

CIPEG Journal · SPECIAL ISSUE

# OFFERINGS TO MAAT

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF EMILY TEETER



**Propylaeum**

SPECIALIZED INFORMATION  
SERVICE CLASSICS





# **OFFERINGS TO MAAT**

**ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF EMILY TEETER**

Edited by

Caroline M. Rocheleau and Tom Hardwick

In collaboration with

Campbell Price and Diane Bergman

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# Propylaeum

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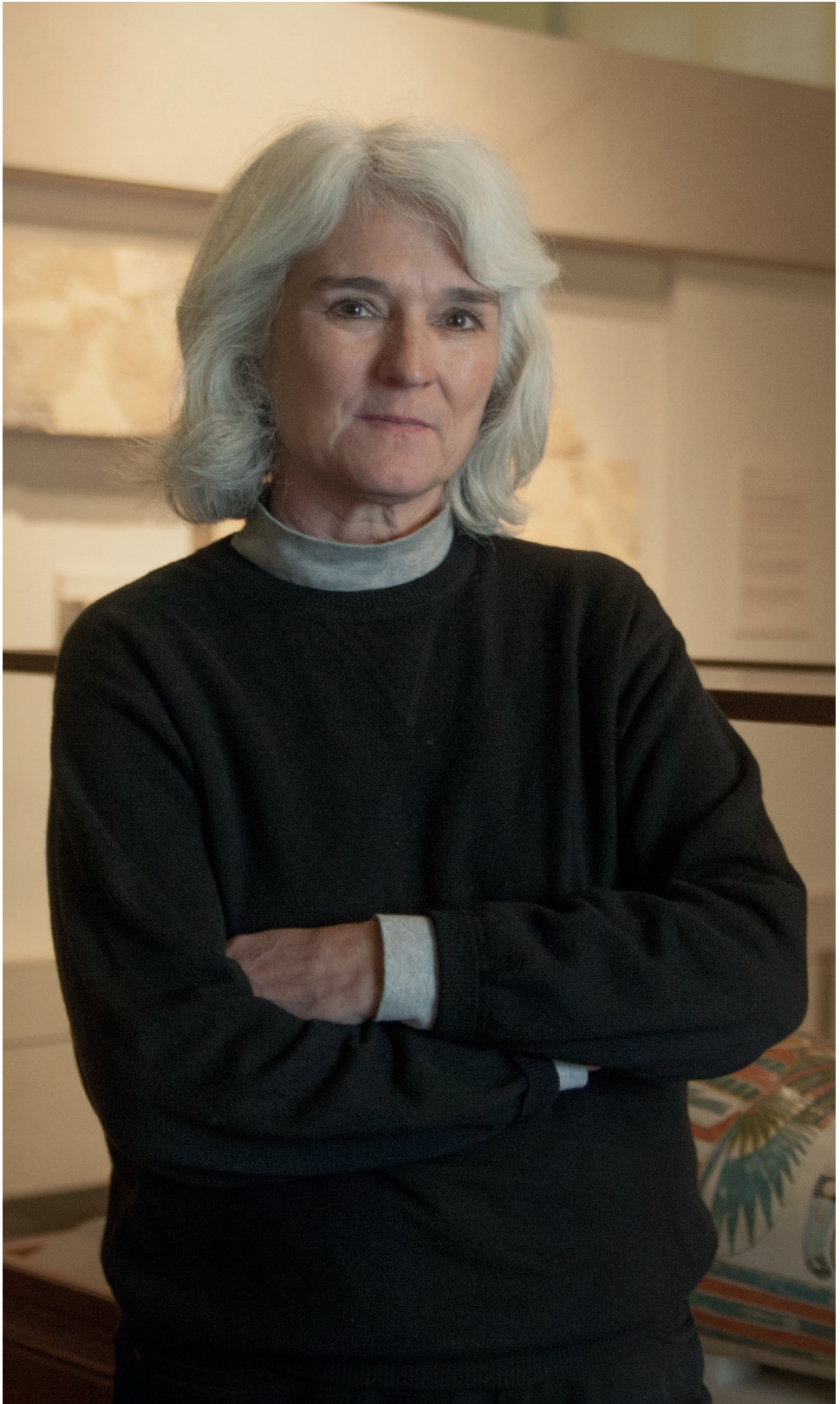
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The *Comité international pour l'égyptologie* (CIPEG) is one of 30 International Committees of the International Council of Museums (ICOM). The scope of CIPEG embraces the representation of Egyptian and Sudanese collections across the worldwide museums community, and provides a unique forum for museum professionals and scholars who deal with ancient Egyptian and Sudanese heritage.

**ICOM** international  
council  
of museums

**M CIPEG** ICOM  
international  
committee  
for egyptology



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# FOREWORD

Founded in 1946, the International Council of Museums (ICOM) is the leading international organisation of museums and museum professionals. It is committed to the research, conservation, continuation and communication to society of the world's natural and cultural heritage, present and future, tangible and intangible. ICOM initially founded an *ad hoc* committee for Egyptological and Sudanese archaeological collections in 1981, emerging from the International Association of Egyptologists' working group 'Museums and Collections'. In 1983 it was transformed into one of ICOM's official international committees and formally named *Comité international pour l'égyptologie* (CIPEG), marking a milestone for museum Egyptology and Nubiology.

CIPEG has a mission to promote collaboration among colleagues for the study, preservation, and presentation of Egyptian and Sudanese collections, monuments, and sites. Within the framework of ICOM, and in close cooperation with the International Association of Egyptologists, it supports collections of Egyptian and Sudanese art and archaeology, focusing in particular on smaller collections. CIPEG promotes collaboration among museums, universities, and research institutes as well as supplying partnership opportunities, sharing resources, knowledge and experience for an international forum, and holding an annual conference. CIPEG frames resolutions and policies to promote actions and, if requested, advises museum staff, scholars or institutions. CIPEG's networks, both physical and virtual, have provided vital opportunities for museum professionals dealing with the same types of collections and facing many of the same issues to exchange ideas – and also to enjoy some collegial solidarity. Since 2016, the *CIPEG Journal: Ancient Egyptian & Sudanese Collections and Museums* has been an open access platform



for papers on general museum work and research related to ancient Egyptian and Sudanese collections as well as the proceedings of our annual meetings.

Emily Teeter has been a member of CIPEG since 1985. In September 2017, shortly before her retirement, Emily organised the CIPEG annual meeting in Chicago, which welcomed 45 colleagues to the Windy City and some of the collections Emily has curated and advised with such care and flair. Throughout Emily's long career, she has made innumerable contributions to the field of Egyptology; in particular, to the Egyptian and Sudanese collections she has curated and studied. We are glad that she has been a long-term member of CIPEG and has supported this dedicated group of museum professionals in myriad ways, and are happy to have the opportunity to recognize her with this publication.

This special issue of the CIPEG Journal, *Offerings to Maat: Essays in Honour of Emily Teeter*, contains four appreciations and sixteen articles by Emily's colleagues and friends. Contributors worldwide – from Emily's neighbours in Chicago to Japan, via Europe and Egypt and Sudan – offer a range of topics from discussion of museum objects, re-consideration of excavation finds, and first publication of a tomb's decorative scheme, to innovative examples of public engagement with ancient material culture both in museums and *in situ* in Sudan. The variety of articles reflects the diversity of modern Egyptology and Nubiology, but a common thread among them all is the study of ancient material culture, its preservation, and its presentation to different publics. These concerns stand at the heart of a curator's work, and Emily has been a committed advocate for them throughout her career.





This volume has been several years in the making, and we are grateful to two successive boards of CIPEG for their support. *CIPEG Journal* is hosted by Heidelberg University Library, through Propylaeum, the ‘Specialized Information Service Classics’ (FID) provided by the Heidelberg University Library and the Bavarian State Library in Munich. In Heidelberg, we are grateful to the entire Heidelberg University Library team, but in particular Katrin Bemann, Frank Krabbes, Christian Kolb, and Daniela Jakob.

Additional thanks to Vincent Rondot, Directeur du Département des antiquités égyptiennes, musée du Louvre, who granted permission to use a photograph of the seated Maat figurine in his care for the cover – an appropriate image for Emily. John Sturdy kindly allowed us full use of his wonderful photographs of Emily at the Oriental Institute, originally taken in 2013 for a profile of Emily that appeared in *The Chicago Reader*.

Within CIPEG, we must proffer a million thanks to Diane Bergman, who compiled Emily’s substantial bibliography, Campbell Price, who diligently copy edited the contributions and Gina Salama, who copy edited the Arabic appreciation. Their generosity and dedication has greatly improved this publication.

Finally, we are grateful to the contributors of this Festschrift for responding to our call for papers; for completing them during a year that disrupted both lives and research; and for (as of the time of writing) seemingly managing not to have alerted Emily to the volume’s existence. Congratulations, thanks, and happy reading to all; in particular, of course, to Emily! 🙏

**CAROLINE M. ROCHELEAU**

**TOM HARDWICK**

March 2021



# **FOUR APPRECIATIONS OF EMILY TEETER**

## EMILY AT CHICAGO: A TRIBUTE

I honestly don't remember when Emily Teeter and I first met, though it was surely a long time ago. She began her graduate study at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago a couple of years before I did and was a Research Assistant in the Oriental Institute when I arrived in 1976. We certainly met that year, though I was young and thoroughly overwhelmed by study and by learning my way around a new city. Emily was one of a lucky cohort of Egyptologists to benefit from the curatorial and educational opportunities offered by the blockbuster tour of the *Treasures of Tutankhamun* exhibit which began that year, and she soon moved back to Seattle where she held a series of curatorial positions at the Seattle Art Museum and teaching at the University of Washington.

Emily re-joined the Oriental Institute in 1990 as Assistant Curator in the Museum. By this time, I had become the Librarian and Emily joined me and a cohort of mid-career scholars enthusiastically engaged in the day-to-day operation of the OI. The Museum was beginning a process of planning for a major expansion and renovation project which was to consume much of the time and effort of Emily and the rest of the Museum staff for the next decade. Nevertheless, Emily was able to research, plan, and mount a set of outstanding temporary exhibitions before the Museum closed in spring 1996. She was also charged with developing a plan to engage with the public during the time the Museum was closed. This period coincided with the appearance of new technological innovations. Our colleague John Sanders, Head of the OI Computer Laboratory and I were given free rein to plan and develop the presence of the OI on the World Wide Web. We were early adopters of this new form of publicity and outreach and by the time the Museum closed the OI was well established worldwide as a major voice in the presentation of the Ancient Near East online, and it became an important tool and venue for public engagement. In the meantime, Emily worked with Registrar Ray Tindell and other museum staff to carefully pack thousands of boxes of Egyptian antiquities so that they could be safely and compactly stored in closed exhibition spaces while the storage and research facilities of the OI Museum were vacated for construction and renovation.

In May 1999 the Museum re-opened with the inauguration of the Joseph and Mary Grimshaw Egyptian Gallery, curated by Emily. Its preparation had been a huge undertaking notably including the relocation of the monumental statue of Tutankhamun to its new, free-standing, location in the new Egyptian Gallery. Specially designed and custom-built cabinetry held entirely new displays of the OI's Egyptian collection, well lit and described. It is impossible to overemphasize how refreshing it was to see the collection re-imagined



and displayed so well. The opening of the gallery received outstanding press coverage thanks to Emily's skill at outreach and publicity. Shortly after the reopening Emily was named Curator of Egyptian and Nubian Antiquities and Research Associate at The Oriental Institute. In the years that followed, as the other museum galleries were opened to the public, Emily continued to play a central role in publicity and outreach, lecturing widely to audiences in Chicago and elsewhere, teaching in the adult education programme of the museum, leading tours within the United States and abroad. Her skill and popularity in these efforts brought great credit to her and to the OI Museum and other programmes. She continued to develop and curate special exhibits and programmes for the OI museum and as a curatorial consultant at museums across North America until her retirement in 2017.

Her status as Research Associate now also offered her the opportunity to devote more time to her ambitious research projects. Among her publications are volumes of small finds from OI excavations at Medinet Habu, guides to the OI Museum collections, catalogues of special exhibitions, and a popular introduction to Ancient Egypt which has been translated several times. Emily also continues to publish on facets of Egyptian religion, and to publish specialized articles on objects. She was naturally the author of choice to write the history of the OI Museum in *Discovering New Pasts: The OI at 100*.

Emily has been an active, engaged, and popular participant in the leadership of learned societies: not only ARCE and CIPEG, treated elsewhere, but also the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC). But it is in her role as a colleague and friend that Emily truly stands out in my mind. In all the years we worked closely together, she was always willing to listen and offer counsel. Her office was a refuge at times when the eccentricities of a complex organization seemed baffling or hilarious. Her generosity and hospitality were legendary both before and after her lucky marriage to Joe. She was – and remains – an ardent supporter of me and my successors in our efforts to build the OI Library and offer the best possible service to scholars, students, and members of the OI. I am delighted and humbled to have been given this opportunity to express my appreciation to her on the occasion of this well-deserved Festschrift. 🙏

**CHARLES E. JONES**

## EMILY TEETER AND THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT

During the course of a career filled with meaningful accomplishments, Emily Teeter has explored most aspects of Egyptology. In thinking of her many contributions to the field, I believe that three stand out particularly. The first of these is her commitment to museums and collections of ancient Egyptian art and archaeology (hence this very fitting CIPEG Festschrift); another is her passion for sharing her knowledge and interests with others, whether through museum exhibitions and catalogues, gallery talks and lectures, or guiding travellers; and then there is her dedicated service to the discipline. In this last category, while there are several organizations which have been much the better for Emily's support, surely a major beneficiary has been the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE).

I am quite sure that it was through ARCE that Emily and I first met and got to know each other during ARCE annual meetings when we were both ARCE Members and graduate students in Egyptology, she at the University of Chicago and I at Yale University, during the 1980s. Then, as now, ARCE serves as an important forum for students and new scholars to present their research and for Egyptologists to gather. Emily and I found that we had common ground in our love of museums and objects, and that we had both worked in regional art museums: in Emily's case, the Seattle Art Museum; in mine, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. In her work with the Seattle Art Museum, Emily reinstalled the museum's Egyptian collection, published some of its most important objects, and curated exhibitions, as well as serving as the Project Egyptologist during the Seattle venue for the historic *Treasures of Tutankhamun* travelling exhibition organized by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization.

During the mid-1980s, Emily was an ARCE Fellow, an important experience and an opportunity to conduct field research for her doctoral dissertation. While Emily benefitted from this experience, and continues to participate in the scholarly and collegial aspects of the organization, she has given much more back to ARCE over the years through her consistent service in a number of important roles. Emily was first elected to serve on the ARCE Board of Governors, ARCE's governing and oversight body, in 1998. She continued to serve in this capacity for the next eight years until she became ARCE's Vice President in 2009 and President in 2012. Typically, after having served as President, that officer continues on the Board for an additional year to help ensure a smooth transition and institutional continuity, but in Emily's case, because of her many gifts, including her natural tact, insightful logic,

and clear-sighted vision, she was asked to continue to serve on the ARCE Board into 2016. It is also important to note that, throughout this time, Emily continued to participate in and to support ARCE's Chicago Chapter, of which she served as President from 2005–7.

While this listing of her years of service, and the positions of institutional importance that she has held, well reflect Emily's dedication and voluntary service both to ARCE and to Egyptology, they do not give a full sense of her dedicated hard work, her true commitment, or all of the many exceptional personal qualities that she selflessly channelled to the Research Center's benefit. In this light, it must be borne in mind that Emily's term as President of ARCE coincided with the first years of the Egyptian Revolution, a volatile period for Egypt, the Egyptian/American relationship, and for ARCE and its many programs and projects in Egypt. As ARCE Director during this period, I can attest that the wise advice and steady encouragement offered by Emily were invaluable supports at a time when leadership was most needed. Nor does a bald listing of her service reflect Emily's eloquence, both as an advocate for ARCE and the larger field of Egyptology, during meetings with Ambassadors, funding agencies, government officials (both Egyptian and American), and numerous individuals. Her assured poise and obvious enthusiasm and support for ARCE's mission was always evident, and perfectly expressed. It also fails to capture her compassion for those who worked for the betterment of the organization, whether the day-to-day concerns of ARCE's Egyptian staff or our personal safety during those uncertain times.

I need also to record that Emily's leadership during ARCE's successful endowment campaign – undertaken during a world-wide downturn in both the national and international economies – was exceptional. And, it should be noted that here, as in everything else she brought to ARCE, Emily led by example, not just exhortation. I think it will come as no surprise to those who know her that Emily continues her service to ARCE, even in her retirement, as the editor of ARCE's *Journal*.

I am honoured to have had the opportunity to record my personal gratitude for all that Dr Emily Teeter has brought to ARCE, its members, employees, and associates over her many years of association with the organization. She is an exceptional scholar, a wise leader, a consummate museum professional, and a dear friend. 🙏

**GERRY D. SCOTT, III**

## **DR EMILY TEETER: EDUCATOR, MENTOR, AND FRIEND**

I had the pleasure of meeting Dr Emily Teeter in Chicago in October 2015. Dr Teeter is a great professor in Egyptology and a good and respectable individual of a kind that one rarely encounters in one's personal and professional life.

I have visited the United States of America multiple times since 2005, but our paths did not cross until I was a master's degree student, at the Faculty of Archaeology at Cairo University, when I received a three-month fellowship from the American Research Center in Egypt to collect scientific material from museums and libraries in the United States of America.

My first stop was the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. For three months, Dr Teeter welcomed me to the University, and it was a great joy to engage with her intellectually and to get to know her personally. I had avidly followed her work and publications and, prior to meeting her, I was in awe of her scientific standing in the field of Egyptology. After spending time at the institute under her guidance, I was even more impressed with her integrity, humility, and hospitable nature. She is a wonderfully pleasant person, with poise and confidence and an easy smile that makes you feel as if you are old friends and puts everyone around her at ease.

As an educator, she was gentle and patient in her guidance on how to utilize the institute's library as well as the University of Chicago's library, guiding me as I collected all the scientific material, including articles and books, I needed for my master's thesis on the topic of the Crown of Justification from the Predynastic Period until the end of the Greco-Roman period. The information I was able to gather not only greatly supported my scientific studies but also helped me in my work as a General Supervisor of Administration at the general office of the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.

Perhaps what helped me most during my visit was that my professor, Emily Teeter, was well-connected and willing to facilitate introductions. She introduced me to American professors and students of antiquities in the city and helped me accomplish my goals in Chicago. She is truly a person worthy of respect and appreciation, professionally and personally, and my words surely do not do her justice. I am delighted to be able to contribute to this Festschrift a token of appreciation that speaks of Emily as an educator and a mentor, and now a life-long friend. 🙏

**SHAABAN ABDEL GAWAD**



## د. إيميلي تينتر: معلمة ، مستشارة و صديقة

سعدت بقاء د. إيميلي تينتر في شيكاغو في أكتوبر عام 2015. وهي أستاذة كبيرة في علم المصريات ومن الشخصيات المحترمة التي قلما يقابلها المرء طوال حياته المهنية.

قمت بزيارة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية عدة مرات منذ عام 2005، ولكن لم نلتق سوياً حتى كنت طالباً لدرجة الماجستير في كلية الآثار جامعة القاهرة حيث تلقيت منحة مدتها ثلاثة أشهر من مركز البحوث الأمريكي في مصر لجمع المادة العلمية من المتاحف والمكتبات بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

كانت محطتي الأولى هي المعهد الشرقي للآثار بجامعة شيكاغو. ولاية إلينوي وذلك لمدة ثلاثة أشهر، رحبت بي د. تينتر في الجامعة، وأسعدني أن أتعامل معها وأتعرّف عليها شخصياً. كنت أتابع أعمالها ومنشوراتها، وقبل أن ألتقيها، كنت قد أعجبت بأرائها العلمية في مجال المصريات. وبعد أن أمضيت بعض الوقت في المعهد تحت توجيهها، أعجبت أكثر بنزاهتها، وتواضعها وطبيعتها المضيافة. فهي شخص رائع ومرح ولديها ثقة بنفسها وابتسامة جميلة تجعلك تشعر أنكما أصدقاء منذ زمن.

على المستوى التعليمي، كانت لطيفة وصبورة في توجيهاتها نحو كيفية استخدام مكتبة المعهد وكذلك مكتبة جامعة شيكاغو، حيث أرشدتني وأنا أجمع المادة العلمية، ومنها المقالات والكتب التي احتجتها لكتابة رسالة الماجستير التي تحمل عنوان « تاج التبرئه من عصر ما قبل الأسرات وحتى نهاية العصرين اليوناني والروماني ». ليس فقط دعمت المعلومات التي تمكنت من جمعها دراساتي العلمية بل أيضاً ساعدتني في عملي كمشرف عام على إدارة الآثار المستردة بمكتب وزير السياحة والآثار.

وربما أكثر ما ساعدني أثناء زيارتي كانت اتصالات استاذتي إيميلي تينتر و معارفها الذين قدمتي إليهم ومنهم أستاذة وطلاب آثار أمريكيين ممن ساعدوني على تحقيق أهدافي في شيكاغو. لقد كانت حقاً إنسانة تستحق الاحترام على المستويين المهني والشخصي، وبالتأكيد كلماتي لا توفيقها حقها. ويسعدني أن أساهم في هذا الكتاب التذكاري تقديراً لإيميلي الأستاذة والمعلمة، والآن صديقة عمر. 🙏

شعبان عبد الجواد

## EMILY AND ICOM CIPEG

It is an annual privilege and treat to meet Emily Teeter at ICOM CIPEG conferences all over the globe, from Cairo to Moscow, from Swansea to Kyoto. Each time, it is always a genuine pleasure to see her, to share each other's passions for museum issues, to enjoy discovering new collections, and to exchange news.

Emily joined CIPEG in 1985, and we got to know her as an extremely helpful and knowledgeable colleague who is always willing to share her experience and expertise with others. Our international ICOM committee relies on dedicated people who work behind the scenes to organise its various activities and events; colleagues who on a voluntary basis support this unique group of worldwide museum professionals. Over the years, Emily took on various responsibilities within CIPEG. She served as a board member from 2010–16, advising the board in crucial strategic decisions, and drafting resolutions and official communications. Emily's efficiency, integrity, and sense of humour kept board meetings on time, on point, and enjoyable. She played an essential role in preparing the CIPEG Internal Rules, which were finally adopted in 2014, and – last but not least – she served on the founding committee and editorial board of the *CIPEG Journal*. In 2016 CIPEG took the strategic decision to create a peer-reviewed online journal, aiming to provide, for the first time, the museum field in Egyptology and Nubiology with its own publication. Emily helped set the journal on its feet and establish its credentials.

Since its foundation, CIPEG has held annual conferences that are characterized by a very positive spirit of exchange, animated discussions, shared experiences and knowledge, as well as social meetings and excursions to museums and cultural sites. We are grateful to Emily for hosting CIPEG's 2017 annual meeting at the Oriental Institute in Chicago – one of the foremost collections of Egyptian and Nubian culture and archaeology. The chosen theme 'The Role of Curators in Museum Research and Exhibits: Tradition, Change, and Looking to the Future' led to interesting and up-to-date discussions about our field and the role we play within it. All of us went home reinvigorated by the scholarship we shared and with fond memories of exciting excursions to various collections in Chicago and a wonderful day trip to Milwaukee.

Emily is unlikely to want for things to do in her retirement, but we count on her continuing to come to our annual CIPEG meetings. We all look forward to catching up with her and Joe at these, and in other Egyptological settings, in the years to come! 🙏

**GABRIELE PIEKE, TINE BAGH, AND DANIELA PICCHI**



Banner of the 2017 CIPEG annual meeting in Chicago. (Photo courtesy of Caroline Rocheleau.)





Oriental Institute Museum 1351, a painted wooden stela of Djed-Khonsu-iv-es-Ankh from the Ramesseum. One of Emily's favourite objects, the stela appears on the cover of her book *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*. (Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.)

# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EMILY TEETER

**DIANE BERGMAN**

Emily Teeter's list of publications not only demonstrates her contribution to the field of Egyptology and her redoubtable work ethic, but also showcases the wide range of topics a curator may be called to write on.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise noted, Emily Teeter is sole author. All links are active as of 1 April 2021.

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# A FRAGMENTARY STELA IN THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

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*It is a delight to present this brief offering in honour of Emily Teeter, who has tirelessly researched and cared for all three of Chicago's Egyptology collections for decades, and who has a particular interest in identifying early collectors and donors of Egyptological material within the city. Collaborating with Emily in researching the Art Institute of Chicago's collection of ancient Egyptian art has been a true privilege, and I am grateful to be able to call her a mentor and colleague.*

In 1927, the Art Institute of Chicago acquired a limestone relief (AIC 1927.447) bearing an inscription and the image of a kneeling man with his arms lifted in praise (figs 1–2). The fragment preserves the lower portion of a late Eighteenth Dynasty votive stela, which has not previously been published.<sup>1</sup> After reconstructing what little is known about the relief's modern history, this article will look at its decoration and text, placing it within the corpus of New Kingdom private stelae honouring kings.

## BACKGROUND

Carolyn Wicker (1865–1945) gifted the fragmentary stela to the Art Institute of Chicago in April 1927. An avid traveller and collector, Miss Wicker spent much of her adult life abroad but maintained strong ties to the cultural institutions

\* I would like to thank Betsy Bryan, Karen (Maggie) Bryson, Katherine Davis, and Meredith Fraser for their helpful comments and suggestions during the preparation of this article.

<sup>1</sup> It is one of only two New Kingdom votive stelae in the Art Institute's collection. For the fragmentary Nineteenth Dynasty stela of Neferhotep (AIC 1924.579), see: Hoffmeier 1988.





FIG. 1: Stela of Mersuamat, late Eighteenth Dynasty. (The Art Institute of Chicago.)

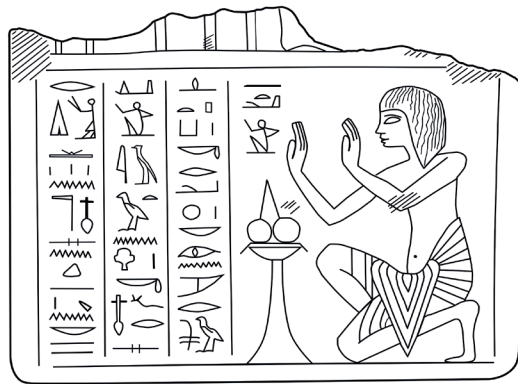


FIG. 2: Line drawing of the Stela of Mersuamat. (Drawing by M. Arico.)

of Chicago, the city of her birth.<sup>2</sup> Through her travels, she contributed to many of the museum's collections over the years – particularly in the area of textiles – but made only one gift of Egyptian antiquities: a group of six

<sup>2</sup> An obituary notes that she either visited or resided in 'India, Siam, parts of Africa, France, Belgium, Sweden, Italy, Greece and Tibet' before settling in Battle Creek, Michigan later in life (Battle Creek Enquirer 1945). As the daughter of one-time grocer, land developer, and Chicago city alderman Charles G. Wicker and his second wife Elizabeth, Carolyn (Carrie) Wicker's investment in the city carried on a family tradition. Chicago's Wicker Park is named for her father and uncle Joel H. Wicker, who donated the land as a public park in 1870.

objects, including the stela fragment currently under discussion.<sup>3</sup> The relief was an important addition to the Art Institute's ancient Egyptian collection, which started to take shape in 1890 with Amelia B. Edwards' gift of a ushabti of Horudja (AIC 1890.30)<sup>4</sup> and had subsequently grown exponentially under the guidance of the museum's first president Charles L. Hutchinson, who himself travelled to Egypt on three occasions and was an active supporter of the Egypt Exploration Fund and its mission.<sup>5</sup>

Relatively little information remains about the stela's history after its arrival in Chicago. Museum records indicate that it was incorporated into a series of ever smaller Egyptian art displays from the late 1920s through to the 1940s, when interest in presenting Egyptological material within the galleries waned.<sup>6</sup> In the lengthy period that followed during which ancient Egyptian art was not prominently displayed at the Art Institute, information about the stela



FIG. 3: Archival photograph of the Stela of Mersumaat. (The Art Institute of Chicago.)

– including its accession number – was lost, with the result that for many years it was known only by the temporary number M-1.<sup>7</sup> Through archival research – and the rediscovery of a labelled photographic negative (fig. 3) – the object was re-associated with its original accession number in 2019, and by extension reunited with the meagre information known about its provenance presented above.<sup>8</sup>

- 3 Most of her gift was destined for the Art Institute's Children's Museum, which aimed to give young visitors access to art through a 'collection of objects of particular interest to children, gathered together either for their artistic or educational merit' ('Youth and Art' 1918: 85). Wicker's gift consisted of six Egyptian objects in total, including an object described as a Predynastic monkey [figurine?] acquired from Nicolas Tano and two ushabtis. Only the stela fragment remains in the collection today.
- 4 Allen 1923: 7, 71.
- 5 For a time, Hutchinson served as the Vice President for the American branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and, together with James Henry Breasted, he was actively involved in the organization of the Chicago Society of Egyptian Research (a recognised branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund). As time went on, the Art Institute increasingly relied on Breasted's expertise in the formation and presentation of its collection of Egyptian antiquities; he was named 'Honorary Curator of Egyptian Antiquities' in 1920 ('Notes' 1920: 86). For more on the Art Institute's collection of ancient Egyptian art, see: Allen 1923; Teeter 1994. For the early history of the Art Institute's collection in relation to Chicago's other Egyptology collections, see, for example: Teeter 2010; Teeter 2015; Arico and Teeter 2018–19.
- 6 The stela was also in the 'Space in Sculpture' exhibition at the University Gallery of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis from 11 November – 31 December 1948. A significant portion of the Art Institute's Egyptian art collection was transferred to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago as an indefinite loan between 1941 and 1950. It appears that 1927.447 was among the group of Egyptian objects that remained at the Art Institute during this time. The next major installation of Egyptian material at the Art Institute of Chicago opened in 1994, but did not include the stela in question.
- 7 The meaning behind the 'M' classification is unknown, as is the date when the number was assigned.
- 8 The image (AIC negative C19247) probably dates to the late 1940s. I would like to thank Shelby Silvernell, photograph archivist, for her help in locating this source and information about its probable date.

## DESCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

In its present state, the stela is roughly rectangular in shape, measuring 19.5 cm wide and 14.6 cm high, with a depth of 4.8 cm. Fashioned from cream-coloured limestone, the back of the stela remains undecorated while the front is carved in sunk relief, the execution of which is quite plastic.<sup>9</sup> The stela was originally divided horizontally into at least two registers: the lower containing an inscription and depiction of the stela's dedicator and the upper the recipient of his praise, a standard format for Egyptian votive stelae.<sup>10</sup> Today the lower register is preserved in its entirety, while only minute traces of the upper register's decoration remain.<sup>11</sup>

In the lower right corner of the stela, a man is shown kneeling facing left, his left knee braced on the ground as his corresponding foot flexes to support the weight of his body. He raises both hands in a prayerful gesture. His face, with its pert nose and large, obliquely set eye, is framed by a wig that tapers to a point at his clavicle. The hairstyle covers his ear, its wavy tresses indicated by finely incised lines. The man wears a pleated kilt that rises up to the small of his back and curves down around his belly, accentuating its fleshiness. His garment's pointed central panel folds seamlessly over his thighs, its tip hovering just above the ground in front of his left calf.

A small brazier or offering stand sits on the ground before the dedicator. Consisting of a hemispherical top with an elongated base that widens towards the bottom, the stand is surmounted by a conical object rising behind two circular offerings.<sup>12</sup> The interpretation of these offerings remains somewhat enigmatic. While both shapes figure prominently in offering scenes, the question of whether the items are meant to be understood as bread loaves or scented offerings remains unclear – and perhaps varied depending on context.<sup>13</sup> In either case, the brazier-like shape of the stand depicted on the Art Institute stela suggests that these gifts to the king were intended to be set alight, although no flames are visible.

9 The plasticity is particularly noticeable in the treatment of the man's arms and the suppleness of his torso.

10 This corresponds to Exell's Type C, which presents the dedicator in the lower register, separated from the object of his or her worship (Exell 2009: 20). See also: Pinch 1993: 83.

11 A long gouge in the upper surface of the break indicates that an attempt to repair the stela (or perhaps to replace its upper section) may have been made, although a lack of surface wear in this area suggests that this occurred in modern times.

12 The brazier offerings on an uninscribed stela fragment of the *3h ikr n R<sup>c</sup>* type, dated stylistically to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, provides a strong parallel for this symmetrical arrangement (Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC14431; Stewart 1983: 12 no. 36, pl. 18). I am grateful to Anna Garnett for providing me with a photograph of this stela. Compare also the offering of Tasennofret on the Nineteenth Dynasty stela of Roma (British Museum EA146; James 1970: 61–62, pl. XLVII).

13 The originally painted surfaces of these scenes may have helped clarify the nature of these items. The conical offering can be identified as bread or cake (e.g. Schneider 2012: 85), or scented fats or gums (Davies 1917: 52–53 n.2). Circular offerings similar to those presented on the Art Institute stela are sometimes shown aflame. Compare the stela of Nehemya before Re-Horakhty (Michael C. Carlos Museum 2018.010.129), which dates to the reign of Thutmose IV, or the late Eighteenth Dynasty stela of Hor before Osiris (Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna 183).

A votive inscription appears in front of the kneeling figure in three columns of hieroglyphs that continue onto a partial fourth column which intrudes into the figural tableau. The text reads:

*rdj(t) j3w n ntr nfr sn t3 n nb t3wy dj=j j3wt n hr=k nfr shtp k3=k r<sup>c</sup> nb jr n mr-sw-m3<sup>r</sup>t* Giving adoration to the Good God, kissing the earth for the Lord of the Two Lands. I give praise to your beautiful face so that your *ka* might be satisfied daily. Made by Mersumaat.

The prayer contained in the formulaic inscription is of a type found on numerous votive stelae that vocalizes the act of worship simultaneously depicted on the stela and commemorated by its dedication. The pairing of ‘giving adoration’ (*rdj(t) j3w*) and ‘kissing the earth’ (*sn t3*), followed by a second pairing of praising (*dj=j j3wt*) and satisfying (*shtp*) is a well attested one, as has been frequently remarked upon.<sup>14</sup>

### COMMENTARY

The prayer’s address to the ‘Good God’ and ‘Lord of the Two Lands’ indicates that the act of veneration represented on and by the stela is directed towards a king, who would have been depicted in the now lost upper portion. Kings frequently appear on private votive stelae of the New Kingdom, often as intermediaries between the stela’s dedicator and a divine element or as the outright recipients of his or her praise, as was certainly the case here. In either scenario, both living and deceased kings can be shown, with the result that even when the king’s name appears his presence cannot be used as a firm dating criterion.<sup>15</sup>

The identity of the king on AIC 1927.447 remains a mystery since no cartouches or images of the monarch are present.<sup>16</sup> This lack of specificity – in which only the king’s epithets, and not his name, are provided in the main inscription – is unusual, although not unparalleled. The stela of Menu in the Museum August Kestner (1935.200.179) provides an almost exact copy of the content of the Art Institute stela’s prayer, also beginning with ‘Giving adoration to the Good God, kissing the earth for the Lord of the Two Lands’ without any indication of which king is being invoked.<sup>17</sup> That stela has been dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, likely early in the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, based upon its owner’s title Chief Brewer of the House of Re–Horakhty in his Name of Shu, which has clear ties to Aten worship.<sup>18</sup>

14 See, for example, Wentz 1963: 32; Munro 1981: 362–63; Sadek 1987: 202–3.

15 Exell 2009: 4. For several examples of votive stelae depicting deceased kings, see: El Shazly 2015.

16 The king’s cartouches likely would have appeared in the upper portion of the stela accompanying his image.

17 Munro 1981; Murnane 1995: 52. The prayer continues ‘I gave praise to your beautiful face so that your *ka* might be satisfied daily.’ The only grammatical difference between the two inscriptions is the use of the *sdm.n=f* form on the stela of Menu, which Munro notes is unusual (1981: 362–63).

18 Munro 1981: 363.

Its upper register depicts an enthroned king before a table of offerings.<sup>19</sup> A version of this arrangement – with the deified monarch seated on his throne in the presence of offerings – is the standard approach to representing the king on private stelae where he is the recipient of the act of worship.<sup>20</sup>

The decorative traces on the Art Institute stela's upper register are incredibly limited. Nonetheless – based on comparative examples – a tentative suggestion for a partial reconstruction of the content can be made. Most of what remains consists of incised vertical lines. At the left end of the field, two narrow lines rise from the groundline. Nearer the centre, three more lines – parallel, yet double the width – are carved. An undulating line to the right of them completes the traces. An image of a right-facing king seated on a traditional block throne would account for the traces near the centre of the stela, with the undulating line representing the back of his ankle and a portion of his arched foot, although this reconstruction is by no means certain. The traces at the left side of the stela – which would then appear behind the enthroned monarch – are more difficult to interpret. One possibility is that these spindly lines once formed the legs of a wooden offering stand.<sup>21</sup>

In contrast to the king, who is identified on the lower portion of the stela by epithets only and not by name, the stela's owner is given a name – Mersumaat, 'Maat-loves-him' – but no title. Here *mꜣꜥt*, the final element of the name, is written with a flat horizontal sign (read here as Gardiner Aa11) followed by a transposed *ꜥ* (Gardiner D36) and *t* (Gardiner X1), an orthography which is also known from other sources. Although the author is not currently aware of other attestations of this moniker, its construction finds parallels in a number of private names incorporating the *mr-sw* element.<sup>22</sup>

While Mersumaat is not afforded a title in the inscription, his attire gives an indication of his role within society. As already described, he wears a wrapped kilt made of pleated fabric with a tapering apron in the centre. This garment's association with members of the military is well established, so much so that it is generally referred to as the military or soldier's kilt.<sup>23</sup> The kilt's central panel can be decorated with pleats – as on the Art Institute example – or remain

19 Although cartouches are no longer extant, traces of the epithet 'given life like Re forever' in the damaged upper portion of the stela indicate that the king's name was once provided. Munro (1981) identified the king as either Amenhotep III or Amenhotep IV.

20 Oftentimes, a royal statue is the focus (Exell 2009). In some instances, more than one king is shown, for example the Eighteenth Dynasty Stela of Qenamun, on which the owner presents offerings to both Amenhotep I and Senwosret I (Metropolitan Museum of Art 28.9.6).

21 Compare, for example, the stands with beer jars behind Akhenaten in a stela (Berlin ÄM 14145) depicting the royal family or the offering stand behind Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye on a stela (British Museum EA57399) celebrating that royal couple (Freed et. al. 1999: 220, 254).

22 For other examples of *mr-sw* names, see: Ranke 1935: I, 157.

23 For a description of the garment, see: Davies 1903: 10–11, figs. 2–3. Although lower-ranking individuals such as Mersumaat wear it by itself, the diagnostic pointed apron can also be worn by more elite men (including the king) in combination with other attire (e.g. Hoffmann's *Militärschurz Typ 1* and *Typ 2* [2004: 168–69, 174]).

plain.<sup>24</sup> Often, the apron is depicted quite rigid, as on the Ramesside stelae of Anya (Louvre E 27222), Khons (British Museum EA1430),<sup>25</sup> and Mosi (Cairo JE 72266),<sup>26</sup> all of which similarly depict kneeling men wearing the military kilt.

In contrast, the panel of Mersumaat's kilt appears more pliable as it falls over the side of his thigh rather than projecting forwards. This more closely aligns with earlier depictions of the kilt, notably its numerous appearances on Amarna wall reliefs.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, a fragmentary Amarna relief from Hermopolis provides a strong parallel for the representation of a kneeling man dressed in the soldiers' kilt exhibited on the Art Institute stela (fig. 4).<sup>28</sup> Here the figure is only partially preserved, but the most important elements – namely the fold of the pleated apron over the side of the thigh – remain.<sup>29</sup>

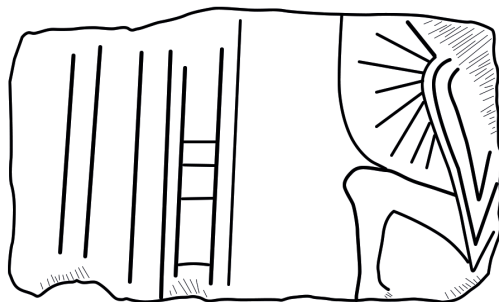


FIG. 4: Relief from Hermopolis depicting a kneeling soldier, after Roeder 1969: pl. 107. (Drawing by M. Arico.)

24 The pleats often follow the shape of the panel in a concentric fashion, as here, but can also be depicted as vertical or radiating lines, as on the Nineteenth Dynasty stelae of Djehutyemheb (Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum 0408) or Meriamunnakht (Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum 1077) respectively. For plain, unpleated examples, compare the Amarna Period stela of an unnamed individual (Allard Pierson Museum 8537; Borghouts 1971: 105–8), the Nineteenth Dynasty stela of Hesi (Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum 0397), or the Ramesside *3h ikr n R<sup>c</sup>* stela honouring Nakht (Oriental Institute Museum 14287; Teeter 2009).

25 Bierbrier 1993: 23, pls 80–81.

26 For the Ramesside, rather than Eighteenth Dynasty, date of Mosi's stela, see: Bryan 1991: 153.

27 As Schulman observes, 'scenes of soldiers and military activity abound in both the private and the royal art of Amarna' (1964: 52). For representations of men clad in the military kilt in which the pointed apron is depicted with some degree of movement, compare, for example, talatat blocks P.C. 46 and P.C. 236 from Hermopolis (Roeder 1969: 197–98, pls 178, 203), a scene from the tomb of Panehesy at Amarna (Davies 1905: pls XIII, XV), or the slightly later relief from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb (Bologna MCA-EGI-EG\_1889; Martin 2016: pl. 104). I thank Betsy Bryan for bringing these Hermopolis reliefs to my attention.

28 Roeder 1969: 67 no. 162/VIII A, pl. 107. More rigid representations of this apron worn by kneeling men appear in Amarna art as well (e.g. Davies 1903: pl. XIV).

29 When complete the figure would have occupied two blocks horizontally and three vertically (Roeder 1969: 67).



Following the proliferation of men shown wearing the military kilt during the Amarna period, the popularity of this costume continued into the post-Amarna period and beyond. A figure on the stela of the Commander of the Troops of the Lord of the Two Lands Horemheb, dated by Kawai to the reign of Tutankhamun, provides a particularly close parallel for Mersumaat.<sup>30</sup> Here the stela owner's son Taemheb (depicted standing in the second register) also wears the military kilt with concentric pleating in combination with a shoulder-length wig with pointed lappet incised with wavy striations.

Altogether, the evidence clearly supports a late Eighteenth Dynasty date for the stela of Mersumaat. This is reflected stylistically, noticeably in the depiction of Mersumaat himself, from the shape of his narrow-wristed arms, to his elongated fingers, and the swell of his belly. Furthermore, the style of rendering the pointed apron of his military kilt – a garment that experienced an exponential rise in popularity in relief representations of the Amarna period – finds a parallel in Amarna talatat, but differs distinctly from the standard Nineteenth Dynasty approach to representing this attire on a kneeling figure. A late Eighteenth Dynasty date also accords well with the closest known parallel for the inscription – with the invocation of a king's epithets, but not his names – found on the stela of Meru. Pinpointing the date precisely within this period is more difficult, although a later date, during the post-Amarna period, would perhaps best fit the style and content of the stela.<sup>31</sup>

Having established a late Eighteenth Dynasty date for the stela, it can be inferred that the now nameless king was, in all likelihood, a monarch of the Eighteenth Dynasty. While it is impossible to concretely identify him without additional textual or iconographic evidence, the deified Amenhotep I is a strong candidate. Votive stelae depicting worship of Amenhotep I (often alongside his mother Ahmose-Nefertari) abound in the Ramesside period, building upon a pattern already begun during the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, a number of such stelae can be dated stylistically to the post-Amarna period, such as that belonging to the foreman Nebnefer, which shows the stela's dedicator twice with his arms raised in worship of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.<sup>33</sup>

30 Leiden F 1926/1.1 (Kawai 2005: 543–44; Schneider 1997: 70).

31 This would make it roughly contemporary with another relief in Art Institute's collection, the lintel from the Memphite tomb of Iniuia, who served under Tutankhamun (AIC 1894.246; Allen 1923: 41–42; Schneider 2012: 79).


32 For the cult of Amenhotep I, see: Černý 1927; Exell 2009: 42–48; El Shazly 2015: 210–14.

33 National Museum of Denmark AAd 9. Although the stela was usurped during the reign of Ramesses II, the style of carving clearly indicates that it was originally a work of the late Eighteenth Dynasty (El Shazly 2005: 133–35, with further references). British Museum EA1347, a stela depicting Parennefer before Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, has also been dated to the post-Amarna period on stylistic grounds (El Shazly 2005: 92–94, with further references). See also the Deir el-Medina stela of Mahu dedicated to Ahmose-Nefertari, which was reworked in the post-Amarna period from an earlier Eighteenth Dynasty stela (El Shazly 2005: 80).



Still, the appearance of another king of this era as the focus of Mersumaat's devotion – such as Amenhotep III – cannot be ruled out.<sup>34</sup>

## CONCLUSION

A limestone relief fragment in the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC 1927.447) comes from a votive stela depicting a man named Mersumaat, who wears a soldier's kilt. The prayer inscribed on the stela is directed towards an unnamed king, who would have been depicted in the upper portion of the stela when it was still complete. Dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty stylistically, the stela provides yet another example of the private worship of New Kingdom monarchs memorialized through the dedication of votive stelae. 

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<sup>34</sup> See for example British Museum EA834, which shows the worship of Amenhotep III (Hall 1925: 9, pl. XXI). During the Amarna Period, it is more typical for the king and royal family to appear alone on stelae, such as the examples referenced in note 21 above, although examples in the more traditional format with the worshipper depicted in a lower register do exist (e.g. Davies 1906: 12–13, pls XVI, XXIII). For private stelae honouring the post-Amarna kings, see the fragmentary Giza stela of an official before Tutankhamun and Ankhnesenamun (van Dijk and Eaton–Krauss 1986: 36–38; Kawai 2005: 133–34, 680, fig. 31) and the Saqqara stela of Ptahpatener depicting Horemheb (Bologna 1906; Bresciani 1985: 68–69; Bryson 2018: 201–2).

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# THE STELOPHORE OF AMENHOTEP AND ITS INTERESTING DETAILS

**TINE BAGH** (NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK, COPENHAGEN)

*It is a great pleasure to contribute to this celebration of Emily Teeter's esteemed career through this tribute to her work within the Egyptological and museum communities. With this brief note, I wish to salute her sharp eye for the history and detail of museum objects in addition to her ever-keen interest in the work of others and, not least, her support of CIPEG.*

When statuette ÆIN 49 in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek's Egyptian collection was recently requested as a loan for an exhibition in Budapest about the reign of Amenhotep II,<sup>1</sup> it prompted a closer look. The statuette belonged to a man named Amenhotep and is of the type known as a 'stelophore' or 'stelophorous statue', which typically shows an individual with raised hands kneeling behind a stela (variants of the form can show the individual supporting the stela on their knees or holding it). It is a fine and well-preserved example of this group. Previous publications have drawn attention to the clear-cut inscription of a sun hymn on the miniature stela and the additional vertical column of hieroglyphs found on the back. The details that will be brought to light here, however, were added to the top of the stela, in the space between the stela and Amenhotep's chin. This part of a stelophore is not normally decorated, an interesting fact that raises the question of why it was carved in this specific case.

## THE ACQUISITION OF THE STELOPHORE

The stelophore of Amenhotep was acquired in Paris at the sale of the collection of Baron Jacques Menascé in 1891 and was thus among the relatively early

<sup>1</sup> The exhibition, originally scheduled to open in the spring of 2020, has now been postponed to April 2021.

objects in the Egyptian collection of brewing magnate Carl Jacobsen (1842–1914).<sup>2</sup> Valdemar Schmidt (1836–1925), Denmark’s first Egyptologist and Jacobsen’s main aid in establishing an Egyptian collection,<sup>3</sup> was dispatched to Paris to attend the auction. He wrote home to Jacobsen before, during, and after the auction, where he also bought a number of bronze figurines of deities for Jacobsen’s Egyptian Pantheon.<sup>4</sup>



FIG. 1: Steloophore of Amenhotep, ÆIN 49. (Photo by the author, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.)

- 2 On Menascé, see Bierbrier 2019: 312–13. Jacobsen’s first Egyptian acquisition was a coffin with a mummy in 1884, see Jørgensen 2015: 17–20. For the history of the collections of Carl Jacobsen and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek cf. Buhl Andersen 2019 et al.: 7–15.
- 3 Jørgensen 2015: 13–15 about the relationship between Jacobsen, Schmidt, and the Egyptian collection at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
- 4 Jørgensen 2015: 23, figs 14–25. Schmidt was a man with a very principled nature and, when Jacobsen had provided him with too much money for his travel expenses, he would buy additional objects and donate them to the Glyptotek. This was the case with some of the bronzes at the Menascé sale, as well as other occasions. The letters from Schmidt to Jacobsen are stored in the archive of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.



In the sale catalogue for the Menascé collection the statuette was lot no. 1 and referred to as an ‘Adorant’, i.e. ‘worshipper’.<sup>5</sup> It was clearly a highly valued object, indicated by its prominent position in the catalogue and the fact that it was the only object to be given two photographs. The auction began at 2pm on 23 February 1891 in the Hôtel Drouot, and continued the next day; the sales objects were put on display for study from 1–6pm the day before the sale. Surprisingly, though, lot no. 1 was not the first item to be sold at the sale, which did not take place in numerical order. From the correspondence between Schmidt and Jacobsen, we learn that lot no. 16, a granite naophore with an Osiris shrine, was also a popular item and that Henri Hoffmann, a known antique dealer in Paris, was interested in purchasing it.<sup>6</sup> Schmidt wrote that it was mostly a political decision to let lot 16 go to Hoffmann,<sup>7</sup> who had told him that lot 1 was worth 5000 French Francs and that he wanted either lot 1 or lot 16 for his own collection. Hoffmann appreciated this gesture and when lot no. 1 came up, Schmidt, ultimately, only had to compete with the Louvre. The French museum’s highest bid was 2050 Fr, which allowed Schmidt to acquire it for 2100 Fr.

### THE STELOPHORE OF AMENHOTEP

The stelophore is made of limestone. It is 32 cm high, 16.5 cm wide and 22 cm in depth. Amenhotep’s skin and mouth are painted reddish. He wears a long white loincloth and a striated wig with curls behind and below the ears, where the black colour is preserved in its lower parts. The style dates it to the reign of either Thutmosis III or, more likely, Amenhotep II.<sup>8</sup> The hieroglyphs and motif on both the frontal stela and the back ‘pillar’, which is also shaped like a round-topped stela, are in sunk relief and all painted yellow. The back ‘pillar’ is somewhat taller than the front stela, matching the height of the kneeling Amenhotep, and the complete composition rests on a rectangular base with rounded corners, extending a little in front of the stela.

A closer look at ÆIN 49 reveals, on one hand, fine details such as Amenhotep’s bent toes with their toenails shown, his raised hands touching the back of the stela, and his chest with rolls of fat indicated. On the other hand, the red paint is somewhat sloppily applied in places (fig. 1) and the base is higher at the left side (from the viewer’s perspective). Additionally, the decoration on the lunette of the stela, with a pair of *udjat* eyes on both sides of a *shen* sign above three wavy lines of water, is not completely centred. This motif is placed a little to the right while the *shen* is not totally horizontal and its

5 Legrain 1891: 1–2, pl. I.

6 For Hoffmann, see Bierbrier 2019: 221–22. The front page of the sales catalogue names Hoffmann as the legally required ‘Expert’ for the sale.

