ORBIS BIBLICUS ET ORIENTALIS

KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS

AMARNA STUDIES

AND OTHER SELECTED PAPERS

ed. by J. Gwyn Griffiths

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Abbreviations

JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)
CR	*Classical Review* (Oxford)
DE	*Discussions in Egyptology* (Oxford)
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I-VI, ed. W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf (Wiesbaden) 1971-1986
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig and Berlin)

Introduction

KATE BOSSE-GRIFFITHS (1910-1998)

Born in Wittenberg (Lutherstadt) in 1910, a daughter of Dr. Paul Bosse, a gynaecologist, Käthe Bosse attended the Melanchthon Gymnasium there and later the Universities of Munich, Bonn, and Berlin, studying Classics, Arabic, and Egyptology. She was awarded a doctorate in Munich under Alexander Scharff in 1935, and her dissertation *(Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der Ägyptischen Spätzeit, von der XXII, bis zur XXX, Dynastie)* was published (Glückstadt, 1936, reprinted 1978), after which she assisted in the Egyptian section of the Berlin State Museums. She was dismissed from this post because of her mother's Jewish origins; later her mother died in the Ravensbrück Concentration Camp.

After leaving Germany she received academic help in the U.K., especially from the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, and this enabled her to work as an assistant in the Department of Egyptology at University College London under Stephen Glanville; here she was mainly concerned with the Petrie Museum. Later she assisted in the Egyptian section of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and was a senior member of Somerville College. It was in Oxford that she met her future husband, J. Gwyn Griffiths, who was then an Advanced Student at The Queen's College, also interested in Classics and Egyptology. They were married in 1939 in the Rhondda Valley in Wales, and in 1946 made their home in Swansea. Here Kate was made Hon. Curator of Archaeology at the City Museum and in 1971 was given a similar post at the University's Wellcome Museum, following the reception of a large collection of Egyptian antiquities from the Wellcome Trustees, an arrangement furthered by Dr. David Dixon. She produced a catalogue of about 3000 of these objects, and retired in 1995. She took great pleasure in Professor Alan Lloyd's successful campaign, with aid from Europe and the National Heritage Lottery Fund, to establish a new building for the Egypt Centre in the College, where the Wellcome Collection is housed and where the upper gallery now bears her name. The new building adjoins on the Taliesin Arts Centre, whose director, Sybil Crouch, has strongly supported the expansive phase. In this whole process, and

particularly in publication plans, Mr. V. Anthony Donohue has made an invaluable contribution.

In Part I of these selected papers the topics are related to the Amarna era, but this term is used in its wider sense, with reference not only to the reign of Amenophis IV / Akhenaten (1364-1347 B.C.), but also to the era of this Pharaoh's predecessors and successors. Thus the reign of Amenophis III is the background of the opening study, which concerns a Memphite stela with figures of high priests of Memphis; parts of this stela, in London and Leiden, are shown to have belonged together. Several of these studies relate, at the same time, to individual objects encountered in museums, and most of them are in the two Swansea museums, the City Museum and the Wellcome Museum. A feature of these studies is the detailed attention paid to the *Kleinkunst* of the Amarna era. Thus the bead-collars with pendant amulets are shown to reveal the popularity of the dancing Bes-deities who protect the lives of women and children. The female Beset is particularly in vogue.

Part II features religious and artistic themes from other eras. Among them figures a papyrus of the Late Period which offers a previously unpublished version of parts of Spell 15 of the Book of the Dead with three hymns to the sun-god. The god Thoth as a moon-deity appears as an Amarna amulet, and a rare little stela in Swansea, probably from Deir el-Medineh, shows him being adored by a young woman. It belongs perhaps to the Twentieth Dynasty, when the influence of Mesopotamia was apparently inducing a phase of intense 'personal religion' in Egypt. (Discussed in 'Baboon and Maid'.) 'Phaedra's Letter' shows how a play by Euripides finds a lively illustration in a mosaic now in the Museum of Ismailia.

