry 1893, 57–67, pls XXV–XXVI) contain an aspect of reciprocity. The ubiquitous stress on an individual's wealth could be explained as a means to represent oneself as an ideal patron, someone who has something to give. For example, Djehutinakht, a dependent of governor Ahanakht, stresses the governor's access to luxury products and the fact that he obtained some items from Ahanakht himself (Willems et al. 2007, 43–44, pl. XLVII, line 20 and 25). Such an 'ideal patron' would then be much 'loved' by his clients. Phrases relating to voluntariness seem almost completely absent, with the exception

of Hapidjefai I (Obsomer 1995, 570–577), as do phrases concerning what clients were expected to offer to their patron.

In no way less important are statements concerning patrons being impartial and expressing favouritism, as seen in the autobiography of Hapidjefai I (Obsomer 1995, 570–577). Moreno García (2013a, 89) considers protection of powerful men as one of the crucial means to solve conflicts. His arguments are, however based mostly on the New Kingdom sources. The statement of Hapidjefai I points out that this behaviour, the protection of powerful men, had certain negative connotations during the time of the Middle Kingdom.

The latter raises an important question. Autobiographies eulogised the deceased and as such, they are a self-presentation of the deceased as someone fulfilling moral obligations. If patronage relationships were such an important aspect of Middle Kingdom social life that they appeared in autobiographies, then why would someone boast about some aspects of patron-client relations but pretend to dissociate from other aspects of these relationships? Were then these 'protector phrases' really related to patronage at all? Perhaps they are rather something related to cultural and social 'moral obligations', (such as those of Christian ideals and alms regarding the poor). Sometimes these 'protector phrases', could be rather related to the efficiency of officials in their actual duties and office responsibilities. For example, Djehutinakht was responsible for provisions, baking and brewing (Willems et al. 2007, 43–44, pl. XLVII, lines 20 and 25). The emphasis in his autobiography on providing for others may, therefore, simply represent an emphasis on doing his job well.

Franke (2006, 176–179) has noted that the quoted phrases appear more often in provincial sources during the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom sources, becoming more infrequent in the later Middle Kingdom. This is accompanied by a shift in emphasis on personal relationships with the king in later middle Kingdom autobiographies. This appears to be a logical result of the increasing power and centralisation of the state and king, in contrast to the insecure political period of the First Intermediate Period when regional elites 'took a good care' of their people in the same manner as the kings did in the earlier times. As such, this changing pattern in the types of 'protector phrases' seems tied to changing political situations within Egypt. However, as we will see later, other sources for patron-client bonds seem to continue until the late Middle Kingdom.

Iconography

The individuals who express their concern for the poor and boast with their achievements in their inscriptions also appear on the reliefs in their tombs surrounded by dependents, functionaries, servants and/or armed men. In some instances, accompanying labels indicate the identity of these individuals, including their names and titles. Seidelmayer (1987; 2007, 351–368) pointed out that mortuary symbolism of the tomb scenes accentuates the social status of the deceased and their relationships

with other individuals. In addition, a social hierarchy can be seen visually depicted in some of these scenes, with a number of identified dependents and members of the deceased's household. These relationships and positions in social hierarchy are depicted in different ways. Officials of higher status are shown supervising various activities, acting as supervisors among the offering bearers, or are depicted in physical proximity to the tomb owner. In contrast, the lower rank officials or subordinates are depicted working or carrying offerings as Seidelmayer (2007, 351–368) demonstrated in the case study of Beni Hassan. Nevertheless, the full relationship between the tomb owner and members of his household is never explicit.

Furthermore, Seidelmayer (2007, 351–368) noticed that the labels accompanying the dependents are unequally distributed in time, being relatively scarce in earlier tombs (where only the most prominent individuals receive labels), while in later tombs a broad spectrum of activities appears labelled. Moreover, the greater the patron's wealth, the more people were involved in administering their estate and resources, resulting in a greater number of possible dependents depicted on the walls of their tomb (Bárta 2011, 273–276). Interestingly, it seems that labels were used predominately in provincial cemeteries. However, this may be, at least partially, due to bad preservation of superstructures of monuments in royal cemeteries. Seidelmayer (2007, 351–368) also demonstrated that the occupations of these labelled individuals cover the main segments of provincial or central administration such as property management, temple administration and military or police control. Without any doubt, the subordinates depicted in tombs are somehow involved in the tomb owner's household. But what was the nature of these relationships? Can we distinguish patronage from employment? Can any of the tombs of our chosen officials help us better understand the situation?

The well-studied and documented reliefs of Khnumhotep II are particular useful in approaching these questions. On the walls of his tomb about one hundred named and twenty unnamed dependants of the following categories appear: management of property (e.g. *imy-r3 st, imy-r3 pr, imy-r3 pr šna*, etc.), military and police (e.g. *imy-r3 mša, imy-r3 šnt, imy-r3 nw w*, etc.), household servants (*wdp.w, ḫtt-pr, rtḥtyy, aftyy*, etc.), priests involved in mortuary rites (*ḥm.w-k3*, *ḫry-ḥb.t, sm*-priests), and specialists, such as *swn.w* (physicians). In particular, individuals from the last category appear to have had direct relationships with the governor. We can suppose that the physicians and governors belonged among the most educated individuals in the region. Furthermore, the relationship between doctor and patient is always to some extent intimate and special. An unusual feature from these categories is that priests depicted in tombs are connected only with the funerary cult, with priests engaged in temple administration being missing. This section of the provincial administration is probably not represented here due to thematic focus on the mortuary context (Seidelmayer 2007, 364).

Similar scenes, though with a smaller number of labels, probably once decorated the walls of the tomb of governor Hapidjefai I. However, the decoration

program of his large tomb is insufficiently documented and published due to its poor preservation (Reisner 1918). Only several scenes are preserved: fishing and fowling, vineyard scene, and several registers containing male and female offering bearers. The only preserved label is that of a treasurer – *imy-r3 ḫtm.t* (Kahl et al. 2008, fig. 11).

The tomb of Djehutinakht provides slightly different information in its scenes, which is unsurprising considering his status and possible emphasis on his client role with the governor Ahanakht. His tomb only consists of a single small chapel containing scenes with labels describing activities related to the offering ritual and depicting particular offerings. Significantly, there are no labels attached to any of the offering bearers (there are at least 20 of them, see Willems et al. 2007, pls XLIX, XLV–XLVIII).

From our three selected central government officials, the only one with well-preserved reliefs is the vizier Dagi (Davies 1913, pls XXX–XXXVIII). In general, the Middle Kingdom Theban tombs are far better preserved than those at other central necropolises. The quality of material and work is excellent – comparable to decoration in the provincial tombs at Beni Hassan or el-Bersha (according to Davies 1913, 36, pl. XLI some reliefs are unrivalled in their quality by any other Middle Kingdom reliefs). Dependents with labels providing names and titles are found in a variety of scenes; a voyage to Abydos; agriculture and grain storage, scenes in papyrus marshes, spinning and weaving scenes, and a scene depicting Dagi in his function of superintendent of the double treasury (Davies 1913, pl. XXXIII). Here, several labelled persons appear, such as treasurer and attendant, treasurer of his master, treasurer beloved of his master, superintendent of treasury and guardian of the treasury. Most of these scenes are very similar to their counterparts in the tombs of Beni Hassan or el-Bersha (see e.g. Newberry 1893, pls IV, XIII, XXXVII; Griffith and Newberry 1894, pl. XXVI; Willems et al. 2007, pls XLV–XLVIII).

The large tomb complex of Mentuhotep (Arnold 2008, 38–50) is situated in a dominating position in relation to the royal pyramid of Senusret I, demonstrating his high status. Even though the chapel was completely destroyed, numerous fragments of wall decoration confirm the existence of a splendidly decorated room of extraordinary quality. Small fragments of the façade possibly indicate a contract between Mentuhotep and funerary priests, as in Assiut by Hapidjefai, to provide required offerings (Arnold 2008, 42, pl. 76b–d). Some of the fragments from the chapel probably originate from the scenes portraying priests and offering bearers, as indicated by several fragments depicting a priest with a papyrus scroll and part of a man from a slaughtering scene. Unfortunately, the reliefs are too small and isolated to enable a reconstruction with regard to labels and potential patronage bonds.

In spite of mostly poor state of preservation of these tombs from central necropolises, we can presume that the repertoire of scenes, number and variety of functions attached to identified officials, as well as quality of reliefs, make them comparable with the provincial tombs.

There are still lot of questions to be answered concerning the iconographical evidence. Who were those subordinates depicted on the walls of the tombs? Are they servants in labour–law relations, dependants based on patron-client bonds, or more or less distant relatives? Do the given titles distinguish whether these persons are part of the tomb owner's household or members of the central administration who are supposed to advance the sovereign's interests? In this sense, it is interesting to see how the reliefs correlate with the autobiographies. Without a doubt, the most explicit is Khnumhotep II, who states that he chose among his dependents those whose names he made enduring (Newberry 1893, 57–67; pl. XXV). Hapidjefai I does not explicitly state why he has depicted some of his servants in his tomb, instead he only mentions his benevolence to these loyal subordinates (Obsomer 1995, 570–577). Djehutinakhts' offering formulae mentions the governor Ahanakht and himself (Willems et al. 2007), with more emphasis on the governor. No autobiographical texts have survived for Dagi or Mentuhotep.

We cannot be sure of the nature of the relation of the depicted dependents to the tomb owner, but if individuals described there were servants or serfs (based on legal bonds) do we have an argument for highlighting them just by their names and titles? Would it not be enough to depict a large number of anonymous subordinates to express the high status of the tomb owner and guarantee the continuation of his comfortable life in the netherworld? Could not it be one of the obligations of a generous patron to enable participation in the afterlife not only for his family, but also for his friends, companions, and dependents? The mechanism behind these choices eludes us, but it seems to me, that patron–client relationships were taken into consideration in these decisions.

Tombs layout

The decoration of tombs/tomb complexes and their architectural layout are windows to the immediate social 'environment' of the deceased. In this sense, the Middle Kingdom is known for the phenomenon of small tombs and poor shallow burials located within or associated to the tombs of important individuals and officials (see Winlock 1920, 31; Winlock 1922, 33–36; Seidelmayer 1987, 175–217; 2007, 351–368; Willems et al. 2007, 42ff; Arnold 2008; Morenz 2009, 177–192). The identities of the deceased within these burials are often hard to discern. Some certainly belonged to subordinates, dependents and servants of the deceased. An example of this can be seen in the case of a small intact tomb of Wah, probably a servant of the well-known steward Meketre. Wah's tomb has a direct spatial relationship with Meketre's, being located by the portico at the top of the Meketre's tomb causeway. Wah's coffin was filled with sheets of linen bearing his name, a date, and were marked as household linen. However, there is no mention of a title for Wah, nor detail of his exact relationship with Meketre (Winlock 1920, 31, 38). In this respect, the spatial relationship between the tombs is the primary indicator of a relationship between the two. Spatial proximity between high status and low status tombs do

not necessarily imply existence of patron-client bonds between the occupants. The exact agency of the selection for tomb location is unknown to us, but it appears increasingly likely that patron-client relations could be, at least in some cases, a factor behind this choice (Seidelmayer 1987, 175–217; 2007, 351–368; Morenz 2009, 177–192).

The location of Djehutinakht's tomb is perhaps the best piece of evidence to suggest that patron-client relationships can be reconstructed based on tomb proximity. Not only were his tomb located in the courtyard of the provincial governor Ahanakht, but the offering formulae in his tomb mentions Ahanakht and the governor dominates the decoration of the tomb façade. Furthermore, Djehutinakht's tomb was likely constructed and decorated by the same group of artisans as the neighbouring tomb of 'his colleague' Iha, as they exhibit very similar features and styles (Willems et al. 2007).

Not much is known about any lesser tombs which could be related to that of Hapidjefai I (Reisner 1918). The same is true in the case of tombs surrounding Khnumhotep's II resting place. However, Seidelmayer (2007, 351–368) notes that the occupants of the shaft tombs below Khnumhotep's tomb mainly fall within the group of his 'favourite' officials/dependents seen on the walls of his tomb. Unfortunately, the tombs of Dagi (Davies 1913) and Siese (De Morgan 1894) were not well 'cleaned' and published, as to see directly associated tombs.

These 'secondary burials/poorer burials' are also a typical feature in Lisht necropolis, where all major tomb complexes were surrounded by dozens of lesser shafts belonging to household members and their descendants (Arnold 2008). One of the best examples is the tomb of steward Senusret (Arnold 2008, 24–26). However, our chosen official, Mentuhotep, is an exception as his complex has an absence of any subsidiary burials. This is interesting, considering his autobiography contains some phrases which could be related to him being a patron (Arnold 2008, 39–50).

This spatial pattern of burial location appears in all cemeteries, including royal necropolises, and is attested until at least the second half of the 12th dynasty (De Morgan 1894; Arnold 2008; Grajetzki 2012). Similarly, the famous corpus of Late Middle Kingdom Abydene stelae depicting deceased individuals with colleagues or inscriptions dedicated to superior or inferiors are also considered to reflect possible patronage bonds (Grajetzki 2012, 125ff). In this sense, the artistic and archaeological evidence seem to suggest a continuation of patronage relationships throughout the Middle Kingdom that does not correlate with the decrease in 'protective phrases' in elite autobiographies during the later Middle Kingdom.

Conclusions

We believe that while discussing the patronage in ancient Egypt, it is particularly important to demonstrate problematic relevance and limitations of some of the most frequently studied Middle Kingdom patronage-related sources, and to apply a modern sociological concept of patronage in order to specify the concept more precisely. The

patron-client bond is, in the most general terms, characterised by intimacy, inequality, voluntariness, and the absence of legal enforceability. These basic attributes, however, cannot be discerned in purely archaeological, textual, or iconographical sources. We are always missing an important part of information to complete the puzzle. While the above mentioned archaeological data and iconography from the Middle Kingdom certainly provide evidence for the existence of a variety of dependency relations between the tomb owner and lower status individuals, the exact nature of these relationships is never explicit.

Autobiographies as written sources can state more regarding the nature of a particular relationship, but they were eulogies, and therefore subject to a number of biases. They celebrated the deceased, emphasising their status and importance, and presented them as an ideal individual fulfilling all moral obligations (Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2011, XII). They can also help to reveal some negative aspects of these patronage relationships, which the deceased distanced themselves from in constructing an idealised image of themselves (Gnirs 2000, 149). The patronage relationships would therefore only be included by the patron in their autobiography if a) they provided a means to express an important positive aspect of Middle Kingdom social life or b) they were considered to be important negative aspects to be directly dissociated from. However, what we actually see is that the deceased liked to employ 'protective phrases' (considered to express an aspect of patronage), but also, at the same time, pretended to be dissociated from 'showing favouritism' (also considered an aspect of patronage). If both things, 'protective phrases' and 'showing favouritism', are two aspects of one particular relationship, then it is strange that the deceased celebrated one facet but despised the other. Therefore, it is likely that 'protective phrases' might actually have nothing to do with the patronage relationships and that this is something to be explored further.

Furthermore, it is noticeable that the sources do not always correlate with one another. The 'protective phrases' in autobiographies, reliefs depicting dependants, and spatial positioning of lesser tombs around a prominent one do not always come as a neatly bound assemblage or package in which to examine and reconstruct individual relationships. This might be partially a result of bad preservation of sources.

Research on patronage in ancient Egypt is certainly possible and the Middle Kingdom still remains one of the most suitable periods for its study. However, this paper sought to demonstrate that caution and careful examination is essential in examining this topic. In order to gain a better understanding of the characteristics of these particular relationships, we need to first critically assess and discuss the available sources and the appropriate methods for approaching this subject.

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Chapter 6

Military expeditions of King Hatshepsut

Filip Taterka[*]

'Have women ever collected troops?'
(Millingen 2.7; Helck 1969, 61)

Abstract: Hatshepsut's reign is usually described in the Egyptological literature as a period of peace, which was caused by the pacifistic attitude of the female ruler or by her interest in legitimising her own kingship instead of military activity. That is why Hatshepsut is often accused of having wasted Egypt's military power established by her father, Thutmose I. This interpretation is, however, inaccurate and unjust. The present article not only describes the military achievements of king Hatshepsut but most importantly re-examines a stereotype making Hatshepsut a peaceful and sensitive female ruler of Egypt. The article is followed by a brief postscript concerning other warrior females in ancient Egyptian history.

Keywords: Hatshepsut, military expeditions, Deir el-Bahari, female warriors

Although the short passage from *The Instructions of King Amenemhat* cited above does not refer to a military campaign but to a harem conspiracy, which probably resulted in the assassination of the founder of the 12th dynasty (Posener 1956, 61–86; Obsomer 1995, 112–133), it can be treated as the best illustration of the problem discussed in the present article and especially of the attitude of many scholars towards the issue of the military campaigns of the most famous female pharaoh of Egypt.

Hatshepsut's unique situation on the throne of Egypt is well known. When King Thutmose II unexpectedly died after a brief reign (Gabolde 1987, 63–75; 2009,

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147–149), his son Thutmose III succeeded his father, but he was definitely too young to exercise his power in person. That is why the Great King's Wife of the former king, Hatshepsut, being at the same time a stepmother and an aunt of the young ruler, became regent, and ruled in the name of Thutmose III. The oft-cited passage from the biographical inscription of Ineni, a high official of the time, describes it as follows:

> (The king) went forth to the sky and united with the gods. His son arose in his place as the king of the Two Lands, having assumed rulership on the throne of the one who had begotten him. His sister, God's Wife (Hatshepsut) was conducting the affairs of the land: the Two Lands acted according to her plans, one worked for her and the Blackland bowed her head before the one who is the beneficial seed of the god, who had come forth out of him, a bow-rope of the South and a mooring-post of the southern lands. She is a splendid stern-rope of the Northern Land and the lady of the orders, whose plans are splendid and with whose words the Two Banks are satisfied (Sethe 1906, 59, 13–60, 11; Dziobek 1992, pl. 63; all translations of Egyptian texts were made by the author).

In the seventh regnal year of Thutmose III, for the reasons that still remain obscure, Hatshepsut decided to assume full royal titulary and all attributes of kingship, what changed her status from queen to pharaoh (Yoyotte 1968, 85–91; Tefnin 1973, 232–242; Dorman 1988, 18-45). The seventh regnal year of Thutmose III is thus a beginning of the co-regency between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III during which Egypt was ruled by the two monarchs reigning consensually, although the pre-eminent position of Hatshepsut was in every instance marked in more or less subtle way (Chappaz 1993, 87–110; Dorman 2006, 39–68, Sankiewicz 2010, 131–144; 2015, 161–168). It should be stressed, however, that Hatshepsut did not change the year-counting system after she had assumed the royal power, so the years continued to be counted according to the reign of Thutmose III (Murnane 1977, 34; *contra* Petty 2001, 6–10). The co-regency between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III lasted until the 21st regnal year of the young king, in which Hatshepsut most likely died.

The reign of Hatshepsut is most often described in the Egyptological literature as a period of a peace, retreating from any military activity on behalf of Egypt. Although it is well known that in the 9th regnal year of Thutmose III, Hatshepsut organised a great expedition to the land of Punt (Taterka 2016, 114–123), it does not affect the general image of her reign because of the peaceful and commercial character of the expedition. Sometimes it is even explicitly stated that Hatshepsut, detesting not only war but any violence at all (Winlock 1928, 51; Wilson 1951, 174-176), concentrated herself so much on the internal affairs of the country, trying, as a usurper, to legitimise her kingship, that she almost completely wasted all achievements of the great pharaohs of the early New Kingdom so that the Egyptian conquests in the Near East could have been saved only by the numerous victories of Thutmose III after Hatshepsut's demise (Lalouette 1986, 273).

This interpretation is partly caused by unconscious assumption that Hatshepsut, as a woman, must have been a person of a delicate or even pacifistic attitude, but

partly it results from the fact that she ruled between the reigns of two of the greatest victors and conquerors in whole Egyptian history. Shortly before her Egypt was ruled by her father Thutmose I, of whom the inscription of the stela erected by the king at Tombos states that:

> his southern border reaches the southern part of this land (i.e. the 4th cataract region), while the northern one reaches that circling water (i.e. the Euphrates river), which flows northwards while flowing southwards (Sethe 1906, 85, 13–14).

Moreover, just after Hatshepsut's demise the series of victorious campaigns to Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III begins (Redford 2003). These military expeditions, together with the alleged short height of the king (Smith 1912, 34; Laboury 1997, 73, n. 1), caused him to be often called the Egyptian Napoleon.

In fact, Hatshepsut did not neglect the military affairs. Quite to the contrary – in the great inscription carved on the façade of the Speos Artemidos in Middle Egypt, being some kind of a résumé of her reign (Desroches-Noblecourt 2002, 351–64), Hatshepsut claims:

> My soldiers, who had had no supplies, became the possessors of richness since my appearing as king (Speos Artemidos, cols. 14–15; Allen 2002, pl. 1).

One should consider a possibility that this statement is in a fact a reminiscence of the creation of a professional army, instead of occasional recruitment in case of a danger as known from earlier periods. The importance of the army in Hatshepsut's reign can be confirmed by the fact that the representations of the running soldiers appear in many places of the female pharaoh's temple of the millions of years at Deir el-Bahari, being a part of the festival scenes (Naville 1898, pl. LXIX; 1901; pl. XCI; 1906, pls CXXIV–CXXVI; 1908, pl. CLV; Roehring 2005, 154).

Hatshepsut often stressed also her own military virtues, what can be illustrated by the passage from the Great Oracular Text carved on the external walls of the *Chapelle Rouge* at Karnak, where the female ruler claims:

> I have been brought up as strong-armed Horus (block no. 119; Burgos and Larché 2006, 41).

It is noteworthy that the same epithet of strong-armed Horus (*ḥrw ṯmꜣ-ꜥ*) appears also, in a somewhat surprising context, on the north wall of the chapel XII of Hatshepsut's Palace of Ma'at at Karnak (Hamza 1991–1992, 39, fig. 2). Hatshepsut has been also described as a strong-armed female (*ṯmꜣ.t-ꜥ*) in the inscription carved on the west wall of the Middle Northern Portico of her temple at Deir el-Bahari (Sethe 1906, 246, 10).

Numerous texts praise also the fear which Hatshepsut, by the cause of the gods, inspires in the hearts of all men, especially the enemies of Egypt:

> (All) the shores are assembled under my supervision and the Blackland and the Redland are under fear of me for my power makes the foreign lands to bow down and the Uraeus, which is upon my forehead, appeases all the lands (Speos Artemidos, cols. 11–12; Allen 2002, pl. 1).

Or

> All the lands are enclosed in my grasp, none of the Nine Bows is missing. My power reached the limits of the Two Lands and I have taken possession of the strength of the Disturber and my might spreads throughout the valleys (*Chapelle Rouge*, block no. 194; Burgos and Larché 2006, 39).

The female pharaoh's strength is stressed also by incorporating animal imagery:

> I am a wild bull of sharpened horns who comes from the sky, having seen its condition. I am a falcon flying over the lands, who inaugurates his borders as he approaches the land. I am a jackal extending his steps, which traverses the land as if it was an instant. I am the one glorious of heart, who glorifies his father, taking every chance to create order for him. I am the Unique One resting in *Maʿat*, enriching it, relying on her deeds. I am the Glorious Eye on my father's forehead coiling his head with my victories. I am an *ʾdw*-crocodile seizing with strength and when he seizes then, indeed, there is no-one who could be saved from his grasp. I am a *šnj*-crocodile plundering at every chance, which traverses the canal that cannot be traversed for I am a *kʾpw*-crocodile and a *dpjj*-crocodile hiding in the shadow, concealed in the refuge (*Chapelle Rouge*, block no. 146; Burgos and Larché 2006, 38).

Interestingly, Hatshepsut is very rarely represented in the military scenes or the scenes of smiting the enemies. In her temple at Deir el-Bahari she is depicted on the south wall of the Northern Lower Portico as a sphinx trampling the enemies of Egypt (Naville 1908, pl. CLX; similar scene was originally represented also on the north wall of the Southern Lower Portico; ibid., 7). Similar representation occurs also in TT 73 (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. III), which most likely can be attributed to the high official Amenhotep, who was responsible for erecting two obelisks in the Karnak temple in the sixteenth regnal year of Thutmose III (Habachi 1957, 91–92; Helck 1958, 364 and 478–479). Moreover, Hatshepsut was twice represented in the scene of smiting the enemy in her temple at Deir el-Bahari on the southern wall of the Southern Lower Portico (Śliwa 1979, 166) and northern wall of the Northern Lower Portico (Pawlicki 1997, 50) respectively, both scenes, however, are at present almost completely damaged. A similar representation was included also to the decorative program of the TT 73 (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 3–4 with pls III–IV). One should evoke also the representation of the god Dedwen leading bound captives that was carved on the south wall of the Southern Lower Portico (Naville 1908, pl. CLII).

It should be stressed that the relative rarity of this kind of scenes in Hatshepsut's reign does not necessarily imply the female ruler's pacifistic attitude. Similar situation occurs during the 12th dynasty, whose members were the first pharaohs to begin big scale military expansions outside Egyptian borders (reflected in the royal title *swsḫ tʾš*, or 'the one who extends borders', which appears precisely in this period), although the only known representations of the 12th dynasty kings in a warlike attitude appear on the pectorals made for the royal daughters, found at Dahshur (Vernier 1927, 4–5 with pls I–II), and a rock *graffito* in Gebel Aqq in Nubia (Hall 1986, 15). Nevertheless, the everlastingness of the 12th dynasty conquests may be ascertained by the fact

that Egypt's present southern border more or less corresponds to the ancient one established once by Senwosret III (Tallet 2005, 52).

Although the very presence of the traditional motif of smiting or trampling the enemies does not confirm the view concerning Hatshepsut's peaceful attitude, there is no doubt that these scenes, as such, cannot be treated as a proof for the female ruler's military activity for these kinds of scenes need not reflect historical events (as can be illustrated by the so-called 'Libyan family motif'; Stockfisch 1996, 315–325; Ćwiek 2003, 245–246) but rather they underline and emphasise king's role as a defender of Egypt and the guardian of *Ma'at* (Śliwa 1974, 97–117; Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 188–235). It does not mean, however, that there is no evidence in favour of the actual military campaigns of Hatshepsut at all. Moreover, if the evidence in question does exist than perhaps one should reconsider often expressed views concerning these scenes for it is possible that it is only the form of the aforementioned representations that is conventional but not their essence.

Some allusions to the military expeditions organised in Hatshepsut's reign can be found in the inscriptions carved on the walls of her temple of millions of years at Deir el-Bahari. Fragmentarily preserved inscription from one of the Lower Porticoes mentions a military campaign to the south 'to make a massacre' among the local peoples. According to the text, the victory was so great that 'unknown was the number (of slaughtered men), although the hands had been cut off' (Naville 1908, pl. CLXV). Interestingly, the inscription stresses the fact that the military expedition was similar to the one which 'her victorious father, king of Upper and Lower Egypt (Aa-kheper-ka-Ra), who seizes all the lands, conducted' (Naville 1908, pl. CLXV). It is actually the reference to Thutmose I, which gives some historical basis to the text that otherwise could have been viewed as one using mostly typical and conventional phrases (Redford 1967, 58–60).

There is more evidence that the above inscription should not be treated solely as a conventional and standardised formula, which does not reflect any historical reality. The expedition to the southern lands is confirmed by a *graffito* found at Tangur in Nubia which is dated to 'regnal year 12, 3rd month of *peret*, day 12 under the Majesty of the Perfect God (Ma'at-ka-Ra), given life, and under the Majesty of the Perfect God (Men-kheper-Ra), given life' and mentions the 'overthrowing of the wretched Kush' (Hintze and Reinecke 1989, 173, no. 562; Peden 2001, 90) in that year.

Hatshepsut's army had to challenge Nubian troops once again in the 20th regnal year of Thutmose III, what is attested by another Nubian *graffito*, this time from Tombos, where young king is referred to as 'the Perfect God, who overthrew the one who had attacked him' (Davies 2008, 54, fig. 3). It is possible that the same military expedition is mentioned by the Armant stela erected already after Hatshepsut's demise (Redford 2003, 153–159). This inscription brings some additional information stating that Thutmose III 'has brought a rhinoceros while he was hunting in the southern foreign country called the Land of Bow, after he had proceeded to Miew to seek for the one who had rebelled in this land' (Helck 1955, 1246, 3–4).

The aforementioned sources seem to indicate that the military expedition of that year was conducted by king Thutmose III himself. It seems likely that Hatshepsut intentionally sent her young co-regent to lead the Egyptian army so he could get used to military command, preparing him for his sole rule (Redford 1967, 81). It is, however, impossible to say, who conducted the expedition of the 12th regnal year – was it Thutmose III, one of the royal officials (like Senenmut; Helck 1958, 356; Dorman 1991, 34 with pl. 20), or maybe Hatshepsut herself?

That the latter is not only possible but very likely can be deduced from a *graffito*, found at Sehel in the first cataract region, that was carved for an official named Ty (Helck 1958, 468–469), who states:

> I have followed the Perfect God ([Ma'at-ka-Ra]), given life. I have seen him overthrowing the Nubian bowmen and bringing to him their chiefs as living captives. I have seen him destroying the land of Nubia, while I was in the following of His Majesty (Habachi 1957, 100, fig. 6; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 135 and 482).

Ty thus mentions a military expedition during which Hatshepsut not only conducted the Egyptian army herself but also took part in the fight with Nubian troops. Most likely it is the same expedition that is meant by the high official Djehuty who states in his biographical inscription carved on the walls of this tomb:

> I have seen this [king measuring plunder] in the [wretched Kush] (Sethe 1906, 438, 10).

Unfortunately the exact date of the expedition is not known, it has been suggested, however, that it must have taken place at the beginning of the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Redford 1967, 62; Davies 2005, 52; cf. however Bryan 2006, 79). Perhaps, it is the same expedition that is mentioned in the fragmentarily preserved text from one of the Lower Porticoes at Deir el-Bahari, cited above.

It should be stressed that the information that Hatshepsut conducted Egyptian army against Nubian troops and took part in the battle personally cannot be simply dismissed as propaganda. No matter how inaccurate the very term 'propaganda' is as referred to the ancient Egyptian culture (Laboury 2013, 13, n. 19), this information comes not from the royal sources, that could be suspected of having the intention to glorify the reigning king, but from the private ones. Neither Ty nor Djehuty had any reason to claim that Hatshepsut took part in the battle in Nubia if she was not there. To the contrary, it seems that the event was of such a unique and unprecedented nature that both officials wished to commemorate it in their inscriptions.

The available Egyptian sources inform us thus of at least three military expeditions to Nubia organised during Hatshepsut's reign. It is, however, possible that they were even more numerous. If the fragmentarily preserved inscription from Deir el-Bahari and the Armant stela refer to the campaigns different from the one mentioned by Ty and from the expeditions of the 12th and 20th regnal years, it can even be suggested that Hatshepsut organised five expeditions to Nubia (Redford 1967, 62). Unfortunately, little can be said about the course and possible extent of Hatshepsut's Nubian campaigns. It seems likely that they were not huge military operations for the power of Kush had

already been broken by her father Thutmose I. In fact, they were most probably small-scale operations whose aim was to pacify the situation in Nubia after its conquest by Thutmose I. The importance of these campaigns, especially in its ideological aspects, cannot be, however, underestimated, as will be demonstrated below.

Determining the number of the eventual northern campaigns of Hatshepsut is much more difficult. It should be nevertheless stressed that both texts and representations from the female pharaoh's reign make some allusions to at least one northern campaign. The representatives of Asiatic peoples appear among the enemies of Egypt trampled by Hatshepsut as sphinx in the aforementioned scene from the Northern Lower Portico. There is also a Syrian casket from the Abbott Collection decorated with a female winged sphinx adoring Hatshepsut's name (Prisse d'Avennes 2000, 99), which might be interpreted as a representation of Egypt's dominance over Asiatic lands (Ratié 1979, 130 and 221). This kind of material cannot, however, be taken as a decisive proof, as has been observed above.

A fragmentarily preserved inscription from the Northern Upper Portico states of Hatshepsut that 'her arrow is among the Northerners' (Naville 1908, pl. CLXVII). A military expedition to Asia is probably mentioned also in a fragmentarily preserved inscription from one of the Lower Porticoes, which described also the Nubian campaign. Among the preserved fragments 'the horses upon the mountains' are mentioned, what reflects the reality of the northern wars (Naville 1908, 8 with pl. CLXV). It is also probable that a Syrian expedition was mentioned in the Great Oracular Text, which states:

> ... the northern [lands], whose gods are, indeed, my amulets, are carrying life (and) dominion in their hands (block no. 37; Burgos and Larché 2006, 39; cf. Lacau and Chevrier 1977, 149, n. [c]).

Some of the royal officials bore also titles, which may point towards military activity of the king they served. For instance, Inebni, King's Son (of Kush), is called 'the one who follows his lord in his footsteps in the southern and northern foreign lands' (Sethe 1906, 465, 2). A similar title is born by the owner of the TT 73 who is called 'the one who is beneficial to the Perfect Goddess, [who follows] the king at the head of his army [in his footsteps] in the southern and northern lands' (Säve-Söderbergh, 1957, 7 with pl. VI). The expression of this kind, however, is used in Egyptian texts in the context of participating in a military expedition of the king, although we do not know to what extent it reflects actual historical events. Nevertheless, the military expedition against the northern lands most likely took place in the 13th regnal year of Thutmose III, what can be deduced from the stela no. 180 found at Sinai which mentions 'the following of his lord in his footsteps to the foreign land' whose name is, unfortunately, not preserved (Gardiner and Peet 1917, pl. LXI), but the context indicates clearly that it is one of the northern lands that is meant here.

It is possible that Hatshepsut organised another northern campaign in the sixteenth regnal year of Thutmose III, what seems to be indicated by the text of the

stela no. 44 found at Sinai as well. It informs us that the king proceeded 'at the head of his army to traverse the valley[s]' (Gardiner and Peet 1917, pl. XIV), what most likely means a punitive expedition in order to subdue Bedouin nomads who were threatening Egyptian caravans and quarry expeditions.

With this can be connected the battle reliefs found long ago among the remnants of the memorial temple of Thutmose II named *Shezepet-ankh* (*šzp.t-ꜥnḫ*). The inner face of the north wall of the courtyard of the temple was decorated with reliefs depicting a military campaign. Among the preserved fragments, representations of horses and chariots as well as of some foreigners, apparently of Syrian origin, can be discerned (Bruyère 1952, pls II–IV). The original excavator considered them to represent military expedition to Syria that was supposed to have taken place in the 3rd regnal year of Thutmose II (Bruyère 1927, 40–42). According to him the foundation of the temple should be ascribed to Thutmose II himself while its rebuilding and rearrangement was completed under his successor Thutmose III. This hypothesis was later challenged by other scholars who suggested that the construction of the mortuary temple of Thutmose II was initiated by Thutmose III after Hatshepsut's demise in order to honour the king's father and predecessor after some neglect he had suffered during the co-regency period (Gabolde 1989, 128–140). The rediscovery of the blocks bearing Hatshepsut's cryptographic frieze has proved, however, that the construction started already during the co-regency period and, most probably, was initiated by the female pharaoh herself (Gabolde 2009, 175–176). It is possible therefore that the military reliefs of the *Shezepet-ankh* temple actually represent Hatshepsut's own military campaign to Asia, as no such excursion is attested for Thutmose II to whom the temple is dedicated (cf. Gabolde 1987, 63).