7 Hoffmann sold it again in 1894, cf. Legrain 1894: 15–16, pl. VIII (no. 39).

8 Jørgensen 1998: 62. Cf. also Stewart 1964: 169 and Stewart 1967: 34 for the dating of this type of stelophore with the stela resting on the ground ‘from c. Amenhotep II’.

two ends of ‘rope’ are not of matching length, all of which lends the otherwise perfect composition a charming, human touch.

The text of the stela<sup>9</sup> starts by identifying Amenhotep as Scribe at the Offering Table in the ‘House of Amun’, i.e. Amun’s temple estate,<sup>10</sup> and identifies both his father Amenemhat, who was Overseer of Scribes, and his mother Amenuser, Mistress of the House. The remainder is Amenhotep’s hymn to the sun god. In the first invocation the deity is named ‘Ra in the middle of the sky,’ while in the subsequent commencement of Amenhotep’s recitation, he is ‘Ra-Atum, Lord of All the World, who came into being at the beginning of times’. After praising the sun god, the text concludes with the reason for Amenhotep’s prayers: his wish that the sun god will ‘watch over [Amenhotep’s] destiny and



FIG. 2: The inscription on top of the stela of ÆIN 49 and the offering table on top of the negative space between Amenhotep and the stela. (Photo by the author, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.)

accomplish all good for [him] every day.’ Here the deity’s name is in the shorter form, ‘my Lord, Ra’. On the back ‘pillar’ the single column of inscription in the middle is a short text where the venerated Amenhotep is under [the protection] of Ra-Horakhty. His title is, here, written in the short logogram form of the offering table (Gardiner R3).<sup>11</sup>

#### NEGATIVE SPACE AND THE INTERESTING DETAIL

In fashioning a stelophore it was necessary to consider how best to deal with the negative space the image possessed, namely the space between the stela and the person behind it (fig. 2). The stela itself could rest on the knees or thighs of the worshipper or

9 For a complete translation see Jørgensen 1998: 62; Assmann 1999: 145 (no. 52); Podemann Sørensen 2017: 10.

10 *Pr-Imn* is sometimes identified with Karnak, but Eichler 2000: 9–11 refers to the difficulties of interpreting *pr* as temple or domain; she prefers domain (or estate) and states “Das *pr-Imn* umfasst verschiedene Teildomänen, die über das ganze Land verstreut liegen dürfen.” She mentions Amenhotep ÆIN 49 and his title p. 167–68 and 258, no. 129 where it is suggested that he might be identified with Amenhotep no. 128 with variations of the title. See also Binder 2010: 4 n. 27 (citing ÆIN 49) and 5–6 about the title and translation of *m pr-Imn* as ‘in the estate of Amun’.

11 Binder 2010: 3, who states that this is the more common form.

stand before him, as in the case of ÆIN 49,<sup>12</sup> and it was important that the adoring hands, which in most cases were shown touching the stela,<sup>13</sup> should be visible, together with the kneeling legs. On most stelophores the breast and the area below the chin were cut free (fig. 3), but in Amenhotep's case most of the stone was retained and smoothed. It looks as though his chin is resting on the negative space, with only the sides of his neck and chest being visible. The horizontal edge of the negative space between the stela and Amenhotep's chin has rounded sides, but it was perfect for an added illustration of offerings made in low, raised relief (figs 2, 4).

A broad *htp*-sign is made parallel to the stela with a round loaf on either side of the *htp* bread and with meat and vegetable offerings 'on top' as the space narrows towards the chin (and mouth) of Amenhotep. He is thus *directly* provided with eternal offerings – or 'all good, every day'. On top of the stela itself an additional inscription was added: 'bread from the House of Ra'. The hieroglyphs are larger and more widely spaced than those of the stela, so they fit the thickness of the stela, and the length of the inscription corresponds with the width of the *htp*-sign. The inscription is thus combined with the depiction of offerings, although the top of the stela is on a slightly

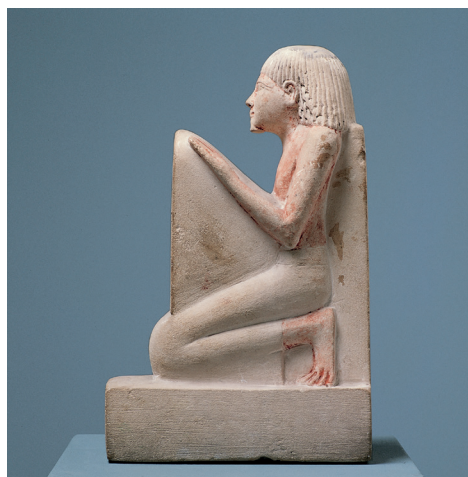


FIG. 3: ÆIN 663, side view. (Photo: Ole Haupt, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.)

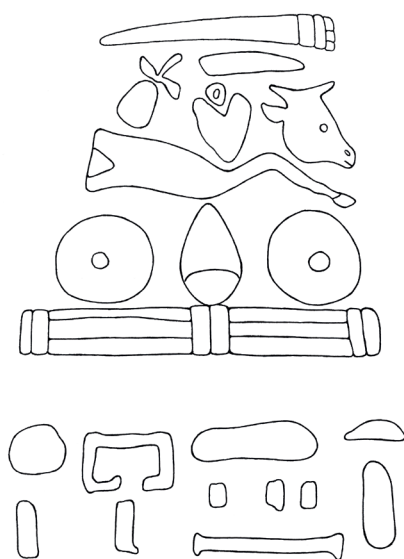


FIG. 4: The inscription on top of the stela of ÆIN 49 and the offering table on top of the negative space between Amenhotep and the stela. (Drawing by Ida Adsbøl Christensen.)

12 Stewart 1967: 34 for his short version of the chronological significance of the position of the stela. Also mentioned by Vandier 1958: 471.

13 Winlock 1920: 2–3 about the position of the hands.

higher level. These hieroglyphs are relatively coarse and imperfectly aligned, looking rather like an afterthought. It may, however, still have been made by the same scribe/artist as the inscriptions on the stela and the back, as the writing of the *n* has the same shape, with only one ripple at either end. The added inscription and decoration was mentioned in the Menascé sales catalogue and most of it is also visible in one of the two illustrations of the piece.<sup>14</sup> In the early publications by Schmidt it is also noted, but not in the subsequent museum catalogues.<sup>15</sup>

Amenhotep is, as mentioned, ‘Scribe in the House (Estate) of Amun,’ but in the extra text atop the stela he apparently prays for bread from the House of Ra: in other words, from the estate of the principal god of Heliopolis instead of from the Theban equivalent, in whose estate he worked.<sup>16</sup> Since a stelophore is concerned with sun worship this may have been deemed more appropriate.

#### OTHER EXAMPLES OF ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS/DECORATION

Other examples of stelophores with an added inscription and/or decoration may be identified. The best parallel is the stelophore of Amenemhet in Berlin Ägyptisches Museum Inv. 2316 from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty like *ÆIN 49*<sup>17</sup> (fig. 5). Here ‘his beloved wife’ is mentioned on an additional piece of stone below the stela between Amenemhet’s legs. The profile view shows that he is wearing a short kilt, and the inscribed protrusion looks like the central element of a *shendyt* kilt. This extra text continues with his wife’s name on the top of the base. Amenemhet’s stelophore parallels *ÆIN 49* in having an additional inscription on the left side of the negative space below the chin, between hand and chest. Like *ÆIN 49*, Amenemhet’s stela is also connected to his chin, but the upper part is less spacious than *ÆIN 49* and the added inscription is placed on the side. I have not seen the stela in person, but photographs suggest the inscription, which is not well written, mentions ‘his father’.

A further example (fig. 6) also belongs to another Amenemhet, from Thebes, Subsidiary Tomb R. 12,

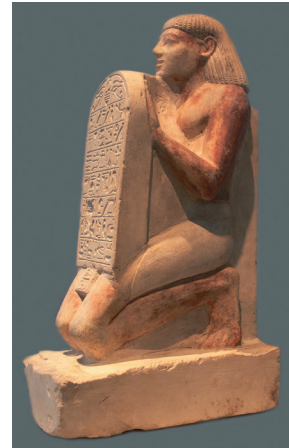


FIG. 5: Stelophore of Amenemhet, Egyptian Museum Berlin, Inv. 2316. (Photo by Andreas Praefcke, Commons Wikimedia, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stelophor\\_des\\_Amenemhet.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stelophor_des_Amenemhet.jpg).)

14 Legrain 1891: 1: ‘Une table d’offrandes est représentée entre Amenhotep et la stèle. Ces offrandes sont, d’après l’inscription: “des pains de la maison de Ra”.’ The illustration to the right on pl. 1.

15 Schmidt 1899: 83; 1908: 128; 1912: 54. But not later: Mogensen 1930: 18–19 (A70); Koefoed-Petersen 1936: 9 with the hieroglyphs on the stela and the back; 1938: 13; 1950: 30–31; Jørgensen 1998: 62.

16 Spencer 1984: 20 mentions both estates.

17 Porter and Moss 1999: 566 (no. 801-633-102). See fig. 5 above and for a discussion of the possible two wives of Amenemhet and TT82: [https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/amenemhat82/e\\_amenemhat82\\_05.htm](https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/amenemhat82/e_amenemhat82_05.htm).



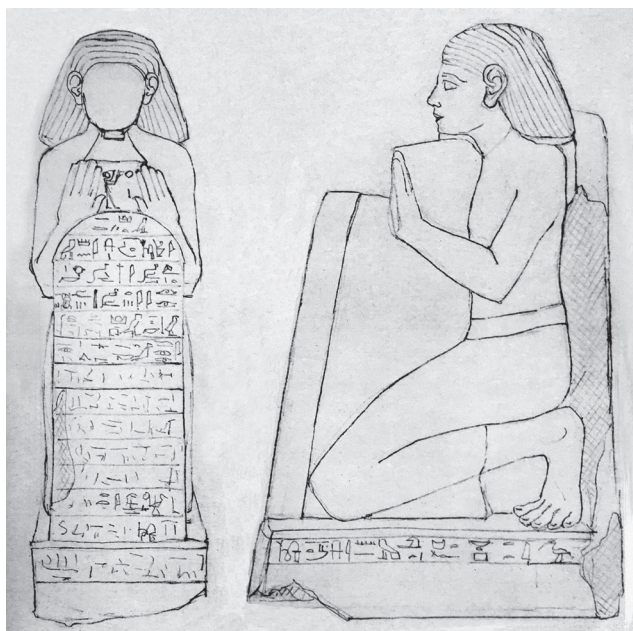


FIG. 6: Stelophore of Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 34583. (From Hornemann 1957: pl. 630.)

Asâsîf, at the foot of the causeways near the Valley Temple of Hatshepsut, now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 34583 and also dated to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>18</sup> This reveals an additional illustration on the negative space between the hands of Amenemhet, above the stela showing a man worshipping the sun.<sup>19</sup> As the stela has no lunette decoration but Horakhty (with no sun disc on the head of the falcon) written as the start of the text, the text above may (also) be the actual start although ‘the worshipping person’ (Gardiner A30) is rather larger than the hieroglyphs on the stela.

The final example (not illustrated) from the same period displays a similar decoration at the space between the hands although the sculpture is not a genuine stelophore, *per se*. It is, rather, like a square pillar inscribed on all four sides with a sun hymn, and the owner’s head and raised hands emerging at the top. This belonged to Sa-Renenutet and was found in Karnak, and is now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 632.<sup>20</sup> Between his hands is carved a kneeling man worshipping the name of Ra-Horakhty, but in this case, it is repeated as the start of the text. On the horizontal space above his ‘shoulders’ Sa-Renenutet is ‘under [the protection of] the Great God’. The additional text here can thus be considered a parallel to the text on the back ‘pillar’ of ÆIN 49.

<sup>18</sup> Hornemann 1957: pl. 630.

<sup>19</sup> Another example with decoration of the negative space is British Museum EA1222, a stelophore from the post-Amarna period with a kneeling woman with arms outstretched in an attitude of adoration on the negative space between figure and stela. For more details see [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA1222](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA1222).

<sup>20</sup> Borchardt 1925: 180, pl. 116; Hornemann 1957: pl. 634; Vandier 1958, 473–74, pl. CLXI.3 lists it with the stelophores.



## CONCLUSION

To sum up, there were, as with every category of ancient Egyptian sculpture, individual possible variations when composing a stelophore, but the artists responsible for ÆIN 49 were certainly innovative. Although there are a few other examples of decoration carved on the negative space of stelophores, ÆIN 49 remains unique in the ways in which the negative space and the top of the stela were utilised. The ‘extra’ offerings must have been intended for Amenhotep and, very appropriately, were placed right in front of his mouth. If more space for an inscription had been required, it could have been added on the base in front of the stela. Moreover, the sculpture with its back ‘pillar’ shaped like an additional round-topped stela and the base with rounded front corners makes an elegant composition, somewhat different from other stelophores, and even the sun hymn, not dealt with here in detail, is unique.<sup>21</sup> 🙏

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<sup>21</sup> Assmann 1999: 145: ‘Der Hymnus ist wohl eher als eine permanente Anbetung des Sonnengottes während seines Tageslaufes gedacht denn als eine Anbetung speziell am Mittag, was - von der 6. Hymne des Stundenrituals und Nr. 19 abgesehen - ein ganz singulärer Fall wäre ...’.

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# A PTOLEMAIC QUEEN IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

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*It is with great pleasure that I offer this paper in honour of Emily Teeter, whose expertise extends to virtually all aspects of Egyptian art and civilisation, and whose generosity and willingness to share that expertise have been an inspiration to me.*

In 2016, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (hereafter MFA) acquired a marble head listed by the dealer, Charles Ede, as ‘Head of a Queen in the Guise of Isis’ (fig. 1). Its provenance can be traced back to a 1969 sale in Basel (Münzen und Medaillen auction no. 40: Kunstwerke der Antike). Thus, it had demonstrably left Egypt prior to the 1970 UNESCO Convention prohibiting the trafficking of undocumented antiquities, enabling the MFA to pursue the purchase. The head is of a type known from the Ptolemaic era, portraying a queen in Classical style. Several publications have addressed the topic of differing styles of Ptolemaic sculpture, including Egyptian style, Greek style, and ‘mixed’ style.<sup>1</sup> This paper will not attempt to summarize the various theories. Because the MFA lacked a similar example, it would fill an important gap in the collection. However, it displayed enough peculiarities that when it arrived in Boston and was being considered for purchase, some of the curators expressed doubts about its authenticity. Furthermore, it had not appeared in the most comprehensive recent publications on Ptolemaic sculpture,<sup>2</sup> and when it was sold at auction at Christie’s as recently as 2013 it had gone unnoticed by any of the MFA’s curators of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art.

The head, made of cream-coloured marble, is 32.5 cm tall and shows a queen looking straight ahead and slightly downward, wearing corkscrew curls

1 Ashton 2001a; Bianchi 1988; Bothmer 1960; Plantzos 2011; Smith 1988; Stanwick 2002.

2 For example, Ashton 2001; Bianchi 1988; Walker and Higgs 2001; Stanwick 2002; Spier, Potts, and Cole 2018.



FIG. 1: Head of a queen in the guise of Isis, 200–100 B.C. Marble. Florence E. and Horace L. Mayer Fund and Marilyn M. Simpson Fund. (Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

bound by a diadem with a hole for the insertion of an additional element of the headdress. It is complete only down to the clavicle and would have been inserted into a body made of another material, as is often the case with Ptolemaic royal heads.<sup>3</sup> The hair and headdress are unfinished, having once been completed in stucco, significant amounts of which remain. The ears are pierced, the eyes are narrow and slightly downturned, and the lips, now damaged, are pursed. The face and neck, while somewhat fleshy, are less so than in many other sculptures of Ptolemaic queens.<sup>4</sup> ‘Venus rings’ on the neck are only slightly indicated. There is no evidence of a back pillar. These features will now be addressed in more detail.

<sup>3</sup> Ashton 2003: 74.

<sup>4</sup> Ashton 2003: 74; Walker and Higgs 2001: 52–53, 160–66.



First, there is a likely explanation for the statue's failure to register with either experts in Ptolemaic sculpture or the MFA's curators. At some point, probably in the 1970s, it was sold by Royal Athena Galleries in New York to an American collector, after which it spent time in private collections in Illinois and California before being consigned to Christie's in 2013. Consultation of the last sale catalogue in which it appears (Christie's New York sale 2709, 6 June 2013, lot 608) shows that while in private hands it had undergone an unfortunate restoration. The nose and lips were restored and the face and hair overpainted, rendering the overall appearance dubious. Only after conservation performed at some point between 2013 and 2016 did it have any semblance of authenticity.

Corkscrew curls first appear on coins minted in Kyrene and featuring the image of the Greek goddess Libya, the daughter of the Egyptian king Epaphus, himself a son of Zeus.<sup>5</sup> They are therefore of Classical origin and do not have local Egyptian precedents. The coiffure came to be associated with both Isis and Hathor, as it appears on figures wearing horned solar disks. Numerous parallels exist for sculptures of Ptolemaic queens with hairstyles and headgear similar to that of the Boston head, which were also intended for insertion into statues made of different materials. These examples include a head of Berenike II from Tell Timai, now in the Egyptian Museum (JE 39517), dating to the second half of the 3rd century BCE<sup>6</sup> and a 2nd century BCE head of Cleopatra II or III now in the Louvre (MA 3546).<sup>7</sup> In both of these cases, especially the latter, however, the head is turned upward and to the side, unlike the Boston queen.

The closest parallels for queens with a diadem over "Libyan" curls come from coins, gems, and intaglios. A very similar hairstyle appears on the bezel of an unprovenanced late 2nd century BCE gold ring in the British Museum (GR 1917.5-1.96), in which case the diadem supports a vulture headdress.<sup>8</sup> They also appear frequently on coins, such as a bronze coin from Naukratis struck by Ptolemy VIII (146–117 BCE) and now in Boston (86.852) (fig. 2). A sardonyx intaglio said to be from Cyrenaica and now in the British Museum (gem 1196) shows an early 2nd century queen with similar curls but a double diadem.<sup>9</sup> A mid-2nd century gem from the Tyszkiewicz collections and also in Boston (27.711) likewise portrays a queen or goddess with this hairstyle.<sup>10</sup> Phoebe Segal has postulated that it might represent Cleopatra II, and that the presence of a solar disc and cows' horns associate her with Isis.<sup>11</sup> Jeffrey

5 Plantzos 2011: 395, 397.

6 Walker and Higgs 2001: 49.

7 Walker and Higgs 2001: 59.

8 Walker and Higgs 2001: 67.

9 Ashton 2001d: 66.

10 Zwierlein-Diehl 2012: fig. 255; Segal 2016, 212.

11 Segal 2016: 212.



FIG. 2: Coin of Kingdom of Egypt with head of Isis (?), struck under Ptolemy VIII, 146–117 B.C. Bronze. Egypt Exploration Fund by subscription. (Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

Spier supports this interpretation.<sup>12</sup> There has been some debate about whether sculptures of queens with corkscrew locks but without the horned sun disc should also be interpreted as representations of the queen in the guise of Isis. Sally-Ann Ashton has argued that Isis does not appear with corkscrew curls before the Roman period and that, instead, the coiffure indicates a deified queen.<sup>13</sup>

Frontality is a feature of Egyptian style rather than Greek style sculpture during the Ptolemaic period,<sup>14</sup> and the forward-facing posture and facial features of the MFA queen are more closely paralleled by sculptures of queens in Egyptian style or wearing Egyptian style wigs. The face bears some similarity to a head believed to be Arsinoe II and now in the Kunstmuseum

<sup>12</sup> Spier 2018a: 192.

<sup>13</sup> Ashton 2003: 8; 88.

<sup>14</sup> Bianchi 2018: 141.

der Universität, Bonn (B 284),<sup>15</sup> but corkscrew curls are not attested as early as Arsinoe's reign.<sup>16</sup> The head of an unidentified queen or goddess found in Rome and now in the Musei Capitolini (inv. 1154) features soft facial features in Hellenistic style with a frontal head and Egyptian style tripartite wig and vulture headdress.<sup>17</sup> While the statue was once believed to represent Berenike II, Ashton has pointed out that the facial features are indicative of a 1st century BCE date,<sup>18</sup> while Jeffrey Spier believes that it may be as late as the 1st century CE.<sup>19</sup>

The most unusual feature of the Boston queen's face is the treatment of the eyes, which are narrow, with heavy lids. Typically, Ptolemaic sculptures have wide open eyes.<sup>20</sup> It was the eyes more than anything else that raised suspicion about the sculpture's authenticity. Pierced ears are also uncommon; in fact, in most statues of queens with the corkscrew coiffure the ears are not even visible. However, because there is great variability amongst the surviving examples, neither feature would in itself preclude the statue from being ancient.

In order to help determine the authenticity of the sculpture, the MFA consulted Ariel Hermann, a specialist in Ptolemaic sculpture, who saw no reason to doubt its authenticity. Further evidence in support of its antiquity came when C. Mei-An Tsu, an Associate Conservator in the MFA's Department of Objects Conservation, examined it. While the face has been chemically cleaned and covered with a thick coating of glossy wax, traces of burial accretions remained in the nostrils, around the ears, and where the curls meet the neck. The nature of the drill marks in the earlobes and nostrils suggest that they were made using ancient tools. Most importantly, examination using Visible Induced Luminescence (VIL) and X-ray Fluorescence (XRF) identified small traces of Egyptian blue pigment (calcium copper silicate) in the hair. Their presence was confirmed by a visual examination using a stereomicroscope. Because the use of Egyptian blue ceased after the Roman period and its composition was long forgotten, the likelihood that a forger would place microscopic grains on a modern creation is highly unlikely.

It is notoriously difficult to identify individual images of Ptolemaic queens in the absence of inscriptional evidence.<sup>21</sup> This is in part because the statues are not portraits, but idealized images, and in part by the fact the bodies into which marble heads were once inserted are now missing, along with any identifying inscriptions.<sup>22</sup> This paper will therefore not attempt to name the queen depicted in the MFA's statue. While the facial features are

15 Kyrieleis 1975: 179–80; Bianchi, 1988: 168; Ashton 2001a: 10.

16 Ashton 2003: 88.

17 Ashton 2001b: 216–17; Ashton 2001a: 118–119.

18 Ashton 2001a: 118–19.

19 Spier 2018b: 271.

20 Bianchi 2018: 143.

21 Ashton 2001a: 8; Ashton 2003: 74.

22 Ashton 2003: 75; Bianchi 2018: 141.

unusual, the hairstyle is best paralleled by images from the 2nd century BCE, so a tentative date to this century has been proposed. Further research, including analysis of the marble to determine its source, may shed more light on the place and date of manufacture. <sup>1</sup>

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# NEW FINDS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY PERIOD FROM EL-KURRU, SUDAN

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Archaeology sometimes tempts us with knowledge that is just beyond our grasp, and with the idea that we might be able to find out more with the right combination of perseverance, luck, and funding. The site of El-Kurru in northern Sudan offered us just such temptation.

El-Kurru is part of a complex of clustered and functionally interrelated group of sites (figs 1–2) that together formed the core of the empire of Kush during what is called its Napatan period (ca. 850–300 BCE). The central site is Jebel Barkal (ancient Napata), which was the location of a royal palace<sup>1</sup> and temple complex centring on the massive Temple of Amun;<sup>2</sup> the corresponding settlement has recently been located nearby<sup>3</sup> and a group of pyramids at the site dates to the end of this period.<sup>4</sup> An earlier royal pyramid cemetery of kings and queens of Kush was located at El-Kurru and a later cemetery at Nuri.<sup>5</sup> Across the Nile from Barkal was the settlement of Sanam,<sup>6</sup> which appears to have been a royal workshop and trade centre, with a series of massive storehouses and enclosures. On one side of the site, a temple to the god Amun was built for the Kushite king Taharqo,<sup>7</sup> and a cemetery of over 1500 burials

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\* Thanks to Dobiesława Bagińska, Lisa Heidorn, Angelika Lohwasser, Bruce Williams, and Taylor Bryanne Woodcock for discussion of issues raised in this paper.

1 Most recently, Kendall and Wolf 2007.

2 Reisner 1917; Dunham 1970.

3 Tucker and Emberling 2016.

4 Particularly tombs Bar. 11–13; Dunham 1957.

5 Dunham 1955; a new project at the site is directed by Pearce Paul Creasman.

6 Vincentelli 2018 with references; Tucker et al. 2019.

7 Pope 2014; Howley 2018.

spanned the time from the Egyptian New Kingdom into the Napatan period.<sup>8</sup> A nearby cemetery at Et-Tameer contained higher status Napatan burials,<sup>9</sup> and several collective rock-cut tombs dating from the New Kingdom to Napatan periods were excavated at Hillat el-Arab next to Barkal.<sup>10</sup>



FIG. 1: Regional map showing sites mentioned in the text. (Map: Samuel R. Burns.)

8 Griffith 1923; Lohwasser 2010, 2012.

9 Mohamed 2018.

10 Vincentelli 2006.



FIG. 2: Local map showing sites in the ‘heartland’ of Kush during the Napatan period (ca. 850–300 BCE).

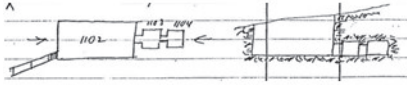
El-Kurru had been known since George Reisner’s work in 1919 as the early royal pyramid cemetery of kings and queens of Kush, including some who ruled over Egypt as its Twenty-fifth Dynasty (ca. 750–653 BCE), with an early conquest of Aswan, and eventually ruling from both Thebes and Memphis.<sup>11</sup> Timothy Kendall found in re-reading Reisner’s field diaries that Reisner had located five structures (fig. 3) around the royal cemetery that he did not publish (or indeed fully excavate), and Kendall thus proposed that El-Kurru was also the site of a walled town and palace of ancient Kush.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Reisner 1919; finds published more fully by Dunham 1950. El-Kurru had previously been documented by the Lepsius expedition in 1844 (Lepsius 1849 Band II: 122–23; Lepsius 1913: 254–55).

<sup>12</sup> Kendall 1999: 47–49.



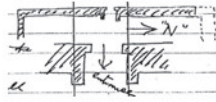
It has always been somewhat of a mystery why these kings of Kush were buried at El-Kurru. The site is not particularly favoured with natural resources, with a wide agricultural area, or by close connections to routes across the deserts to the north or south. It seems an example of a historical accident – perhaps a particularly charismatic family began to gather political authority, and chose their ancestral village as the location of their royal tombs. There must have been a local settlement to support construction of the pyramids, however.



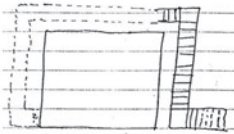
Ku. 1100—small funerary temple



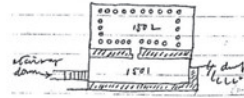
Ku. 1200—portion of fortification wall



Ku. 1300—town wall and gate (200 meters long)



Ku. 1400—rock-cut well



Ku. 1500—large funerary temple

FIG. 3: Structures found by Reisner at El-Kurru (from sketches in his field diary now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

Thus, based in part on Kendall's suggestion, we began a project at El-Kurru in 2013 with the goal of investigating this possible royal city.<sup>13</sup> As Kendall noted,<sup>14</sup> the structures Reisner found were not identified on any plan, so it was not clear where they might be located. We were also interested in the possibility of locating burials of nonroyal individuals who might also have lived, worked, and been buried near the royal cemetery.

This paper explains the unexpected way that we eventually achieved our goal of learning a little more about the period of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty at El-Kurru. It is a pleasure to write this note in honour of Emily Teeter. One

<sup>13</sup> Our project was co-directed by Geoff Emberling (University of Michigan) and Rachael J. Dann (University of Copenhagen), with generous funding from the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project, Ms. Kathleen Picken, and the National Geographic Society. Sami Elamin (National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums) has been the Sudanese government inspector for the project since 2017.

<sup>14</sup> Kendall 1999: 49.

of us (Emberling) had the good fortune to work closely with Emily at the Oriental Institute for more than 6 years and learned a great deal about Egypt and museums from her. It was a particularly rich and fruitful collaboration that generated museum exhibits, public programmes, and publications.<sup>15</sup> It was also a lot of fun!<sup>16</sup>

### NEW EXCAVATIONS AT EL-KURRU

Our initial challenge at El-Kurru was simply to locate the structures Reisner had found. We imagined that a combination of surface survey, multispectral satellite imagery, geophysical prospection, and high resolution topographic mapping in and around the village would allow us to locate the structures easily. In fact, after reading Reisner's field diaries carefully and noting any hints he gave about their locations, we found the outline of one of the structures – the larger funerary temple he termed Ku. 1500 – clearly visible on Google Earth. The other structures remained elusive through much of our first season. We asked people in El-Kurru village if they knew of any ancient remains in the landscape, and we went to a number of locations in the palm groves and inside the courtyards of houses, none of which was particularly promising. We started a programme of test pits in the palm groves anyway,<sup>17</sup> hoping that if we dug deep enough, we would find something ancient in the Nile mud, but without success. It was only when we had been working in the village for 4 weeks and had begun to gain some trust (in particular, showing that we were not looking to find gold, which is the local assumption about archaeologists) that people in the village began to give us better information. This culminated in a visit by one older man, Hassan Mohamed Othman, who said his grandfather had worked with Reisner and that he remembered a story about a well – and he proceeded to draw a plan of the rock-cut well and stairs in the sand that matched the drawing in Reisner's field diary.<sup>18</sup> He showed us exactly where the well was, and another older man named Babikir Ahmed Khalifa, who regularly rode his donkey past us as we were working, pointed out an area that turned out to be the location of the town wall and gate. We were later told about the location of the smaller rock-cut funerary temple (after we had spent fruitless weeks digging in its general vicinity).

During our first two seasons at El-Kurru, we were thus able to locate four of Reisner's five structures – a town wall and gate, a large square rock-cut well, and two rock-cut structures that Reisner identified as funerary temples. By the end of our fourth season in 2016, we had excavated and documented

<sup>15</sup> E.g. Emberling and Teeter 2010.

<sup>16</sup> Emily has heard some of the story presented here in a lecture Emberling gave for the Chicago ARCE chapter in 2018. Note that finalizing this paper during the COVID-19 pandemic has restricted our ability to consult some references.

<sup>17</sup> Skuldbøl 2013.

<sup>18</sup> This episode was recreated by the same Mr. Hassan in a 2019 film, 'Lost Kingdom of the Black Pharaohs' (Science Channel).

those structures as well as clearing the largest pyramid at the site (Ku. 1), which Reisner had only partially excavated.<sup>19</sup>

However, our excavations showed clearly that none of these structures related to the time of what we might call the Middle Napatan period – the time of Kushite rule over Egypt (ca. 750–664 BCE). The two funerary temples and pyramid Ku. 1 clearly dated to the 4th century BCE, likely representing an attempted return to the burial site of what were by that time illustrious ancestors. None of these 4th century structures had been finished, however – clearly this was a turbulent time in the political history of Kush, as suggested by the move of the royal burials to Meroe in the early 3rd century BCE, and the king’s successor had not granted him the honour of a royal burial. The town wall, some 130 metres long (although only preserved along its river-facing side), was certainly built during the Medieval (Christian) Period, sometime between the 6th and 10th century CE, and the rock-cut well was likely associated with it. Thus, although our excavation did succeed in relocating Reisner’s structures, we did not find any evidence of a Napatan royal city – quite the contrary.

Our subsequent work at the site has focused on documentation, preservation of structures, and discussions with people in El-Kurru village about heritage. The project’s conservator, Suzanne Davis, has also worked with conservation colleagues and members of the local community to clean, protect, and document a corpus of ancient graffiti found in the larger funerary temple.<sup>20</sup>

Our heritage work, sometimes called ‘community archaeology’,<sup>21</sup> has resulted in a plan for us to build a community heritage centre – a project that many in the village are excited about, both because it will give them an opportunity to show visitors something about their local culture and history, and because it will provide some longer term local employment (once we have located funding to build the centre itself).

It was our heritage work, and the process of continuing to build collaborative and trusting relationships with people in El-Kurru village, that finally led us to learning more about El-Kurru during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. One day in 2018, a friend from El-Kurru walked into our dig house with two bulging plastic shopping bags and asked us to look and tell him what I could about what was inside. The objects were incredible in the context of the general lack of finds in our excavations: three whole ceramic vessels, one faience plaque,

19 Preliminary reports in Sudan & Nubia: Emberling and Dann 2013; Emberling et al. 2015; Dann and Emberling 2016. Some of this early work was also depicted in a 2014 film, ‘Rise of the Black Pharaohs’ (National Geographic / PBS).

20 This material was the subject of a 2019–20 exhibit at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, with a catalogue (Emberling and Davis 2019) and website: <https://exhibitions.kelsey.isa.umich.edu/graffiti-el-kurru/> (consulted July 1, 2020).

21 See Humphris et al. in press.



and a scarab. They were mostly complete, clearly from burials, but our friend was not given permission to say exactly where they came from.

Naturally, finding out more about the context of these finds was among our top priorities. Eventually, we learned that the scarab had come from an area outside a house in the village and that the rest of the objects had come from one or more burials inside the courtyard of a nearby house. The burials contained bones, and the homeowner had conveyed to our friend that he thought there were at least five burials in the courtyard.

The family whose house contained the burials was reluctant to allow us to visit the burials or to excavate them in part because they were concerned (as we heard) that we or Sudan's antiquities service (known as the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, or NCAM) would seize the house and evict them. In fact, Sudan's 1999 antiquities law allows wide discretion to the antiquities department, and owners who recover antiquities on their property are entitled to compensation for the objects and in most cases are not disturbed further. But, as we found out later, the family that owned the property had widely scattered members and it was not a simple matter to generate a consensus about allowing us to excavate the burials. Eventually, we were able to arrange a deal in which the location of the house would be pointed out to us as we left the village for the last time at the end of the 2018 season (located generally on fig. 4), with the understanding that the family would continue to discuss the issue in the coming year. As it has happened, however, there has been no consensus in the family about allowing us to excavate and document the graves either in 2019 or so far in 2020 (as we write). We are therefore left only with the testimony of the objects.

It turns out that the recently discovered objects were found about 800 metres northeast (upstream) from the centre of the royal



FIG. 4: Satellite photo of El-Kurru showing cemetery, modern village, and recently discovered Napatan burials.

cemetery (Piankhy's tomb, Ku. 17), near the modern Muslim cemetery, and far from the areas in which we had been looking for Napatan settlement or non-royal burials. In fact, Reisner had excavated nine burials at a distance from the royal cemetery. Ku. 51–55 were simple tombs of subsidiary queens that contained some of the finest objects recovered in the excavation. They were relatively close to the main cemetery, about 175 metres to the north of Piankhy's tomb. Ku. 61–62 were larger and more elaborate burials, one (Ku. 61) preserving traces of wall paint in the burial chamber, located about 250 metres northeast. Reisner and Dunham interpreted them as queens' tombs.<sup>22</sup> Ku. 71–72 were considerably smaller tombs, one of which (Ku. 72) contained an abundance of precious objects. They were located about 425 metres northeast of Piankhy's tomb in the same direction, and were also tentatively understood as queens' tombs.

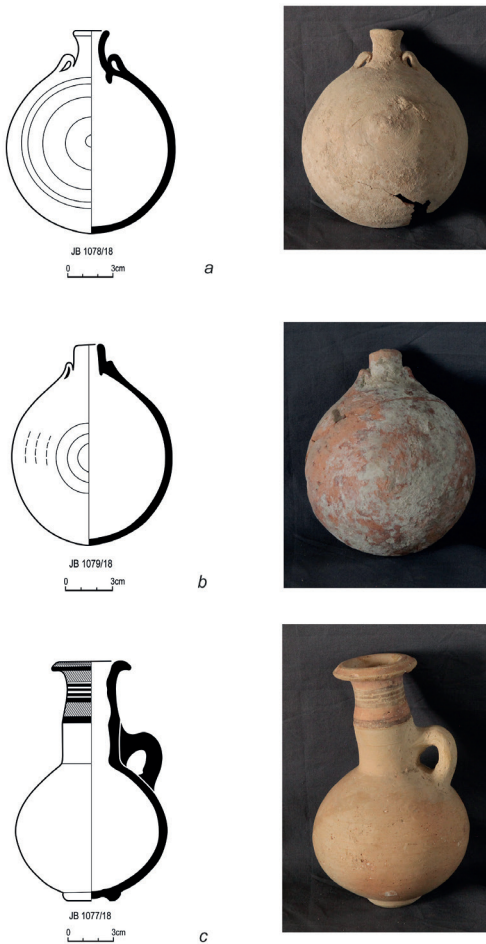


FIG. 5: Ceramic vessels found in El-Kurru village in 2018. Note that the project had a very limited time to examine and document these objects.

a. Ceramic flask with handles; wheel-made body. Middle Napatan period (ca. 750–650 BCE). Rim diameter 2.3 cm; diameter at largest point of body 11.1 cm. (Drawing: Dobiesława Bagińska; Photograph: Jack Cheng.)

b. Ceramic flask with squished handles; wheel-made body. Middle Napatan period (ca. 750–650 BCE). Rim diameter 2.0 cm; diameter at largest point of body 10.4 cm; height 13.1 cm (Drawing: Dobiesława Bagińska; Photograph: Jack Cheng.)

c. Ceramic juglet with bichrome paint. Middle Napatan period (ca. 750–650 BCE). Rim diameter 5.4 cm; diameter at largest point of body 10.3 cm; height 13.3 cm. (Drawing: Dobiesława Bagińska; Photograph: Jack Cheng.)

22 Dunham 1950: 97–100.

The recently discovered objects show clear parallels to objects found in nearby sites in contexts of Middle Napatan (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) date. Two of the ceramic vessels are pilgrim flasks (fig. 5a, b), with buff to reddish paste, with clear parallels in previously excavated royal tombs at El-Kurru as well as in numerous other sites in Kush.<sup>23</sup> A particular concentration of similar flasks was excavated by Reisner in Ku. 72, near the reported location of these new finds. These jars are made of marl clay; normally the assumption is that these vessels would have been made in Egypt, but provenience or workshop studies of Napatan pottery that would clarify this question have not been systematically done. The third vessel (fig. 5c) is a Phoenician bichrome painted jug with a ring base and globular body, almost certainly imported from the northern Levant and dating to the 8th century BCE.<sup>24</sup> Similar vessels were found in the Sanam cemetery.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to the three ceramic vessels, the objects included a faience amulet and a scarab. The amulet has broad parallels with objects found in nearby sites, but no closely similar objects have been published. In particular, abundant finely made faience plaques and amulets were found in the queens' burials at El-Kurru,<sup>26</sup> and abundant less fine faience objects were also found in nonroyal burials at Sanam.<sup>27</sup> The El-Kurru amulet itself depicts a lion lying under a palm tree with what appears to be a schematic winged disk on the right side of its convex surface (fig. 6). Its flat surface is decorated with geometric designs – running spirals around a central diamond. The figural images are not particularly common in the iconography of the Napatan heartland, although a plaque from Sanam shows some similarities.<sup>28</sup> It is clear that there was a local faience industry in the Napatan region, as attested by finds of moulds in and around the temple of Amun built by Taharqo at Sanam,<sup>29</sup> and it seems reasonable to assume that this plaque would have been made in the region of Napata.

The scarab, found separately from the other objects but presumably also from a contemporary nearby grave, is made of glazed steatite (fig. 7). Its flat surface, broken around the edges, depicts a horse, chariot, and rider, with a cartouche reading 'Menkheperre' above. The horse is rendered with a disproportionately large head and short legs. It does not appear that the horse had a headdress, although there is a broken area above, disconnected from its head, that has the form of a feather. The rider does not appear to have a crown

23 Kilroe 2019; to which add a single attestation at Meroe: Dunham 1963: 442–43, fig. 239 (fine orange-pink ware flask, tomb S 207, dated to mid-7th century BCE).

24 E.g. Bikai 1978; Lehmann 1998.

25 Griffith 1923, pl. XVII, type VIb.

26 Dunham 1950.

27 Griffith 1923.

28 Griffith 1923, pl. LIII, 10 (a ram-headed lion).

29 Griffith 1922: 87–88, pl. XVII; Howley 2018.



FIG. 6

FIG. 6: Faience amulet found in El-Kurru village in 2018. Length 4.2 cm. (Drawings and photographs: Jack Cheng.)

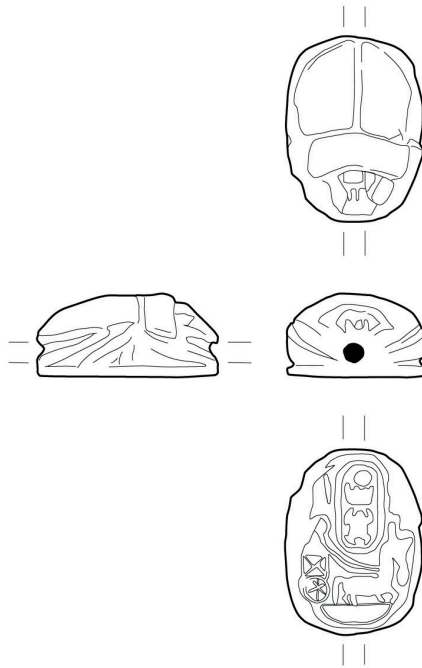


FIG. 7

FIG. 7: Glazed steatite scarab found in El-Kurru village in 2018. Length 2.0 cm. (Drawings and photographs: Jack Cheng.)



or weapon. The chariot is represented by an X-in-box, with a 6-spoked wheel beneath it. The basket below can be read ‘neb’, meaning ‘lord’.

The throne name Menkheperre was first used by the Egyptian king Thutmose III, but was also taken by a number of later kings, presumably in deference to the successful conquests of its first user. For scarabs inscribed with this name, one question is whether they were heirlooms, or whether they were made in a later period. It is clear that many scarabs with this name were produced during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty,<sup>30</sup> perhaps in Egypt and perhaps also locally in Kush (although there is no clear evidence of local production of scarabs).

Scarabs with horses and chariots are normally dated to the New Kingdom,<sup>31</sup> although many (like the scarab published here) do not have clear archaeological context. Horses and chariots were commonly depicted in Kushite art of this period, however, as on the walls of the Amun Temple at Barkal<sup>32</sup> and the Amun Temple of Taharqo at Sanam.<sup>33</sup> They are less often represented on Kushite scarabs, but a lapis lazuli amulet found in the cemetery of Sanam<sup>34</sup> illustrates that horses were also represented in non-royal contexts. There is no evidence for Egyptian occupation at El-Kurru, so, assuming its findspot has been correctly reported, it would have been an heirloom in a Napatan context.

These five objects, then, are generally consistent with a date during the Kushite rule over Egypt, when ideas and objects from the Egyptian world and beyond reached Kush, and Kushites selectively developed and used them for their own purposes. The location of the finds will point the way to the next archaeological project to work in El-Kurru, which may eventually locate and be able to excavate burials and perhaps even remains of ancient settlement in this newly promising area. At the end of our very short opportunity to examine and document the objects, we returned them to the family who had found them.

One final point. The objects we present here are the first new evidence for the Twenty-fifth Dynasty occupation of El-Kurru since Reisner’s excavation in 1919. The fact that we were shown them despite the risk that the family perceived to their home shows one of the many reasons for archaeological projects to work closely with local communities. The fact that we have not (yet) been allowed inside the house to inspect or excavate them shows that we still have further to go to reach our goals of full local collaboration. ✎

30 Jaeger 1982: 246–52; Lohwasser 2014.

31 E.g. Jaeger 1982: 92, #III, 215.

32 Dunham 190, pl. L.

33 Griffith 1922, pl. XXIV.

34 Griffith 1923, pl. LVI, 14.



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# THEBAN TOMB 118: ITS FOREIGN ‘TRIBUTE’ SCENE AND ITS OWNER AMENMOSE

ANDREW HUNT GORDON\*

Theban Tomb 118 sits high in the Upper Enclosure of Sheikh Abd Gurna in the Theban necropolis. Once one of the most imposing tombs there, rivalling the neighbouring tomb of Horemhab (TT 78) in location, size and layout and perhaps in decoration, its scenes and texts are now almost totally obliterated. TT 118 was briefly listed by Porter and Moss and Kampp<sup>1</sup> but otherwise has received little attention. I endeavour to rectify this here.

An examination of the surrounding tombs built during the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III reveals that only the north-western scarp of the upper enclosure of Sheikh Abd Gurna had enough room to accommodate a number of tombs.<sup>2</sup> Despite the stone being more friable than lower down, the tombs had a better view of the Nile, the Karnak-Luxor temple complex, and the mortuary temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty kings. As a result, by the middle of Dynasty 18, building sites were few and topographical features like walkways determined where tombs could be built. Other than royal or vizierial favour, tomb locations may have been determined by wealth, power, family and friendships (if family were not a great factor, then friendship or

\* In 1978, I was examining scenes of foreign ‘tribute’ in the Theban tombs after getting permission from the Egyptian Antiquities Organization to form a one-man expedition. I took notes and photographs of TT 118 at least four times during the Spring of 1978. Part of my trip was paid for by the University of California at Berkeley. On my last entrance into the tomb, I was accompanied by another UCB graduate student, John Wyatt, who asked me to include his name in any eventual publication. After more than four decades, I am doing so. In 2009, I gave a lecture on this tomb at the annual meeting of ARCE in Dallas. I am indebted to Melinda Hartwig and Gay Robins for their help in understanding the intricacies of this tomb. Because of Covid-19, I was unable to see a number of references or to recheck others.

1 Porter and Moss 1970: I:1, 233–34 & Map V; Kampp 1996: I, 405–6.

2 See Porter and Moss 1970: I:1, 476–77 & Map V.

just working together might replace family as a consideration) as well as the availability of locations. One's standing within the Theban religious, military or civil hierarchy may have played a role in where one's tomb was built. Family members likely would want to be buried near each other (because most family members could not afford their own tombs or were not high enough in the hierarchy to construct them, most large tombs were probably family tombs).<sup>3</sup> Thus, even though a tomb might be decorated for one person, it served as the burial place and cultic centre of others. Likewise, friends or colleagues might choose to be buried near each other – especially junior colleagues near senior ones.

J. J. Shirley notes family precincts or complexes connected by natural pathways, and tombs strategically placed for stops during festivals or visits.<sup>4</sup> She writes that grouped family tombs occupy key vantage points and would be used for commemorative purposes.<sup>5</sup> These tombs or complexes would also be a testimony to the power of elite families.<sup>6</sup> Although true for the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, she believes that by the time of Amenhotep II, the king would have tried to curb the power of the elite families as they would be a potential threat.<sup>7</sup> However, it seems to me that other powerful families over time would simply replace those the king had weakened.

#### THE TEXTS AND SCENES OF TT 118

Since almost all the texts and scenes in TT 118 have been destroyed, whether by Atenists, someone with a grudge against the tomb owner, or simply by weathering or natural deterioration, there is little left to observe. All that remains is from the transverse hall: two fragments of ceiling texts and some ceiling decorations as well as fragments of text and decorations on the double outer lintel above the door of the transverse chamber leading to the passage way. On the rear right of the transverse chamber, a sketch of four foreigners bringing 'tribute' with artist's dots and guidelines can be found. The sketch, which is drawn in red and without a background colour, is the exception amongst the tomb's fragmentary texts and scenes, which all have a yellow background colour similar to that in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV.<sup>8</sup> The background of this scene and the other fragments appears to indicate an owner from the civil rather than religious administration.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, as tombs were decorated from top to bottom so that ceilings and lintels would have been done first,<sup>10</sup> what remains informs us that the tomb is clearly unfinished.

3 Dorman 2003: 31, 40–41.

4 Shirley 2010: 99, 105.

5 Shirley 2010: 105.

6 Shirley 2010: 108.

7 Shirley 2010: 109.

8 [https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/thoutmosis4/e\\_thoutmosis4\\_01.htm](https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/thoutmosis4/e_thoutmosis4_01.htm)

9 Hartwig 2004: 31–34.

10 Personal communication with Dieter Eigner, 1978.



The first ceiling text fragment is a *hṯp-di-nsw* formula with the name of the god plastered over (fig. 1). This may imply that the god mentioned was Amen Re and that his name was effaced by the Atenists. The second fragment, which is above the left lintel, only contains the partial name of the tomb owner,



FIG. 1: Ceiling text fragment with a *hṯp-di-nsw* formula in TT 118.



FIG. 2: Ceiling text fragment with the name of Amenmose in TT 118.



*i(m)n-ms*, A(m)enmose with the fragmentary inscription ‘...of Horus(?),<sup>11</sup> the Osiris, A(m)enmose’ (fig. 2). The presence of ‘Osiris’ may imply that the tomb owner died while the tomb was being decorated.<sup>12</sup> The epithet ‘Osiris’ is also found on a statue base of the owner.<sup>13</sup>

The left back wall of the transverse chamber features a red-coloured male foot facing right; to its right is a slightly smaller, yellow-coloured female foot. This may show Amenmose and his wife offering to Osiris or the king, or before a table of offerings.



FIG. 3: Left side of the left lintel over the entrance to the passageway in TT 118.

The double lintel provides a little more information. The outer left lintel (fig 3) depicts the deceased (now destroyed) in front of a table of offerings before Osiris and Amentet, the Goddess of the West<sup>14</sup>. Above the deceased (now destroyed) are the remains of columns of an inscription with only the top hieroglyph or two surviving. It reads, ‘Overseer (*mr*), Great one (ʿ3)...,’ ‘Overseer (*mr*)...,’ and ‘Firm one (*mn?*)...’. Before Osiris, the tip of whose white crown and the bottom of part of his white garment both remain, is

11 The remains of the bottom of the bird hieroglyph indicate either a hawk (Gardiner G5) or a vulture (Gardiner G1). While I would like the hieroglyph to be a hawk, as the epithet might be something like ‘he who is in the heart of Horus (i.e. the king),’ the rounded remains of the bottom of the bird’s tail might imply a vulture with a transliteration of *tyw*. The epithet, ‘He who is in the heart of Horus’ appears in a palette of Amenmose to be discussed below.

12 Preceding the tomb owner’s name is usually *n k3 n* ‘for the ka of’ plus his titles. The presence of *wsir*, ‘Osiris’, I believe, is significant. If the tomb owner died as the tomb was being built and the work was halted, then the artisans may have felt that the tomb owner had become an Osiris, and it should be inscribed before they left. It is clear that even the transverse hall was unfinished before work was stopped on the tomb decoration.

13 The text on the right side of the statue base reads *n k3 n wsir*, ‘for the ka of the Osiris,’ followed by a now destroyed series of titles and his name. Usually, the word ‘Osiris’ is not used, thereby implying that the owner may have just died. For the text, see Bruyère 1948: 106–7 and Plate XIX. Also see Russo 2012: 37–38. The attribution of the statue base to this Amenmose will be discussed under the section, ‘The owner of TT 118.’

14 For a discussion of the Goddess of the West, see Refai 1996 and Refai 2006: 345–60.

‘Foremost of the Westerners (*(h)nty imntyw*<sup>15</sup>... who dwells in (*hry-(ib)*)...’. Before Amentet, above whose head only the top of the hawk remains, is the partial inscription ‘of (*nt*) the Western desert (or necropolis), (*smty imnt*) ... ‘Mistress (of the Gods),’ *hn(wt ntrw)* (figs 4–5).