Some of the interpretations offered in these studies have been questioned. Many of the articles present the first publication of the objects involved, and the author was not likely to feel that she could offer definitive answers to all the questions raised. Indeed some of the discussions provided are in the nature of 'work in progress'. At the same time wise use was made of views held by experienced scholars such as Cyril Aldred and Eiddon Edwards, whose friendly advice was always respected even if, at times, rejected. In many cases, as with Marianne Eaton-Krauss and Erhart Graefe, the debate on matters of interpretation is conducted with all courtesy on both sides and with explicit references in the text. In some other cases the debt to other scholars is not always indicated. Among these is Harry James, formerly Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum, whose support, interest, and sound advice have been much appreciated. It was he who ceremonially opened the first museum form of the collection in 1976; and on November 30th 1999 he unveiled the memorial plaque to Kate, recording her work as the 'First Honorary Curator of the Wellcome Museum, University of Wales, Swansea, 1971-1995', an inscription given

also in Welsh. In terms of helpful discussion she was indebted to Jaromír Málek and his staff at the Griffith Institute, Oxford; also to Geoffrey Martin and David Dixon; Jac and Rosalind Janssen. At the British Museum W. Vivian Davies and his expert staff (M.L.Bierbrier, Carol A.Andrews, John H. Taylor, Jeffrey Spencer and Stephen Quirke) were always helpful. Her debt to Maarten Raven is explicitly noted in her discussion of Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris figures. Her discovery of the Twenty-First Dynasty coffin in the Royal Albert Museum Exeter led to its transfer to Swansea, albeit without any sense of *pleonexia*. She gave an initial paper on it to the Toronto Congress in 1982; and in her short handbook *Cerddores yn Cwrdd â'i Duwiau: A Musician Meets her Gods* (1984) she included twelve religious scenes in outline drawings by Emyr Davies, partly based on photographs by Roger Davies. The latter serves the Faculty of Arts in its photographic needs and is the main source of the photographs used in this book.

On the funerary iconography of the Twenty-First Dynasty she naturally deployed the researches of Andrzej Niwinski (Warsaw), M. Heerma van Voss (Amsterdam), and Gertie Englund (Uppsala), all of whom were personally most obliging. Nor did she neglect the riches of museums in the U.S.A. and Canada. In Montreal our guides were Albert and June Schachter, who in turn visited the Swansea Museums; in Toronto Donald Redford and Ronald Williams acted thus, as did Winifred Needler in the Royal Ontario Museum. In the U.S.A. Christine Lilyquist and Edna Russmann were especially helpful; also Edward Brovarski and Bernard Bothmer with their supporting staff. Bernard Bothmer belonged to a group of scholars who befriended both Kate and myself in a special sense; the others being Jean Leclant, László Kákosy, Matthew Heerma van Voss, Albert and June Schachter, and the Brunners of Tübingen (Hellmut and Emma). Of these, the Schachters, the Brunners, Kákosy, and Bothmer paid appreciative visits to the two Swansea museums; so did Dieter Mueller during his period at the University of Lethbridge, Canada (not long before his tragically early death in 1977). Mueller published an erudite record of three items: 'Three mummy labels in the Swansea Wellcome Collection' (*JEA* 59 (1973), 175-8); Emma Brunner-Traut also published one prehistoric item in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 27 (1975), 41-55 ('Drei altägyptische Totenboote und vorgeschichtliche Bestattungsgefässe'); cf. my own study of hitherto unpublished material relating to the theme of judgement in *JEA* 68 (1982), 228-52 ('Eight Funerary Paintings with Judgement Scenes in the Swansea Wellcome Museum').

The earliest of Kate's published articles (in *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 131-5) concerns material which she studied in the Ermitage, St. Petersburg, and in a recent letter to me (31.7.98) Professor O.D.Berlev recalls the lively interest evoked there by this study; he also recalls her contribution to the

Orientalists' Congress in Moscow in 1960, when she displayed the objects in the Swansea Museum assigned by Harold Jones to KV 55; one of the objects, a cowrie-shell, elicited a valued comment from Mme. P.Posener-Kriéger. Kate was assisted during her 1936 visit to the U.S.S.R. by Nicholas von Mossolow, a fellow-student at Munich, from whom she acquired a knowledge of Russian and also aid with photography.