All the aforementioned material allows us to think that Hatshepsut organised at least one military expedition to the north, but, as in the case of the southern expeditions, it is possible to increase the number of the campaigns if every source making any allusion to a northern expedition is treated as attesting a separate campaign. It should be added that by organising the northern expedition(s) Hatshepsut realised the promise that she had received from the gods in one of the inscriptions carved on the west wall of the Northern Middle Portico in the temple at Deir el-Bahari, which states:

> You will cut off the heads of the soldiers and you will seize the chiefs of Retenu, slaughtering those who had been left over from your father's (reign) (Sethe 1906, 248, 5–7).

Unfortunately, no certain conclusions concerning the possible extent of Hatshepsut's northern campaign(s) can be drawn.

It seems probable, however, that for the most part of Hatshepsut's reign the relations with the Asiatic countries and tribes were good and peaceful. It can be deduced from the fact that already in the regency period Thutmose III married three Syrian princesses whose names were Manheta, Manuai, and Maruti (Winlock 1948; Lilyquist 2003). This marriage was undoubtedly a result of Hatshepsut's politics with

respect to Asia. It should be stressed, however, that the creation of the anti-Egyptian coalition of Syrian rulers just after Hatshepsut's demise does not necessarily mean that her politics was ineffective. It seems more probable that the disappearance of the most important person in Egypt of that time was welcomed by local rulers as an occasion to dismiss Egyptian occupation of the Syrian territory. Syrian rulers could have thought that the young king would have been occupied with administering the internal affairs of the country so he would not have been able to react accordingly and fast enough in the case of an uprising or a rebellion. The great victory in the battle of Megiddo showed clearly how fallacious this kind of thinking was.

It is also possible that Hatshepsut was forced to challenge the Semitic adversaries in the very territory of Egypt. In the great inscription from the Speos Artemidos, the female ruler claims:

> I have elevated what had been ruined since the time when Asiatics were in the midst of Hut-waret and the nomads, who were among them, were destroying what had been done earlier for they have ruled without Ra (Speos Artemidos, cols. 36–39; Allen 2002, pl. 2).

And in other passage she adds:

> I have come as Horus and my Sole Uraeus is spitting fire towards my enemies. I have driven away the abomination of the gods and the land has removed the prints of their sandals (Speos Artemidos, cols. 39–40; Allen 2002, pl. 2).

In the older Egyptological literature, this passage was interpreted as an empty boasting and as a usurpation of the achievements of other pharaohs, especially those of Ahmose II, founder of the 18th dynasty (Gardiner 1961, 187–188; Goedicke 2004, 78–80). More recent studies have shown, however, that expelling the Hyksos did not indicate either destroying or even abandoning the city of Avaris. The excavation in this area demonstrated that there was a continuity in the settlement there, especially in the area of the temple of Seth which apparently did not cease to function at least until the Amarna Period (Bietak 1996, 67). It is thus tempting to suggest that Semitic inhabitants of the Delta could have been a source of internal problems for some time, so Hatshepsut must have subdued them, perhaps using some force for this was the only way to re-establish the fundamental order of *Ma'at* in Egypt.

There is no decisive proof for any military campaign organised by Hatshepsut against the Libyans, although the representatives of the Libyan tribes appear among the enemies of Egypt trampled by the female ruler in the form of the sphinx in the aforementioned scene from the southern wall of the Northern Lower Portico of her temple at Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1908, pl. CLX). Moreover, in the inscription carved on the eastern face of the base of the southern obelisk erected by Hatshepsut between the fourth and the fifth pylons at Karnak, the female ruler states: 'I have brought the gifts from the Libyans, namely the ivory consisting of 700 elephant tusks [with] numerous [panther] skins of 8 cubits in spine (and) 4 cubits in width, tore off from a leopard, (all this) exceeding any (former) gifts from this foreign land' (Sethe 1906, 373, 6–11). All this evidence represents typical and conventional pattern of Egyptian

royal self-presentation and, consequently, cannot be used to support any hypothesis concerning Hatshepsut's expedition against the Libyans.

As regards the military activity of Hatshepsut a question should be asked what are the causes of the pre-eminence of Nubia and generally the south direction in the external politics of the female king from the very beginning of her reign (cf. Habachi 1957, 101–103; Gabolde 2009, 142 with pls XLIV-XLIV*). It seems that this situation resulted from the utmost importance of the southern land in Egyptian ideology of kingship. In the Old Kingdom Period, Nubia was already somehow related to the goddess Hathor, who was the most important of all Egyptian female deities, being a personification of the female principle in the universe as well as the counterpart of the god Ra himself (Desroches-Noblecourt 1995). It is thus not surprising that subduing this region became an indispensible condition of exercising the kingship over Egypt what is explicitly stated in the texts from the boundary stelae erected by king Senwosret III of the 12th dynasty at Semna and Uronarti in his 16th regnal year:

> Now, as for any son of mine who shall maintain this border, which had been established by My Majesty, he is, (indeed), my son, born by My Majesty, and he is like the Son-Defender-of-His-Father (i.e. Horus), who maintains the border of the one who had begotten him. But as for the one who shall leave it without fighting for it, (indeed), he is not my son and he had not been born by me (stela Berlin 1157, ll. 17–20; Obsomer 1989, pl. II).

By the Middle Kingdom Period, Lower Nubia had already become an integral part of Egypt, which is best expressed by the words of king Kamose of the 17th dynasty, inscribed on the so-called Carnarvon Tablet:

> I wish I knew what my strength is for, if one ruler is in Hut-waret and the other one in Kush and I am sitting here bound with an Asiatic and a Nubian, each man having his slice in the Blackland, sharing the land with me (Carnarvon Tablet, l. 3; Helck 1983, 83–84; cf. also Flammini 2008, 50–74).

By organising military expeditions to Nubia, which were supposed to bring peace to that region, Hatshepsut presents herself as a rightful successor and heiress of king Senwosret III, who at that time was already worshipped in Nubia as a god (Caminos 1988; El-Enany 2004, 207–213; Tallet 2005, 71–75), and of all other kings of Egypt.

It seems, however, that great importance of Nubia in Hatshepsut's reign resulted also from one additional factor. When during the Nubian campaign of Hatshepsut's father, Thutmose I, the Egyptians reached the region of the fourth cataract, they discovered a unique place, now called Gebel Barkal. The unusual shape of the rocks and mountains seemed to be similar to a gigantic Uraeus wearing a White Crown, so the area was consequently pronounced to be the sacred dwelling of Amun-Ra on earth (Kendall 2002, 18–35 and 37–45). Interestingly, Thutmose I seems to have been accompanied in his Nubian campaign by other members of the royal family: Great King's Wife Ahmose, the king's eldest son Amenmose and, most likely, the king's daughter Hatshepsut (Davies 2001, 46–56; 2003, 34–36). The future female ruler of Egypt beheld thus with her own eyes the sacred place considered to be the dwelling

of Amun-Ra on earth, so when, after many years, she ascended to the throne of Egypt, she might have felt responsible for protecting the sacred dwelling of her god who made her a pharaoh. The military campaigns to Nubia can thus be interpreted as a defence of Amun-Ra of Gebel Barkal, who was the divine father of Hatshepsut. It is noteworthy in this respect that in an inscription from the Lower Anubis Shrine of the Deir el-Bahari temple, Amun calls Hatshepsut his defender (Sethe 1906, 208, 8; cf. Gabolde 2009, 59 with pls XIII-XIII*). Hatshepsut is also occasionally called 'defender of Kamutef' (Habachi 1957, 103, fig. 7; Gabolde 2009, pls XLIV–XLIV*) or 'female Horus, defender of his father' (Sethe 1906, 362, 1).

Summing up all that has been discussed above, it should be stressed that older hypotheses concerning the retreat from any military activity during Hatshepsut's reign, which was supposed to result from the delicateness of woman's nature as well as from not only peaceful but even pacifistic attitude of the female ruler of Egypt, is not confirmed by the available evidence. Several campaigns organised both to the south and to the north of Egypt show clearly that Hatshepsut not only presented great care for maintaining Egyptian conquests achieved by her father Thutmose I, but also prepared her young co-regent to master the art of war, which resulted in many splendid victories in the period of his sole rule. Most importantly, it should be underlined that the hypothesis that concentrated herself rather on legitimising her kingship instead of conducting military expeditions is extremely inaccurate. In fact, military expeditions, as every other activity undertaken by the female ruler of Egypt, was subdued to the will of legitimising her kingship. The most important responsibility of every Egyptian king was to elevate, establish and create the fundamental and universal order of *Ma'at*, which is explicitly stated in a text whose earliest known copy comes precisely from the reign of Hatshepsut:

> 'Ra has placed the king (X) upon the land of the living forever and ever so he would judge the people, so he would satisfy the gods, so he would cause *Ma'at* to exist and *Izefet* to disappear' (Assmann 1970, 19; Karkowski 2003, 202–205).

As the internal state of affairs in Egypt is a reflection of the cosmic order of *Ma'at*, the pharaoh is obliged and forced to defend Egypt from her internal and external enemies, who represent the forces of the *Izefet*. If Hatshepsut wished to be a rightful Pharaoh of Egypt, and she certainly did, she must have conducted military expeditions in order to defend the cosmic harmony of *Ma'at*. Intensive military as well as building activity in foreign lands, especially in Nubia (Valbelle 2006, 33–50), undertaken during the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III indicates clearly that the female ruler of Egypt was quite aware of that.

It should be briefly added here that Hatshepsut was not the only female royal family member in ancient Egypt who appears in our sources in a warlike attitude. The idea of a female warrior was not strange to ancient Egyptians as can be deduced from the presence of aggressive goddesses, like Sakhmet or Neih, in their pantheon (Hoffmann 2008, 49–50). As for historical persons, a richly decorated dagger was found at Dahshur in

the tomb of Ita (Vernier 1927, 324–5 with pl. LXXIV), daughter of one of the 12th dynasty kings. Moreover, a statue found at Tell ed-Daba, representing Neferu-Sebek sitting on the throne with Nine Bows under her feet (Habachi 1952, 459–460 with pl. VIII), shows that the first female ruler in Egyptian history did assume some elements of traditional iconography stressing pharaoh's dominion over the foreign lands and peoples. It is thus possible that she was also represented in a smiting or trampling the enemies scene, although no image of this kind has yet been found (*contra* Tyldesley 2012, 12).

Moreover, Queen Ahhotep II of the 17th dynasty is praised by her son, King Ahmose II, founder of the 18th dynasty, in the text inscribed on a stela erected by him in the Karnak temple with the following words:

> Give praise for the Lady of the Land, Lady of the shores of the Isles, whose name is exalted in every foreign land, who accomplishes the plan of the multitude, king's wife, sister of the sovereign – life, prosperity and health! – king's daughter, king's august mother, who knows the proper rites, who cares for the Blackland! She has looked after her soldiers for they had guarded her. Coming back to her are those who had fled from her for she embraces those who had deserted her. She has pacified the South, having subdued those who had rebelled against her – king's wife (Ahhotep), may she live! (Sethe 1906, 21, 3–17).

It seems that the great esteem towards Ahhotep II on behalf of the king is due to the great role that his mother played in the reunification of Egypt after the Second Intermediate Period and in the expulsion of Hyksos. There is, however, another king's wife, namely mysterious Ahhotep I, whose tomb at Dra' Abu en-Naga revealed rich funerary equipment, among which many objects connected to the military activity were found (von Bissing 1900). Unfortunately, the parentage and family ties of this queen are very obscure. Nevertheless, this kind of funerary equipment strongly suggests that she must have been taking an active part in the reunification of Egypt after the Hyksos period (Barbotin 2008, 70–73). It is also interesting to note that 67 bronze battle axes can be found among the objects given to Great King's Wife Ahmose-Nefertari by her husband Ahmose II at her appointment to the office of the second priest of Amun (Helck 1983, 101).

Later on, Queen Tiye, wife of Amenhotep III, is represented as a sphinx trampling the enemies in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192; The Epigraphic Survey 1980, pls 47–79, detail on pl. 52a). Similar scenes can be found as well in the temple dedicated to Tiye by her husband at Sedeinga in Nubia (Morkot 1986, 1–9). The queen might have been also represented as a winged sphinx on a bracelet, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, although the identification of the figure with Tiye can be disputed (Hayes 1990, 242–243 with fig. 147). Interestingly, Tiye's daughter-in-law, Nefertiti, wife of king Akhenaten, was represented in a scene of smiting the (female?) enemy under the blessing rays of the Aten. Together with the images of Tiye these representations are unique in all ancient Egyptian art for these kinds of scenes seem to be otherwise restricted for the king himself (Ertman 2006, 59–65).

A reflection of the warlike attitude can be also found in the titulary of another female Pharaoh, Tawosret, last ruler of the 19th dynasty, whose *nb.tj*-name

reads *grg-km.t-wᶜf-ḫ'.wt* – 'The-One-who-founds-the-Blackland-and-subdues-the-foreign-lands' (von Beckerath 1999, 163; Callender 2012, 36–37), although this name seems to be modelled on the name of Ramesses II who at that time was considered to be an ideal ruler (Drenkhan 1981, 20). On the jars found at Sidon Tawosret bears also other epithets underlining military aspect of the pharaoh like *nb.t ḫpš* ('lady of strength') or *wᶜf ḫ'.wt* ('the one who subdues the foreign lands'; Marée 2006, 121–128), although none of our sources mentions any foreign expedition organised during her reign.

There is also a very interesting ostracon found in the tomb of Ramesses VI in the Valley of the Kings (KV 9) that represents a queen mounted on a chariot and firing arrows towards her adversary (also on a chariot) who is supposed to be a pharaoh (Daressy 1901, 24 with pl. XXIV). Unfortunately, none of the personages are named, so it is impossible to guess whom this queen might have been, although it has been suggested that the ostracon represents the struggle between Tawosret and Sethnakht for the power over Egypt (Callender 2004, 103–104; 2012, 42–46).

Nevertheless, all the aforementioned material forces us to reconsider our views regarding the patterns of queenship and female rulership in ancient Egypt especially as far as the alleged pacifistic attitude of female royal family members is concerned. For all these reasons, Hatshepsut should no longer be treated as a weak pharaoh, as apparently she had every right to claim about herself:

> All the foreign lands are assembled under my sandals. My southern border reaches the shores of Punt and [the God's Land is in my grasp]. My eastern border reaches the northern limits of Asia and Asiatic nomads are in my fist (Sethe 1906, 372, 5–8).

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Chapter 7

Egyptian artists in the New Kingdom: Travelling artists and travelling ideas?

Inmaculada Vivas Sainz

Abstract: This paper focuses on the artists in the New Kingdom, especially on their role in the diffusion of motifs within the artistic repertoire. The analysis and discussion of a range of textual, artistic and archaeological sources dating to the New Kingdom will be the basis to explore the mobility of artists. The movement of craftsmen could be best exemplified in the transfer that took place before and after the Amarna Period, and the presence of certain details attested on paintings and reliefs of private tombs from different areas may let us track those 'travelling artists' in Egypt.

Keywords: artists, mobility, iconography

Introduction

The present study focuses on the artists in the New Kingdom, especially on their mobility and potential role in the diffusion of motifs and details within the artistic repertoire. In this preliminary approach, I provide a holistic analysis and discussion of a range of textual, artistic and archaeological sources dating to the New Kingdom that relate to the role and movement of artists. The majority of the sources discussed are private tomb paintings which are arranged into three geographical groups: 18th- and 19th-dynasty tombs from Thebes, 18th-dynasty tombs from Amarna, and 18th- and 19th-dynasty tombs from Memphis. The focus on private tombs primarily relates to the larger scope of iconographic topics in their decoration, as opposed to royal tombs which are often more restricted in their iconographic programs. This is particularly due to the employment of traditional royal religious scenes that are linked with concepts of personal piety and display the ideology of the monarchy (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996). In contrast, the contemporary private tomb-chapels provide a much richer and innovative iconographic repertoire. The type of scenes included in a private tomb probably depended on the tomb owner's career, on his choices or likes,

as has been studied for the case of the private Theban necropolis in the 18th dynasty (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999; Hartwig 2004). But the type of scenes could also depend on the background and originality of the artist, and indeed the freedom of the artists must have been greater in the context of a private rather than a royal patronage.

Although the high quality of the New Kingdom private tomb paintings and reliefs is remarkable, the goal of this paper is to highlight the role of their 'producers': the artists or 'schools of artists'. Few studies have paid attention to the figure of ancient Egyptian artists, as Dimitri Laboury (2013, 28) has discussed in pointing out the paradox that the art of ancient Egypt has been recognised and appreciated worldwide, despite the nearly unanimous opinion regarding the absence of authentic artists in Egyptian society. The present study examines the evidence for the identification of regional artists or artistic schools and on their possible role as 'travelling artists' (or 'travelling schools of artists') during the New Kingdom. This artists' mobility could be best exemplified in the transfer that took place before and after the Amarna Period, as craftsmen were certainly part of the workforce moved to build the new royal city in Tell el-Amarna, and after the death of Akhenaten some of them might have been transferred to Memphis, where Tutankhamun seems to have established his court. The private tombs built in the Memphite necropolis in the post-Amarna Period reveal the high level of craftsmanship of the artists and the weight of the Amarna style (Berlandini 1982; Van Dijt 1988). Meanwhile, other artists may have also returned to Thebes where workforce was necessary in temple project construction or temple restoration. The movement of artists during and after the Amarna Period may be considered as a factor contributing to the diffusion of innovations and new themes through distant areas, as it will be analysed below.

The diffusion of iconography and innovations could also be due to the movement of decorated portable objects such as furniture, weapons, jewellery, cosmetic boxes, and seals. These types of objects could be easily transported and exchanged, acting as a medium for artistic transfer and helping to explain the manner in which regional artistic transfer operated regionally during the New Kingdom. But their usual reduced dimensions may determine a limited complexity of the scenes they portray. The spread of new iconographic details could also be achieved by other means, such as portable sketches made by artists, or even by verbal descriptions of images, which could also be made by the patrons, the tomb owners. However, the use of specific details seems to rely more on the artists' choice and could reveal the artists' mobility.

Movement of artists: sources of information from the Theban necropolis

For the analysis of the mobility of artists in ancient Egypt during the New Kingdom, several written sources must be taken into account, as they may show that the geographic origin of the artists was quite diverse. For instance, the Theban necropolis offers important information, coming from some *ostraca* with administrative texts in

hieratic, some kind of accounting documents or journals, which illustrate the daily routine of the workers involved in the preparation of a tomb. Of particular relevance is a corpus of *ostraca* edited by Hayes (1942, 22), coming from the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which refer to the building of a tomb, probably belonging to the royal steward Senenmut, TT 71. These *ostraca* record the involvement of multiple different craft specialists in tomb construction, such as stonecutters, plasterers and painters, who all appear to be working in a tomb at the same time.

The references to these craftsmen in the *ostraca* indicate that painters appear to have had a special and important role amongst the workmen, and the number of painters was reduced compared to other craftsmen. An interesting *ostracon* found near the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71) records the action of 'taking over the work of the tomb by the scribe (or painter) Nebamun from the scribe (or painter) User until day 28' (Laboury 2012, 202). We are not informed about the reason for the absence of the first artist, but we may assume that the function of the scribe or the draughtsman was somehow necessary at that time and should be done by another specialised craftsman who was available in order to complete the tomb-decoration. It is also striking that painters are always mentioned by name in the *ostraca*, in contrast to the other craftsmen, which could denote a more individualised recognition of painters (Labouy 2012, 202). An *ostracon* now in the Cairo Museum collection and dated in the 18th dynasty, coming from the private Theban necropolis, offers unique information about the number and origin of artists working in the construction of a tomb. The artisans mentioned came from different cities in Upper Egypt and even one in Middle Egypt. The *ostracon* reports men who seem to come from Thebes, but others from more distant places in Egypt, such as Armant (about 20 km south of the necropolis), Neferusy, Qau el-Kebir or even Hermopolis, a site the midst of Middle Egypt and 380 km from Thebes (Megally 1981, 293–312).

As Laboury (2012, 202–203) has pointed out, the tomb owner himself directly supplied the human and material resources needed for the creation of his commemorative monument. If we bear in mind the high number of tomb-chapels being built in the 18th dynasty in Thebes, as there are today more than 200 and we can assume almost double in antiquity (Kampp 1996, 144–146), it seems probable that the tomb owners may have been forced to look for non-local workers and artists, coming from different places in Egypt. There are some unique sources that suggest artists could come from more distant places, for instance several stelae found in the Theban area give us interesting information about a family of painters, especially about a painter called Dedia who may have lived in the early 19th dynasty, probably under Sety I. We know that the draughtsman Dedia, after the reign of Akhenaten, was 'charged by his Majesty to restore [Theban temples] as the chief of works and director of artistic functions' in these monuments (Lowle 1976, 97). Both Dedia and his father Hatiay held the title of 'Superintendent of Draughtsmen', a high rank position, and they belonged to a family of painters, as the study of Dedia's monuments shows seven generations of male family member who were draughtsmen (Lowle 1976,

100–102). Interestingly, the study of the names of Dedia's relatives suggests a possible Semitic origin, indicating a Levantine origin of many of them. This Levantine heritage demonstrates a possible case of a foreign painter, or painter with foreign origins, establishing a lineage of painters at Thebes.

The analyses of tomb scenes themselves can provide information about the role of artists. During the 18th dynasty, a huge number of private Theban tombs were built and decorated, which would imply an important demand for high-skilled artists probably coming from different places (Bryan 2001, 70). The study of the paintings in the tomb of Suemniwet (TT 92), an unfinished private tomb dated to the 18th dynasty, shows the organisation of the Theban artists, who seem to have followed a workshop method. Bryan (2001, 71) has suggested that a considerable number of artists took part on the tomb decoration, probably around 25 working simultaneously or at different times, and using different techniques and varied type of pigments. The tomb of Suemniwet was planned and decorated by workshop-crew composed of artists who used different painting methods and worked following diverse organisational systems, probably as each master artist had freedom to organise his crew as he wished. It seems that several crews of specialised artisans with a varied background and sometimes with different styles and techniques have been employed in these private Theban tombs, and perhaps their geographical and regional origins might have been quite diverse.

The evidence from unfinished tombs: scarcity of artists?

As it has been pointed out, there is hardly a single tomb for which the decoration has been completed in the Theban necropolis, nor in any other Egyptian necropolis (Laboury 2012, 204), and even the great royal tombs have unfinished parts. Despite this fact, scholars have not paid much attention to the degree of incompletion of the tombs.

The Theban tombs have been studied in depth, but mainly from the point of view of stylistic and artistic considerations. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the pioneer work of Tavier (2012, 209–215), who has studied two unfinished tombs in Thebes, TT 96A and TT 29. The tomb of Amenemope, TT 29, unfinished in construction and decoration, gives us a precise image of how Egyptian artists worked in a private tomb, determined by a reduced space and by light conditions (as the quality of light may be linked to the quality of the paintings). The walls and ceilings of the tomb-chapel were plastered and decorated at the same time in stages, as we can see that the ceiling was plastered in small sections and then immediately painted (around one-and-a-half metres). This seems to correspond to the surface which an artist could paint from a precise position and suggests the process was made by the same person, that is, the plaster was applied on the ceiling by the painter. The same process seems apparent in the corridor of the tomb, where we can see a sequence on the decoration of the walls in sections of one-and-a-half metres, a distance which corresponds to the area which could be properly illuminated using the type of lamps available for the ancient

Egyptian artists (Tavier 2012, 211–212). It seems that the decoration in the corridor was done by a single painter, who tried to speed up the process of painting in the north wall, which remained finally unfinished.

The tomb of Suemniwet mentioned above (TT 92), is a good example of the unfinished state of many Theban tombs, and the analyses of the tomb paintings give us a detailed picture of the varied organisational and painting methods. As Bryan has suggested, there were insufficient numbers of trained artists to meet the demand of the private tombs of the mid-18th dynasty, so the workforce should have come from varied sources. Some artists could have come from temple and local workshops, and maybe others, although not many, from Deir el-Medina (Bryan 2001, 70). In fact, the research conducted by Hartwig (2004, 32–35) about the paintings in private tombs dated in the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III, points out the clear existence of two different styles which may belong to two different Theban workshops, one linked to the temples and the other linked to the royal palace. Hartwig has also suggested that the so-called 'Palace Style' and the 'Temple Style' seen in private Theban tombs show connections with motifs attested in palace and temple artworks, which may indicate a common origin of the artists. Maybe the artists were lent by the temple or the royal palace (or perhaps directly hired by the tomb owner) for a specific period of time and had to return to their institution, leaving the work in the private tomb chapels unfinished.

Amarna private tombs offer a similar picture of unfinished elite tomb-chapels, a fact that could be linked to the sudden end of the capital after the death of Akhenaten. Owen and Kemp analysed the 43 rock-cut tombs from Tell el-Amarna which belonged to king's courtiers and high officials, paying special attention to the diverse patterns of work of the artists and the scarcity of artists. It seems that the artists employed in these private tombs did not work as a team of tomb-workers, but they were drawn, for a rather short period, from a pooled workforce. Some tomb owners managed to bring a plasterer and a draughtsman at an early stage of the construction of the tomb, while other tombs have just had the doorway cut. The progress in the tomb construction and decoration may have relied mainly on the unpredictable access to craftsmen. The study of the private tombs of Amarna suggests there was a real scarcity of artists, which may have resulted in an elite competition for the scarce human resources (Owen and Kemp 1994, 125–127).

Possible transfer of artists in the New Kingdom

During the Amarna Period and the subsequent years, the movement of artists seems to have been particularly important, first due to the fact that in his fifth regnal year Akhenaten built a new capital in Middle Egypt, Akhetaten. The size of the city and the impressive number of royal monuments which were built, would have required a significant number of artists. The estimations of the population which was moved to Amarna are varied, but a minimum of 20,000 inhabitants have been suggested (Kemp

2012, 17), and an important percentage must have been craftsmen and artists. Despite this fact, the archaeological evidence for artists at Amarna is scarce. Even within the so-called 'Amarna's Workmen Village', there is little evidence of any quantity of stonemasons' tools or artists' trial pieces left behind. The only firm evidence comes from the fragments from a carefully gridded outline painting of a king, which were found in house West Street 2/3 (Kemp 1987, 43–44). This painting had been made by someone very practiced in outline draftsmanship, probably a high skilled artist.

However, the number of temples, royal palaces, mansions, private tombs and other buildings, like the Royal Tomb, found in Amarna, clearly indicate the presence of a large quantity of artists. Maybe one of the most interesting topics, and hardly explored, is the origin of those artists. In a recent publication, Kemp (2012, 74–76) pointed out that the human resources needed for the building project of the city of Amarna may come from resident population, rather than from temporary workforce. Among the small number of house owners of the Amarna whose names are known, there are two who hold the title of 'Overseer of Works' and 'Overseer of Builders'. Therefore, they must have been some kind of supervisors involved in constructions, probably in major stone building such as the Great Palace. In ancient Egypt artists were part of an organised and hierarchical workforce, and Amarna society should not be considered an exception.

And where did those artists come from? They could have predominantly been of Theban origin, as the building projects in the Karnak temple were reduced, although did not stop completely with the build of Ahketaten (Vergnieux 1999). The temples and royal palaces at Ahketaten built in only a few years, so this rapid and effective building must have relied on expert hands. It is not known what happened exactly to the population of Deir el-Medina during the Amarna Period, but as a population and community linked to the state, we might think that some high skilled artists were asked or forced to move to Akhetaten. The Memphite area could also have supplied, to a minor extent, artisans to build up the new capital of Akhenaten (Zieve 2013, 112). Memphis is considered the administrative capital during the main part of New Kingdom, and although there are no written sources regarding the existence of a place similar to Deir el-Medina, probably there were a significant number of artists linked to the temple and royal administration.

The events after the death of Akhenaten are obscure, but it is evident that most of the population of the city of Amarna gradually abandoned it. We may assume that artists were part of this migration, returning to their places of origin, probably many of them to Thebes, or perhaps following the young Tutankhamun to the new royal residence, Memphis.

In fact, the Theban private tombs of the post-Amarna Period provide important information regarding the influence of Amarna art on wall decoration, which could give clues of the mobility of the artists who left Akhetaten. The tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49), dated to the reign of Ay, is an important example of the influence and transmission of the Amarna style on the later art at Thebes, maybe revealing the

transfer of artists coming from Amarna. Within this tomb, we find some scenes that utilise the typical Amarna style, with its particular canon and specific poses, as well as the presence of common Amarna scenes such as the deceased being awarded in the 'Window of Appearances' (Alzoragay and Vera 2007, 5–7).

Nadine Cherpion (1995, 125–128) has analysed the scenes in the tomb of the sculptor Ipuy (TT 217), dated in the reign of Ramses II, noting that specific themes and scenes typical of Amarna art were found within the tomb. These included scenes of the deceased being rewarded by the king in the 'Window of Appearances' in the palace, the image of a *shaduf* in a garden, the rendering of the façade of Ipuy's house shown in a frontal view, and the papyrus plants on the north-east wall being rendered with a naturalistic style which recalls the 'Great Room' of the Amarna Palace. Another post-Amarna example of the 'Window of Appearances' scene can be found in the tomb of Hemui at Saqqara, dated to the reign of Sety I (Cherpion 1995, 126). This example might indicate the movement of Amarna artists to the Memphite region, therefore explaining the reoccurrence of this particular scene. With regard to the strong influx of Amarna in the tomb of the sculptor Ipuy, he may have felt a particular admiration for the art of that period, and having in mind that the office of an artist usually passed from father to son for several generations, it might be even possible that Ipuy's relatives could have been part of the body of artists working in the city of Amarna.

On the other hand, in the following years after the death of Akhenaten the administrative capital of Egypt seems to have been established in Memphis by Tutankhamun, which may have implied the movement of artists to Memphis. Interestingly, the Memphite private necropolis saw an important development during the post-Amarna Period (Van Dijt 1988, 37–39). The private tombs of the Saqqara area dated in the end of the 18th dynasty provide significant examples of the post-Amarna style and their high quality is striking (Berlandini 1982, 195–212). Several tombs can be mentioned, for instance the private tomb of general Horemheb (constructed when its owner was a general of the Egyptian armies under Tutankhamun), the tomb of Pay (Overseer of the Harem in Memphis) built during the reign of Tutankhamun, or the tomb of a lady called Maia, the wet-nurse of Tutankhamum (Bubasteion 1.20), as well as the impressive tomb of Maia and Meryt ('Overseer of the Treasury' and 'Overseer of Works' during the reign of Tutankhamun). These Memphite tomb owners had access to high-skilled artists who were still influenced by the Amarna style, maybe because they had been trained in Akhetaten. The evidence from these tombs certainly provides a strong indication that at least some of the Amarna artists moved to the Memphite region after the abandonment of Ahketaten, meanwhile other artists may have moved to Thebes, according to the presence of specific Amarna icons in post-Amarna Theban tombs.

A tomb discovered in the Bubasteion in 1996 is especially interesting for this research: the so-called 'Tomb of the Artists' (Tomb 1.19), which has high quality wall paintings and in some parts is carved. It is a hypogeum tomb constructed and decorated during the reign of Amenhotep III and the reign of Amenhotep IV/

Akhenaten (Zivie 2001, 94). The tomb owner of this small tomb was probably Thutmes, although a second artist named Kenna, probably a relative, is also mentioned, both holding the title of 'Directors of the Scribes of Forms'. The fathers of both painters hold the title of 'Director of Scribes of Forms' in the Place of Maat, a term attributed to Deir el-Medina. It seems that Thutmes and Kenna, who built their tomb in Saqqara, were part of a family of painters with an ancient tradition linked to artists from the Theban necropolis (Zivie 2013, 97–103).

The wall paintings of the tomb of Thutmes are remarkable for their high quality, made by an experienced painter, and the general impression is that the tomb is paralleled on the best examples of the Theban paintings dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, such as the tomb of Ramose (TT 55) or the tomb of Khaemhat (TT 57). Many scenes in the tomb could be attributed to the 'hand' of Thutmes, who painted three walls and also designed and started to carve one of the main walls near the entrance. Some scenes show strong connections with scenes in the tomb of Khaemhat, which lead Zivie propose that Thutmes could be the artist who made TT 57, and who even took part in the decoration of the tomb of Amenhotep III in the Valley of the Kings (Zivie 2007, 606). According to the study of the techniques and pigments used, the artist seems to have employed a complex and varied palette of colours. The figure of Thutmes, whose work could be linked to Memphis and Thebes, may be considered as an example of the artists' mobility (Zivie 2013, 107–108).

One of the most interesting paintings in this tomb is found in the west wall of the chapel of the tomb, showing Thutmes and his wife standing. The most striking fact is that in his self-portrait, Thutmes is holding a painter's palette, and in the extreme of this tool the name of the king Amenhotep III can be read, giving a precise connection between Thutmes and the reign of this king (Zivie 2007, 608, 616). In the recent full publication of the tomb, an interesting hypothesis has been suggested regarding a connection between this Thutmes from the tomb of Saqqara, and the sculptor Thutmes attested in Amarna and well-known for the famous bust of Nefertiti, now in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin (Zivie 2013, 128–135). The Tomb 1.19 in Saqqara could be an evidence of the transfer of high-skilled artists, Thutmes and Kenna, within Egypt during the New Kingdom, who could have worked in Thebes and Memphis.

Diffusion of innovations: travelling artists?

The topic of the diffusion of new iconography and artistic innovations has received scarce attention, except for the recent research by El Shahawy regarding the presence of iconographic elements in New Kingdom tombs located both in Thebes and in Memphis. For instance, the representation of the funerary rite of 'the breaking of red vessels' is attested first in the temple of Luxor in a scene of Amenhotep III, then in the Saqqara tomb of Horemheb and other Memphite tombs, and later in TT 44, dated to the 20th dynasty (El Shahawy 2012, 134). El Shahawy (2012, 137–140)

briefly analysed the appearance of other innovations, such as the emancipation of the pictorial canons (for example the frontal depictions of animals and humans), or the presence of unusual elements which work as 'visual hooks' which retain the attention of the viewer. Her main conclusion was that the diffusion of innovations could be attested in both directions between Thebes and Memphis, and also from Memphis to Thebes, although Theban artists were more innovative regarding emancipation of representation rules. From my point of view, the presence of innovations in distant areas could give us clues regarding the mobility of artists, who could have been requested to work in different places according to the needs of the Egyptian crown.