FIG. 4: Right side of the left lintel over the entrance to the passageway in TT 118.



FIG. 5: Close up view of the right side of the left lintel in TT 118.

<sup>15</sup> The emblem of the West with the feather on top (Gardiner R14) and the plant referring to the king (Gardiner M23) are not in honorific transposition as sometimes occurs. For a similar occurrence without honorific transposition, see Brack and Brack 1980: Text 33, 49.



The outer right lintel shows the only image of Amenmose, which is almost entirely destroyed (fig. 6). He is shown facing left, with upraised arms, presumably before a god or table of offerings. The text, surviving in nine short columns, appears to read, 'Osiris(?) ..., giving adoration (to) ... of the lord of eternity by the hereditary prince (and count), (the Fanbearer upon) the right of the king,<sup>16</sup> (Amenmose, justified).'



FIG. 6: View of the right lintel in TT 118.

The sketch of four foreigners (fig. 7) was once part of a larger scene, which based on the space to the left might have comprised up to six to eight Syrian and/or Levantine gift bearers. If Amenmose and/or the king had been depicted receiving them to the left, this would have taken up space and reduced the number of bearers. The remaining four bearers, which I number one to four from left to right, have long tunics, at least shoulder-length hair (with the possible exception of the third man) and wear headbands. Below the left shoulder of the first bearer can be seen the bottom of his long hair (or, less likely, a tie of some sort). Two ribbons hang down below the left shoulder of the third bearer. The third bearer's hair may be shorter, but like many of the other important details, the man's face is obscured by the remains of wasp nests. With this sketch we are fortunate to see not only two sets of artist's dots, indicating where horizontal guidelines might otherwise have gone, but also several major horizontal guidelines, the latter of which were common during the second part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The guidelines were probably

<sup>16</sup> Because of Davies/Macadam funerary cone no. 325, which lists an Amenmose who was a standard bearer, Hallman, following Kampp, sees the Amenmose of TT 118 as holding this title as well, even though he apparently doesn't. See Hallmann 2006: 132–33, and Kampp 1996: 405–6 & Tables 50, 67.



FIG. 7: Sketch of foreign 'tribute' in TT 118.

flicked onto the wall by dabbing a string with red paint.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps, because this was to be a major scene, the artist felt it was necessary to have both. The remains of an earlier red guideline is apparent just above the top guideline; the guidelines divide the scene into four parts. Two round objects appear to be visible above the bowl of the second bearer, possibly violating the top guideline, but these partial circles are in fact probably the remains of wasp nests. The pattern of the guidelines is similar to that in TT 108, dated to the time of Tuthmosis IV, except that the latter does not show the guideline at the top of the figures' heads.<sup>18</sup> The presence of 19, or more likely 20, dots and guidelines together with the lower parts of the bodies of the foreigners lengthened, indicate that the sketch dates to the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>19</sup> Including the dots with the guidelines, there are three from the top of the head to the bottom of the neck, six from the shoulders to below the waist, four from the thighs to the upper knees, and seven (or less likely six) from the knees to the bottoms of the feet. The dots are found on the outside of the fourth figure, except for those from the knees down, where they are inside the last figure. The sketch of the bear (to be discussed later) is not within the appropriate guideline; its back extends one dot above.

The sketch appears to have been freely drawn, in that the arms of the second and third bearers seem too skinny. The second figure also appears to

17 Newberry 1904: xxxi; Robins 1994: 26.

18 Baud 1935: 154–56 & fig. 68.

19 Robins 1994: 108, 254.

have had the back of his tunic redrawn. While the draughtsman may have had some problems with the proportion of human arms and clothing, the sketch of the bear is a master work.<sup>20</sup> Below the ground line near the bear's paws is the remains of some plaster that indicates a potential second register, but no drawing remains.

The first figure extends his hands, holding at least one article, most likely a vessel. The curving lines to the left of figure one are presumably the remains of whatever he was carrying, but are not well enough preserved to allow it to be identified. The second figure is more interesting. The man holds a two-handled carinated bowl on his right shoulder and in his left hand a figure of Maat (fig. 8). This is unusual as a foreigner is presenting an apparently Egyptian item. This may be due to transference of an object that originally appeared in another scene,<sup>21</sup> or it may represent an Egyptian item copied by foreigners and then exported back to Egypt. It is not clear whether Egyptian artists worked from copy books, and/or from visiting other tombs, or from actual objects.

According to Emily Teeter's work, *The Presentation of Maat*, the Maat figure may occasionally be in the form of an unguent vessel, so perhaps the figure held a rare ointment.<sup>22</sup>



FIG. 8: Close up of the figure carrying the Maat figure in the foreign 'tribute' scene of TT 118.

Another possibility is that the figure of Maat is an Egyptian healing statue that may have been sent to Syro-Palestine or Mitanni and was now being returned,<sup>23</sup> just as Tushratta, the king of Mitanni, had sent a healing statue of Ishtar to Amenhotep III late in his reign.<sup>24</sup> Why would a statue of Maat be used for a medical/magical/religious purpose? Maat represented truth, justice and harmony. If that harmony went out of balance, bad things could happen, politically, socially, environmentally, cosmologically

<sup>20</sup> It is possible that the drawing of the bear was done by a master draftsman or artist, as that representation was rare in Theban tombs, discussed further below.

<sup>21</sup> Wachsmann 1987: 11–13.

<sup>22</sup> Teeter 1997: Plate XV. For a general discussion of Maat, see pages 1–3.

<sup>23</sup> The standing of the Egyptian healer is shown in the Theban tomb of Nebamun, possibly from the time of Amenhotep II, where a Syrian noble is apparently paying handsomely for the services of an Egyptian doctor. See Porter and Moss 1970: 1:1, TT 17(7) II, 31, Säve-Söderbergh 1957: 25–27 & Plate XXIII, Gaballa 1976: 66–67 & fig. 5b, Booth 2005: 35–36, and Shirley 2007: 391.

<sup>24</sup> Perhaps Tushratta was simply returning the favour, or the return of the Maat statue may have been from a ruler of Syro-Palestine. In any case, it is clear that healing statues were being sent between sovereigns in the late Bronze Age. Dated to year 36 of Amenhotep III's reign, see Kahn 2011: 139 and n. 21.

and medically. Maat affected nature, and humans were part of that. If a king maintained Maat, then the Nile rose regularly, the crops were bountiful, and all was right between the king and his subjects. Thus, interactions between the environmental determinants, including climatic changes, and the pastoral ecosystem were part of the balance maintained by Maat.<sup>25</sup> According to Zucconi: ‘Just as the religious principle of Maat explained the political order, it also guided their [the Egyptians’] explanation as to how the body functioned, why a person became ill, and what constituted effective healing strategies.’<sup>26</sup> Illness was a signal that Maat was disrupted.<sup>27</sup>

If a ruler fell out of balance with Maat, then what better remedy than that a statue of Maat be sent to him? If the object was a healing statue, then why was it not a figure of Sekhmet, a goddess of healing? Is it possible that the goddess Maat was associated with specific parts of the body? According to Zucconi, ‘The system of *mtw*-vessels most readily exhibited the role of Maat in human physiology.’<sup>28</sup> These *mtw*-vessels were connected to the heart as an organ and as the seat of thought and wisdom. In the illustration to Book of the Dead Spell 125, the feather of Maat is weighed against the heart. This is partially because of the heart’s association with the intellect and morality of the deceased, but is it also possible that ancient Egyptian healers felt that Maat and its connection with harmony for the physical world could affect the heart?<sup>29</sup> The ancient Egyptians were aware of the pulse, and the *mtw* or ‘vessels,’ which included the blood vessels. In the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus (whose date of composition is from the end of the Old Kingdom to the middle of the Middle Kingdom),<sup>30</sup> Case 1, concerning a scalp wound, states that the blood flow proceeds from the heart. It translates in part, ‘(As for) the heart, there are vessels from it to every limb...’<sup>31</sup> ‘It is a fact that/the case that his vessels of the back of the head and nape are out of the seat of the heart.’<sup>32</sup> Thus Maat was associated with the heart and blood vessels, and sending a statue of Maat for healing purposes, which would include heart attacks, rapid or slow pulse, etc., would be necessary, as the heart was considered the physical and metaphysical centre of human beings. Therefore, if the heart or its vessels were out of balance, disease would occur, and Maat would need to be restored if the body were to be in balance with the rest of the natural and physical world.

25 Gordon and Schwabe 2004: 27, 30, 198, 201–2; Frankfort 1962: 57–58.

26 Zucconi 2007: 27.

27 Zucconi 2007: 29.

28 Zucconi 2007: 27. *Mtw*-vessels carried blood, air, mucus, water, and disease-causing *wekhedu* (Ritner 2006: 100).

29 Zucconi 2007: 28.

30 Meltzer proposes a date of original composition between 2200–2000 BC, while Allen suggests 1950–1750 BC. See Sanchez and Meltzer 2012: 12, and Allen 2005: 70.

31 Allen 2005: 72.

32 Sanchez and Meltzer 2012: 33.



Returning to TT 118, the Maat figure is a unique portrayal in the scenes showing foreigners presenting 'tribute.' While the religious context of tomb scenes is important,<sup>33</sup> this figural *hapax* indicates it is not something drawn from copy books, but is a unique and, therefore, possibly historical portrayal of an actual healing statue.

Should the two circles above the bowl that I identify as wasp nests actually be drawn circles, then the possibility emerges that the bowl (similar in shape to the *nb*-basket), the possible circles above it, and the Maat figure may be a rebus or partial rebus for Neb-Maat-Re, the prenomen of Amenhotep III.<sup>34</sup> If so, it could help date the scene and the tomb.

The third figure in the scene has a destroyed face, and may have worn a skull cap. He holds an elephant's tusk over his left shoulder with his left hand. His right elbow is used to balance the tusk, and his right hand may hold a sword.

The fourth man holds a collared bear on a leash with both hands. Three other Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs show earlier portrayals of bears brought by foreigners. The oldest, TT 81 of Ineni, dated to the reign of Amenhotep I to early in the co-regency of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III, depicts a bear, on a leash at or near the start of a register.<sup>35</sup> The bear and his attendant are partially destroyed. The second, TT 84 of Amunedjeh, dates to the reign of Tuthmosis III, possibly extending into the reign of Amenhotep II. It shows a foreigner holding a collared bear on a leash with both hands, much like our tomb, although in this tomb, his left arm is raised to chest level.<sup>36</sup> The third, TT 100 of Rekhmire dates to the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II.<sup>37</sup> Although facing right rather than left, as in our tomb, the second to last foreigner in the register in TT 100 also carries an elephant's tusk with his left hand over his left shoulder and holds a collared bear on a leash in his right hand, which is raised to chest level, thus combining elements of our third and fourth foreigners. Rekhmire's bear appears to have a metal plate connecting the collar to the leash. The composition of Amunedjeh's bear and Rekhmire's bear and ivory tusk are similar to our tomb, and our bear was possibly partially copied from these two tombs. The depictions are on the rear left-hand side of the transverse chamber in Ineni and Rekhmire, while Amenmose and Amunedjeh's are on the rear right-side.

In discussing the tomb of the vizier Rekhmire, Güell suggests that the

33 Anthony 2017: 65–84.

34 For the rebus writing of the prenomen of Amenhotep III in the context of the deification of Amenhotep III later in his reign, see Johnson 1998: 88, footnotes 143–44 and figs 3:34–35; Johnson 1996: 67; and Hayes 1951: 169–76. While these examples come from later in Amenhotep III's reign, the idea of the rebus is probably much earlier. Thanks to Ray Johnson for giving me the references, and thanks to Emily Teeter for pointing me in this direction: I hope she enjoys this article.

35 Porter and Moss 1970: I:1, TT 81 (5) IV; Kampp 1996: 323–24.

36 Porter and Moss 1970: I:1, TT 84 (9) I–II; Kampp 1996: 332–36; Davies and Davies 1941.

37 Porter and Moss 1970: I:1, TT 100 (4) IV; Kampp 1996: 370–73.

artist depicted the bear and elephant much smaller than in reality, because the depiction was more important than showing the actual size of the animals, and their actual sizes would be too big for the scene.<sup>38</sup> Anthony suggests that bears and other wild animals are drawn on a small scale and leashed, thus indicating that these ‘agents of chaos’ are controlled.<sup>39</sup> However, the artist is capable of showing the preceding horses closer to their true size. Also, he neglects to consider the possibility that the bear and elephant are babies. It would have been far easier to bring a baby bear or elephant to Egypt than a full-grown one. Also, a full-grown bear would have been more rotund, as, for example, as depicted in the temple reliefs of Sahure.<sup>40</sup>

Are the foreigners and animals in this tomb scene real or symbolic? Bears appear in four known tomb scenes, and they appear to be realistic. In the tribute scenes, some of the figures are called princes of certain areas, while others are more generic. It is not always clear why certain foreigners have the clothing and hairstyles that they do. Hybridization has been suggested, while it is always possible that two or more different clothing and hairstyles might exist within one large city or a country. If we consider these figures only real representations or mainly symbolic representations, we do so at our peril.

In addition, if the Maat figure is a healing statue that was sent to a Levantine ruler, then perhaps the other items are gifts thanking the owner for its use, much as Tushratta later lent a statue of Ishtar to Amenhotep III and presumably received the statue back with gifts?

#### DATE OF TT 118

Assigning a date to so damaged a tomb as TT 118 requires comparisons along many criteria. The northwestern area of the Upper Enclosure of Sheikh Abd Gurna, where TT 118 was constructed, contains tombs of many high southern officials of Tuthmosis IV, and a few of Amenhotep III. TT 118 is very similar in plan to TT 78, which belongs to the Royal Scribe and Scribe of Recruits, Horemhab. This dates from the reign of Amenhotep II to the early years of Amenhotep III, and most probably was constructed late in the reign of Tuthmosis IV or early in the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>41</sup> The three other surviving portrayals of bears are from Amenhotep I to Amenhotep II. Guidelines for drawings start in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>42</sup> The first frequent mentions of the title, ‘Fanbearer upon the right of the King,’ date to the time of Amenhotep II.<sup>43</sup> The possible rebus may date the tomb sketch to Amenhotep III, while the style of the sketch cannot be later

38 Güell 2018: 151.

39 Anthony 2017: 70, 79 & fig. 28.

40 Houlihan 1996: 195–96 & fig. 133.

41 Porter and Moss 1970: 476–77 & Map V.

42 Robins 1994: 108, 254.

43 Pomorska 1987: 28.

than the early years of Amenhotep III. Thus, the tomb probably dates to late in the reign of Tuthmosis IV, or possibly into the earliest part of the reign of Amenhotep III, about 1395–1385 BC.

### THE OWNER OF TT 118

From his tomb, we know that the reconstructed name of our tomb owner is Amenmose and his one surviving reconstructed title is 'Fanbearer on the Right of the King'. Both name and title survive only once in the tomb. According to Helck<sup>44</sup> and Manniche,<sup>45</sup> the title 'Fanbearer on the Right of the King' is an honorific, non-military title bestowed presumably by the king on nobles who had to be promoted, especially and initially those who worked within the palace, and later expanded to viceroys of Kush and priests. By the title's placement in this tomb, however, clearly it is either the only title mentioned or the last of several titles. Also, its positioning just before the name of Amenmose implies that it is a real rather than honorific title. In either case, the implication is that 'Fanbearer on the Right of the King' was Amenmose's most important title.

A search for other attestations of our man Amenmose, Fanbearer on the Right of the King, reveals a Fanbearer Amenmose adoring the cartouches of Amenhotep III at Abu Kua in the Wadi Hammamat.<sup>46</sup> A New Kingdom stela of a Fanbearer Amenmose is in the Cairo Museum,<sup>47</sup> although I have yet to see it. However, neither can be definitively connected to the Amenmose of TT 118, as their title is Fanbearer, not Fanbearer on the Right of the King.

The importance of the title Fanbearer on the Right of the King can be seen in a statue base of Maya, who was the Overseer of the Treasury and Overseer of Works in Thebes for Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemhab.<sup>48</sup> The statue base does not start out with a *hṯp-di-nsw* formula, but rather with the title Fanbearer on the Right of the King, followed by epithets and ending with 'True Scribe of the King, whom he loves,' and Overseer of the Treasury.<sup>49</sup> It is clear that Maya is indicating how important the title Fanbearer on the Right of the King was to him.

To find out what other titles our Amenmose might have had, Irena Pomorska's book on the Fanbearers on the Right of the King offers comparative material.<sup>50</sup> Most of the attestations of this title, which has a number of variant writings, start in the reign of Amenhotep II, although there is one reference during the reign of Hatshepsut.<sup>51</sup> Variant 2, where there

44 Helck 1958: 282–84.

45 Manniche 1988: 11.

46 Porter and Moss 1952: 328.

47 Porter and Moss 1973: 801, Cairo Museum JE 28952.

48 Van Dijk 1993: 71–74.

49 Van Dijk 1993: 72–73.

50 Pomorska 1987.

51 Pomorska 1987: 29.

is no honorific transposition, is found frequently until the end of the reign of Ramesses II.<sup>52</sup> Other frequent epithets and titles are Follower of the King in Northern and Southern Countries, Overseer of Works, and Overseer of the Double Treasury of Gold and Silver.<sup>53</sup> Less frequent are Overseer of the Audience Chamber and Scribe of Conscripts.<sup>54</sup>

Found by Bruyère<sup>55</sup> reused in Graeco-Roman construction at Deir el-Medina is a statue base inscribed for an Overseer of the Double Treasury and Fanbearer on the Right of the King Amenmose.<sup>56</sup> Where only one title appears, it is always that of Fanbearer on the Right of the King. Although Porter and Moss assign this to the Ramesside Period, the name of Amun has been scratched out and then replaced, indicating that the statue was created before the time of Akhenaten. On all three inscribed sides of the base, the last title or epithet is Fanbearer on the Right of the King. When the title Overseer of the Double Treasury of Gold appears on the right side and back of the seat, it is always before Fanbearer on the Right of the King. This implies that the latter was very important and a real title for Amenmose, not an epithet. Furthermore, in TT 118, the one place Amenmose's name appears is on the ceiling of the transverse wall, where it is preceded by 'Osiris.' This may imply that Amenmose died while his tomb was being constructed, as most tomb inscriptions state simply 'for the ka of the deceased' rather than 'for the Osiris of' or 'for the ka of the Osiris.' Interestingly, the right side of the statue base alone also states 'for the ka of the Osiris.' As most statues do not use the epithet 'Osiris,' this might imply that the owner was not alive when it was carved.

Finally in the Theban tomb of the Overseer of Works Kha (TT 8), dated from Amenhotep II to the early part of Amenhotep III, is a wooden scribal palette featuring the cartouches of Tuthmosis IV.<sup>57</sup> On the other side, a short inscription names the Fanbearer on the Right of the King, Overseer of Works, Overseer of the Audience Chamber, Overseer of the House(s) of Gold and Silver, Amenmose. Where the Fanbearer on the Right of the King title is listed before the other actual titles, it is either the most important of the epithets or the first of the important titles. In the tomb of Amenmose, the only place the Fanbearer on the Right of the King title appears is on the right lintel (fig. 6), where there is apparently only space for Amenmose's name. I suggest that these last two objects can be definitely linked to the Amenmose of TT 118.

52 Pomorska 1987: 33.

53 Pomorska 1987: 36–37.

54 Pomorska 1987: 38.

55 Bruyère 1948: 106–7 & Plate XIX.

56 Since I gave this paper as an ARCE talk in 2009, Barbara Russo in 2012 came to similar conclusions regarding the Deir el-Medina statue base and the scribal palette in the tomb of Kha (TT 8), and its relationship to Amenmose of TT 118. See Russo 2012: 32–40.

57 Schiaparelli 1927: 174–75, 180, fig. 48 (rt); Russo 2012: 32–33 and Plate V.

## CONCLUSION

In considering whether Amenmose received the 'tribute' either in his treasury or audience chamber role, the importance of his title or epithet Fanbearer on the Right of the King cannot be overstressed. His relationship to the king seems to be the most important way he wanted to be remembered. In addition, the possible depiction of the return of a potential healing statue, which presumably would have been stored in the palace rather than the treasury, indicates the importance to Amenmose of his relationship to the king rather than to just the civil administration. The presence of a bear might also suggest a royal recipient rather than an administrative one.

Amenmose was a very powerful figure in the southern court, at least during the reign of Tuthmosis IV, but possibly longer, probably extending into the reign of the earliest years of Amenhotep III. As interior minister (or Overseer of the Audience Chamber), he was in charge of foreign goods coming to Thebes, probably for the court's use. In addition, his titles include Overseer of the Double Treasury of Gold and Overseer of the Double Treasury of Silver, but the items being brought seem more appropriate for the king's use rather than the treasury. Amenmose was also responsible for the architecture in Deir el-Medina, and the running of the king's southern court.

His titles from his tomb, the statue base from Deir el-Medina, and the scribal palette found in the tomb of Kha (TT 8) imply a most powerful civil official who ran the treasury, was an Overseer of Works with responsibilities at Deir el-Medina and, perhaps, the king's tomb.<sup>58</sup> The presence of the Goddess of the West on the lintel of Amenmose's tomb also links him with the Theban necropolis. He was also responsible for running the king's palace, at least at Thebes.

Regarding his family, a seated statue pair of an Amenmose and his wife Takha is in Turin.<sup>59</sup> However, with a lack of titles, it is impossible to link the pair statue with Amenmose and TT 118. In addition, the Amenmose of TT 118 is possibly related to Horemhab (TT78), as their tombs are near each other and are almost identical. In fact, in the tomb of Horemhab is a scene where his three brothers are shown and named,<sup>60</sup> the younger two of which are Amenemhat and Amenhotep. The oldest brother's picture and name are obliterated. If the two other brothers have 'Amen' in their name, could the oldest have been 'Amenmose'? Horemhab performed many of the functions that Amenmose did not. It is possible that he died while his tomb was being constructed, as he was referred to as the Osiris Amenmose on the ceiling of the transverse chamber and on the left side of one of his statues.

<sup>58</sup> Russo 2012: 44.

<sup>59</sup> Russo 2012: 16, 40.

<sup>60</sup> Published online: [https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/nobles/horemheb78/photo/horemheb78\\_mr\\_26\\_01.jpg&lang=en&sw=1440&sh=900](https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/nobles/horemheb78/photo/horemheb78_mr_26_01.jpg&lang=en&sw=1440&sh=900).



During the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III, the best place to excavate a tomb in the prestigious Sheikh Abd Gurna area was the north-western side of the Upper Enclosure. Amenmose and Horemhab took advantage of the location and built very similar large, imposing tombs near each other that indicated their importance. Their relationship to each other was possibly familial. Between the two, they occupied many of the important positions at Thebes; dominating joint roles they endeavoured to maintain into the afterlife. 🏛️

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# THINGS OF THREADS AND PATCHES

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*Emily's article on an ancient Egyptian mirror with modern decoration gave me the first inkling that objects in museums may not be all that their curators hope they are, that artefacts can have varied and mutable histories, and that forgery and the history of collecting are legitimate and necessary topics for research.<sup>1</sup> The slightly dubious objects I discuss below are offered with fondness and respect to Emily, who is undeniably the genuine article.*

## KENAMUN AND HIS PLINTHS

Emily published OIM 25648 (fig. 1) as the most impressive of the Oriental Institute's four figures of Kenamun, Overseer of the Cattle of Amun during the reign of Amenhotep II.<sup>2</sup> Kenamun is unusual among New Kingdom officials for having deposited caches of 'extra-sepulchral' mummiform figures at Umm el-Qaab at Abydos and Zawiet Abu Mesallam between Giza and Abu Ghurob.<sup>3</sup> The Zawiet Abu Mesallam group was formally discovered and cleared in 1919 following reports of looting; an earlier group of figures at the site had apparently been discovered 'about 4 years ago' by troops digging a firing trench.<sup>4</sup> A number of Kenamuns are therefore known from the art market rather than a secure findspot. OIM 25648 can be attributed to the Zawiet Abu Mesallam group on formal features: i.e. its size and style.

OIM 25648 was given to the Oriental Institute in 1985 by Chicago collector Eugene Chesrow,<sup>5</sup> who had acquired it at auction in March 1984.<sup>6</sup> The auction

1 Teeter 1990.

2 Teeter 2003, 57. The other figures are OIM 18210 (excavated at Abydos), OIM 10515 (purchased by J. H. Breasted), and OIM 10479 (given by J. E. Quibell from the Egyptian Museum Cairo, of which Quibell was a curator at the time). I am grateful to Jean Evans for information on the object from the Oriental Institute's files.

3 See Pumpenmeier 1998 in general, with a round-up of Kenamun objects p. 95–96, citing OIM 25648 under its alternative accession number 1985.1

4 Boulos 1919; Daressy 1919.

5 Oriental Institute 1985, 8–9.

6 Sotheby's 1–2 March 1984, lot 167.



catalogue identified the figure as one of Kenamun, and provided a provenance including two sales: that of the estate of the art dealer Joseph Brummer in 1949 (fig 2);<sup>7</sup> and that of the estate of Mrs Christian R. Holmes in 1942 (fig 3).<sup>8</sup> Mrs Holmes was a scion of the Fleischmann yeast fortune and widow of a Cincinnati doctor, and had formed a significant collection of Chinese art, dispersed after her death. The Egyptian objects were lots 239–62 of the sale, and were said to come ‘from the Gayer-Anderson collection’.<sup>9</sup> The Brummer description goes further, recording the provenance as ‘R. G. Gayer-Anderson Loan Collection, 1917, no. W42’.

The photograph in the 1984 auction catalogue shows it on a small plinth, described in notes made on its arrival at the Oriental Institute as ‘modern metal base, gun metal grey’.<sup>10</sup> This is presumably the same plinth on which it still stands. It is not, however, the plinth on which it was sold in 1949 and 1942. The lot photos for the 1942 and 1949 sales show it on a rectangular wooden base, described in 1949 as ‘on wood base carved with a lengthy inscription’ and in 1942 as ‘On wood stand also with incised hieroglyphics underfoot’.

Close examination of the base in the 1949 lot photograph, with the eye of faith, seems to show horizontal lines of signs, but they cannot be read.

What is this inscribed base, now missing? Could it have been the original fixture for the figure? Figure 1 shows that OIM 25648 has an integral tenon to fix it to a base, as do other Kenamun figures of almost identical dimensions



FIG. 1: OIM 25648, figure of Kenamun. (Image courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.)

7 Parke Bernet 11–14 May 1949, lot 43.

8 Parke Bernet 15–18 April 1942, lot 260. A fact sheet on Mrs Holmes, concentrating on her collections of Chinese art, is available at the Freer Gallery Washington DC, and online at <https://asia.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Holmes-Mrs.-Christian.pdf>.

9 On R. G. Gayer-Anderson, Egyptian army officer, collector, dealer, pederast, and benefactor, see Bierbrier 2019, 178; Foxcroft 2016; Warner 2016.

10 Information courtesy Jean Evans.

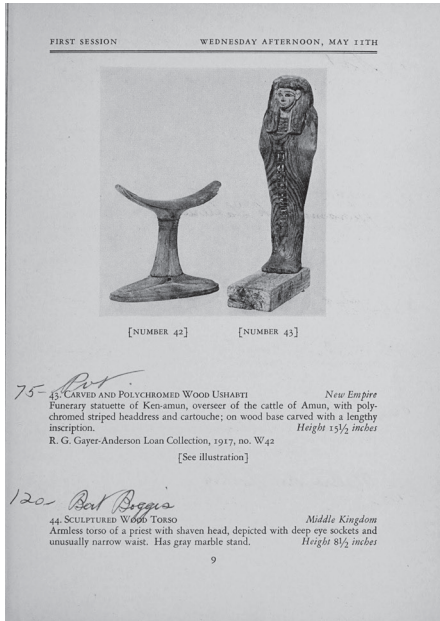


FIG. 2: Figure of Kenamun as sold in 1949. (Public domain image from Parke Bernet 1949.)

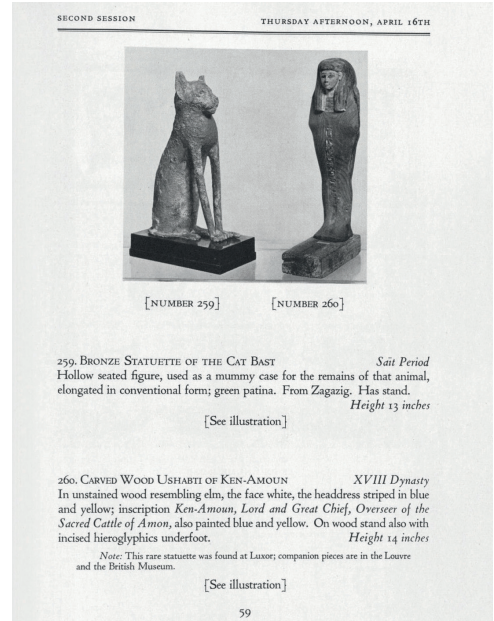


FIG. 3: Figure of Kenamun as sold in 1942. (Public domain image from Parke Bernet 1942.)

believed to come from Zawiet Abu Mesallam,<sup>11</sup> indicating that many of them were presumably fixed to something.<sup>12</sup> Others, without tenons, were found inside wooden or faience coffins.<sup>13</sup> Did OIM 25648's original base survive with it for 3,400 years only to disappear after 1949? New light can be shed on the mystery inscription on the base thanks to the recent digitization of the Brummer Gallery archives, stored in the library of the Cloisters at the Metropolitan Museum, New York.<sup>14</sup> Joseph Brummer kept meticulous card indexes of his objects, organized by stock number, and Kenamun is N6131 (figs 4–5). The card, like most Brummer stock cards, has a photograph of the object, a description, and an indication of the object's fate (here, sold at the '2nd Auction' of the Brummer estate); on the reverse are details of its vendor

11 E.g. OIM 10515, 36.8 cm high, has a tenon 2.4 cm high (estimate from photograph with scale), leaving a visible height of 34.4 cm. British Museum EA 56929 and 56930, 37.2 and 36.9 cm high respectively, both have tenons; that of EA 56929, visible in the BM online database photograph, appears to be between 2 and 3 cm high (thus visible height between 34 and 35 cm). Walters Art Gallery 22.194 appears from online photographs to have an ancient tenon joining it to its modern plinth. Its given height, presumably without the tenon, is 34.4 cm. OIM 25648's given height is 34.4 cm, presumably on its modern metal plinth, but coronavirus shutdowns prevented its being measured again to clear up this minor point. These measurements imply a series of figures the same visible height, all attached with tenons to a base or bases.

12 Wild 1957, 209, asks 'Qu'est-il advenu également des fragments du naos, monté sur traîneau, en bois peint et rouge, qui contenait peut-être les figurines funéraires de Qen-amon, fragments signalés sans numéro au Registre Provisoire, à la date du 17 décembre 1919'. This may have contained a base with mortises for the tenons to hold the figures.

13 e. g. Pumpenmeier 1998, 5, 27, 33, 39, 49–55, 95, from Abydos.

14 Accessible at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/cloisters-archives-collections/the-brummer-gallery-records>. On Joseph Brummer and his brothers Ernest and Imre, see Bierbrier 2019, 72.

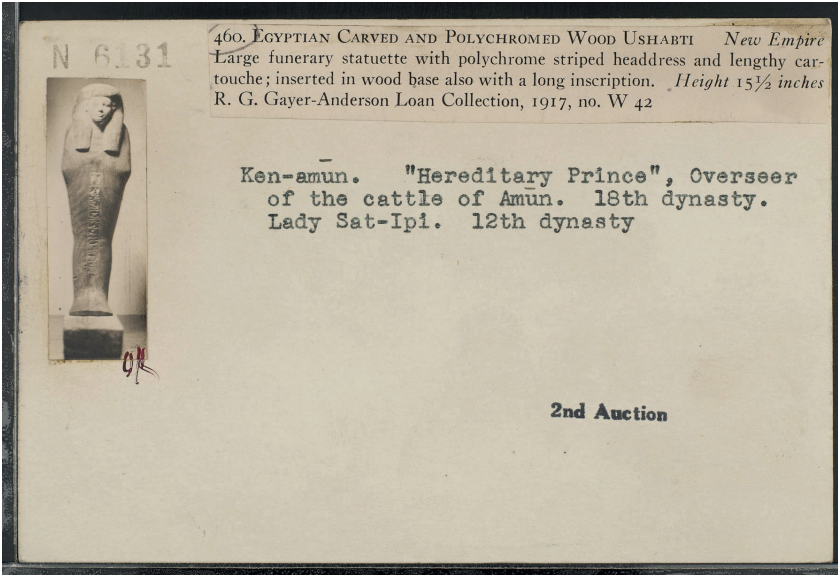


FIG. 4: Brummer Gallery stock card N6131, recto. (Public domain image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

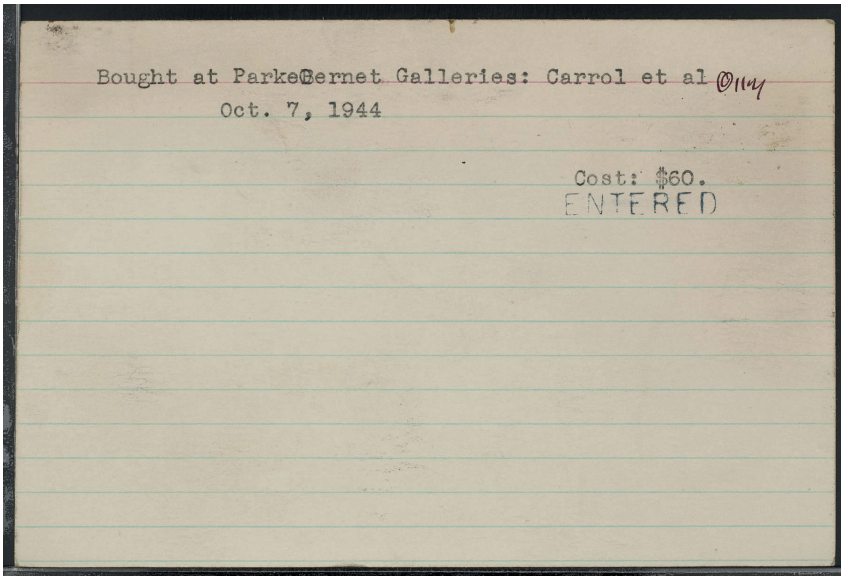


FIG. 5: Brummer Gallery stock card N6131, verso. (Public domain image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

and the price paid. N6131 is described as lot 460 of a Parke Bernet sale of October 7, 1944, where it cost \$60. The lot description has been cut from the catalogue and pasted onto the slip. This is the earliest appearance of the information, missing from the 1942 Holmes sale, that Kenamun was ‘R. G. Gayer-Anderson Loan Collection, 1917, no. W 42’. Gayer-Anderson deposited a collection of objects at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in 1917, which



remained there until 1925 when he began to disperse it.<sup>15</sup> Labels printed with ‘R. G. Gayer-Anderson Loan Collection, 1917’ still survive on other objects (fig. 6), and I presume the classification W 42 (W = ‘wood?’) would have been added by hand, as ‘X-75’ (in this case X = the Roman number 10) is here. The Gayer-Anderson label may be the pale rectangle visible in the 1942 auction photograph (fig. 3) on the base of the figure near the foot; it is not visible in the Brummer catalogue card (although the angle of the photograph does not help), and has definitely vanished in the 1949 auction photograph (fig. 2).

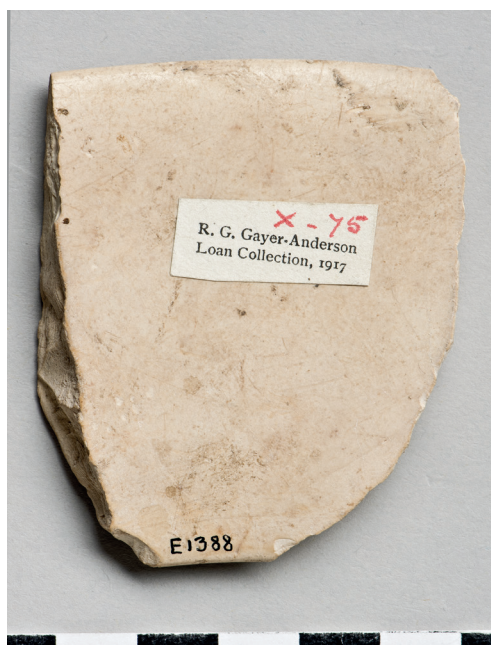


FIG. 6: Printed Gayer-Anderson label on the reverse of Medelhavsmuseet MM 11388, a fragment of a carved Middle Kingdom hippopotamus tusk ‘magic wand’. (Image by Ove Kaneberg, National Museums of World Culture, via Creative Commons (CC-BY).)

The Brummer card does not just contain the cutting from the 1944 auction catalogue entry. It also has three lines of typescript:

*Ken-amūn. “Hereditary Prince”, Overseer of the cattle of Amūn. 18th dynasty.  
Lady Sat-Ipi. 12th dynasty*

The writing Ken-amūn is not found in the auction descriptions, and the overbar on the u in Amūn is typical of earlier 20th century Egyptological style. The typed information records a professional assessment of the object made for Brummer after he acquired the object in 1944, most likely by Walter Federn.<sup>16</sup> If the identification of Kenamun is obvious, that of ‘Lady Sat-

<sup>15</sup> Ikram 2009, 177–85, esp. nn. 5–6.

<sup>16</sup> Federn is explicitly recorded as providing translations and assessments of other objects for Brummer, e.g. Brummer N3811, a shell inscribed with the cartouche of Senwosret I. Federn and Brummer had cultural links – both were Jewish, born in the Austro-Hungarian empire (Federn in Vienna, Brummer in Zombor in what was then Hungary), and by 1944 exiled in New York. On Federn see Bierbrier 2019, 160.

Ipi. 12th Dynasty’ can only refer to the inscription on the now missing base. Although Brummer must have now known that the base and the figure did not belong, he kept them together.

What was Kenamun’s figure doing on Satipi’s base? Pastiche of ancient but unrelated elements joined together to create a more satisfactory whole are not uncommon among objects acquired on the art market.<sup>17</sup> To the owner of both a statue base lacking a statue and an unstable figure with a tenon, it must have been an obvious marriage of convenience. Although currently impossible to prove, it is possible that Gayer-Anderson himself was responsible for the join. He restored many objects he owned, and collected broken bronze figures to complete other fragments.<sup>18</sup> Gayer-Anderson claimed the credit for spotting the quality of what would become the British Museum’s Gayer-Anderson Cat ‘covered with a heavy coating of reddish and greenish deposits’<sup>19</sup> and to have ‘carefully flaked off little by little the layers of outer grey-green and inner brick-red patines and gradually an exquisite figure of a cat emerged as if from under a veil that was being slowly stripped off her’. In reality, as recent scientific examination has shown, the cat had been restored from fragments with solder, plaster, and bitumen, repatinated with green paint, had its chased details (re-)engraved, and was given new precious metal accoutrements.<sup>20</sup> Gayer-Anderson had form.

Gayer Anderson was likely aware that figure and base did not belong. In 1925 he began the process of dispersing the collection he had lent to the Ashmolean, writing to Albert Lythgoe, then Curator of Egyptology at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to ask if Lythgoe [*sic*] would be willing to ‘place’ his Egyptian collections, which he made ‘between 1907 & 1914 taking it home just before the war’ with an American museum or collector, as ‘I am told that owing to post-war economy in England, and French financial conditions, the best if not the only market for such a collection now is in America’. Gayer-Anderson provided a 34-page typescript inventory of his collection, which he valued at £6,600 (then about \$29,000), although he only sought £6,500 for it; Kenamun and its base can be recognized among the section of wooden objects:

*Funerary figure brown wood, face and hair painted white, yellow and blue, single line of hieroglyphs incised, 15”*

17 One early example is BM EA 61111, a wooden figure of a jackal-headed deity, likely to come from a New Kingdom royal tomb, mounted for sale on a fragment of a Late Period coffin: Taylor 1990. See also Picchi and Chilo’s article in this volume for Belzoni restorations and the use of ancient fragments as bases.

18 Foxcroft 2016, 117.

19 Passages from Gayer-Anderson’s unpublished memoir *Fateful Attractions* cited in Ambers et al. 2008, 1, 7.

20 Ambers et al. 2008. The article leaves implicit the obvious conclusion that the Gayer-Anderson cat is, effectively, a modern creation.



*White wooden stand for same, incised 6 rows hieroglyph, (?) not belonging to above.*<sup>21</sup>

Gayer-Anderson's list gives us the additional information that the base has six rows of text, although does not translate them, and further implies that stand and figure were linked (even if the association was not certain), but does not say why they were associated – were they acquired together, or did Gayer-Anderson make the join? Gayer-Anderson's attempt to dispose of his collections via Lythgoe was unsuccessful, and Kenamun's whereabouts between 1925 and 1942 remain unknown.

Who was Satipi? The base, removed from the figure at some point between 1949 and 1984, is no longer extant, so other details beyond her name and title (parentage, paleography of the text, mention of local deities etc.) are lost.<sup>22</sup> The name is not uncommon in the Middle Kingdom (*PNI*, 285.20–22, 'mehrfach'). However, the Gayer-Anderson Satipi is not the only Satipi to emerge in the West in the nineteen-teens.

In the first half of 1915, Bostonian artist Joseph Lindon Smith deposited two wooden figures of a man and a woman (fig. 7) on loan at the Museum of

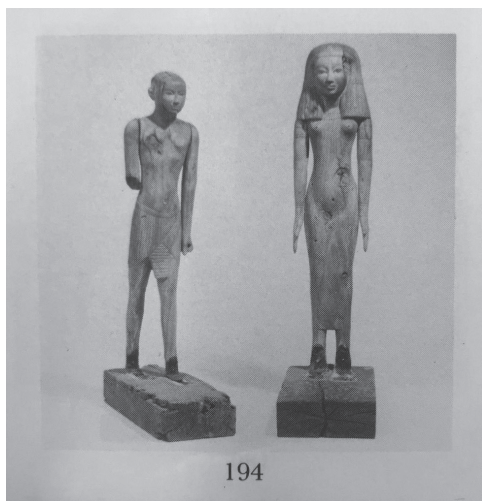


FIG. 7: Two wooden figures with bases inscribed for Senwosreti and Satipi from the collection of Joseph Lindon Smith, as sold in 1986. (Image courtesy Sotheby's.)

Fine Arts, Boston, where they were put on display in the 'New Empire Room'.<sup>23</sup> Smith, who regularly visited Egypt as a member of George Andrew Reisner's team at Giza, and who had visited Egypt in the autumn of 1914, generally had an excellent 'eye' for an object. He gave and sold the MFA some fine pieces of sculpture, but these figures are – with the eye of hindsight – obviously not 'New Empire'. They are middle-ranking fakes. The woman, in particular, is particularly bland and unspecific, and the use of poor quality, knotty wood for both figures, without any visible gesso

21 Letter and list now in the archives of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum. I am indebted to Salima Ikram for sharing her copies of this with me at a late stage of writing. With a certain amount of creative license Kenamun could also be the 42nd object in the unnumbered list of wooden pieces.

22 I am grateful to the staff of the Topographical Bibliography for checking their files to look for the base and for looking for other Satipis.

23 Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1915, 48. On Smith see Bierbrier 2019, 436, and for his 1914 visit to Egypt see Smith 1956, 127.

remaining, is worrying.<sup>24</sup> The inscribed wooden bases, whose authenticity has never been questioned, name the couple: the Inspector of Retainers (*shd smsw*) Senwosreti, born of Henut; and the Lady of the House Satipi, born of Henut, beloved of Hathor of Atfih (fig. 8). Like the Gayer-Anderson base, the Lindon Smith Satipi's base has six rows of text. There is no proof that the two Lindon Smith bases were found together, but the general paleography of the two inscriptions seems, to me, consistent, and the fact that the two figures have a mother with the same name is also compelling. Another figure of an Inspector



FIG. 8: Detail of wooden base of Satipi. (© Christie's Images, 2019)

of Retainers Senwosreti born of Henut is known to me, a small ivory figure in Turin acquired before 1888. Name and title are identically written in both cases, with a single *i* in Senwosreti's name and the *hd* sign in *shd smsw* written with Gardiner T4 rather than Gardiner T3.<sup>25</sup> It is too tempting not to link the Turin Senwosreti to the man named on the Lindon Smith base.

Pending the re-emergence of the Gayer-Anderson Satipi base one cannot prove or disprove a link between the two Satipis, but given that both left Egypt within two years of each other it is impossible not to engage in some wild speculation. To wit: the burial of Satipi and Senwosreti (and/or possibly their mother Henut?) was uncovered (near Atfih?) around 1914 – just as the earlier looting of Kenamuns at Zawiet Abu Mesallam was said to have taken place

24 A full treatment of these figures is beyond the scope of this article. Briefly: the loan to the MFA was terminated in 1919, and the figures remained with Lindon Smith and his descendants until they were sold at Sotheby's New York, Antiquities, 24 November 1986, lot 194. There, they were catalogued as 'Two wood figures in Ancient Egyptian style, probably circa A.D. 1900 ... the ancient wood bases, one 12th Dynasty, carved on the top with inscriptions.' They were purchased by William Kelly Simpson, who believed the figures to be ancient, and lent again to the MFA until 2001. They were sold from Simpson's estate at Christie's London, Antiquities, 3 July 2019, lots 17 and 18. Before the 2019 sale, Carbon 14 testing of the figures gave dates in the mid first century BC for the wood, and the lots were accordingly, subtly, catalogued as 'an Egyptian wood female figure on a separate base for the Lady of the House Satipy' and 'an Egyptian wood figure of an official on a separate wood base for Senwosrety'. The date of the wood need not be disputed, but the style of the figures is so egregious as to make their antiquity dubious. Wakeling, writing of the forging scene in Egypt in 1912, discusses forgeries 'made from pieces of old mummy cases so as to give them the appearance of age' (42, see also 37–38, 114).

25 Cat 3045, acquired before 1882; PM VIII 801-437-660. Simon Connor (pers. comm.) suggests a Twelfth Dynasty dating for the ivory figure, around Senwosret II. The paleography of all three inscriptions fits with a Twelfth Dynasty dating.

around then. The burial had contained at least two figures of Satipi and one of Senwosreti. Perhaps the tomb had been rifled a generation or so before when the beautiful ivory figure of Senwosreti was removed, and only the bases and other less valuable objects were left by 1914. The figures may have succumbed to termites (Senwosreti's base has signs of damage), may already have been removed with the ivory Senwosreti, or may have survived but been deliberately separated from their bases to be sold independently and may be found among the many baseless wooden figures in museums and collections worldwide. One of Satipi's bases encountered a recently discovered figure of Kenamun at a dealer's or chez Gayer-Anderson, while the other Satipi and Senwosreti were kitted out with dubious figures that drew legitimacy from their undoubtedly ancient bases. Kenamun's base satisfied Gayer-Anderson, Mrs Holmes, and Joseph Brummer, but was removed between 1949 and 1985. The other bases are still with their figures: a reminder that one should take nothing for granted when one is presented with an object for study.

#### A VERY COMPOSITE FIGURE

The second object for consideration (fig. 9) can be dealt with more quickly. At present in a private collection in London, it was acquired approximately ten years ago with a group of small miscellaneous Egyptian and ethnographic objects from an art market 'runner' from older collections in the south coast of the UK. Measuring 4.5 cm high, 1.5 cm wide, and 2.6 cm deep, the figure is made of blue-green faience. A lion-headed figure wearing a sun disc sits, naked, on the ground offering an oval plaque inscribed *rꜥ wp rnp(t) nfr(t)* – it is Re who opens a beautiful year.



FIG. 9: Composite faience object. Private collection, London. (Drawing by Andrew Boyce.)

The combination of figure, costume, pose and inscription is unprecedented on first glance. A second look reveals why: the figure is a pastiche made of three unrelated parts glued together. The dark and crusty appearance of the glue hints at the antiquity of its creation.

The lion's head with a sun disc comes from a figure of a leonine deity, most likely Sekhmet, an extremely common amulet type.<sup>26</sup> The plaque is the bezel of a ring made to celebrate the New Year, again not an unusual object.<sup>27</sup> The naked headless body comes from a so-called 'Naucratic' figurine of a naked man with a giant erect penis, now missing. Faience 'Naucratic' figures are relatively unusual; they are more common in limestone, where parallels for the figure's gesture – not grasping the ring bezel, but holding an oval object between both hands – can be found.<sup>28</sup>

It is now impossible to know who created this pastiche and why. Was it made by a vendor anxious to wring every drop of profit from his mediocre stock? Was it sold as wholly ancient or as a pastiche? Did a bored collector confect it out of miscellaneous odds and ends<sup>29</sup> as a practical joke? Whoever made it, and for whatever reason, it took imagination and talent to turn three unprepossessing fragments into an engaging object. Precisely because it was made for modern consumption, it manages to satisfy modern desires for pharaonic Egypt – animal headed humans! Scanty clothing! Hieroglyphics! [*sic*] – far more exactly than genuine, untampered objects ever could. ¶

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<sup>26</sup> Examples abound in collections worldwide; in the Oriental Institute, E12238 is close to the example here.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Petrie Museum UC58328 and UC58342.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. Fitzwilliam Museum E85.1914 and E99.1914, limestone figures from Naucratis, holding what their cataloguers identify as a tambour or a drum.

<sup>29</sup> The owner of this piece calls fragments like this 'craplets'.

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# A NUBIAN KING IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM

**PETER LACOVARA\*** (THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN HERITAGE AND ARCHAEOLOGY FUND)

As a student at the Oriental Institute in the late 1970s I had the good fortune to volunteer in the Museum's Conservation Laboratory under the patient guidance of Barbara Hall. I am forever grateful for all I learned there and the many interesting projects I worked on. One of the most rewarding endeavours was to work with Barbara on a new metals storage room, helping to gather materials squirreled away throughout the Museum basement for rehousing. While engaged in this task, I came across an old cardboard shoe box with 'forgery' pencilled on the lid. To my amazement when I opened the box, I saw not a fake, but a bronze sculpture of a Nubian pharaoh of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (ca. 722–ca. 655 BCE).<sup>1</sup> The figure's non-Egyptian regalia (the cap crown, double uraeus and pendant ram heads), combined with its physiognomy (its broad features as well as stocky musculature), and the somewhat 'Frankenstein-ish' pose of the piece must have appeared dubious to someone not familiar with Kushite art. However, this statuette clearly fit into the typology of small bronze statuettes of these kings.<sup>2</sup> I had also been interning in the Department of Egyptian Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts while Ann Russmann was there, and was familiar with her catalogue raisonné of the royal sculpture of the Nubian Dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

The statuette<sup>4</sup> measures 20.0 cm tall by 3.9 cm wide and depicts a king wearing the traditional royal Nubian cap-crown<sup>5</sup> and pendant ram's head necklace.<sup>6</sup> He is standing with his arms stretched forward and slightly downturned with palms

1 Evans, Green and Teeter 2019: 119.

2 Russmann 1974: 57–69.

3 Russmann 1974.

4 OIM E 13954; <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/g2e60203-93d2-4509-a6db-0826of77e8be>. Hill 2004: 191.