Kate's work in the Egyptian section of the Ashmolean Museum naturally enabled her to profit from the high standards of colleagues who were then active there. Her friend Dr. Elise J.Baumgartel was obviously a kindred soul. Battiscombe Gunn, who held the chair of Egyptology, although more concerned with my own work, was invariably supportive. Our marriage in 1939 coincided with the outbreak of the Second World War and coming to Wales meant that Kate began to lead, intellectually, a double life. Her Egyptology now served my continuing needs; but her leading role in the Cadwgan Circle at our home in the Rhondda Valley at the foot of Mount Cadwgan, where my father was a Baptist pastor, demanded her immersion in a new language – Welsh, the most vibrant of the six Celtic languages today. In fact she relished the challenge and was soon writing short stories in the language, as well as discussions of current affairs mainly concerned with pacifism, nationalism, and feminism. These writings are included in the appended Bibliography. It was our arrival in Swansea in 1946 that renewed Kate's activity in museum work, when she was appointed Hon. Curator of Archaeology at the Swansea Museum. Here the collection of objects included a rich prehistoric section together with a number of Roman, Ancient Egyptian and mediaeval items; among the Egyptian items are objects presented by Baron F.W.Grenfell and Harold Jones. A booklet by the Curator, *Twenty Thousand Years of Local History* (1967), provides a popular survey with due emphasis on the Paviland finds (although the 'Red Lady' is still in Oxford, and Egypt is omitted since it does not belong to local history).

The advent of part of the Wellcome Collection to the University in 1971 marked a much expanded Egyptological role, but a providential preparation occurred in 1965-66. We had both visited Egypt and studied there before this, but a rare opportunity presented itself in 1965 when I was invited to spend an academic year at the University of Cairo as Guest Professor in Egyptology and Classics. By now our two sons were both over twenty, so that their mother was free to accompany me. We lived in a flat about ten minutes walk from the Cairo Museum and we received lavish help from Professor Abd el-Mohsen Bakir (Egyptology) and Professor M.M. Salamouni (Classics). At that time Dr. Fayza Haikal, known to us from her Oxford days, was beginning her career as a Lecturer in Egyptology; later she held a Chair at the American University in Cairo, and she is now President

of the International Association of Egyptologists. My wife and I were not slow to arrange out time-tables in a way that would enable us to visit many sites in Egypt, and first on our list were the sites where excavations were currently proceeding. With kind permissions we covered the majority of these. We spent weeks in the Theban area with the active help of Dr. Jürgen Settgast in Deutsches Haus and of Dr. Charles Nims in Chicago House; Amarna was of course a particular attraction, and we did not neglect the great temples of Dendara, Edfu, and Kom Ombo. Further south our visits to Aswân, Abu Simbel, Qasr Ibrîm, and Gebel Adda were perforce more fleeting. In most cases we were renewing the acquaintance of previous visits. A new and special experience was the journey to the Sinai peninsula, including the Monastery and Library of Saint Catherine. But several Delta sites were new to us, and we ventured as far West as Mersa Matruh. We were very keen to visit the Siwa Oasis, but failed to arrange this difficult journey.

It was indeed an *annus mirabilis* for us. Had we stayed the whole time in Cairo and Alexandria, there was enough there to engage our attention. On the personal level alone there was an embarrassment of riches, especially in the many European and American institutes, which house several of the world's best Egyptologists; and Egypt itself could now boast of impressive scholars in this field. Kate was keen to profit from such contacts. With Prof. Bakir she pursued her Amarna studies by compiling a comprehensive survey of relevant material in the Cairo Museum. She was keen also on extending her linguistic resources. Having studied Classical Arabic at an earlier stage, she now tackled modern Literary Arabic and faithfully attended, as far as time allowed, a weekly class held at the Cairo Goethe Institute. She often praised the teacher and insisted on taking his terminal examination, achieving a 76 percentage mark. I was shamed by all this. Admittedly I was not usually free to attend the classes, but was content to put up with my pigeon colloquial Arabic.