Another type of artistic innovation attested in Theban and Memphite tombs, but also in Amarna tombs, is the appearance of expressive mourning men in funerary scenes. One of the first examples of mourning men appears in the tomb of the sculptor Huy (TT 54), dated to the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III (Polz 1996, fig. 17, pl. 2). The tomb of the sculptors Nebamun and Ipuky, TT 181, (*tempus* Amenhotep III or the early reign of Amenhotep IV), included a scene with expressive mourning men (Davies 1925, pl. XIX). Besides, this type of representation is attested not only in the Royal Tomb at Amarna, but also in the private tomb of Huya (TA 1), where mourning men are shown in expressive attitudes, raising their hands to show grief (Davies 1905, figs XXII–XXIII). A similar treatment is found in several post-Amarna Memphite tombs, such as the tomb of Horemheb (Martin 1989, pl. 125). It is necessary to mention that scenes of expressive mourning men are also found in contemporary Theban tombs, for instance the tomb of Neferhotep, TT 49, (Davies 1933, vol. I, pl. XXIII) showing that they were popular in the post-Amarna Period and even later, in the Ramesside Period (Vivas Sainz 2017). The presence of these rare scenes with mourning men in distant locations, Thebes, Amarna and the Memphite area, could be also considered as a hint of the diffusion of new styles and renderings, maybe due to artists' mobility during this period.

One specific type of innovation in New Kingdom tombs, which may be a good example of diffusion of motifs, deserves further comment: the representation of landscape. It is generally assumed that Egyptian artists did not use perspective in their compositions of landscape and nature, but in a very subtle way the artists of the 18th dynasty tried to create some perspective and depth, combining what they could see in reality and the representational rules of Egyptian art. For instance, in the east wall of the transverse hall of the tomb of Nakht (TT 52), probably dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, there is an agricultural scene, composed of two sub-registers divided by an undulating line (Fig. 7.1). The human figures in lower sub-register are represented larger than the ones in the upper sub-register, trying to create the effect of a more distant position of the smaller figures (Davies 1917, pl. 18). A nearly identical scene can be found in the tomb of Khaemhat (TT 57), where we also see an undulating line in the agricultural scene (Laboury 1997, 55–56). The tomb of Khaemhat is one of only four private tombs from the reign of Amenhotep III decorated with reliefs, and

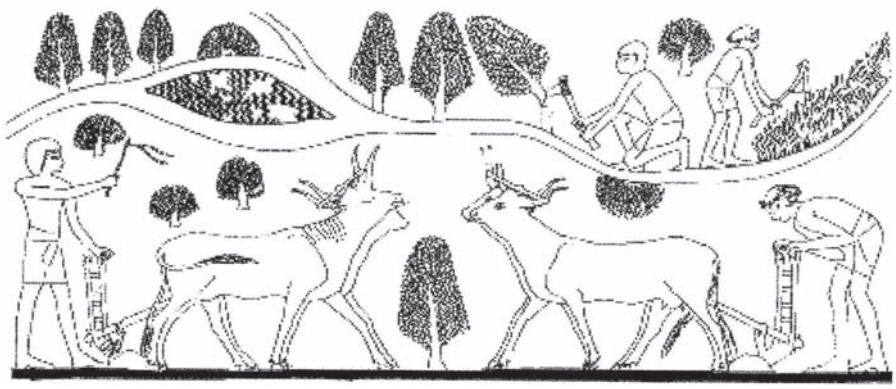

Fig. 7.1: Agricultural scene in the tomb of Nakht (TT 52), east wall, transverse hall (Davies 1917, pl. 18).

it is one of the few tombs specifically dated, recorded as year 30 of Amenhotep III's reign. As both tombs are located in the Theban necropolis, it is reasonable to think that the scene was copied from the tomb of Nakht.

But what is really surprising is to find the same composition in one of the New Kingdom Memphite tombs: the tomb of Horemheb in Saqqara. The tomb, which shows an incredible degree of craftsmanship, includes military scenes in the North wall of the first courtyard, notably the representation of a military encampment. In this context, we find a scene divided by an undulating line, which separates the composition creating an effect of depth (Martin 1989, pl. 35.23). The idea of perspective is also created by the presence of mounds or hills, rendered by an undulating terrain, and the lively representation of workers behind the terrain (Fig. 7.2). The artist ignored the use of the registers and tried to create an original composition, which has a very close parallel in the aforementioned scenes in TT 52 and TT 57. This particular composition in the tomb of Horemheb, also attested in Theban tombs, may be a hint of artists' mobility to the Memphite area after the Amarna Period, as this type of precise and rare details seem to depend on the artists' choice and may reveal their background.

Finally, it is worth mentioning a fragment carved in relief from the tomb of Horemheb now in the collection of the Archaeological Museum of Bologna (inventory number: e.g. 1889), which shows another original scene of a military camp of soldiers. Several individuals are represented, and the artist is rendering an inclined base line, creating the effect that the people are climbing a hill (Martin 1989, pl. 34.22). In the lower part of the scene a man is riding a horse, and several workers are climbing up while carrying a beam. In the upper part of the relief there are two individuals and a chariot, as well as an original figure of a man running, climbing up the hill (Fig. 7.3). This very unusual way of rendering the landscape might be due to an artistic license, and the scene shows freedom and expressiveness that would have been unthinkable in earlier times. The private tombs of Memphis found in the recent years, many of



Fig. 7.2: Landscape scene in the tomb of Horemheb with undulating line, Saqqara (Martin 1989, pl. 35.23).

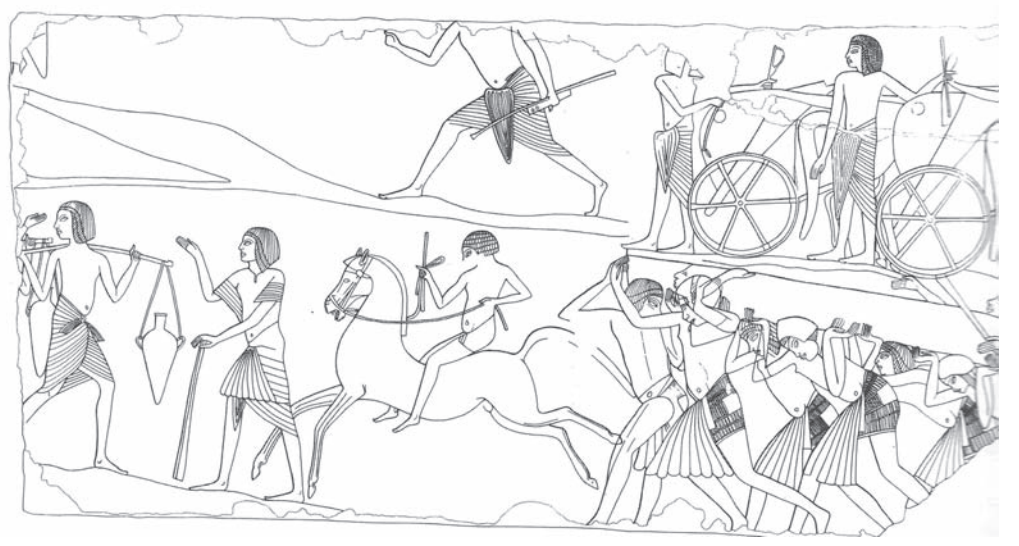

Fig. 7.3: Fragment from the tomb of Horemheb, Saqqara, Archaeological Museum of Bologna (Martin 1989, pl. 34.22).

which are still being excavated and restored, may provide more examples of the innovations of the Egyptian artists.

Conclusions

The topic of the present study is not easy, as one relies on the comparative analyses of tomb scenes according to their iconographic details, sometimes supported by epigraphic sources from which one could infer artists' mobility. Unfortunately, there are no written sources confirming the specific transfer of artists from one place to another, which might have been linked to the movements of the king and his court at certain periods. However, the evidence of the unfinished tombs and the scarcity of artists may suggest a higher mobility of New Kingdom artists than it was thought, as the career of the artist Thutmes may reflect. In this preliminary approach, I have tried to pinpoint some examples of the possible diffusion of specific elements in tomb decoration, which could illustrate the fact that very similar details and icons are found in Thebes and Memphis, and in some instances in Amarna. Although the tomb owner may have participated in the election of the main themes in his funerary monument, specific details or certain ways of rendering must have relied on the artists themselves.

As suggested by El Shahawy several pathways for the transmission of new elements between Thebes and Memphis are possible, not only the artists but also the tomb owners themselves, who travelled at some point of their careers between the two cities, and could have visited the tombs remembering some scenes (El Shahawy 2012, 144–145). However, from my point of view, certain specific innovations such as attempts of perspective and depth, or the representation of unusual expressive male mourners, may imply the influence of an artist or school of artists on another one, or the presence of a certain artist or a school of artists working in different locations. Artist's mobility may be considered as a factor in the process of transmission of innovations.

Much has been argued in the past years about the existence of travelling artists in the Levant and Egypt (Zacagnini 1979), and their role in the diffusion of foreign iconography. The best example could be the Minoan itinerant artists (Cline 1998), who produced high quality paintings with fresco technique and Minoan iconography in several places in the Levant (Niemeier and Niemeier 2002) and at the Egyptian site of Tell el-Dab'a. The wall paintings found in Tell el-Dab'a in a Thutmoside palace complex are an indication of the exceptional presence of Minoan or Aegean artists in Egypt (Bietak 2005). Having in mind this new scenario of foreign interconnections and mutual artistic influence, it is time to reconsider the concept of the artists' mobility within the context of New Kingdom Egypt, artists who may have played a relevant role in the diffusion of iconography and innovations.

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Chapter 8

Material culture and social interactions in New Kingdom non-elite cemeteries

Rennan Lemos

Abstract: The paper aims to discuss inequality and social interactions in non-elite cemeteries in the New Kingdom. It is based on a comparative study of the cemeteries of Fadrus in Lower Nubia (early 18th dynasty), Tell el-Amarna (late 18th dynasty), and Medinet el-Ghurab (19th and 20th dynasties). Comparison of the sites revealed more than historical and regional specificities. Rather, the material culture of the cemeteries shed light into a complex set of interactions between various groups. Drawing from different interactions identified in the material culture of burials, the paper proposes the definition of 'sociological profiles'. The concept emphasises agency and the fluidity of social interactions that contextually define different, unapproachable past groups. Even past groups cannot be approached directly from material culture, their interactions and negotiations are still traceable in the movement of different categories of objects across burials.

Keywords: non-elite, social interactions, inequality, cemeteries

Introduction

This paper describes the initial stages of my research on inequality and social interactions in non-elite cemeteries in Egypt and Nubia (Fig. 8.1). It will also provide a critique of past research in developing analytical approaches to New Kingdom non-elite cemeteries that combine a theoretical/qualitative assessment with a quantitative assembling of data. However, this paper focuses on the theoretical aspect of our discussions on the topic, drawing conclusions from the distribution of objects across cemeteries. We aim to contribute to a greater understanding of social groups other than the elite, by developing the concept of sociological profiles, which aims to address indirectly real, unapproachable social groups through the residues of their interactions in non-elite cemeteries. The purpose of the discussions presented here is to offer other

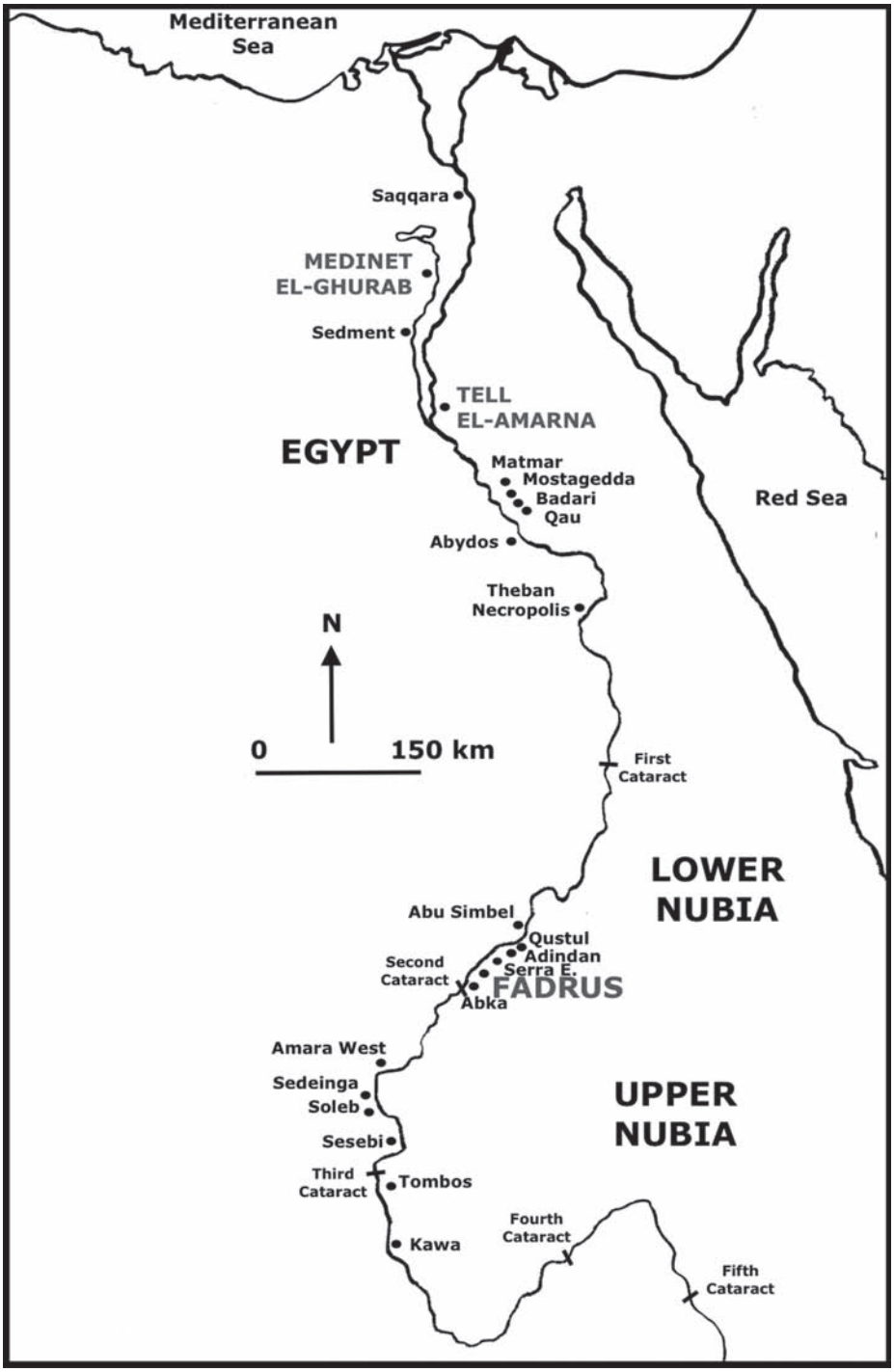


Fig. 8.1: Map of Egypt and Nubia showing the approached sites (uppercase) (by Rennan Lemos).

insights to the understanding of the totality of the mortuary experience (Richards 2005) and to explore possible variations in beliefs, practices, identity, and inequality (e.g. Baines and Lacovara 2002, 6; Cooney 2007, 276). We believe the discussions proposed here, which will focus on a comparative regional examination of material from three different non-elite cemeteries, will be valuable especially in the light of current approaches to mortuary data in Egyptian archaeology, which have been largely unsatisfactory in addressing these different aspects outside the elite sphere.

The non-elite cemeteries chosen for this comparative study cover the period from the early 18th dynasty to the 20th dynasty, facilitating observations in potential changes in practices, beliefs, identity, and inequality across a regional and temporal framework during the New Kingdom. The three main cemetery sites examined are those from Fadrus (early 18th dynasty) (Säve-Sörderbergh 1991), Tell el-Amarna (late 18th dynasty) (data of which has been made available online by the Amarna Project), and Medinet el-Ghurab (19th and 20th dynasties) (Brunton and Engelbach 1927). The comparison of these sites across the New Kingdom provide a particular opportunity to examine any innovations brought about during the Amarna Period in terms of sociability outside and within elite mortuary practice and propose an interpretation for long term cultural reproduction and change in the mortuary realm (Lemos in press).

A quick note should be made on some of the problems that arise from working with older excavation reports. Such reports can often be lacking in certain types of information regarding archaeological context, detailed description of graves, and typologies of objects recorded. This is certainly the case in the excavation reports for the cemetery at Medinet el-Ghurab, which lacks important information on the objects found within burials, as well as a detailed assessment of potential disturbance/robbery. The case for the cemeteries of Fadrus and Amarna is quite different, as the sites were excavated following the standards of modern archaeology. However, it is important to be aware of the potential for the differences in these reports in influencing the interpretations and observations between these cemeteries.

Diversity of social interactions has been identified after a comparison of material culture present in different types of burials belonging to distinct groups. This was probably the major challenged to be faced while trying to develop an approach that distances itself from current perspectives. Indeed, a processualist *modus operandi* is still the main characteristic of these types of studies, though this appears to be rapidly changing. This processualist perspective is based on the identification of epistemologically *real* social groups/classes in the archaeological record (Richards 2005; Goulding 2013; cf. Meskell 1998; Grajetzki 2010). The processualist approach in funerary archaeology emphasises quantities and technical characteristics of objects, which in Egyptian archaeology is expressed in the application of blurred notions such as 'poor' vs. 'rich' or 'elite' (Grajetzki 2003; Goulding 2013). On the other side, anthropological theory indicates that quantities of objects within burials do not necessarily reflect social status (Stevenson 2009, 181). Material culture should not

be understood as reflecting social relations, but as part of complex social networks (Hicks 2010; Hodder 2012). Material culture entanglements with human beings inform about diversified forms of interaction between different social groups and other forms of conceiving wealth and inequality in the cemetery record. Therefore, the divisions I made so far are based on the presence or absence of material patterns in the cemeteries. This is based on the idea of opening space for other forms of creating identity and inequality other than based on quantities of objects.

According to Kemp 'any divisions or groupings that we make will inevitably be arbitrary, a reflection of the relative social fluidity of ancient Egypt' (Kemp 1989, 307). In order to avoid such aprioristic definitions of social groups, we have proposed the definition of 'sociological profiles'. The defined profiles follow a relational approach to poverty in anthropology. A relational view on poverty and social status differentiates a 'historically constituted poverty' from social inequality based on categorisations (Bourdieu 1984; Mosse 2010). Each profile includes different levels of possibilities of interactions amongst distinct real social groups. We believe the social interactions between past groups can be perceived in material flows of artefacts and re-significations of materiality in burials.

Here I propose the definition of three sociological profiles: 1) non-elite, 2) sub-elite, and 3) elite. It should be noted that any categorisations we make do not necessarily equal ancient, non-elite modes of categorisation. Discussing more appropriate terms for referring to the sociological profiles and consequently improve the definitions remains a future challenge. Another challenge that remains is the definition of possible ways of assembling data compatible with non-elite ways of expressing identity and inequality through objects assemblages in burials. Each profile is understood as a broad category through which unknown past social groups moved, negotiating their identity as groups contextually within a given hierarchical structure:

1. 'Non-elite' (N) is understood as a category that includes those who did not have wider opportunities of access to goods. Therefore, the groups included in this category interacted with others in a more limited way. These groups were not able to effectively negotiate their position in society.
2. The 'sub-elite' (S) category includes those who circulated more or less effectively in various social contexts. The different uses of materiality in this category offered possibilities of contextually being part of different social groups.
3. 'Elite' is a category that comprehends a restrictive group, with which other groups could interact in order to have access to patterns linked to the elite. Members of the elite would occupy positions within bureaucracy and be identified in reliefs in their decorated tombs.

Table 8.1 illustrates these conceptual definitions and prior observation of data coming from the chosen cemeteries. It associates the profiles to the material record found in the cemeteries. Although I accept that it was not possible to completely avoid aprioristic assumptions, the table may provide a general guide to interpretation.

Table 8.1: Schematic table of sociological profiles (by Rennan Lemos).

Sociological profile	*Burial type*	*Texts*	*Iconography*	*Preservation of the body*	*Material culture*
Non-elite	Pit	None/ simple texts	None/ simple iconography	Bones/cartonnage/ vegetal coffins	None/small quantity/ pottery deposited with specific intentions
Sub-elite	Pits/shafts/with or without ramps and chambers/ reused tombs or other sacred spaces	Small quantity/ simple texts	Yes/simple iconography	Tentative of mummification (?)/ vegetal coffins/ fragile wooden coffins/catonnage	Great quantity of pottery/objects made of special materials/ objects deposited with specific intentions
Elite	Tomb chapel	Yes	Yes	Mummification/ elaborated coffins and sarcophagi	Fine objects deposited in high quantity

The table above must not be understood as a rigid guide for interpreting burials, but rather, as a starting point for the awareness of possible material relationships present in cemeteries, as one characteristic mainly identified in one profile may also be contextually seen in another. Examples of this would be the burials containing decorated wooden coffins at Amarna (Kemp and Stevens 2008, 35–41; Stevens et al. 2016, 29–32), a pattern that would be identified with sub-elite and elite persons in other contexts. The main characteristic of this approach is the opening of space for the fluidity addressed by Kemp.

Examining non-elite cemeteries

The majority of literature on Egyptian funerary practice has focused on the well-known sources of the elite even when attempting to highlight different 'status' levels (e.g. Smith 1992). This has led to a generalised perception of mortuary customs, based on an inaccurate notion of cultural reproduction and social interactions. It also illustrates the dominance in Egyptological research on monumental tombs of elite members regardless of the behavioural diversity in mortuary contexts (Richards 2005, 49). Patterns found in elite contexts were taken as a general blueprint of burial customs, even though various aspects of society did not fit well in this model. The function of elite funerary objects became the basis for describing typical burials, which reinforced a notion still present in the discipline of a rigid culture in terms of social structure.

In order to overcome this tendency, we must transcend the idea the elite produced the majority of the available sources. If we turn the focus from individual monumental tombs to whole cemeteries, the quantity of single burials with their own specificities would provide a greater understanding of funerary practices and social relationships. We should also consider that the reuse of elite tombs and temples as burial sites and places of secondary burial, as attested throughout the Theban necropolis. Including

these types of burials would make the development of a model for interpreting social interactions even more complex.

By shifting the focus from individual tombs to cemeteries, we can gain a greater awareness of the diversity of funerary practice (Richards 2005, 52). It also presents us the opportunity to examine a greater variety and complexity of social interactions that may not be influenced or dictated by elite material patterns. Such conceptions of the origination and popularisation of elite cultural practices throughout society are still common in Egyptological scholarship and thought. An example regarding the funerary record can be seen in the 'democratisation' hypothesis developed by conservative intellectuals (Willems 2008, 133–141). This idea applies an elitist and moralist vision to the past based on notions of a 'high culture' which is inherently superior to the cultural practices of 'inferior groups' (often framed through cultural or racial terms). This general mode of thinking may also be found in recent studies on the non-elite, with the common assumption that non-elite groups copy practices and patterns generated within the elite (Goulding 2013, 15).

Studies on non-elite cemeteries may improve by moving from an elitist perspective to a vision that incorporates social specificities and complex networks of social interaction in which possibly different social groups took part. The specificities of the type of data and context found in non-elite cemeteries should also be stressed as singular social expressions. This would gradually improve our ability to uncover not only the socioeconomic dynamics in which non-elite and other intermediate groups played various roles, but mainly would open space for the realisation of non-elite agency and creativity – something that remains to be explored.

A database of burials

The above discussion and critique has largely developed from my analysis of the material data from the cemeteries of Fadrus, Amarna and Medinet el-Ghurab, as described in my MPhil thesis (Lemos 2015). This dataset comprises 259 burials from Fadrus, 172 from Amarna and 56 from Medinet el-Ghurab. The total of 487 burials includes 569 bodies and 1788 objects deposited within burials or found elsewhere in the cemeteries.

The burials have been selected prior to contextual analysis and evaluation of the information provided in the reports. The burials have been sorted into four tables in a relational database. Relational databases are extremely useful in this context as they facilitate the manipulation and cross-reference of different categories of data. My database of burials utilised software (FileMaker Pro 12) that permitted us to 1) establish quantities of types of burials attributed to different sociological profiles, 2) identify the types of objects attributed to each profile, and therefore 3) to cross-check different material categories in order to identify objects linked to various profiles. These procedures allowed us to observe social interactions given in the distributions of categories of objects across distinct sociological profiles. It is worth highlighting

the database was developed following a clear theoretical model, rather than as reproduction of past forms of categorisation. It should therefore be understood as an interpretative tool.

The tables that form the database are: 1) site, 2) burial, 3) body, and 4) objects. Each table gathers information considered important to contextual interpretation and the establishment of associations with other categories in the database. The tables are related to each other through classificatory keys attributed to the categories of data. This made us able to create interactive queries from which result significant indexes for interpreting social dynamics in the cemeteries.

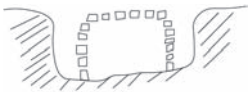
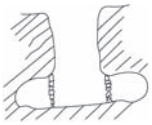
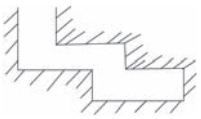
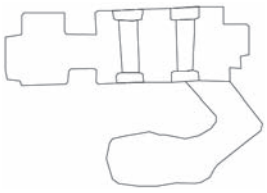
The cemetery of Fadrus, excavated and published by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (Säve-Sörderbergh 1991), is the largest cemetery excavated in Lower Nubia. The burials included in our database comprise 103 pits (P), 75 side niches (SN), 43 end niches (EN), 3 double end niches (DEN), 29 chambers in pits (CIP), 2 double chamber in pits (DCIP) and 1 triple chamber in pit (TCIP). We have attributed 218 burials from Fadrus to the non-elite profile, while 37 have been attributed to the sub-elite profile. The categories of objects in Fadrus have been distributed according to the sociological profiles and types of burials.

The categorisations proposed do not consider material culture as reflection of social hierarchies in the cemeteries. On the contrary, material culture is understood as a fragmentary record of social interactions between past groups, which may contextually have been linked to one of the sociological profiles outlined. Those interactions were given in the cemetery in the distribution of objects amongst the various burial types.

The burials from Amarna were attributed to the non-elite profile. In the cemetery, there are no variations in burial type, with the exception of one chamber in pit (Kemp 2007, 22), characterising a uniformity that differs from the picture found in the city with different types of houses (Spence 2010; Kemp et al. 2013, 67, 74). We believe social interactions in the cemetery can be more emphatically observed in the landscape level considering the whole area of the necropolis, rather than in the burial types and objects distribution. Unlike the pattern observed at Fadrus and Medinet el-Ghurab, proximity of elite tombs with non-elite burials at Amarna may indicate other forms of construction of social spaces and creation of new material patterns (Table 8.2). Objects found at Amarna associated to non-elite burials may also be identified in sub-elite burials both in Fadrus and Medinet el-Ghurab.

The burials from Medinet el-Ghurab include pits, side niches, double side niches, chamber in pits and shaft tombs. The site provides a more complex set of interactions amongst different profiles. This was interpreted as a development after the Amarna Period, where new forms of sociability might have appeared. Medinet el-Ghurab also presents other categories of artefacts including objects commonly linked to the elite. For instance, a canopic jar lid was registered in relation to one tomb at Medinet el-Ghurab. Its presence within the tomb is not understood as a simple indication of status, but as a possibility of providing a specific material pattern even without being part of a certain

Table 8.2: Comparison of burial types from Fadrus, Amarna and Medinet el-Ghurab (by Rennan Lemos).

Amarna	*Fadrus*	*Medinet el-Ghurab*	*Schematic model*
Pit	Pit	Pit	
	(shaft)	(sand)	
Chamber in pit	Chamber in pit	Chamber in pit	
(brick vaulted tomb)	(chamber in shaft; triple chamber in shaft; chamber with ramp)	(brick coffin; bricks over the body)	
—	Side niche	Side niche	
		(loculus)	
—	Double side niche	Double side niche	
		(loculi)	
—	—	Shaft tomb	
Tomb chapel	—	—	

group. Therefore, this could be identified as a new form of interaction. The burials from Medinet el-Ghurab have been distributed through the non-elite and sub-elite profiles, and have also been compared with Amarna and Fadrus in terms of material culture.

Conclusion

Comparison of the material culture present in the sites revealed a complex context of social interactions based on the identification of flows of objects through different types of burials. Contrast between Fadrus and Amarna revealed a context of major possibilities of interaction amid different sociological profiles at Amarna, which is liable to increase at Medinet el-Ghurab. Interchanges of different material patterns associated with different burial types shed light into the mechanisms of interaction allowed in specific contexts. The contact of distinct social groups creates a context of major possibilities of interactions, but at the same time reinforces structural hierarchies – what we believe remains unapproachable at least in the cemetery context. It also creates boundaries based on categorisations.

Cemetery sites consist of landscapes of interaction where contacts and negotiations of positions took place in different social spaces. Fadrus may be interpreted as a site where interactions between different sociological profiles existed, though inserted in a more rigid structural context. Medinet el-Ghurab may be situated in a higher position within structural hierarchies, with less rigid interactions and more possibilities of interchanges. This tendency might have originated during the Amarna Period, when minor groups inserted in the lowest profile were included in the same landscape as elite tombs – what may have followed the inclusivity of Akhenaten's religion. Interaction of various groups can also be seen on Amarna's city plan, with different types of houses linked to each other. However, social interactions in the city might have reinforced hierarchical identities, what we believe is also attested in the cemetery.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Kate Spence and the anonymous reviewer for addressing the limitations and fruitful next steps this paper indicates. The comments of Carl Walsh and Karolina Rosińska-Balik were also extremely valuable to make the text more readable. My gratitude goes also to Johanna Petkov, Fábio Frizzo and Lisa Mawdsley for their criticism on an earlier draft. The remaining inaccuracies are my own responsibility.

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Appendix

Chart 8.1: Distribution of types of objects through burial type and sociological profiles at Fadrus (by Rennan Lemos).

Object type	*Profile*		*Burial type*								
	N	*S*	*P*	*SN*	*DSN*	*EN*	*DEN*	*CIP*	*DCIP*	*TCIP*	*ST*
Dagger	X	X	X	X				X			
Ring	X	X	X	X		X		X			
Toe ring	X			X							
Kohl stick	X	X		X				X			
Bandage	X			X							
Hammerstone		X						X			
Bracelet	X	X		X		X			X		
Breccia		X						X			
Earring	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	
Box		X		X				X	X		
Cosmetic box		X						X			
Coffin	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		
Pin	X		X								
Shell	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			
Link		X						X			
Beads	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	
Headrest	X		X								
Feet recess	X		X								
Stick fit		X						X	X		
Metal fit		X						X			
Scarab	X	X	X	X		X		X			
Heart scarab		X							X		
Mirror	X			X							
Statuette?		X						X			
Horseshoe		X							X		
Flask		X						X			
Faience fruit	X			X							
Awl	X			X							
Inlay		X						X			
Kohl	X			X							
Slab (libation?)		X						X	X		
Axe		X		X				X			
Mask	X	X		X		X		X	X	X	

(Continued)

Chart 8.1: Continued

Object type	*Profile*		*Burial type*								
	N	*S*	*P*	*SN*	*DSN*	*EN*	*DEN*	*CIP*	*DCIP*	*TCIP*	*ST*
Razor	X	X		X				X			
Animal bones		X							X		
Palette	X					X					
Grindstone	X			X							
Polishing stone		X						X			
Tweezers	X	X	X	X				X			
Pendant	X	X	X	X		X		X	X		
Pyramidion	X	X		X		X		X	X		
Cosmetic plate	X			X							
Plaquette	X	X		X		X		X			
Arrowhead	X	X		X				X			
Zoomorphic pot	X			X							
Board	X	X		X				X			
Rivet		X						X			
Relief		X						X			
Seal	X		X								
Coffin stand		X						X			
Pot stand		X						X			
Bowl	X	X		X		X		X			
Kohl tube	X			X							
Vessel		X						X			
Ostrich shell vessel	X			X							
Kohl pot	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	
Libation pot		X						X			
Unguent pot	X	X	X	X		X		X			

Chart 8.2: Distribution of types of objects according to sociological profiles at Fadrus and Amarna (by Rennan Lemos).

Amarna	*Profile*	*Fadrus*	*Profile*	
	N		N	S
Ring	X	Ring	X	X
Kohl stick	X	Kohl stick	X	X
Bandage	X	Bandage	X	
Bracelet	X	Bracelet	X	X
Earring	X	Earring	X	X
Coffin	X	Coffin	X	X
Pin	X	Pin	X	
Scarab	X	Scarab	X	X
Mirror	X	Mirror	X	
Statuette	X	Statuette		X
Kohl	X	Kohl	X	
Slab (libation?)	X	Slab (libation?)		X
Animal bones	X	Animal bones		X
Pyramidion	X	Pyramidion	X	X
Board	X	Board	X	X
Kohl tube	X	Kohl tube	X	
Vessel	X	Vessel		X

Chart 8.3: Distribution of types of objects according to sociological profiles at Amarna and Medinet el-Ghurab (by Rennan Lemos).

Amarna	*Profile*	*Medinet el-Ghurab*	*Profile*	
	N		*N*	*S*
Amulet	X	Amulet	X	X
Ring	X	Ring	X	X
Kohl stick	X	Kohl stick	X	
Bandage	X	Bandage	X	X
Bracelet	X	Bracelet	X	
Earring	X	Earring	X	X
Shard	X	Shard	X	X
Coffin	X	Coffin	X	X
Pin	X	Pin	X	
Basket	X	Basket	?	?
Necklace	X	Necklace	X	
Beads	X	Beads	X	X
Scarab	X	Scarab	X	X
Mirror	X	Mirror	X	X
Statuette	X	Statuette		X
Stele	X	Stele		X
Golden leaf	X	Golden leaf		X
Miniature	X	Miniature		X
Animal bone	X	Animal bone		X
Pendant	X	Pendant	X	
Pot	X	Pot	X	X
Plate	X	Plate	X	X
Cup	X	Cup		X

Chart 8.4: Distribution of types of objects through burial type and sociological profiles at Medinet el-Ghurab (by Rennan Lemos).

Object type	*Profile*		*Burial type*				
	N	*S*	*P*	*SN*	*DSN*	*CIP*	*ST*
Needle		X					X
Amulet	X	X				X	X
Ring	X	X	X			X	X
Hair ring	X				X		
Kohl stick	X					X	
Bandage	X	X	X			X	X
Stick	X	X	X				X
Bracelet	X					X	
Earring	X	X	X	X		X	X
Cowry	X	X			X		X
Shard	X	X	X				X
Box		X					X
Toilet box		X					X
Coffin	X	X		X		X	X
Pin	X					X	
Necklace	X		X				
Spoon	X					X	
Shell	X	X				X	X
Beads	X	X	X			X	X
Headrest		X				X	X
Scarab	X	X	X	X		X	X
Mirror	X	X				X	X
Statue		X					X
Statuette		X					X
Stele		X					X
Casket		X					X
Golden leaf		X					X
Leather		X					X
Palm fruit		X					X
Spindle		X					X
Inlay		X					X
Miniature		X	X				X
Boat miniature		X					X
Animal bone		X	X				
Bone carving	X		X		X	X	
Oyster		X					X

Stone		X					X
Pendant	X		X			X	
Plaquette	X		X			X	
Pot	X	X	X			X	X
Plate	X	X	X				X
Wristlet	X		X		X	X	
Relief		X					X
Shabti	X	X	X	X		X	X
Cup		X					X
Tigela	X	X				X	X
Bowl		X					X
Canopic jar		X					X
Kohl pot	X	X	X		X	X	X

Chart 8.5: Distribution of types of objects according to sociological profiles at Fadrus and Medinet el-Ghurab (by Rennan Lemos).