5 Leahy 1992.

6 Cf. Lacovara and Markowitz 2019: 114–17.

turned inward (figs 1–3). He wears the double uraeus of the Nubian kings and the serpents' tails merge into the end of the bandeau that runs down<sup>7</sup> the back of the head (fig. 4). According to the Oriental Institute Museum's records,<sup>8</sup> the piece was purchased by James Henry Breasted in Cairo in 1929 for the sum of 250 Egyptian pounds from the famous antiquities dealing family Tano<sup>9</sup> and probably from Frank John Tano. Breasted, who was on tour with John D. Rockefeller Jr. at the time,<sup>10</sup> seems to have left the statuette at the Semiramis Hotel, which was near Tano's shop.<sup>11</sup> It was finally picked up and brought to Chicago by William Franklin Edgerton in 1931 on his way back from Chicago House in Luxor.



FIG. 1: Bronze Statuette of a Nubian King, Oriental Institute Museum E 13954. Front view. (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.)



FIG. 2: Bronze Statuette of a Nubian King, Oriental Institute Museum E 13954. Three-quarter profile, proper right. (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.)

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Lacovara 2015.

<sup>8</sup> I would like to thank Oriental Institute Museum archivist Anne Flannery for this information.

<sup>9</sup> Hagen and Ryholt 2016: 265–66.

<sup>10</sup> Abt 2012: 341–43.

<sup>11</sup> Bierbrier 1995: 410.

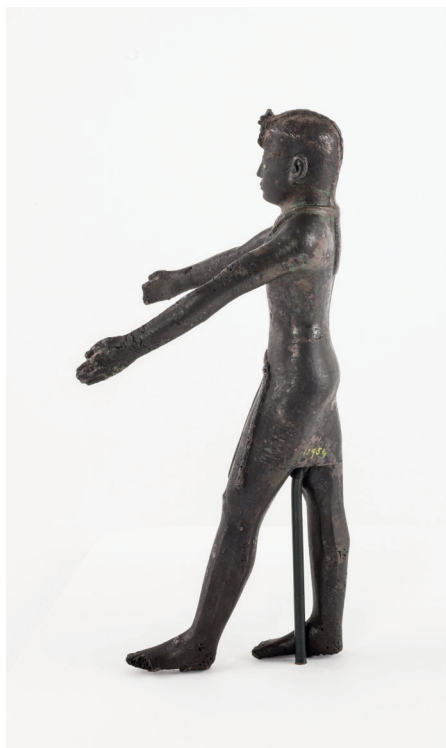


FIG. 3: Bronze Statuette of a Nubian King, Oriental Institute Museum E 13954. Side view, proper left. (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.)

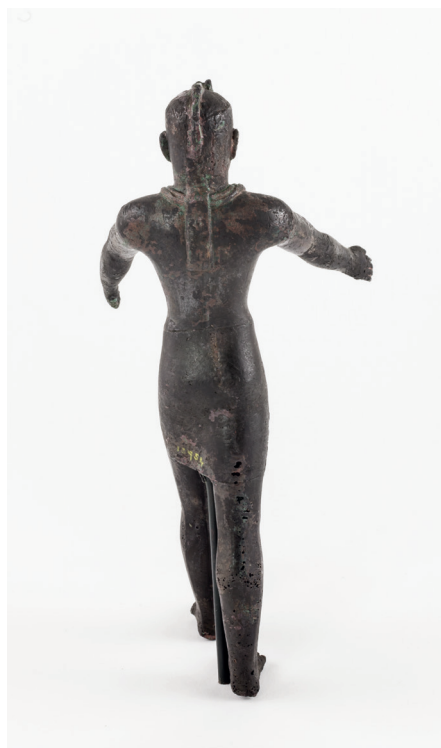


FIG. 4: Bronze Statuette of a Nubian King, Oriental Institute Museum E 13954. Back view. (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.)

The statuette was catalogued as ‘Dynasty 26’ when it entered the Oriental Museum, but evidently dismissed as a fake sometime after, thereby escaping notice and mention in Russmann’s compendium. During her tenure at the Oriental Institute Museum, Emily Teeter suggested the monarch represented is probably Taharka,<sup>12</sup> the fourth and most well-known king of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. This is most likely the case because the bronzes of the earlier Twenty-fifth Dynasty rulers, Shabaka and Shebitku tend to be finer and less common.<sup>13</sup> Although the Oriental Institute king was more finely crafted than many of the later Twenty-fifth Dynasty examples, the rather bland face points to the images attributed to Taharka. The outstretched arms indicate that it was holding something, most likely a naos. A number of other bronzes depict kings kneeling with arms out and palms flat and facing inwards, also likely to hold a shrine or some other presentation piece;<sup>14</sup> however, this is the only standing example. Like a number of standing stone naophorous statues, additional support was provided when the shrine did not reach all the way to

<sup>12</sup> Teeter 2017.

<sup>13</sup> Russmann 1974: 19–20.

<sup>14</sup> Russmann 1974: 57–69.

the ground.<sup>15</sup> On this bronze a circular indentation in the chest may have been for a strut to help support what was being held.<sup>16</sup> The raised edges of the sporran indicate that it was probably originally inlaid, as were the statuette's eyes. This elaborate detail, as can still be seen in the Gulbenkian Museum torso of King Pedubaste,<sup>17</sup> would probably have not been intended to be hidden behind a full-length naos.

Many of these bronzes believed to come from Egypt, as opposed to those found in Sudan,<sup>18</sup> were vandalized in the succeeding Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>19</sup> On this example, the naos, or whatever was held between the hands, was removed. It appears that the arms were slightly pulled apart to facilitate the erasure of the gilded rams' head pendants, and the sculpture was also removed from its base.

Now rescued from obscurity, this important statue has pride of place in the Oriental Institute's new Egyptian and Nubian galleries masterfully curated by Emily Teeter. 🙌

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Selim 1990.

<sup>16</sup> These complex bronzes often relied on struts and other armatures to support component parts. Cf. Roeder 1956: 487–515.

<sup>17</sup> Hill and Schorsch 2005.

<sup>18</sup> Macadam 1955: pls LXXVII–LXXIX; LXXXII.

<sup>19</sup> Hill 2007: 197.



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# A PAPYRUS FRAGMENT WITH AN EMBALMING SCENE FROM THE PUSHKIN MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

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## INTRODUCTION

The Department of the Ancient Orient of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts keeps the museum's papyrus collection. It is a part of the former collection of Vladimir Golenishchev, which the Museum of Fine Arts (since 1937, the Pushkin Museum) acquired in 1909 and which arrived at the museum in April 1911.<sup>1</sup> The papyrus collection is diverse and contains ancient Egyptian papyri (hieroglyphic, hieratic, demotic), as well as Coptic, Greek, Pahlavi, Hebrew, and Arabic manuscripts. Golenischev made some of his purchases from European dealers and even at auctions; however, he acquired many objects during his scientific travels, and some of them came from Upper Egypt, particularly Luxor and Akhmim. As far as we know, Golenischev did not leave much documentation regarding the time and place of the acquisition of the majority of papyri and other objects of his collection: we can find some information in the card catalogue of his collection, and some mentions in his reports at meetings of the Oriental Department of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society.<sup>2</sup>

The fragility of the material and the difficulty of reading texts on papyri largely influenced the fact that several remained unpublished for a long time,

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\* The author expresses her sincere gratitude to the Head of Department of the Ancient Orient of the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts Olga Vassilieva and the curator of the papyrus collection Vera Smolenkova for the opportunity to work with the papyrus.

1 Васильева 2017: 48.

2 Голенищев 1987: 143–75.

but those that were rapidly published became widely known: Hymns to Diadems, a Mathematical Papyrus, the Onomasticon of Amenemope, and the Journey of Wenamun. Several copies the Book of the Dead and the Amduat from this collection were displayed on the exhibition *The Way to Immortality* in 2002 and were published in its catalogue.<sup>3</sup>

Among these is a fragment of the funerary papyrus with vignettes from the Book of the Dead, the so-called ‘Fragment of a papyrus with an embalming scene’ (inv. I. 1b 23(КП = ИГ 4623), fig. 1). The fragment is 74.5 cm in length and 17.4 cm in height; the quality of material is common for papyrus – the colour of the papyrus is light with some more thick, rough and visible brownish fibers; the colours of the painted figures in comparison with the background seem to be dark. The entire composition is illustrated only with one register of images, with a thin monochrome double border at the top and bottom. Ten figures are depicted: the deceased laid on a lion-shaped bed, tended by Anubis, Isis and Nephthys kneel at both ends of the bed, a falcon-headed god in a double crown, Min-Amun, Isis behind the throne of Osiris, the ibis-headed Thoth and Amamat. For several years, the papyrus was on permanent display in the Egyptian Hall of the Pushkin Museum, becoming one of the key objects of the collection thanks to the sustained interest of visitors. Although a visitor favourite, little is known about the papyrus; its centre of production is unknown and its attributed date (12th–10th centuries BC) caused questions. This prompted a reassessment of the date of this museum object and, if possible, an attempt to define its place of production.



FIG. 1: Fragment of a papyrus with an embalming scene. Pushkin Museum, inv. I. 1b 23(КП = ИГ 4623), Late period (?). Size: 17.4x74.5x0.5 cm.

It is worth noting that papyrus inv. I. 1b 23 has no hieroglyphic or hieratic text; the text could have been possibly located on the initial vignette, if the papyrus ever had any. In the case of uninscribed and decontextualised museum objects for which there is no provenance information, there is only one way to make the proper attribution of such artefacts without using technical, physical

3 Путь к бессмертию 2002: 71–74.

or chemical methods. Central to the study are therefore the stylistic features of the illustrations and the iconography of the scene, reliant on different comparanda. It also can be useful to compare this papyrus fragment with some thematically related objects from the same collection, because some of them perhaps could derive from one place or period.<sup>4</sup>

#### PUSHKIN MUSEUM INV. I. 1B 23(КП = ИГ 4623) AND COMPARANDA

Such an embalming scene is typical of some vignettes of the Book of the Dead. This contains a funeral bed with lion heads on which lies the deceased in the form of a mummy. Anubis is bent over the dead person, holding a cup with some incense in his left hand. Next to Anubis' hand, the *ba* flies away from the body while the four canopic jars in the form of the figures of the sons of Horus stand under the bed, and kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys flank the scene.

The deceased's mummified body lying on a bed can be found on different papyrus vignettes illustrating various chapters of the Book of the Dead. For example, on the famous papyrus of Ani<sup>5</sup> of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the body of the deceased is shown in the illustration composed in the form of a frieze to Chapter 1. His body is laid on a bed placed in a boat, set on the funerary bier, where his wife mourns him (the goddesses Isis and Nephthys are located on either side of the bed).<sup>6</sup> In the vignette to Chapter 17, where the body of the deceased is shown on a bed under the canopy, the scene is framed by two vultures wearing the emblems of Isis and Nephthys.<sup>7</sup> In the vignette to Chapter 89, the deceased's *ba* hovers over its mummy, in a full-size vignette representing the wabet or burial chamber. On the vignette to Chapter 151, Anubis tends the body of the deceased.<sup>8</sup>

An abridged version of Chapter 151B in the Memphite papyrus of Nebseni,<sup>9</sup> an early (Eighteenth Dynasty) version of the Book of the Dead, tells of the 'laying of the hands' by Anubis on the 'lord of life' (with the determinative *sdr*). And on a papyrus of the Twenty-first Dynasty – the papyrus of the singer of Amun-Ra Muthotep<sup>10</sup> in the illustration to Chapter 151, the deceased is represented lying on a bed with Anubis bent over him, and in a vignette to Chapter 182 – the body of the deceased is shown on a bed in a naos, surrounded by gods, but without Anubis; in the upper and lower

4 Cyril Aldred (1980: 9) wrote in the introduction to his *Egyptian Art*: 'Egyptian works of art may be dated on stylistic grounds...in the case of uninscribed fragments, found out of their proper context, there is no alternative method that can be employed.'

5 London, British Museum EA10470,5: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA10470-5](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10470-5).

6 Anubis can also be shown standing above the body of the deceased, with Isis and Nephthys by its sides. Naville 1886: Pl. III. P.e. (Louvre III.36 = inv. no. 3132 Nebqed) Dévéria, Pierret 1872.

7 In vignettes to Chapter 17 a *ba* hovering over the deceased may also be present. Naville 1886: Pl. XXVIII D.a. (Dublin, Trinity College, IV).

8 Рубинштейн 1976: 129–44.

9 London, British Museum EA9900,21: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA9900-21](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA9900-21).

10 London, British Museum EA10010.



registers appear images of the inhabitants of the Netherworld – the guardians of the deceased – with knives, snakes and lizards in their hands.

In his study of the Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus of Nakhamun,<sup>11</sup> where Anubis bends over the body of the deceased as in the vignette to Chapter 1, Naville notes there are many variants (with a mourning wife; the image of the bed on the sledge and without; the presence and absence of Isis and Nephthys, as well as the embalming Anubis) and the use of the embalming vignette here is atypical. This vignette appears most frequently with Chapter 151.

Another interesting comparandum is the papyrus of Kerasher,<sup>12</sup> which contains the texts and vignettes of the Book of Breathing dating from the reign of Emperor Augustus (c. 1st century BC).<sup>13</sup> In the lower register of the third sheet, we see Anubis at work, laying his hands on the body of the deceased. The style of the figure of Anubis is similar to the image on the Moscow fragment.

The bed has a similar shape, although at the bottom there is only one vessel that does not have an anthropomorphic shape, and the sons of Horus are absent here, but Isis and Nephthys are posed as mourners by the ends of the bed. However, the colouring is very different: in contrast to the Moscow fragment, which mainly uses reddish-brown with pink, in the London papyrus the emphasis is on bright ochre and intense green, accompanied by white.

It is worth noting that these scenes are also present as paintings on the walls of Theban tombs. The vignettes to Chapter 1, depicting Anubis in front of the deceased (laying hands on him, opening his mouth and eyes) are found in the Ramesside tombs of Deir el-Medina and Dra abu el-Naga (TT 1, 2, 218, 219, 286, 290).<sup>14</sup> M. Saleh mentioned the tomb of the vizier Paser (TT 106) in Qurna of the reign of Sety I – Ramses II, where there is an illustration to Chapter 89 – painted raised relief with Anubis bending over the deceased and with an image of a flying ba.<sup>15</sup> There is a vignette to Chapter 151, depicting the *wabet*, for example, in TT 96 in Sheikh Abd el- Qurna (tomb of Sennefer, reign of Amenhotep II).<sup>16</sup> There are no images of the vignettes of the Chapter 182 in Theban tombs of the Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties.<sup>17</sup> This chapter

11 Berlin, Egyptian Museum, P. 3002; Naville 1886: Pl.V. B.a.; see also Munro 1997.

12 London, British Museum EA 9995, 3: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA9995-3](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA9995-3).

13 Budge 1899: 39–43, pls I–III; Herbin 2008: 39–45, pl. 23.

14 Saleh 1984: 10–11.

15 Saleh 1984: 51–52.

16 Saleh 1984: 84.

17 However, T. J. Allen noted an exception. Allen 1974: 196. This is the vignette for chapter 182 in TT 296, the tomb of Nefsekheru (reign of Ramses II). This is a short version of the chapter with a vignette, which, however, is very different from the one described above. Shown here is the Thoth with symbols of power and breath. He leads the deceased with his hands in a welcoming gesture to Osiris, who is in the naos. The four sons of Horus are shown standing on a lotus flower. Piehl 1886–1903: 95–101, pl. CXXII o. Thus, a version of the Twenty-first Dynasty is formed on a different basis and it obviously differs much in composition.

was included in the set of chapters of the Book of the Dead later, so the presence of this chapter is a sign that a papyrus should be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (as in the case of the papyrus of Muthotep).

However, judging by the style of the figures, the colours preferred by the artists and the use of full-sized vignettes without text accompaniment, the papyrus can most likely be classified as a ‘mythological papyrus’,<sup>18</sup> the composition of which can contain both images and scenes from the Book of the Dead as well as from other ‘Netherworld books’, which became widespread on papyrus after the end of the New Kingdom, and mostly without any texts.

#### DATING THE PAPYRUS

In an article published in 1939, Vsevolod Avdiev, who later became head of the Oriental Department of the Pushkin Museum, compared the composition of the Moscow fragment with some random objects that were known to him from publications he could find.<sup>19</sup> And, thus, using these examples as comparanda he dated it to the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period (a term which was not in use in the mid-20th century).

The scene of embalming performed by Anubis is most fully preserved on this fragment – it can be conditionally attributed to the Chapter 1B of the Book of the Dead. In the light of all the above mentioned analogies, we need to give more detailed description of the scene. The deceased lies (head to the right) on a special embalming bed in the form of a lion with an elongated body and upward curled tail. The lion paw legs of the bed are placed on stands resembling lotus flowers – a typical feature of Late Period images of funerary equipment, beginning from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Under the bed are the four sons of Horus, shown as mummified anthropomorphic figures, not as canopic jars.

To the right and to the left of the bed are kneeling mourners: Isis and Nephthys, identifiable by the hieroglyphic signs on their heads. Their location is not typical: usually Isis is placed at the foot of the bed, and Nephthys at the head; here their location is reversed so Isis is at the head and Nephthys at the foot. The goddesses are sitting on pink-toned mats, they wear round short ‘Nubian/Saite’ period wigs, and are dressed in clothes that leave their generous bosoms exposed. They also wear broad collars around their necks, and bracelets are shown with dark stripes on the forearms and wrists. Their large oval eyes with a pupil, sharp features with a long nose and small lips and chins testify to a dating of the papyrus between the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (7th–6th centuries BC) and the Ptolemaic era (4th century BC).

<sup>18</sup> Piankoff, Rambova 1957.

<sup>19</sup> Авдиев 1939: 120.

The embalming scenes of the deceased and Anubis with this set of characters and details are also characteristic of imagery on the funeral inventory, in particular, on the coffins and cartonnages of the Late Period. In the collection of the Pushkin Museum there are several objects stored there since 1924, when the Museum-Institute of the Classical Orient was closed. Avdiev also described some of them in his above-mentioned article.<sup>20</sup> The first is a cartonnage plaque for a mummy (Pushkin Museum, inv I. 1a 864) (fig. 2). The fabric base of the plaque is very thin, has some damage and is not preserved completely. However, the structure of its decoration allows a correlation with a typical design of a coffin lid, starting below the necklace: at the top is a winged scarab, below a winged figure of Nut, in the centre there is a scene with the image of the deceased on the bed, and under this scene is a composition divided in two by a column of hieroglyphs. On each side of the inscription are two standing figures of the sons of Horus, facing the inscription containing the name of the deceased – Nesy-Khonsu.



FIG. 2: Fragment of a cartonnage mummy-cover (Pushkin Museum, inv I. 1a 864).

<sup>20</sup> Авдиев 1939: 107–22.

The central scene shows the deceased on a lion-shaped bed, under which stand rounded canopic jars with the lids in the form of the heads of the sons of Horus. The composition does not contain an image of Anubis. The ba, with its large wings downturned, soars over the mummy. Nephthys stands at the head of the bed, and Isis at the foot; despite damage to the area, it is evident that the sons of Horus are grouped behind them, in pairs, as in the lower scene. Behind Isis are Duamutef and Imseti; behind Nephthys, Hapi and Kebehsenuf. Avdiev dated this fragment to the Nineteenth Dynasty, although stylistically it is a much later object, especially since cartonnage plaques for the mummy became widespread only in the Ptolemaic epoch.<sup>21</sup>



FIG. 3: Fragment of a cartonnage mummy-cover (Pushkin Museum, inv. I. 1a 1241).

An apron, once part of a cartonnage ensemble (Pushkin Museum, inv. I. 1a 1241) (fig. 3), contains a scene that is reminiscent of the image on papyrus I. 1b 23. The deceased lies on a lion-shaped bed, with the lion's tail curling over at the foot. Anubis, who stands in front of the bed in the foreground, leans over the deceased. One of his hands is laid on the body; the other is raised, holding a simple cup and a thin strip, apparently not of bandages, but probably of red leather. It seems that this is a stola placed on the neck and the breast of the mummy after the mummification and all preparations are completed, meaning that the deceased had joined the world of the gods. Behind Anubis, a ba is shown very schematically, it can be understood by its location and in comparison with other similar iconographic examples.

The goddesses are not marked with their special signs; however both have solar disks on their heads and are shown here as mourners with their hands raised to their heads. Under the bed are four vessels of conical shape, without

<sup>21</sup> Taylor 2001: 243.



detail; this shape is used for offering vessels, and only their number indicates that these are canopic jars. Thus, the most important and detailed feature in this scene is the gesture of Anubis: that is, the laying of hands on the body of the deceased, and raising the embalming vessel with the stola.

Avdiev noted that the image of Anubis holding an embalming vessel in his outstretched hand is a characteristic of later objects.<sup>22</sup> As an comparative, he mentioned the case of the mummy of Artemidorus<sup>23</sup> of the 1st century AD and a mummy-case with Greek inscription also from Hawara.<sup>24</sup> These analogies testify that this iconography is the most persistent and widespread and exists until the Roman Period.

The third analogy is a fragment from a cartonnage case for the whole mummy (Pushkin Museum, inv. I. 1a 1286) (fig. 4). It depicts a winged sun disc, then a wesekh collar, below which is a winged scarab, then further down is the mummification scene, and at the bottom is a register containing images of six seated figures holding *w3s* sceptres facing a standing figure in the shape of a mummy. There are some interesting details in the mummification scene: Anubis holds a vessel in his hand, but is not shown bending or with a stola, and he is dressed in a very long skirt, the folds of which are shown in schematic vertical lines.

Isis and Nephthys are absent here, and the four figures that stand in pairs at the head and foot of the bed can be considered as the sons of Horus. They are all anthropomorphic, and have no identifying signs, but the figure standing closest to the head of the bed wears the crown of Osiris, an



FIG. 4: Fragment of a cartonnage mummy-cover, detail (Pushkin Museum, inv. I. 1a 1286).

22 Авдиев 1939: 118.

23 London, British Museum, EA 21810. The scene is made using gilded overlays. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA21810](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA21810).

24 Cairo Museum, CG 33221.



atef, but without horns. There are only three vessels under the bed, since the skirt of Anubis, standing behind the bed, is wide and occupies a lot of space.

It is also worth noting the colours of all these cartonnages, which have the characteristic ‘powdered’ tones of the Ptolemaic period. Of particular interest is the cartonnage fragment I. 1a 864 (fig. 2): here, a distinction is clearly made between green and blue, and deep red colour. The light yellow figures of the children of Horus in the lower frieze on a gray-blue background look very impressive and resemble an imitation of relief overlays or an attempt to revive dark backgrounds. These are typical of the Saite Dynasty, which in turn imitates the dark backgrounds of the Old Kingdom. The combination of light backgrounds in the other registers, the blue and green plumage of the wings, and accents highlighted in red creates a sense of variety and richness of decor.

This scene is also present on two Ptolemaic coffins from the Golenishev collection, exhibited in the Pushkin Museum. One of them is anthropoid, with a gilded face, beautifully preserved, and belonged to a woman Tashet (Pushkin Museum, inv. I. 1a 5302) (fig. 5). On its cover, in addition to various scenes, which include extracts from the ‘Books of the Netherworld’ and Amduat, is a scene of mummification. The scene is shown reversed to the other examples discussed here, with the head of the bed to the viewer’s left, and Anubis also facing left (or the object’s proper right, and Anubis also facing right). Anubis holds an embalming bowl, but the deceased (shown as a man with an Osirian beard<sup>25</sup>) has already risen and rolled over onto his stomach on the bed.

On the end of the lid at the foot of the *krsw*-coffin of Hor-Unnefer



FIG. 5: The coffin of Tashet, detail (Pushkin Museum, inv. I. 1a 5302).

<sup>25</sup> In the text, the name of Tashet is also repeatedly accompanied by a male determinative, which indicates usurpation or, alternatively, the purchase of an already finished beautifully designed coffin. However, this question is still open. Work on a detailed publication of the coffin and its mummy is now in progress.

(Pushkin Museum, inv. I. 1a 5250) (fig. 6) is a scene of mummification of the deceased. He is shown on the bed as a mummy with what appears to be the head of a baboon. Anubis, stands behind the bed, with a cup in one hand, touching the deceased's chest with the other. The sons of Horus stand in pairs at either end of the bed. Those closest to the bed (Hapi at the foot, Amseti at the head) assist Anubis, holding similar cups in front of themselves. Under the bed are four canopic jars with figured heads. Isis and Nephthys flank this scene, kneeling and raising their hands in a mourning gesture. Due to damage, unfortunately, one cannot see the signs on the heads of the goddesses, but, judging by the colour of the dresses, Isis is shown at the foot of the bed and Nephthys at the head.<sup>26</sup>



Fig. 6: The coffin of Hor-Unnefer, detail (Pushkin Museum, inv. I. 1a 5250).

Avdiev made an interesting remark about the composition with the embalmment scene (since he considers it alone, and not the entire composition of the papyrus fragment). He wrote: "Thus, the main ideas of the lamentation of the deceased, his magical protection, embalmment and reunion of his body with the soul are found not only separately, but also in combination with each other, fully resembling a complex of combined hieroglyphs."<sup>27</sup>

Having examined the above examples, we can see how scenes depicting a bed with the body of the deceased, initially illustrating various chapters from funerary texts, were used in different contexts but over time began to merge into a single pictorial complex containing all these concepts together. In addition, this composition is enhanced by fine details, which, however, were mostly inconsistent from one example to another and even, apparently, optional, without impoverishing the meaning of the image.

This pictorial motif had such an important semantic sense in the decor of the funerary equipment that at last, on Late Period objects – in the decor

<sup>26</sup> These goddesses are also shown as mourners on the other side of the lid: Isis wearing a green dress and Nephthys wearing red.

<sup>27</sup> Авдиев 1939: 117.

of the lids of anthropoid coffins, and on mummy-coverings – this scene became the quintessential image of the whole composition. And in the papyrus graphic art one can observe how this scene from the Book of the Dead entered the repertoire of mythological papyri and, later, the Roman period Book of Breathing. This testifies to its importance – not a surprise, since this composition combines the most important concept for the funerary context.

On the papyrus of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts I.1b 23 (fig. 1), several key characters are associated with the embalming scene, but at the right part of the composition it contains some other depictions of gods connected with the iconography of the illustration that usually accompanies Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead: the so-called ‘Court of Osiris’ with weighing the heart of the deceased. There is Osiris seated on a throne, facing right, with Isis standing behind him. In front of them Thoth reports to Osiris about the deceased who has arrived into his kingdom. The last figure on the extreme right is Amamat (‘the devourer’), whose head is turned towards the weighing scales, the image of which was either not preserved or was cut off by the merchant along with the other scenes on the papyrus for a separate sale.

However, the papyrus may not have been very not long and may have featured only a few scenes. Unfortunately, neither the last scene, nor the initial vignette depicting the deceased, where his name and the name of the composition could have been written, have been preserved. Between the two described scenes that relate to the funeral papyrus, are two more characters: on the left, a standing god with the head of a falcon (Horus, Ra or Ra-Harakhti) wearing a double crown, and to its right an ithyphallic image of the god Min-Amun crowned with two tall ostrich feathers. Behind Min-Amun is a small offering table with two heads of lettuce, an attribute of this god indicating his vitality and masculine power.

The comparanda described above have helped bring forth a revised date for this papyrus based on stylistic features, colour combinations, and iconography. The detailing of faces, the forms and proportions of female figures, the use of pink along with the rest of the dark (blue, black and ochre-brown) colours, and the additional scene with the image of Min-Amun, suggest a date in the Late Period (7th–4th centuries BC) or, most likely, the Ptolemaic period (4th–1st centuries BC). Furthermore, this ‘additional’ Min-Amun figure and use of a light pink colour that was typical for Akhmim objects can also point at the possibility that this papyrus comes from a workshop of Akhmim,<sup>28</sup> a large centre for the production of funerary goods at this time. Golenishchev acquired several items from Akhmim for his collection and this also points towards this site as the original production centre.

<sup>28</sup> The collection of the Pushkin museum contains several objects from Akhmim.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Pushkin Museum's funerary papyri continue to be studied. In addition to publication in the catalogue of the exhibition *The Way to Immortality*, the Pushkin Museum's collection of papyri of the Book of the Dead have been studied by museum staff and Russian Egyptologists, as evidenced by the works of V. Avdiev,<sup>29</sup> M. Mathieu,<sup>30</sup> R. Rubinstein,<sup>31</sup> M. Chegodaev<sup>32</sup> and others. The Pushkin's funerary papyri have also entered the database of the Bonn Totenbuch-Projekt, initiated by I. Munro, and several publications in academic Russian-language proceedings and papers of conferences,<sup>33</sup> including international ones,<sup>34</sup> have been devoted to the many types of ancient Egyptian papyri. ✎

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29 Авдиев 1939: 117.

30 Матье 1957: 344–62.

31 Рубинштейн 1938: 293–308; Рубинштейн 1976: 129–43; Рубинштейн 1979: 72–87.

32 Чегодаев 2004; Чегодаев 2014: 350–62.

33 Лаврентьева 2006: 69–102; Лаврентьева 2005: 149–66; Лаврентьева 2007: 51–52. Лаврентьева 2009: 159–63; Лаврентьева 2011: 124–38; Лаврентьева 2012: 148–51.

34 Lavrentyeva 2017: 325–28.



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# PELAGIO PALAGI AND THE BELZONI FAMILY COLLECTION OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

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*The manuscripts describing the origins of the Egyptian collection belonging to Bologna painter Pelagio Palagi are mostly unknown to scholars. Unpublished letters dating from March 1826 to March 1827 have enabled us to reconstruct the sequence of sale negotiations for Egyptian artefacts between Palagi's intermediaries and the family of the Paduan explorer Giovanni Battista Belzoni. The negotiations failed but at least one of these objects, a faience shabti from the tomb of Sety I, was later acquired by Palagi on the antiques market. A detailed inventory of the antiquities inherited and offered for sale by Belzoni's family, significantly more than listed in his will, is published here. It lists a number of objects, including a limestone seated statue of the high priest of Amun Hapuseneb, that may also have been acquired by Palagi in the years following the end of negotiations with Belzoni's heirs. These antiquities are now kept at the Museo Civico Archeologico in Bologna together with the entire Palagi collection, considered one of Italy's most important and of international relevance.*

The Bologna painter Pelagio Palagi's (1775–1860) (fig. 1)<sup>1</sup> interest in Egyptian antiquities is well known and attested by over 3,000 artifacts now in Bologna's Museo Civico Archeologico.<sup>2</sup> Palagi reached the apex of his fame as an Egyptian antiquities collector in 1831–32, following his purchase of the third collection

\* With this dedication to Emily, I wish to give her heartfelt thanks for the warm welcome she gave me when I joined the CIPEG board, her constant support, and for being an inspiring example as a museum professional.

1 BCABo (Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna), Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 25, fasc. 1, Palagi's autobiography; Matteucci 1974; Grandi and Morigi Govi 1976; Poppi (ed.) 1996; Royere 2017.

2 Kminek-Szedlo 1895; Bresciani 1975; Pernigotti 1980; Bresciani 1985; Jaeger 1993; Morigi Govi and Pernigotti (eds) 1994; Pernigotti 1994; Picchi 2009 and 2015a.



FIG. 1: Pelagio Palagi's portrait (MAMbo, inv. no. 98768).

of Giuseppe Nizzoli (1792–1858), chancellor at the Austrian consulate in Egypt from 1818 to 1828.<sup>3</sup> However, the manuscripts describing the origins of this collection through acquisitions of small and larger groups of objects over the years from around 1824 to 1845 are mostly unknown even to scholars.<sup>4</sup> Palagi acted both personally and through intermediaries, usually chosen from amongst his professional relationships or friendship circle. The dismemberment of important eighteenth-century collections<sup>5</sup> and, above all, the arrival in the Italian ports (Livorno, Genoa, Venice, and Trieste) of pharaonic antiquities, exported in abundance from post-Napoleonic Egypt,

offered him a wide range of options. Over the years he embarked on many negotiations, although not all were successful due to his failure to agree a price or his competition with richer or better-placed rivals, who got the upper hand.

Centre stage in one of these negotiations was the family of Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778–1823),<sup>6</sup> a resourceful and versatile individual, with considerable physical presence at over two metres tall. A sequence of experiences in various European countries, in particular a long stay in England, had shaped the man who landed at Alexandria in June 1815 together with his wife Sarah Parker-Brown (1783–1870)<sup>7</sup> and faithful companion James Curtin (1796–1825).<sup>8</sup> The hydraulic knowledge gained during his youth in Rome, and matured on subsequent occasions, had led him to seek his fortune in Egypt, after hearing news that the country's highest authority, Muhammad Ali Pasha (1769–1849), was looking for someone to solve its drought problem. Belzoni's ambitious project to modernise Egypt's hydraulic system through a pump of his own invention failed, but this did not discourage him. He changed trajectory,

3 Pernigotti 1991: 3–84; Daris 2005; Picchi 2011a.

4 The most important archive of Palagi manuscripts is kept at Bologna's Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio: see Bonora and Scardovi 1979; Scardovi 1987.

5 See for example: Picchi 2012 and 2015c.

6 Montobbio 1984; Mayes 2003; Zatterin 2019.

7 Picchi 2011b; Warmenbol 2019: 124–131.

8 Morkot 2013.



devoting his life to exploring the country and recovering pharaonic vestiges: a highly profitable business, in which the main European consuls and their emissaries played an undisputed role.

In three successive journeys along the Nile (1816–18) Belzoni accomplished various well-known archaeological exploits that have gone down in history,<sup>9</sup> although his past career as an actor in England and his acerbic character hindered full recognition of his value both then and subsequently. The result of these explorations was a wealth of archaeological finds of various types and sizes, which followed Belzoni when he left Egypt for England in September 1819. He disembarked at the port of Venice in November of that year to visit his family in Padua, whom he had not seen for twenty years.<sup>10</sup> Padua welcomed him with full honours, grateful for his gift of two seated statues of the leonine-headed goddess Sekhmet.<sup>11</sup> The city later coined a medal designed by Luigi Manfredini (1771–1840), engraver at the Milan mint, showing the two Sekhmet statues on the obverse and a dedication celebrating some of the illustrious explorer's exploits on the reverse (fig. 2).<sup>12</sup>



FIG. 2: Struck bronze medal in honour of Giovanni Battista Belzoni by Luigi Manfredini, 1819 (MCABo NUM 9181).

During his short stay in Padua, Belzoni began negotiations for the sale of three mummies to Stefano Andrea Renier (1759–1830), professor of natural history at the University and director of the local Museum of Natural

9 Belzoni 1820. See also BCPd (Biblioteca Civica, Padua), 2670/VIII and 2670/XIX, copies of Belzoni's letters to his brother Domenico, dated 15 August and 30 October 1818, to update him on his Egyptian exploits. For the transcription of these and many other documents concerning Belzoni in Padua, see Gaudenzi 1936.

10 Mercati 1943–44: 297.

11 BCPd, CA, 2670/X, a copy of Belzoni's letter (Alessandria, 12 March 1819) to his brother Domenico announcing the arrival from Trieste of the two statues to be given to Padua.

12 ASPd (Archivio di Stato, Padua), Atti comunali fonds, b. 405 (tit. XIV, Istruzione Pubblica), fasc. 2431, prot. 3149, Belzoni's letter to the Podestà of Padua, dated 12 June 1821, to thank him for the medal issue. See also Turricchia 2002: 159–61, no. 58.

History.<sup>13</sup> The proceeds from the sale of the mummies were to support his family, of whom Belzoni always took care; however, the negotiations failed despite Renier having already signed a contract. This can be deduced from the incipit and ending of a letter addressed to his mother and brothers from London, dated 2 June 1820.<sup>14</sup> In this same letter Belzoni, who left Venice for London in February 1820, asked once again for information on the shipment of his collection of Egyptian antiquities, which his brother Francesco was to have dealt with.<sup>15</sup> Worried about his family's finances, Belzoni allowed them to keep non-ancient objects for their own benefit in these special circumstances.

The archaeological material collected by Belzoni would have arrived in England almost intact, except for some papyri offered as a gift to Cardinal Ercole Consalvi (1757–1824), secretary of state to Pope Pius VII (1742–1823), with whom he had been in correspondence since 1818.<sup>16</sup> In London, as is well known, Belzoni proceeded to sell the bulk of his collection, which was auctioned off the following year,<sup>17</sup> by organising an exhibition at the Egyptian Hall. This celebrated, in particular, the discovery of the tomb of Sety I, and was inaugurated on 1 May 1821.<sup>18</sup> This exhibition was followed by two others: the first in Paris in December 1822, featuring the same reconstruction of the tomb of Sety I and models of buildings explored by Belzoni, but without the same wealth of finds;<sup>19</sup> the second in London in March 1825, organized by Sarah and James Curtin 'for the support of Mr. Belzoni's aged mother and numerous relatives at Padua' after Belzoni's death.<sup>20</sup>

On Belzoni's death on 3 December 1823 in Gwato<sup>21</sup> – news of which only reached England in April 1824 – Sarah replaced him in caring for his family, who were to inherit two thirds of Belzoni's estate. Before going to Africa, in fact, the explorer had written his will, aware of the dangers he was to face.<sup>22</sup>

13 The correspondence dealing with the sale is at Padua University: Medical Faculty, 1820, correspondence, b. 9, prot. 112. See also Zanovello 2019: 112–17.

14 Bellorini 1923–24: 111–14, 117–18. Concern for the financial condition of his family transpires from almost all Belzoni's letters.

15 Already in a letter dated 21 April 1820 Belzoni wrote: *Le statue non sono ancora arivate [sic] ma non possono ritardar di molto* [The statues have not yet arrived but cannot take much longer]; see BCPd, CA 2670/XIV.

16 Mercati 1943–44: 287–329. At any rate, other minor gifts of antiquities to extend interest in his archaeological exploits cannot be ruled out.

17 Catalogue 1822. Other antiquities, for example the famous alabaster sarcophagus from the tomb of Sety I, were sold privately; see Taylor 2017: 8–21.

18 Pearce 2000.

19 Hubert 1822. Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832) is cited as the possible author of two thirds of this catalogue in Hartleben 1909: 278.

20 *The Times*, December 11, 1824. For further information on Belzoni's family genealogy and its vicissitudes, see Gambino and Chilò 2019: 102–9.

21 Now Ughoton, in present-day Nigeria.

22 The will was drawn up in Fez on 23 May 1823. A copy of it was sent on 16 June 1824 to Belzoni's mother by banker Samuel Briggs, a dear friend of the explorer. The document is transcribed and commented on in Bellorini 1923–24: 120–21. For another translation of the will, which was partially written in English, see BCPd, CA 2670/XX.

His wife Sarah, his younger brother Domenico (1780–1829), and his mother Teresa (1755–1829 or thereafter) were each entitled to one third of his assets, provided that his by now very elderly mother was still alive. Otherwise her share was to go to Teresa (1814–84), daughter of his deceased brother Antonio (1781–1818). Francesco (1788–1829), the other younger brother, his first companion on his European travels and with whom relations had at a certain point broken down, was apparently left out, but a letter anticipating the contents of Belzoni's will shows that he did not intend to exclude him.<sup>23</sup> The division included the sale of the antiquities still in the explorer's possession, which appear to have been far fewer than those documented in some unpublished letters kept at the Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio in Bologna.<sup>24</sup> These letters contain information on the true size of Belzoni's bequest to his loved ones, including a reference to a hitherto unknown object from Sety I's tomb.

Given the failure of the London exhibition designed to raise money from the finds inherited,<sup>25</sup> it was probably in spring-summer 1825 that Sarah sent her husband's relatives a substantial group of antiquities, their shares of the inheritance, retaining only a small part for herself.<sup>26</sup> This group of objects therefore retraced its journey back to Italy, barely five years after it passed through en route to Britain. Reports of a previous dispatch of objects to the family, immediately after the closure of the Paris exhibition, is not supported by the documents found to date.<sup>27</sup> The *terminus ante quem* of the expedition appears to be given by a letter from Count Alessandro Papafava (1784–1861)<sup>28</sup> sent from Rome on 29 September 1825 and addressed to Count Giovanni de Lazara (1744–1833) in Padua.<sup>29</sup> Its opening sentence mentions an Egyptian object, attributing it to Belzoni: *Eccole l'interpretazione dei geroglifici della figurina di Belzoni, fatta da Champollion, e avuta col mezzo di persona sua conoscente; mentre egli si trovava quà in Roma: vedrà che egli ha avuto bisogno di correggerla come nell'unito disegno per trovarne il senso che è quello di tutte le consimili* [Here you have an interpretation of the hieroglyphs on Belzoni's figurine, made by Champollion, and obtained by means of an acquaintance he met while he was here in Rome: you will see that he needed to correct it, as in the attached drawing, to identify its meaning common to all similar objects].<sup>30</sup> The interest taken by these two Paduan noblemen in Belzoni's figurine, in all likelihood a shabti, is difficult to comprehend in the absence of direct knowledge of the artefact. It should

23 BCPd, CA 2670/XIX, letter from Fez, May 1823.

24 All these letters are published in an extended Italian version of this article: Picchi and Chilò 2019.

25 BCPd, CA 2675/l, incomplete and *sine data* letter written by Domenico Belzoni to Sarah a few weeks before the opening of the second exhibition in London.

26 Warmenbol 2019: 124–31.

27 Hartleben 1909: 278.

28 Bonato 1890.

29 Caburlotto 2001.

30 Cittadella della Cultura di Lendinara, Malmignati Archive, Carteggio Giovanni de Lazara, b. 8, fasc. 4, no. 299. The drawing is not to be found in this archive or elsewhere.

be noted that both were friends of Belzoni, to whom he had turned to find a publisher for an Italian version of his travel accounts.<sup>31</sup>

It was in this high-class, cultured environment, with which Palagi occasionally came into contact,<sup>32</sup> that negotiations for the sale of Belzoni's antiquities developed. Taking advantage of his friends and professional relationships to sift through the antiques market in search of finds to collect, Palagi tried to buy the Belzoni family's collection through some intermediaries. The first of these was painter Giovanni De Min (1779–1859), Palagi's pupil, held in great esteem by Padua's aristocracy since 1818.<sup>33</sup> De Min started negotiations for Palagi, as a letter dated 3 March 1826 makes clear. Therein he reports the outcome of a first meeting with *quello che a Londra, e credo anche in qualche altro luogo, tenne compagnia al celebre illustratore* [he who, in London, and I think elsewhere, spent a lot of time in the company of the famous illustrator],<sup>34</sup> that is to say Francesco Belzoni.<sup>35</sup> He had provided De Min with a document containing a list of the Egyptian objects inherited by the family with price estimates (figs 3–4 and Appendix);<sup>36</sup> Francesco was, therefore, able to benefit from his older brother's legacy, showing right away that he was the most interested in a deal and the most accustomed to dealing with these antiquities, which he knew about even prior to the legacy.<sup>37</sup> The list sent by De Min to Palagi describes several dozen objects from the main archaeological sites explored by Belzoni, including Sety I's tomb, the pyramid of Khafre, and various tombs and temples in the Theban area. The antiquities inherited from the family, some of which had been in the auction catalogue of 1822,<sup>38</sup> are of considerable historical, artistic, and economic value, and more numerous than might have been expected. From the same letter we also learn that Palagi was not the first to take an interest in these Egyptian objects, as a papyrus in excellent condition had already been sold to the Sanquirico brothers, well-known Venetian art dealers, perhaps the very people involved in ongoing negotiations for the purchase of a seated statue in white marble, corresponding to number 2 on the list.

The short period of time that elapsed between this first letter from De Min to Palagi and the following one, dated 15 March 1826,<sup>39</sup> reveals the Bologna

31 Gambino 2007. For the Italian edition, see Belzoni 1825 and 2019.

32 See, for example, BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 9, ns 53 and 55, as well as b. 6, fasc. 31.

33 Paludetti 1959: in particular 114–46. For other information on this artist, see Dal Mas 2009.

34 De Min considered Giovanni Belzoni to be the author of the illustrative plates of the *Atlas* published together with the *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries ... in Egypt and Nubia*.

35 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 6, fasc. 32.

36 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. i, no. 4 (Appendix).

37 Francesco joined his brother in London in November 1821, in the midst of attempts to sell his Egyptian objects and organise further exhibitions; see BCPd, CA 2670/XVII.

38 For example the 'colossal toe, from the Colossus, discovered among the ruins of Carnac, the head of which is now in the British Museum—red granite' (Catalogue 1822: 5) is easily identifiable with *Parte di un dito di Granito, appartenente ad una statua Colossale* (BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 6, fasc. 32, no. 8).

39 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 6, fasc. 33.



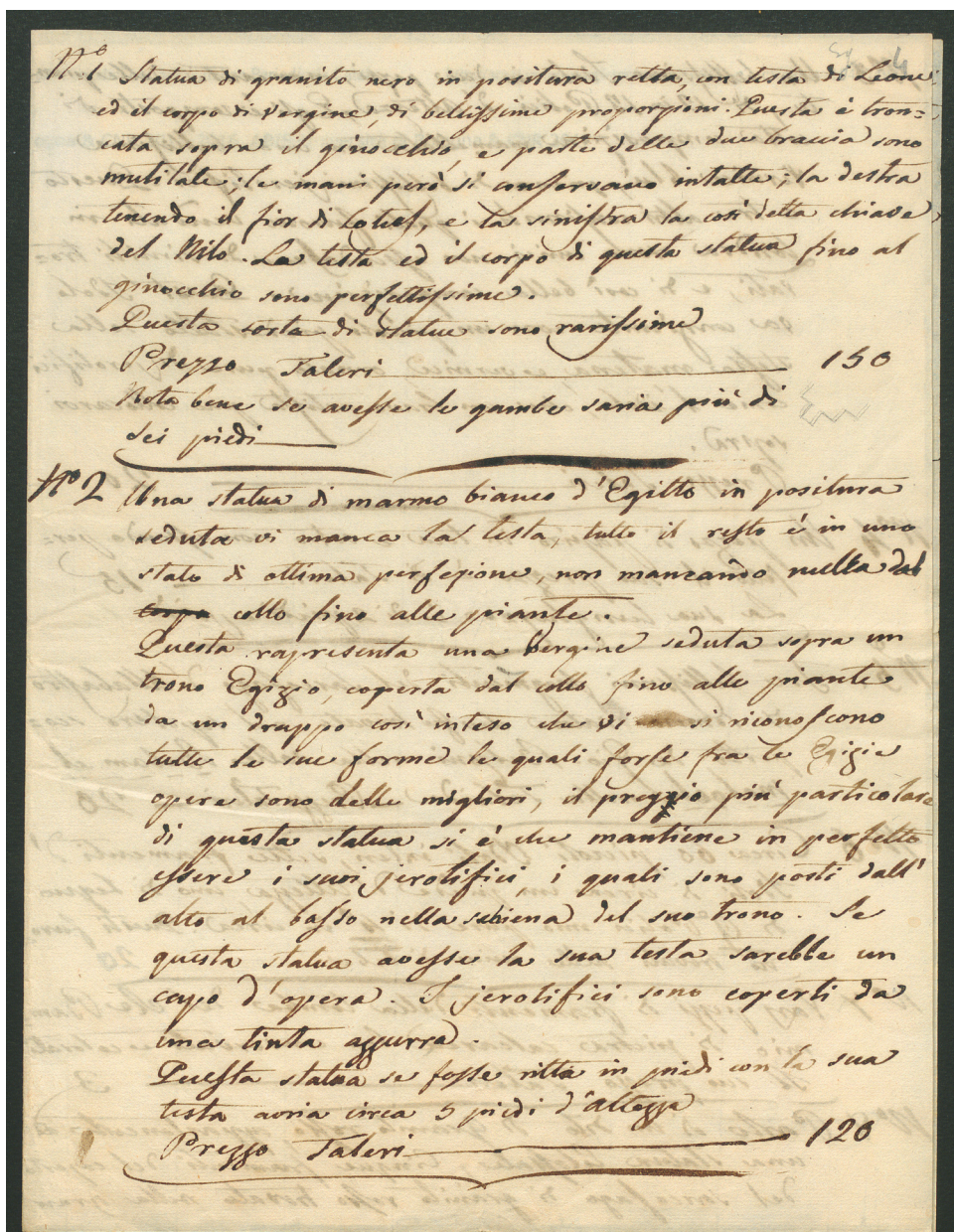


FIG. 3: List of the Egyptian objects inherited by the Belzoni family (BCABo, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. i, no. 4).

painter's considerable interest in Belzoni's collection, although he had no intention of paying the amount requested by the family. In response to the 200 thalers<sup>40</sup> offered by Palagi, the Belzoni family lowered its initial estimate from 370 to 300 thalers, undermining De Min's attempted mediation, who at the same time invited the painter to make a higher offer in consideration of the

40 Convention thalers (of 28.06 g of 833/1000 fineness silver, diameter 40/41 mm) were minted in Venice under Francis I of Habsburg-Lorraine (1815–35). See for example Gigante 2005: 280.



rather low costs involved in transporting the objects. It was Domenico Belzoni who complicated the negotiations by not being willing to agree to a further discount, as De Min points out in a third letter, dated 8 April 1826.<sup>41</sup> The same letter highlights Palagi's fear of potential competition from other buyers, the aforementioned Sanquirico brothers, who sold him various Egyptian antiquities in subsequent years,<sup>42</sup> and Giuseppe Vallardi (1784–1861), thanks to whom he had already obtained many objects belonging to the Venetian Nani di San Trovaso family.<sup>43</sup> The liveliness of the northern Italian antiques market and Palagi's reputation as a collector must have prompted him not to appear as De Min's principal in the hope of obtaining more favourable sales

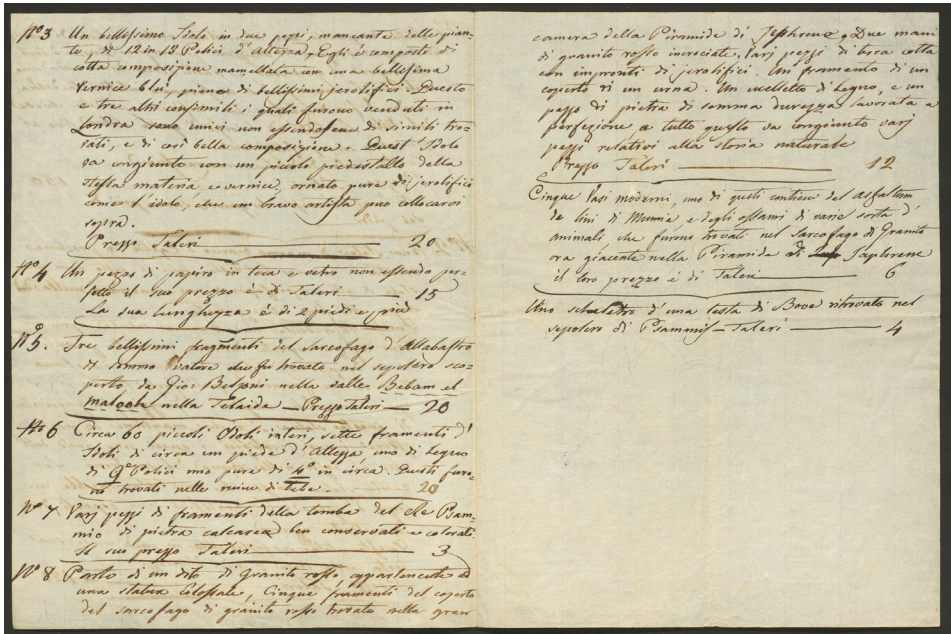


FIG. 4: List of the Egyptian objects inherited by the Belzoni family (BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. i, no. 4).

conditions and avoiding costly intermediary work by skilful dealers. However, these precautions did not prevent Antonio Sanquirico from purchasing a number of items from the Belzoni family, including a candlestick later offered to Palagi,<sup>44</sup> and a small canopy, about which the latter asked for information.