A lecture given by Kate (2.3.66) at the Dutch Embassy in Cairo was entitled 'Magic and Realism in Egyptian Art', with illustrations borrowed from the University's Archaeological Section. I have been unable to trace the script. Two years later (1968) Thames and Hudson published her translation of a work by Eberhard Otto which the new publishers entitled *Egyptian Art: the Cults of Osiris and Amon*, with a slight change. This was written after our return from Egypt. In the following years she was able to accompany me to All Souls College, Oxford, where I was a Visiting Fellow in 1976-77, the College having kindly arranged a flat for us in its Iffley premises at Beechwood House. Mr. Peter Fraser was my sponsor and his influence is apparent in the recently published result *(Triads and Trinity*, Cardiff, 1996); my wife was especially interested in the feminine role

sometimes displayed in early forms of the Trinity. We spent the summer semester of 1977 at the University of Tübingen with Professors Hellmut and Emma Brunner and other members of their very fine Egyptological Institute. They had been busy assembling their own collection which has since been given a detailed description in their collaborative volumes *Die altägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen* (2 Vols, Mainz, 1981).

In 1985 Kate and I accepted an invitation from Ruth Hanner of Honolulu and from Barry Fell's Epigraphic Society in San Diego to examine the petroglyphs in the Hawaiian Islands, and in particular Ruth Hanner's theory that Egyptian influence was discernible in several areas. See her article 'Egyptian Influence in Hawaiian Petroglyphs', Epigraphic Society Occasional Publications 2 (1975), n.37. Kate and I spent a week in San Diego and then a month on the Hawaiian Islands. Kate's approach was zealous and intrepid although the task was difficult albeit fascinating. Our conclusions were less than decisive. There is some textual evidence for Egyptian contacts with the Indo-Pacific area in the Ptolemaic period and similarities in iconography do emerge. See Kate's remarks in the Welsh journal *Barn* (June 1985) and more fully in *Creigiau Hawaii* (in the press); also my discussion in *DE* 37 (1997), 8-9, with a suggestion that the door should be kept open.

In a tribute to Kate's qualities Professor Alan B.Lloyd speaks of 'her unique blend of enthusiasm, energy, vivacity, expertise, and an invincible capacity to ignore or circumvent any obstacle intractable to alternative methodologies' (*JEA* 84 (1998), 193). V.A. Donohue says that she 'combined a vigorous intellect, and strength of character, with considerable personal charm, quick humour – and an irrepressible vitality' (*The Guardian* 6.5.1998). That she brought a 'European perspective' to the discussions of the Cadwgan Circle is noted by Meic Stephens (*The Independent* 9.4.1998) and is evident in the thematic range of her Welsh titles. Two facets of her guiding motivation may be added here. She accepted the strong polymathic urge which the Cadwgan Circle flaunted. All cultures must be embraced; none is unworthy of attention. An impossible ideal, of course, but implying also a rejection of all imperialism, whether political or cultural. She was doubtless influenced too by the concept of *humanitas* so ably conveyed by Dr. Kaulbach, her Greek tutor at the Melanchthon School in Wittenberg. In tune with this was her deeply held pacifism. Its sources included Lao Tse, Jesus of Nazareth, Tolstoi, Gandhi, Martin Niemöller, and Ernst Toller; and in Wales Gwynfor Evans and Pennar Davies (with Rosemarie his German wife). When war produces genocidal terrors, as it did then, the challenge to a pacifist faith is severe. Revenge and revulsion come so easily. Kate was absolutely free of this error. Her own persecution, and especially her mother's fate in Ravensbrück, did not evoke a frenzy of

retaliation. Post-war governments in Germany were ready to pay substantial sums of compensation, but Kate was firm in her resolve not to make any application. Similarly, with her father's will: she inherited from this a large share of his beautiful clinic in Wittenberg, but she insisted on handing it over, fully and freely, to the Catholic *Caritas* order, which still maintains the clinic.

Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis is an impressively comprehensive series, and I thank the Editor, Professor Othmar Keel, for his warm acceptance of this material; also his Co-Editor, Dr. Christoph Uehlinger for his instructions on technical matters of production. All the articles had to be re-set, and thanks are due to Gaynor Miles, of the Department of Welsh at the University of Wales, Swansea, for dealing with this under the guidance of my son, Heini, who lectures in the same Department and that of Extra-mural Studies. One article is in German and this was re-set by Heini himself, who is fluent in the language; he also supervised the production of the volume and was aided by his brother Robat.