Fadrus	*Profile*		*Medinet el-Ghurab*	*Profile*	
	N	*S*		*N*	*S*
Ring	X	X	Ring	X	X
Kohl stick	X	X	Kohl stick	X	
Bandage	X		Bandage	X	X
Bracelet	X	X	Bracelet	X	
Earring	X	X	Earring	X	X
Box		X	Box		X
Coffin	X	X	Coffin	X	X
Pin	X		Pin	X	
Shell	X	X	Shell	X	X
Beads	X	X	Beads	X	X
Headrest	X		Headrest		X
Scarab	X	X	Scarab	X	X
Mirror	X		Mirror	X	X
Statuette?		X	Statuette		X
Inlay		X	Inlay		X
Animal bone		X	Animal bone		X
Pendant	X	X	Pendant	X	
Plaquette	X	X	Plaquette	X	
Relief		X	Relief		X
Bowl	X	X	Bowl	X	X
Kohl pot	X	X	Kohl pot	X	X

Chapter 9

New finds of Greco-Roman Period decorated wooden coffins from Abusir South

Marie Peterková Hlouchová

Abstract: Abusir South is one of the main 3rd millennium BCE cemeteries in Egypt. Excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University have revealed later burial activities as well. The article addresses the issue of three decorated and one undecorated wooden coffins uncovered at Abusir South, near mastaba AS 54, in the years 2009, 2010 and 2015. The find context, technical qualities, decoration, and religious symbolism are analysed in this study. The coffins were interred in pits disrupting Old Kingdom structures. Their decoration is not very fine and it uses common scenes of that periods. Based on parallels found e.g. in Saqqara, their original date of the end of the 1st millennium BCE can be identified.

Keywords: coffin, wood, decoration, Greco-Roman Period, Abusir South

Introduction

During the Czech excavations of 2009, 2010, and 2015 at the Old Kingdom necropolis at Abusir South, several wooden coffins dating to the 1st millennium BCE were unearthed.[1] These finds were uncovered near one of the largest tombs in this part of the cemetery, mastaba AS 54,[2] where they were deposited in pits near the south-eastern corner of the tomb. The burials were rather simple, with little funerary equipment. However, two of the coffins (Exc. Nos. 3/AS54/2009, 30/AS78/2015_a) were completely decorated, another (Exc. No. 3/AS54/2015) was partially painted on the head, while the last piece (Exc. No. 5/AS54/2010) was undecorated.

[1] I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Prof. Mgr. Miroslav Bárta, Dr, director of the Czech Institute of Egyptology and head of the Czech mission at Abusir, for the opportunity to study and publish the Abusir coffins.

[2] Tomb AS 54 has not been published yet. The excavation of the mastaba was summarised in an article by Miroslav Bárta (2011).

It has been increasingly common finding instances of these simple 1st millennium BCE burials near older tomb complexes and structures in many sites across Egypt.[3] In the case of Abusir, the majority of burials were uncovered in Abusir Centre, with a smaller number also near Old Kingdom tombs at Abusir South. The coffins from earlier excavations at the site have been extensively studied in the past (see e.g. Schäfer 1908; Borchardt 1909, 75–77; Bareš 1976; Bareš 1989; Strouhal and Bareš 1993; Smolániková 2002, 71–75),[4] but the material from the latest field seasons have yet to be discussed and placed in context with this earlier corpus of material. This paper focuses on the study of the four aforementioned coffins in terms of their find context, technical qualities, decoration, religious significance and dating. This discussion will help us to gain a more comprehensive view of the 1st millennium BCE burial practices in this part of the Abusir necropolis.

Archaeological context

As was mentioned above, the mud brick mastaba AS 54 is one of the largest structures in the southern part of the Abusir South site, measuring 52.6 × 23.8 m (Bárta 2011). Despite the fact that the name of its owner remains unknown, the name of the 3rd dynasty King Huni was found on a stone vessel fragment in the tomb, indicating a date during the reign of this king (Bárta 2011, 47; Jirásková 2011, 454). The certain dating of mastaba AS 54 to the 3rd dynasty has been established through radiocarbon analysis of a wooden plank from the eastern wall of the mastaba (Bárta 2013, 221–222).

Local burial activities in this part of the necropolis continued into the 5th and 6th dynasties, with a number of tombs dating to this period. The highest point of this area is the tomb of the official Kaaper (AS 1), dated to the 5th dynasty (consult Bárta 2001). It is located just to the east of AS 54, with another mastaba (AS 83) located between the two.[5]

The coffins were found in the area to the south-east of AS 54, where its cultic installations were situated. One of the coffins (Exc. No. 3/AS54/2009) was uncovered directly to the east of the eastern enclosure wall (Fig. 9.1). It was buried in an unroofed area delimited by four mud brick walls, perhaps dating to the Old Kingdom. An elevated floor in front of the third niche in the enclosure wall was damaged in the process of constructing the burial. Mud bricks mixed with sand were used for the fill of the grave. The coffin was oriented with its head to the north, which was due to the orientation of the corridor and the common practice of body orientation during this period (Raven 2005).

Two pieces of funerary equipment accompanied this burial, a wooden canopic chest (Exc. No. 4/AS54/2009) and a statue of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (Exc. No. 5/AS54/2009).

[3] For examples from Saqqara see Quibell and Hayter 1927; Giddy et al. 1992; Raven et al. 1998; Myśliwiec 2008; Ziegler 2013, with further references.

[4] Late burials in Abusir Centre were briefly mentioned in publications of local tombs (Verner and Callender 2002, 14, 87; Verner et al. 2006, 111; Krejčí et al. 2008, 48–51, 157–161).

[5] This tomb has not been published yet.

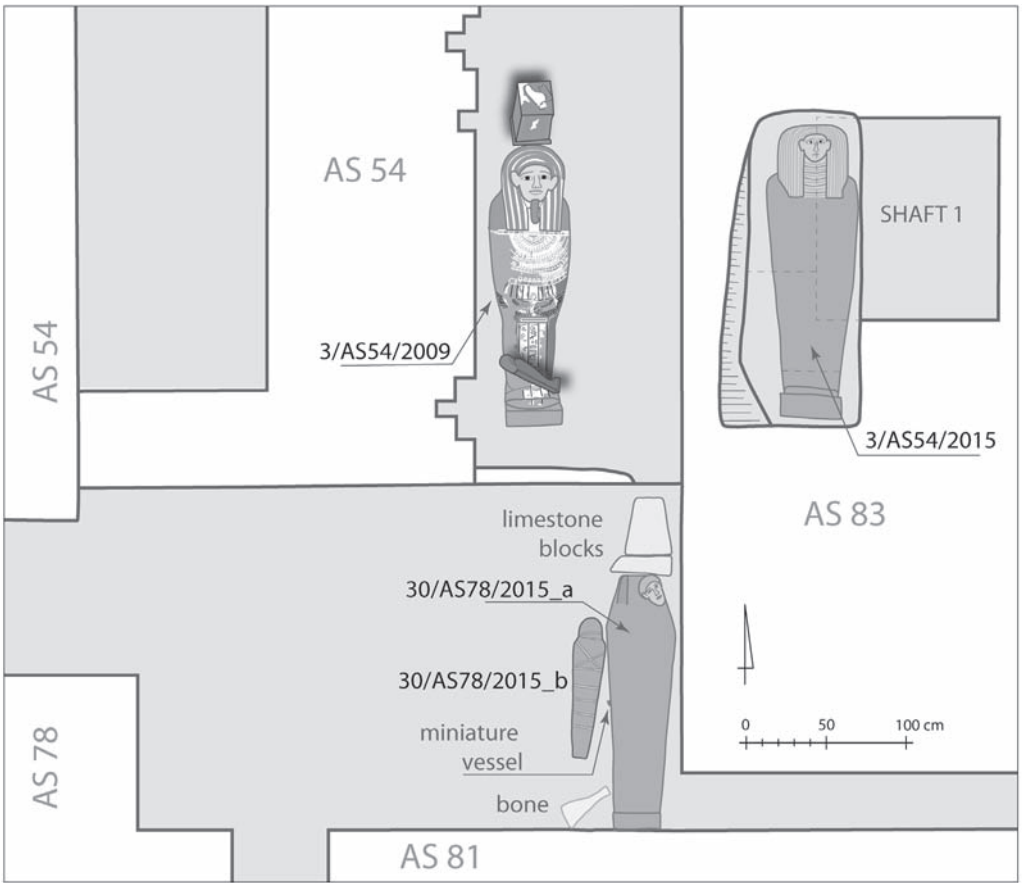

Fig. 9.1: Position of the burials near the south-eastern corner of mastaba AS 54 (drawing Miroslav Bárta, Marie Peterková Hlouchová, Jolana Malátková).

The chest, located to the north of the coffin's head, was surmounted by a figure of a squatting falcon with plumes and a sun disk on its head. The wooden figure of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris with a *šwty*-crown (Exc. No. 6/AS54/2009) was found in the area of the legs to the east of the coffin. At the moment of their discovery, the crown was separated from the statue, and the figure was fallen on top of the burial container (see Fig. 9.1). These pieces have to be studied further, but at this moment it can be stated that the finds have parallels in burials at Saqqara and can be dated to the Ptolemaic Period (consult e.g. Myśliwiec 2008a, 335–348; Myśliwiec 2008b, pls CCXLII–CCXLV; Ziegler 2013b, pls 29–31, 55, 146, 165–166 etc.; see also Raven 1978–1979).

The other decorated coffin (Exc. No. 30/AS78/2015_a) was excavated in a rectangular area formed by walls of surrounding structures (see Fig. 9.1), at a depth 104 cm below the crown of the western wall of AS 83. It was buried in a north–south



Fig. 9.2: Destroyed wooden coffin Exc. No. 5/AS54/2010 and its pit in the southern part of the superstructure of mastaba AS 54; view from the north-west (photo Martin Frouz).

orientation, in the same manner as the previously mentioned burial. A small part of the base of the coffin was slightly (max. 5 cm) cut into the northern wall of the AS 81 superstructure.[6] Other finds were uncovered together with this object. To the north of the coffin's head, two limestone blocks were found. A child mummy (Exc. No. 30/AS78/2015_b) rested to the west of the coffin and was tilted towards north-east. An animal bone (bovine scapula, Exc. No. 31/AS78/2015) was placed to the west, by the lower part of the coffin, and a miniature ceramic vessel (Exc. No. 32/AS78/2015) was found directly underneath the coffin. In a layer of sand, approximately 20 cm under the coffin, other objects were uncovered, including a small animal mummy (Exc. No. 38/AS78/2015_a) with a north–south orientation and a miniature ceramic bowl (Exc. No. 38/AS78/2015_d).

The wooden coffin Exc. No. 3/AS54/2015 was uncovered in the superstructure of mastaba AS 83.[7] It was situated in a cavity partly cut into masonry and partly disrupting the upper part of Shaft 1 of the tomb (see Fig. 9.1). The bottom of the

[6] The as yet unpublished mastaba 81 is located to the south of AS 83 (see Fig. 9.1).

[7] Note that there is a discrepancy in the numbering of the coffin and the mastaba. It is caused by the fact that at the time of the discovery of the coffin it was not clear that there was a separate structure.

pit was at a depth 84 cm below the preserved crown of the wall. The head of the coffin was placed to the north, as in the previous examples, but no grave goods were found.

The last coffin in this area (Exc. No. 5/AS54/2010), which appears to be undecorated, was interred in a pit cut directly into the superstructure of the southern part of tomb AS 54 (Fig. 9.2). It was oriented with the head to the north-east and had no associated finds.

Coffin Exc. No. 3/AS54/2009

Description and decoration

Coffin Exc. No. 3/AS54/2009 is of anthropoid shape with a plinth (Figs 9.3a, 9.3b) and is 196 cm long, with a maximum width of 58 cm and a maximum height of 40 cm. The lid is wider than the casket. The exterior of the coffin is decorated, while the interior appears to be unadorned. The decoration was painted on a layer of plaster directly coating the wood, with a reddish/pinkish background and bottom panel being white. The quality of the decoration appears to be quite low.

The coffin lid bears the majority of the painted decoration. The head of the lid features a tripartite wig, which is drawn with wide blue and white stripes and might be a variant to the wig type Vb of the typology published by Lisa Giddy and her colleagues (Giddy et al. 1992, 38–39), only with different colours. The face is white with blue lines for the eyebrows and eyes, black pupils, red lips, white ears, and a blue false beard. A *wsḫ* collar with twelve lines of stylised floral motives is painted below the shoulders. A single falcon head is preserved on the right side of the coffin, but apparently a second one adorned the left side as well, completing the neckpiece.[8] The collar starts with a horizontal line decorated with blue, red and white rectangles. Nine black lines go out from the collar reaching the figure of Nut with a sun disk on her head and outstretched wings. She kneels on a rectangular base and holds two plumes in her both hands. The hair of the goddess is blue and her body is light orange. Black and red colours were used for feathers of her wings. Underneath, three columns of texts in cursive hieroglyphs or semi-hieratic were inscribed. Two side registers are of light green colour, and the central one is white. On the feet, two jackals on shrines turned opposite the direction of the text, are depicted. The inscription is roughly legible and a translation of the inscription will take place at a later date.

The casket largely features a continuation of the lid decoration. In its upper part, blue and white lines of the wig are indicated. One central line with illegible text in black paint, is lined with two white columns and demarcated with the pinkish surface colour.

[8] The sides are determined from the deceased's point of view.

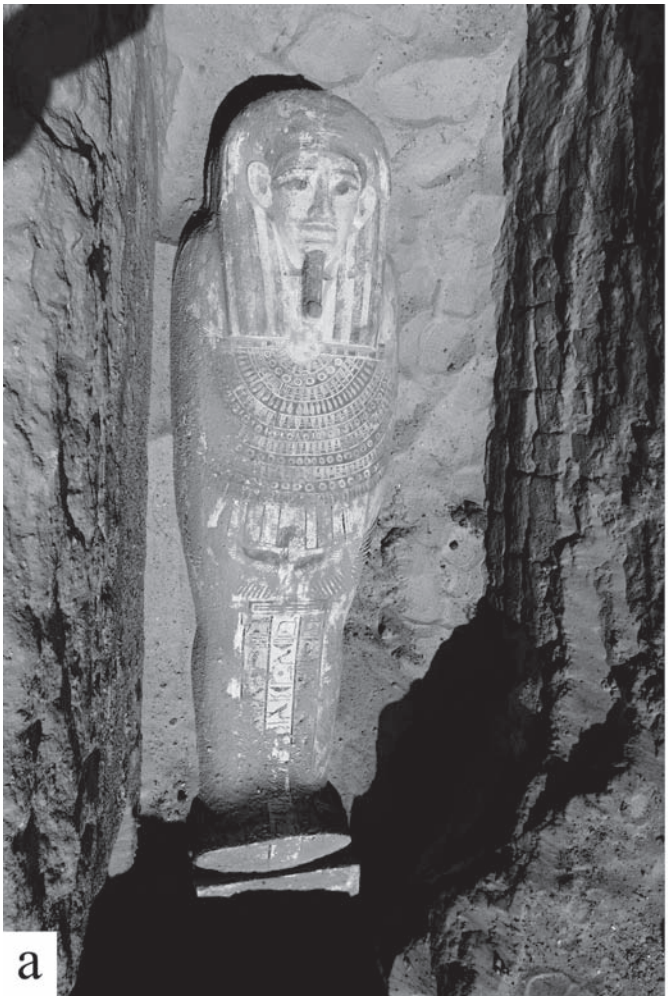

Fig. 9.3a: Coffin Exc. No. 3/AS54/2009 during its uncovering; north-south orientation (photo Miroslav Bárta).

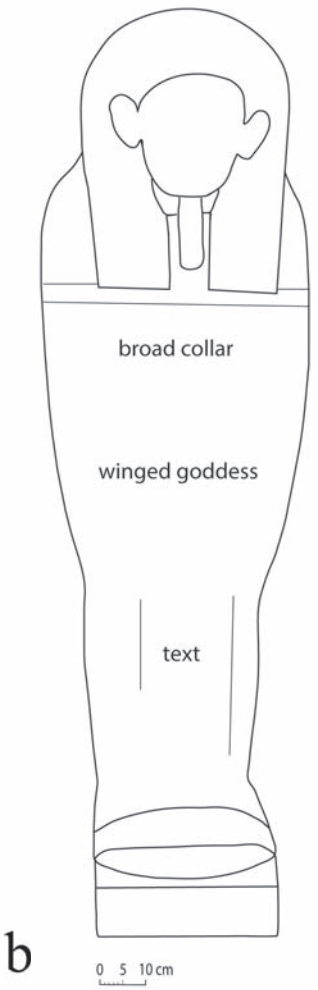

Fig. 9.3b: Coffin Exc. No. 3/AS54/2009 (drawing Marie Peterková Hlouchová).

Mummy

A mummified body with cartonnage pieces was found within the coffin. The mummy is considerably damaged, mainly in its upper part, with the head separated from the rest of the body. It seems that the corpse was originally wrapped in larger pieces of linen fixed with narrow strips. The lower portion of the body is better preserved, particularly around the feet, where there is a more complicated crossed binding. In this area, we can see that an imitation bead net was painted in blue on the bandages.

Cartonnage

The cartonnage consists of eleven pieces, without a cartonnage mask, but exhibiting a range of decoration. A broad collar with two falcon heads and eleven lines of floral motifs is similar to the collar on the coffin, but also features a row of *wḏ3t* eyes. A kneeling goddess with outstretched wings, with a sun disk on her head and black lines above her head is depicted on another piece. Eight smaller rectangular boards include images of divine beings: Four Sons of Horus (Duamutef and Imset on the right side of the mummy, and Hapy with Qebehsenuf on the left), two mourners appearing to be associated with Isis and Nephthys, and finally two figures of jackals on shrines. The pieces with jackals were placed upside down on the feet of the mummy. One column of text commenced with a *ḏd-mdw jn Wsjr* formula was added between the six plates depicting the deities.

Coffin Exc. No. 30/AS78/2015_a

Description and decoration

This coffin is of a hexagonal shape and has a plinth (Figs 9.4a, 9.4b). It is well preserved, although several cracks appear in some parts. Interestingly, it is not symmetrical, as the length is 177 cm on the right and 179 cm on the left side. The maximum width measures 50.4 cm and the height is 37.8 cm. In regards to the decoration, only the exterior is adorned and the quality and execution is poor. The images were sketched on a layer of white plaster placed directly on the wood. The head features a blue tripartite wig, but without stripes. The face and ears are painted light orange and black lines emphasise contours of the ears and mouth. The chin has a hole where a false beard might have originally been fixed. A *wsḫ* collar of sixteen lines mainly with floral motives is found below the neck. Located approximately in the centre of this neckpiece, a *wḏ3t* eye of light green colour on a bead string is depicted. Certain regularity in the use of colours can be detected: blue–red–blue–green. Falcon heads with sun disks are painted on sides of the lid, and presumably formed the clasps of the collar, though they stand rather independently of the collar on the frontal side of the lid. Underneath the collar is a figure of a naked kneeling goddess with blue hair, holding two feathers, and featuring outspread wings and a sun disk on her head. She is accompanied by two *wḏ3t* eyes on either side of her. Underneath her, a row of eight alternating blue and orange/pink Isis knots follows. In the next register, the deceased is depicted as a mummy on the back of a lion, which is similar to the lion biers depicted on other contemporary coffins. This image is accompanied by two female mourners with blue hair and red dresses, with six squatting divinities concluding the horizontal registers. Three of these deities are turned to the left and the other three are looking in the opposite direction. In the middle, there are two figures of ape-headed divinities lined by four anthropomorphic gods. Below, two columns, each with three deities, follow: a jackal-headed squatting figure of Duamutef, a ram-headed standing figure of Khnum, a standing male figure on the

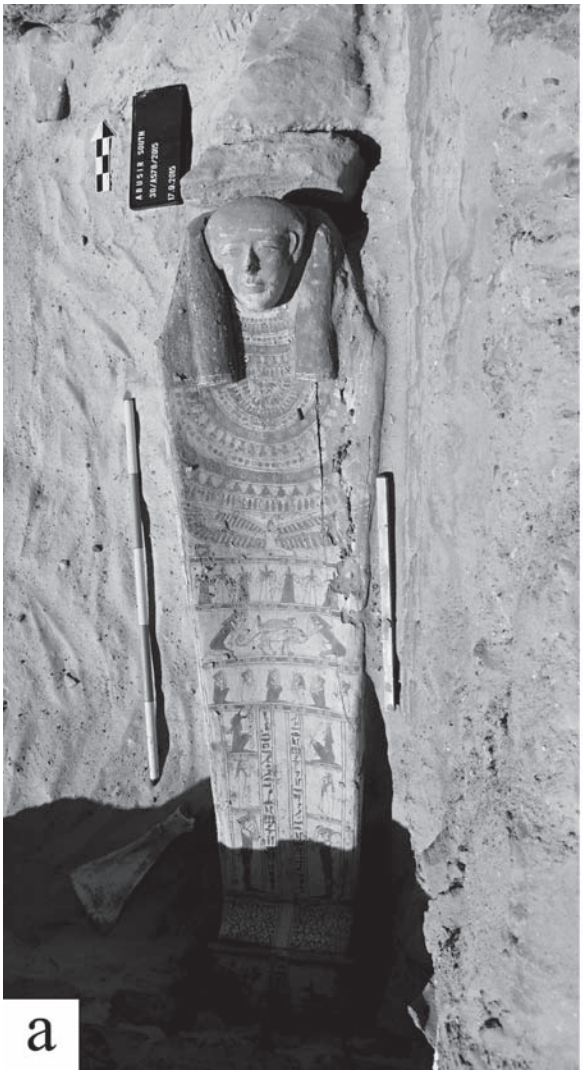

Fig. 9.4a: The find context of coffin Exc. No. 30/AS78/2015_a (photo Veronika Dulíková).

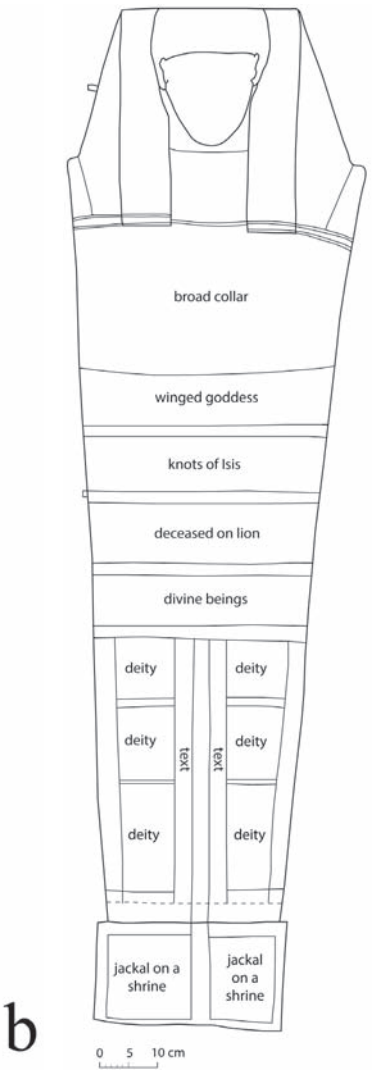

Fig. 9.4b: Coffin Exc. No. 30/AS78/2015_a, without details of the decoration (drawing Marie Peterková Hlouchová).

right side and an ape-headed squatting figure of Hapy, an ibis-headed standing figure of Thoth and a standing male figure on the left side. Khnum is depicted with a solar disk on his head, while Thoth has a lunar disk. The area of the feet on the coffin is decorated with an imitation bead net.

The central part of the lid in the area of the legs features a pair of vertical inscriptions between the two columns of deities mentioned above. A pink vertical register separates the two columns with cursive hieroglyphs. The text starts on the

left side and presents a *ḏd-mdw jn Wsjr* formula. The plinth is decorated with two figures of jackals on chests. Between them, there is a pink column with a text: *ḏd-mdw jn Wsjr Jnp(w)* which was followed probably by an epithet. However, the inscription is destroyed in this part.

The sides of the lid largely feature a continuation of the frontal decoration, with the blue tripartite wig, a falcon head, standing and seated figures of divinities, symbols of *tjt* and *ḏd*, red grating and the imitation bead net on the lower portion, are repeated on both sides of the lid and of the casket. However, the sequence of the illustrations slightly differs on both sides.

The casket features a continuation of the decoration on the front and sides, mainly the blue tripartite wig, squatting divine figures with a *ḏd* pillar in the middle, red grating, a line of *ḏd* pillars and of *tjt* knots. The central portion of the casket features a horned goddess wearing a tight fitting red dress and a vulture head cloth, flanked by protective symbols. Based on these features, it is likely the goddess can be identified as Hathor.

Mummy

An adult of an undetermined sex was placed in the coffin. The body was wrapped very carefully in large pieces of linen fixed with thin strips. The head, approximately in the area of the eyes, was adorned by a headband of reed covered by linen. There were no surviving cartonnage of any kind.

Coffin Exc. No. 3/AS54/2015

Description and decoration

The anthropoid coffin Exc. No. 3/AS54/2015 likewise bears a plinth (Figs 9.5a, 9.5b) and as in the previous examples, the lid is wider than the case. The container measures 178 cm in length, with the maximum width being 54.3 cm and maximum height 39.5 cm. Only the head of the lid is ornamented, with the rest of the coffin being black and without any inscriptions. The decoration was painted on a layer of plaster applied directly on the wood. The wig with its white and blue stripes resembles the wig of coffin Exc. No. 3/AS54/2009. The face is white, with blue eyes and eyebrows, and blue and black contours. The nostrils are painted red. The carved lips are covered by white colour and then marked by a narrow red line. The *wsḫ* collar is stylised in twenty-nine white, blue, red and green lines. No hole for a false beard was detected on the chin.

Mummy

The mummy was carefully wrapped in linen but is unfortunately relatively destroyed. A headband was located on the head and three vegetal garlands on the chest.[9] The

[9] A similar vegetal necklace was found by the Louvre mission at Saqqara. In comparison with the Abusir examples, this one was deposited outside a coffin, near its feet (Ziegler 2011, 73).



Fig. 9.5a: The find context of coffin Exc. No. 3/AS54/2015; (photo Veronika Dulíková).

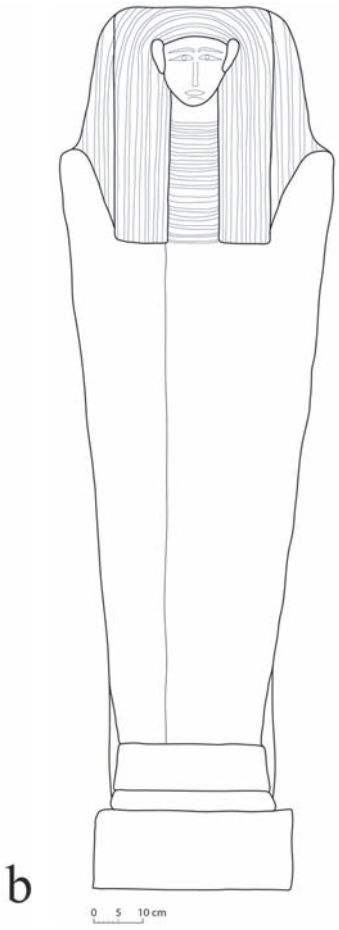

Fig. 9.5b: Coffin Exc. No. 3/AS54/2015 (drawing Marie Peterková Hlouchová).

binding in the area of the legs is more elaborated. No cartonnage pieces were found on the body, but next to the left side of the head, there was a package which contained possible remains of soft tissues (for parallels consult Ziegler 2013a, 46; Ziegler 2013b, pl. 32).

Coffin Exc. No. 5/AS54/2010

Coffin Exc. No. 5/AS54/2010 was, in all probability, an undecorated anthropoid box (Fig. 9.6). The lid has not been preserved at the moment of its discovery. A body inside the coffin was wrapped in linen and was oriented to the north-east. The head was separated from the body and rested in the area of the right upper arm. Any detailed analysis is impossible because the coffin was destroyed during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution.



Fig. 9.6: Coffin 5/AS54/2010 (drawing Veronika Dulíková, Ladislav Varadzin, Marie Peterková Hlouchová).

Conclusion

As was demonstrated above, three of the coffins found in the area near mastaba AS 54 were at least partially decorated. The techniques and style were rather standardised, featuring decoration of the head, *wsḫ* collars, winged goddesses, protective symbols, and inscriptions. On the other hand, some variations can be observed. The most conspicuous motif is the depiction of the lion on coffin Exc. No. 30/AS78/2015_a (Fig. 9.7). This image is in all probability a hybrid motif of two depictions known from earlier times: a mummy on the Apis bull and a body being mummified by Anubis on a lion bier. We can also see that the Four Sons of Horus were still important elements in mortuary beliefs and iconography in 1st millennium BCE Egypt. Cartonnage appears in only one of the coffins and seems to mirror the iconography on the outside of the coffin.

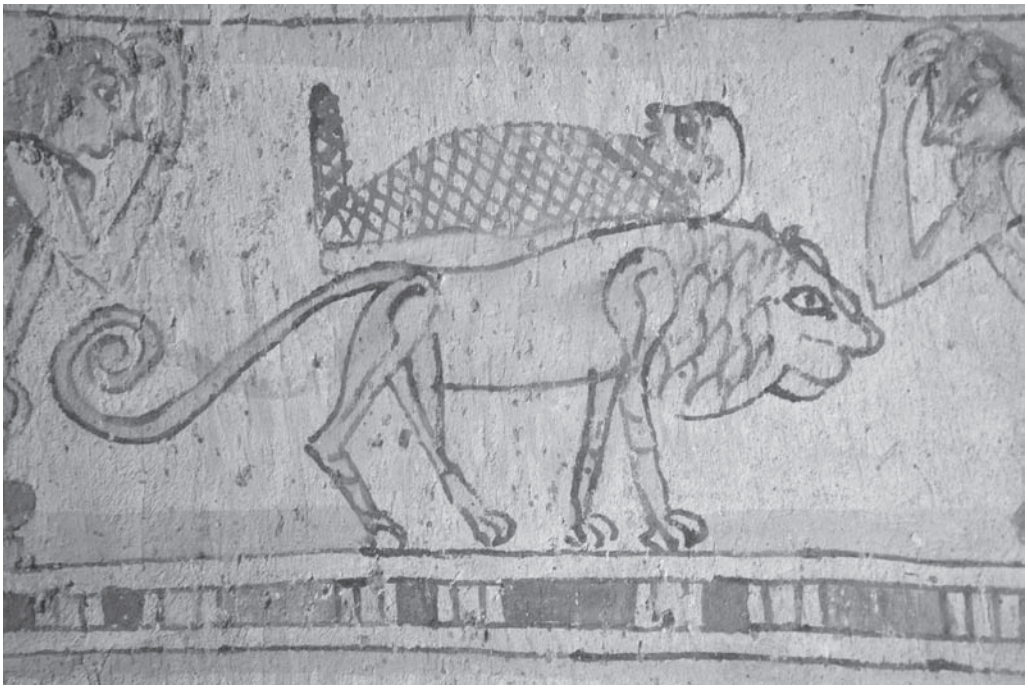

Fig. 9.7: Depiction of a mummy on a lion from coffin 30/AS54/2015_a (photo Marie Peterková Hlouchová).

Concerning construction details, these coffins were made of several pieces of wood of various sizes and connected with dowels. The lids were joined by wooden tongues to the casket. The precise species of timber has not been established as of yet.

Although these burials were not interred in tombs, but in pits disturbing Old Kingdom structures, there probably was an effort to create some kind of a burial shelter. By placing them into an area delimited at least by three walls, the Egyptians might have established an imitation of a tomb. Thus, the deceased might have gained protection, similar to the one obtained by tomb structures.

The precise dating of the coffins is very problematic. Archaeological context is not very relevant because the burials were parts of much older structures. Even the ceramic finds were not supportive with the dating, as only Old Kingdom pottery fragments were found in the fill of the pits. Two complete miniature vessels (Exc. No. 32/AS78/2015 and 38/AS78/2015_d) accompanying coffin Exc. No. 30/AS78/2015_a were also dated to the Old Kingdom (Katarína Arias Kytnarová, pers. comm.). Thus, the comparison of the stylistic features can be a useful criterion for establishing the date of the origin. Coffins Exc. Nos. 3/AS54/2009 and 3/AS54/2015 seem to be rather similar: they have a similar shape, colouring of the tripartite wig,[10] and white face. On the basis of the parallels of the accompanied finds it can be speculated that

[10] On the other hand, it has to be pointed out that the type of both head cloths is not the same (cf. Fig. 9.3 and Fig. 9.5).

these objects come from the Ptolemaic Period (see above). Container Exc. No. 30/AS78/2015_a is more trapezoidal and the style also significantly differs. It seems to have been crafted in the early Roman Period (Filip Coppens, Květa Smoláriková, pers. comm.). These statements, however, have to be verified by other (e.g. radiocarbon) analyses.

So far, only four wooden coffins have been discovered in the southernmost area of Abusir South. There is also a possibility that there might have been more burials, but were destroyed by robbers or other elements. The study of this material is very challenging and great deal of further research is needed. For instance, the social status of the people buried in this area and the reasons for the choice of resting place need to be studied further. At this stage of the research, it can be stated that Abusir South was not as significant as the 1st millennium BCE necropolis in Abusir Centre, where the number of burials significantly differs.

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Chapter 10

The Egyptian land-based layer: Between god(s), cosmic sacredness and fertility beliefs

Guilherme Borges Pires

Abstract: Sacred Space is not uniformly perceived. The landscape is experienced in different ways, with greater or lesser human adhesion. The case of the Egyptian civilisation is no exception. Indeed, the different components of the Egyptian land are assigned to different gods. Contrary to the idea of 'Mother-Earth', the most common Egyptian associations with earth are expressed through male deities. Connecting theoretical contributions of the phenomenology of landscape with the core of relations between Egyptian nature and religious beliefs, I intend to (re)consider topics on sacred nature, cosmic sacredness but also fertility in ancient Egypt.

Keywords: Ancient Egypt, religion, Sacred Space, phenomology of landscape, fertility beliefs

Introduction

For the *homo religiosus*, the Space is not uniformly perceived. Human collectives apprehend the landscape as a natural construct (Cauquelin 2000; 2007), which is experienced in different ways, with greater or lesser human adhesion (Tilley 1994, 10–11). In this immense 'everywhere', the land-based layer is a stage for the cosmic sacredness to reveal itself, since it congregates all things: the earth is the fundament for all manifestations; everything that is on the earth is united (Eliade 1977, 297). Nevertheless, this wholeness is composed of several distinct units, differently understood by the human populations.