Three letters from the doctor-writer Giuseppe Montesanto (1779–1839)<sup>45</sup> to the well-known Petrarchist Antonio Marsand (1765–1842),<sup>46</sup> then residing

41 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 6, fasc. 34.  
 42 Picchi 2009b: 38–40 and 2011: 278.  
 43 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. i, no. 6 and fasc. 6; Picchi 2011: 278 and 2012: 99–101.  
 44 See BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 31, fasc. 6, lett. d, including a drawing.  
 45 Zannini 1841.  
 46 Chiancone 2006: in particular 82–132; BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 12, fasc. 24–25 and 104; Cittadella della Cultura di Lendinara, Malmignati archive, Carteggio Giovanni de Lazara, b. 8, fasc. 3, no. 258.

in Milan like Palagi, attest to the involvement of other mediators supporting De Min and a change of strategy in the conduct of the negotiations. In the first letter, written at two different moments on 17 June 1826,<sup>47</sup> Montesanto declares that he went, together with De Min, to see Giuseppe Orsolato (1812–1902),<sup>48</sup> his patient and Domenico Belzoni's brother-in-law, in an attempt to get him to change his mind and agree to the sale. For the first time this letter highlights a family dispute that does not seem to be completely related to the contingent circumstance of the negotiation. Domenico disagrees with his brother Francesco and mother Teresa, who is equally eager to *far denari, perché con essi si mangia, e colle pietre non già* [make money, because with it one can eat, but one can't do that yet with stones]. He fears *di non incassare per sé un soldo se si contenta di una somma* [not to earn a penny for himself if he settles for a certain sum], which Montesanto believes to be *pre-mangiata* [pre-eaten] by Francesco and his mother. It is unclear whether this is because Domenico already owed his family money, or because he does not trust his brother Francesco, who might have agreed a surcharge in his favour at the start of negotiations, or because there might have been a disadvantageous dividing up of the legacy. The only result obtained by Montesanto and Orsolato,<sup>49</sup> following this further intervention in favour of Palagi, was a ten thalers discount that brought the overall estimate for Belzoni's antiquities down to 290 thalers. The doctor also informs Palagi that one of the main objects is stored at the free port of Venice. In his second letter to Marsand, dated 28 June 1826,<sup>50</sup> Montesanto specifies that the object mentioned corresponds to the list's *statua di marmo bianco d'Egitto in positura seduta* [white marble statue from Egypt in a seated position].<sup>51</sup> He was awaiting the outcome of a fresh mediation attempt by Orsolato, who was convinced of the advantageous nature of the deal for his brother-in-law Domenico, too, and meanwhile discouraged Palagi from making a partial purchase proposal. Palagi then decided to increase his offer to 230 thalers, as evidenced by the third letter to Marsand, dated 31 July 1826,<sup>52</sup> but Domenico once again did not accept the proposal, despite Sarah intervening from England in favour of the sale.

At this point negotiations broke down and only resumed almost a year later, at the behest of one of Belzoni's brothers, undoubtedly Francesco, who declared himself willing to sell one of the statues or even the entire group, if Palagi would increase his previous offer. The very busy De Min was replaced

47 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 12, fasc. 24.

48 Maggiolo 2013.

49 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 12, fasc. 104.

50 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 12, fasc. 25.

51 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. i, no. 4.

52 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 12, fasc. 26.

by artist Francesco Dal Fabbro (?–post 1857),<sup>53</sup> who updated Palagi regarding these developments in a letter dated 7 March 1827.<sup>54</sup> Palagi continued to turn to Montesanto and Orsolato as intermediaries, who once again put the answers obtained by Belzoni’s family in writing, the same of the previous year, bringing negotiations to an end. The 230 thalers offered by Palagi were definitively refused.<sup>55</sup>

In any case, at least one object on the list Francesco Belzoni sent to De Min did become part of the Palagi collection, although the time and circumstances of its acquisition are currently unknown. It is the list’s number 3 (see Appendix), the *bellissimo Idolo in due pezzi, mancante delle piante, di 12 in 13 Polici d’altezza ... composto di cotta composizione mamellata con una bellissima vernice blu, piena di bellissimi gerolifici* [beautiful two-piece idol, lacking its feet, 12–13 inches in height ... comprising a mamillated [‘breasted’] figure of baked composition, with very beautiful blue paint, full of beautiful hieroglyphs],<sup>56</sup> that is to say a shabti in faience from the tomb of Sety I in larger size and of a finer production (fig. 5),<sup>57</sup> which could be the object mentioned in De Lazara’s letter to Papafava.<sup>58</sup>



FIG. 5: Sety I’s faience shabti (MCABO EG 2056), 19th dynasty, reign of Sety I (1290–1279 BC).

53 With the limited information available, it is difficult to reconstruct Francesco Dal Fabbro’s life. He was born in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in Belluno (or nearby Conegliano, according to other sources) and is mentioned as still alive in *Il Diavoletto. Giornale Triestino*, Year X, no. 108, 20 April 1857.

54 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 6, fasc. 3.

55 BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 12, fasc. 27, note by Orsolato, dated 29 March 1827, sent on by Montesanto to Palagi on 31 March 1827.

56 See note 36 and Appendix, no. 3. It appears that the shabti’s clenched fists were interpreted as breasts.

57 Kminek-Szedlo 1895: 244, no. 2056; Picchi 2019: 292.

58 See note 30.

The Bologna statuette corresponds perfectly to Francesco Belzoni's description, especially regarding its lack of feet and joined up two-piece body. The rarity of this shabti and a further three similar statuettes offered for sale in London in 1822, is highlighted in the list defining them as *unici non essendosene di simili trovati, e di così bella composizione* [unique, since no others have been found, and of such a beautiful composition].

The same listing also provides hitherto unknown information on *un piccolo piedistallo della stessa materia, e vernice, ornato pure di jeroglifici come l'idolo, che un bravo artista può collocarvi sopra* [a small pedestal made of the same material [i.e. faience], and paint, also adorned with hieroglyphs like the idol, which a good artist could relocate on top], that is suggested to come from Sety I's tomb.<sup>59</sup> This 'small pedestal' would seem to correspond in material, colour, and size



FIG. 6: Fragmentary faience base of statue (MCABo EG 3151), 18th dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III (1388–1351 BC).

to a fragmentary base in the Palagi collection (fig. 6), although the latter is not attributable to a shabti.<sup>60</sup> The date and circumstances of its purchase are not currently known. An interesting hypothesis, although one which is not further documented, is that it is the very same *piedistallo con caratteri egizi* [pedestal with Egyptian characters] included in a list of objects sold, after various unsuccessful attempts, by antiquarian Francesco Pajaro to Palagi in

<sup>59</sup> This object is currently under study. The name of the god Aten, mentioned in the text, is written *itn* instead of *itn*. This writing is attested both during Amenhotep III's reign (see for example Helck 1957: IV, 1696.20 and 1702.15) and at the beginning of the Ramesside period (Leitz 2002: I, 611–12). The faience seems to be more typical of the reign of Amenhotep III than that of Sety I. At present the provenance of the object from Sety I's tomb it is just a hypothesis, so it cannot be excluded that Belzoni linked this base with Sety I's shabti for commercial reasons.

<sup>60</sup> Kmínek-Szedlo 1895: 350, no. 3151.



1843 via Antonio Sanquirico.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, immediately below it in the same list, the generic description of 2. *Pezzi di mumia porcellana* [2. Pieces of porcelain mummy] might suggest that this fragmentary base was sold together with the two-piece shabti of Sety I.

Another Palagi collection artefact that may have been part of the Belzoni legacy is a seated statue of the high priest of Amun Hapuseneb (fig. 7, Appendix, no. 2),<sup>62</sup> which corresponds almost perfectly to the previously mentioned *statua di marmo bianco d’Egitto in positura seduta* [white marble statue from Egypt in a seated position]<sup>63</sup> and headless. The limestone, from which the Bologna statue was carved, might have been confused with marble. The two sculptures are similar in quality, size, type, and hieroglyph colour, a blue that should correspond to Egyptian blue. Only the distribution of the text on the stone is different: on the

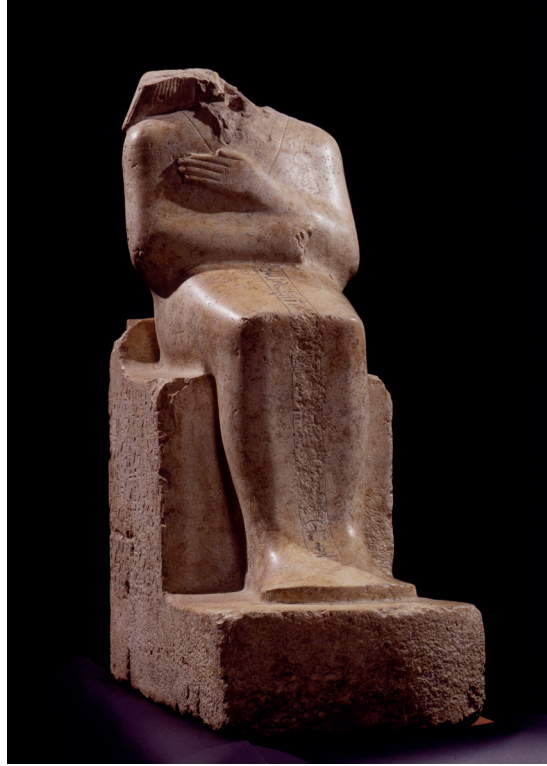


FIG. 7: Hapuseneb’s limestone statue (MCABo EG 1822), 18th dynasty, reign of Hatshepsut (1479–1458 BC).

list it is said to be placed *dall’alto al basso nella schiena del trono* [from top to bottom on the back of its throne], while on the Palagi collection’s sculpture it covers the whole throne with the addition of a column of hieroglyphs running from under the right arm, resting on the belly, and as far as the feet. The fact that this headless statue remained at the *Porta di Dogana* [customs port] in Venice for the entire period of the negotiation might explain this inconsistency between the description given in the document and the object itself. The sculpture, identified as a *Vergine* [maiden], might also correspond to the ‘Isis’ that Auguste-Louis De Sivry, an antiquarian active in Venice from 1808 to 1842, sent to Palagi in 1831.<sup>64</sup> This latter antiquarian was particularly attracted by fine quality sculptures and not only Egyptian ones. The weight

61 BCABo, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. h, no. 4 and, also, b. 20, no. 85 and Picchi 2011: 40.

62 Kminek-Szedlo 1895: 156, no. 1822; Pernigotti 1980: 33–36, no. 6; Piacentini 1990: 34.

63 See note 36 and Appendix, no. 2.

64 Picchi 2009b: 37.



of the crate containing the Isis, sent by De Sivry to Palagi, is comparable to the weight of the Belzoni statue. If this was the case, a hypothetical *terminus ante quem* of the fragmented sale of the Belzoni antiquities might be 1831 with Palagi managing to acquire at least some of these, despite the unwanted intermediation of certain art dealers.

The documentation found to date provides no further information regarding the objects Belzoni left his family. The two main players in these negotiations, Domenico and Francesco Belzoni, died three days apart in January 1829, leaving their elderly mother alone. Pending identification of other archival material of potential use in the continuation of this research, it can be added that, together with the two Sekhmet statues, a number of papyrus fragments attributed by oral tradition to the Belzoni family are still kept in Padua.<sup>65</sup> Identifying them with number 4 in the list sent to De Min, *pezzo di papiro in teca e vetro* [piece of papyrus in a display case and glass]<sup>66</sup> cannot be certain, but Edda Bresciani is worth mentioning in this regard as she reports restoration work carried out *per eliminare alcune manipolazioni, cioè piccoli pezzi di papiro, con tracce scritte oppure con segni di scritture di fantasia, aggiunti per ottenere una fittizia impressione, e l'autore ne era stato, con tutta probabilità, lo stesso Belzoni* [to eliminate certain additions, that is, small pieces of papyrus, with written traces or with creative script signs, added to achieve a fictitious result, which were probably Belzoni's own work].<sup>67</sup> †

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<sup>65</sup> Bresciani 1960; Gambino 2014.

<sup>66</sup> See note 36 and Appendix, no. 4.

<sup>67</sup> Bresciani 1988: 9.

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## APPENDIX

BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 31, fasc. 4, lett. i, no. 4

List of objects made by Francesco Belzoni and sent to Giovanni De Min, undated, attached to BCABO, Pelagio Palagi fonds, b. 6, fasc. 32.<sup>68</sup>

**No 1** *Statua di granito nero in positura retta, con testa di Leone ed il corpo di Vergine, di bellissime proporzioni. Questa è troncata sopra il ginocchio, e parte delle due braccia sono mutilate; le mani però si conservano intatte; la destra tenendo il fior di lotus, e la sinistra la così detta chiave del Nilo. La testa ed il corpo di questa statua fino al ginocchio sono perfettissime. Questa sorta di statue sono rarissime. Prezzo Taleri 150. Nota bene se avesse le gambe saria più di Sei piedi.* [Black granite statue in a standing position, with a lion's head and the body of a maiden, in beautiful proportions. It is truncated above the knees, and parts of both arms are mutilated; however, the hands are intact; the right holding the lotus flower, and the left the so-called key of the Nile. The head and body of this knee-length statue are perfect. These sorts of statues are very rare. Price 150 thalers. Note if the statue had legs it would be over six feet in height.]

**No 2** *Una statua di marmo bianco d'Egitto in positura seduta vi manca la testa, tutto il resto è in uno stato di ottima perfezione, non mancando nulla dal corpo collo fino alle piante. Questa rappresenta una Vergine seduta sopra un trono Egizio, coperta dal collo fino alle piante da un drappo così inteso che vi si riconoscono tutte le sue forme le quali forse fra le Egizie opere sono delle migliori, il preggio più particolare di questa statua si è che mantiene in perfetto essere i suoi jerolifici, i quali sono posti dall'alto al basso nella schiena del suo trono. Se questa statua avesse la sua testa sarebbe un capo d'opera. I jerolifici sono coperti da una tinta azzurra. Questa statua se fosse ritta in piedi con la sua testa avria circa 5 piedi d'altezza. Prezzo Taleri 120.* [A white marble statue from Egypt in a seated position lacking its head, everything else is in a state of excellent perfection, with nothing from the body neck to the feet missing. It depicts a maiden seated on an Egyptian throne, covered from her neck to her feet by a cloth so taut that her form is entirely recognisable and perhaps the best of the Egyptian works. The statue's most peculiar virtue is that its hieroglyphs are perfectly preserved and positioned from top to bottom on the back of its throne. If the statue's head had survived it would be an artistic masterpiece. The hieroglyphs are covered in blue paint. Standing upright with its head the statue would be about 5 feet in height. Price 120 thalers.]

<sup>68</sup> The sometimes variant spellings of the original are kept here. Some partly legible pencil notes by Palagi on the back of the second letter seem to supplement the list of objects with some jewellery.

**No 3** *Un bellissimo Idolo in due pezzi, mancante delle piante, di 12 in 13 Polici d'altezza. Egli è composto di cotta composizione mamellata con una bellissima vernice blu, piena di bellissimi jerolifici. Questo e tre altri consimili i quali furono venduti in Londra sono unici non essendosene di simili trovati, e di così bella composizione. Quest'Idolo va congiunto con un piccolo piedistallo della stessa materia, e vernice, ornato pure di jerolifici come l'idolo, che un bravo artista può collocarvi sopra. Prezzo Taleri 20.* [A beautiful two-piece idol, lacking feet, 12–13 inches in height. It comprises a mamillated figure of baked composition, with very beautiful blue paint, full of beautiful hieroglyphs. This and three other similar ones which were sold in London are unique, since no others have been found, nor of such a beautiful composition. This idol has to be joined with a small pedestal of the same material, and paint, also adorned with hieroglyphs such as the idol, which a good artist could relocate on top. Price 20 thalers.]

**No 4** *Un pezzo di papiro in teca e vetro non essendo perfetto il suo prezzo è di Taleri 15. La sua lunghezza è di 2 piedi e più.* [A piece of papyrus in a display case and glass not being perfect, its price is 15 thalers. Its length is 2 feet and more.]

**No 5** *Tre bellissimi frammenti del Sarcofago d'Alabastrò di sommo valore che fu trovato nel sepolcro scoperto da Gio: Belzoni nella valle Bebam el malooh nella Tebaide – Prezzo Taleri 20.* [Three beautiful fragments of the highly valuable alabaster sarcophagus that was found in the tomb discovered by Gio: Belzoni in the valley of Bebam el malooh in the Thebaid – Price 20 thalers.]

**No 6** *Circa 60 piccoli Idoli interi, sette frammenti d'Idoli di circa un piede d'altezza, uno di legno di 9e Polici uno pure di 4° in circa. Questi furono trovati nelle ruine di Tebe. 20.* [Approximately 60 small intact idols, seven fragments of idols around one foot in height, one in wood of 9 inches in height, one also in wood of about 4. These were found among the ruins of Thebes. 20 thalers.]

**No 7** *Vari pezzi di frammenti della tomba del Re Psammio di pietra calcarea ben conservati e colorati. Il suo prezzo Taleri 3.* [Various fragments from the tomb of King Psammio in well-preserved and coloured limestone. Its price 3 thalers.]

**No 8** *Parte di un dito di Granito rosso, appartenente ad una statua Colossale, Cinque frammenti del coperto del sarcofago di granito rosso trovato nella gran camera della Piramide di Jephrene. Due mani di granito rosso incrociate. Varj pezzi di terra cotta con impronti di jerolifici. Un frammento di un coperto di un urna. Un ucelletto di legno, e un pezzo di pietra di somma durezza lavorata a perfezione, a tutto questo va congiunto varj pezzi relativi alla storia naturale. Prezzo Taleri 12.* [Part of a red granite finger, belonging to a

colossal statue, five fragments of the lid of the red granite sarcophagus found in the great chamber of the Jephrene pyramid. Two red granite crossed hands. Various pieces of terra cotta with hieroglyphic imprints. A fragment of the lid of an urn. A little wooden bird, and a piece of stone of the greatest hardness, worked to perfection, to all this must be added various natural history related pieces. Price 12 thalers.]

*Cinque Vasi moderni, uno di questi contiene del asphaltum de lini di Mumia, e degli ossami di varie sorta d'animali, che furono trovati nel Sarcofago di Granito ora giacente nella Piramide di Japhrene, il loro prezzo è di Taleri 6.* [Five modern vases, one of which contains mummy asphaltum and linen, and bones of various kinds of animals, which were found in the granite sarcophagus now in the Japhrene pyramid, their price is 6 thalers.]

*Uno scheletro d'una testa di Bove ritrovato nel sepolcro di Psammis – Taleri 4.* [An ox's skull found in the Psammis sepulchre – 4 thalers.]

# EGYPT IN MANNHEIM: NEW VISIONS FOR AN OLD COLLECTION

**GABRIELE PIEKE** (REISS-ENGELHORN-MUSEEN, MANNHEIM)

*It is with the greatest pleasure that I offer this article to Emily Teeter, our dear friend and colleague. In addition to her many contributions to the field of Egyptology and her work as curator of the important collections of the Oriental Institute Chicago, she has for many years supported the work of ICOM CIPEG through her commitment to and involvement with the group. At many annual meetings, I and other CIPEG members have benefited from her substantial Egyptological as well as curatorial experience and knowledge.*

The worldwide map of the distribution of ancient Egyptian collections shows considerable breadth and, particularly in Europe, both small and large museums holding Aegyptiaca are found in many countries. Although numerous, they differ significantly in content and history. It is only since 2014 that the Reiss-Engelhorn Museums (REM) in Mannheim has permanently showcased ancient Egyptian art and culture to a wider audience in its permanent exhibition *Egypt – Land of Immortality* (fig. 1). However, Egyptian antiquities were a part of the collection long before the opening of the REM's 'Museum Weltkulturen' and its various predecessors such as the Reiss-Museum at the Zeughaus or the Schlossmuseum.

## 18TH CENTURY BEGINNINGS

The collection dates back to the palace holdings at Mannheim Castle, amassed by two passionate collectors, the Prince Electors and Count Palatines Carl Philipp (1661–1742) and Carl Theodor (1724–99).<sup>1</sup> Both rulers appreciated art in various forms and formed large collections of valuable paintings and distinguished sculptures, as well as precious manuscripts and books. However, the extensive destruction of Mannheim's city centre – including the Castle

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt 1977; Fuchs 1977.



FIG. 1: Entrance to the Permanent Exhibition *Ägypten – Land der Unsterblichkeit*, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim. (© Photo G. Pieke, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)



FIG. 2: Pfalzgraf und Kurfürst von der Pfalz, Herzog von Jülich-Berg Carl Philipp Theodor von der Pfalz. (© Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)

Museum – during the bombing raids of World War II makes any endeavour to reconstruct the collection’s history and its precise inventory rather challenging: large parts of the archives burnt down along with the works of art. Therefore, the history of the Egyptian collection at Mannheim can only be minimally reconstructed.

The Prince Elector and Count Palatine Carl Theodor (fig. 2), known for his sophistication, education, and passion for the arts, expanded the collections in the main castles of the Palatine Wittelsbacher family.<sup>2</sup> His 1749 decree to designate *verschiedene antiquitäten und andere monumenta*, made Carl Theodor

<sup>2</sup> Svoboda 1998; Stengel 1997.



a pioneer of the protection of ancient monuments and sites.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he founded a Palatine Academy of Sciences, a Cabinet of Natural History as well as Mannheim's first Drawing Academy on the recommendation of the sculptor and architect Peter Anton von Verschaffelt (1710–1793). Moreover, at his command, an Antiquarium was created with the specific purpose of collecting ancient artefacts for research and teaching. This institution was subordinated to the Academia Theodoro Palatina, the academy of science.<sup>4</sup> In addition to this 'Antiquarium electorale', plaster casts of important ancient sculptures were displayed in a special 'Antikensaal'.<sup>5</sup> This assemblage had its roots in the collections at the castle in Düsseldorf initiated by the Prince Elector Johann Wilhelm II (1658–1716). The plaster casts at Mannheim belonged to the Academy of Arts and were meant specially to serve the training of draughtsmen. The rich collection already established in 1767 was widely renowned and visited by numerous illustrious people of the time, including Schiller, Lessing and Goethe.<sup>6</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe even described the Antikensaal in his *Dichtung und Wahrheit* as a forest of sculptures '*In Mannheim angelangt, eilte ich mit größter Begierde, den Antikensaal zu sehen, von dem man viel Rühmens machte. (...) die herrlichsten Statuen des Altertums nicht allein an den Wänden gereiht, sondern auch innerhalb der ganzen Fläche durcheinander aufgestellt; ein Wald von Statuen (...)*'.<sup>7</sup> It can thus be inferred that in the 18th century, Mannheim's collection of antiquities included a considerable number of casts in addition to original artefacts.<sup>8</sup>

With regard to ancient Egyptian pieces, a silver Harpocrates is mentioned in 1702. It originally came from the collection of the Nijmegen priest Johannes Smetius and was purchased by the Prince Elector Johann Wilhelm for his court at Düsseldorf in north-western Germany. Later it was transferred to Mannheim under Carl Theodor. In 1778 the Kurpfälzische Jahreskalender lists among the Antiquarium's inventory not only antiquities of the region but also *Egyptische, Griechische und Römische Götzen von Marmor, Kupfer und anderem Metall...*<sup>9</sup> With such an interest in arts and antiquities, Carl Theodor travelled incognito to Rome in 1774/75 and 1783. We can assume that during these two journeys to Italy, the Count Palatine came across ancient Egyptian artefacts and other works of

3 'Various antiquities and other monuments', Braun 1999.

4 Stupperich 1999 and 2016; Schiering 1999.

5 Franz 2014; Suchezy 2019.

6 The first cast was the Atlas Farnese, which entered the collection of the court at Düsseldorf in 1709. At least 50 larger casts and the same number of portrait busts are listed in the Mannheim cast collection in 1769; Franz and Stupperich 2014; Franz 2014; Müller 2016: 215–26.

7 Goethe 1814: 128–30. 'Once I arrived at Mannheim, in great desire I immediately hurried to see the Hall of Antiques, praised by so many. ... the most exquisite and marvellous statues of antiquity, not just arrayed along the walls, but distributed over the entire space; a forest of statues ...'.

8 Stupperich 2016: 65–66 with fig. 3.

9 'Egyptian, Greek and Roman idols of marble, copper and other metals', Stupperich 1999: 338.

art that were exhibited in renowned collections.<sup>10</sup> Carl Theodor certainly could not have missed the numerous ancient Egyptian and Roman obelisks erected in prominent public places. During his second stay, Carl Theodor witnessed the repositioning of one of the Roman obelisks at the Piazza del Quirinale.<sup>11</sup> His delegation met, among others, Cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731–1804), who is considered the most important collector of Aegyptica in the 18th century. It is surely not a coincidence that the cardinal was also, from 1775, a member of the Palatine Academy of Sciences.<sup>12</sup>

In the context of a rising interest in ancient Egyptian culture, a unique group of Egyptianizing figures (fig. 3) has to be mentioned as it is likely to have



FIG. 3: Group of Egyptianizing figures, most probably originally from the castle collection at Mannheim. (Photo © Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst Munich.)

10 For example, the Gabinetto Egizio of the Musei Capitolini, the Villa Albani and the Museum Borgianum, the collection of Cardinal Stefano Borgia. He had assembled in his palace in Velletri, south of Rome, one of the most important collections of antiquities of the time and the largest number of Aegyptica in Europe before the Napoleonic expedition; Heid 2012; Ascani, Buzi, Picchi 2015; Syndram 1990: 149–50; Kunze 1998. In general see: McGeough 2013; Carrott 1978.

For the second trip to Rome, among others visits to the important collections of the Villa Borghese (25 May, 4 and 26 June 1783) are recorded. It has an Egyptian hall designed by Antonio Asprucci (1723–1808) and Tommaso Conca (1734–1822). He also visited the large collections at the Villa Albani (31 May 1783). Cardinal Alessandro Albani was a great patron of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and the ‘Cardinal Protector of the German Nation’ until 1779. Hence he regularly received high-ranking German travellers to Italy; Stengel, 1997: 49–50, 62, 68, 126; Jaeger 1997: 217.

For the monuments at Rome already dating back to Roman times see: Roulet 1972.

11 He stayed in Piazza Navona during his first journey (cf. Svoboda 1998, 95), where the Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi (Fountain of the Four Rivers) designed by Bernini is located. In its centre the Obelisco Agonale is situated, which was originally positioned at the Iseum Campense of Emperor Domitian. During his second journey in 1783 the relocation of the Obelisco del Quirinale took place; Stengel 1997: 113–16. For the Ancient Egyptian obelisks see: Iversen 1968; Habachi 2000.

12 For May 28 1783, the diary of the second trip mentions a meeting with this prominent collector of antiquities; Stengel, 1997: 56 with footnote 203.

belonged to the court collection in Mannheim. These peculiar and fascinating sculptures are now in the possession of the Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst at Munich.<sup>13</sup> Due to the inheritance contracts of the Wittelsbacher family, Carl Theodor came to the throne of Bavaria and consequently was obliged – expressly against his wishes – to move his residence to Munich in 1778. In the course of this relocation of his court, the better parts of the Mannheim palace inventory were transferred to Bavaria, including the art collection, a library comprising more than 100,000 volumes, and also the ancient artefacts. The ‘Munich Aegyptiaca’, which were directly inspired by ancient Egyptian artefacts, comprises seven statuettes, a bust worked as a canopic lid, a relief with a depiction of the temple of Diana Ephesia and two vessels.<sup>14</sup> It is particularly striking that only two of their inscriptions are composed of pseudo-hieroglyphs, while the others are partial copies of genuine hieroglyphic texts, portions of which can be read. Some of the texts can be traced back to ancient models, such as the inscription of the block statue of a certain Petamenophis, the so-called ‘Canopus Delphini’ (Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, N 93 /A. 92).<sup>15</sup> This striking group of Aegyptiaca derives from the Baroque spirit of a ‘romantic Egyptophilia’.<sup>16</sup> A general interest in ancient Egyptian culture during this era is further recorded by a *Monument für den ägyptischen König Sesostriß* in the large castle park at Schwetzingen. The building of this ‘monument’ began in 1784 at the summer residence of the Mannheim court.<sup>17</sup> The gardening theorist Christian Cay Lorenz describes it as follows:

*Das Monument koennt nun wohl zur Taeschung nicht anders seynm, als einige von der Zeit faßt ganz aufgeriebene Ruinen. Allein hier ist alles neu, vollstaendig und geschmueckt; die Zeit hat nichts veraendert. In den Gewoelben des Berges kommen Begraebnisse und Mumien zu stehen, und die Todten soll, wie man fragt, Charon dahin bringen. Um den Berg wird der See Moeris gegraben’.*<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately the plans were abandoned after four years of construction, yet they – together with other buildings in Schwetzingen Park – testify to then-popular ideas of freemasonry and its deliberate appropriation of ancient Egyptian ‘symbols’, most commonly obelisks, ruins or pyramids.<sup>19</sup> As already mentioned, the transfer of the court to Munich, unfortunately, led to the loss of substantial parts of the collection due to the large-scale move of the natural

13 ÄS 3997, 7134–7143.

14 Grimm 1995.

15 Grimm 1995: 7–94.

16 Grimm: 1995: 28.

17 Assman 2001: 32.

18 Hirschfeld 1785: 345. ‘For the illusion, this monument can’t be any other than a nearly completely worn down ruin. Within the mount’s caverns, burials and mummies will be placed, and the dead shall, as they say, be brought there by Charon. Around the hill shall be dug a Lake Moeris’.

19 Ebeling and Loeben 2017.

history collection as well as significant portions of the previously mentioned art collections in 1802. Only a small number of the antiquities remained in Mannheim, this part then considered dispensable.<sup>20</sup>

### THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

The collection left in the Palatinate was later donated by a successor, the Bavarian Prince Elector Max Joseph, to the city of Mannheim, which shortly thereafter transferred it to the Grand Duke of Baden in 1809, on the condition that all works should remain permanently in Mannheim.<sup>21</sup> In the following decades the citizens of Mannheim purchased new objects for the castle museum and thus at least tried to compensate for the unfortunate loss of outstanding artefacts, yet the collections remained modest. Unfortunately, hardly any archival material has been preserved and only rare witnesses render information about the precise inventory of ancient Egyptian objects from the late 18th century to the end of the 19th century.<sup>22</sup>

The 1839 catalogue *Grossherzogliche Antiquarium in Mannheim*, written by the custodian Georg Franz Gräff (fig. 4), mentions approximately 70 *Aegyptische Vorstellungen* on view, mainly sculptures and bronzes.<sup>23</sup> For today's reader, the descriptions of the objects can be challenging to understand, but fortunately Gräff mentions comparisons to some antiquities Bernard de Montfaucon had published in his famous *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* in 1722 and 1724<sup>24</sup> thus providing some help. In 1859, the artefacts of the newly founded Mannheim Antiquarian Society had been merged with those of the Großherzoglichen Antiquarium and formed the united antiquities collections at Mannheim. In addition in 1871, some objects were transferred from the collection of natural history to the antiquity department.<sup>25</sup> Its curator Karl Baumann compiled

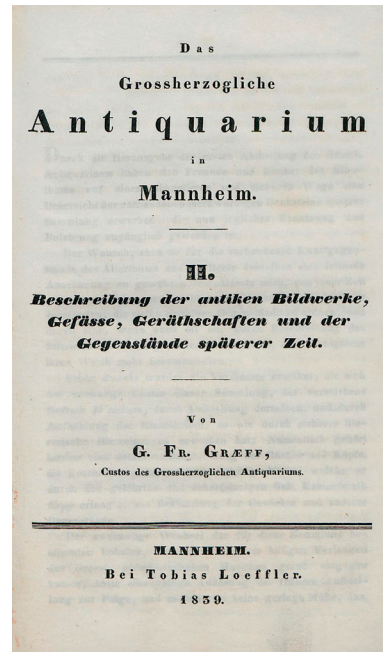


FIG. 4: Title page of Gräff 1839, the catalogue of Mannheim's Antiquarium. (© Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.)

20 Stupperich 1999: 338.

21 Stupperich 1999: 338.

22 The lists of the objects transferred to Munich are unfortunately no longer available.

23 Gräff 1839.

24 Montfaucon 1722 and 1724.

25 Baumann 1882: 25.



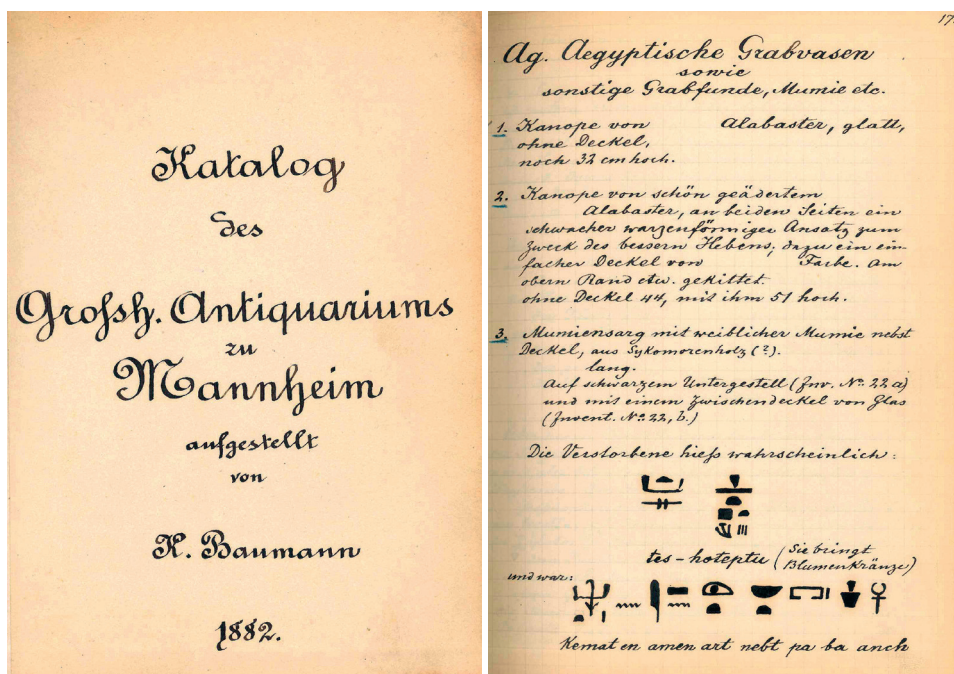


FIG. 5: Cover page and entry on an Egyptian coffin in the manuscript *Katalog des Großherzoglichen Antiquariums zu Mannheim* (Baumann 1882). (© Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)

a manuscript *Katalog des Großherzoglichen Antiquariums zu Mannheim* in 1882<sup>26</sup> under the authority of the Antiquarian Society and lists about 70 additional Aegyptiaca on display (fig. 5).<sup>27</sup> However, the current whereabouts of these sculptures, reliefs, and coffins is unknown. With a few exceptions, all the objects mentioned by Gräff and Baumann must be considered as lost today and we can only assume that they fell victim to the bombing of World War II and the extensive destruction of Mannheim's city and castle. Alas, the same applies for a number of objects the City of Mannheim purchased for the Antiquarium. They can only be traced back by some very brief entries in various volumes of the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*: In its 'Museographie' section the journal periodically published short news items on the museums in the region, which is extremely interesting in terms of activities, problems and priorities of collection management at the time.<sup>28</sup>

In 1910 Mannheim received Predynastic objects from excavations at Abusir el-Meleq through the division of finds of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft.<sup>29</sup> In addition to the collection of the Großherzoglichen Hofantiquariats, housed in the newly founded Schlossmuseum from 1926, some Aegyptiaca were identified in the Mannheim ethnological collections. These originated

26 Baumann 1882.

27 At this time, the inventory of 1825 was considered lost; see: Schultz 2015: 6.

28 Hettner and Hansen 1897: 327; Krüger and Hansen 1906: 427–28.

29 MDOG 1910: 2–3. I thank Lars Peterson for this and other valuable information.



from the Cabinet of Natural History also founded by the Prince Elector Carl Theodor in 1763. In the early 20th century the collections of natural history and world cultures were relocated from the castle to the so-called Zeughaus, the former armoury.<sup>30</sup> The Museum für Natur- und Völkerkunde opened in 1918 in this remarkable building, which remains the main building of its successor institution, the Reiss-Engelhorn Museums.<sup>31</sup> Accelerated efforts to expand the natural history and ethnological departments led to a significant increase in 1917 with the city's purchase of the collection of Gabriel Cornelius Ritter von Max.<sup>32</sup> A successful painter from Munich, von Max was a passionate collector and had amassed about 60,000 objects from the fields of prehistory, early history, anthropology, zoology, and ethnography.<sup>33</sup> These collections included about 350 ancient Egyptian objects, most prominent among them the coffins of Hetep-Amun (fig. 6) and of Djed-her<sup>34</sup> which Gabriel von Max had purchased in 1883 (fig. 7).

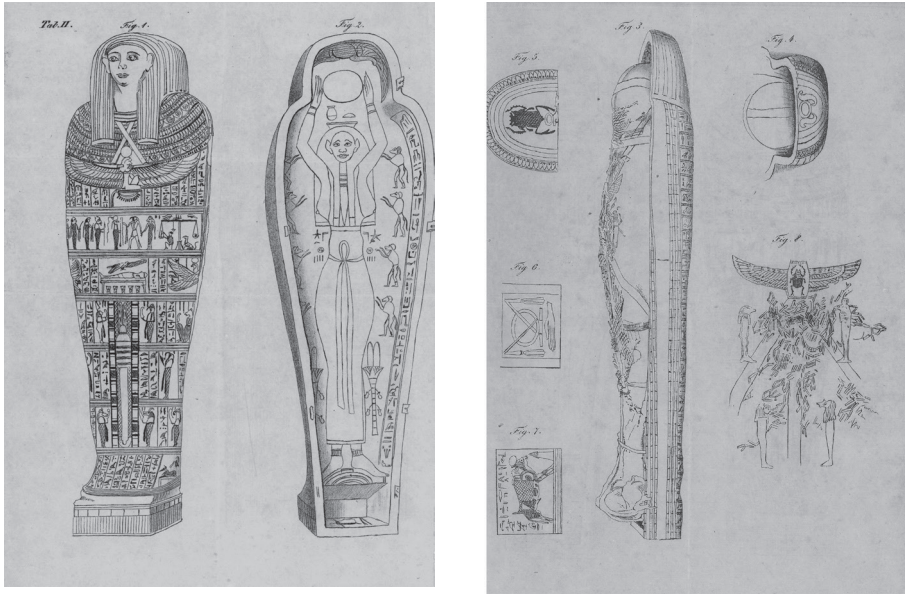


FIG. 6: 1839 offer for sale of the coffin and mummy of Hetep-Amun, later purchased by Gabriel von Max. (© Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden.)

The rise of the Nazi regime had deleterious repercussions on the cultural sector including detrimental interventions in the museum world and collection

30 For the history of the ethnological collection see: Schultz 2015: 135–54.

31 In 1937 the armoury was refurbished and rebuilt; Schultz 2015: 143.

32 Althaus and Friedel 2010.

33 Schultz 2015: 143; Althaus 2010.

34 Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden Bestand 1163 Nr. 741; <https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=v233677>; today University of Heidelberg Inv. Nr. 1014–1016.

The coffin and mummy of Hetep-Amun was offered unsuccessfully to the Verein für Naussauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung in 1839; Leive 2015.

Fol. 83  
Mannheim am 18. November 1883.

**RECHNUNG**

Für Herrn Professor Gabriel Max in Mannheim  
von J. Reigler

	Mark	PF.
für ägyptische Mumie gefasst Papir	500	
für Särge im Style Sarkovag	400	
zwei peruanische Mumie von Peru	1200	
für Antropometrie eines aus Paris.	100	
<i>Somma Mark</i>	<i>2300</i>	

FIG. 7: Invoice from 18 November 1883 to Gabriel von Max for an Egyptian mummy, another mummy in a coffin, three mummies from Peru, and a Native American feather headdress. (© Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)

management. One striking example of these interventions is the so-called ‘Badischer Ringtausch’, ratified on 28 May 1935. Aiming to enhance the profile of the museums that were party to the diktat, institutions in Mannheim, Karlsruhe and Heidelberg were compelled to shuffle parts of their historically developed inventories among themselves.<sup>35</sup> In the course of this unparalleled transposition of artefacts, a significant part of the Egyptian collection from the Zeughaus museum – including coffin ensembles, animal mummies and mummy portraits – was relocated to the University of Heidelberg, where they remain today.<sup>36</sup> As far as this occurrence can be reconstructed today, only

the exhibits deriving from the Gabriel von Max collection went to Heidelberg, while the objects in the castle museum, as well as items from the Greco-Roman period and Late Antiquity, stayed in Mannheim. The Aegyptica from the Zeughausmuseum, the former Gabriel von Max collection, today belongs to the Sammlung des Ägyptologischen Instituts of the University of Heidelberg. Yet the processing and exact verification of all these objects is still pending and can hopefully be solved in the future. Given that Gabriel von Max wrote notes on some of his objects using a code he also used in writing to his second wife,<sup>37</sup> provenance research of this kind would, indeed, offer some fascinating insights into the history of both collections.

## HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHY OF THE 19TH CENTURY

One of the most important Mannheim entrepreneurs and patrons of culture in the 19th century was the Reiß family, who also have an interesting connection to Egypt and the museum’s history. In particular, the siblings Carl (1843–1914) and Anna Reiß (1836–1915) were anxious to establish a museum for natural

35 Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, 235 Nr. 40314: 214.

36 Apparently the collection of the Schlossmuseum was not affected by this exchange.

37 Böller 2010, without mentioning the Egyptian pieces. I thank Eva Gervers for pointing out this evidence to me.

history in Mannheim, as stipulated in their wills in 1900.<sup>38</sup> Carl and Anna (fig. 8), as well as their explorer brother Wilhelm (1838–1908), had travelled to Egypt several times between 1879 and 1895.<sup>39</sup> Stemming from the Grand Tour of the siblings, the museum possesses today a treasure trove of historical travel photographs from the 19th century.<sup>40</sup>



FIG. 8: Anna and Carl Reiß at Giza, 1879, anonymous photographer. (© Forum Internationale Photographie, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)

Almost all the documents describing these journeys were destroyed by a fire at the Reiß Villa during World War II, and only one of Wilhelm Reiß's travel diaries survives. The handwritten journal dating to the winter of 1880/81 provides fascinating information on the journey from Alexandria to Upper Egypt.<sup>41</sup> Fortunately, the photo prints brought along by the Reiß family have been preserved. With a few exceptions, these photographs were not taken by the family but – as was customary for wealthy travellers – were purchased from professional photographers' studios located in Egypt which did a roaring trade in prints of important 'Egyptomaniac' motifs. From his 1880/81 journey to Egypt alone, Wilhelm Reiß brought back 400 photographic prints from renowned photographers such as Abdullah Frères, Antonio Beato and above

<sup>38</sup> Their wills left their entire estate to the city to fund the display of its existing collections. However, it was only in 1957 that in the process of the reopening of the Zeughaus that the institution was renamed Reiss-Museum. Today it is called Reiss-Engelhorn Museums, including the name of Curt Clover Engelhorn (1926–2016) who established a large endowment for the museum in 2001.

<sup>39</sup> <https://www.rem-mannheim.de/wir-ueber-uns/namensgeber/geschwister-reiss/>.

<sup>40</sup> Wieczorek and Sui 2005.

<sup>41</sup> Travelling 25 November 1880 until 20 January 1881 from Alexandria to Esna; Reiß 1880/81.

all Pascal Sébah.<sup>42</sup> The latter was even advertised in the famous Baedeker travel guide<sup>43</sup> for his photographs of landscapes and monuments. Sébah had his sale room right next to the famous Shepheard's Hotel, where Wilhelm Reiß stayed. Particularly outstanding is a large panorama of Cairo composed of six individual pictures. Back in Mannheim Wilhelm Reiß had some of his souvenir photo prints mounted and formatted as 15 large albums (50 x 70 cm) which still bear witness to his passion. The remaining loose, unmounted prints from Reiss's collection complete this important group.

Another connection between Mannheim, Egypt and the history of photography is the South Carolina-born photographer Jakob August Lorent (1813–84),<sup>44</sup> who lived in Mannheim most of his life. After his studies in Heidelberg, Lorent travelled to Egypt for the first time in 1842 and soon became a pioneer of architectural photography, immortalised by his award-winning photographs.<sup>45</sup> During his extended trips to Egypt in 1859–61 and 1864 he documented important monuments such as the Sphinx at Giza (fig. 9), Dashur, and the temple of Edfu in images that became well known. During one of his journeys, Lorent immortalised his name in the tomb of Sennefer



FIG. 9: Sphinx at Giza, photograph by Jakob August Lorent 1859/60. (© Public domain.)

<sup>42</sup> Waller 2005.

<sup>43</sup> Baedeker's first Egyptian guidebook, to Lower Egypt, was published in 1877, followed by an Upper Egyptian guide in 1891. They were edited by Georg Ebers and Johannes Dümichen. From 1897 the volumes were merged into a single *Baedeker Ägypten*, initially edited by Georg Steindorff. Later revisions are still a useful introduction to Egyptology; Hinrichsen 1991: 43.

<sup>44</sup> Waller 1985.

<sup>45</sup> Lorent's archives are held in the Institut für Baugeschichte der Universität Karlsruhe, with whom REM staff work closely.





FIG. 10: Visitor inscription by Jakob August Lorent on the ceiling of the burial chamber of Sennefer at Thebes (TT 96B). (Photo © MANT Universities of Brussels and Liège.)

(TT 96B) at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, writing his name and the date 1842 in candle smoke on the ceiling of the decorated burial chamber (fig. 10).

Lorent's graffito is also visible in the life-size replica of the burial chamber, which is part of the permanent Egyptian galleries in Mannheim's Museum Weltkulturen, one of the successor institutions to the Schlossmuseum. Jakob August Lorent's story builds an excellent bridge to the current museum's activities, particularly since the REM's curator of Egyptology conducts fieldwork at Thebes as part of an ongoing research project led by the Universities of Liège and Brussels. This investigates several tombs at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, including the funerary monument of Sennefer (TT 96), and thus the chronicle comes full circle. In addition to this

international cooperation, the Egyptian department of the REM has a standing research partnership with the University of Prague in respect to their fieldwork in the Old Kingdom necropolises of Abusir and Saqqara.

### FRESH START IN THE 21ST CENTURY

After some quiet decades, the Egyptian department finally awoke from its deep slumber in 2012. The strategic decision to strengthen ancient Egyptian art and archaeology within the Reiss-Engelhorn Museums was taken by the Director-General Alfried Wiczorek with the goal of presenting this important ancient culture to the public on a permanent basis.<sup>46</sup> In order to give the general public comprehensive insights into this culture on the Nile River, an Egyptologist was hired as curator for ancient Egypt and tasked to create a permanent exhibition. *Ägypten – Land der Unsterblichkeit*<sup>47</sup> opened its doors in November 2014, and these galleries have successfully presented ancient Egypt ever since (fig. 11). The approximately 600 exhibits cover a period from the 4th millennium BCE to the 7th century CE. The four permanent galleries were designed to offer the audience in Mannheim a broad cultural and historical overview of this ancient culture on the Nile for the very first time.

<sup>46</sup> Wiczorek and Pieke 2015.

<sup>47</sup> Pieke and Bohnenkämper 2015.





FIG. 11: First Egyptian Gallery 'Life along the Nile'. (Photo © G. Pieke, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)

For younger audiences, a separate 'discovery room' has been integrated into the galleries, offering a playful approach with a set of interactive displays and hands-on activities. From the outset, due to the limits of the REM's own Egyptian collection, it was decided to look for a strong cooperation partner. We were delighted that the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim, the second largest collection of Egyptian antiquities in Germany, a scholarly, important, and highly regarded institution became our esteemed partner. In 2013 a long-term cooperation was established, which includes the loan of objects to enhance the Egyptian galleries in both quantity and quality. These permanent loans are objects that, through constraints of exhibition space, were not on display in Hildesheim and this cooperation is thus beneficial to both partners. This partnership also comprises joint special exhibition projects. In 2020, for example, the Reiss-Engelhorn Museums presented the exhibition *Yesterday – Tomorrow*, a project developed in Hildesheim together with the New York-based photographer Marc Erwin Babej to revive so-called ancient Egyptian 'aspective' art.

Another German museum also has a standing cooperation with the Egyptian department of the REM. In the best spirit of modern collections management, the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, a traditional museum of world cultures in Cologne, decided to transfer its entire ancient Egyptian collection to Mannheim as a permanent

loan in 2017.<sup>48</sup> This decision was driven by the desire to finally provide these objects with scholarly care and make them visible to an audience on a regular basis. The latter, in particular, could not be realised in a museum dealing almost exclusively with living cultures. Thus numerous artefacts from the Cologne collection were integrated into the REM's permanent exhibition that same year (fig. 12).

Prize-winning exhibition architects Res D, based in Cologne, were given the contract to create the new galleries, and developed design and graphics.<sup>49</sup> The curators from the REM (the author and Lukas Bohnenkämper) worked with the exhibition designers from Res D to create a modern, atmospheric display that has been acclaimed by museum visitors since its opening.

The majority of material culture from ancient Egypt originates from tomb and temple contexts; however, the wide variety of objects preserved allows a representative insight into numerous other areas of ancient Egyptian culture beyond fundamental religious beliefs. In this regard, the designed galleries do not follow a chronological order, but are structured into three main thematic sections: 'Life along the Nile' (fig. 11); 'Life in Death'; and 'Worlds of the Gods'. Entitled 'New Rulers', the last gallery presents Graeco-Roman Egypt and the influence of ancient Egyptian traditions in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods and Late Antiquity.

Regarding the design, the four thematic exhibition areas are distinguished from one another by their colour and graphic identity, all designed by Res D. In addition to the content-based concept, another declared goal was to create a well-structured and lively tour through the architecture itself. Thus, the first gallery 'Life along the Nile' invites the visitor directly to Egypt and its defining landscape. A 16-metre panoramic photograph covers the entire rear wall of the gallery. Commissioned by the REM from photographer Sandro Vannini in 2014, it depicts a view across the Nile facing the hills and cemeteries of western Thebes. In front of this Nile landscape, a number of thematic display islands unfold, designed in asymmetric shapes. They are dedicated to different



FIG. 12: Stela of Mutirdis on permanent loan from the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum Cologne (Inv. 53674). (Photo © M. Schumann, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)

48 Sammlung Doetsch-Amberger: Doetsch-Amberger 1987 and 1992.

49 <https://www.resd.de/>.

aspects of daily life as well as social structures within ancient Egyptian culture. The blue colour of the wall refers to the water of the river, whereas the colour of the showcases and the general atmosphere of the hall are deliberately kept rather light, to evoke the world of the living.

The second chapter 'Life in Death' is introduced by a brief chronological prelude, dedicated to the origins of funerary belief in Predynastic sand burials, one of which is presented at a low level to evoke its original context (fig. 13). This main gallery of funerary culture was designed to contrast with



FIG. 13: Introduction room to the 'Life in Death' dedicated to Predynastic sand burials. (Photo © L. Kaluza, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)



FIG. 14: Second gallery, 'Life in Death'. (Photo © G. Pieke, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)



FIG. 15: Replica of the burial chamber of Sennefer. (Photo © L. Kaluza, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)



the previous section by using darker colours and more dramatic illumination on the object, implying the world of the dead (fig. 14). The showcases are thematically grouped starting with objects deriving from cult chapels, moving on to burial equipment, mummification, and ending with funerary gods. A focal point is the life-size replica of the burial chamber of TT 96, the Theban tomb of Sennefer (fig. 15).