In many instances a good deal of time has elapsed since the papers were first published. They were often the earliest publication of the objects involved, but later discussions have frequently appeared. An updating was clearly needed, and the Editors agreed with the method proposed. Rather than interfere with the original studies, a series of Addenda has been provided, with full references to later discussions, including those where differing views have been presented. In this process I have received much help from others; three scholars have shown exceptional kindness: Dr. C. Nicholas Reeves, Professor M. Heerma van Voss, and V.Anthony Donohue. They are cited, along with many others, in relevant parts of the text. Mr. Donohue is editing, for the Egypt Centre, two other related volumes. Photographic demands have continued to be met by Roger Davies, who has readily produced, in some cases, the required new photographs. I am indebted to others in Swansea. Carolyn Graves-Brown, the present Curator, has co-operated wholeheartedly and efficiently in every way. Thanks are similarly due to Dr. David Gill, her predecessor, and to Sybil Crouch, whose organising ability has been crucial in the development of the Centre.

Permission to reproduce material culled from varied sources is willingly noted. The Egypt Exploration Society conveyed its sanction through Dr. Patricia Spencer. This covers, of course, the many extracts from *JEA,* and also the free use made of the fundamental researches by Barry J. Kemp and Geoffrey T. Martin which the society has published. The editorial sanction of *ZÄS* comes from the kind support of Professor Elke Blumenthal; that of *Discussions in Egyptology* from Dr. Alessandra Nibbi; that of the International Association of Egyptologists from its officers, mainly under the presidency of Dr. Jaromír Málek. Editors gratefully acknowledged include

Robin Reeves (*New Welsh Review*) and the varying editors of *The Classical Review*. Extracts from Festschriften used involve thanks to the following Editors: M. Görg (H. Brunner, 1983); F. Junge (W. Westendorf, 1984); and Ulrich Luft (L. Kákosy, 1992).

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J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Part I, 1

THE MEMPHITE STELA OF MERPTA§ AND PTA§MOSE

(*JEA* 41 (1955), 56-63, with 2 Pls. and 1 Fig.)

Rudolf Anthes, in an article which he wrote in 1936,[1] deals with a number of monuments of high officials of the Eighteenth Dynasty, all of whom bear the name of Pta¤mose. Among those monuments a stela in Leyden[2] is of special archaeological interest because three of the five persons represented on it wear a peculiar costume which is generally attributed to the High-priest of Memphis.[3] About this stela Anthes says: 'Die Pfosten der Nische enthalten beide eine ¤*tp-dj-nsw*-Formel, deren Abschluss mit den Nennungen des Namens jetzt fehlt.'

In 1938, while working in the Egyptian Collection of University College, London, I came across the lower half of a stela of two high dignitaries of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merpta¤ and the High-priest of Memphis Pta¤mose. Consulting Porter and Moss,[4] I found that in the Egyptian Collection of the Rijksmuseum in Leyden there is the upper half of a stela with the names of the same dignitaries.[5] This is the stela mentioned by Anthes. A comparison of these two pieces made it evident that both belong to the same stela,[6] and I was able to examine the Leyden portion in August 1939.

The material of the stela is limestone (pl. 1). The measurements of the part in Leyden are: width at top 95 cm, height 83 cm, the measurements of

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[1] *ZÄS* 72,60 ff., *Die hohen Beamten namens Ptahmose in der 18. Dynastie*.

[2] Anthes, op.cit., n. 4*a* and n. 5*b*. Abb. I on p.65.

[3] Anthes, op.cit. 66; 'die Kinderlocke, den eigentümlichen Halsschmuck, das Pantherfell und das Perlengehänge. Das macht, soviel wir wissen, das Amtskleid des Hohenpriesters von Memphis aus.'

[4] Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, 191.

[5] *Beschr. Leiden*, VI, pl.15, n. 27, p. 8.

[6] I wish to thank Professor S.R.K. Glanville for the permission to publish the lower portion of the stela here for the first time and Dr. W.D. van Wijngarden for the permission to republish the upper portion and also for giving me the measurements of the broken edge of the stela. I am indebted to Prof. Giacomo Caputo, superintendent of the Egyptian Museum, Florence, for his permission to publish the funerary stela Florence n. 2565 and the squatting statue Florence n. 1790. The Firme Alinari, Florence, gave permission to reproduce their photographs of these two monuments: Alinari n. 43837 and Alinari n. 31114.
The portion in London has no registration number. For literature concerning the portion in Leyden see Porter and Moss, loc. cit.; *Beschr. Leiden*, loc. cit.