The Egyptian civilisation is no exception to this reality. Indeed, if we analyse the core connections between the Egyptian religious conceptions and its nature (Horden 1972, 2) in the light of the phenomenology of landscape, we will be forced to understand that the Nilotic people, who perceived their space as an element of the Sacred, dealt with distinct geographic units which led to different religious and

cultural approaches. In this paper, I intend to briefly (re)consider some topics on sacred nature, cosmic sacredness but also fertility and rebirth in ancient Egypt. Given the preliminary stage of my research, I chose not to focus on a particular chronology or textual *corpus*, but rather to present a research question related to this subject.

The Egyptian space

The Egyptian space is, as noted by Richards (1999, 85), characterised by several 'dramatic transitions'. In fact, should we observe the Egyptian geographic environment, we will immediately notice two striking contrasts: one opposes Upper to Lower Egypt; the other expresses the *système antinomique* (Mathieu 2009, 29–30) between the 'Black Land' (*km.t*) and the 'Red Land' (*dšr.t*), that is, the fertile soil seasonally inundated by the Nile and the sterile regions of both the Western and Eastern Deserts. These binomials, as part of the duality that points out all the structures of the Egyptian civilisation (Servajean 2013), were absolutely structuring for the Nilotic people, as it has been stated by Butzer (2001, 385): '... the ancient Egyptians were vividly aware of the stark contrast between the "Red Land" of the desert upland and the "Black Land" of its seasonally inundated alluvium'.

We may synthesise the ancient Egypt's geography into four dominant units: the Delta, the Valley of the Nile and the Western and Eastern Deserts. These areas presented several different settings, such as mountain ranges, oases, wadis, plateaux or desert hills that together formed what we can call the Egyptian 'landscape', concept theorised by Tilley (1994) and Brunotte (2002), among others. Simultaneously, the Egyptian natural borders as well as its hinge position between the African and the Asian continents, but also between the tropics and the temperate zone, reveal themselves as nuclear guidelines for our frame of understanding this civilisation (Baines and Málek 2000, 20).

According to Kees (1978, 18–22), in the beginning of the Paleolithic, several climate changes occurred in Egypt which allowed the Nile to rip a valley in the landscape and therefore enabled the populations to inhabit closer to the river: the silts annually carried by the Nile increment continuously the arable land. Having come from the desert to the valley in very remote times (Ćwiek 2014, 120), the Egyptians will then regard their space as a 'blessed geography' (Lopes 2003, 41), which is proven by the strict connection between land, country and people. Indeed, the word *km.t* can relate to the 'Black Land' but can also be translated as 'Egypt' as a whole or even as the 'Egyptians' (Erman and Grapow 1957, 126). Thus the portion of land that was annually fructified by the Nilotic inundation is assimilated to the Egyptian political entity: the originally neutral term acquires an increasing political connotation, becoming a synonym of the Egyptian state (Poo 2005, 45).

The increasing aridity of the desert, by the end of the 4th millennium BCE, will play a significant role in the formation process of the Egyptian state (Baines and Málek 2000, 14). Even if the desert, in the Egyptian collective mind, would be associated

with images of death, isolation and silence (Lopes 2003, 42), the 'Red Land' was never emptiness. On the contrary, the emergence of the Egyptian civilisation was partly due to the cultural roots brought by the various pre-historic adaptations to the desert (Butzer 2001, 385–386). Therefore, both the 'Black' and the 'Red' lands were relevant landscapes, dynamically interconnected, working together in the daily task of protecting the Cosmos against the chaotic forces that continuously threatened it (Richards 1999, 87; Ćwiek 2014, 120).

Different landscapes, different gods: the Egyptian 'existential space'

As we have seen, the Egyptian land-based layer was composed by different geographic units. Since they were perceived religiously in diverse manners, they were assigned to different gods. This can be attested even in later periods, namely in the 1st century CE, when Plutarch visited Egypt (Willems 2014, 488–493).

According to the Classic author, the Egyptians 'regard the Nile as the effusion of Osiris, so they hold and believe the earth to be the body of Isis, not all of it, but so much of it as the Nile covers, fertilizing it and uniting with it' (*De Iside et Osiride* 38). Isis is not the whole Egyptian land-based layer but only the portion covered by the efflux of Osiris, that is, the efflux of the inundation in itself. We can therefore state that Isis is identified with the 'Black Land'. As the 'Black Land' is fertilised by the river and starts to germinate, so is Isis impregnated by Osiris and gives birth to Horus.

Following the logic of complementary dualities so much cherished by the Egyptians, the soil far from the waterbody is associated to Nephthys, Isis' sister and Seth's spouse: 'The outmost parts of the land beside the mountains and bordering on the sea the Egyptians call Nephthys. This is why they give to Nephthys the name of "Finality" and say that she is wife of Typhon' (*De Iside et Osiride* 38). However, the 'goddess of the house' could also be united to Osiris whenever the flood reached the outmost lands: 'Whenever, then, the Nile overflows and with abounding waters spreads far away to those who dwell in the outermost regions, they call this the union of Osiris with Nephthys, which is proved by the upspringing of the plants' (*De Iside et Osiride* 38). Anubis was the result of this adulterous union, which would have legitimised the Osiris's murder by his brother Seth. While it may be objected that we are reffering to a very later text and therefore much different from the 'original' religious account, the textual sources that attest this myth might date back to the *Coffin Texts* (Willems 2014, 488–493) and Alexandra von Lieven (2006, 141–150) points the existence of a positive cult and theology related to Seth which hardly harmonises with the epithet of 'god of confusion' given by Velde (1967).

In any case, mythological sources tend to underline Seth's barrenness, since Nephthys can only conceive if she is united to Osiris. This adulterous union seems to mythico-religious explanation for an Egyptian geographical feature.

Contrary to the majority of the fluvial valleys, the profile of the Nile's one is convex. Consequently, the fields located near the mountains would be the first ones to receive

the flood's water not by overflow but by infiltration (Gabolde 1995, 245–246; Baines and Málek 2000, 16). Therefore, the land closer to the river would be easier to dry and to cultivate. The outmost regions, on the contrary, are thus identified with Nephthys who is, nevertheless, impregnated by Osiris referring to the Nilotic high floods.

The religious speculation carried out by the Egyptians in this endless observation of their own space led to the deification of their geographic and natural contexts and consequently to the establishment of the Egyptian 'existencial space'. In the light of the phenomenology of landscape this is built from the individuals' concrete experience and so we are not referring to a passive spatial reality. On the contrary, it is a space created and inhabited through life and activity in an incessant process of production and reproduction to which borders as well as natural elements play a significant part (Tilley 1994, 15–17). Thus, the Egyptian's continuous observation and reflection on their spatial heterogeneity led them to perceive their land in different densities. From the Egyptians' land-based layer different manifestations were revealed and in this 'existential space' establishment different gods were conveyed: Osiris embodied the rejuvenated and fertile soil; Isis personified the chthonic layer covered by the flood efflux; Nephthys was identified with the telluric surface far from the river; and finally, Seth was the desert regions. Eliade stated that the earth receives diffuse forces that act in the sacred Cosmos (Eliade 1977, 297) and the Egyptian one happens to be no exception.

An earth-god: masculinisation of the Egyptian land?

Yet the Egyptian earth seems to be different from others in one aspect: its masculinisation. In fact, the four gods previously mentioned, among many others that have a connection to the Egyptian geography, are the sons of Geb, Lord of the Earth, who imposes his power over the Ennead of Heliopolis, nourishing it, as we can read in the *Pyramid Texts*:

> 'Atum has given you his heritage, he has given to you the assembled the Ennead ... he sees you powerful, with your heart proud and yourself able in your name of "Clever Mouth", chiefest of gods, you standing on the earth that you may govern at the head of the Ennead ... Fetch them to yourself, take them, nourish them ... for you are a god having power all over the gods' (*PT* 592 in Faulkner 1998, 243).

As noted by Frankfort (1978, 182), the fact that Osiris is the son of Geb is a promise of resurrection through rebirth. Osiris is brought back to life just like the soil germinates year after year. In the famous 'Great Hymn to Osiris', from the stele Louvre C 286, the god is, as the oldest son of Geb, the responsible for feeding the Ennead as well as the patron of all land products (Barucq and Daumas 1980, 92).

Besides Geb and Osiris, we identify in the Egyptian pantheon other masculine figures connected to land and fertility. Min, the ithyphallic god, is associated to the productivity of the agricultural land; he is sometimes displayed with a lettuce whose white juice may be an allusion to the semen and thus to masculine fertility (Franco

1999, 166). On the other hand, Aker is a god linked to the depths of the earth (Franco 1999, 16). We can also mention Tatenen, often associated with Ptah, god of Memphis, who is connected to the primeval land that irrupted from the Ocean Nun in the 'First Time' (*sp tpj*) and thus personified the fertility and prosperity of the entire Two Lands' territory (Sales 1999, 291–292).

Tellus Mater, Tellus Pater

Generally, we recognise in the cosmic and religious structures the notion of a 'Mother-Earth', a *Tellus Mater* (Eliade 1977, 293–317). In Egypt, however, the most common associations with Earth are expressed through male deities: Ptah, Min and, most notably, Geb. Perhaps, as suggested by Bárta (2010, 44–53), the association between earth and the masculine element is iconographically attested since the Neolithic, though the author only mentions a single scene – from the Cave of the Beasts in the Western Desert – with no apparent parallel.

How can we envisage this Egyptian peculiarity? And what does it tell us about the Egyptian fertility beliefs? Though no categorical and definite answer is intended here, some perspectives of analyses will be presented.

According to Roth (1999, 187–201), this Egyptian particularity might be explained, once again, by the natural and geographic features of the Egyptian space. While in some parts of the world, the land becomes fertile due to the action of the rain, in Egypt, where the rain was scarce, the fields' germination was greatly a consequence of the Nilotic flood. The first case evokes an imagery of earth being penetrated by the sky and so the first is gendered as a feminine being and the second as a masculine one. In Egypt, on the contrary, the land-based layer is regarded as something active: the water that enables the germination comes from the earth itself and not from the sky and because of that the earthly element was gendered as a male (Roth 1999, 195). Therefore, the Egyptian mythology does not align with most earthly cosmogonies in which the earth plays the passive role, as stated by Eliade (1977, 296) and this can justify the presence of an earth-god in ancient Egypt instead of a *Tellus Mater*.

If we define fertility as the ability to procreate and engender we may state that females were somehow excluded of this process. In the Egyptian mind, the woman – or the goddess – receives the child already shaped and formed (Roth 1999, 189). Nut, the sky-goddess, swallows her son Re every night and every morning gives birth to him rejuvenated but with no alteration. Indeed, Nut seems to cause no effect on the Sun: he only passes through her (Lesko 1991, 118). The male element seems thus to be connected to active fertility and the female to an idea of passiveness. And since the earth is a clear active element in the Egyptian geography this would turn it to be perceived manly.

But is the capability to proceate in Egyptian divine world that masculinised?

Truthfully both elements are required in the Creation. We must mention that the Creator is, as demonstrated by Zandee (1992, 169–185) both female and male,

since the gender differentiation comes only in his offspring. Atum is the 'Sole One' who reached orgasm with his own grasp and thus gave birth to Shu and Tefnut and so gender differentiation began. We read in the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus: 'I acted as husband with my fist, I copulated with my hand' (Roth 1999, 196). In fact, quoting Hassan (1998, 107) 'Manifestly male, Atum embodies the female principle. His hand is symbolically his female consort. By swallowing his semen, he also develops the uterine function of the mother'. This Heliopolitan feature will find an echo in the Theban cosmology. In Papyrus Leiden I 350, for instance, Amun is called 'father of fathers and mother of mothers', *jt jt.w mw.t mw.t* (P. Leiden I 350 V, 3-V, 4 in Zandee 1947, 92; pl.V), therefore containing the masculine and the feminine principle in himself (Zandee 1947, 141). Demiurgical epiteths that denote both a masculine and a feminine nature can be oserved as well in an excerpt of the *Memphite Theology*:

> The gods who came into being in Ptah: ... Ptah-Nun, the father who [made Atum]. Ptah-Naunet, the mother who bore Atum (Lichtheim 1975, 74).

Therefore, even if the gods appear as male in their names and personas, we should note that these Creator gods are said to have, perform or portray feminine aspects in the Creation's process which may induce the modern researcher into an ambiguity that may have been alien to the ancient Egyptians themselves (Matić 2016, 178).

According to Roth (1999, 193–194), fertility in Egypt would then be a male reality with androgynous (or maybe better saying just 'both male and female') features in a direct connection to the gender indifferentiation of the primordial waters of the non-existence (Troy 2001, 238–268). In the beginning, when nothing had yet been born, gender had not yet been born too. And since the Nilotic flood is regarded as a return to the genesis, the god associated to it – Hapy – would challenge the binary expression of gender, being a male with adipose fat and full breasts. As stated by Onstine (2010, 2) 'fertility relies on both male and female elements, and so the god as a metaphor is always depicted as a male with pendulous breasts'. According to this perspective, Hapy would fit in no gender because fertility in itself surpasses the constraints of this category. However, this assertion might be discussed. What is, in fact, a masculine body? Is it because an individual has full breasts that he should be prevented from being identified with a male, becoming androgynous? Are the pendulous breasts a symbol of fertility and abundance – features connected to the Nilotic flood – and so to the feminine aspect? Aren't we somehow being influenced by our own social cultural assumptions about gender? Baines (1985, *passim*), for instance, rejects any androgyny in Hapy, arguing that he is a replication of the canonical artistic representation of the scribes and so he is connected to ideas of material abundance and comfort. In any case, it should be noted the strict connection between the flood and the notions of fertility, fecundity and abundance.

To sum up, even if we agree that the fertility in Egypt is predominantly male, that seems no sufficient reason for the earth's maleness, since the importance of

the feminine aspect is never denied. Osiris, for instance, can only engender his son Horus because Isis was able to magically fabricate his phallus and copulate with him, thus uniting the male element – the phallus – with the female one – the pregnancy (Onstine 2010, 3). So why is the earth a god and not a goddess in Egypt?

Final remarks

Having already presented Roth's theory, I wish to end this paper with a preliminary train of thought. In her fundamental book, *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler (1990, ix) defined the gender as 'the *effects* of institutions, practices, discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin'. Although Butler was for sure not considering the Egyptian religious representations and institutions, if we perceive the Egyptian pantheon as a complex disposal of discourses that reflect daily practices with diverse points of origin we may ask ourselves: given that the ancient Egyptians ascribed to the Sun the maximum creative power (Quirke 2001, *passim*) and that it is assigned to the masculine gender, even if he presents androgynous or ambigenderous features (something that it is indeed arguable), would not the figure of a great 'Mother-Earth' somehow overshadow the importance of the great sun-god? Should this be understood as a gender order that favors the male element? Is the apparent passivity of the female goddesses in the Egyptian cosmovision a symbol of their inferiority in the pantheon? Is the maleness of most gods regarded as Creators in Egypt a consequence of this particular gender order? I stress that these are only questions and not answers. In fact, if we accept this perspective we will be facing some theoretical problems: how does the relative freedom and independence of elite women harmonise with this gender order? How should we understand the emergence of Isis as the 'Great-Mother' in later periods? Moreover: if we accept that the birth-giving creator-god connected to the Sun is both male and female why is it not the male-god of the earth as well?

It seems as if we drifted apart from the Egyptian soil in our digression. But the space is always an invitation for us to consider civilisations as a whole. Indeed, the Egyptian land-based layer was lived and experienced in different ways and from its observation the Egyptians cogitated their theological constructs. Assigning different gods to distinct geographies, experiencing the cosmic sacredness and reflecting on fertility beliefs, the ancient Egyptians inhabit their own space and tried to read its message.

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Chapter 11

Identity and the protagonist in Greek and Egyptian narrative poetry: The construction of cultural identity in Homer's *Odyssey* and the *Tale of Sinuhe*

Maxwell Stocker

Abstract: This article conducts a comparative literary analysis between Egyptian and Greek narrative poetry, and presents a detailed discussion of the construction of identity in Homer's *Odyssey* and the *Tale of Sinuhe*. It explores the cultural identities of the protagonists, focussing on the construction of the idea of home through a technique which is common to both poems: the representation of home in contrast with negatively presented or opposing lands, concepts, and cultures. The differences between the protagonists' presentations of their respective homelands is examined, and the deeper questions of what it means to be Greek and to be Egyptian are discussed. By investigating this highly important and understudied line of comparison, this article aims to make a contribution both to the discipline of comparative epic, and to the ongoing study of cross-cultural parallels and interaction in the interconnected world of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Keywords: comparative epic, Archaic Greek epic, Egyptian narrative poetry, cultural identity, *Odyssey*, *Tale of Sinuhe*

Introduction

Approaching comparative literary studies

Over the course of recent decades, the field of comparative literature has seen a marked increase in the prevalence of interdisciplinary modes of research, as well as the ongoing paradigm shift from world literature to global literature, involving an ever-widening range of cross-cultural and cross-temporal comparisons. These developments have resulted in a greater knowledge of the literary traditions of manifold societies throughout history, particularly with regard to narrative poetry,

and there has been a dramatic increase in the range of methodologies and approaches which scholars have used to explore the narrative literatures of antiquity. In this regard, a particularly notable development within the discipline of comparative epic has been the rapid expansion of academic research on the influence of Near Eastern literatures on Greek, and particularly Homeric, narrative poetry (West 1988, 151–72; Feldman 1996, 13–21; Burkert 2005, 291–301; Foley 2005; van Dongen 2007, 13–49; López-Ruiz 2010; Haubold 2013). However, one of the most noticeable gaps in scholarship within the study of ancient literature is the scarcity of targeted research comparing the narrative poetry of two of the principal civilisations of the Eastern Mediterranean world: Greece and Egypt (Meltzer 1974, 155; Koenen 1994, 1–34; Bonifazi 2009, 481–510).

The central aim of this article is to conduct a comparative literary analysis of Greek and Egyptian narrative poetry, and to investigate the question of how cultural identity is constructed by these two different cultures in this genre of literature. Two specific case-studies have been selected for analysis – Homer's *Odyssey* and the *Tale of Sinuhe* – and Loeb's translation of the *Odyssey* (Murray and Dimock 1995a, 1995b), and Parkinson's (1997) translation of the *Tale of Sinuhe*, will be used. These particular poems have been chosen for comparative study because of their supreme importance in the literary canons of their respective cultures, because they rank among the most significant examples of narrative poetry in the extant bodies of both Greek and Egyptian literature, and because they share many thematic and literary similarities, particularly regarding the construction of the cultural identity of the protagonist.

The term 'epic' derives from the Greek adjective ἐπικός, -ή, -όν, which is itself derived from the noun τό ἔπος; this means 'word', 'tale', or 'song', and came to refer specifically to the epic genre of Greek poetry. In its original form, the word denoted 'the physical quality of speech', and had a specifically communicatory meaning, which accords with the important role of audience reception and oral performance in epic literature across different cultures and periods of history (Martin 2011, 259). The use of ἔπος to denote epic poetry can be observed in the *Odyssey*, when the Phaeacians praise their bard Demodocus after he sings of 'the quarrel of Odysseus and Achilles', and when Alcinous, following Odysseus' extended account of his journeys after the fall of Troy, praises his 'grace of words' (μορφὴ ἐπέων) (*Odyssey* 8.75, 8.91, 11.367). Moreover, the formula 'winged words' (ἔπεα πτερόεντα) occurs 124 times throughout Homeric poetry to introduce speeches or embedded stories, and emphasises the connection between ἔπος, in its basic sense of 'tale' or 'song', and oral poetry and performance (Martin 2011, 260). The use of the word ἔπος to denote epic poetry is otherwise first attested in the 5th century BCE in Herodotus.

The *Tale of Sinuhe*, part of the genre of Egyptian narrative literature, exhibits a wide variety of characteristics comparable to the *Odyssey* in ways that enshrine the literary construction of cultural identity in both texts, and which also recall the cross-cultural criteria of epic poetry. In terms of content, these characteristics include the presence of a protagonist through whom cultural values and questions are explored,

a vast setting of cosmic significance, intervention by the gods in human affairs, a pervasive definition of a culture and a worldview that emerges from the text, and the exploration and development of personal and cultural identity over the course of the poem (Holman and Harmon 1986, 178). With regard to stylistic features, classification traits include the poem's commencement *in medias res*, the poet's use of epithets, the giving of long and formal speeches, and the contextualisation of the action within a broader geographical, religious, and political setting. The *Odyssey* and the *Tale of Sinuhe* are therefore comparable to one another thematically, literarily, and in terms of the features and attributes which they both share, allowing for a meaningful comparative analysis of these two poems.

The *Tale of Sinuhe* is one of the best known and most influential works in the surviving corpus of ancient Egyptian literature. Set over a period of several decades during the 20th century BCE, it occupied a position of great importance within the Egyptian literary canon of the Middle Kingdom (Parkinson 2002, 149; 2009). Egyptological estimates of dates for the reigns of kings who ruled during the Middle Kingdom vary considerably, and there is a margin of possible error of several decades at this point in Egyptian history (Shaw 2000, 479). The *Tale of Sinuhe* has a recognised historical setting, and ends during the latter part of the reign of Senwosret I (1956–1911 BCE), meaning that it must have been written down after that time; moreover, the earliest extant manuscripts of the *Tale of Sinuhe* date to the reign of Amenemhat III (1831–1786 BCE), and so there is a relatively short interval – one of several decades – between the *terminus post quem* and the *terminus ante quem* in which the composition of this poem must have occurred (Parkinson 1997, 21). The *Tale of Sinuhe* constitutes one of Egyptian literature's most profound explorations of what it means to be Egyptian, and is an intricately crafted portrayal of Egyptian cultural values and the concepts which underpinned Egyptian identity (Parkinson 1997, 21; Quirke 2004, 58).

This discussion will focus on the nature and construction of the cultural identity of the protagonist both in the *Tale of Sinuhe* and in the *Odyssey*, the second of the famous duo of epic poems commonly attributed to Homer, which first appeared in written form during the late 8th or early 7th century BCE (Jones 1988, xi; Knox 1996, 3; Power 2011, 2). Like the *Tale of Sinuhe*, the *Odyssey* represents the first stage at which previously oral traditions of poetry were written down. There has long been debate over the problematic dating of these poems, the identity of Homer himself, the authorship of the Homeric poems, how they came to be written down, and to what extent the poems were products of a pre-existing oral tradition as opposed to compositions of one single person, a body of concerns known collectively as the Homeric Question (Parry 1930, 75; Foley 2007, 2–4; West 2011, 383).

The comparative literary study pursued here will be highly informative about literary and cultural similarities and differences between two of the principal civilisations of the ancient Mediterranean world, about how humans conceptualise themselves, their lives, and their cultures, and therefore about the broader nature of the human condition itself. The discussion will focus on the cultural identity of

the protagonist in each of the two case-studies, and specifically on the idea of home and the representation of home in contrast with negatively presented or opposing lands, concepts, and cultures. It is hoped that a greater understanding will be gained of how this particular kind of character – the protagonist – is constructed in narrative poetry by two dramatically different cultures, and thus of the existence of broader cross-cultural similarities and differences between Egypt and Greece.

Research context and methodology

The two principal ways in which scholars have approached the subject of comparative literature in the context of the ancient world are those of studies into historical and transmissional issues, and studies into thematic and cross-cultural questions. Over recent decades, these contrasting research aims and lines of enquiry regarding the eastern Mediterranean world have been most notably expounded by Martin West and Johannes Haubold respectively. West (1997) aimed to discuss the contributions of the literatures of the ancient Near East to Greek poetry and mythology of the Archaic Period, and his principal book on this subject is comprised of a list of parallels between different genres and areas of Greek literature and mythology, and examples of similarities in the cultures of the Near East during the first millennium BCE.

In his comparison of the *Odyssey* with the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, West (1997, 404) primarily highlights ostensible similarities between these examples of narrative poetry, such as the characterisation, in both Odysseus and Gilgamesh, of the exotic and adventurous traveller; he subsequently moves on to discuss the roles of women and several other themes in those poems, and then suggests the existence of transmissional scenarios on that basis. However, West (1997, 402) does not carry out a close comparative analysis which discusses the differences as well as the similarities between his selected case-studies. In his analysis of the characterisations of the protagonists, and of the themes of homecoming and the role of the dead, West moreover does not contextualise them by exploring the cultural and historical background of the texts under discussion in order to gain a wider understanding of the thematic issues present within those texts.

In contrast to West's approach, Haubold (2013, 71), in his comparative study of Greek and Near Eastern literature, made the point that the particularities of cultural contact and the ancient realities of textual transmission are largely lost to us; much of the requisite evidence is not at our disposal, and scholars are largely reliant on interpretation which cannot be proven or disproven. He highlighted the difficulties of tracing possible roots of the Greek literary canon in Mesopotamia and elsewhere in the Near East, but also argued that these questions of historical influence and literary transmission might not be as important as the actual content of the texts themselves and the thematic similarities and differences which exist between those texts (Haubold 2013, 71). Moreover, rather than using the sweeping incorporation of huge swathes of literature and myth characteristic of West's methodology, Haubold carried out a close analysis of a small and clearly defined selection of material, in order to gain a more detailed and nuanced cross-cultural understanding of the nature

of the studied literature. Due to his ability to read both Greek and Akkadian fluently, Haubold was able to carry out a thorough and detailed reading of his case-studies, and to analyse texts from both literary traditions on their own terms, thus incorporating into his research the principle of inclusivity which treats the literature of any given culture as importantly as that of any other (Meltzl 1877 after Damrosch et al. 2009, 45; Haubold 2013, 7).

Incorporating the methodological approaches advanced by Haubold, this article will focus on one of the single most important thematic aspects of the poems in order to investigate the broader line of comparison between Egyptian and Greek narrative poetry, and, although issues of historical influence between the literatures of different cultures is a hugely important area of study, this will not be the primary topic of investigation here. As Haubold argued with reference to his own research, this is principally because of the extreme difficulty of establishing facts regarding historical and transmissional scenarios, and also because these questions can deflect us from broader thematic issues, and from understanding and appreciating the poetry itself.

Rather, this article will be concerned with the equally important subject of the nature and content of the poetry itself, thematic similarities and differences between the *Odyssey* and the *Tale of Sinuhe*, and the ways in which cultural identity is constructed in the narrative poetry of these two different literary traditions. An investigation of this kind will advance our understanding of the nature of cultural identity as a concept, what it means to be Greek and to be Egyptian, and the nature of the human condition and of how humans conceptualise themselves. As Haubold has shown, this is a highly valuable approach to comparative literature which can result in a mutual illumination of two different cultures and ways of viewing the world.

Cultural dichotomies in Greek and Egyptian narrative literature

With regard to the portrayal of cultural identity, it will be argued that both the *Odyssey* and the *Tale of Sinuhe* construct the cultural identity of the protagonist primarily through the idea of home and the representation of the homeland, and a principally important aspect of this technique in both poems is the representation of home in contrast with negatively presented or opposing lands, concepts, and cultures. A close analysis will be conducted of the description of the protagonist's flight from Egypt into the Levant from the *Tale of Sinuhe*, and of the description of the Cyclops adventure from the *Odyssey*. These particular sections will be discussed because they are crucial to an understanding of the ways in which both poems define cultural identity negatively, in terms of abandonment of the homeland and the anticipation of an antithesis to it as in the *Tale of Sinuhe*, or in terms of direct opposition to the homeland through the presentation of such an antithesis, as in the *Odyssey*.

There are other sections of the *Odyssey* in which cultural identity is defined negatively, notably Odysseus' adventures with the Laestrygonians (*Odyssey* 10.80–132) and with Circe (*Odyssey* 10.133–574). The Cyclops adventure is particularly worthy of

focus because it gives a particularly wide-ranging portrayal of the attributes of Greek cultural identity, and because, throughout this section, one can also observe the use of different aspects of the technique of defining cultural identity negatively. In the *Tale of Sinuhe*, the description of the protagonist's flight from Egypt is the primary section of the poem during which this technique is used.

Sinuhe's journey into exile

Within the *Tale of Sinuhe*, a fundamental aspect of the representation of home in relation to the protagonist can be observed in the etymology, meaning, and symbolism of Sinuhe's name, which is vital to the construction of the protagonist's cultural identity and to the poem's discourse on what it means to be Egyptian. Sinuhe (*sꜣ-nht*) is composed of two individual nouns, and means 'the son of the sycamore' (Parkinson 1997, 43; 2009, 42). The sycamore was hugely significant in Egyptian religious and mythological thought, and was the 'quintessentially Egyptian' tree, representing the idea of home, and symbolising coolness, shelter, and familiarity (Parkinson 1997, 43). In terms of linguistic connotations, *nht*, the Egyptian word for 'sycamore', was also the word for 'shelter' and 'protection' (Buhl 1947, 80; Faulkner 1962, 135; Meltzer 2006, 2).

With regard to cultural and religious associations, the sycamore was the 'tree of life', and a manifestation of the goddess Hathor, to whom was ascribed the epithet 'Lady of the Sycamore', and who plays an important role in the *Tale of Sinuhe* (Assmann 2005, 171). Hathor was associated with the queen, Sinuhe's patroness, and was also the patron deity of foreign lands, including those in which Sinuhe journeyed and lived for much of his adult life (Wilkinson 2003, 143, 168; Meltzer 2006, 2). Moreover, she was the goddess of rebirth, and was closely associated with the sun god Re, who died and was reborn in an eternal daily cycle; this aspect of Hathor is particularly important in the *Tale of Sinuhe* since she is vital to Sinuhe's rebirth as an Egyptian and to his rediscovery of his true identity upon his return to Egypt (Parkinson 1997, 43; Wilkinson 2003, 140). The linguistic and cultural weight of the allusions which lie behind Sinuhe's name therefore represent the idea of home as an intrinsic component of the cultural identity of the protagonist. The meaning of Sinuhe's name as 'the son of the sycamore' defines his identity in terms of an integral and immutable attachment to Egyptian culture.

The negative construction of the cultural identity of Sinuhe, through the description of a process of abandonment, is particularly evident in the protagonist's dramatic description of his flight from Egypt into exile in the Levant, a passage which also echoes and develops the symbolism of Sinuhe's name (*Tale of Sinuhe*, B 5-26). This stanza reads:

ir.t=i šm.t m-ḫntyt	I travelled southwards.
n kꜣ spr r ḫnw -pn	I did not plan to reach this Residence.
ḫmt.n=i ḫpr ḥꜣyt	expecting strife would happen.
n ḏd=i anḫ r-sꜣ=f	I did not think to live after him.
nmi.n=i mꜣty m-ḥꜣw nht	I went across Lake Maaty in the region of the Sycamore.

smʾ.n=i m iw snfrw	I came to the Isle of Sneferu.
wrš.n=i <im> m-aḏ n sḫt	I passed a day <there> on the edge of a field.
ḥḏ.n=i wn hrw	When it was daylight again, I made an early start.
ḫp.n=i s aḥa m r-wʾt(=i)	I met a man standing in my way.
tr.n=f –wi snḏ.n=i –n=f	He saluted me, though I was afraid of him.
ḫpr.n tr n-msyt	When it was supper-time.
sʾḥ.n=i r dmi ngʾw	I had arrived at Cattle-Quay (Parkinson 1997, 28).

In the act of going into exile, Sinuhe is depicted as abandoning the most important aspects of Egyptian cultural identity (Goedicke 1957, 77; Parkinson 2002, 154). Initially, Sinuhe says that he 'travelled southwards' out of the Western Desert towards Giza, and then that he 'did not plan to reach this Residence, expecting strife would happen' (*Tale of Sinuhe*, B 5–7). The word here translated as 'Residence' is *ḫnw*, which has the alternative meanings of 'home' and 'interior' (Faulkner 1962, 202). By using this particular word to describe his former abode at the royal palace, the protagonist is implying that he did not plan to go home, and that he was abandoning what is denoted by *ḫnw*, namely his home and the Residence, which also entails that he was leaving the king and his patroness, Queen Nefru. The protagonist's relationship to the king was the single most important relationship in the poem, and Sinuhe's use of the word *ḫnw* signifies that these crucial aspects of his cultural identity were being abandoned because of his flight from Egypt (Parkinson 1997, 21).

Sinuhe subsequently recounts that he 'went across Lake Maaty in the region of the Sycamore' (*Tale of Sinuhe*, B 8). The 'Sycamore' mentioned here is 'a sanctuary to Hathor at Giza', of which Lake Maaty was in the close vicinity, and the name of this lake (*mʾaty*) is based on the word *mʾat* (Parkinson 1997, 44). One of the most important concepts in ancient Egyptian culture, *mʾat* represented the idea of cosmic order, truth, and justice, as opposed to chaos, falsehood, and disorder, and was personified in the form of the goddess Maat (Tobin 1989, 77–86; Meeks and Favard-Meeks 1996, 15; Allen 2000, 115–117). According to Egyptian cosmogonical traditions, the creator god Atum 'came into being of himself' in the waters of the Primaeval Ocean (an infinity of latent, everlasting, potential existence), and created the universe through his own agency (Pyramid Texts Recitation 527 in Allen 2015, 328). In so doing, Atum created the concept of *mʾat*, which distinguished the created cosmos from the uncreated Primaeval Ocean (Assmann 2001, 177–83). The Egyptians conceptualised the cosmos in terms of dualities, and one of the fundamental characteristics of reality itself was the eternal duality of, and tension between, order and chaos. *mʾat* was thus of supreme importance in the Egyptian worldview, and, through the evocation of this concept in the name of Lake Maaty which Sinuhe crosses over and then leaves behind, the protagonist is depicted as actively journeying away from this idea in the course of his flight from Egypt, and therefore abandoning it. The poem is thus implying that Sinuhe's flight constitutes a triumph of chaos over *mʾat*, and that the natural order of the created universe is being subverted because he is fleeing his homeland.

Moreover, the name of the Hathoric sycamore sanctuary at Giza, *nht*, is a clear reference to the protagonist's own name (*Tale of Sinuhe*, B 8). Therefore, Sinuhe is not only abandoning *mꜣ'at*, home, and all else which is represented by the sycamore; since he is the 'son of the sycamore', he is also abandoning his own true self in the act of fleeing Egypt into foreign lands. The cultural identity of the protagonist is thus defined in terms of what he is leaving behind as he flees Egypt into the Levant, and in contrast with what is to come: the foreign lands which exist in the absence of these concepts. Sinuhe then 'came to the Isle of Sneferu', where he 'passed a day on the edge of a field', emphasising his shift from centrality as an esteemed palace official to an existence on the margins as a result of his decision to leave his homeland (*Tale of Sinuhe*, B 9–10). The following day, Sinuhe set out again, and said:

> I met a man standing in my way. He saluted me, though I was afraid of him (*Tale of Sinuhe*, B 10–11).

The salute is a gesture of respect to a superior; therefore, the fact that a count and royal official is scared of a man of much lower rank who greeted him respectfully on the road indicates that normal social roles are being reversed as a result of Sinuhe's flight from Egypt, and that cultural identity as defined in terms of the established social order is being subverted.

Sinuhe then says:

> When it was supper-time, I had arrived at Cattle-Quay (*Tale of Sinuhe*, B 11–13).