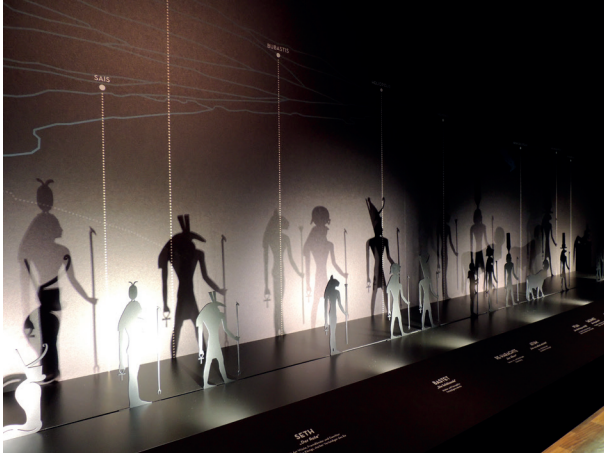


FIG. 16: Shadow-play presentation of main deities and cult places. (Photo © G. Pieke, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)



FIG. 17: Third gallery 'World of the Gods'. (Photo © L. Kaluza, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)



FIG. 18: Fourth gallery dedicated to Graeco-Roman and Late Antiquity. (Photo © Photo L. Kaluza, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)

The gallery ‘World of the Gods’ is introduced by a map of Egypt featuring the most important deities and their main cult centres. This display, with its striking cast shadows (fig. 16), is complemented by a digital encyclopaedia offering more detailed information about fifty deities. The exhibition architecture then leads the visitor into a narrowing area which presents the concept of Egyptian temples. This opens up with a view into the large hypostyle hall at Karnak with some ‘cult niches’ on both sides (fig. 17).

The colour scheme is now meant to associate brown with the sandstone used to build numerous sanctuaries. The end of the gallery focuses on animal cults and thus architecturally imitates catacombs with niches storing the original animal mummies. The last gallery dedicated to Greco-Roman and Late Antiquity is also characterised by its own exhibition architecture, which is laid out as a green, elongated room with some wedge-shaped showcases (fig. 18). The gallery tour ends with a wall-sized enlargement of a Sébah photograph of the Mosque of Ibn Tulun (fig. 19), thus referring to the Arab conquest of Egypt and the cultural changes that followed it. Simultaneously, the picture links the Egyptian display with the REM’s important collection of historical photography, from which it was taken.



FIG. 19: End of the permanent exhibition: Photograph of the Mosque of Ibn Tulun from the collections of Wilhelm Reiß, Pascal Sébah, around 1875. (© Forum Internationale Photographie Ae03/06, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim.)



The exhibition has attracted numerous visitors since its opening in November 2014 and is a favourite of school groups from the region. The permanent galleries entice visitors for a return visit with ever-changing small temporary exhibitions on a variety of topics. Ancient Egypt has finally found a permanent home in Mannheim. With these successful exhibitions and the far-reaching scientific network of the Egyptian department we hope that this culture along the Nile will remain an integral part of the Reiss-Engelhorn Museums for decades to come. 🗝

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# THE MORGAN LIBRARY STATUE OF TJANEFER SON OF NESPAMEDU (CK 971)

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This paper discusses the block statue of Tjanefer, a member of the well-known family of Nespamedu, who was in the service of the god Amun of Karnak during the Late Period. The statue is in the collection of the Morgan Library New York (Inv. AZ152), although its findspot and acquisition history are uncertain. Raven compiled the genealogy of Tjanefer's family in 1980, but the statue's inscriptions are published here for the first time. Comparing its style and paleographical characteristics with other parallels, and considering the genealogy of the family, it can be dated to between the second half of the Thirtieth Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic Period.

## THE STATUE'S PROVENANCE

The statue of Tjanefer son of Nespamedu depicts him squatting with arms folded on his knees and wearing an indistinct garment (figs 1–4).<sup>1</sup> The statue's inscriptions identify its owner, a member of a well-known priestly family during the Thirtieth Dynasty.<sup>2</sup> The statue is part of the small collection of Egyptian objects in the collection of banker John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913).<sup>3</sup> Morgan was fascinated by books, antiquities, and ancient civilizations and his fascination led him to travel to ancient lands, where he met his end.<sup>4</sup>

\* I am so pleased to contribute to this volume honouring Emily Teeter. A friend who is well known for her interest in Egyptian art, collections, object records and collection history, Emily is a person who spreads positive energy everywhere and to everyone. She has always been a good support to colleagues and young scholars, and I keep happy memories of my two visits to Chicago and our times together at CIPEG meetings and in Egypt.

1 My sincere thanks to the Morgan Library for permission to publish this statue and for providing images of it, and to Mrs J. Tonkovich, the curator, for her kind support.

2 Raven 1980: 20ff; Raven 1984: 19–31.

3 Karnak Cachette database: <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=971>; Tonkovich 2018: 49.

4 In January 1913, he made his last journey to Egypt and Sudan during which he purchased some objects. He was taken ill on the way to Khartoum, and thus returned to Cairo, and onwards to Rome where he died (Tonkovich 2018: 5, 9ff, 18–19).

He commissioned the architect Charles Follen McKim to design a freestanding library adjacent to his home in uptown New York, where he housed some of his collection. According to the Museum's records, the statue, which is given the accession number AZ152, was purchased by Morgan before 1913. The provenance of this statue has been subject to some confusion. It is not known whether Morgan acquired this statue on one of his visits to Egypt or through another channel.<sup>5</sup> According to the Morgan Museum's curator J. Tonkovich, he left no relevant notes in his diary, and its definite provenance remains unknown.<sup>6</sup>



FIG. 1: The statue of Tjanefer son of Nespamedu. The Morgan Library New York [CK 971 - Inv. AZ152]. (Courtesy of the Morgan Library Museum, New York.)

<sup>5</sup> See the Morgan Library collection catalogue: <https://www.themorgan.org/objects/item/214096>.

<sup>6</sup> If Morgan purchased the statue on his last journey to Egypt, his sudden death might explain why no notes about the statue survive. Thanks to Jennifer Tonkovich for sharing all the available information in the archive of the museum.

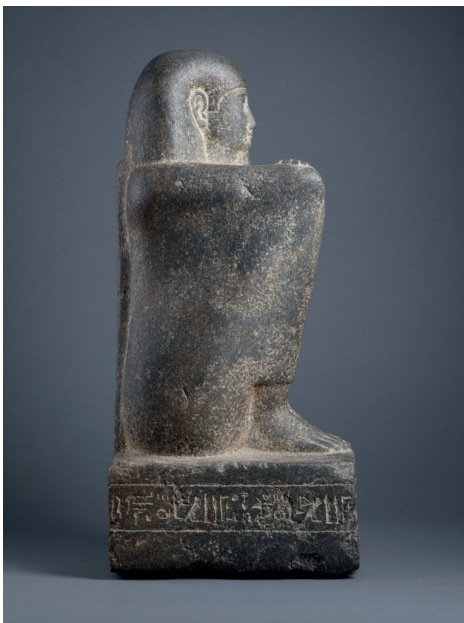


FIG. 2

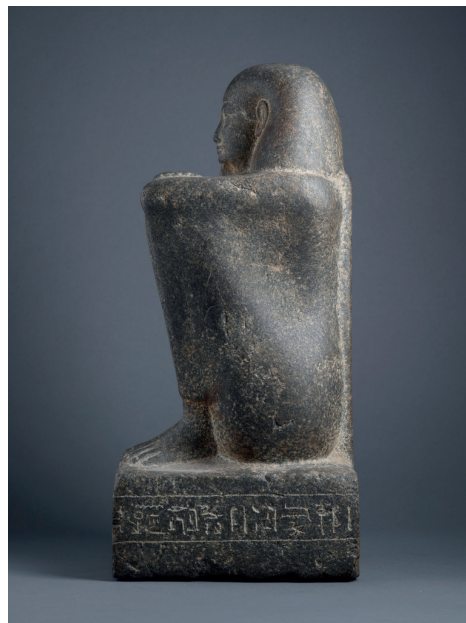


FIG. 3



FIG. 4

FIG. 2: Right profile of the statue of Tjanefer son of Nespamedu. The Morgan Library New York, CK 971 - Inv. AZ152. (Courtesy of the Morgan Library Museum, New York.)

FIG. 3: Left profile of the statue of Tjanefer son of Nespamedu. The Morgan Library New York, CK 971 - Inv. AZ152. (Courtesy of the Morgan Library Museum, New York.)

FIG. 4: Back of the statue of Tjanefer son of Nespamedu. The Morgan Library New York, CK 971 - Inv. AZ152. (Courtesy of the Morgan Library Museum, New York.)

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

While the statue's findspot is not recorded, B. V. Bothmer had no doubt that it came from Karnak based on its style and inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> The Karnak Cachette Database notes that the statue probably came from the Cachette and thus assigns it the database number CK 971.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Bothmer 1960: 96; Raven 1980: 21.

<sup>8</sup> Karnak Cachette database: <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=971>. The database gives no reason why the object is assigned to the Cachette.

It is notable also that the Morgan Library online catalogue references neither the Cachette nor any previous inventories. The Cachette database lists an accession inventory (no. 10) which probably caused some confusion. It was probably copied from the Brooklyn Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture,<sup>9</sup> which must have referred to an internal handlist at the Morgan Library, and not an inventory. The current Morgan curator Tonkovich clarified that the numbering system for the Morgan Museum was only recently established, indicating that ‘all the objects in the period rooms were treated as decoration and not given proper accession numbers until ca. 2000, when the former registrar started a system with the prefix AZ’.<sup>10</sup>

The statue has also been confused in some literature with another statue of the same Tjanefer, son of Nespamedu, ex-Cairo JdE 36976 from the collection of Omar Pacha (no. 398).<sup>11</sup> The confusion occurred because of the misleading information that H. De Meulenaere gave M. Raven for his study of the genealogy of the Nespamedu family. De Meulenaere assumed that the Morgan statue of Tjanefer was the same as ex-Cairo JdE 36979. Raven relied on De Meulenaere’s opinion, since acknowledged as incorrect, although he later changed his assumption based on new evidence that proved the existence of the same owner’s statue ex-Cairo JdE 36976.<sup>12</sup> Although the two statues belong to the same owner, which might have caused the confusion, they are not identical in either style or attitude. Bothmer<sup>13</sup> and Azim<sup>14</sup> linked the statue from the Omar Pacha collection with the statue K 141 (CK 117) and not CK 971. In the Cachette database, Coulon<sup>15</sup> assumes that Cachette K 141 is probably the Omar Pacha figure.<sup>16</sup> We can conclude that Tjanefer certainly has two statues, the block statue in the Morgan Library (CK 971) and the kneeling statue ex-Cairo JdE 36976 (K 141/CK 117).<sup>17</sup> Although the confusion with ex-Cairo JdE 36976 has been solved, its findspot has not been proved with certainty. A Karnak if not a Cachette provenance rests on the fact that several members of the same family had dedicated more than one statue in the temple of Karnak.<sup>18</sup> In addition to Tjanefer, his brother Djedhor dedicated two statues: Cairo

<sup>9</sup> Bothmer 1960: 96.

<sup>10</sup> Jennifer Tonkovich, personal communication.

<sup>11</sup> Raven 1980: 21; Anonymous 1929: no. 398, pl. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Raven 1980: 21.

<sup>13</sup> Bothmer 1960: 95ff.

<sup>14</sup> Azim and Reveillac 2004: I, 308.

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=971>. An assumption that has also not been proved due to lack of evidence.

<sup>16</sup> Kneeling statue of Tjanefer son of Nespamedu CK 117/ K 141 (Ex. Cairo JdE 36976). Currently in a private collection in Memphis, USA, <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck117>. The ‘K’ prefix is the original one applied by Legrain during the excavations, while the ‘CK’ prefix is that of the Cachette database project. Not all objects on the Cachette database have a K number as well as a CK number.

<sup>17</sup> Perdu 2016: 465–69.

<sup>18</sup> One of them was a block statue, a common form from the Middle Kingdom onwards. Schulz notes that several officials have more than one block statue, and pairs are also common. For examples from the Middle Kingdom up to the Late Period. Schulz 2011: 4ff.



CG 37861,<sup>19</sup> a block statue made of grey granite; and T.R.8.12.24.5,<sup>20</sup> a standing figure of schist, where he wears a long wig and a short kilt, his arms stretched down beside his body.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Morgan statue is made of grey granite and is in very good condition. It measures 45.5 cm in height, 17.5 cm in width, and 21.2 cm in depth. The statue depicts Tjanefer son of Nespamedu, a God's Father and priest of the third phyle of Amun-Re of Karnak,<sup>21</sup> in squatting form on a high integral base. He wears a wide wig and an indistinct garment that covers his body except his feet and arms. He has a sharp face, long narrow eyes, almost plastic eyebrows, and a short beard. His arms are crossed in the usual manner for a block statue. The left hand lies flat, palm down, while the right hand holds something not clearly identifiable.<sup>22</sup>

The statue revives the archaic style of early Saite period block statues, together with some characteristics that certainly date the statue to the Thirtieth Dynasty. It has been noted that block statues became popular once again during the Thirtieth Dynasty and early Ptolemaic periods, especially for middle ranking officials.<sup>23</sup> The stylistic changes and the palaeographical peculiarities seen on the Morgan statue are shared among some datable sculptures.<sup>24</sup> The changes in the attitude and the proportions are common among examples with indistinct garment and bare feet.<sup>25</sup> The early Saite prototype of this statue is clearly seen in the statue of Ipy and his wife at the Walters Museum,<sup>26</sup> the statue of Keref in Brussels,<sup>27</sup> and of Nesna-Isut in New York.<sup>28</sup> As has been noted, the Morgan statue is very close in style to other datable parallel statues of the same family, the statue of Tjanefer's son Djedhor (JdE 37200),<sup>29</sup> and his brother Djedhor (JdE 37861).<sup>30</sup> Compare, for instance, the wide bag wig that extends behind the ears and ends just below the shoulders; the position of the arms and hands on the knees; the beard, set back so far from the chin

19 Porter and Moss 1972: II, 159; Jansen-Winkel 2001: I, 94–96 (no. 17); II, 372 (no. 17). Cachette database CK 545: <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck545>.

20 Jansen-Winkel 2001: I, 97–100; II, 373, pls 38–39 (no. 18); Cachette database CK 641: <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck641>.

21 Rashed 2019: 55, 117, and 132; Bothmer 1960: 97; Jansen-Winkel 2001: I, 77; Perdu 2016: 467ff (on the statue CK 117).

22 The left hand is shown over the right one. It is not clear whether he holds a kerchief or a bunch of flowers in his right. The right hand may vary in its position and the symbol it holds, but the left seems always to lie flat, palm down, throughout the fourth century B.C. Bothmer 1960: 96.

23 Schulz 2011: 5; Bothmer 1960: 95ff.

24 Rashed 2019: 118.

25 Bothmer 1960: 95 (no. 76).

26 Bothmer 1960: 35f (no. 30), pl. 28 (figs 62–64).

27 Bothmer 1960: 37f (no. 31), pls 28–29 (figs 65–67).

28 Bothmer 1960: 38f (no. 32), pls 30–31 (figs 68–70).

29 The statue of Djedhor JdE 37200 from the Karnak Cachette (CK 377), depicting him squatting. Rashed 2019: 117ff.

30 Cairo JdE 37861 squatting Statue of Djedhor son of Nespamedu and brother of Tjanefer from the Cachette (CK 545). Rashed 2019: 118f; Jansen-Winkel. 2001: I, 94–96 (no. 17); II, 372 (no. 17).



that it appears to be filler for the statue, similar to that on the statue of his son Djedhor (JdE 37200).<sup>31</sup> The proportions of the statue of Tjanefer show a notable difference in comparison to the classical style of the early Saite Period. Although the size of the statue itself does not change much, the depth of the base has been reduced even further in relation to its height.<sup>32</sup> Compare also the statue of Tjanefer's brother Djedhor (JdE 37861),<sup>33</sup> which is not much larger in size, although its owner has a higher position and influence.

### THE INSCRIPTIONS

The statue is inscribed with short hieroglyphic inscriptions on the base and the back pillar (figs 5–8). It is worth noting that the lack of inscription on the front of the statue – the typical surface for inscription – is unusual and was perhaps the result of an attempt to inscribe the statue efficiently and/or quickly. This

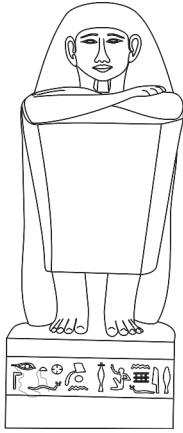


FIG. 5: Facsimile drawing of the front of the statue of Tjanefer son of Nespamedu. (Drawing by Eman El-Saeed.)

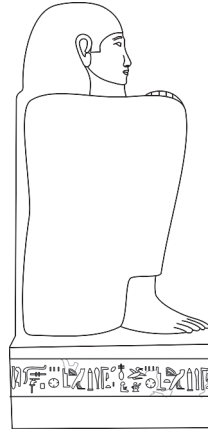


FIG. 6: Facsimile drawing of the right profile of the statue CK 971. (Drawing by Eman El-Saeed.)

suggestion is corroborated by some completely uninscribed block statues from the Cachette.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the inscriptions of the statue have been reduced to include only a short version of the offering formula, titles, and owner's name. The inscriptions are incised and enveloped within incised borderlines. The signs are engraved in a very rough manner similar to some dateable parallels, including statues of other family members.<sup>35</sup> The inscriptions are generally

31 Rashed 2019: 118ff. Bothmer stated that there is some variation among contemporary Theban sculptures. Sometimes the chin rests directly on the block, while in other examples it is modeled freely without the support bared. Bothmer 1960: 96.

32 Bothmer 1960: 96 (note); Schulz 2011: 4ff.

33 Porter and Moss 1972: II, 159; Jansen-Winkeln. 2001: I, 94–96 (no. 17); II, 372 (no. 17).

34 E.g. Cairo statue CK 1050 = T.R. 24.12.42.2 (<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck1050>) and Cairo statue CK 1121 (<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck1121>). Both are made of limestone and good examples for stock production during the Late Period.

35 Bothmer 1960: 96. Compare e.g., his statue K 117, and the statue of his brother Djedhor JdE 37861, and his son Djedhor JdE 37200. Rashed 2019: 120ff, figs 1–4; Perdu 2016: 466ff, pl. 1.

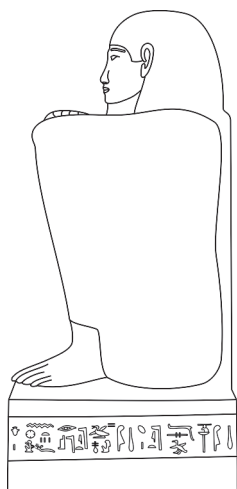


Fig. 7: Facsimile drawing of the left profile of the statue CK 971. (Drawing by Eman El-Saeed.)



FIG. 8: Facsimile drawing of the back of the statue CK 971. (Drawing by Eman El-Saeed.)

quite clear, although a few signs are unclear or partly damaged or probably squeezed to fit the available space.

The palaeographic characteristics of the inscriptions on the Morgan statue follow a common style which is incised roughly in bas relief and enclosed within borderlines. The graphic characteristics of the period are seen in the hieroglyphs (𓀀, 𓀁, and 𓀂), and the varied writings of *imn* (𓄏, 𓄐),<sup>36</sup> among others. The manner in which the texts are incised suggests that they were added some time after the manufacture of the statue itself, because it was common during the Late Period for individuals to purchase unfinished statues from stock, on which inscriptions were added later upon request.<sup>37</sup> Consequently, it is assumed that the statue of Tjanefer was probably purchased and donated by one of his sons to the temple of Amun-Re in Karnak.<sup>38</sup> As discussed above, the statue shows a close stylistic affinity, and typical graphical forms of its hieroglyphs, with the statue of his son Djedhor (Cairo JdE 37200). This might encourage one not only to suggest that they came from the same workshop,<sup>39</sup> but also that both statues were made and commissioned at the same time. Thus, the statue was probably made for Tjanefer by his son Djedhor if both were not made by one of their descendants.<sup>40</sup>

36 Compare with the inscriptions of Djedhor JdE 37200. Rashed 2019: 119.

37 Bothmer 1960: 96; Schulz 2011: 5.

38 Although there is no donation text, this is suggested because Tjanefer was described as an 'Osiris' and carried the epithet *mꜣꜥ-hrw*. See the texts on the base [3.1.1] and back pillar [3.2]. Unfortunately, the inscriptions do not reveal the name of his son who might have made the statue for him. Compare the case of the statue of Djedhor son of Tjanefer JdE 37354. Jansen-Winkel 2001: I, 8; II, 366, pls 31–34; Rashed 2019: 133 (no. 96). C. Price came to the same conclusion, that most Late Period non-royal statues at Karnak were posthumous donations after the death of the person represented, usually by a son and successor in office. Price 2011: 100–37.

39 Bothmer 1960: 96.

40 Rashed 2019: 133.

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BASE

One horizontal line of inscription bordered by incised lines runs around the base. It consists of two short texts that contain abbreviated versions of formulae and the owner's titles. Both start from the centre of the front side and go around the base. The first text continues leftwards occupying the left and back sides of the base, while the second, which is shorter, continues to the right to occupy the right side in addition to the half of the front side.

THE TEXT TO THE LEFT (FIGS 5-6, 8)



- (1) *Im3hw n niwt.f Wsir*
- (2) *it-ntr hm Imn-m-Ipt-swt t3-nfr s3 it-ntr hm-ntr Imn-m-Ipt-swt Ns-p3-mdw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*
- (3) *ir n nb(t)-pr Thjt (n) Imn-R<sup>c</sup> hnsw-ir-di.s m3<sup>c</sup> hrw*

*The honoured one of his town, <sup>a</sup> Osiris, <sup>b</sup>  
 The God's Father, priest of Amun in Karnak, Tjanefer, son of the God's Father,  
 priest of Amun in Karnak Nespamedu, justified.  
 born of the mistress of the house, the sistrum player <sup>c</sup> of Amun-Ra Kbonsu-irdas,  
 justified. <sup>d</sup>*

THE INSCRIPTION READING TO THE RIGHT (FIGS 5, 7)

The text starts in the centre of the front of the statue:



- (1) *hsy(.w) n sp3(.t).f jm3-*
- (2) *ib n it.w(.f) n wsir it-ntr t3-nfr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw s3 it-ntr Ns-p3-mdw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

*The praised one <sup>e</sup> of his nome, <sup>f</sup> the beloved one. <sup>g</sup>  
 of his town, <sup>b</sup> Osiris, the God's Father Tjanefer, <sup>k</sup> justified, son of the God's  
 Father Nespamedu, justified.*

## THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK PILLAR (FIG. 8)

The back pillar has two columns of inscription that are framed by separation lines. The inscription features the regular offering formula addressed to Amun-Re on behalf of the god's servant Tjanefer.<sup>41</sup> The text reads from right to left:



(1) *ḥtp-di-nsw n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> P3w.ty t3.wy di.f pr nb ḥr wdḥ.w.f m3<sup>c</sup> nb ḥr ḥnt*

(2) *.f n k3 n wsr it-nṯr ḥm n Imn-m-Ipt-swt t3-nfr m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw ir n nbt-pr ḥnsw-ir-di.s m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

*An offering which the king gives to Amun-Ra, the primordial god of the two lands. <sup>l</sup> May he give all that comes forth upon his offering table, <sup>m</sup> all becomes true before him*

*to the ka of the God's Father, the priest of Amun in Karnak, Tjanefer, justified.  
Born of the mistress of the house Khonsu-irdas, justified.*

## COMMENTARY

(a) *im3ḥw n niwt.f* (the honoured one of his town): probably in reference to Amun-Re,<sup>42</sup> and his city of Thebes, in whose service Tjanefer worked and who is addressed in the formula.<sup>43</sup> The suffix pronoun (*.f*) probably refers to Amun-Re and not to the deceased, although the god's name is missing here. *im3ḥw ḥr/n*, the honoured, revered, or venerated<sup>44</sup> is common in funerary formulas and the titles of individuals from the Old Kingdom onwards.<sup>45</sup> Often it is followed with a name of a deity or their epithet.<sup>46</sup>

(b) *wsir* (the deceased): the text here, and at other points, refers to Tjanefer as the deceased.<sup>47</sup> This might support what has been assumed here that the statue

41 It is noted that the formula on the back pillar of his statue K 117 is addressed to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and to Osiris. Perdu 2016: 468, fig. 1.

42 '*... n niwt.f*', an epithet which has often been associated with Amun/ Amun-Re. Amun-Re is called Lord of the town (Thebes), e.g. *Imn-n-niwt*, 'Amun of Thebes', and *Imn-R<sup>c</sup>-n-pr.f*, 'Amun-Re in his house'. Leitz 2002: 318; Rashed 2019: 120, figs 2, 4.

43 It has been noted above that the family of Tjanefer had been in the service of Amun of the Karnak and the Theban deities. This is shown in the owner's statue K 117, where the formula reads '*im3ḥw-ḥr nṯrw nbw m W3st*'. Perdu 2016: 468, 466–69.





44 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 82.1-20; Jones 2000: 11f (no. 42).



45 Erman and Grapow 1926: I, 82.1-20; Jones 2000: 11–43ff (nos 42–247), see more references and attestations therein; Barta 1968: 303.








46 Leitz 2002: I, 305; Jones 2000: 11 (no. 42). For a datable example, see its attestation on the statue JdE 37200: Rashed 2019: 126, figs 6–7.

47 It is repeated also on his statue K 117. Perdu 2016: 1 61, 468.

was made for him by his son, although the inscriptions do not include any other indication of this.<sup>48</sup>

(c) *ḥt Imn-R<sup>c</sup>* (the sistrum player of Amun-Re):<sup>49</sup> a common title during the later periods for females involved in the priestly service of several deities.<sup>50</sup> Among them are the female members of the owner's family who have inherited the title.<sup>51</sup> It is attested with several orthographies such as , , .<sup>52</sup> For example, it has been written with its alphabetic spelling here,<sup>53</sup> and on his statue K.117,<sup>54</sup> while it has been attested with the ideogrammatic writing ()<sup>55</sup> on the statue of his son Djedhor (JdE 37200), and his brother Djedhor son of Nespamedu (T.R.8.12.24.5).<sup>56</sup>

(d) The last element in the writing of *m<sup>3c</sup> hrw* is the sign , which is probably a miswriting for the sign . The word *m<sup>3c</sup> hrw* is also written in alphabetic writing which is characteristic for the Thirtieth Dynasty.<sup>57</sup>

(e) ,<sup>58</sup> also , ,<sup>59</sup> ,<sup>60</sup> *hsy(w)* (praised one):<sup>61</sup> a noun that occurs often from the Pyramid Texts onwards with the meaning of 'praised one' or 'beloved'<sup>62</sup> by the king<sup>63</sup> or a god,<sup>64</sup> in funerary texts and formulae.<sup>65</sup> The term is occasionally attested with the determinative: , e.g. , , *hz.y*, statue,<sup>66</sup> a term that describes the honoured person as well as their statue.<sup>67</sup> The meaning of the block statue itself has been associated with the term *hsyw*, 'praised one.' It describes the reputation of the individuals who dedicated statues to the

48 Compare the case of the statue of Djedhor son of Tjanefer Cairo JdE 37354, who is called an Osiris in his inscriptions which indicate that the statue was dedicated by his son. Jansen-Winkel 2001: I, 81; II, 366, pls 31–34.

49 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 121.18.

50 It occurs frequently in the titles of individuals from the New Kingdom onwards in association with several deities such as Amun, Hathor and Isis. Rashed 2019: 124 (nos 58 and 60).

51 E.g. on the statue Cairo JdE 37200; TR.8.12.24.5; JdE 37861; K 117; and Rijksmuseum Inv. AH10.

52 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 121.18.

53 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 121.18.

54 Perdu 2016: 468, and pl. 1.

55 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 121.18.

56 Rashed 2019: 124, figs 2, 4; Jansen-Winkel 2001: II, 373 (c).

57 De Meulenaere 1961: 41; Rashed 2019: 131 (no. 88).

58 Erman and Grapow 1929–63: III, 156.5–22.

59 It often occurs from the Middle Kingdom onwards. Erman and Grapow 1929–63: III, 156.5.

60 This form occurs often after the New Kingdom, and often during the Late Period. WB III, 156.5.

61 Erman and Grapow 1929–63: III, 156.5–22.

62 Erman and Grapow 1929–63: III, 156.6–8.

63 E.g. 'greatly praised one of the lord of the Two Lands, from the New Kingdom'. Taylor 2001: no. 1696,

64 E.g. 'the great beloved one of the lord of the two lands'. Taylor 2001: no. 1696; Kanawati 1981, fig. 1, 8. And *hz.y-n-mnw-nb-jp.w*, 'One favored by Min, the lord of Akhmim'. Jones. 2000: II, no. 2403.

65 It occurs also as a divine epithet with deities. Leitz 2002: V, 474ff. It has been associated with Horus Heknu several times in the pBrooklyn 47.218.84. Cf. Meeks 2006: 125.

66 Erman and Grapow 1929–63: III, 157.1; Jansen-Winkel 2001: I, 219, Anm.3; El-Damaty 1990: 2.


67 Schulz 2011: 6. It comes in reference to the votive statues which were often placed within temples. Many of the private statues made to be placed in temples are block statues, as here. For more examples and discussion upon the statues and the concepts of favour see also. Price 2011: 160–72.







temple and implies recognition and participation in the continuous rituals and offerings in the temple.<sup>68</sup>


**(f)** *sp3(.t)* (nome / district):<sup>69</sup> the term refers to a land division in an administrative context. Occasionally, it occurs in reference to Thebes or Edfu in the Theban/Edfu contexts since *sp3* occurs sometimes instead of *niwt*, town.<sup>70</sup> On the base, the opposite text starts with *im3hw n niwt.f*, which suggests that *sp3.t* and *niwt* have been used to give the same meaning in reference to Thebes and its Nome, the town of Amun-Re whom the owner serves.

**(g)** *im3-ib* (beloved; much-liked):<sup>71</sup> an adjective that often indicates being friendly or beloved of someone.<sup>72</sup> It also occurs in the meaning of *im3-ib*, to be happy.<sup>73</sup>

**(h)**  *niwt.f*: the reading of this sign-group is problematic because the signs are partly crowded or unclear, and probably one or more signs are erroneously written. The hieroglyphs for *niwt* and the seated man underneath raise questions as to whether or not this is miswritten:

The text reads ‘*im3-ib n niwt.(f)*, the much-liked in his town’, in which case the seated man might be erroneously written. Otherwise it occurs as a determinative of the preceding word *im3-ib*, and it is included in the sign-group by mistake. One might also note that the seated man is formed in its hieratic shape () , which does not occur in this form elsewhere here or on his son Djedhor’s statue (JdE 37200).

An alternative reading is also suggested for this group in which it reads: *im3-ib n it.i*, the much-liked by my/ his father. In accordance with this reading, the sign  is a miswriting, while the position of the seated man raises a question. It is not clear whether it is used in this sign-group as a determinative for *it*, or the preceding word. It also occurs as the suffix pronoun of the 1st person for *n it.(i)*, in which the words <sup>74</sup> and  are switched.

**(k)** The hieroglyph of the seated man in the name of T’janefer is written here and on the back pillar in the form of the noble kneeling with the flagellum ().<sup>75</sup> It occurs often in the writing of personal names, especially that of the deceased. It is attested also with the same form on the statue of the son Djedhor (JdE 37200). Compare its form on line 6 of the inscriptions on the

68 Colburn 2016: 226–38.


69 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: IV, 97.4–99.11.

70 Wilson 1997: 826. In some cases it is also used instead of *niwt* to mean ‘town’.

71 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 79.20–23. Chassinat 1932: VII, 204.12–13. Erman and Grapow 1926: I, 79.14–16, and 79.20–23.

72 E.g. Cairo CG 22151. Ali 2014: 6 (L.14), 12.




73 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 79.17–19; Wilson 1997: 67.








74 For the different forms of the word, in which the sign  occasionally, but not always, occurs as a determinative, see Erman and Grapow 1926–63 I, 141.10–11.

75 Gardiner 1959: 447 (sign A52).










front of the garment,<sup>76</sup> and also in the inscriptions of his family member Djedhor's statue (JdE 37354).<sup>77</sup>

It should be noted that the engraver of the inscriptions wrote the sign in three different ways on the statue. In addition to this form, one might count the one in the preceding word (see note (h)), and the third is seen at the front and right side of the base. Of further note is the ram-headed staff in the name of Nespamedu, which is attested with two different forms on the back and the right side of the base.

**(l)** *P3wtyw t3wy* (the primordial god of the two lands, vars. , , ):<sup>78</sup> a divine epithet that is often associated with the sun god<sup>79</sup> and Amun<sup>80</sup> from the New Kingdom onwards. e.g. *Imn-R<sup>c</sup> p3wtyw t3wy hpr ds.f.*<sup>81</sup> As a divine epithet *P3wtyw*, primordial god,<sup>82</sup> occurs often with the creator and primeval deities.

**(m)** *wdh.w* (offering table): occurs with variations, e.g.: , , , .<sup>83</sup> The term , , , *wdh.w* may also have the meaning of 'offering'.<sup>84</sup> It occurs often in offering formulas of the Late Period, e.g. on the statue of Djedhor (JdE 37861),<sup>85</sup> and statue JdE 36945,<sup>86</sup> T.R.7.6.24.3.<sup>87</sup>

Although the inscriptions are short and incised in a rough manner, one can note some palaeographical characteristics of the Thirtieth Dynasty, which are also common on the inscriptions of other family members. Among these one might include:

- The graphical form of certain signs such as , , and  are identical on other dateable parallels including the statue of the son Djedhor, JdE 37200.
- The use of more than one orthography in the writing of certain signs and words such as ( and ; , and  for *imn*;  and 

76 Rashed 2019: 120ff, figs 2 and 4.

77 Jansen-Winkeln 2001: I, 77; II, 366, 369.

78 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 496.1–2; Leitz 2002: III, 23f; Wilson 1997: 343.

79 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 496.1.

80 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 496.2; Sethe 1929: ss.17; Leitz 2002: III, 23f; Wilson 1997: 343. It is attested on several statues of the Late Period, e.g. JdE 36918 (El Sayed 1984: 129); JdE 36954 (Jansen-Winkeln 2001: II, 401, no. 26); and on his brother Djedhor's statue JdE 37861 (Jansen-Winkeln 2001: 372, no. 17).

81 Chassinat 1932, II, 77, 1–2; Sethe 1929: ss.17.

82 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 496.14–497.7; Wilson 1997: 343ff. It derived from the term *P3wt*, 'primeval times'. Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 496.1–9; Wilson 1997: 343; Faulkner 1982: 87.

83 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 393.17; Faulkner 1982: 73.

84 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 393.14–15; Faulkner 1982: 73.

85 Jansen-Winkeln 2001: I, 95; II, 372, no. 17, on the back. Compare also the offering formula on statue TR.9.6.24.3. Jansen-Winkeln 2001: I, 111, no. 20; II, 379.

86 Jansen-Winkeln 2001: II, 400.

87 Jansen-Winkeln 2001: II, 348.

𓆎𓆎𓆎𓆎. In the last example, the archaic form of the plural was used through repeating the sign three times.

- The alphabetic writing of some words, e.g. 𓆎𓆎 and 𓆎𓆎𓆎.

## TITLES AND GENEALOGY

The name of the owner is attested here and on his statue CK 141/K 117 but one can also trace him on other family statues.

### OWNER'S NAME

*Variants.* 1. 𓆎𓆎, 2. 𓆎𓆎, 3. 𓆎𓆎𓆎, 4. 𓆎𓆎. <sup>88</sup> It occurs in these forms with minor changes. The first form is attested twice here, and on his statue CK 141/K 117,<sup>89</sup> as well as on the Djedhor statue (JdE 37200).<sup>90</sup> The third variation occurs only once on the left side of the base, while the last form is attested here on the right side and back pillar as well as on the statue of his family member Djedhor.<sup>91</sup> Based on the inscriptions of the statues of this family, Tjanefer holds a middle-ranking priestly position in the service of the god Amun of Karnak. He holds the same main titles as other family members:

1. *it-ntr*, the God's Father (CK 971; K 117; JdE 37200).
2. *hm Imn-m-Ipt-swt*, the priest of Amun-Re of Karnak (CK 971; K 117; JdE 37200).

According to his titles, Tjanefer holds a lesser position than his brother and his son in the service of Amun-Re at Karnak. His son Djedhor holds additional titles, which are: *hm hdt*, (*hm*) *Hr*, (*hm*) *wr W3dty*, (*hm-ntr*) *imy 3bd.f n Imn-m-Ipt ntr*, (*hm-ntr*) *imy 3bd.f m pr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> hr s3 3-nw ntr*, (the servant of the White Crown and (the servant of) Horus, great of the two diadems, (the servant) in his month in the temple of Amun-Re from the third phyle).<sup>92</sup> On one hand, this is assumed based on Tjanefer's titles as well as the size of his statues. On the other, one should consider whether the reduction of the dedicated space for inscriptions on his statues prevented him from presenting his full titles.<sup>93</sup> This suggestion is assumed because the inscriptions of Djedhor state twice that his father Tjanefer holds the same titles as him,<sup>94</sup> as indicated by

88 Ranke 1935: I, 387 (no. 9). It occurs from the Middle Kingdom onwards and became very popular during the Late Period.

89 Perdu 2016: 468, fig. 1.

90 Rashed 2019: 120, 125–27, 132, and figs 3–7. It occurs also with the same variation on the statue CK 233 of Djedhor son of Hor. Perdu 2012: I, 69 (no. 118).

91 Cairo JdE 37345. Jansen-Winkel 2001: I, 77; II, 366, 369.

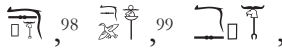
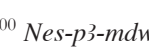

92 Rashed 2019: 120, 125, 132–35. For the titles of his brother see: Rashed 2019: 135.




93 It is noted above that although the spaces might be reduced there was plenty of unused space on the front of the statue which could allow the addition of more titles if required.

94 Rashed 2019: 120ff, 124 (g), 126ff, figs 4, 6–7.



the standard phrase *mi nm*, ‘the like-titled’,<sup>95</sup> implying two persons share the same titles.<sup>96</sup> Thus Tjanefer, who is assumed to be the father of Djedhor (JdE 37200), probably holds the same titles as his son, listed on the front and back pillar of Djedhor statue.<sup>97</sup> However, the unused space on the front of the statue of Tjanefer may in fact indicate that the son Djedhor had more titles than his father.

### Father

Name: ,<sup>98</sup> ,<sup>99</sup> ,<sup>100</sup> *Nes-p3-mdw* (Nespamedu).

His name has variant writings, in which the simple hieroglyph for staff () alternates with the ram-headed staff of Amun ( or ). This alternation is common for this hieroglyph in religious and funerary texts during the Late Period.<sup>101</sup> His titles read: *it-ntr*, *hm Im-m-Ipt-swt*, ‘The God’s Father, and the priest of Amun-Re of Karnak’ (CK 971; K 117).<sup>102</sup>

### Mother

Name: ,<sup>103</sup> ,<sup>104</sup> *hnsu-ir-di.s* (Khonsu-Irdas).

She holds common titles for the period, which are also shared with the female members of the family.<sup>105</sup> Her titles read: *nbt pr*, *iht (n) Imn-Rc*, ‘The lady of the house and sistrum player of Amun-Re’ (CK 971; K 117).<sup>106</sup>

## GENEALOGY

Raven<sup>107</sup> discussed the genealogy of Nespamedu’s family, while I previously outlined the full genealogy of the family up to the fourth generation in

95 Erman and Grapow 1926–63: II, 37.10–11.

96 It occurs frequently in genealogies from the Twenty-Second Dynasty onwards. Selim 2004: 369 (on the base); Selim 2000: 365; El-Sayed 1983: 148 (on the front of the garment and the side); T.R. 8.12.24.5 (on the back pillar), see Jansen-Winkel 2001: II, 373 (c). Cairo CG 22151. Ali 2014: (L.1), 9 (no. 2); Erman and Grapow 1926–63: I, 79.17–19; Wilson 1997: 67.

97 For the titles of Djedhor son of Tjanefer, see: Rashed 2019: 131.

98 It occurs with this form in the inscription on the base, and on his statue K 117. Perdu 2016: 468, fig. 1.

99 Ranke 1935: I, 175 (1). This form is attested on the base of CK 971.

100 This form is attested on the statue of his daughter Tanetirt at Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Inv. AH10). Raven 1980: 24–25.

101 Raven 1980: 20 (no. 5); Spiegelberg 1903: 184–90; Janssen 1977: 221–23.

102 Raven 1980: 20; Perdu 2016: 467, fig. 1.

103 Ranke 1935: I, 270 (22). This form occurs in the inscription on the back and base of his statue K 117. Perdu 2016: 468, fig. 1.

104 It occurs with this form in the inscription on the base. Also on the statue of Tanetirt daughter of Nespamedu at Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Inv. AH10). Raven 1980: 24–25.

105 Rashed 2019: 132.

106 Raven 1980: 20; Perdu 2016: 467, fig. 1.

107 Raven 1980: 19–30.

the publication of the statue of Djedhor son of Tjanefer.<sup>108</sup> Based on the inscriptions on these statues, Tjanefer was the son of Nespamedu and Khonsu-irdas, and the brother of Djedhor (statues JdE 37861 and T.R. 8.12.24.5) and Wesirwer. I suggest two further generations of the family, including the son Djedhor (JdE 37200) from a wife called Ta-amun; and Djedhor's son Hor (statue T.R. 18.6.24.1)<sup>109</sup> (fig. 9).

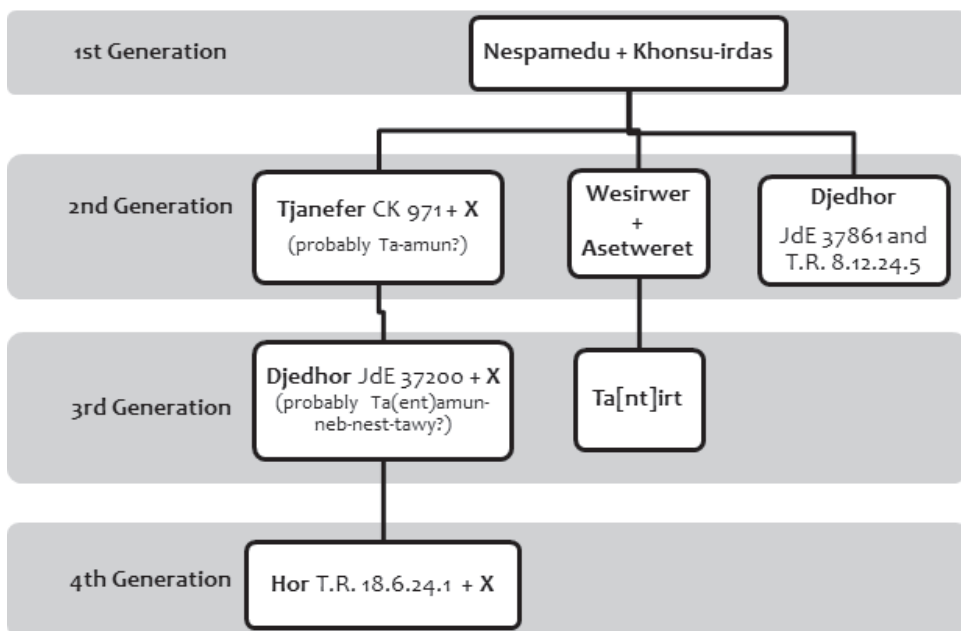



FIG. 9: A suggested genealogy of the family of Nespamedu.

## CONCLUSION

The statue dates to the second half of the Thirtieth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period. It has been assumed that the statue was made for Tjanefer together with the statue of his son Djedhor (JdE 37200); and probably was made for him by Djedhor whose statue is dated to this suggested period.<sup>110</sup> Its style and inscriptions assign its original setting to Karnak. The piece contributes to our knowledge of Nespamedu's family, and Late Period sculpture, while it also tells the story of the acquisition of an object. It highlights the object's history and origin, being one of numerous museum objects that have been moved several times from one collection to another without a full documentation of the object and its history.<sup>111</sup> 

<sup>108</sup> Rashed 2019: 132–35, with more evidence and suggestions.

<sup>109</sup> Rashed 2019: 134, table 1.

<sup>110</sup> Rashed 2019: 133.

<sup>111</sup> Stevenson 2017: 6off. For object history research, cf. Miniaci and Quirke 2009: 339–84; Rashed 2017: 18–32.



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# DINNER WITH OSIRIS, OR HOW TO MAKE YOUR OWN OSIRIS *VEGETANS*

**CAROLINE M. ROCHELEAU\*** (NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART)

On 20 July 2019, the North Carolina Museum of Art (NCMA) opened a small, collection research-based exhibition entitled *What in the World is a Grain Mummy?* The focus of the exhibition was the Museum's only mummy: a small lacklustre bundle with a storied past. Gifted to the NCMA in 1974 as a falcon mummy and decades later relegated to storage after x-rays and CT scans showed it contained no bird bones, the small bundle was re-examined and identified as a grain mummy during the systematic study of the Egyptian collection,<sup>1</sup> and re-established as a genuine artefact which formed part of the annual cult celebration of Osiris.

The exhibition was free to the public and presented in West Building (the permanent collection building) in a gallery located next to the Egyptian galleries.<sup>2</sup> This small room was painted green – one of the colours of Osiris – to identify it as a special treat for visitors (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Two events were associated

\* I wish to thank NCMA librarians Erin Rutherford and Natalia Lonchyna for their assistance in finding online resources and articles related to adult programming in museums.

1 This was conducted by the author as GlaxoSmithKline Curatorial Research Fellow (2005–6) and GSK Research Curator of Egyptian Art (2008–11). The scientific examination of the bundle included x-radiography and CT scans, both of which showed a speckled pattern similar to that seen on x-rays of grain mummies at other institutions. This pattern is interpreted as the grains (or voids left behind following their decay) present in the Nile silt that makes up the core of the grain mummy.

2 Gallery 241 was available for the exhibition as the Mesoamerican artefacts normally on display there had been removed for the study with the rest of the ancient American collection by the 2018–20 GSK Curatorial Research Fellow.

3 West Building is an open concept building painted entirely white and bathed in natural light provided by oculi and glass walls. The green gallery served as a test to determine whether colour could be used in discrete areas without disrupting the overall aesthetic of the building. Similarly, the nature of the materials on display (various mummies wrapped in linen and bird specimens) required that light levels be five foot-candles (53.8 Lux) or lower, and custom-made opaque covers on the oculi in the ceiling were used as a test to darken the gallery and determine whether these could include works of art that are more light-sensitive in future temporary installations within West Building. I am grateful to conservation technician Marianne Schmeisser for creating these covers and the NCMA Art Conservation Center for supporting this experiment.

with *What in the World is a Grain Mummy?* As a teaser to promote the exhibition, the annual Weinberg Lecture of Egyptology held on 17 March 2019 focused on festivals in ancient Egypt and highlighted the Festival of Khoiak and the Osiris Mysteries. This talk – the best attended Weinberg lecture since the inception of the series in 2012 – was delivered by Emily Teeter. The other was *Dinner with Osiris*, a special lecture-dinner-craft session-exhibition visit event that is the subject of this paper. It is a delight to present Emily with this small token of appreciation for her scholarly contribution to the understanding of ancient Egyptian religion during her prolific career.



FIG. 1: Visitor learning about the NCM grain mummy in the exhibition *What in the World is a Grain Mummy?* on opening day. (Photo courtesy of the author.)

## HANDS-ON LEARNING FOR ADULTS: DINNER WITH OSIRIS

Hands-on activities in museums are generally associated with programming designed specifically and exclusively for children,<sup>4</sup> just as play, in general, is connected to the realm of kids. Adult learning, on the other hand, is thought to be serious and intellectual, featuring lectures and activities that allow for ‘little interaction and active learning’.<sup>5</sup> Until recently, play – here defined as ‘a voluntary activity involving active cognitive and/or physical engagement that

4 Fuentes 2014. This article focuses on science museums, but to a great extent the same can be said of art museums.

5 Sachatello-Sawyer and Fellenz 2001: 17.



is pleasurable for its own sake<sup>6</sup> – rarely featured in adult museum experiences. In order to provide meaningful activities as well as for adult programming to be well attended – and thus survive – it is important for museum staff to understand how adults learn (or like to learn) during a visit to the museum and deliver programmes that reflect and target these learning aspirations.<sup>7</sup>

The *Study of Adult Museum Programs* conducted by the Museum of the Rockies in the mid- to late-1990s<sup>8</sup> has demonstrated that adult learners are motivated by different factors and fall into four main categories: *knowledge seekers* (people who enjoy learning new things), *museum lovers* (who enjoy museums and are often docents or volunteers at these institutions), *skill builders* (who learn by doing or want to build something), and *socializers* (who want to meet others like them or spend time with those they came with).<sup>9</sup> The survey also investigated the strategies that resulted in successful and meaningful adult learning experiences. In this regard, the interaction with other participants as well as a connection with the instructor were deemed essential traits of these successful programmes.<sup>10</sup> Amongst those surveyed, a whopping 94% indicated that it was also ‘very important to have new or challenging content’.<sup>11</sup> In addition to connections with other individuals and stimulating content, participants in the survey also responded that the physical environment and the engagement of multiple senses during the event played an important role in the creation of a memorable atmosphere. In other words, an unforgettable museum learning experience ‘involves the whole person, not only the intellectual, but the sensory and emotional faculties as well. And when complex information is presented in a way that is enjoyable – intrinsically rewarding – the person will be motivated to pursue further learning’.<sup>12</sup> In further support of this, research conducted by Reach Advisors<sup>13</sup> to measure the meaningfulness of a museum experience indicates that the core of a successful adult programme is ‘a combination of object-based, multi-sensory, and interactive experience’.<sup>14</sup>

6 Grenier 2010: 78.

7 Hein 1998: 8.

8 From 1996 to 1999, Museum of the Rockies project staff interviewed 508 museum program participants, 75 instructors, and 143 museum program planners and attended more than 100 museum programs throughout the United States to learn more about the kinds of programs being offered, how they are organized, adults’ learning preferences in these programs, what adults remember, and what constitutes an excellent experience. Description copied verbatim (with American spelling) from Sachatello-Sawyer and Fellenz 2001: 17.

9 Sachatello-Sawyer and Fellenz 2001: 19.

10 Sachatello-Sawyer and Fellenz 2001: 20.

11 Sachatello-Sawyer and Fellenz 2001: 19.

12 Csikszentmihalyi and Hermanson 1995: 35.

13 Reach Advisors is a strategy, research, and predictive analytics firm with offices in New York and Massachusetts.

14 The data compiled and analysed were based on adult memories of childhood museum experiences and the most meaningful experiences visitors have had in museums as adults collected via online surveys. For further details, see Wilkening 2015.

*Dinner with Osiris* was part of the NCMA's Dining After Dark series, a regular adult learning experience with visitor outcomes in line with those described above. Participants in the activity will: (1) gain a better understanding of the art, artistic process, and/or topic being explored; (2) meet new people; (3) spend quality time with others (friends, family, other participants); (4) have a fun, enjoyable experience; (5) develop a new (or expand an existing) interest or curiosity, and (6) feel a sense of connection with art and/or nature. Typically, Dining After Dark events include a lecture followed by a buffet dinner and a walking tour of an exhibition.