Pl. 1 The Memphite Stela of Merpta¤ and Pta¤mose

Pl. 2 (A) Statue at Florence of Pta¤mose, High Priest of Pta¤

(B) Stela of Pta¤mose and his father D¤utmose

the broken edge are: width 81 cm, thickness 17 cm. The measurements of the part in London are: width 80.3 cm, height 55 cm, thickness of the broken edge 9cm. The difference of the thickness is due to the fact that the back of the part in London has apparently been cut off, perhaps in order to facilitate its removal to Europe.

The stela is complete except for a narrow strip of about 12 cm in the middle, probably destroyed when the stela was deliberately broken. The lower half was broken into two pieces which have now been joined together. A hole has been pierced through the right ledge of the frame. Fortunately the fracture and the hole have done little damage to the text. Otherwise the scenes and inscriptions are well preserved. Nothing definite is known of the provenance, but internal evidence makes it likely that the stela came out of a tomb in Memphis. The part in Leyden belonged to the Collection J. d'Anastasy. In reply to a question concerning the part in London Professor Petrie wrote that he did not remember its provenance.

The stela is of the rectangular type with raised frame and a cavetto cornice. Ledges with inscriptions surround the text and reliefs on three sides. There is also a line of inscription over the cavetto cornice. Within the frame the stela is divided into three parts: the upper part in the form of a naos containing five human figures sculptured almost in the round; the middle part representing two offering scenes in sunk relief, the upper half of which is destroyed; the bottom part with a prayer for the Prophet, the Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merpta¤.

Inscriptions

The inscriptions may be translated as follows:

I. On the ledge over the cavetto cornice:

Recitation: O all ye overseers, scribes, w'b-priests or lector-priests who shall pass by this tomb, may the primeval god who came into being at the First Occasion favour you, may you hand down your offices to your children after a long old age, provided that you say: An offering which the king gives, a thousand of all beautiful and pure things for the ka *of the Prophet and Chief Steward, Merpta¤, justified.*

II. On the upper ledge of the frame:

Left half, upper line:

The count and governor, the eyes of the King of Upper Egypt, the ears of the King of Lower Egypt, the Prophet and Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merpta¤, justified.

Left half, lower line:

The count and governor, beloved Sole Companion, confidant of the Good God, the Prophet and Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merpta¤, justified.

Right half, upper line:

The count and governor, the beloved Father of the god who is over the secrets of the Great Seat, Sem-*priest, Chief of the Master-craftsmen, Pta¤mose, justified.*

Right half, lower line:

The count and governor, one great in his office and important in the palace, Sem-*priest, Chief of the Master-craftsmen, Pta¤mose, justified*.

III. Left ledge of the frame:

An offering which the king gives (to) Pta¤, Sokar, and Osiris, lord of Rostaw, that they may give invocation offerings of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster jars, clothing, incense and ointment, wine and water (?) for [the ka *of the] beloved of the Good God, the Prophet and Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merpta¤, justified*.

Over a kneeling figure:

The servant (sḏm š?)[1] *Pta¤nen.*

IV. Right ledge of the frame:

An offering which the king gives (to) *Anubis who is in his shroud, lord of the sacred land. May he grant to go in and out in Rostaw and to smell the breath of myrrh and incense …… of Ra‘. For the* ka *of the* Sem-*priest, Chief of the Master-craftsmen, Pta¤mose, justified.*

Over a kneeling figure:

[*The servant*] *Pta¤nen.*

V. On the figures in the naos, from left to right:

1. *His mother, lady of the house, Tawy, justified, possessor of honour.*
2. *Son of the Overseer of the City and Vizier Ḏ¤utmose, the Prophet and Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merpta¤, justified.*
3. *Son of the Overseer of the City and Vizier Ḏ¤utmose, the* Sem-*priest, Chief of the Master-craftsmen, Pta¤mose, justified*.
4. *All that comes forth from upon the offering table of Onnophris for the* ka *of the Vizier Ḏ¤utmose, justified*.
5. *Chief of the Master-craftsmen, Pta¤mose, son of the Prophet Menkheper*.[2]