Cattle-Quay was 'a small village opposite Gebel Ahmar', and is translated in this way because its name, *ngꜣw*, is identical to one of the Egyptian words for an ox or bull (Faulkner 1962, 141; Parkinson 1997, 44). A *dmi* was a landing-area on the riverbank, and was associated with settlements (Faulkner 1962, 313). Thus, the village in question is described simply as a place where one puts cows onto a boat. The main verb of the sentence, *sꜣḥ*, which means 'to arrive', has strong funerary connotations, also featuring in the verb 'to be buried'; here, it lends a sense of ominous fatality, signifying the death of Sinuhe's previous life as an Egyptian, and of the cultural values that defined his identity during that life (Faulkner 1962, 210). The overtones and cultural associations of the words which are used provide a tremendous contrast between his very recent position at the royal palace and his current situation as a fearful fugitive in a nondescript town on the edge of the cultivation.

A very powerful description of the most important aspects of Egyptian cultural identity as they featured in the life of the protagonist is thus developed over the course of this section of the poem, and cultural identity is presented negatively rather than positively, in terms of a process of abandonment and flight from Egypt where those concepts were present, into foreign countries where they were absent. Therefore, the poem uses religious and cultural imagery, and plays on the multiple meanings of individual words, in order to convey that, by fleeing from Egypt to a foreign land, Sinuhe is abandoning truth and cosmic order, the goddess Hathor and his patroness

Queen Nefru, the Residence and his king, his established position in Egyptian society, his home, and ultimately his true self.

Odysseus' adventure with the Cyclops

In the description of the Cyclops adventure in the *Odyssey*, the cultural identity of Odysseus is similarly constructed through the separation of the protagonist from the cultural values of his homeland, and in contrast to a negatively presented state of affairs in which those values are absent; this is notably effected through the 'description by negation' technique (*Odyssey*, 9.105–566; de Jong 2001, 234). Initially, the protagonist introduces the principal character of this adventure, Polyphemus, in a markedly negative manner prior to the Cyclops' arrival onto the scene, referring to the Cyclopes as 'an insolent and lawless folk' (*Odyssey* 9.106–107; de Jong 2001, 232; Hernández 2011, 685).

Odysseus' subsequent characterisation of the Cyclopes as the precise opposites of the ideals of Greek culture and civilisation, and his reaction to the land of the Cyclopes, define his cultural identity negatively, in terms of a presentation of what it is not (Graziosi and Haubold 2005, 78; Slatkin 2005, 322). In his initial presentation of the Cyclopes, Odysseus states that:

> Neither assemblies for council have they, nor appointed laws, but they dwell on the peaks of mountains in hollow caves, and each one is lawgiver to his children and his wives, and they have no regard for one another (*Odyssey* 9.112–115).

The fact that Odysseus defines the Cyclopes negatively, not in terms of what they have but in terms of what they lack, emphasises the protagonist's view that these absent attributes are crucial features of his own homeland and of a civilised society, and it is therefore clear that he is building up an image of his own cultural identity through this description. Odysseus first emphasises the Cyclopes' lack of farming and the fact that the land and 'Zeus' rain' gives them food and wine, sharply contrasting with the agricultural practices of Ithaca, followed by their physical and legal separation from one another, and the absence of laws (θέμιστες), institutions and assemblies (ἀγοραὶ), and any wider society beyond the family unit (*Odyssey* 9.111; Hernández 2011, 186).

Odysseus then describes Goat-Island at length, using the description-by-negation technique, and emphasising that the Cyclopes exhibit no enterprise or pioneering endeavour, having left this island uncolonised and unexploited (*Odyssey* 9.116–130). The island's unrealised and unfulfilled potential demonstrates an important aspect of Odysseus' cultural identity as a pioneer who would convert this land to human use, and this is emphasised by the repeated use of the potential optative, particularly when the protagonist says that:

> the Cyclopes have at hand no ships with vermilion cheeks, nor are there shipwrights in their land who might build [κάμοιεν] them well-benched ships, which could perform [τελέοιεν] all their wants (*Odyssey* 9.125–128; de Jong 2001, 234).

Odysseus' use of the adverb μάλα, as well as his repeated use of negations throughout his description, reinforce the primitiveness and shortcomings of the Cyclopes when compared to the vastly superior ideals and capabilities of Greek culture, and therefore reflect the cultural identity of the protagonist as belonging to that culture (de Jong 2001, 234).

Furthermore, Odysseus describes Polyphemus' transgression of the vitally important Greek cultural value of hospitality, as well as of customs relating to eating and drinking (de Jong 2001, 236–237; Hernández 2011, 186). Polyphemus denies hospitality to the visitors to his cave, asking their names prior to any anticipated offer of food or drink (*Odyssey* 9.252–255), eating instead of feeding his guests (*Odyssey* 9.288–293, 344), and complementing his first meal of Odysseus' men not with wine but with milk (*Odyssey* 9.297). As Newton (2008, 2) argued, this also reinforces the absence among the Cyclopes of organised assemblies.

The importance of the idea of home to the cultural identity of the protagonist as defined negatively is further reinforced by Odysseus' use of an alternative name when imprisoned in Polyphemus' cave. When Polyphemus asks Odysseus his name while drinking the latter's wine, the protagonist replies:

> Nobody [Οὖτις] is my name, Nobody they call me – my mother and my father, and all my comrades as well (*Odyssey* 9.366–367).

This name is highly significant to Odysseus' personal identity, emphasising his capacity for deception and disguise due to the wordplay between Οὖτις, μήτις, and μῆτις, and due to the double meaning of the latter words as both 'nobody' and 'cunning intelligence' (Podlecki 1961, 130; Finley, Jr. 1978, 101; Jones 1988, 87). Odysseus attributes the quality of μῆτις to himself, and credits his own μῆτις with the success of his escape from death in Polyphemus' cave (*Odyssey* 20.20–21; Pucci 1987, 182). Odysseus' use of this alternative name dissolves his previous identity, and defines his new identity as one who suffers due to the antagonism which exists between him and Poseidon (Pucci 1987, 183).

The nature of this name also conveys the nullification of his cultural identity by being present in a foreign land which is so utterly opposed to the values, customs, and culture of the protagonist's homeland; in the land of the Cyclopes, Odysseus is nobody (Vernant and Ker 1999, 12). The use of the name Οὖτις denies Odysseus' identity as it existed up to that point, and renounces it in the context of the land of the Cyclopes; this alternative name therefore emphasises that Odysseus' identity is integrally associated with his homeland, and with presence and residence in that homeland. Greek cultural identity is thus defined negatively through the use of names in the Cyclops adventure in the *Odyssey*, just as Egyptian cultural identity was defined positively through the etymology of the protagonist's name in the *Tale of Sinuhe*. Odysseus therefore defines his own cultural identity in the process of describing a land, a people, and a way of life which constitute the precise opposite of many aspects of his own culture and origins.

Conclusions

Through a comparison of the construction of cultural identity in these passages between the two poems, it can be concluded that Odysseus' description of the land of the Cyclopes emphasises the importance of agriculture, technology, laws, institutions, and hospitality in Greek cultural identity, whereas Sinuhe's account of his flight from Egypt focusses more heavily on pharaonic, cosmological, and explicitly religious aspects of Egyptian cultural identity, emphasising the significance of *mꜣʿat*, his relationship with the king and queen, and the close integration of his personal and cultural identity made manifest in the symbolism of his name and in his association with the sycamore, the goddess Hathor, and the homeland in general.

Cultural identity in the *Tale of Sinuhe* is more closely associated with the protagonist's relationship to the royal and religious sphere, and with an explicitly Egyptocentric cosmological view of the universe, whereas, in the Cyclops adventure in the *Odyssey*, cultural identity is defined in more pragmatic terms, with direct reference to agricultural and technological advances made by Greek civilisation, and to observable institutions and customs such as hospitality. In the *Odyssey*, the negative construction of cultural identity in opposition to a foreign alternative can also be observed in Odysseus' adventures with the Laestrygonians (*Odyssey* 10.80–132) and with Circe (*Odyssey* 10.133–574). In the *Tale of Sinuhe*, cultural identity is also defined negatively by reference to the protagonist's preparation for his death and burial; foreign lands are portrayed as undesirable locations for an Egyptian to die, and Senwosret's communiqué to Sinuhe emphasises the impossibility of a proper burial and preparation for the afterlife in the Levant (*Tale of Sinuhe*, B 197–199).

This comparison advances our understanding of the *Tale of Sinuhe* and of broader realities of cultural difference within the Eastern Mediterranean world, because it is evident from my discussion that, in the Egyptian idea of home, more importance is attached to the protagonist's relationship to cultural and religious concepts and to his royal and divine superiors in the Egyptian view of the cosmos, while, in the Greek idea of home as conveyed in the Cyclops adventure, Odysseus, the king of Ithaca, instead places greater emphasis on practical and observable features and customs of cultural identity.

The character of Sinuhe was therefore being used as a vessel for the expression of the fundamental truth and inevitable triumph of Egyptian cultural identity, whereas the emphasis on both the positive and the negative qualities of Odysseus' personality allows for a certain degree of personal autonomy within the narrative; the construction of Odysseus' character stands somewhat outside the construction of the aforementioned aspects of cultural identity themselves (Finley, Jr. 1978, 34–41; Rutherford 2011, 581–583). A further example can be found in *Odyssey* 9.231–233, where the protagonist is immediately eager for guest-gifts, and where Odysseus and his companions break the rules of hospitality by eating in Polyphemus' cave prior to the Cyclops' arrival. Odysseus is thus given greater distance from the cultural values in the poem than is Sinuhe, who, in a much more integrated approach, is presented

as being subject to the realities of Egyptian cultural identity, which are portrayed as invariable and beyond change.

Moreover, an examination of the similarities and differences between the two poems regarding their definitions of cultural identity advances our understanding of the deeper questions of what it means to be Greek and to be Egyptian. Since narrative poetry was a fundamentally important vehicle for cultural discourse and expression in the ancient world, a discussion of the self-conceptualisation of the protagonist tells us a great deal about how the Greeks and the Egyptians thought about their own cultural identities. It also illuminates wider cross-cultural similarities and differences between these two civilisations, which in turn grants us valuable insights into who we are as humans, into what we value, and into the importance of cultural difference and the idea of home in the way we think about ourselves. A connection to one's land and culture of origin is an innate aspect of the human condition, and the fact that the centrality of the idea of home to cultural identity is echoed in the literature of two such different cultures, across such vast distances of time and space, attests to the supreme importance of this idea. The negative definition of cultural identity, through the anticipation or direct presentation of an antithesis to the homeland, itself emphasises important aspects of the idea of home, and helps us to understand which attributes of the homeland were considered to be of the greatest importance.

Although this article has focussed on thematic comparisons, it can also illuminate and assist in ongoing studies of historical influence and transmissional cultural interaction between Egypt and the Aegean, since comparative literary studies make an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of cross-cultural differences, and of thematic, religious, and ideological parallels between different literary traditions within the same interconnected geographical region. More broadly, this discussion demonstrates that the technique of defining cultural identity negatively, in terms of its abandonment or absence, is common to both Greek and Egyptian narrative poetry, and, from the cross-cultural similarity in the use of this technique between Greece and Egypt, it is evident that the conceptualisation of the Other and the contrast between home and the Other are very important in the construction of one's own cultural identity and the idea of one's own home, as opposed to other identities and other homelands and cultures. Perhaps most predominantly, both poems convey the ideas that alternative existences are fundamental to the appreciation of one's own culture and way of life, and that it is particularly in the absence of something that we realise its true nature and value (Parkinson 1997, 25).

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Chapter 12

The south face of the Helicon: Ancient Egyptian musical elements in ancient Greek music

Daniel Sánchez Muñoz

Abstract: The work offers a preliminary study about Egyptian influence on Greek music from the Archaic and Classical Periods to encourage future work in this field among researchers. We will focus our attention in the aesthetic and intellectual aspects of these musical traditions. In this way, we will talk about Egyptian and Greek concepts of music, the character of their musical traditions through a textual and iconographic analysis, and the question of Egypt as a musical reference for ancient Greece. We demonstrate with our study how the Egyptian influence on Greek music was very profound before the Ptolemaic Period.

Keywords: interactions, concept of the music, Pre-Ptolemaic Period

Introduction

There has been considerable historiographical insistence on Eastern influence on Western music in the Ancient World. For instance, Roman music is seen as an image of Greek music (Comotti 1986, 48–49; Landels 1999, 172; Burkholder et al. 2008, 41), and Greek music viewed as an image of the Mesopotamian music, according to several authors (Guillemin and Duchesne, 1935, 117; Lasserre 1988, 72; Franklin 2002, 3; 2016, 4).

In my opinion, it is true that Mesopotamia influenced the Greek music in the aspects of organology (West 1992, 49, 70; Head 2007, 23), the musical theory (Lasserre 1988, 72; West 1992, 61; 1994, 179; Crickmore 2009, 6), and the musical thought, though there are no recent studies in that field. Nevertheless, we know that Greece had contact with many other cultures from the Mediterranean and Near East (Martin 1996, 55–60) such as Egypt, and this contact is essential as it helps us to understand the culture and the music of the ancient Greeks.

There has been a recent contribution in the field of study of Egyptian and Greek interaction in a book edited by Ian Rutherford (2016). In that book, we find different

chapters about the Greco-Egyptian interaction in several aspects, but there is no single chapter on the subject of music; only some isolated references (Lieven 2016, 53–4; Stephens 2016, 67). From my point of view, this is rather paradoxical, since nowadays, there are very good researchers specialised in Egyptian and Greek music (such as Sybille Emerit and Annie Bélis respectively). In addition, the music has been considered one of the most singular cultural aspects of the Greek world (Bélis 1999, 15) and Greek music is often featured at the start of many courses and books on the history of Western Music (Burkholder et al. 2008, 29; Fubini 2013, 41). In any case, research on Egyptian music was hardly ever interested in this question. Sometimes there are some authors interested in the organology area (Hickmann 1954, 128; Vivas 1999, 289–300; Head 2007, 25, 31), but it is superficial and insufficient. Other times, the authors had only seen the influence from the Ptolemaic Period, forgetting the impact of other Greco-Egyptian interactions (González 1994, 428; Emerit 2013, 5).

In this paper, I would like to put forth some reflections on Egyptian influence on Greek music from the Archaic and Classical periods. There are some key aspects of this study; the first and most important of which, is that it is only a preliminary study presented to encourage future work in this field among researchers. Therefore, this is not a detailed study about the relations between the Egyptian and Greek music. The second one is that the focus of this study will be placed in the aesthetic and intellectual aspects of these musical traditions, because they are the base of any commentaries about other musical aspects. While it is true that there are many differences between Egyptian and Greek mentalities, there are also some very interesting common intellectual aspects. The last key aspect of this study is the several references to the Mesopotamian music in order to contrast my reflections.

The ultimate aim of this paper is to invite the reader to reflect on two subjects: the intense relations between musical traditions in the Ancient World and the importance of the intellectual aspects of music in order to understand them properly.

The concept of music and its consequences

The starting point in my study is the Egyptian and Greek concept of music. On the one hand, we can use several Egyptian words (*ḥn, ḥsi, šmᶜ* or *iḫy*) to express our concept of 'music' (these words do not have any acceptations related a political, religious or funerary context) (Barahona 2000, 38–42; 2002, 12–14; 2005, 42). On the other hand, the Greek term *mousiké techné*, which is the Greek term for 'music' (literally, 'the Muses' Art') combines three aspects: the *lexis* (the spoken word), the *orchésis* (the dance), and the *mélos* (the melody, i.e. the actual music) (García et al. 2012, 34–5).

Certainly, we can observe that these musical traditions are conceived from the standpoint of singing and not instrumental playing. So, while the Egyptian words refer to some types of singers (Barahona 2002, 15; Emerit 2013, 8), the Greek *mélos* is profoundly related to singing and lyrical poetry. It would be an extension of the *lexis*,

the spoken word (Yarza 1964, 880; Bailly 1985, 1248; Rocci 2002, 1205). I will show some reflections from this common vocal nature of the music.

New visions about the lyrical repertoire

Though they do not possess any form of musical notation (but they do have an outstanding literary dimension), we must view the works from the Egyptian and Greek lyrical poetry as a group of songs and not only of poems.

In addition, they would have some thematic similarities; therefore, we can imagine that they could have had some similarities in their musical interpretation, although we do not have much information to reconstruct it. For the time being, we will note the thematic similarities of these groups of songs:

New Kingdom love poetry and Sappho's poetry

Some people have noted the possible Asiatic origins of some topics in the Sappho's poetry. In fact, we have important lyrical poetry from Mesopotamia, but it is mostly dominated by the topic of the 'sacred marriage' between a priestess and a deified king representing the marriage between, respectively, the goddess Inanna and the pastoral god Dumuzi. However, in my opinion, the Egyptian love poetry from the New Kingdom is more intimate, personal and near to the human being although its character is a little deliberated and literary.

Therefore, I tend to believe that the Sappho's poetry has more similarities with this Egyptian love poetry than with the Mesopotamian love poetry. And that would not be by chance, since Charaxus, the Sappho's brother, visited and traded with the Greek colony of Naukratis, where he could learn this repertory in some way, as has been commented in previous studies (Fernández 1958, 8–9; Lichtheim 1976, 181; Leick 1994, 173; Lesky 2010, 215–219; Lazaridis 2016, 194).

Among these similarities, there is the common invocation to the goddesses of love (*Love Songs from Papyrus Chester Beatty* I, Ia.5 = Lichtheim 1976, 184; Tobin 2003, 325–326; Sappho frs 1 and 5 = Rodríguez 1980, 354, 356) (Lazaridis 2016, 195) or the common idea of a comfortable bed for the beloved person (*Love Songs from Papyrus Chester Beatty* I, Ic.7 = Lichtheim 1976, 184; Tobin, 2003, 325–326; Sappho fr.46 = Rodríguez 1980, 365) (Lazaridis 2016, 195).

We can also observe the common idea about love as a way to become sick or heal without any other natural or medical intervention. Thus, in Egypt, a song from the *Cairo Love Songs* (Serrano 1993, 268; Tobin 2003, 318) says that a man felt inebriate drinking nothing when he embraced and kissed a woman, while the Seventh Stanza from the *Love Songs of Papyrus Chester Beatty* (Lichtheim 1976, 185; Serrano 1993, 266; Tobin 2003, 327) shows how a man recovers his health with only the presence of his love. In Greece, Sappho shivers due to love (Eros) and she is unable to work her loom (Sappho frs 31, 102 and 105 = Rodríguez 1980, 361–362, 373, 375).

Finally, we find several reflections on the frustration and desolation due to the disillusionment and abandonment by the beloved person (*Nakht-Sobek Songs from*

Papyrus Chester Beatty I, 46 = Lichtheim 1976, 188; Serrano 1993, 269; Tobin 2003, 331; *Love Songs of Papyrus Harris 500*, 15 = Tobin 2003, 314–315; Sappho frs 94 and 130 = Rodríguez 1980 370–371, 377).

'Harper's songs' and the Odyssey

We find a musician called Demodocus at the well-known *Odyssey* by Homer who sang while playing the lyre, and who was blind by the Muse in exchange for his beautiful voice. He appears in the joyful banquet organized by Alcinous in the arrival of Odysseus to Scheria before his departure for Ithaca, as a sign of hospitality (*Odyssey* VIII, 59–83 = Pabón 1982, 208–209).

Blind musicians in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt are normally related with the palatial context as the case of Demodocus, who worked for Alcinous, the king of the Phaiacians. However, while the origin of blindness in Mesopotamian musicians is not necessarily related with the deities, in Egypt, musicians from the Middle and New Kingdoms' iconographic depictions are blind or wearing a white blindfold because they cannot establish a visual contact during the communication with the deity in the religious rituals (Manniche 1978, 18–21; Galán 2001, 95; Shehata 2009, 38–9; Simini 2011, 32). Therefore, their blindness and the blindness of Demodocus most likely would have been of the same origin.

In addition, several of these depictions with blind musicians performing with chordophones (harps, lutes or lyres) are associated with a text, the 'harper's songs', related with the happiness as a way to get past the death of a person. In this sense, we have an invitation from a harpist to be happy and enjoy the moment because nobody knows anything about a possible life after death, as we can read on the Antef Song from in the tomb of Paatenemheb from Saqqara and the Papyrus Harris 500. Another example is in the banquet scene on Wall D of the hall in the tomb of Horemhab. In this scene, a blind singer, with other musicians, performs a text about 'the good things which are received from the hand of the blessed royal scribe every day' (Lichtheim 1945, 181, 184, 192–193; Manniche 1991, 97; Serrano 1993, 270–271; Tobin 2003, 308).

The relationship between 'harper's songs' and Demodocus is clear. These songs were hiding a sad reality before the people (the death of a beloved person) and Demodocus, with his joyful and epic music about the adventures of Odysseus, hid the Odysseus' suffering due to being far away from Ithaca. Nevertheless, in this case, Odysseus uncovers the Demodocus' 'lie' with his tears before his bitter souvenirs.

The instruments, an accompaniment of the voice

The musical instruments are an accompaniment of the voice in order to emphasise the content of the song lyrics and give it more emotional capacity. The ideal in both musical traditions would be the self-accompaniment as we can appreciate in the depictions of musicians in some stelae of the 'harper's songs' (Manniche 1991, 97–103; Simini 2011, 32–36) or the *ḥsw*-singers, who accompanied themselves with

their hands (Emerit 2013, 8), but also with the Greeks reciting poetic texts with a chordophone (the *barbitós* in the Sappho's poetry, the lyre and cithara, etc.) (García et al. 2012, 34–35, 69–70).

In this sense, the chordophones (harps, lyres, and lutes) would be the most frequent musical instruments in both cultures because they are the best suited to singing with a melodic accompaniment. Percussion and wind instruments would not be so frequent, especially the latter, although they were not totally absent, as I shall later explain (West 1992, 82, 122; García et al. 2012, 124 [16]; Emerit 2013, 4–5).

Could we establish some Egyptian influences in Greek musical instruments if they have the same mission in these two musical traditions? We have the clearest example in the chordophones. On one hand, Martin L. West (1992, 54) notes that the volutes, zigzags and other complicated ornaments from the Greek cithara in the Classical Period had a remote origin in the Minoan and Egyptian chordophones (we must keep in mind the New Kingdom depictions, in which the string instruments had very complicated shapes) (Manniche 1991, 48, 53). On the other hand, and in spite of their supposed Lydian origin, the different types of harps from the Archaic and Classical Greece (*pectis, magadis* and *trigon*) seem to be very similar to the Egyptian angular harp from Late Period conserved at the Louvre Museum (N 1441), a type of instrument present in Egypt since the New Kingdom. In fact, all these chordophones were used for ludic purposes and had many strings, so they would be avoided by Plato when he was conceiving his ideal city (Manniche 1991, 53, pl. 6; Lawergren 2000b, 55; Head 2007, 25, 32).

On the subject of percussion instruments, Egyptian round-frame drums were the most important influence on the Greek round-frame drum known as *tympanon*. Both instruments were used by women in popular events (West 1992, 124). The subject of aerophones will be commented on later.

The character of the music and its consequences

A common character

These reflections are interesting and original, but these Greek musical elements could have actually had a Mesopotamian origin. Certainly, the Sumerian concept *nam-nar* (the nearest to our actual concept of 'music' in Mesopotamia) is partially equivalent to the Greek *mousiké techné* because we can translate *nam-nar* literally as 'the Art of Singing' (García et al. 2012, 34–35; Ziegler 2012, 30 [9]). In addition, we can show this common supremacy of the vocal nature of the music in two myths. On one hand, in Mesopotamia, Inanna (associated with the singing and the percussions represented by the lamentation drum *šem* through two courtesans of hers) tried to killed the arrogant pastoral deity Dumuzi, who was with his musicians of woodwind instruments. On the other hand, in Greece, Apollo, with his voice and lyre, beat and killed the arrogant Marsyas (who is playing an *aulós*, more or less, a 'double oboe') (Lawergren 2000a, 124; Bottéro and Kramer 2004, 303; Gabbay 2008, 53).

Was Greek music really influenced by Egypt? I believe so, because the characters of Egyptian and Greek music were identical in opposition to Mesopotamia. First, let us take a few points from this text by Martin West on Greek music:

> Pindar was a professional musician. But most Greeks, we may be sure, would have agreed with him in putting music high on the list of requisites for the good life. Music, song, and dance were seen as being, together with orderly sacrifices to the gods and athletic facilities for men, the most characteristic manifestations of a civilized community in peacetime. The grimness of war is expressed by calling it 'danceless, lyreless, generating tears'. Words like 'lyreless' are similarly used to convey the joylessness of death and other miseries (West 1992, 13–14).

Secondly, we ought to emphasise that *mélos* (the part of the *mousiké techné* which we could understand as the 'melody') has a relation with the word *melí*, *-itós*: honey, i.e. sweet and nice things in Greek (Yarza 1964, 878; Bailly 1985, 1244; Rocci 2002, 1201).

This joyful character of the music was close to the character of Egyptian music. In effect, most part of the deities related with the music in ancient Egypt were related also with the love, joy, fertility or inebriety, as Mesḫenet, Taweret, Meret, Bastet, Bes and, most importantly, Hathor, who was associated with the singing and the sistrum during a long time (until Isis obtains this association in a late moment of Egyptian history). Diodorus Siculus (*Historical Library* I, 16 = Parreu 2001, 181–182) talks about Thoth (called in this case as 'Hermes'), the god of the scribal art and the wisdom, as the inventor of a three-stringed lyre, but we have no other connections of this deity with music (Barahona 2000, 45–51; Kasparian 2012, 49–50).

Shifting our focus to Mesopotamia, it is true that music had a close relation with happiness. For instance, Inanna was the goddess of love as Hathor in Egypt, and she had a very important relation with the music. For example, she had the '*me*', the divine powers in the Sumerian imaginary among which we find some musical elements. However, she was mainly associated with the *castrati* singer of dirges known in Sumerian as *gala* (*kalû* in Akkadian) who perform the laments with the arched harp *balaĝ* and the lamentation drum *šem*. In addition, Dumuzi was listening to his wood wind musicians when Inanna tried to kill him, and the sister of Dumuzi, Ĝeštinanna, appears with her musical abilities at this moment until the death of his brother. In any case, the most important idea to keep in mind about the character of music in Mesopotamia was that the principal deity and patron of music was Enki, associated with wisdom, the arts and intellectual skills (Spycket 1972, 161; Cavigneaux 1978, 178–179; Jacobsen 1987, 50; Bottéro and Kramer 2004, 195–196; Dumbrill 2005, 30; Gabbay 2008, 49; Shehata 2014, 106–107).

Thus, the character of Mesopotamian music was dominated, in a certain sense, by sadness and intellectuality. Themes of happiness that are associated to Egyptian and Greek music are not apparent in Mesopotamian music, although Egyptian and Greek music also had some relations with the sadness (García et al. 2012, 58; Emerit 2013, 11–12).

The consequences of this character

A joyous character is common in both Egyptian and Greek music. Here are the consequences:

The association of dance with music

Dance in Egypt was always used to express different emotions and attitudes in several contexts: respect to the deities (*The Instruction of Any* 3, 5–10 = Lichtheim 1976, 136), the sadness for the death of a person (*The Story of Sinuhe*, 195 = Lichtheim 1973, 229; about the dance of *mww*), but also, happiness before gods and kings (*The Autobiography of Harkhuf*, D. *To the far right*, 7–17; *Unas Pyramid Texts*, Utterance 517, 7–8; *The Birth of the Royal Children*, 11.20–12.10; Lichtheim 1973, 26–27, 48, 221). The iconography from the Old and New Kingdoms helps us confirm this, but also shows the frequent association with music, perhaps as a physical expression of the sad and happy emotions caused by music (Vandier 1958, 391–486; González 1994, 422–427; Anderson 2000, 2565–2567).

In the case of Greece, we must remember how *orchésis* (the dance) was an essential part of music according to the concept of the *mousiké techné* (García et al. 2012, 34–35). However, in Mesopotamia, in spite of the several allusions to it, dance seems more absent than in these musical traditions. I tend to think that it is logical due to the important sad and intellectual dimensions of the Mesopotamian music (Gabbay 2003).

The relative importance of the aerophones

Wind instruments had, in fact, a limited and negative presence in Mesopotamia (Spycket 1972, 171), but also in some Indo-European cultures, as the Hittites (Machabey 1944, 5–6; de Martino 2000, 2662), the Celts (who mostly featured brass instruments in addition to the lyre, in association with the figure of the bard, singing epic tales; Vendries 1999, 95–98) or the Persians, since Herodotus (*Histories* I, 132, 1 = Schraeder 1977, 201) said explicitly they did not use *aulói* (plural of *aulós*) in sacrifices (de Jong 1997, 112). Nevertheless, wind instruments attained a relevant presence in Greece, although nothing is clear about their arrival in Greece (West 1992, 82). Among these instruments, we find the straight trumpet *salpinx* or the syrinx, the pan flute, but above all the *aulós* in spite of the moralizing critiques against them in the literary texts due to their relation with the ecstasy (West 1992, 105).

Aerophones had also a notable presence in Egypt: since the long flute in a Predynastic mudstone palette, passing through the end-blown flute *m3t* and the single-reed instrument *mmt* in the Old and Middle Kingdom funerary, sacred and popular scenes, until the Egyptian 'double oboe' from the New Kingdom banquet scenes (Manniche 1988, 194; Emerit 2013, 4), which could be apparent in some texts from Herodotus under the Greek term '*aulós*' in popular festivals (Herodotus, *Histories* II, 48, 1–3; II, 60, 1–3 = Schraeder 1977, 336, 349).

I gravitate towards the school of thought that this presence of aerophones in Greece and Egypt could have had their origins in the common happy spirit of their music,

and I also think that Egypt was responsible for the arrival of aerophones to Greece through the people of the Mediterranean Levant, where Egypt had a big presence during the second millennium BCE. One can find many iconographic representations of instruments similar to the Egyptian 'double oboe' and the Greek *aulós* (Dumbrill 2005, 33, 258–259, 350).

A common and occasional 'inconsideration' of music

Despite my words, music was never a very important subject in the Egyptian scribal curriculum (Williams 1972, 220). In addition, we have this sentence from the 21st Instruction of the *Papyrus Insinger*, where we can read 'do not dance in the crow, no not make face in the multitude' (Lichtheim 1980, 205). We must relate this sentence with another, in this instance, from Diodorus Siculus (*Historical Library* I, 81, 7 = Parreu 2001, 292–293) about the Egyptians: 'they consider music to be not only useless but even harmful, since it makes the spirits to the listeners effeminate'.

This was a far cry from Mesopotamian thought, in which we can observe several musical allusions in Wisdom Literature (Cheng 2009, 165). However, it had certain affinity with Greek thought, since music was sometimes considered damaging for the morals and musicians were treated as vile people according to classical authors. This common inconsiderateness of music in Egypt and Greece is normal since the authors of our texts were members of the social elite dedicated to political matters. Music was, more or less, viewed as a kind of 'hobby' or distraction (West 1992, 34–36; Lichtheim 1973, 3).

Egypt, a musical reference to Greece

Are all these ideas about the Egyptian influence on Greek music a current invention? I would like to illustrate how the Greeks considered Egypt as a musical reference for them. For instance, in spite of the contradictions and other problems of the sources on Pythagoras (or the Pythagorean School), we have several hints about that he received his knowledge from Chaldea and Egypt (Figari 2002, 180–182; Riedweg 2005, 25). So, we could say that Pythagoras received his musical knowledge from Egypt, as well as from Chaldea, and a possible example of the musical aesthetics aspect could lie in the similarities between the idea of Egyptian *Ma'at* as 'the harmony of tones, the melodious sound' and the Pythagorean Cosmic Harmony as ideal yet inaudible music (Barahona 1997, 230; Riedweg 2005, 82; García et al. 2012, 204–205; Stephens, 2016, 53).

Herodotus also maintained the idea of Egypt as a musical reference for Greece. Certainly, when he talked about the cultural similarities among the Spartans and the non-Greek people, he said that the Egyptian and Spartan heralds, *aulós* players and cooks inherited their profession from their parents (Herodotus, *Histories* VI, 60 = Schraeder 1981, 293–294) (Benardete 1969, 172). Nevertheless, it is more important to note how Herodotus showed an Egyptian origin for some Greek musical customs.

So, he noted how the Egyptians played the *aulós* and the *krotala* (castanets), sang and danced during the festivals for 'Dionysus' and for other deities as the Greeks in their festivals, which were more recent than the Egyptian festivals (Herodotus, *Histories* II, 48, 1–3; II, 60, 1–3 = Schraeder 1977, 336, 349). In addition, he said the Greek funeral chant sung for Linos or created by him had its origins in a very ancient Egyptian chant where Linos was called 'Maneros' (Herodotus, *Histories* II, 79, 1–3 = Schraeder 1977, 367–368).

And finally, Plato also has a musical reference for Greece in the Egyptian world. In fact, Plato considered that the regulation of the music in his ideal state would be very important for the education of people and the respect of laws, following the example of Egypt, where many thousands of years ago, the Egyptian temples fixed a group of traditional fine postures and melodies created by the goddess Isis for the training of the people (*The Laws* II, 656d–657b = Lisi 1999, 252–253).

In addition, and in my view, the musical ideas from Egypt are present also in a passage of the Plato's *Republic* (II 369a–III 414a = Eggers 1988, 121–195) where the author considered that the music only needed to accompany and reflect the nature of the characters and actions from the Homeric texts (which would be recited for the proper education of citizens in his ideal city). I lean towards this thinking because Egyptian influences in Plato's *Republic* have already been noted on at least one occasion (Stephens 2016, 53–54) and, more importantly, because music in Egypt was an accompaniment to the spoken word as explained previously.

Conclusions

Although this was really a preliminary study, only the examination of the Egyptian and Greek musical aesthetic and intellectual aspects, and no other issues more preferred by the research in the music of Ancient World (the organology or the musicians, in addition to the musical theory), has shown that the Egyptian influence on Greek music was quite profound, prolonged and stronger that the Mesopotamian influence.

Certainly, the Egyptian influence on the music of Classical Antiquity did not end with the Hellenism. In fact, Hellenistic and Roman Egypt continued to offer a very particular musical panorama in the Mediterranean World. For instance, a very impressive and complex musical instrument of the Classical World was born in Egypt: the *hydraulis*, the water organ. We must also remember that the Egyptian papyri conserve most of the musical documents of Classical Antiquity. In addition, Egypt was the birthplace of Athenaeus of Naukratis and Claudius Ptolemy, two very important theorists about the aesthetic and the harmonic theory from the final of Classical Antiquity (West 1992, 192, 254; Vendries 2002, 171–174; Fleury 2005, 8).

I hope that this study encourages researchers to work in this fascinating field of research. I am sure that their research will help to improve my reflections

and our knowledge about two of the most interesting musical traditions in the Ancient World.

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Chapter 13

Oil press installations and oil production in ancient Egypt

Jose M. Alba Gómez

Abstract: Oil was an important product across many cultures. The types of oils used in antiquity were vegetable oils extracted from seeds or nuts of plants. In Egypt and other Eastern Mediterranean societies, most common plants used were sesame, olive and linseed, and the oils originating from these sources were used for a variety of common practices. This paper will examine the production of oil in ancient Egypt, with a particular focus on olive oil. We will examine the elaboration process and the extraction of oil from olives and compare the types of practices and technologies used in the process with old and modern methods of oil extraction.