*Dinner with Osiris* was designed by the author and Laura Finan, in collaboration with Steve Wallawender and Rachel Siegel,<sup>15</sup> and aimed to engage adults in a multi-sensory learning experience directly related to concepts explored in the exhibition. In this instance, the event went a step further: it included a 30-minute lecture, a buffet dinner, and a hands-on activity that gave enough time for participants to complete their project and visit the exhibition where they could interact with the presenter. The lecture explored the concept of grain mummies, described how they were made, explained their role in the cult of Osiris and introduced other types of Osiris *vegetans* – the Osiris brick and the Osiris bed. The buffet dinner offered delicious grain-based dishes<sup>16</sup> that reminded visitors (in a rather tasty way!) of the importance of agriculture in ancient Egypt and the agricultural cycle of life and its symbolic connection to the life and death of Osiris. The hands-on activity – the result of a summer full of experiments (see below) – immersed participants in the creation of their own Osiris 'chia pet,' exploring in a tactile way the role of the priests who made grain mummies during the month of Khoiak. Finally, the visit to the exhibition brought all the concepts learned during the course of the event together with the curatorial research and scientific analysis of the grain mummy and its rehabilitation as a genuine ancient Egyptian artefact, providing an in-depth understanding of the NCMA's grain mummy.

### MAKING YOUR OWN OSIRIS VEGETANS

The inscriptions at the Temple of Dendera are the most important source describing the creation of grain mummies, furnishing materials, instructions, and dates for each of the various steps in this ritualistic process.<sup>17</sup>

15 Finan is Assistant Director of Advancement Events, Wallawender former Executive Chef, and Siegel former Director of Food Service Operations at NCMA. The author is grateful to these colleagues for their collaboration as well as Helen Stefanidis, former Manager of Volunteer and Community Experience, who lent a helping hand during the event.

16 The menu consisted of lamb/beef brochettes, mjadarah (lentils and rice with caramelized onions), Egyptian barley salad with pomegranate vinaigrette, quinoa chickpea salad served with naan bread, and Egyptian basbousa (semolina cake) for dessert.

17 Although the Dendera texts are not presented in a particularly coherent fashion, they nonetheless offer insight in the ritual making of these Osiris figures. See Chassinat 1966: 53–57, Goddio and Masson-Berghoff 2016: 168–9.

*Priests began preparing grain mummies on the twelfth day of the month of Khoiak (mid-October to mid-November), mixing mud, grain seeds, and water from the flood into two gold molds shaped like a mummified being. By the twenty-first of Khoiak, grains had sprouted, and the two halves were tied together and dried, to be wrapped the next day.*<sup>18</sup>

Within a museum event context, it is impossible to faithfully replicate the creation of a grain mummy: the production time frame measures days not hours or minutes, and the materials necessary are prohibited in gallery spaces.<sup>19</sup> Instead of grain mummies, the hands-on activity was to focus on another type of Osiris *vegetans*. The author carried out experiments (with frequent discussion and brainstorming with Finan) to determine which material was to be used and whether it was better suited to the Osiris brick or Osiris bed, which method could fit within a 45-minute time frame and require as few finishing touches at home, and which necessitates the least ‘gardening’ maintenance (participants were to plant their Osiris *vegetans* at home as this could not be done at the museum).

#### THE OSIRIS BRICK

In an attempt to remain as faithful as possible to a terracotta Osiris brick, the first experiment used modelling clay onto which a figure of Osiris in profile was traced and hollowed out using tools found around the house. The process was simple as a stencil was used to trace the figure and clay scooped out to create the hollowed form. The brick was left to dry in the sun for several days before soil and chia seeds were added. The earth was moistened with water from a spray bottle at least twice daily for a few days. The spray bottle was used to prevent the sun-baked clay from returning to a soft, malleable state when in contact with significant amounts of water.

After several days of constant tending, no germination was to be seen. It is possible that edible chia seeds do not germinate when planted, had not been sufficiently moistened to do so, or did not grow well when covered with soil. Water poured from a watering can was used to create a much wetter soil, but the results were as expected: the clay became soft to the touch and even cracked. And chia seeds had still not germinated (fig. 2). While the sun-baked clay Osiris brick had the look of an ancient artefact, this material was not the best for the purpose of the activity and this option was eliminated.

The next material to be tested for the Osiris bricks was wet foam used by florists. Again, the Osiris stencil helped trace the god’s profile in the foam

<sup>18</sup> The description used here is the short paragraph from the exhibition didactic that explained how grain mummies were made.

<sup>19</sup> This event was held in the Sip Café area of West Building to allow visitors easy access to the exhibition atypically situated in the collection gallery spaces, just a few steps away. The lecture was held across the Gipson Plaza in the SECU Auditorium in East Building.



FIG. 2: Various stages of the creation of the Osiris brick using modelling clay. (Photos courtesy of the author.)

and, using a small X-acto knife, a grid was cut inside the figure to break small sections to hollow out the shape. The bottom was smoothed out with a plastic clay sculpting tool. Instead of chia seeds, grass seeds were sown in the soil placed in the hollowed-out Osiris figure and, following instructions on the packaging, the foam Osiris brick was placed in a shallow container and filled with water. The foam absorbed the wetness and provided an excellent growing environment for the grass seeds. Osiris sprouted within three days and continued to do so for weeks with occasional moistening of the foam—eventually requiring a ‘haircut’ or two (fig. 3).

Despite the spectacular germination and the fun while caring for the grass seed Osiris brick, this material was eventually abandoned due to health concerns. Florist’s wet foam is toxic with repetitive exposure and, while this was a one-time use, there were worries that some participants might not want to work with this material. Another material had to be found and perhaps a different type of *Osiris vegetans* was in order.





FIG. 3: Various stages of the creation of the Osiris brick using florist's wet foam. (Photos courtesy of the author.)



### THE OSIRIS BED

The search for another material that was easy to manipulate, water-resistant, and required minimal finishing touches at home led to polymer clay. Using the smallest block of clay available, it was actually possible to create an Osiris bed using the same stencil mentioned above.<sup>20</sup> With polymer clay, it was necessary to create an Osiris bed because the thickness of the clay needed to be consistent to ensure even firing. Here, the instructions were to flatten the clay to an even thickness of no more than 6 mm, creating a surface large enough to place the stencil and cut an Osiris figure out of it. By removing the extra clay around the figure, forming a ball, and flattening it again, one could cut strips of equal width to create the sides of the Osiris bed. Several strips were used to go around the entire figure carefully, with very little clay leftover.

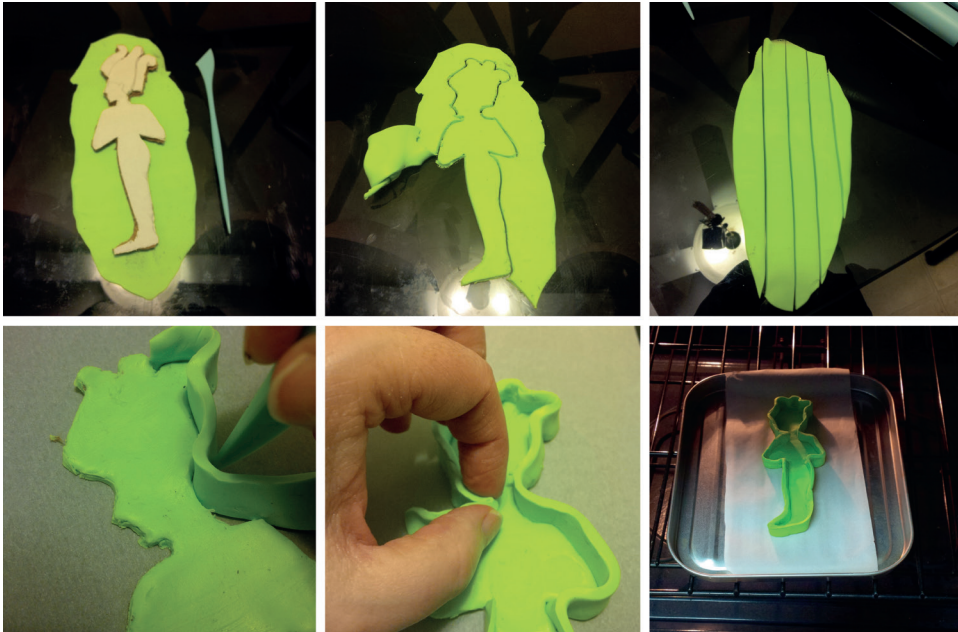


FIG. 4: Various stages of the creation of the Osiris bed using polymer clay. (Photos courtesy of the author.)

The process is more elaborate than scooping out a hollow in a brick, but the clay was malleable and stuck to itself with just a little pinching. Unlike the previous materials, polymer clay needs to be baked (fired); however, this can be done in 15 minutes in one's oven at home (fig. 4).<sup>21</sup> Once cooled, the Osiris bed could be filled with soil and grass seeds, and sprayed with water. Like the foam brick Osiris, the grass sprouted within three days; like the modelling clay brick, it required watering twice a day. The polymer Osiris did very well on the

<sup>20</sup> The stencil was max. height 15,7 cm x max. width 5,5 cm.

<sup>21</sup> The time of firing is 15 minutes for a thickness of 6 mm; the duration of firing increases by 15 minutes for each 6 mm of thickness.



FIG. 5: Participants enjoying the various phases of the Dinner with Osiris event. (Photos courtesy of Laura Finan and Helen Stefanidis.)

balcony in bright sunlight and on a windowsill inside the home (it was planted twice to test this). As a final test before deciding whether this was the *Osiris vegetans* participants would make, the author gave Finan and her husband the illustrated instructions, two bricks of polymer clay, and clay working tools, and tasked both with creating the *Osiris bed* within 45 minutes or less. Even with different levels of manual skills and dexterity, both succeeded with time to spare.

### HOW WAS DINNER WITH OSIRIS?

*Dinner with Osiris* sold out very quickly, the hands-on activity added to the typical Dining After Dark programme having been a motivator for many participants to sign up for the event. The ‘*Osiris chia pet*’ mentioned in the description had provided a familiar entry point into the little-known world of grain mummies and *Osiris vegetans*.

During the event, it was obvious to staff and volunteers that participants – from adults in their thirties to retirees, and even a family with an older child – had enjoyed themselves (fig. 5). There was laughter, camaraderie, discussions, and questions. Participants were not only surprised to know the NCMA had a mummy but also that it was nothing like they expected.<sup>22</sup> They were intrigued by its interesting story and thrilled to learn more about a curator’s work. Attendees were excited to take their *Osiris bed* home to bake it, and plant it with the soil and seeds provided them in small plastic bags (some emailed us to show they had been successful, fig. 6). People helped each other with their project, friends were made, and business cards were exchanged. Some wanted the recipe for the Egyptian barley salad.<sup>23</sup> Others were wow-ed that they had made a small polymer version of the large wooden *Osiris bed* found in King Tutankhamun’s tomb – a nugget of information mentioned in the instructions provided for the hands-on activity. Several were amazed (and some quite touched) that the author and Finan had gone above and beyond, discussing and experimenting all summer to find the way to create the best *Osiris vegetans* for them to replicate.



FIG. 6: Photo of the sprouting *Osiris vegetans* shared by a participant. (Reproduced with permission.)

22 One participant admitted being much relieved that a grain mummy was not a human mummy stuffed with emmer wheat and barley, as she thought.

23 The recipe can be found here: <https://www.onceuponachef.com/recipes/egyptian-barley-salad-with-pomegranate-vinaigrette.html>.

## CONCLUSION

The feedback provided to both the author and Finan at the event and afterwards indicated that we had succeeded in satisfying the participants' curiosity and adding to their knowledge, in giving them food for thought and titillating their taste buds, in challenging their manual skills, and providing the opportunity to socialise together and engage with event staff.

Now the participants all know what a grain mummy is... and they will never forget because they had a wonderful time learning about it. 🙏

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# AN UNCOMMON OLD KINGDOM PAIR STATUE

GERRY D. SCOTT, III\*

*It is both a pleasure and an honour to participate in a Festschrift for my dear friend Emily Teeter. Emily and I share an on-going love of objects and museums and, therefore, I think that it is appropriate to offer a brief description, discussion, and illustrations of an important, but perhaps not well known, statue in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.<sup>1</sup>*

## DESCRIPTION OF THE SCULPTURE

According to the museum's records, the pair statue was found in the Muslim Cemetery at Nazlet el-Samman, Giza, and was registered into the museum's collection in 1951. The statue bears the museum registration number JE 89171 and was later also assigned the Special Register number SR 2 / 15836. It is a pair statue, carved in red (pink) granite, dates to the Old Kingdom, and shows the male owner seated on the ground in a scribal pose with his legs crossed beneath him. His female companion is also seated on the ground beside him with an arm extended in a gesture of support. Its height is 52.5 cm., and there is no trace of an inscription.<sup>2</sup>

Facing the sculpture, the male figure is on the viewer's left; the female figure to the viewer's right. On the whole, the statue displays a worn and weathered surface condition, and it may be that the statue rested on its back for some years, lessening the surface wear there.

\* I would like to thank CIPEG for inviting me to participate in this Festschrift and giving me the opportunity to return to a long-postponed project in honour of a friend and colleague. I also extend my thanks to Egyptian Museum General Director Wafaa El Saddik and the then Museum Board for granting me permission to publish this object from their collection.

1 As to the statue's relatively unknown status, to the best of the author's knowledge, the sculpture has previously received a fairly brief and incomplete notice, but was not documented photographically until recently. See Hornemann 1957: V, pl. 1178; Amiet et al. 1981: 220, fig. 126; Scott 1989: I, 19–21; II, 12–13 (Cat. No. 5). In the first two publications, the statue is presented only as a line drawing; in the third, it is discussed, but had not been seen by the author at the time.

2 My thanks to Janice Kamrin and the ARCE Museum Registrars Training Project participants for confirming and providing this information. I am also most grateful to Gustavo Camps for the splendid photographs that accompany this article. All photographs © Gustavo Camps.

The male owner's face is damaged, possibly beyond mere wear, and his nose is now lacking. He has a short, shoulder-length wig, parted in the middle and striated. The collar bones, breasts, and navel are all indicated on the torso. He wears a short, knee-length kilt. His right hand, also damaged, is fisted and rests on the apron panel of his kilt at the right thigh. His left hand is placed flat, palm down, on the apron panel of his kilt at the left thigh. The fingertips of his left hand extend slightly over the apron panel of his kilt at the hem. The left leg crosses in front of the right and the muscles of the left calf are powerfully articulated. The musculature of the right calf was once similarly rendered, but is now worn.

The female owner's figure is approximately half the size of her companion's and her face is oval and also quite worn. She has a shoulder-length wig and she wears a long sheath dress. She is depicted seated on the ground beside



FIG. 1: Anonymous Pair Statue, Cairo, JE 8917, front view.

her male companion, her legs tucked under her in a pose found in other Old Kingdom statues of women.<sup>3</sup> Her left hand is placed flat, palm down, on her left thigh; her right arm, unusually long and bent at the elbow, extends along her male companion's back, the forearm crossing upward along the shoulder blade. Her right hand, extended flat and palm down, rests on his left back shoulder.



FIG. 2: Anonymous Pair Statue, back view.

### REMARKS ON THE SCULPTURE

There are a few aspects of this sculpture that make it more important than it might at first seem from its worn condition and the lack of an inscription.<sup>4</sup> These have to do with its possible date, the probable station of the owners, and the unusual pose chosen for the composition. The first item of interest is the statue's reported findspot, 'The Muslim Cemetery, Nazlet el-Samman,

3 The female pose is mentioned in Smith 1978: 32; and discussed and illustrated in Fay 1998: 160–61 (nos 2-3).

4 The lack of an inscription on the statue itself may be because it was once placed in a separate base, probably of limestone, as is the case for the scribe statue of Setka (and others), see Arnold et al. 1999: 250–51.

Giza', as this is a locality associated with the Giza Pyramids and Fourth Dynasty King Khufu.<sup>5</sup> When this is combined with the sculpture's material (red granite), the pose selected for the male owner, and the overall style of the sculpture, these elements strongly point to the statue's date being in the Fourth



FIG. 3: Anonymous Pair Statue, left profile view.



FIG. 4: Anonymous Pair Statue, right profile view.

Dynasty and the owners being members of Khufu's court, the male owner likely being a King's Eldest Son. The author observed several years ago in his doctoral dissertation that private statues in hard stone showing the owner seated on the ground in a scribal pose and dating to the Fourth Dynasty seem to be used exclusively by King's Eldest Sons.<sup>6</sup> It is possible, then, that the male owner of this pair statue was a King's Eldest Son of Khufu.

The other interesting aspect of this sculpture is its uncommon pose for a pair statue. While both seated and standing pair and group statues are common in the vocabulary of ancient Egyptian statuary, those that show the male owner seated on the ground with his companion also seated on the ground next to him are not.<sup>7</sup> As such, this is the earliest occurrence known to the author of the statue type. This is in keeping with the experimental development of ancient Egyptian art and architecture during the Fourth Dynasty, as exemplified by the

<sup>5</sup> See Arnold, et al. 1999: 151.

<sup>6</sup> Scott 1989 I: 21–23.


<sup>7</sup> In this light, the fairly contemporary limestone group statue of Seneb JE 51280, showing the male owner seated in a cross-legged pose, but on a block seat with his female companion and two children may be noted. The statue is often illustrated and discussed, for example, Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, no. 39.



inlaid wall reliefs of Nefer-maat (including JE 43809 and Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum 9002), the reserve heads, and the bust of Ankh-haf (Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 27.442).<sup>8</sup>



FIG. 5: Anonymous Pair Statue, right three-quarter view.

The statue type never seems to have attained a widespread usage and later examples are rare, including a small-scale, hardstone statuette of Middle Kingdom date in the San Antonio Museum of Art (accession number 99.2; unpublished), in which only one of the figures is fully preserved (and may have originally shown two male figures), and a Late Period example in the Walters Art Museum (accession number 22.76) in which the male figure is shown in a ‘block statue’ pose as his female companion kneels on the ground beside him.<sup>9</sup> Based on the probable date of the Egyptian Museum’s sculpture, the likely status of the statue’s owners, and the unusual choice of pose, it is hoped that this brief presentation will be of interest to Emily and our colleagues. 

<sup>8</sup> Nefer-maat’s reliefs are illustrated and discussed in Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, nos 25 a–b and Teeter 2003: 14–15, Cat. No. 3. Several of the reserve heads are illustrated and discussed in Arnold et al. 1999: 72–81; 233–239; as is the bust of Ankh-haf: 61.

<sup>9</sup> Steindorff 1946: 59, pl. XXXII, Cat. No. 171.



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# RE-DISCOVERING ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TREASURES IN NARIWA

**KEIKO TAZAWA\*** (THE ANCIENT ORIENT MUSEUM, TOKYO)

**KYOKO IKARI** (NARIWA MUSEUM)

## THE FORMATION OF NARIWA MUSEUM

Nariwa Museum is located in Takahashi City, in the western part of Okayama Prefecture in Japan. The museum has two main collections, one of which is plant fossils of Nariwa. Plant fossils from the late Triassic period (230 million years ago) are constantly being unearthed in the Nariwa region. More than 110 species have been found there, of which at least a third are new species. Some of them are therefore named after Nariwa (e.g. *Nariwaensis* and *Nariensis*).<sup>1</sup> ‘Nariwa Flora’ are well known in the world of palaeontology. The other derives from the private collection of Torajiro Kojima (1881–1929). Kojima was an artist painter who was born and raised in Nariwa town (which merged with neighbouring Takahashi City in 2004). He collected European paintings and Egyptian artefacts with financial support from a local businessman, Magosaburo Ohara.<sup>2</sup> In honour of Kojima, Nariwa Museum was established in 1951 with the acquisition of some of Kojima’s paintings, and then opened in 1953. Following the donation to Nariwa Museum of Kojima’s paintings and artefacts, including the Egyptian objects he collected,<sup>3</sup> a second building was constructed in 1967, adjoining a municipal cultural centre. Subsequently, these Egyptian objects were donated to the municipal cultural centre. They have been one of the museum’s main permanent displays alongside paintings collected and executed by Kojima. Now the museum is operated by a public body, the

\* I am very honoured to contribute to this volume celebrating and appreciating Emily Teeter’s remarkable career and achievements in Egyptology and at the Oriental Institute Chicago. I am also deeply grateful for her unwavering hospitality and kindness to me since I joined CIPEG.

1 <https://nariwa-museum.or.jp/>.

2 Suzuki 1994; Matsuoka 2019; Kojima 2019.

3 Nariwa Museum 2019: 133.

Nariwacho Art Promotion Foundation. The museum values its Egyptian objects and currently dedicates a 200 square metre room to them (fig. 1). These objects help the museum fulfil its responsibility to support cultural activities of citizens and to help foster intercultural appreciation among Takahashi City's younger generation.<sup>4</sup>



FIG. 1: Overview of the exhibition area for Egyptian collection. (© K. Tazawa.)

## THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION OF NARIWA MUSEUM

Although Kojima was not particularly interested in ancient Egypt when he stayed in France and Belgium in 1908–12, where he studied art and painting with Ohara's support, he gradually devoted himself to ancient Egypt.<sup>5</sup> During this first stay in Europe, he studied not only art and painting but also the spirit and traditions of Western/European oil painting, which differed greatly from Japanese art. After returning to Japan from Europe in 1912, he was confronted by the staggering differences between Europe and Japan. Following the advice of his teacher, Jean-Joseph Delvin (a Belgian painter who taught in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in his hometown of Ghent), Kojima explored the spirits of the East.<sup>6</sup> Delvin recommended that Kojima should not imitate indiscriminately the West which has a different history, manners, and customs

<sup>4</sup> Sawahara 2019: 5.

<sup>5</sup> Suzuki 1994: 8–10.

<sup>6</sup> Suzuki 1994: 8; Kojima 2019: 56.

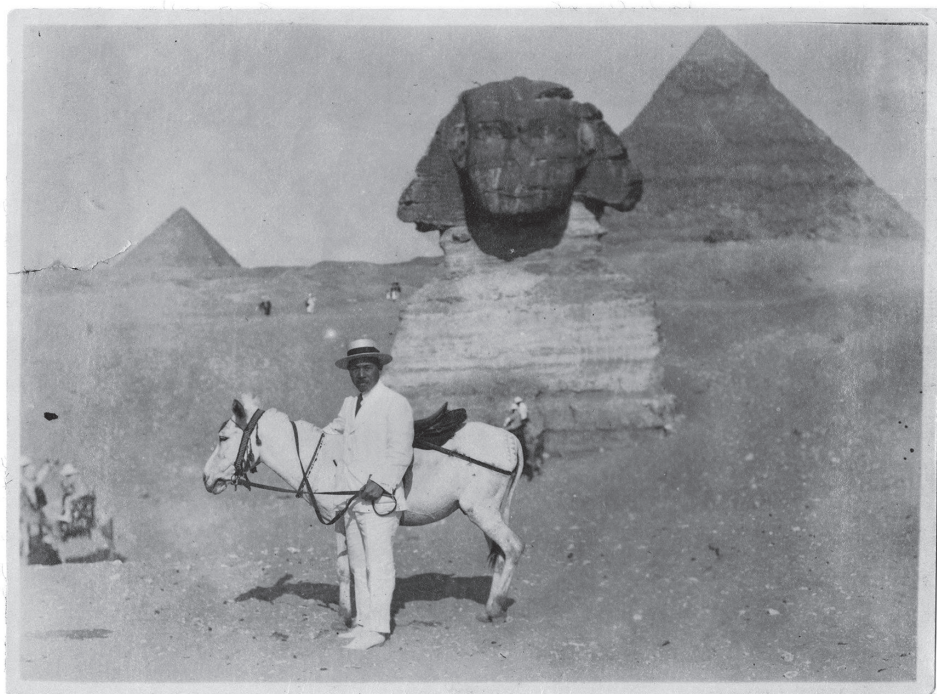


FIG. 2: Kojima in front of the Sphinx at Giza. (Courtesy of the Kojima family.)

to Japan. Kojima then decided to visit China and Korea to learn the origins of Eastern art and antiquities in 1918. It is plausible that this may have given Kojima a chance to take an interest in ancient Egypt while studying ancient history, art and culture. During his second stay in Europe in 1919–21, Kojima suddenly showed a keen interest in ancient Egypt and visited museums in France, Spain, Belgium, and Holland to make sketches and drawings of Egyptian objects. Finally, Kojima purchased about thirty Egyptian artefacts as well as paintings by Claude Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir and other French artists.<sup>7</sup> In 1922, Kojima made a trip to Egypt and visited the pyramids (fig. 2) and bought some Egyptian objects there. On his way back home in 1923, he stopped in Egypt again. He visited Cairo, Luxor and Dendera and purchased a significant number of Egyptian artefacts that now form the majority of the current Egyptian collection in Nariwa Museum. After Kojima's return home, some of his Egyptian objects were exhibited with Persian and Turkish artefacts in a special exhibition organised by the Kurashiki Cultural Association in Okayama prefecture,<sup>8</sup> which was very successful. Kojima housed his Egyptian collection in the showcases he designed and displayed in his atelier at his house (fig. 3). He also adorned the walls around the fireplace in his newly constructed small house called 'Mui-Do' with decorative panels inspired by Egyptian designs and

7 Suzuki 1994: 9.

8 Kurashiki City is located less than 50 km to the south-east from Nariwa where Kojima lived. Kojima's supporter Magosaburo Ohara was a businessman in Kurashiki.



installed an Egyptian-style column with a lotus capital in the same room.<sup>9</sup> Kojima's passion for ancient Egypt is clearly evident.

Kojima died in 1929 at the age of 47. The following year, his financial and moral supporter Magosaburo Ohara established the Ohara Museum of Art in Kurashiki in his memory, and some of his Egyptian objects were displayed in the permanent exhibition. It is noteworthy that Egyptian artefacts were already exhibited to the public in a museum in the first half of the 20th century in Japan. This is in contrast at that time to

the collections of Kyoto University<sup>10</sup> and the Takeuchi collection in Tokyo University of the Arts of the day,<sup>11</sup> which were established for educational purposes at the time when Kojima was collecting. Kojima's collection in Nariwa Museum was open to the public, with its artistic value emphasized from the beginning,<sup>12</sup> while the university collections were academic and educational materials with limited access to the public. Consequently, the Egyptian



FIG. 3: Egyptian objects displayed in a showcase in Kojima's room. (Courtesy of the Kojima family.)

9 Nariwa Museum 2011: 102, 105 and 108.

10 The Egyptian collection in Kyoto University was established with a substantial group of objects donated by Flinders Petrie of University College London in the early 20th century. This donation was achieved by the strong bond between Petrie and his disciple Kosaku Hamada (1881–1938), who became the first professor of the first archaeology course in Japan in Kyoto Imperial University (currently Kyoto University). For more details, see Kyoto University, *The Kyoto University Museum and Nakano* 2011, Kyoto University and *The Kyoto University Museum* 2016, and Kawai 2017.

11 This collection is presently housed in Shimonoseki City Art Museum in Yamaguchi prefecture. It was originally collected by Kinpei Takeuchi (1872–1960), who was a vice president of Yokohama Specie Bank. When he worked in London as an expatriate, he collected these artefacts on behalf of Keiichiro Kume, professor of western art in Tokyo Fine Arts School (currently Tokyo University of the Arts), as reference materials for the module of western archaeology. These objects were displayed in the special exhibition of Egyptian, Greek and Roman artefacts in 1915. However, it was a fixed term exhibition, while Kojima's collection is showcased as a permanent exhibition to the public. For more details, see Suzuki 2007.

12 Suzuki 1994: 10. Suzuki has pointed out that Kojima's personal interests and aesthetic views as an artist influenced the choice of the objects he collected. She also mentioned that the panels with Egyptian motifs around the fireplace and the column in ancient Egyptian style in Kojima's guest room show that he was a highly respectable Japanese 'Egyptomaniac'.



collection in Nariwa Museum can be described a successful ambassador of both Egyptology and art since the moment of its inauguration.

Last but by no means least it should be pointed out that the Egyptian collection in Nariwa Museum is well balanced and diverse, and that it documents the entire chronology of ancient Egypt from the Predynastic Period through to the Graeco-Roman Era. The collection includes religious and funerary material such as parts of coffins, ushabtis, amulets, and stelae as well as other types of artefact like architectural fragments, ostraca, and glass vessels. The collection is diverse from a materials perspective as well: wood, faience, bronze, stone, clay, glass, and cartonnage. It is worth noting that Kojima's collection of ushabtis, although small, covers a wide range of materials and dates, although we cannot ascertain whether he made a conscious decision to form such a representative collection.

### COLLABORATION BETWEEN NARIWA MUSEUM AND THE ANCIENT ORIENT MUSEUM, TOKYO

As mentioned above, Nariwa Museum opened in 1953 after purchasing Kojima's paintings. The second building of the museum, adjoining Nariwa municipal cultural centre, was constructed in 1967 and housed Kojima's cherished Egyptian artefacts, moved from his former atelier to display them to the public. At the opening of a third building for Nariwa Museum in 1994, some of these Egyptian objects were studied and published in a museum catalogue written in Japanese (fig. 4). Unfortunately, the entire collection has yet to be comprehensively studied, catalogued and pragmatically managed since the museum has never had Egyptologists as curators who could examine and take care of these Egyptian objects. This, sadly, is a common situation in Japan, not just at Nariwa Museum, and assistance from Egyptologists at other institutions is warranted.

A longstanding relationship exists between Nariwa Museum and The Ancient Orient Museum, Tokyo (hereafter AOM). Prior to the renovation of Nariwa Museum in 1994, AOM presented the special travelling exhibition 'Egypt - Emergence and Development of Dynastic Civilisation' in 1990, to which Nariwa Museum loaned some Egyptian objects. At this time, the late Egyptologist Madoka Suzuki,<sup>13</sup> AOM's former part-time researcher, examined



FIG. 4: Cover of the 1994 catalogue. (© Nariwa Museum.)

13 For Madoka Suzuki and her career as an Egyptologist, see Sakamoto 2018.

and wrote commentaries for selected objects. This work was instrumental for Nariwa Museum and helped publish the aforementioned catalogue. In 2014, AOM and Okayama Orient Museum co-organised a special exhibition on ancient Egypt that borrowed Egyptian objects exclusively from museums in Japan, including Nariwa Museum.

In March 2019, AOM and Nariwa Museum co-organised a workshop ‘How to make your own ushabtis’. The programme brought together the authors for this collaboration: an Egyptologist from AOM (Tazawa) and a Nariwa Museum educator (Ikari). The authors gave a short lecture on ushabtis – their history, function and chronological features – in the exhibition area (fig. 5), before moving to the activities studio. After another short lecture on colours in ancient Egypt, participants painted ready-made plaster ushabtis (fig. 6). The activity closed with a small exhibition that allowed participants to see and enjoy all the ushabtis produced during the programme (figs 7–8). Another collaborative workshop on faience was co-organised by AOM and Nariwa Museum in February 2020, in cooperation with the Department of Aesthetic Design of Okayama Prefectural University (hereafter OPU). As with the previous workshop, the event included a lecture in the exhibition hall about the Egyptian collection and Egyptian faience, and a hands-on activity that allowed participants to craft their own faience works (fig. 9).<sup>14</sup>



FIG. 5: Short lecture during the ushabti workshop taught by K. Tazawa & K. Ikari. (© Nariwa Museum.)



FIG. 6: Colouring an ushabti made of plaster. (© AOM.)



FIG. 7: Evaluation: participant feedback form in front of the ushabti. (© AOM.)

<sup>14</sup> This workshop is a starting point for another collaborative research project on ushabtis made of Egyptian faience in which AOM, Nariwa Museum and OPU work together. This project has just launched and we hope to have a chance to present our working results in the near future.



FIG. 8: Exhibition: All participants enjoyed all the works displayed together. (© AOM.)

These successful activities led Nariwa Museum to seek the assistance of AOM to re-examine and re-organise its Egyptian collection in order to revise the current permanent display and catalogue the artefacts. AOM agreed to provide Nariwa Museum with Egyptological support. As previously pointed out, most Japanese museums with Egyptian holdings lack curatorial positions for Egyptologists.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, Egyptian artefacts in such museums have sometimes not been examined thoroughly and displayed in the proper manner. Therefore, this cooperative work between Nariwa Museum and AOM is a crucial step for the future of Egyptian collections in museums in Japan. In addition to the above, the research project also aims to understand Egyptian objects comprehensively and make the collection of Nariwa Museum better known to the Egyptological community, the public and school children through object studies, exhibitions, and workshops.



FIG. 9: Faience crafting. (© Nariwa Museum.)

The initial step, which has just begun, is the creation of a definitive inventory, collating data gathered separately and sporadically over the years since the

<sup>15</sup> Fujii 2016: 179; Suzuki 2006: 29; Tazawa 2018: 3. For Japanese museums storing Egyptian collections, see Tazawa 2017 and 2018. Suzuki additionally emphasises that Japanese museums housing Egyptian objects lack not only Egyptologists as curators but also conservators with specialist knowledge of Egyptian artefacts. Unfortunately, 15 years later, the situation remains unchanged.

collection was donated. In parallel, we have started the re-examination of each object to revise identifications and names, and cataloguing data such as date, material, context and so on. The task is tedious as we have the disadvantage of unknown provenience; this is a problem typical of small collections acquired through donations rather than excavations like many other Egyptian collections in Japan and elsewhere in the world. Nevertheless, it is inspiring work that will allow for a better understanding of Japanese Egyptology and Egyptian material culture.

The goals of this cooperation can be summarized thus: (1) Updating the current permanent exhibition and catalogue of Egyptian objects with revised labels and commentaries based on the latest research results; (2) Publication of the results of our scientific research in articles, monographs and, if possible, an online catalogue; (3) Development of a more effective and accessible educational programme for all generations.

### A NEW PROJECT: WHY ANCIENT EGYPT IN NARIWA?

A new project called *Why ancient Egypt in Nariwa?*, in which AOM, Nariwa Museum, and OPU are collaborating, was launched in 2020 with financial support for one year from Fukutake Foundation. This project is strongly connected to the third goal of the ongoing cooperation between AOM and Nariwa Museum discussed above. *Why ancient Egypt in Nariwa?* focuses on making Nariwa citizens aware of the valuable ancient Egyptian objects in their small town and fostering their interest in a culture distant across time and space. They should know that ancient Egypt shares commonalities with their own culture. We hope the project will provide the people of Nariwa with opportunities to review and re-evaluate Japanese culture through exhibitions and workshops. This objective is inspired by Kojima's own experience after his return to Japan from his first trip to Europe: exploring and evaluating his own history, manners, customs and mentality in Japan and the East.

### EDUCATIONAL GOALS

It is unusual for museums in Japan to have an education department and there are thus few full-time educators with whom curators can collaborate on exhibition planning and interpretation. This situation significantly reduces benefits of exhibitions and educational programmes for visitors. It is fortunate that Nariwa Museum's experienced museum educator and an Egyptologist from AOM are now able to work together with the Egyptian collection at Nariwa. The cornerstone for the collaboration is the elaboration of precise and clearly defined educational goals and take-home messages for the project and its associated learning activities, all based on rigorously researched content and information.

The project's three goals have a broad perspective. Visitors should learn (1) Nariwa Museum's Egyptian collection is one of the best in Japan;

(2) The museum's Egyptian artefacts were collected by Torajiro Kojima 100 years ago; and (3) The museum's Egyptian collection is of global importance for historical and cultural research.

#### TAKE-HOME MESSAGES

Take-home messages are nuggets of information that help achieve educational goals. These were developed from visitor comments given after gallery tours and responses to the general questionnaire, placed at the exit. Visitors shared how and why they had an interest in ancient Egyptian culture, or what they know about it.

- 1) There are many ancient Egyptian artefacts collected by Torajiro Kojima during his visits to Egypt and Europe
- 2) Kojima collected ancient Egyptian artefacts because he was deeply impressed by ancient Egyptian art and culture.
- 3) Nariwa Museum's Egyptian collection remains unique and important today because it was collected by an individual for the first time in Japan.
- 4) The Egyptian collection is of high quality compared to other Egyptian collections in Japan.
- 5) Many objects are very colourful, which reflects Kojima's sense of beauty and his aesthetic view as an artist.
- 6) Most artefacts are burial objects from tombs and some of them are daily commodities of the Egyptians.
- 7) The collection spans all periods of ancient Egyptian history.
- 8) Kojima visited Egypt in the early 1920s when the discovery of the tomb of King Tutankhamun raised interest in ancient Egypt worldwide.

#### ACTIVITIES

To achieve the educational goals and take-home messages mentioned above, the following three activities were planned. At the time of writing (summer 2020), the schedule had not been fixed due to the COVID-19 pandemic (therefore the Fukutake Foundation extended the date of completion of this project to the end of March 2022). However, we are turning this difficult time into an opportunity to improve the content of each activity.

##### 1) *Satellite museum in Takahashi City*

A small temporary exhibition of ancient Egypt featuring the replicas of some Egyptian objects from Nariwa Museum will be held in local commercial



complexes and galleries in Takahashi City. We will provide the participants with learning opportunities and the chance to chat with Egyptologists and other researchers about ancient Egypt.

### 2) *Outreach at elementary schools*

We will provide all the elementary school students in Takahashi City (15 schools) with the opportunities to learn about ancient Egypt using replicas of Egyptian artefacts housed in Nariwa Museum. They will learn about Torajiro Kojima, who was born and raised in Nariwa and also collected ancient Egyptian artefacts, which were given to Nariwa town. This activity aims to give younger generations in Nariwa an opportunity to consider their hometown and Japanese ways of thinking and life by learning about a completely different (but similar in some ways) ancient culture distant both in time and space. The activity was elaborated as an in-school visit by the authors, who would bring replicas and hands-on activity kits; however, it might be revised as a virtual programme with online lecture and learning packages posted to the schools in advance because of COVID-19.

### 3) *Training university students as museum educators*

Through this project, we will accept some OPU students as museum educator trainees. The students are taking museology modules in the university and interested in working in the museum. This is a sort of on-the-job training. They will have lectures on objects and ancient Egypt in general beforehand and then they will help the participants during the workshop.

## CONCLUSIONS: BEYOND LOCALITIES - SUSTAINABLE UTILISATION OF EGYPTIAN COLLECTIONS IN JAPAN

Nariwa's Egyptian collection is relatively small and lacks provenience; however, the objects provide us with valuable and essential opportunities to develop and improve exhibitions and educational programmes that enhance understanding of ancient Egypt for local people and others. Furthermore, this project's cooperation between Nariwa Museum and AOM offers a good example of productive and progressive collaboration between museums, curators and educators, as well as between Egyptologists and non-Egyptological educators.

We expect to achieve the following three goals:

- 1) To educate local people in Nariwa about their hometown. It is very important for younger generations to have a chance to learn and consider their hometown.
- 2) To develop an effective educational programme with instructive

goals and take-home messages. These innovative methods<sup>16</sup> can be applied to other museums housing Egyptian collections.

3) To showcase a proactive example of collaboration between museums without Egyptologists and Egyptologists from other institutions. This collaborative model can be replicated elsewhere and benefit Japanese Egyptology in the future.

Egyptian collections in Japan face many challenges, and, in an ideal world, one would like to see more Egyptologists as curators and educators in museums. However, at present, the collaboration between institutions, and museum educators and Egyptologists, in the way in which we are currently engaged, is another viable solution. The important thing is to explore the sustainable utilisation of Egyptian collections in Japan. ♪

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<sup>16</sup> Educational goals and take-home messages are very common in the UK and the US; however, not in Japan unfortunately. It is true that many Japanese museums have fewer positions for professional museum educators, which causes a mismatch between the purposes of educational programmes and their effects.

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# PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON THE ROLE OF THE ROYAL ADMINISTRATION IN NEW KINGDOM COMMEMORATIVE PRACTICES

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*Ever since a wonderful summer internship at the Oriental Institute Chicago in 2008, Emily Teeter has been a great mentor and friend to me. I think we both share a love and curiosity for odd little details as well as for Egyptian religion, and I therefore hope that this article will appeal to her. I would like to thank you, dear Emily, for your kind hospitality and unwavering support.*

## ROYAL HONOUR AND PRIVILEGE IN THE OLD KINGDOM

In the Old Kingdom, the king appears comparatively frequently in tomb inscriptions: ‘never was his like done for another’ (*n-sp jr.t n ky mj.t=f*) is a well-known quote from the Sixth Dynasty tomb no. 12 at Deir el-Gebrawi, where a son buried his father, the *h3tj-<sup>c</sup>* Djau.<sup>1</sup> The quotation celebrates the extraordinary donation king Neferkare (Pepy II) made for this burial out of his treasury, which is mentioned in the line just before the quote. The royal donation included not just the sarcophagus (*krs.w*), clothes (*hbs*), and the festive fragrance from the seven holy oils (*hbs stj-h(3)b*) requested by the son

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<sup>1</sup> Davies 1902: 12–13, pl. XIII.

for his father's burial, but a lot more. The king is said to have also arranged for the delivery of *kbenti* wood, a second fragrance of the seven holy oils, and 200 more pieces of fine quality linen.<sup>2</sup> Further down in the text, the son emphasises that he is buried in the same tomb with his father, *not* because he lacked the required permissions to build two tombs, but because he wanted to be united with his father in the afterlife.<sup>3</sup> The degree of truth in these words cannot be known since these kinds of statements are a frequent topos in Old Kingdom texts and it is heavily contested how far this and other references prove an actual royal administration of tomb building.<sup>4</sup> Despite the formulaic character of the text, however, it clearly shows that it was prestigious if the king made a donation to one's burial from his own treasury.<sup>5</sup> The debate is to what degree this and comparable texts prove actual involvement of the royal administration in tomb construction.<sup>6</sup> Scholars arguing against an actual involvement of royal administration in tomb building activities usually note the relatively small number of sources available and the absence of clear architectural pattern of the tombs in the various cemeteries that could serve as evidence for the design such as known from ancient Egyptian town planning.<sup>7</sup> However, whereas sites like workmen's villages are set up at a certain time and built (at least initially) as units, a necropolis evolves slowly over time, which makes it more difficult to maintain accurate building patterns. The absence of these therefore may not serve as a very strong indication against any administrative involvement in necropolis planning. Another matter is the question of how we understand Egyptian society and its administration in general: the question is how strongly bureaucracy needs to intervene in daily life practices before we accept it as actual influence. Recent studies of administration and record keeping by scholars like Christopher Eyre and Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia have demonstrated that we should have a flexible understanding of the work of the ancient Egyptian state and its administration.<sup>8</sup> Any royal tomb commission system in daily life practice

2 *jw rd.n hm=fjn.t hntj-s krs.w sti-h(3)b sft hn<sup>c</sup> D<sup>c</sup>w s m h3.tjw m sm<sup>c</sup>(.t) nfr.t n rwd šd m pr.wj-hd n hnw n d<sup>c</sup>w pn.*

3 *rdi.n(=j) swt krs.t(=j) mjs w<sup>c</sup> hn<sup>c</sup> sw pn n-mrw.t wnn hn<sup>c</sup>=fm s.t w<sup>c</sup>.tn-js n tm(=j) wnn hr<sup>c</sup> n jr.t js.ty sn.w hr jr.n=(j) nw n-mrw.t m33<sup>c</sup> w pn r<sup>c</sup>-nb n-mrw.t wnn hn<sup>c</sup>=fm s.t w<sup>c</sup>.t.*

4 Bolshakov 1991: 204–18, esp. 204–5; Chauvet 2007: 316 and see further references in Kloth 2002: 217–20, and see recently Van Walsem 2020: 117–59, esp. 119 with footnote 7.

5 Kloth 2002: 214–7.

6 Several texts mention the king getting involved e.g. the tomb of Rawer (*temp. Neferirkare*) at Giza cf. Hassan 1932: 18–19, fig. 13, pl. XVIII; Sethe 1932–33: 232 and Allen 1992: 14–20. Note that Eyre 2013: 81 argued that such could record 'cases of special favour, outside normal custom' and see also p. 82 on the reference above. Eyre 2013: 81 argues against using tomb evidence as hard proof for actual practice. He notes that the idea that royal authorisation was mandatory stems from Goedicke 1972–74: 24; Goedicke 1968: 29–30 but had already been criticised by Edel 1981: 23–4. Alexanian 2006: 1–8 returns to the idea of an approval system. Van Walsem 2013: 137 notes that in spite of any potential role of the king it was eventually the tomb owner's own 'achievements and nobody else's which provided him with this tomb' (with reference to the tomb of Seshemhemnefer who took over the tomb of Hesi at Saqqara by explicit royal donation) and see Kanawati 2003: 165.

7 E.g. Chauvet 2007: 315 with references. On town planning of a city like Amarna see e.g. Fairman 1949.

8 Eyre 2013; Moreno García 2013.



should not be imagined too much like our contemporary land registries with their strict procedures. Instead, ancient Egyptian tomb building was probably more loosely organised and driven by a ‘complex interplay between personal wealth, social status, and specific gestures of royal patronage in the location and funding of the tomb’.<sup>9</sup>

## ROYAL ADMINISTRATION OF SAQQARA TOMB BUILDING IN THE NEW KINGDOM

Although less explicit in texts after the Old Kingdom,<sup>10</sup> there is also some evidence that the royal administration was in one way or another involved in supervising tomb building in the New Kingdom. Important information is gained from a papyrus dossier found in the mastaba of the Sixth Dynasty vizier Ni‘ankhba, south of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara.<sup>11</sup> The dossier is about the construction of the tomb of the royal scribe and general May in the years 15 and 16 of the reign of king Ramesses III. Unfortunately, the existence of the tomb itself has not yet been confirmed by archaeological excavation, but the documentary evidence makes it plausible that its construction was at least planned. What is interesting for the current paper is that the tomb construction work is described as *shn*, a (royal) commission, an expression which is also used for the construction of royal tombs at Thebes.<sup>12</sup> As in the Old Kingdom, it is hard to tell exactly how the tomb administration functioned in daily life practice of the New Kingdom. Yet it seems clear that there was at least some degree of state control, probably once again in a relatively loose sense, but it remains a question for further exploration.<sup>13</sup>

## RECONSIDERING THE *hṯp-dj-nsw*.

Let us look at the matter of royal administrative involvement from a different angle, namely following an idea offered by James P. Allen who suggested considering the Egyptian offering formula *hṯp-dj-nsw* as ‘an official imprimatur of the king and the gods for the presence of this monument and its owner in the realm of the afterlife’.<sup>14</sup> One may wonder why such a label would be necessary when the monument itself proved the status of the respective tomb owner and his family, but considering the very limited number of people that could afford such a tomb in ancient Egypt, divine and royal approval was

9 Eyre 2013: 83.

10 For the offering formula on Middle Kingdom statues cf. e.g. Verbovsek 2004: 24–25; 58–59; 82; 110–11; 136 and 168–69. For a lower number of explicit notices of royal donations (*Stiftungsvermerke*) on Middle Kingdom temple statues cf. *Ibid.* 165–66. For a critical perspective on the relatively low number of explicit mentions see Chauvet 2007: 315.

11 JE 52002–4. For the former see Posener-Kriéger 1981 and 1996. JE 52004 is unpublished and has not yet been relocated by Fredrik Hagen and his team. Information thanks to Daniel Soliman.

12 Demarée 2008. Publication of the texts is forthcoming. See also Hagen, Olsen and Soliman forthcoming and Soliman 2017. On *shn* see Erman and Grapow 1930: 217.1–16; Lesko 1987: 77. For *shn* as royal commission see also e.g. Wentz 1990: 39.

13 Compare the ongoing work by Nico Staring on tomb distribution e.g. Staring forthcoming; Raven 2003; 2000. Often quoted in matters of cemetery access is Leahy 1989.

14 Allen 2006.

surely something to state proudly. The fact that the king is omnipresent in the offering formula *hṭp-dj-nsw*<sup>15</sup> in general should perhaps not be viewed as purely formulaic and a relic of ancient times. Details of what is wished for changed over time, but it is interesting that the formula was used throughout the history of ancient Egypt.<sup>16</sup> While royal action was explicit for (part of) Djau's funerary equipment at Deir el-Gebrawi, scholars seem to agree that the offering formula refers more generally to privileges already granted by the king, commemorated and perpetuated by the *hṭp-dj-nsw*.<sup>17</sup> Following James P. Allen's lead, and drawing on the Leiden collection, we shall see if there is more to it.

### *hṭp-dj-nsw* AS EVIDENCE FOR RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

The *hṭp-dj-nsw* formula appears on statues for the first time during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>18</sup> As a nominalised offering formula, 'the doing of the offering-that-the-king-gives' (*jr.t hṭp-dj-nsw*) became common not only as an abbreviated reference to the earlier standard offering list,<sup>19</sup> but quite literally as 'a thing' to do for the deceased.<sup>20</sup> Examples can be found in both the Middle<sup>21</sup> and New Kingdoms<sup>22</sup> usually promising royal favours to the visitors who recite the *hṭp-dj-nsw* for the deceased, amongst other benefits.<sup>23</sup> To show just one example, amongst many others, on a statue of the high priest of Ptah Ptahhemnetjer (*temp.* Ramses II) who promises royal favour as well as a peaceful afterlife in return for the successful reciting of the *hṭp-dj-nsw*.<sup>24</sup>

This and other references prove that the *hṭp-dj-nsw* was meant to be performed, although it was probably also in itself performative insofar as its presence already perpetuated the provision of standard offerings, and may have stood in for the king's personal presence in one way or another.<sup>25</sup> There is some evidence that suggests that private temple endowments were used for

15 Its literal translation is a nominal phrase, i.e. 'an offering that the king gives' followed by a list of staple foods like beer and bread.

16 Barta 1968.

17 See Allen 2006: 15, with reference to Franke 2003 and see also Satzinger 1997.

18 Verbovsek 2004: 168–69.

19 Barta 1968: 105.

20 In the tomb of Tia and Tia at Saqqara an ostrakon was found on which the formula was written. This might be a nice example of leaving a written formula for the deceased as perpetuated offering, cf. Martin et al. 1997: 74, pl. 104 [75]. The initial interpretation of the find context as a dump can perhaps be challenged.

21 E.g. the Twelfth Dynasty Ity at Dahshur, cf. Shubert 2007: 118–19.

22 E.g. the Eighteenth Dynasty Imaunedjeh in TT 84, cf. Shubert 2007: 209 with reference to Sethe 1909: 939.6–40.1.

23 See also references provided by Barta 1968: 105–6; 137–38; 160; 171.

24 "May the king of your time favour you. May you rest in your tomb(s) in the sacred land, inasmuch as you say a *hṭp-dj-nsw*" (*hsy=tn nsw n hjw=tn hṭp=tn hr js=tn m t3 dsr mj dd=tn hṭp-dj-nsw*). Cf. JE 89046, cf. Shubert 2007: 234 and see also Staring 2018: 94.

25 E.g. Stadler 2005: 152 and compare the discussion of the existing literature summarised e.g. in Weiss 2015.

offerings,<sup>26</sup> and that they were part of a kind of funerary contract<sup>27</sup> between the deceased and the king. The statue of the chief steward Amenhotep Huy (*temp.* Amenhotep III) exemplifies this idea by addressing all priests and officials ‘who shall be within the walls’ (*hpr.t(y).f(y) m jnb.w*) of the temple of Ptah in Memphis, saying that anyone who might remove his offerings would



FIG. 1: Maya and Merit. (© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.)