VI. Prayer on the lower part of the stela:

An offering which the king gives to these gods who are in the netherworld in the following of Onnophris, that they may grant to be a spirit, to be strong and endure for the hereafter, (2) *the good name being justified; the taking of incense for the mummy in the Sacred Land, the excellent region of sunlight and shadow; such is the provision for* (3) *one like me. May you be a protection for the sarcophagus (and) keep secure this*

[1] The reading *sḏm š* is uncertain.

[2] For the reading of this name see Anthes, op.cit.62.

coffin for eternity, your arms protecting him who is in it. (4) *May I follow my Lord among his attendants, joining (him) as one of them. May they raise me up among* (5) *his great ones while my heart remains in its place. May I receive sustenance consisting of bread, beer and water of the great one who came forth.* (6) *in Abydos. May I ascend into the* Neshemet-*bark without my being repelled at the hour of the* Wag-*festival. May my heart be put into the house* (?) (7) *of my Lord Onnophris in possession of the offerings*[1] *of food and provisions which are left over by his* ka.[2] *For the* ka *of the Prophet and Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merpta¤, justified, possessor of honour.*

Notes

I. **The owner**. Anthes's question about the missing name (or rather names) at the end of the ledges of the frame can now be safely answered as follows: 'The Chief Steward of the Mansion of Amenophis III, Merpta¤', and `the High-priest of Memphis, Pta¤mose.' There remains, however, the question about the main owner of the stela. The figures in the naos represent the two brothers Merpta¤ and Pta¤mose together with their parents and a 'High-priest of Memphis' Pta¤mose, son of Menkheper. The name of Merpta¤ appears:

1. On the uppermost ledge with the invocation of the passers-by.
2 and 3. At the left hand side of the two parallel ledges above the figures in the naos.
4. At the end of the main prayer under the offering scene.
5. It may be assumed that it appeared also above the sitting figure looking towards the left in the offering scene.
6. At the end of the left vertical ledge of the frame.
7. On the figure in the naos.

The name of Pta¤mose, son of D¤utmose appears:

1 and 2. On the right hand side of the two parallel ledges above the naos.
3. On the figure in the naos.
4. At the end of the right vertical ledge of the frame.
5. It may be assumed that it also appeared above the sitting figure looking towards the right in the offering scene.

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[1]  instead of

[2] Written 

As the name of Merpta¤ appears on the two most important places, in the invocation and in the main prayer, it can be safely stated that Merpta¤ is the main owner of the stela.

II. **The date.** Anthes has dealt with this question quite convincingly.[1] Following his conclusion I take the date of our stela to be that of his n.4 and n.5 (Pta¤mose, son of D¤utmose and Pta¤mose, son of Menkheper), that is, the reign of Amenophis III.

III.**Gods.** The gods mentioned in this stela have all some kind of relation to Memphis, apart, perhaps, from Onnophris, as Merpta¤ desires to have part of Onnophris's offerings in Abydos.

Pɜwty ¥pr sp tpy, 'the primeval god who came into being at the First Occasion', is here presumably another name for Pta¤. Pta¤ is considered as primordial creator-god already in the 'Denkmal memphitischer Theologie' or 'Shabaka text'. There it is said about Pta¤ that he 'is called "He who created the All and brought forth the gods"'. Then, 'He is indeed Tatenen who created the gods and from whom all things have come forth'.[2]

Pta¤, Sokar, and Osiris were identified with one another and named as one person at least as early as the Middle Kingdom, especially on sepulchral stelae from Abydos.[3] There are, however, some stelae from Abydos where the three gods are mentioned together but in such a way that it is clear that several gods are referred to, as on the sepulchral stela Cairo 20742.3 Sandman-Holmberg states about these cases: 'Owing to the lack of material it cannot be stated whether these conditions at Abydos were paralleled elsewhere.' In our stela we find exactly such a case at Memphis and our text on the left ledge of the frame must therefore be translated: 'An offering which the king gives to Pta¤, Sokar, and Osiris, Lord of Rostaw, that they may give . . .'