Keywords: Oil production, ancient Egypt, ancient Egyptian oils

Introduction

Very little is known regarding the methods for oil manufacture in ancient Egypt, due to various difficulties encountered by scholars in approaching this subject (Meeks 1993; Serpico and White 2000; Brun 2004; Galan and Díaz Iglesias 2007). Among the most common issues are the almost total absence of depictions (which is unusual compared with the abundance of other everyday work scenes), the lack of archaeobotanical remains, and the uncertainty concerning the vocabulary referring to types of oil. In rare instances where we do see oil production depicted in tombs, it is only a partial picture and not the complete process. We can get a more detailed idea of the production process and technology by comparing with modern methods of oil extraction and production in the Mediterranean basin. This comparison can provide a guideline on the different processes and steps, particularly as, in some of these regions, olive oil production has continued throughout centuries. Furthermore, examining archaeobotanical remains and where they have been preserved can also help us confirm exactly what plant species were used in oil production and help point

to what forms of extraction technology were required. The analysis of oil residues can also be useful in identifying oil types and technologies, but it can often also be difficult to firmly identify oil remains due to degradation. Lastly, we also need to consider and discuss the debate amongst Egyptologists regarding the terminology of some plants and oils. In some cases, Egyptian terms can predate archaeological remains or vice versa, or in these terms have been used uncritically in literature and scholarship.

This paper will examine these forms of evidence in order to reconstruct which types of oils were used in ancient Egypt and discuss the press and oil extraction process and technology. It is hoped that the holistic analysis of these different sources will provide new insights, particularly the comparison with modern and traditional oil processing methods from the Mediterranean basin.

Vegetables oil sources

There have been a number of different proposals by scholars concerning the different sources to obtain oil in Egypt. Lucas and Harris (1962, 378–390) formulated a list of potential oil sources, including balanos, moringa, castor, colocynth, almond, lettuce, linseed, olive, radish, safflower, sesame, and malabathrum. Germer (1985; 2002; 2008) has suggested that among the plants used to obtain oil one should consider flaxseeds, castor beans, moringa nuts (*Moringa aptera*), olives, and, in later periods, sesame and safflower. Serpico and White (2000, 390–405) have proposed castor, balanos, safflower, moringa, linseed, sesame, olive, almond, radish, tiger nut, colocynth, lettuce, poppy, and malabathrum (see Table 13.1 and Fig. 13.1 for a complete list of plants used to obtain oil and their extraction technique, and Table 13.2 for their Egyptian identification).

Charpentier (1982) cited and identified at least 70 words to refer to oil types in ancient Egypt (see Table 13.3), with Koura (1999) also having studied some of them as well. Most of Charpentier's terms are still unidentified and their relation to oils is supposed largely from the context. Among these varieties of terms, it is likely that many refer not only to extracted and unblended oils but also oily compositions and substances (Darby et al. 1977, 781). From the resemblance between some of these terms, one may surmise that these were synonyms (Darby et al. 1977, 781).

Oils were important products used in elite culture, being used for expressing social hierarchy and prestige through the possession and consumption of luxury oils. In some cases, these oils were obtained from very distant regions through inter-regional trade and exchange (van de Mieroop 2004, 15, 39). However, even from the earliest times, oil was also a basic commodity, sometimes even produced locally from a number of indigenous plants and trees.

Oils were kept and stored in amphorae and containers. Unfortunately, most of the residues in these containers are not easily analysed, mainly because oils degenerate to an unappetizing collection of basic organic chemicals (Wilson 1988, 9). As such, oil residues are often too degraded so as to allow any identification of the oil source (Stern et al. 2000, 399–414). As Serpico simply poses (for details see *The Canaanite*

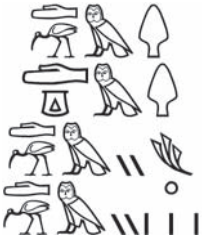
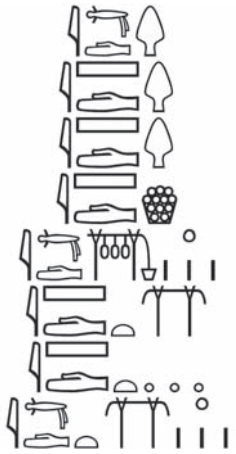
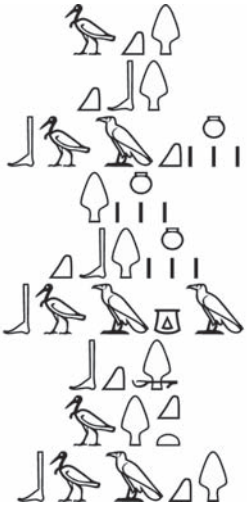
Table 13.1: Oil plants list and their oil extraction technique.

Plant	*Extraction Technique*
Ricinus comununis L.: castor oil or ricin commun	The oil is extracted by different ways: bruising or crushing/ pressing the seeds, or by heating/roasting and boiling them and skimming the oil. It is also possible by grinding the seeds in a mill, and putting the mass into baskets and pressing out the oil. And the last one, by sprinkle the seeds with oil and press them.*
Balanites aegyptiaca (L.) Del.: balanos oil	The oil is extracted from the kernel within the shell. Pressed from the seeds.
Moringa peregrina Fiori: *Moringa oleífera*. Ben oil. *Moringa aptera*. Moringa Arabica Pers.	The oil is extracted from the white fleshy rounded kernel inside the nuts. The simplest method for extracting the oil from moringa seeds is to brown the seeds, and then mash the seeds thoroughly. After that place the seed mash in boiling water and wait until the oil will rise to the surface.
Citrullus colocynthis (L.) Schrad.: colocynth.	The oil is extracted from the seeds. It could be cold-pressed or solvent-extracted or crushing the seeds, then boiling them in water until the oil floats to the surface and separated it.
Prunus dulcis (Miller) D.A. Webb = *P. amygdalus* Batsch = *Amygdalus communis* L.: almond.	The oil is extracted from dried and fresh almonds crushed or pressed them to obtain a paste. Then this paste needs to be filtered.**
Lactuca sativa L. – Lactuca virosa L. – *Lactuca serriola* L.: lettuce.	The oil is extracted from the seeds even if they are too small to extract oil on any scale, it is not very feasible.
Raphanus sativus L. – Raphanus L.: radish.	The oil is extracted from the seeds and they have high oil content.
Cinnamomum verum J. Presl.= *Cinnamomum zeylanicum* Nees: cinnamon oil or malabathrum.	The oil is obtained by pressing or distillation the leaves of the cinnamon.
Carthamus tinctorious L.: safflower.	The oil is extracted from the seeds, but its use as an oil seed crop is still unconfirmed in ancient Egypt. It is necessary to peel the seeds, then pressing (cold-pressed), followed by refining.
Linum usitatissimum L.: linseed.	The oil is extracted from the seeds.
Sesamum indicum L.: sesame.	The oil is extracted from the seeds. It is necessary to toast them, then crushed by simple rollers and then lightly steamed for a few minutes. Steaming heats and moistens the seeds, which allows the oil to flow. Then lightly steaming to let the oil flow. And then the steamed sesame meal is filtered. But it is also possible using either a mortar and pestle or a grinding stone.
Olea europaea L.: Olive	The oil is extracted by pressing the olive fruits flesh with stone basin, crushed stones, mortars, etc. Lever or beam press.
Papaver somniferum L.: Poppy	The oil is extracted from the seeds of the poppy plant.

* Manniche 2006

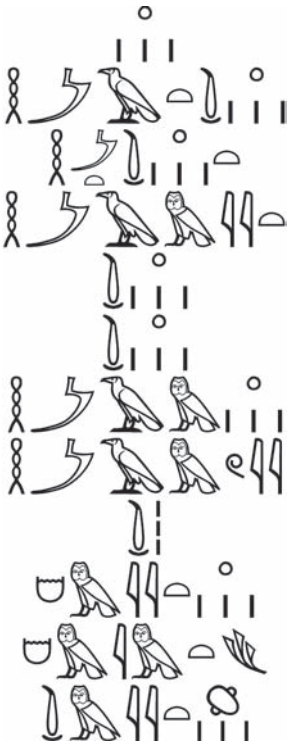
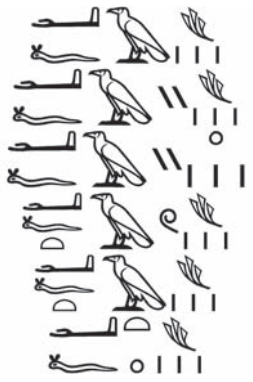
** Smart and Nwokolo 1996

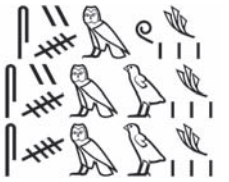
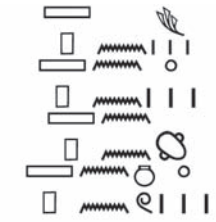
Table 13.2: List of Egyptian words to refer to oil plants.

Plant		*Hieroglyph*	*Translite.*	*Comments*
Ricinus comununis L.	Castor oil		*dgm*	*sgnn n* = oil of castor
Balanites aegyptiaca (L.) Del.	Balanos		*iSd* *isdt*	
Moringa peregrina (Forssk) Fiori *Moringa aptera* *Moringa Arabica* Pers.	Moringa		*b'q* *b'qt*	
Citrullus colocynthis (L.) Schrad.	Colocynth or bitter apple		*ḏ'rt*	

(Continued)

Table 13.2: Continued

Plant		*Hieroglyph*	*Translite.*	*Comments*
Prunus dulcis (Miller) D.A. Webb	Almond		*awnt*	*prt awnt* = Seeds of the almond
P. amygdalus Batsch *Amygdalus communis* L.			*ḥmʾit*	
				
Lactuca sativa L.	Lettuce		*abw*	
Lactuca virosa L.			*aft*	

Raphanus sativus L.	Radish		*smw*	
			*nwn*	
Cinnamomum verum J.	Malabathrum or cinnamon		*ti-šps*	
Carthamus tinctorious L.	Safflower		*kꜣṯ* *kṯ* *kꜣṯ*	
Linum usitatissimum L.	Linseed		*mḥy*	
Sesamum indicum L.	Sesame		*Ikw* *igy,* *ikyt*	Sesame oil *ꜥd-ikw*
Olea europaea L.	Olive		*ḏt* *ḏdt* *ḏdtw*	Olive oil *nḥḥ*
Papaver somniferum L.	Poppy		*špn* *špnn*	

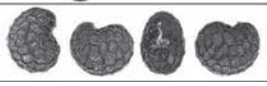
Plant	
Ricinus comununis L.: castorbean, castor-oil-plant.	
Balanites aegyptiaca (L.) Del.: desert date, balanos oil.	
Moringa peregrine (Forssk) Fiori: moringa oleífera. Ben oil. *Moringa aptera*. *Moringa Arabica* (Lam.) Pers.	
Citrullus colocynthis (L.) Schrad.: colocynth.	
Prunus dulcis (Miller) D.A. Webb = P. amygdalus Batsch = *Amygdalus communis* L.: almond.	
Lactuca sativa L. – *Lactuca virosa* L. – *Lactuca serriola* L.: lettuce.	
Raphanus sativus L. – *Raphanus L.*: radish.	
Cinnamomum verum J. Presl.= *Cinnamomum zeylanicum* Nees: cinnamon oil or malabathrum.	
Carthamus tinctorious L.: safflower.	
Linum usitatissimum L.: linseed.	
Sesamum indicum L.: sesame.	
Olea europaea L.: olive.	
Papaver somniferum L.: Poppy.	

Fig. 13.1: Egyptian oil plants.

Table 13.3: List of Egyptian words that refer to oil (after Charpentier 1981).

Transliteration	*Translation*	*Charpentier reference*	*Transliteration*	*Translation*	*Charpentier reference*
ibw	Oil	104	*sfr*	Oil	946
inw	Oil	143	*shr*	Oil	986
ynb	Oil	148	*sṯy*	Oil	1026
izs	Oil	170	*sṯy-nṯr*	Oil	1027
iḫt-nḥḥ	Eternity oil	182	*sṯy-ḥb*	Oil	1028
aḏ-ikw	Sesame oil	205	*sṯy-šʾ*	Oil	1029
idt	Some kind of oil	213	*sṯy-wr*	Oil	1032
aḥʾ	Oil	263	*sṯy-aḥʾ*	Oil	1033
aḫm	Some kind of oil	266	*sdš*	Oil	1039
ʾq-kʾ	Oil	273	*sḏ-anḫwy*	Oil	1041
aqy	Oil	275	*šbnw*	Oil	1087
aḏmm	Oil	289	*id.t-šp.t*	Oil	1092
aḏ-ib	Oil	291	*šmay*	Oil	1106
aḏk//anḏ-kʾ	Oil	292	*šsʾ.t*	Oil	1147 1148
wrḥ	Unguent	338	*šḏ*	Oil	1166
wrḥt	Unguent	339	*qr*	Oil	1211
wrs	Oil	341	*qḏwr*	Oil	1231
bʾq	Ben oil	380	*k-wr*	Oil	1244
bnw	Oil	408	*gaga*	Oil	1288
bšʾt	Oil	427	*gt*	Oil	1327
pqrw	An oil component	480	*ṯwʾw.t*	Oil	1340
fd.t	Oil	485	*tb*	Oil	1347
ḥʾtt	Oil	497	*tpy-ḥʾ.t*		1360
mr	Oil	534	*tp.t*	Oil	1361
mrḥ.t	Oil	542	*tšps*	Oil	1402
mḥ-ḏt	Oil	550	*ṯʾw.t*	Oil	1416
mgʾ	Oil	577	*ṯhn.t*	Oil	1433
mtwʾ	Oil	578	*ṯhnw*	Oil	1434
mtḥ *mdḥ* *mḏḥ*	Oil	581	*ḏšr.t*	Oil	1461
nwa	Oil	598	*dgm*	Oil	1467
nḥḥ	Oil	639 – 640	*ḏʾ*	Oil	1472
nḫnm	Oil	646	*ḏbʾ*	Oil	1494
h(ʾ)m	Oil	709	*ḏf.t*	Oil	1500

(Continued)

Table 13.3: Continued

Transliteration	*Translation*	*Charpentier reference*	*Transliteration*	*Translation*	*Charpentier reference*
ḥat.t	Oil	731	*ḏs šmay*	Oil	1519
ḥknw	Oil	785	*aš*	Oil	
ḥtm.t	Oil	870	*iqyt*	Sesame	201
ḫnm	Oil	884	*ikw*	Sesame	204 50 55 206
ṯpy ḥ't	Oil	918	*aq*	Sesame?	272
swr	Oil	925 926	*nḥi*		
sbš	Oil	935	*syf* *sft* *sfṯ* *sfy*	Oil	909 944 945

Amphorae Project, n.d.), vegetable oils contain largely the same fatty acids, varying only in proportion, which degrade, making their identification unreliable.

Vegetable oils were considered an essential food in the dietary of the Egyptians. Oils and their by-products were common in ancient Egypt at all levels of society. Taxes were collected and salaries of officials were often paid using oil. Even low-status workers received wheat, oil and wine every month to support their families (Maspero 1887, 35). It seems likely that high quality oils were reserved for nobles, while low status individuals, like farmers, consumed cheaper, more affordable oils. For example, *nḥḥ*-oil is mentioned in some offerings to the gods and in Deir el-Medina we also found an ostracon mentioning rations of *nḥḥ*-oil that were distributed to artisans and workers. So we can consider it as an essential food product, as indicated by the fact that it was among the rations allotted to the artisans in Deir el-Medina (Alba Gómez 2016). The different uses and purposes of these oils are diverse and critical for this study. Oils, as olive oil, were important for cooking, as well as for religious, industrial purposes, anointing, as gifts, as food supplies and tributes.[1]

Press technology: Methods of oil extraction

Serpico and White have pointed out that currently we have not yet identified archaeological remains of oil factories or production centres in Pharaonic Egypt, and the scenes and depictions in tombs do not show the complete process of oil production (Serpico and White 2000, 390). Due to the absence of this kind of evidence, only a

[1] About uses of oils see Darby et al. 1977; Koura 1999; Manniche 2006; Galan and Díaz Iglesias 2007. About specific uses of the olive oil see Alba Gomez 2016.

few depictions can be used in understanding production techniques. However, these depictions do demonstrate that ancient Egyptians used pre-industrial presses and torsion bag presses. Concerning the techniques for pressing, there are two methods involved:

- Hot pressed: Seeds are warmed up until soft so more oil can be extracted, but at the expense of reducing the quality.
- Cold pressed: A more time consuming process requiring larger quantities of seeds for the same quantity of oil, but resulting in higher quality.

Torsion bag presses are the simplest and oldest instrument known from for extracting vegetable oils (Brun 1986, 81; 2004, 13; Amouretti and Comet 1992, 74–75; Amouretti and Brun 1993, 539–540), though oil could also be made by crushing fruit underfoot, as well as by tampering. These facilities, pre-industrial bag presses or torsion bag presses, scarcely leave any archaeological evidence behind, with the exception of some botanical remains, pottery, or waste. This means that the methods cannot be identified easily within the archaeological record.

When guided by archaeology, we also need to consider that the installations for the production of olive oil may be erroneously confused or identified with press installations for wine production. Therefore, an accurate analysis is necessary to verify the use of these installations in antiquity. According to Brun (2004, 5–36), one can follow some criteria for their differentiation, such as architecture, chemical analysis, paleobotany, and carpology. Some of the archaeological evidence to identify them include:

- Mills: Objects for grinding, crushing, or pulverizing grain, oilseeds, or cereal products.
- Rammers: Pistons, as on hydraulic presses. This is an old craft process used to obtain and produce oil with tampering it, extracting oil by crushing the fruit underfoot (Montero Barrado 2010).
- Presses and crushing devices: devices for pressing and squeezing grapes, olives, apples, etc.
- Oil separating devices and collection vessels: Deep and cylindrical objects with a flat bottom and a semi-circular bail. They were used for holding water, oil, fruits, etc.
- Storage containers: For oil storage and keeping them airtight.
- Transport containers: Vessels for transporting oil and keeping them airtight.
- Implements: Articles, utensils or tools used in press activity.

As we have observed, wine press and oil press can be confused and difficult to differentiate. It is likely that such presses could also be used for both oil and wine production, and have changed function according to the seasonality of harvesting different fruits.

Olive oil technology

In order to produce and extract olive oil, some techniques were necessary. It also involved some stages of crushing and rinsing. Olive oil extraction is the method for separating the oil from the fruit's pit and pulp. And this method or process has been variegated throughout history, Petrakis (2006, 194) proposed that the process to extract olive oil comprises four main operations summarised as:

- Fruit cleaning, the defoliation and washing of the olive fruit.
- Preparation of the paste through malaxation, the squashing of the olive fruits to a pulp and slowly churning or mixing milled olives. This separates the oil from the rest of the olive components, often achieved through using mills or other crushing devices.
- Separation of the pomace, the pulpy material remaining after the oil has been pressed from the olive fruit, and liquid (oily must and wastewater).
- Filtration: Separation of the liquid products (oil and wastewater).

This is a general summary of the production process, that may not be fully adapted to all extraction processes through history. While, olive oil production requires work, it is still an easily accessible technology, needing only a handful of olives to be crushed and some time to remove the water contained in the olives by decantation or evaporation. In this manner, extracting and refining oil could be easy, and involved, at least, these two steps.

Ancient (olive) crushing systems: from barefoot to bag press torsion

In this section, it will be described and summarised the different crushing systems to obtain oils, focusing again on olive oil. Some of these techniques and processes are attested, such as the use of bag or sack presses, but other systems could have been used in ancient Egypt, which were used in the wider Mediterranean basin.

The purpose of crushing is to tear the flesh to facilitate the release of the oil from the olives. This step can be done with stone mills, metal tooth grinders, or various kinds of hammer mills. Pre-industrial processes are more common in small farms, or in small olive orchards. These processes facilitate small-scale private production for household consumption. One traditional olive grinding system for domestic scale and home consumption consisted of just a container or vessel. The olives were ground inside this container by hand or with small maces, pestles or mortars (Fig. 13.2) (Brewer et al. 1994, 41). After that, the liquid was mixed with hot water that let the oil rose to the surface to be collected (O'Keefe 2000, 378).

Another technique, attested as early as the Chalcolithic Period, consisted of olives being crushed in a stone basin with an upward curving rim. The pulp was then deposited into a basket and transferred to a large vat with a flat surface and deep central depression. A heavy stone could be placed on the basket, forcing the oil out

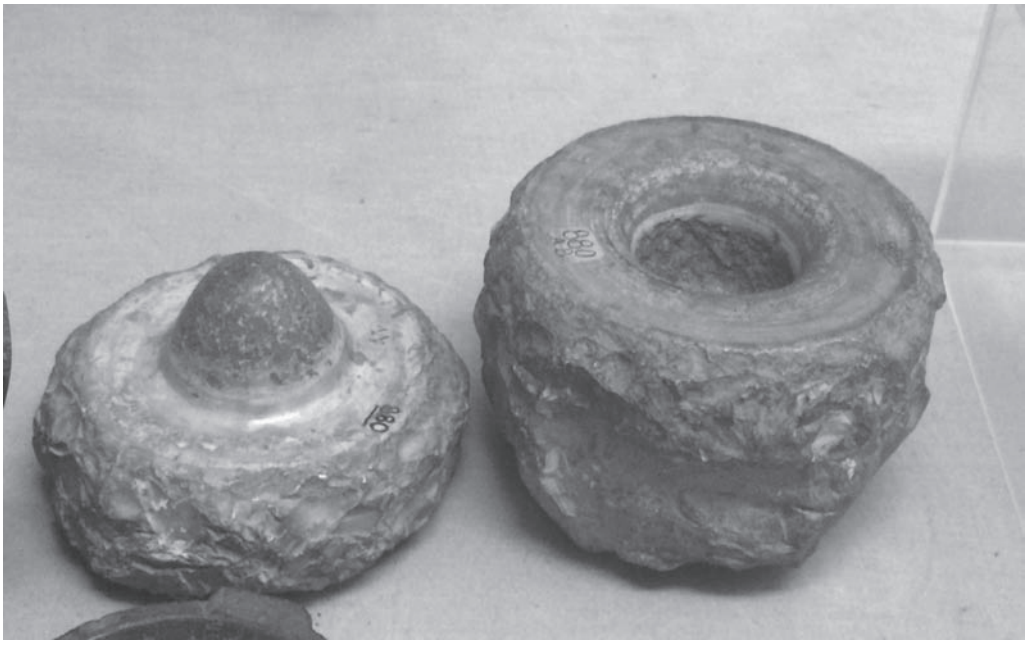


Fig. 13.2: Egyptian pestle, Dokki agricultural Museum in Cairo (photo by the author).

through the weave and down to the collecting hollow (Eitam 1993, 77; Epstein 1993, 157; Frankel 1994, 28–31; Serpico and White 2000, 400).

Treading: foot-pressing system

One of the oldest known techniques for extracting oil was crushing the olive fruit underfoot. In the opinion of Sarakomenos (1930), olive oil was discovered by the barefooted and *'unchitoned'* primitive man, as he crushed fallen olive fruit and noticed that the segregated oil moistened and softened his tough skinned sole (Kapellakis et al. 2007, 2) In some cases, this technique is even carried out with wooden shoes (Toussaint-Samar 1992; Dolamore 1994; Frankel 1994; 1999; Brun 2000; Chabour 2004). This foot crushing process involves placing a bag on a table or over a slanted table, with a canal in the centre. Inside the bag, the whole ripe olives were introduced, the workers would walk over it, squeezing the olive fruits in the bag and capturing the oil in a vat underneath the table. This form would obtain the oil, and separate from the pulp and the pits. To separate oil, the bag was dipped with hot water. This process was repeated several times to produce as much oil possible.

Stone rollers

Around 5000 BCE, stone mortars were used to collect, crush and squeeze olives (Di Giovacchino 2000, 17–59). This process used stonerollers or mortar and pestles,

placing the olive fruit in a small crushing basin, sometimes carved in the rock, and then pushing the stonerollers inside of it. The stone rollers crushed and pressed the olives, producing oil that was collected in a decanting pond or vat.

Beating with maces

Olives were placed in a concave structure or into sacks and were then beaten with maces. The resulting oil was collected in a decanting pond or vat.

Horizontal hand-mill or quern

This technique involved using two discs of shaped stone. Both were flat-sided on the grinding surfaces, and the other surfaces could be flat or convex, though the bottom surface of the lower stone was usually flattened. The peg around which the top stone rotated was smaller than the hole in the upper stone. The crushed material could exit around the sides as the stones rotated and then mixed with hot water to separate the oil out (Warnock 2007, 78).

Torsion system

This technique involves placing olives within a bag tied to two sticks or poles, forming a giant tourniquet. Workers then needed to twist the sack with the aid of two poles (canes), rotating in opposite directions to achieve the pressing of the fruit. The resulting oil is then collected in a wide-mouth jar. It is also another technique for obtaining the olive paste for pre-grinding or crushing. Below, we will see how the Egyptians used this kind of press for the production of oils but also the manufacture of perfume. Despite being a pre-industrial press, the Egyptians could produce a high quantity of oil with ease.

According to the depictions of pressing activity, we can distinguish three types of torsion systems: a bag press or sack press between two poles, a bag press attached to one fixed pole, and a bag press in a fixed frame. The existence of three different types of presses in ancient Egypt might denote a possible evolution and development of this technology.

As mentioned previously, these types of presses might also have been used for the production of wine. This is potentially interesting in the manner in which different types of pressing techniques for wine and oil could have influenced the development of these technologies. It is significant to know how these presses changed and developed over time, or whether they were less sophisticated depending on the pressed fruit. These types of installations seemed to be for short scale production and could have been easily built in any context. Probably they were located near the orchards, gardens or plantation areas where the oil seeds were grown[2].

The three different types of torsion systems can be explained in further detail:

[2] For an approach about where these installations could have been located see Alba Gomez 2016.

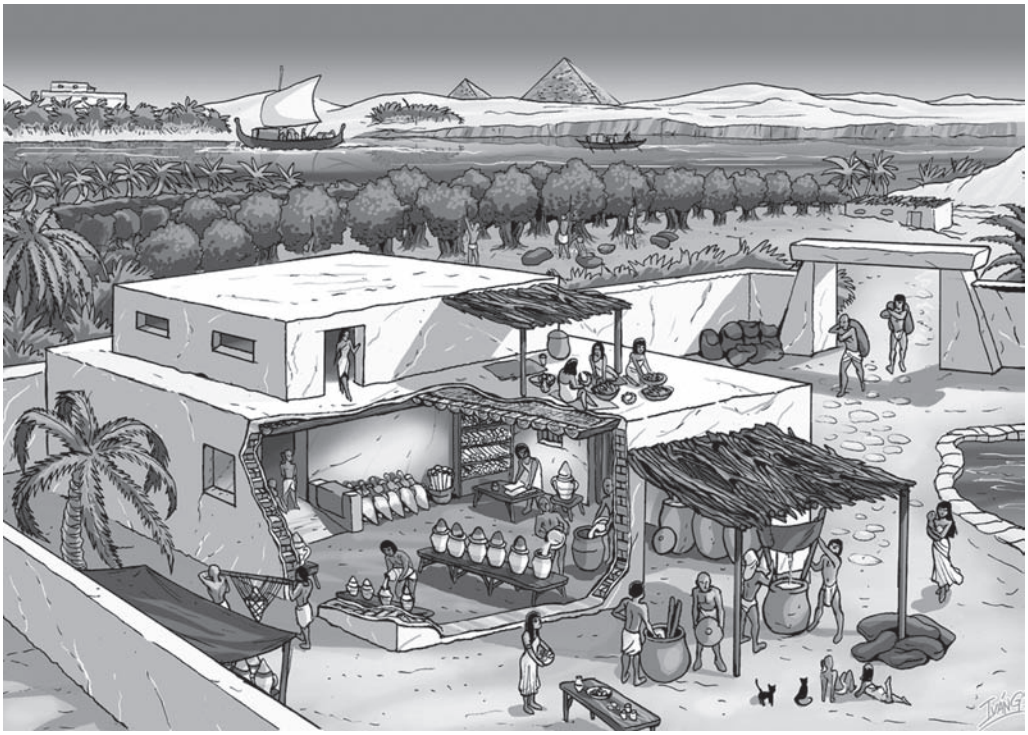


Fig. 13.3: Reconstruction of an Egyptian oil press by Ivan García. This reconstruction shows workshop activities in an olive oil press. Two men operate an oil bag press while oil-press workers to the left and right separate the rotating sticks. The oil drips from a cloth into a globular-shaped vat. Meanwhile, a worker decants oil that flows into a tall jar. Behind him, a man fills oil jars, while a scribe records the production process and quantities of oil. Two men carry some of the oil jars.

Bag or sack press between two poles

This press type involves attaching a cloth bag at the end of two posts, creating a giant tourniquet. This bag consisted of a linen cloth in which oil seeds were placed, as olives, folded together that the two corners on each side enfolded a stick. The two poles were rotated or revolved in opposite directions to achieve the pressing. Under the sack a wide mouthed ceramic vessel stood to collect the oil. Such a technique is also used for the preparation of perfumes, oils, and pressed flowers. Examples of this type of press are documented in sources from the Old Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period. However, within these sources, only three Old Kingdom tombs depict the extraction of oil, the work of mixing oil, and the oil-storage activities: the tombs of Nebemakhet, Bunefer, and Iymery in Gizeh from the Old Kingdom. Most of the other sources are depictions of the extraction of wine or perfumes from flowers (see Table 13.4).

Table 13.4: List of Egyptian tombs with depictions of bag-press between two poles.

	Tomb	*Place*	*Cronology*
Bag-press between two poles	Nebemakhet	Gizeh	4th dynasty, Old Kingdom
	Iymery	Gizeh	5th dynasty, Old Kingdom
	Bunefer	Gizeh	5th dynasty, Old Kingdom
	Mererouka or also named Meri	Sakkara	6th dynasty, Old Kingdom
	Pthahhetep	Sakkara	6th dynasty, Old Kingdom
	Ni´ankh-Pepi also called Khnoum-Häpy	Zaouet el-Myetin	6th dynasty, Old Kingdom
	Perionkh	Meir	7th dynasty, Old Kingdom
	Tehutihetep	El-Bersheh	Amenenhet II, Middle Kingdom
	Amenenhet, known as Ameni Tomb 2	Beni Hassan	Senusret I – Amenenhet II Middle Kingdom
	Khety Tomb 17	Beni Hassan	11th dynasty, Middle Kingdom
	Païrkep		Psammétique II, 595 – 589 BCE
	Turin Museum Relief (1673)	Unknown	Ptolemaic Period
	Rome paint in Agricultural Museum of Cairo	Unknown	Greaco-Roman
	Relief Allan Pierson Museum (APM7774)	Unknown	26th dynasty, Late Period
	Relief Louvre Museum (E11162)	Unknown	IV c. BCE

Table 13.5: List of Egyptian tombs with depictions of bag-press attached to one fixed pole.

	Tomb	*Place*	*Chronology*
Bag press in fixed frame	Baqet III Tomb 15	Beni Hassan	11th dynasty, Middle Kingdom
	Knemhotep Tomb 14	Beni Hassan	12th dynasty, Amenenhet II Middle Kingdom
	Puyemre	Thebes	Hatshepsut, New Kingdom

Bag press attached to one fixed pole

This press is a modified version of the bag/sack press. In this case the sack was hung between a large pole and another pole held by workers, who then revolved in the opposite directions to the fixed pole to achieve the pressing. This is a variant of the above, in which one end of the bag is tied to a fixed post and the other is free to be pressed with the aid of a free rod. This technique appears in the Middle Kingdom (11th dynasty), and it is attested in the New Kingdom (18th dynasty), (see Table 13.5).

Bag press in a fixed frame

This is another variant of the bag/sack press, and quite similar to the previously mentioned press. The difference is that the two ends of the bag poles were placed

Table 13.6: List of Egyptian tombs with depictions of bag-press in a fixed frame.

	Tomb	*Place*	*Chronology*
Bag press attached to one fixed pole	Baqet III Tomb 15	Beni Hassan	11th dynasty, Middle Kingdom
	Intef TT155	Thebes	18th dynasty, New Kingdom

Table 13.7: List of Egyptian tombs with depictions of decanting oil.

Tomb	*Place*	*Chronology*
Kagemni or Memi	Saqqara (LS 10), around Teti's Pyramid	early to mid-4th dynasty, Teti
Mehu	Saqqara, around the Pyramid and Complex of Unis	mid-4th dynasty, Pepy I to Merenre?

outside the rigid frame and are clamped. This technique is used from the Middle Kingdom (11th dynasty) to the New Kingdom (18th dynasty) (see Table 13.6).

Decanting oil

Decanting refers to the process for the separation of oil from liquid mixtures, usually water, by removing a layer of liquid from which a precipitate has settled. The aim of this step is to remove undesired liquids and produce a clean decant, that results in a higher quality oil. This step takes place after the main pressing process, with the resulting obtained paste being mixing with water and left to rest. After resting, the oil, water, and solid residue separate, allowing collection and removal.

The decanting process usually utilises ceramic containers or jars judging from the few visual sources we have of this process. Key examples include of such scenes come from the tombs of Kagemni or Memi (von Bissing, 1905, 16–17, 28, 33, pl. XXII–XXIII; Porter and Moss 1981, 521–525) and Mehu, both from Saqqara (Porter and Moss 1981, 619–622; Altenmüller 1998, 205–206, pl. 102 [5]). In these scenes we can identify two half-kneeling workers face-to-face decanting oil, which is 'flowing' into a large alabaster jar. This scene is also interesting because it is associated with a market scene, in which the selling of these products is also depicted, suggesting a possible context for the decanting process (see Table 13.7).

Classical authors and papyri

Among the oils identified by classical authors mentioning the production oil, a number of types can be noted (Table 13.8):

Additional information on oil types used by Egyptians can also be provided by a Greco-Roman papyrus (*Revenew Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*) found in the Fayum by Grenfell. In this papyrus, a number of oils are mentioned including colocynth oil, linseed oil, olive oil, radish oil, safflower oil, and sesame oil (Lucas and Harris 1962, 380–1).

Table 13.8: List of the oils mentioned by classical authors.

Classical authors				
Pliny	*Herodotus*	*Theophrastus*	*Strabo*	*Diodorus*
Almond oil[1]	Castor oil[2]	Balanos oil[3]	Castor oil[4]	Castor oil[5]
Balanos oil[6]		Olive oil[7]	Olive oil[8]	
Ben oil[9]				
Castor oil[10]				
Olive oil[11]				
Raddish oil[12]				
Sesame oil[13]				

[1] XIII, 2.
[2] Book II, 94. *The Egyptians who live in the marshes use for the anointing of their bodies an oil made from the fruit of the sillicyprium (castor-berry), which is known among them by the name of kiki.*
[3] Concerning odours. 15, 19.
[4] XVII; 2, 5.
[5] I, 3.
[6] XIII, 2.
[7] Enquiry into Plants. IV: 2, 9.
[8] XVII: I, 35.
[9] XII, 46.
[10] XV: 7.
[11] XV: 4.
[12] XV: 7.
[13] XV: 7.