26 Compare e.g. Ashmolean 1913.163, cf. Shubert 2007: 212–13 and Helck 1958: 1798.18–19. For other examples see Kaplony 1965: 302–3 and Verbovsek 2004: 5–8 and 178–79.

27 Morschauser 1991: 179.

be punished by having his office taken away and given to his enemy.<sup>28</sup> The offering instalment was apparently granted to Amenhotep as a royal favour.<sup>29</sup> Addressees are not just any regular visitors, but professional priests with the explicit task to provide these offerings for the deceased.<sup>30</sup>

### MAYA: AT EYE LEVEL WITH THE KING?

Maya was Overseer of the Treasury under Tutankhamun.<sup>31</sup> The three larger-than-life statues of Maya of his wife Merit at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (fig. 1)<sup>32</sup> are world-famous as indeed is the story of the rediscovery of their tomb.<sup>33</sup> The statues have been in Leiden since 1829, and excavations of the tomb by the museum together with the Egypt Exploration Society in the late 1980s and early 1990s revealed their original location in the tomb, as well as another statue in the inner courtyard.<sup>34</sup> To explain their importance the exceptionally careful carving of the limestone and their size is usually stressed, since – with few exceptions – non-royal individuals in ancient Egyptian history generally did not usually have such large statues.<sup>35</sup> Of course size is not everything,<sup>36</sup> and other aspects such as material (e.g. limestone vs. more expensive hard stones) played a role in the tomb owners' choices for the design of a statue. Yet the statues' large size in comparison to the majority is evident, and usually explained by Maya's exceptional status.<sup>37</sup>

28 “Do not obstruct my bread offering which my god, who is within me, has commanded to me in order to pour out water for me at my tomb” (*jmj tn hnty hr p3w.t = j wd(w) n = j ntr = j jmy = j r stt n = j mw hr js = j*). It continues that “(anyone) who shall hold back my bread offering which Ptah-south-of-his-wall has commanded for me (...) being what Amenhotep III has given to me to offer for me at my tomb because my favour is with him” (*nty jw = fr js k p3w.t = j wd n (y = j) Pth-rsj-jnb = f (...) m dd n = j Nb-M3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> r w3h n = j hr js = j n-wr-n hsw = j hr = f*), cf. Shubert 2007: 213 and Helck 1958: 1798.18–19.

29 Or indeed as Morschauser (1991: 181) suggests ‘under the jurisdiction of both the god (including his institutions) and the monarch.’ On the temple estate’s main purpose for the production of offerings see e.g. Haring 2007: 165–70 and Staring 2019: 215. Note that it is unlikely that Amenhotep Huy donated his entire property to the temple. Not only were such statues probably donated during people’s lifetime, but Amenhotep Huy also had a son, Ipy, who probably inherited not only his office, but also a share of his father’s property cf. stela Museo Egizio Florence 2567, cf. Giovetti and Picchi 2016: 254 and see Löhr 1975: 142–44.

30 An interesting aspect to be explored further in the Walking Dead project is the observation that apparently the priests of the Memphis temple could somehow hold back tomb offerings, i.e. that they could illegally set aside offerings, possibly for their own use, even though this would have been considered an abuse of office.

31 For a biographical sketch see Martin et al. 2012: 63–69.

32 In order to keep the number of images and references in this article manageable, for most of the objects in the Leiden collection I refer readers only to the museum’s online database, where photos and literature can be accessed. Visit <https://www.rmo.nl/en/collection/search-collection/> and search by ‘Inventory Number’.

33 Del Vesco et al. 2019; and see most recently Weiss, Staring and Twiston Davies 2020: 13–15.

34 Martin et al. 2012: 24–29; 38–39 and pls 18, 116–30.

35 Maya’s statue (Leiden inv. no. AST 1) is 216 x 74 x 108 cm, his wife Merit’s statue (Leiden inv. no. AST 2) is 190 x 62 x 95 cm, and their double statue (Leiden inv. no. AST 3) is 158 x 94 x 120 cm. There are of course a few others such as the Fourth Dynasty Hemiunu, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim inv. no. 1962: <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/ancientpeople/1186/full/>. See also Verbovsek 2004: 160 for the matter and an example from the Middle Kingdom.

36 Compare the matter of tomb size recently summarised by Alexanian 2006, with references.

37 For a recent summary of events at the dawn of the Post-Amarna period cf. Van der Perre 2014.

REFLECTIONS ON *htp-dj-nsw* VS. *pr.r.t* IN MAYA'S TOMB

The statues represented the elite couple in their tomb and were meant as focal points for offerings. In this respect the absence of the *htp-dj-nsw* formula on the statues as well as almost everywhere else in the (fragmentary) tomb of Maya and Merit at Saqqara seems curious, and I wondered whether there was a relationship between the king's role in the formula, and the location in tombs and tomb equipment (such as statues) where the formula appears (or does not appear). The formula running over Maya's kilt and Merit's dress is in fact an adapted form of the *htp-dj-nsw* formula saying *pr.r.t nb.t hr whw.t*, i.e. 'everything that comes forth upon the altar' (namely bread, beer etc) for the *kas* of Maya and Merit respectively.<sup>38</sup> In this formula it is thus not the king who serves as intermediary to provide the offering as is the case in the standard *htp-dj-nsw*, but it is a participle form that recalls the usual *pr.t-hrw*.<sup>39</sup> The king can be absent here, grammatically speaking, because the participle form *pr.r.t* does not need an agent. Sociologically speaking, I wondered whether the powerful Maya might have omitted the young king Tutankhamun on purpose to avoid the implication of the king being an intermediary granting the offering.<sup>40</sup> Elsewhere in Maya's tomb in relation to offerings to gods, the term *j.w* ('praising' e.g. the adoration of the gods) was favoured.<sup>41</sup> There are two occasions where the *htp-dj-nsw* appears, though: one in Maya's funerary procession, the other in a stela dedicated to Maya and Merit by somebody else, i.e. an adoration by a third person.<sup>42</sup> The tomb is unfinished and partly demolished and the main offering scenes in the central chapel are missing. Furthermore, in view of the preliminary survey of reliefs and statues in the Leiden collection, we shall see that there is another, more practical, explanation for the distribution of the different types of offering and adoration formulae in Maya's tomb and elsewhere.

*htp-dj-nsw* VS. *pr.r.t* IN THE LEIDEN COLLECTION

A closer look at the Leiden collection as a case study showed that the *pr.r.t*

38 Martin et al. 2012: 24–28 and pls 18 and 116–30.

39 The 'coming forth of the voice', colloquially translated as 'invocation offering' that usually appears as a kind of summary behind the standard offering list, cf. Erman and Grapow 1926: 528.11 and see also Shubert 2007: 380.

40 On a block now at the Liebieghaus in Frankfurt, Maya calls himself *tsw t3 m sh.r.w*, i.e. 'who unites (i.e. governs) the land with [his] plans' which is strictly (...) a royal epithet, cf. Martin et al. 2012: 68. Jacobus van Dijk has established that Maya had this high status already under Akhenaton as he is probably to be identified as the fan-bearer on the right of the king May who is attested on a statue base now in Copenhagen, cf. ÆIN 102. Unfortunately, the skirt band on a parallel statue of general Horemheb and his wife is left unincised and hence cannot provide any clues regarding what Horemheb would have done, cf. BM EA36, cf. Strudwick 2006: 192–93. On the relatively great power of high officials under Tutankhamun cf. e.g. Van der Perre 2014: 101 with reference to van Dijk 1996: 31 and van Dijk 1993: 10.

41 The praise of Osiris in room H, cf. Martin et al. 2012: 42, pl. 39.

42 On a block in Berlin that was destroyed in WWII, cf. Martin et al. 2012: pl. 39. Rock stela 5 has it, but it was not dedicated by Maya himself, but in his veneration by a man whose name has not been preserved, cf. Martin et al. 2012: 41 and pl. 38.



formula found on the statues of Maya and Merit is very common for New Kingdom statues of individuals. In general, none have the standard offering formula on their kilt. Upon further consideration, the idea that their high status could have been an issue for the choice for one form of the offering formula or the other is unconvincing. Rather the solution appeared to be a matter of decorum,<sup>43</sup> i.e. the rules of where the respective formula was written, which depended on a conceptual difference regarding the use of different formulae on representations of persons vs. things such as attributes or architectural elements. Yet we shall see that this preliminary survey of distribution of the *hṯp-dj-nsw* adds an interesting 'layer' to Allen's idea of the formula as a status marker.

#### LEIDEN STATUES

The *pr̄r.t* formula appears frequently on Leiden examples of New Kingdom statues of individuals such as Amennakht (xxi),<sup>44</sup> Juty,<sup>45</sup> Ptahmose,<sup>46</sup> Angeriautef,<sup>47</sup> and Samut.<sup>48</sup> A first clue for a possible rule for the distribution of *hṯp-dj-nsw* vs. *pr̄r.t* on the various monumental carriers of writing is provided by the wooden statue of Amennakht (xxi) from Deir el-Medina (*temp.* Ramses II), who has the *pr̄r.t* on his kilt, and the *hṯp-dj-nsw* on both his back pillar and his staff. Both his brother's Khaemtir (i)'s<sup>49</sup> and his colleague's Ramose (i)'s<sup>50</sup> statues are uninscribed except for the back pillars which shows the *hṯp-dj-nsw*. Similarly, Juty<sup>51</sup> has the *pr̄r.t* formula on his kilt and the *hṯp-dj-nsw* on the back of his statue. This finding seems to suggest a deliberate difference in use of formula of *pr̄r.t* as restricted to kilts of statues of individuals and *hṯp-dj-nsw* as being used for 'things' such as the statue as such (via the back pillars) or attributes such as staffs. The idea is further supported by the observation that the regular block statue of Samut,<sup>52</sup> which is shaped as a squatting person, has the *pr̄r.t* on the kilt, whereas the block statue of Tjaneferemheb,<sup>53</sup> which has the shape of a naos for the god Ptah (i.e. a thing), has the *hṯp-dj-nsw*. Also, other naophorous statues usually show the *hṯp-dj-nsw* written on the naos, the statue base and/or back pillars (Leiden examples are Hormin,<sup>54</sup> Tjairy,<sup>55</sup> Raia,<sup>56</sup> Iuiu,<sup>57</sup>

43 Baines 1990; see also e.g. Baines and Froot 2011: 17.

44 Leiden inv. no. AH 210; see particularly Davies 1999: 236.

45 Leiden inv. no. AST 10.

46 Leiden inv. no. AST 7 and AST 8. See also Staring 2014: 465.

47 Leiden inv. no. L.X.1. The statue on his knees shows the *hṯp-dj-nsw*.

48 Leiden inv. no. AST 22.

49 Leiden inv. no. AH 209.

50 Leiden inv. no. AH 211.

51 Leiden inv. no. AST 10.

52 Leiden inv. no. AST 22.

53 Leiden inv. no. AST 17.

54 Leiden inv. no. AST 5.

55 Leiden inv. no. AST 6.

56 Leiden inv. no. AST 11.

57 Leiden inv. no. AST 21.

Huy,<sup>58</sup> Pabes,<sup>59</sup> Tjaneferehemheb,<sup>60</sup> and Neferrhenpet<sup>61</sup>).<sup>62</sup>

The naophorous statue of Hormin (*temp.* Ramses II) from his tomb in Saqqara<sup>63</sup> sheds further light on the matter. Hormin kneels in front of a small naos featuring the god Osiris. On the back of the statue an appeal to the living is written.<sup>64</sup> His request for verbalizing 1000 of bread and beer is a very abbreviated request to recite the *htp-dj-nsw*, which is usually followed by 1000 of bread, beer, fowl, etc.; interestingly here without mention of either the king or a god as contributor (or donor?).<sup>65</sup> The traditional *htp-dj-nsw* in favour of the gods Osiris and Re-Horakhty is written on the frame of the naos and on both sides. This suggests a dual meaning of the *htp-dj-nsw* as on the one hand marking the royal privilege on the tomb equipment (i.e. the naos, the staff or the statue), and on the other hand, symbolizing an actual performance of the *htp-dj-nsw* offerings, which is done by reciting (*dd*) and/or physical placement of offerings (*jr*) in front of the statue. In other words, it seems that the nominal *htp-dj-nsw* refers to both privilege and action on ‘things’ in the wider sense,<sup>66</sup> whereas the participle *pr.r.t* on ‘people’ anticipates the *htp-dj-nsw*’s eternal immanence (again in the sense of performance of privilege and action, but yet accomplished in perpetuation for eternity). While the statues would also be considered ‘things’ from our modern perspective, for the ancient Egyptians it was clear that they gained life and the ability to act through the opening of the mouth ritual.<sup>67</sup> When exactly this vivification of the statues happened, i.e. during the funeral or earlier, is hard to tell. For the Old Kingdom, Andrey Bolshakov suggested that the initial placement of the first statue in a tomb could have initiated the cult of the tomb owner.<sup>68</sup> In this respect we should remember that tombs were usually built during the lifetime of their owners. The distinctive use of the two types of formulae plays on the two levels, marking both royal approval and privilege in this life, and

58 Leiden inv. no. AST 13.

59 Leiden inv. no. AM 108-a.

60 Leiden inv. no. AST 17.

61 Leiden inv. no. AST 16.

62 Interestingly, a few shabtis in the dress of the living also have the *pr.r.t* on their kilts, e.g. Leiden inv. no. AST 63 (Ahmose) and L.VII.7 (Nakhtamun). The former has the *htp-dj-nsw* on its body, the latter the typical *shd*-formula.

63 Leiden inv. no. AST 5.

64 “O all people, all subjects of the king and every scribe, who shall see this statue! May they say 1000 of bread and beer for the lord of this resting place, for the ka of the royal scribe, the overseer of the royal apartments Hormin” (*j.rmt nb rh.yt nb.w.t sš nb nty jw=sn r m33 n hn.t pn jh dd=sn h3 m t hnq.t n nb js pn n k3 sš-nsw jmy-r3 jp.t-nsw hr-mn*). For *rh.yt*, cf. Erman and Grapow 1928: 447.9–48.2.

65 Parallels listed by Shubert 2007, 382 are the statue of lunny from Deir Durunka (MMA 33.2.1), statue of Paser from Deir el-Bahri (CG 561), statue of Pahemnetjer from Saqqara (JE 89046), two Theban statues of Didia (Louvre C50 and CG 42122), and a Karnak statue of Roma-Roy (CG 42186).

66 Compare Eyre 2013: 131 who sees the mentioning of the king’s favour in tomb inscriptions as both ‘asserting authority for the endowment, and an expectation of perpetual protection of the cult’.

67 See e.g. Lorton 1999 with references. Here is not the place to engage into the discussion of object agency, for a brief state of the art with references cf. Brown and Walker 2008.

68 Bolshakov 1991: 208. In spite of recent criticism by Shirai 2006: 325–26, Bolshakov’s arguments still hold true.

ensuring eternal perpetuation of ritual in both this life and the next. Thereby the two formulae thus yet again seem to support this dual function of Egyptian tombs in terms of both social and religious matters and revealing the religious meaning underlying the choice of decorum as one or the other, and again, most often both.

#### LEIDEN TOMBS

This idea of an explicit choice in formula for ‘people’ vs. ‘things’ is further supported by some Leiden examples of reliefs from Saqqara tombs: the stela of Meryptah (*temp.* Amenhotep III) that shows engaged figures of Meryptah and his extended family in the naos-like frame of the stela (fig. 2).<sup>69</sup> The *pr.t*



FIG. 2: Meryptah. © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

formula is carved on the kilt of Meryptah’s father Djehuty, whereas both sides of the elaborate stela show the *htp-dj-nsw*.<sup>70</sup> The cavetto cornice is inscribed with an appeal to the living, i.e. a text in which the deceased requests to be visited in his tomb to provide offerings such as reciting the *htp-dj-nsw*.<sup>71</sup> Another example of a deliberate choice of formula for different purposes is the main offering stela in the central chapel of Paatenemheb (*temp.* Tutankhamun)<sup>72</sup> (fig. 3). Underneath the cavetto cornice framing the representations in the middle is the *htp-dj-nsw* marking privilege by means of royal support. The central scene shows the Royal Butler (*wb3 nsw*) Paatenemheb and his wife Tjpyu in adoration of Osiris, who

69 Leiden inv. no. AP 11.

70 Note that the kilt of Nebnetjeru on a similar contemporary stela (Leiden inv. no. AM 8–b) has just his name and title.

71 *mj dd=tn htp-dj-nsw h3 m h.t nb.t nfr.t w<sup>c</sup>b.t n k3 n hm-ntr imy-r3 pr Mry-Pth*, see also Shubert 2007, 249 with reference to Helck 1958: 1910.14–8.

72 Leiden inv. no. AP 52.

is seated in a shrine flanked by the four sons of Horus in front of him, and the goddesses Isis and Nephthys behind him. In the text, Paatenemheb and Tjpuuy address the gods with *dw3* praise,<sup>73</sup> typical of hymnal texts elsewhere.<sup>74</sup> Underneath Paatenemheb's colleague, the servant of the king (*sdm ʕs n pr ʕ3*) Kasa and an anonymous woman stand in front of the deceased couple. Kasa holds a libation and an incense censer, the woman carries two flower bouquets. The text explains that they are performing a *htp-dj-nsw* (*jr.t htp-dj-nsw*) for the deceased couple.

It is clear that whenever the tomb owner speaks to the gods in the texts of the tomb decoration, he addresses them with either *j3w* or *dw3*, whereas he himself is addressed by the performance of *htp-dj-nsw*. This is illustrated by the stela of Ankhenptah (fig. 4)<sup>75</sup> which shows the *htp-dj-nsw* on the frames and the offering scene to the deceased underneath, whereas the stela owners are shown in adoration and the address to the gods by means of *rdj.t j3w*.

Another Leiden example of making a *htp-dj-nsw* for the deceased couple is the stela of



FIG. 3: Paatenemheb. (© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.)



FIG. 4: Ankhenptah. (© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.)

73 Erman and Grapow 1931: 426.6–28.7.

74 Compare, for example, Robins 1997: 143; Luiselli 2007 and others.

75 Leiden inv. no. AP 118.



Djehuty.<sup>76</sup> Also from Saqqara, this stela shows yet again the *htp-dj-nsw* formula on the stela's frame. Unfortunately the address to Osiris in the register above is damaged, but it should be *j3w* or *dw3*, like all other gods are addressed in Maya's subterranean tomb chambers, and elsewhere.<sup>77</sup> The only Leiden example that shows the *htp-dj-nsw* inside the stela frame, and in front of the god Osiris, is where Ipu is offering (fig. 5). This is in fact not an exception to the rule described above because the text is explicitly addressed towards Ipu himself (*n k3 n wb3 nsw w3b 3.wy nb 3.wy Ip3*).<sup>78</sup> The *htp-dj-nsw* then appears also on



FIG. 5: Ipu. (© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.)

the left stela frame, whereas the right one has a *j3w*-formula in favour of Osiris Wennefer so that he may cause to come forth the offerings for the living *bas* of the necropolis and the *ka* of Ipu himself. The plinth of the stela shows Ipu's tomb and a procession with some kneeling and mourning, while others are shown walking and carrying his burial equipment. Here, too, a *j3w* formula is addressed to the god Osiris in order to benefit the deceased's *ka*. The only Leiden monument on which the *prr.t* formula appears is on the walls on either side of the entrance to the chapel of Paatenemheb in front of the tomb owner. The two columns that were placed inside show the *htp-dj-nsw*.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Gods are always addressed in hymnal texts, i.e. introduced by *j3w* or *dw3*, whereas (doing the) *htp-dj-nsw* remains reserved for addresses to gods in favour of the deceased's *ka*. The distribution of the latter formulae seems to support James Allen's hypothesis that the *htp-dj-nsw* never entirely lost the idea of its original meaning as referring to 'royal offerings'.<sup>79</sup> Whereas earlier scholars have mainly studied the continuous use of the formula through time, it seems that the formula distribution seems to support a decorum that mostly distinguishes

76 Leiden inv. no. AP 56.

77 E.g. the adoration of Re-Horakhty by Ptahmose, Leiden inv. no. AP 54.

78 In a slightly different spelling.

79 Shubert 2007: 382.



between ‘people’ and ‘things’. Physical elements such as tomb architecture (stelae posts, naoi), but also attributes (staffs) usually show the traditional *htp-dj-nsw*, possibly hinting at some degree of royal administrative privilege involved in acquiring these ‘things’. Statues of individuals (i.e. ‘people’) on the other hand show the *pr.r.t* to refer to the infinitive accomplishment of the *htp-dj-nsw* in perpetuation of the desired recitation and performance by tomb visitors, and show the formula only on bases and back pillars (i.e. on those elements that identify the statues as objects). <sup>1</sup>

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# A RAMESSIDE USHABTI FROM ROMAN KARANIS AND SOME PROBLEMS OF CONTEXT

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*It is a great pleasure to offer this small tribute to Emily Teeter. Emily may not realize this, but she was a hero to many of us Egyptology students at Chicago in the mid-late 1980s. Already a curator at the Seattle Art Museum before she had her PhD, Emily would periodically breeze into Chicago in her leather jacket: she was the smart, funny, stylish and cool Egyptologist we all wanted to become. When she came back to Chicago in 1990 to be curator at the Oriental Institute Museum, I was lucky to have her supervise my first exhibition and later involve me in her work on the Medinet Habu material, giving me valuable museum experience and helping my dissertation project. She has been a valued friend, mentor, collaborator and role model ever since. I hope she finds this examination of an out-of-place ushabti figure of interest.*

The University of Michigan excavation of the site of Karanis (modern Kom Aushim) from 1924–35 yielded an extraordinary amount of artefactual material from this Graeco-Roman period Fayum town. Over 45,000 artefacts from the excavation were ceded to the University of Michigan and are currently in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, along with extensive archival documentation of the excavation.<sup>1</sup>

\* For this article, I am indebted to the wonderful staff of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, specifically Conservators Suzanne Davis and Caroline Roberts, Collections Managers Sebastián Encina and Michelle Fontenot, and former Registrar Robin Meador-Woodruff. I first discussed the problem of accounting for the ushabtis at Karanis with my late friend Traianos Gagos, who, as always, urged me on; I only wish I'd had the benefit of his insight and comments when I came to write this up. Note that the full Karanis excavation database, including information on all finds from the University of Michigan excavations, is available online: [https://fms.lsa.umich.edu/fmi/webd/kelsey\\_excavation\\_karanis](https://fms.lsa.umich.edu/fmi/webd/kelsey_excavation_karanis).

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the excavations generally, see Wilfong and Ferrara 2014; for the documentation, see Encina 2014 and Wilfong 2014.

The 2009 addition of the William E. Upjohn Wing to the original Kelsey Museum building led to the re-installation of the museum's permanent display and a re-investigation of many of the Karanis artefacts on display, resulting in new findings and raising new questions. Among the many puzzles uncovered during this effort was the identification of a New Kingdom ushabti figure from a Roman period context at Karanis.



FIG. 1: Ushabti of Pahemnetjer (front), Kelsey Museum inv. 24263. (Photograph courtesy Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.)

The ushabti in question, Kelsey Museum inv. 24263 (field number 29-CS58-D), is, at first glance, an entirely typical example of this common category of artefact: a mould-made mummiform figure in blue-green faience with details of features and simple inscription painted in black, the figure heavily abraded in places (figs 1–2). The ushabti is 14.5 cm tall, 4.9 cm wide, and weighs 162 g. The deceased is represented holding a hoe in each hand, with a seed-bag across his back, facial features and broad collar simply delineated in black. Somewhat less typically, the figure wears a ‘wig of daily life’ with a side-lock, which is a feature seen on ushabtis made for men who held the office of high priest of Ptah of Memphis.<sup>2</sup> This fact is reflected in the brief inscription: written in a single column down the front of the ushabti, flanked by column guidelines, the inscription reads: *Wsir wr-ḥrp-ḥmw(t) P<sup>3</sup>-ḥm-nṯr<sup>3</sup>* ‘The Osiris, the high priest of Ptah of Memphis (literally ‘Master Craftsman’), Pahemnetjer’.

Pahemnetjer is a known high priest of Ptah of Memphis for whom we have a fair amount of documentation and whose career has been reconstructed by Charles Maystre.<sup>4</sup> Born at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Pahemnetjer became high priest of Ptah at Memphis under Seti I and spent most of his career serving under that king, in whose reign he began preparation of his tomb at Saqqara. Pahemnetjer had some antiquarian interest in his predecessors in office (based on commemorative inscriptions he erected on their behalf) and married well, placing two of his sons in high office. Pahemnetjer continued in office at least a few years into the reign of Ramesses II, who honoured him further. Pahemnetjer died and was buried around 1275 BCE. Pahemnetjer’s tomb at Saqqara no longer exists, but a block from it was noted by Quibell,<sup>5</sup> and various monuments of Pahemnetjer that survive would have also come from this tomb and its chapel. The material



FIG. 2: Ushabti of Pahemnetjer (back), Kelsey Museum inv. 24263. (Photograph courtesy Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.)

2 Schneider 1977: I: 206.

3 The name is unclear in the photograph (fig. 1) because it is written on the curve from the legs to the foot of the figure, but it is relatively clear on the original.

4 Maystre 1992: 143–45, 291–97 for what follows.

5 Maystre 1992: 293.

surviving from Pahemnetjer's burial suggests a generally well-equipped elite tomb, and this ushabti would have formed part of its funerary equipment. The lack of a location for Pahemnetjer's tomb but the survival of various items from it suggests it was robbed and its contents dispersed before the destruction of the tomb itself.

The Kelsey Museum's ushabti, then, would have originally come from Pahemnetjer's tomb at Saqqara, but that is not where it was found: the ushabti came to light in 1928 during the University of Michigan's excavations at Karanis, in a settlement context far removed from Ramesside Saqqara in time and place.

The University of Michigan's Egyptian expedition was part of a larger archaeological effort initiated by Francis W. Kelsey to investigate Graeco-Roman period archaeological sites across the Mediterranean and Middle East. The Karanis excavation was begun primarily in search of papyri, as were many Fayum archaeological projects of the time, but Karanis quickly became much more complicated, as excavators found not just papyri, but also a wealth of other artefacts of daily life in a well-preserved site with a complex stratigraphy. Eleven years of excavation at Karanis yielded over 65,000 individual finds (containing over 100,000 artefacts), and over 45,000 of these artefacts were ceded, in a generous division of finds, to the University of Michigan, where they formed the nucleus of the collection of the newly-founded Museum of Classical Archaeology, later renamed after its founder as the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Many additional objects from the Michigan Karanis excavation were retained for the Egyptian Antiquities Service (and today form part of the collections of the Cairo Museum, the Coptic Museum and the Agricultural Museum in Cairo), while still more artefacts—mostly very fragmentary or fragile items – seem to have been left on site or otherwise disposed of (sometimes noted in the excavator's files as 'n.t.h.' for 'not taken home').

The wealth of artefacts discovered during the Michigan excavation was unexpected and the excavators were largely unprepared for the logistics of handling and processing the sheer mass of material they were uncovering. Although the Kelsey Museum's archives hold an impressive amount of documentation from the excavation, the level of recordkeeping for individual finds is usually minimal: excavators identified stratigraphic layers that were assigned letters, individual structures were numbered and individual rooms in structures were assigned letters, as were individual finds, and specific finds were assigned field numbers identifying year found, structure and room in which the find was made, with sequential identifiers, but this is often as far as it goes. The actual excavations of individual rooms in structures, and thus the majority of artefact finds, were largely handled by the site workers and unsupervised by the archaeologists (not uncommon in larger-scale excavations



of the time). It is uncommon to have specific information about a given find – location within a room, associated materials – and even more unusual to have an in-situ photograph for a particular find.

Added to this is the complex nature of the archaeology of the site itself. The extensive remains and well-preserved nature of Karanis have led some to refer to it as the ‘Pompeii of Roman Egypt’, but this is an entirely inaccurate and misleading characterisation. Far from a pristine site with a single endpoint, Karanis was gradually and irregularly abandoned, with likely periods of rehabilitation, and modern destruction and looting before it became the focus of archaeologists, and even then attention to the site was erratic and, until relatively recently, unsystematic. Conventional wisdom from the University of Michigan excavation tells us that Karanis was abandoned by 450 CE (although this view has been challenged)<sup>6</sup> and that the stratigraphy of the site could be divided up into layers, designated A for the most recent to F for the earliest. The excavators assigned rough dates to the layers based on datable objects found in them, but also influenced by their own preconceptions of the site and their own understanding of its history. Recent work on Karanis has only begun to show how complicated the dating of the site really is and how disrupted and permeable the original excavators’ ‘layers’ really are.<sup>7</sup> It is beyond the scope of the present study to examine this issue in more detail, but it is relevant to note the relatively chaotic state of many of the ‘contexts’ at Karanis and how context is often of little use in determining date or deposition history, given the lack of more detailed information about finds recorded by the excavators.

The findspot of the ushabti of Pahemnetjer is a street context in level C as identified by the excavators, context CS58, east of the courtyard (K) for structure C55. Like most street contexts at Karanis, CS58 was excavated over multiple seasons between 1927 and 1929. Although the ushabti was found in 1928, it was not entered in the records until 1929, which accounts for its field number, but also raises questions about the reason for the delay. Over 30 artefact finds come from CS58 (summarized below in table 1), but they are a disparate assortment, and none are obviously associated with each other. This is very common with street contexts at Karanis, where the artefacts often represent a mixture of street debris, objects from nearby structures that have collapsed or contexts that have ‘leaked’ into the street, and material blown in by winds or brought in after the site’s abandonment. Thus, the use of datable artefacts to date other material or its deposition is of limited value. The datable material from CS58 is relatively consistent: a coin of Constantine I from 312–13 CE (27 CS58-A = Kelsey Museum inv. 64839)<sup>8</sup> and a papyrus of the

6 See discussion and references in Wilfong and Ferrara 2014: 102–6.

7 Landvatter 2014a.

8 Haatvedt and Peterson 1964: 307 (no. 1505).

3rd–4th century CE (27 CS58-E = P. Mich. inv. 5228), while nearby contexts yielded similarly datable material: a coin of year 2 of Diocletian from 285–86 CE from the nearby courtyard C55K (C55K-N = Kelsey Museum inv. 53544 = Haatvedt 1202)<sup>9</sup> and an ostrakon of the 3rd–4th century CE (28-C57N-B = O. Mich. inv. 9243).<sup>10</sup> Other, non-dated, material from the context includes typical finds from Karanis (pottery vessels, lamps, wood fragments from furniture and tools), but also some odd and unexpected items: a toy wooden fish (27-CS58-T = Kelsey Museum inv. 7486) and a gilded wooden cobra, likely a fitting for a piece of furniture or a portable shrine (27-CS58-S = Kelsey Museum inv. 8510). However, as tempting as it might be to associate the cobra, relating to indigenous religion, to our ushabti, there is no obvious connection and the two artefacts were not even found in the same season.

As is very often the case with the Michigan Karanis excavation, the contextual material offers little help in interpreting the specific artefact. Although it might be possible to construct a ‘story’ around the disparate finds of CS58, as some have done with other finds at Karanis, there is no evidence of coherent connections between the finds. None of the other finds from the context provide any clues as to the reason that a Ramesside ushabti from Saqqara was found at Karanis. At most, we might take the dated material from late 3rd/early 4th century CE as being suggestive of a possible date of deposition for the ushabti. But the evidence does not permit us to draw any firm conclusions as to why the ushabti was present in the first place. So it remains to look farther afield across the site for clues.

Pahemnetjer’s ushabti, on its own, could be seen as a fortuitous find, a chance survival of something collected by a traveller to Saqqara or traded as a curio to Karanis over a thousand years after its making. But the Michigan excavators, in fact, uncovered seventeen ushabtis between 1924 and 1929, all found separately in domestic or street contexts spread across the site (summarized below in table 2). Most, if not all, were of faience and extremely fragmentary; only two were retained by the excavators (possibly because of the presence of inscriptions) and the rest seem to have been discarded on site, surviving only in very brief and passing descriptions in the Record of Objects books. The excavators’ unfamiliarity with this category of object (manifested in their uncertainty over its spelling—the term is given variously as “ushebti”, “ushepti” and “ushebte”, with “ushabti” only used in reference to Pahemnetjer’s figure) suggests that even more may have been found but not identified as such.

In addition to Pahemnetjer’s ushabti, the University of Michigan retained one other ushabti in the division of finds, now Kelsey Museum inv. 87990

<sup>9</sup> Haatvedt and Peterson 1964: 268 (no. 1202).

<sup>10</sup> Amundsen 1935: 145 (O. Mich. I 548).



FIG. 3: Ushabti of Hor-udja (?) (front), Kelsey Museum inv. 87990. (Photograph courtesy Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.)

(= 25-321A-E, figs 3–4). This figure of purple faience is an extremely fragmentary portion of the lower body of an ushabti, approximately 2.0 cm high and 2.0 cm wide. The front preserves only a few hieroglyphs, between two column guidelines, possibly to be read *Wsir Hr-wd[3 ...]* ‘The Osiris Horudj[a ...]’. Too little survives to date this ushabti, but it is certainly pre-Roman, and likely pre-Ptolemaic. It was found in structure 321, room A; a structure from the latest level (designated ‘A’ in later seasons).

Associated finds include beads and non-diagnostic pottery, but nothing easily datable; in general, the ‘A’ level material is the latest at the site, and tends to be dated 4th–5th century CE. So, again we have a ushabti figure found out of its original place, in a non-funerary context considerably later than the figure itself.



FIG. 4: Ushabti of Hor-udja (?) (back), Kelsey Museum inv. 87990. (Photograph courtesy Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.)

The distribution of ushabti figures at the site seems to show no pattern: none were found in funerary contexts and none were found together or even near each other, nor do they have associations with institutional structures (such as the two temples on the site). Most come from rooms in domestic structures, with only the two ushabtis ceded to Michigan coming from street contexts. All these ushabtis come from contexts conventionally dated to the 2nd–5th centuries CE and thus most are likely to have been at least a few hundred years old at the time of their deposition, but others (like the ushabti of Pahemnetjer as well as an example dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, field number 24-59-C) were much older.

Exactly why all of these ushabti figures were found at Karanis is unclear. They are unlikely to be of local or even nearby manufacture. The University of Michigan excavation of Karanis found only four burials, none of which contained any funerary equipment nor had particularly Egyptian cultural features—there was no embalming evident and the bodies were buried, full length, in graves without funerary equipment or grave goods.<sup>11</sup> Although only a few of the ushabtis were datable, these all date to before the foundation of Karanis around 250 BCE, and as such were unlikely to have been found or acquired locally. These ushabtis must have been brought to Karanis, but by whom, and under what circumstances, is unclear. Pahemnetjer's ushabti had to have been brought a considerable distance from Saqqara, especially given the means of travel available in ancient times, but other ushabtis from the group may have come from even farther away. However they came to Karanis, they were likely brought deliberately.

Karanis is not, of course, the only later, non-funerary site to yield earlier ushabtis apparently unrelated to their findspots. An interesting parallel can be found in the early Islamic period site of Fustat: a number of ushabtis were found in the excavation of the settlement at Fustat by the American Research Center in Egypt in the 1960s and 1970s, and a selection of these were recently published in an exhibition catalogue from the Oriental Institute Museum.<sup>12</sup> Like the Karanis ushabtis, most of the Fustat ushabtis are fragmentary, and they range in date from New Kingdom to Late Period. Also like the Karanis ushabtis, the Fustat figures come from different non-funerary contexts with no clear pattern of deposition, and are likewise unlikely to have originally come from elsewhere on the site itself, which had no earlier Pharaonic habitation or burials. The accompanying essay by Vanessa Davies concentrates mostly on re-use of Pharaonic building stone at the site, but also addresses portable

11 Landvatter 2014b summarizes the excavated burials. See Wilfong 2017: 303–6 for discussion of a Ptolemaic-Roman coffin panel found by the Michigan excavation (Field number 30-C189B-C, with further information in Wilfong 2015: 83–85) that was repurposed for a door of a shrine, possibly for a local cult of Anubis; there is no evidence that this piece was of local manufacture.

12 Vorderstrasse and Treptow 2015: 154–57.

Pharaonic objects, including the ushabtis, with a reference to the ‘lure of the artefact’,<sup>13</sup> and this may account for the presence of earlier ushabtis found in later contexts more generally. As at Karanis, the Fustat ushabtis may well have been souvenirs or artefacts casually picked up or deliberately brought from other sites and kept as curios.

All of the foregoing, of course, assumes that the Karanis ushabtis came from secure contexts and that the contextual information is accurate and reflects an ancient deposition of artefacts, and this is probably correct. However, the archaeology of Karanis, and its reflection in the processes and procedures of the University of Michigan expedition, is not always as clean and straightforward as often assumed. From the first, one gets the distinct sense that the Michigan team was overwhelmed by the amount of material they were uncovering, complicated by the fact that the archaeologists were stretched thin and at some remove from the actual excavation, much of which was left to the workers on the site with relatively little oversight. Moreover, the Michigan archaeologists were also actively engaged in the purchase of antiquities while in Egypt, both for the University of Michigan but also for their own personal collections.<sup>14</sup> Add to this the relatively long periods between excavation when the site was minimally supervised and the complexities of the *baksheesh* system in place at the time, and the result is a project where anomalies did occur. Although in-depth analysis of these factors is not practical in the context of the present article, I’d like to close with two apparently intrusive artefacts from the Karanis excavations that could suggest alternative explanations for the presence of the Ramesside ushabti of Pahemnetjer from Saqqara among the artefacts of Karanis.

Kelsey Museum inv. 3727 (fig. 5) is a small silver offering cup with a Demotic inscription around its rim.<sup>15</sup> This artefact was assigned the field number 30-X, meaning that it was registered in 1930 and was a ‘surface find’. This phrase can indicate a number of things: material found on the site surface before excavation, material found without clear context, material found in disturbed surface debris, or material picked up on site during the off-season, among other possibilities. Surface finds from the 1930 season, when no significant excavation was taking place, were particularly numerous: over 2,300 objects were given the field number 30-X, with no further indications of circumstances

13 Davies 2015: 88–90.

14 Project director Enoch Peterson was the primary purchaser, both for the museum (Talalay and Root 2015: 125, 165) and for himself (Talalay and Root 2015: 82–83), with Peterson’s personal collection ultimately coming to the museum. Peterson was sometimes accompanied by his nephew Peter Ruthven, who also purchased antiquities (Talalay and Root 2015: 140–41) that were later donated to the Kelsey Museum in his memory.

15 Text 48762 in Trismegistos <http://www.trismegistos.org/text/48762>; published Speigelberg 1928: 38–39, and republished in Vleeming 2001: 56, with discussion in Farid 1995, Wilfong 1997: 24; Louvre parallels are published in Farid 1994: 124–26.



of their finding. About all one can say about the silver cup, or any of these 2,300 other finds is that they come from the University of Michigan Karanis excavation. Or do they? Closer examination of the inscription on the silver cup makes it unlikely that this artefact could have been found as a surface find during the Karanis excavation, and thus raises questions about the overall record-keeping of the excavation.



FIG. 5: Silver cup with Demotic inscription, Kelsey Museum inv. 3727. (Photograph courtesy Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.)

This piece is identifiably Ptolemaic-Roman period and, as such, a plausible Karanis find. However, the inscriptions on this cup show it to be an offering to Hathor of Dendera and thus presumably originally from Dendera. Moreover, the Kelsey Museum cup is a close parallel to a number of similar offering cups in the Louvre, also dedicated to Hathor of Dendera and said to have been found there. Indeed, the names involved make it probable that the Kelsey Museum cup was dedicated by a member of the same family that dedicated the Louvre cups, suggesting that the Kelsey Museum cup is part of the same Dendera find. This is not to say definitively that the Kelsey cup did not, in fact, come from Karanis—one can envision a variety of scenarios whereby such an artefact could have been separated from related cups and brought to Karanis in antiquity. But the simpler explanation is to assume the Kelsey cup was not found at Karanis but somehow added into the material from the Karanis excavation, perhaps a purchase by one of the excavators, either inadvertently or deliberately presented as a surface find from the 1930 season at Karanis. Certainly, its lack of secure context will always leave doubt as to its status as a find from Karanis.

Even material with apparently secure excavated context at Karanis cannot always be trusted, as we see in the case of a textile, Kelsey Museum inv. 22602 (field number 26-BS18-D; fig. 6). A fragmentary child's garment (described by excavators as a child's tunic) made of wool, this textile is described as a find in a street context, specifically BS18, excavated in 1926. Like Pahemnetjer's ushabti, this textile is listed as having been found with a group of disparate objects, including a ceramic jar lid (Kelsey Museum inv. 20872 + 26-BS18-c)<sup>16</sup> and a Greek ostrakon (Kelsey Museum inv. 4616 = 26-BS18-B),<sup>17</sup> dated to 3rd–4th century CE. As with the ushabti of Pahemnetjer, the records give no further details about the find or the relationship of the objects in the context. We might take the presence of the datable ostrakon to be suggestive, if not indicative, of a date of deposition in the late 3rd or early 4th century CE, as we did with the ushabti. Fragmentary textiles are relatively common as street debris in the Karanis excavations, so this is not in any way a surprising or unusual find.



FIG. 6: Textile fragment, Kelsey Museum inv. 22602. (Photograph courtesy Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.)

In the case of this child's garment, however, closer examination of the textile's materials raises questions about the date of the piece as well as the date of its deposition. Based on observation alone, the dyes used are visibly inconsistent with Roman textiles and show signs of colours and processes

<sup>16</sup> Johnson 1981: 87 (no. 607).

<sup>17</sup> Amundsen 1935: 71–72 (= O. Mich I 250).

not available until the 19th or 20th century. Likewise, the use of multicolour yarn and other details of its construction are inconsistent with a Roman date, and more likely to indicate modern manufacture.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, this was already apparent to someone at the Kelsey Museum in the 1930s, as the Kelsey Museum accession register, compiled as objects were assigned accession numbers (as opposed to the excavation Record of Objects book, compiled in the field), has the notation '(Modern?)' next to the entry for this piece, indicating that there were already questions about its antiquity when the piece entered the museum's collections. Further dye analysis, planned by Kelsey Museum conservators, can resolve this question more definitively, but for now we can say that the evidence makes it very likely that this textile is roughly contemporary with the excavation of Karanis rather than the associated artefacts it was found with, and that a description of 'sweater' or 'jumper' might be more accurate than 'tunic'. Perhaps the most likely scenario is that it was abandoned or lost by a child working on the excavation site, perhaps in the course of the excavation of street context BS18 in 1928. But it is also possible that it was deliberately placed in the context, accidentally associated with the context, or attributed to the context for some other reason. The fact that this textile was assigned a field number and treated like ancient, excavated material raises many questions about the security of Karanis contexts and the reliability of contextual information from the site more generally.

Thus, the questions around these two artefacts ostensibly from the Karanis excavation – the silver cup and the child's garment – suggest other scenarios that could also account for the presence of the ushabti of Pahemnetjer at Karanis. Rather than a curio of an ancient past, deliberately acquired and saved by a Karanis inhabitant, this ushabti could be entirely intrusive: an artefact with no connection to Karanis, inadvertently or deliberately added to excavated material in modern times. The year's delay in recording the Pahemnetjer ushabti, found in 1928, but not registered in the Record of Objects Book until 1929, and the assignation of a field number for the 1929 season, is particularly suggestive in this regard. If the ushabti was indeed found in context CS58 in 1928, why was its registration held back for a year? Was there some question about the ushabti that made the excavators hesitate about registering it? Or was it an intrusive piece, a surface find or a purchase added to material from this context and, if so, how and why?

However, the finding of multiple ushabtis in the course of the Karanis excavation, and the presence of ushabtis in much later contexts at other sites, like those found at Fustat, may suggest that Pahemnetjer's ushabti was found when and where the excavators said it was. The saving or collecting of ushabtis

<sup>18</sup> For all the foregoing, I am indebted to Kelsey Museum Conservators Suzanne Davis and Caroline Roberts for sharing their preliminary opinions of this piece.

may indeed have been a practice in later Roman and early Islamic Egypt. Perhaps wider study of ushabtis from later contexts at other sites will provide a better understanding of this phenomenon and account for these out-of-place Pharaonic artefacts. †

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TABLE 1: KARANIS CONTEXT CS58, SUMMARY OF FINDS

All information transcribed from the 'Record of Objects Book' for the relevant season, Kelsey Museum Archives, is available in online database at: [https://fms.lsa.umich.edu/fmi/webd/kelsey\\_excavation\\_karanis](https://fms.lsa.umich.edu/fmi/webd/kelsey_excavation_karanis).

FIELD NO.	DESCRIPTION	MUSEUM NO.	FINDSPOT NOTES
27-CS58-A	Coin. Constantine I 306–37 A.D.	Kelsey Museum inv. 64839	Just below level of furnace at N end.
27-CS58-B	Wooden scale beam, finely turned with knob like ends fastened on by means of an iron nail running through. Beam m. 0.22 long, knobs each m. 0.055 long.		
27-CS58-C	Frag. of coarsely plaited palm leaf carrying basket.	N.T.H.	Very high in filling.
27-CS58-D	Frag. of leather.		
27-CS58-E	Papyrus. Late III/early IV cent. A.D.	P. Mich. inv. 5228 In Cairo	On level with top of furnace.
27-CS58-F	Turned wooden leg of some piece of furniture.	Kelsey Museum inv. 10236	
27-CS58-G	V toggle.	Kelsey Museum inv. 8311	
27-CS58-H	Piece of wood with hole at one end and in the center. Holes at right angle to each other.	Kelsey Museum inv. 24867	
27-CS58-J	Small wooden stake.		
27-CS58-K	Wooden stake.		
27-CS58-L	Wooden wedge.		
27-CS58-M	Wooden pin.		
27-CS58-N	Rope hobble.		
27-CS58-O	Textiles.		
27-CS58-P	Grinding stone.		
27-CS58-Q	Ball of plaster.		
27-CS58-R	Animal bones.		
27-CS58-S	Frag. of wooden cobra head (?) with traces of plaster and gilding and dark blue paint.	Kelsey Museum inv. 8510	
27-CS58-T	Piece of wood cut in fish shape, m. 0.16 long, m. 0.077 across, with hole at pointed end. Apparently made from a piece of a box. Decorated with incised lines.	Kelsey Museum inv. 7486	

TABLE 1 (continued)

FIELD NO.	DESCRIPTION	MUSEUM NO.	FINDSPOT NOTES
27-CS58-V	Wooden scale pan, m. 0.105 in diam.		
27-CS58-W	Half of wooden stamp.		
27-CS58-X	Papyrus.	P. Mich. inv. 5229 In Cairo.	On level with threshold of C 55.
27-CS58-Y	End of some bone object.		Very low.
27-CS58-Z	Blue glaze frags.	N.T.H.	
27-CS58-AI	3 small mud discs.		
27-CS58-BI	Mud disc.		
27-CS58-a	Pottery vessel. 479.		
27-CS58-b	Pottery vessel. 76. 4 frags. Used as lid of a, and covered with mud.	N.T.H.	
27-CS58-c	Pottery vessel. Body like 105, but rim slightly different.	Kelsey Museum inv. 20648	
27-CS58-d	Pottery vessel. 76, used as lid of c.	Kelsey Museum inv. 20279	
28-CS58-A	Papyrus frags.	P. Mich. inv. 5498 In Cairo	East of courtyard C 55 K
28-CS58-B	Bone pin frags.		East of courtyard C 55 K
28-CS58-C	Lamp III, mark (7)b.	Kelsey Museum inv. 7089	East of courtyard C 55 K
29-CS58-D	Blue glaze ushabti, complete, height m. 0.145.	Kelsey Museum inv. 24263	1929. Found 1928–29

TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF USHABTI FIGURES FOUND DURING THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN KARANIS EXCAVATIONS

All information transcribed from the 'Record of Objects Book' for the relevant season, Kelsey Museum Archives, available in online database at: [https://fms.lsa.umich.edu/fmi/webd/kelsey\\_excavation\\_karanis](https://fms.lsa.umich.edu/fmi/webd/kelsey_excavation_karanis).

FIELD NUMBER	RECORD OF OBJECTS BOOK DESCRIPTION	CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION	INV.
24-59-C	Head of blue glaze 26th; dynasty Ushebte	Outside south of S wall of 4009E and Westward.	
24-139B-O	Blue glaze ushebti.		
24-145-I	Small ushebti figure.		
24-5026C-C	Frag. of blue glaze ushebti.		
25-234-J	Head of blue glaze Ushebti.	House destroyed east of street 222, south of H. 237.	
25-244E-J	Fragment of blue glaze ushebti.		
25-321A-E	Frag. of Ushebti		Kelsey Museum inv. 87990
25-4011-Q	Frag. blue glaze ushebti.	From sunken bin no. 9	
25-5076B-I	Foot of blue glaze ushebti.	= 4020A & B/B557 From wind blown sand above staircase	
26-A3-C	Blue glaze ushebti (?).	From high in debris above B houses near house A3.	
26-B44A-B	Frag. of blue glaze ushebti.	Very low in room	
27-C51G-A	Frag. of blue glaze ushebti. M. 0.04 high	Quite high in filling. This house belongs to Reis Ibrahim Abdel Kerim. The top part of it was uncovered 1925-26 and was numbered 227.	
28-160*-F	Ushebti, headless and footless, light green glaze	Low beneath top layer houses.	
28-BS150-B	Frag. of body of blue glaze ushebti.	(As 5027)	
28-B171*-B	Ushebti frag., blue glaze.		
29-158*-YII	Bottom of blue glaze ushebti.	Recorded 31st. Dec. 1929. Z-FII E. of C121. GII - AIII were found E. of C 122.	
29-CS58-D	Blue glaze ushabti, complete, height m. 0.145	1929. Found 1928-29 A - C entered before.	Kelsey Museum inv. 24263



**TOP ROW:** 2017 CIPEG meeting in Chicago: reception at the Egyptian Consulate.

**SECOND ROW:** (L) 2017 CIPEG meeting in Chicago: excursion to the Milwaukee Public Museum. (C) 2019 CIPEG meeting in Kyoto: Emily Teeter and Krzysztof Grzymiski at the Miho Museum. (Photo courtesy of Caroline Rocheleau.) (R) Gerry Scott, III, Bri Loftis and Emily Teeter at the 2010 ARCE annual meeting. (Photo courtesy of Kathleen Scott.)

**THIRD ROW:** Ossama Abdel Meguid; Emily Teeter; Gabi Pieke; and Tine Bagh at the 2014 CIPEG annual meeting in Copenhagen.

**BOTTOM:** Emily Teeter examines artefacts with Tomoaki Nakano and Regine Schulz at the Kyoto University Museum, 2019. (Photo courtesy of Caroline Rocheleau.)

# TABULA GRATULATORIA

Wesam Mohamed Abdelalim

Susan Allison

Branislav Anđelković

David Anderson

John Baines

Ben van den Bercken

Dag Bergman

Lawrence Berman

Louise Bertini

Andrey Bolshakov

Helmut Brandl

Betsy Bryan

Lisa Çakmak

Eric Cline

Vivian Davies

Rob Demarée

Claire Derricks

Aidan Dodson

Monika Dolinska

Peter Dorman

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Silke Grallert

Christian Greco

Jack Green

Krzysztof Grzymiski

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Kyoko Yamahana

This Festschrift honours Emily Teeter, former curator at the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago. Colleagues and friends have contributed articles on a range of Egyptological and museological topics, including publications of museum objects, archival research into the history of collecting, and reports of educational and outreach projects in museums and on excavations.

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