Sources

In addition to the textual references mentioned above, there are a number of different depictions of presses can be found in Egyptian hieroglyphic signs.

Hieroglyphic depictions/signs of the press

The depictions of sign Aa23, and its variants, show that ancient Egyptians used torsion presses, as previously discussed. Sign group Aa23 always exhibit the same structure, a bag press attached to two fixed poles, or just the rotating sticks.

These signs (Table 13.4) usually include the following press installation components:

- The pole or sticks.
- The linen sack or bag: sometimes depicted as the sign V6, the cord.
- The container jar: similar to hieroglyph W10, representing a cup.
- The liquid: representations or depictions of the obtained press liquid. The press could be depicted in three different ways. With three strokes; with lines of dots, or just without any substance.

We almost find the same elements in each sign, although most of times not all of them are represented. We could split the elements of the sign in four parts: i) pole

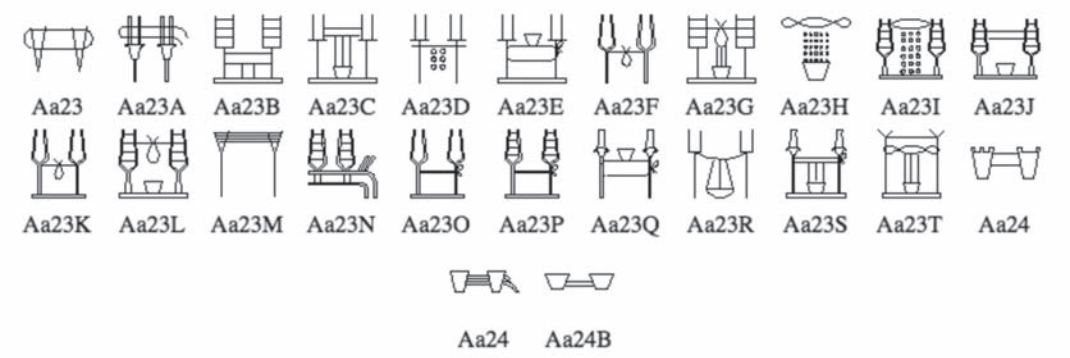


Fig. 13.4: List of the unclassified hieroglyphs which depict a press.

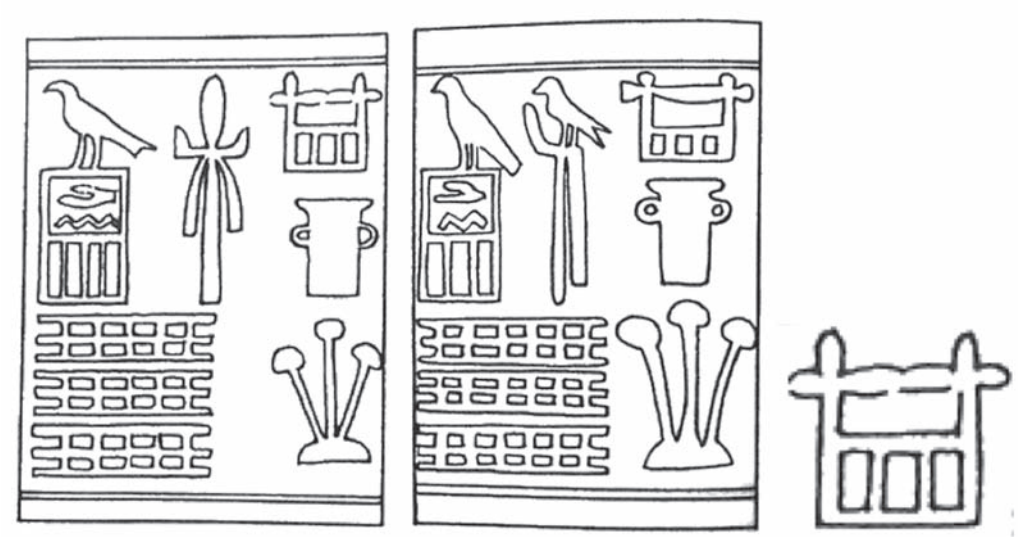


Fig. 13.5: Cylinder seals impressions with the first depictions and identifications of the hieroglyph sign for a press (Kaplony 1963–4, figs 238 and 239).

or sticks, ii) the sack, iii) the container jar, and iv) the liquid. As we will see, they are not depicted in the same way in every sign. In addition, it is important to note that we find these hieroglyphs in cylinder seal impressions (see Figs 13.5 and 13.6) dated to the times of king Den (fourth king of the 1st dynasty, c. 2350 BCE). They exhibit one of the first depictions and identifications of the hieroglyph sign for a press. In James's (1996, 200) opinion, the sign here is the sign for the oil-press.[3] He argues that the vessels depicted in these cylinders are wide-mouthed with two handles, which are

[3] And among others it is a wine press, as Petrie identification of them as a possible 'wine-press of the East in the nomes of the North' and 'wine-press of the West in the nomes of the North' in Petrie 1900, 44, pl. XXIII.

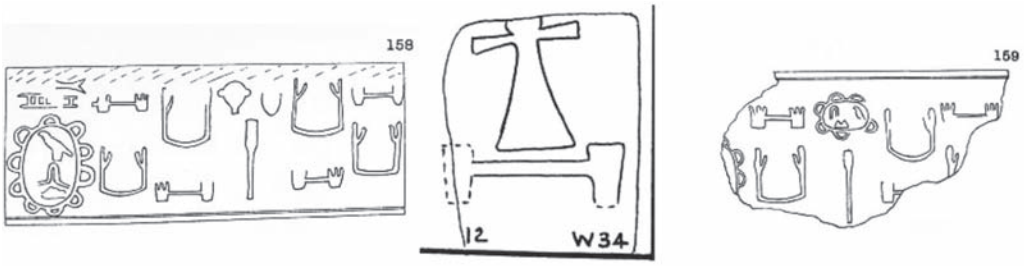


Fig. 13.6: Cylinder seals impressions with the first depictions and identifications of the hieroglyph sign for a press (Petrie 1901, fig. 12, pl. XXXI and figs 158–9, pl. XX).

Table 13.9: List of Egyptian words referring to pressing.

Hieroglyphs	*Transliteration*	*Translation*	*References*
	*mḏd*	Press hard on, hit, press on,	Wb 2, 191.14-192.9
			Hanning 2015, 405
			Faulkner 1988, 124
			Some examples: Blackman and Fairman 1943, 19, also discussion about the meaning
			Example: Sm. 4, 16
	*nwdw*	Squeeze out (oil); press out (oil); cook (unguent)	Wb 2, 226.8-9
	nwdi		Hanning 2015, 422
			Faulkner 1988, 128
			Examples: Urk IV 352, 9
			Urk IV 352, 14
			Urk IV 347, 7

Sm = Breasted 1930.
Urk = Steindorff 1984.
Wb = Erman and Grapow 1953.

vessel types usually associated with oil more than with wine. This opinion is largely based on these vessels not being correlated archaeologically with wine. Therefore, for the author, the sign is an oil press and the jar is an oil jar. However, I would point out that probably there was little to no difference between oil and wine presses at this time.

It is also common to find the hieroglyphs signs Aa24 and their variants in Abydos stelae inscriptions (Petrie 1927, pl. XXVII, n. 641–3). Probably these signs are also representing in a schematic way a wine or oil press.

They also appear as determinatives in the Egyptian vocabulary referring to the action of pressing (Table 13.9).

Since the first dynasties, the same signs appear in the name of *šmw* Shesmu (Table 13.10), the Egyptian god for wine and oil press. There are several texts referring to this god.

Table 13.10: List of the Egyptian texts referring to Shesmu.

	*šmw*	*Shesmu*	U. 511, 541
			T. 41
		*Shesmu, the executioner of Osiris*	T. 324; berg. 56; B.D. 17, 27, 153, 8, 170, 6
		*Sheshmu, a lion god*	Berg. I, II
		*Shesmu*	Tb. 17 (Urk. V, 7, 2)
			CT I, 123b
			CT III, 144c
			CT VI, 8c–e CT VI, 32e–h
			D IV, 140, 9 D IV, 140, 14
			Sander-Hasen, Anchnesneferibre, VIIa, 225

Conclusions

In summary, further work using experimental archaeology can help to provide more information regarding bag press installations, their function, efficiency, and their validity. This is needed due to the lack of discussion amongst scholars regarding press technologies and oil production in Egypt. Therefore, more research and discussion is required, and it is hoped that experimental archaeology can help to expand our awareness and knowledge regarding this subject.

On the whole, most of the plants mentioned in the production of oils needed crushing stones, mortars, or pestles and not simple bag presses. It would be interesting to study how these devices physically affected plants in a way that could be examined through archaeobotanical remains, which could provide a framework for further differentiating the various techniques and technologies used in the process. From the evidence discussed above, it does seem apparent that at least three different presses were being used in ancient Egypt, and that there might be some kind of evolution and development in this technology over time. These types of press installations were

easily assembled and disassembled, pointing to small scale production and domestic consumption. They could have been placed in any place in the workshops or homes, though it seems likely they were placed near the orchards, gardens or plantations where the crops were grown. Such contexts are hard to trace archaeologically and might be the reason why we do not have a large corpus of material remains of press technologies. Interestingly, we also seem to have a lack of distinction between these press technologies being used for oil or wine production. The hieroglyphic signs of presses do not seem to point to a specific type of production, indicating there were no major differences between both of the presses, at least early on.

As a final point, it is interesting to note that oil press technologies in Egypt did not seem to keep pace with those in the Near East, where these devices where developing faster. This indicates that there is a deal of room for future comparative work on the subject in order to better understand the differences in production and technologies between Egypt and other Mediterranean societies.

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Chapter 14

Artefact (re)contextualisation: Comparative context analysis from the Egyptian collection in Zagreb – preliminary research report

Porin Šćukanec Rezniček

Abstract: There are Egyptian collections and artefacts from ancient Egypt all over the world, which have been gathered in many ways by various museums and other institutions. Thus, most of the objects do not have a context of origin, and researching such items is difficult. This papers proposes ways of comparing different objects such as ancient Egyptian coffins, *ushabti* figures, mummy masks and canopic jar lids to similar items in order to try and establish an approximate context. Moreover, this provides a whole new perspective in which to look at such artefacts and 'use' them in research and presentation.

Keywords: context, Zagreb Egyptian collection, coffin, *ushabti*, mummy mask, canopic jar lid, comparative analysis

Introduction

Most Egyptian collections around the world formed during the Egyptomania period of the 19th century. That period offered opportunities for smugglers and antiques dealers to export objects outside of Egypt where newly established museums and other institutions or private collectors bought them. Unfortunately, that also meant that most of the object coming through lost their original context, i.e. the site where it was found, thus making it difficult to date it exactly as well. The Egyptian collection in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb is one of those examples, as it came to the Museum in 1868 from a private collector. A general estimate can be always presumed but nothing can be stated for certain and so no plausible historical context can be employed in the collections presentation and display. A rising trend in heritage institutions is to eliminate or repatriate objects which came to them through uncertain

and often illegal acquisitions. The aim of this paper is to approach the matter from another angle, as removal or repatriation is not always a possible or the best option. This option would explore the possibility of (re)contextualising the objects from the collection by comparing them to artefacts with known contexts in other collections around the world. Although this does not provide a doubtless conclusion, it does offer a close approximate based on valid research which can be taken into account for further study. Furthermore, it offers a deeper insight of the object and its identity. On the other hand, it also communicates the modern history of an object, about its finding, distribution and relations around the world and among various people, before reaching its final destination. Thus, it provides information about the relationship of the formation of an ancient Egyptian collection in a national museum in the 19th century, local influences which were involved in the process of acquisition and the narrative behind it. Finally, this paper presents the preliminary analyses of several objects from the collection. A deeper insight will be sought in future research to confirm the original hypothesis and published accordingly.

Research background

To understand the research background, I will present a brief history of the collection. Most of the collection was bought for 3,000 forints in 1868 from the family of a private collector and Baron called Franz Koller (1767–1826), who was a field marshal in the Austro-Hungarian army at the time and also in charge of Napoleon Bonaparte while he was exiled on Elba (Uranić 1996, 89–95; Mirnik and Uranić 1998, 198–200; Young n.d.). The family probably had some financial issues, as they were selling other collections as well, such as the Greek and Roman. Koller bought the collection from an antiques dealer Lantius while on duty in Naples. Presumably, Lantius bought it from a Greek by the name of Papiandropol. It is unclear how he came by the objects, he either bought them from Egyptian merchants or collected them himself (Mirnik and Uranić 1998, 201–202). Later additions to the collection came as donations or purchases and nowadays it numbers around 2,500 objects. Perhaps a fifth of the objects is exhibited in the permanent collection of Zagreb, while most of the collection is in storage, due to a shortage of exhibition space. A general idea based on superficial research is that most of the objects come from the Theban area. As in other collections around the world the majority of artefacts are from a funerary context, although there are several everyday pieces (see Uranić 2004; 2005; 2007).

Similar research for artefacts without a context has been published in the last couple of years, from different backgrounds. For example, John Taylor studies the archaeological-historical perspectives of coffins in the North–South divide from the 22nd to the 25th dynasty by studying the material culture and its stylistic peculiarities (Taylor 2009). Daniel Edwin Smith did something similar with unprovenanced and undated *shabti* figurines from the Denver Museum of Nature and Science based on Schneiders 1977 typology with the addition of recent research and new finds (Smith

2013). The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology engaged visitors in a discussion with one of their Predynastic vessels. Namely, the pot was original but the line drawings on it were a modern addition (UC15343). The audience was asked whether they believe this pot should be exhibited or not. The curator of the Petrie Museum, Alice Stevenson, also has an ongoing project regarding the dissemination of Egyptian object to British Museums in the 19th and 20th centuries. This project also researches the artefacts context which is sometimes unclear, but wishes to re-contextualise them in an online resource which will connect them (see for example Stevenson 2015).

Outline of data and methods

The dataset is comprised of four different types of objects: a coffin of a woman called *Shepenun*, a cartonnage mummy mask, a canopic jar lid, and four faience *ushabti* figurines. There are various reasons for choosing these objects, from different perspectives. The coffin was chosen as these artefacts usually attract a lot of people to the Museum, but also because our curator, Igor Uranić, spoke to John Taylor at the Vatican Coffin Conference in 2013 who suggested an earlier date for the coffin (pers. comm.). The mask is the newest addition to the collection, donated in 2014, so it required research as it came from a private person whose family inherited it from unknown circumstances. Regarding the canopic jar lid, I stumbled across a similar example while looking something up on the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology catalogue and decided to pursue the research further. Lastly, the *ushabtis* were chosen because of their museological appeal, being brightly blue-coloured and made of faience, which attracts a lot of visitors and questions.

The starting point for each object was looking at typology classifications for the object type, which have been published over the years and in different languages. The method employed then was a comparative analysis of different elements: iconography, colours, material, 'school' of workmanship, shape, nature and placements of texts etc., although the actual text meaning was not included as it was published before (Uranić 2007). The objects chosen for comparison all had to have a context of excavation, as those that come from acquisitions could not provide an element of certainty. As this is a preliminary research stage still, only observational analysis was used in the comparison. The conclusions were drawn based on similarities, but also differences of ancient Egyptian artefacts from different periods.

The coffin of Shepenun

First of all, the coffin of a woman called *Shepenun* was examined. It came to the museum as a part of the Koller collection (E-667; Fig. 14.1). The curator of the Egyptian collection and other researchers previously thought that it should be dated to the Ptolemaic Period (Monnet Saleh 1970, 174–180; Uranić 2007, 91–94). However, while attending the 2013 Vatican Coffin Conference Igor Uranić, the curator, spoke to

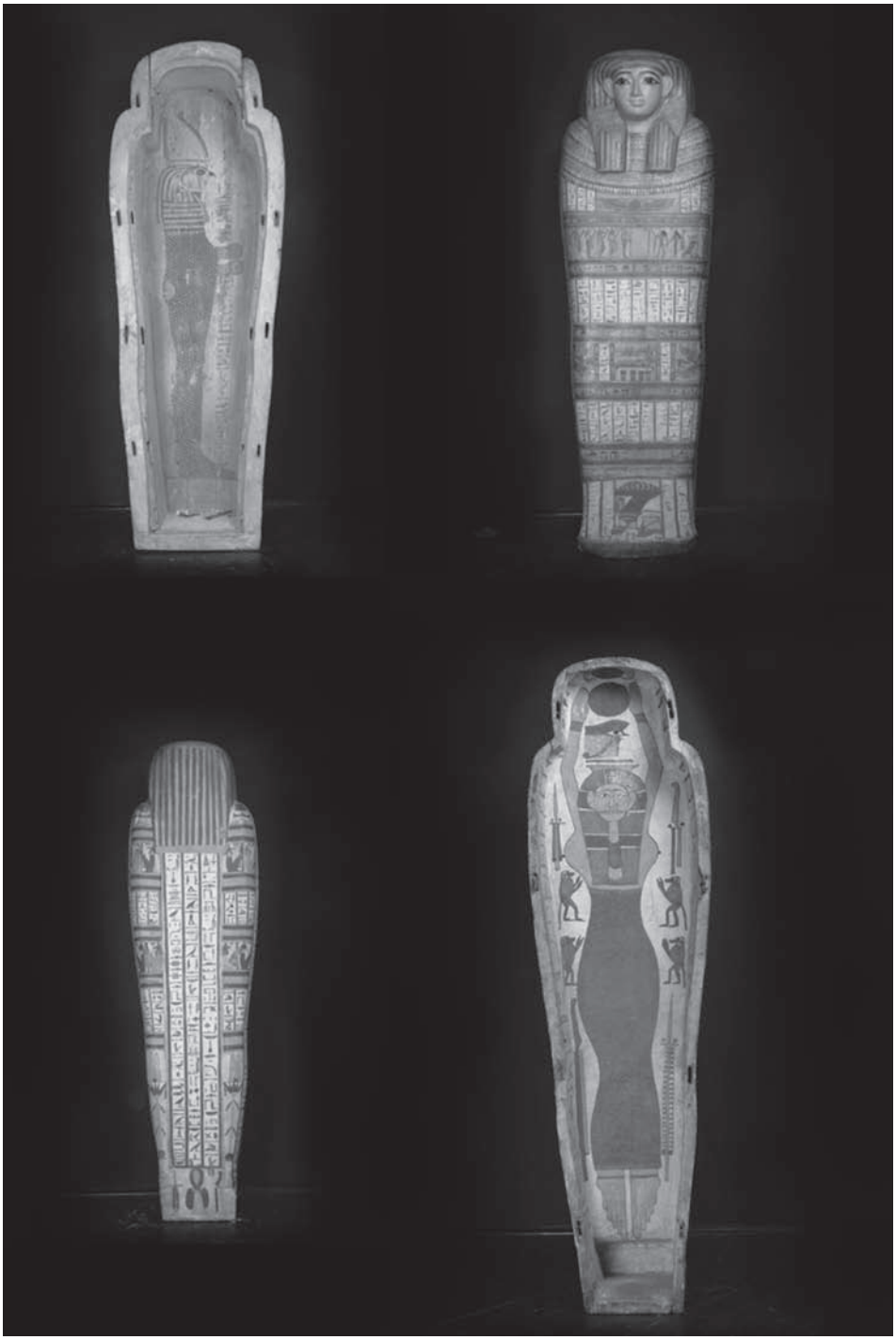

Fig. 14.1: E-667 coffins of the mummy Shepenun *(photographed by Igor Krajcar).*

John Taylor from the British Museum who suggested an earlier date. Thus, this was a starting point for establishing an approximate context. Taylor's article comprises general characteristics of North and South styles of coffins from 22nd to the 25th dynasty (Taylor 2009). All of the characteristics were put in a table and compared to the coffin. Two tables below show the characteristic features of the 25th–26th dynasty period. The coffin has more common characteristics from the southern style in Table 14.1. Different categories were examined and then compared.

The style of the coffins conforms to the general 'rule' of the southern style (Table 14.1): a bivalve multiple coffin, a podium for the feet, eight wedge holes, and without a cartonnage case. An unusual feature is that it consists of three lids and two bottoms, of which I have not been able to find another parallel example. Furthermore, the content of the written text is mostly the Book of the Dead. The fragments were inscribed in columns on all surfaces and dominate over iconography. However, a mixture of styles is present as the inner coffin has floating text, which is a northern feature (Taylor 2009, 399; Dunn n.d.). Moreover, a similar mixture can be observed in iconography: the prevalent southern characteristics such as the flower collar, *djed* pillar on the back and outer bottom, goddess Nut on the inner side of the inner lid, a winged Nut on the chest of the outer side of the inner lid, solar barques, weighing of the heart and a mummy on a bier scene on the outer side of the outer coffin; while the northern pieces of iconography are connected papyrus pairs and a Horus figure covering the outer coffin's bottom (Table 14.2). The colour of the coffin is yellow varnish and natural wood, which is the usual southern style. The only exception to the general rule is the depth of the coffin, which should be shallower.

Table 14.1: Southern style characteristics of coffins (Taylor 2009).

Coffin	*Text*	*Iconography*	*Colour*
Bivalve	Religious	Flower collar	Yellow varnish
No cartonnage	All surfaces	Djed pillar (back)	Natural wood
Shallower	Book of the Dead in columns	Winged Nut	
		Goddess inner surface	
Podium	Superior to iconography	Solar barques	
8 wedge holes		Weighing of the heart	
		Mummy on a bier	

Table 14.2: Northern style characteristics of coffins (Taylor 2009).

Text	*Iconography*
Floating	Papyrus
	Pairs connected
	Horus on the outer bottom

The mixture of different styles suggests that although a general rule was followed, different elements could be used in various regions, i.e. the material culture need not follow the political division and the cultural influence is not necessarily restricted to certain borders.

This is exemplified by two cases from the Delta. The first is in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. The owner was Petesis, son of Pakharenkhonsu. Both of these men worked as porters in the temple of Karnak, therefore the provenance is Thebes, southern style of coffins. The date of the coffin is approximately 710–680 BCE, as suggested by the curator Maarten Raven (2005, cat. 9; see also *Egypt. Land of Immortality*). Moreover, the iconography and scenes placed on the coffins follow almost the same pattern: headdress, Horus on the outer bottom, judgement scene, mummy on a bier scene, floral collar, vertical white lines with texts, a single vertical line of text on the middle lid, and so on. Some exceptions are a different headdress of the inner coffin, the bottom of the inner coffin picture (Shepenun has scarab beetle and Petesis has a cow) and most notably the presence of hands on Petesis's outer and middle coffins. However, the general pattern and the typical stylistic expressions are visible and the differences might be due to different workshops, artisans, price or preference of the 'buyer'.

When looking at the coffin of Peftjauneith from the 26th dynasty found in Saqqara and belonging to the northern style of coffins there are obvious differences in its features, compared to Shepenun's coffin, although a general pattern of construction of the period is visible (Hitchcock 2014; *Ancient lives, new discoveries*). Peftjauneith's face is coloured green as the god Osiris, there is not much iconography and religious text almost completely covers all surfaces. Goddess Nut is shown in almost the same position, but is black coloured, representing the nocturnal sky and swallowing the evening sun. The bottom presents a picture of the goddess of the West, while Shepenun has a scarab beetle on the same spot. On the other hand, the headdress, flower collar and winged Nut on its chest follow a same general pattern, but the colouring, motifs such as flowers and the winged sun are of a completely different styles and execution.

The coffin of Pesbes (EA6671) was found in Thebes and dates to the 26th dynasty (*The British Museum*). The southern style characteristics can be seen at first glance such as yellow varnish, headdress, red-coloured face, a podium, a prevalence of texts, flower collar and weighing of the heart scene. However, below that the arrangement of the text and deities is different: a middle vertical register flanked with horizontal lines compared to horizontal registers on Shepenuns coffin. This might indicate a change in the 26th dynasty, although the general style is still used.

The last example used for comparison is the coffin of Pentahuthetep from the Ptolemaic Period found in a tomb in Qubbet el-Hawa (Hitchcock 2014; *Burial customs*). This was used as a comparison for the previously thought date. As Taylor mentions, one of the first characteristics of Ptolemaic coffins is the unrealistic flower collar which does not stretch from one shoulder to the other, but hangs bellow the wig (Taylor

2009, 388). Also, the face is painted gold and the iconography dominates over text and is executed in a different style than Shepenun's, where traditional iconography was combined with new Hellenistic influences.

The final conclusion regarding the provenance of Shepenun's coffin needs more examples for comparison, but would most likely be Thebes or the general surrounding area. The dating is easier to establish and based on the shown examples it is most definitely not of the Ptolemaic Period, rather it belongs to the 25/26th dynasty. As mentioned in the beginning the material culture and stylistic features do not necessarily correspond to the dating system based on the political situation.

The child mummy mask

The second researched object is a mummy mask that came to the Museum as a donation in 2014 (E-812; Fig. 14.2). It then underwent a restoration process to patch it up and consolidate as it was in a pretty bad shape. The exact reasons for this are unknown, but Petrie provides a theory about the change in customs. He states that mummies could have been available to visit for a number of years before being buried, based on the context of burial and the state of the mummies and their equipment. They show signs of repairs and bird droppings for example, due to long exposures outside (Petrie 1889, 15; Riggs 2005, 148).

The size of the mask suggests it most likely belonged to a child. A general typology was sought and it showed a later date, such as Ptolemaic or early Roman. A problem of the period is several distinctively different styles of portraits and funeral equipment used at the same time. For example, the famous Fayum portraits date to the same period. However, this shows how traditional objects changed and adjusted in society. Mummy mask were more traditional and more expensive. For other people, who could not afford them, the alternatives were cheaper, new innovations in the form of mummy portraits. On the other side, both of these exhibit similar traits and features which show a corresponding influence, such as the curly hair. These new elements were a change which was introduced from the Hellenistic view on art. The naturalistic and individualistic approach was the Hellenistic standard and its portraits and sculptures were usually made for a public display, something rarely seen in Egyptian art (Riggs 2005, 95; Picton et al. 2007, 77–81). The examples of the new funerary equipment reflect how these different cultural and social spheres collided and merged into a new product.

One such product was the mummy mask in question. It is made of gilded cartonnage, its wig is divided into lappets, curly hair crops up from the wig on the forehead, the face is flanked by three figures two of which are kneeling (goddess Isis), the other standing in front of the left one, there are six sitting figures in the lower registers (three on each side), and rosette motifs painted pink (typical for the late Ptolemaic, early Roman Period) all over the mask.

As in other cases, a similar example was sought and found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (Accession number 31.50). The mask was excavated by Flinders Petrie



Fig. 14.2: E-812 child's cartonnage mask (photographed by Igor Krajcar).

in Hawara and is dated to the late Ptolemaic and early Roman Period, 1st century BCE (Petrie 1889, pl. 9; *Mummy mask*). The features of this mask are very similar, almost identical to the example in Zagreb, although of better quality. It is also made of gilded cartonnage, while the facial features follow the same pattern: the eyes, eyebrows, ears, and the shape of the face. Presumably the mouth and nose were executed in the same fashion, but this bit was badly damaged on the Zagreb example and was restored

without most of it. Furthermore, other features correspond as well such as the lappet wig, curly hair, rosettes painted pink and six sitting figures in the two lower registers (also three on each side). The only variation are four figures in the upper registers. The Houston examples has a sitting Osiris on either side with a figure standing before them in both cases. The absence of the standing figure in the Zagreb example on the right side could be due to a miscalculation of space and was thus not included by the artist. This would suggest what the general overview does – that the Zagreb example is of poorer quality and probably cheaper compared to Houston 31.50. Furthermore, the difference in choosing Osiris or Isis just exemplifies variable iconographical features which can be placed or chosen by the user since the general pattern is followed.

Based on that it could be assumed that it could have been made in the same workshop, although not for the same price, probably somewhere near Hawara cemetery. As the Houston 31.50 has an exact context, E-812 can also be dated to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period (1st century BCE) and provenanced to Hawara. We know it is not a later date, as the 1st century CE mummy masks have the deceased's name written on them (Petrie 1889, 8).

Canopic jar lid

The next object is a canopic jar lid with a falcon head of the son of Horus Qebehsenuef (E-622; Fig. 14.3). As the collection has no context this lid cannot be certainly paired with a jar so this was not included in this research.

As for other objects, a parallel was sought in order to establish an approximate context. The first found example is in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC29797 (*Petrie Museum Catalogue*). Curator Alice Stevenson checked the label on the object which stated that it was found at the Ramesseum during Quibell's excavations in 1895–1896. His excavation report states that it was found in shafts of tombs which were filled with dirt from looting (Quibell 1898, 11). The next example further contextualises this, as it was found near Ramesseum, in Asasif cemetery 300, in a Ptolemaic vaulted tomb, dating to the Third Intermediate Period and currently in the Metropolitan Museum (13.181.1a, b) and was excavated in the MMA excavations 1912-1913. Also in the Metropolitan Museum, 28.3.59a, b has an exact context. It was found in Asasif during MMA excavations 1914–1915, it comes from the tomb of Afenmut, hole 1, of the 25th dynasty (*Metropolitan Museum*).

As all of these examples come from the same area, it could be presumed that E-622 also comes from Asasif. The same material used, the peculiar white limestone, could point to a possible shared workshop providing such objects as funerary goods in the area. The style of execution also exemplifies this: eyes follow the same stylistic pattern, the cheek decorations below the eyes are very similar, the chin/beard as well, ending in a cut rectangle, the shape of the head also conforms to the same principle. However, some of these clearly show that they are of poorer quality (such as 28.3.59a, b), so the iconography is slightly different. Nevertheless, it still follows



Fig. 14.3: E-622 canopic jar lid (photographed by Igor Krajcar).

the same basic pattern. This would then point to an Asasif origin of E-622 and the jar lid could be dated to the Third Intermediate Period.

An earlier example from the New Kingdom, also from the Metropolitan Museum, is used here to demonstrate the difference from that period (*Metropolitan Museum*). As can be observed, the New Kingdom example (12.181.253c.1–2) has a different head shape and the style of the decoration below the eyes does not resemble later ones. The material used is the same white limestone, so this could be observed as a predecessor of the objects from the Third Intermediate Period researched here.

Ushabti figurines

The Egyptian collection in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb has over 300 *ushabti* figurines of different material and from various periods. Four examples were researched (E-490, E-490-1, E-550, E-553; Figs 14.4–14.7) as they are the

only faience ones and attract visitors the most. Some typology was done in the past (Tomorad 2003; 2011), but no context was researched in depth. It was based on Schneider's typology from 1977, which is a bit out of date nowadays (Milde 2012, 10).

The comparable example were faience figurines of Prince Hor, son of High Priest Menkheperra (1045–1032) and king of Thebes (1032–992) from the 21st dynasty (de Haan, *Hor*). The quality of the objects does not match, but the iconography and style were more relevant for the research. There are two types: workers and overseers. His workers have a tripartite wig, a headband, four to six lines of text, crossed hands on his chest with hoes in both. Although E-550 is damaged (Fig. 14.4), these features are still visible (de Haan n.d.a, 4).

The overseer type has slightly different features: a full black wig without partitions, a flail in its left hand extending to his left shoulder, while his right hand is lowered



Fig. 14.4: E-550 ushabti figurine (photographed by Igor Krajcar).



Fig. 14.5: E-553 ushabti figurine (photographed by Igor Krajcar).

next to the body holding a whip, one vertical column of text (de Haan n.d.a, 4). E-553 (Fig. 14.5) conforms exactly to this type with all of the mentioned features, but, again, is of poorer quality.

E-490-1 (Fig. 14.6) at first appears to be in the same category as the overseers, based on the vertical column of text. However, a closer inspection reveals he is holding to hoes in his hands, and probably had crossed arms (not visible because of damage). The wig, which is also missing, would represent which type of figurine is it. However, worker figurines could have also had vertical single column texts, so this example would be in the previously mentioned, worker type, and not the overseer one.

Other found examples from the Third Intermediate Period, 21st dynasty, are from north Egypt, specifically from Tanis (Forman n.d.). *Ushabtis* of king Amenemope have some similarities as the previously mentioned figurines, such as the tripartite wig, the columned text, crossed hands on their chest holding hoes. However, the style



Fig. 14.6: E-490-1 ushabti figurine (photographed by Igor Krajcar).

of execution is completely different, much cruder, smaller and with fewer details. Moreover, the colour of the faience is a different shade of blue and even green in the other example, as opposed to the bright blue faience from south Egypt. Thus, the mentioned examples so far would most like be from the 21st dynasty, from a south Egypt site, most likely Thebes.

The last one has slightly different features so other examples have been sought. E-490 (Fig. 14.7) has a band around its wig, tied in a knot on the back of its head, crossed hands on its chest holding hoes, a column of vertical text and a painted basket on its back. A comparable example comes from the Deir el-Bahari cache II, dating to the 21st dynasty and belongs to a person called Nesypaheran (Milde 2012, 6, fig. 6; see also de Haan n.d.b, 7, 26). It has the same features, the only difference being that



Fig. 14.7: E-490 ushabti figurine (photographed by Igor Krajcar).

E-490's text is enclosed with lines. Otherwise, the style of execution is practically the same. Thus, a 21st-dynasty Deir el-Bahari context is probable for E-490.

Conclusion and future research

The purpose of this paper was a preliminary study of some objects in the Egyptian collection and their context. An approximate date, site, period, style etc., and a comparison among similar objects around the globe place all of these artefacts in a wider context of time and space where objects with a known context support those without one, even though it cannot be guaranteed one hundred percent. However, this wider network enables other data for research which objects on their own do not provide. For example, about ancient Egyptian craftsmanship of a certain period, workshop or object style, how it was influenced by different elements in a particular phase of its society, etc. Thus, the research of the Zagreb collection could set a basis for other similar collections and objects which also do not have a find context.

Moreover, backtracking an artefacts origin, i.e. how it came to an institution, from where or whom, also reconstructs and displays its modern identities and history, how these sorts of collections formed in the modern world. For example, how did

and for what purpose the mentioned Greek antiques dealer came by these objects, either by smuggling or buying from locals or in some other way which then leads to its original context. Thus, if a pattern of object distribution in the 19th century can be established, these artefacts with no context are provided with new and interesting stories, identities and meanings in place of the lost, original ones which can only be presumed. For that reason, the practice of removing such items from an exhibition could be reconsidered and its presentation could be enhanced and enriched with the new-found information.

As this was only the first step in researching these four types of objects, further study is required. This should be attempting to find more comparable examples to add to the equation and provide more supportive evidence for these theories. By no means are these conclusive results. Furthermore, other elements need to be taken in account, such as taking samples of materials and comparing them, text overlap, handwriting similarities, etc. These are just some of the possibilities which would help to establish an approximate context of objects which are missing this sort of information and which would, in turn, allow other, new, innovative and rewarding research possibilities.

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