IV. Although this stela is the only one known where three figures wear the peculiar costume of the *wr ¥rp ¤mwt*, the high-priest of Memphis, there is a certain precedent in the Twelfth Dynasty in the group of the Sem-priest, the High-priest of Memphis *Nebpu*.[4] Here the figures of father and son are standing side by side in a naos, identically dressed. They both wear the peculiar jackal-collar, shoulder band, and an elaborate bead-pendant hanging from the belt. But they possess only a smooth wig that leaves their ears free. From the Nineteenth Dynasty we know a group of a high-priest of Memphis and a vizier. It is the sitting group of the High-priest of Memphis P¤emnute and of the Vizier §ori.[5] The high-priest wears the jackal-collar, leopard-skin,

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[1] Anthes, op. cit. 61 and 68.
[2] Quoted from Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Pta¤* (Lund, 1946), 21.
[3] Sandman-Holmberg, op.cit. 138.
[4] Louvre A 47; Boreux, *Cat.*(1932) I,52; *Encycl.Photogr. de l'Art,* Tome I,43.
[5] Louvre A 72; Boreux, op.cit. 55 and pl. 4.

belt with bead-pendant, and a wig with side-lock. The vizier, too, is dressed very much like the Vizier D¤utmose on the Leyden stela, as he wears the long, tight skirt which is held up by a narrow tape round his neck, a costume which is peculiar to viziers.

V. There exist several other representations of the two persons named Pta¤mose in the Leyden stela.

A. Pta¤mose son of D¤utmose occurs together with his father on a stela in the form of a false door with cavetto cornice (pl. 7, top).[1] The Vizier D¤utmose is shown sitting in front of an offering table; facing him, stands the High-priest of Memphis Pta¤mose stretching his right hand out while he is dedicating the offering. The vizier wears the same long skirt as on the Leyden stela but no wig. Pta¤mose, too, wears the same costume as on the Leyden stela but no jackal-collar.

B. A squatting statue of Pta¤mose, son of Menkheper (p. 7, bottom).[2] As on the Leyden stela Pta¤mose wears the wig with side-lock, jackal-collar (although only the head and hands of the jackal and a small part of the frame are visible), and bead-pendant. According to Schiaparelli's description he is wearing also the leopard-skin on his shoulders and in his right hand the emblem of *m3't*, but these are not visible in our reproduction.

C. Pyramidion in Berlin with the kneeling figure of the High Priest of Memphis Pta¤mose adoring the sun.[3] The name of the father is not given; but his titles prove that he is Pta¤mose, son of D¤utmose. Here Pta¤mose is wearing only a smooth kilt and the side-lock.

D. There exists also a pyramidion in Florence[4] (fig.I) which shows the sitting figure of either Pta¤mose A or Pta¤mose B in front of an offering table while the choirmaster of Pta¤, Pta¤'ankh, is bringing him an offering of incense and water. Here the insignia of Pta¤mose are the wig with side-lock, the *w3s*-sceptre and the *s¥m*-sceptre. As on the Leyden stela he is wearing two golden torques round his neck.

E. A statuette of a miller may also have represented one of our two Pta¤moses.[5] Here the High-priest of Memphis, while grinding corn, is wearing the wig with side-lock and the leopard-skin.

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[1] Florence 2565; *Cat. Schiaparelli*, 1570; Phot. Alinari 43837. Anthes, op.cit., n. 4*b*, p.61.

[2] Florence 1790; *Cat.Schiaparelli*, 1505; Phot. Alinari 31114. Anthes, op.cit., n. 5*a*, p.62.

[3] Berlin 2276; *Äg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, 230 F; Anthes, loc. cit., n. 4*d*, p.61 and pl.3.

[4] Florence 2537; *Cat. Schiaparelli*, 1571; Anthes, op.cit., n. 9*f*, p.64, here falsely called `Stele': also *ZÄS* 72, pl.6,3.

[5] Gardiner, *ZÄS* 43, 55 ff.; Anthes, op.cit., n. 9*b*; present location unknown; it once belonged to the private collection of Cardinal Lambruschini.

Fig. 1

There is similar statuette in Louvre[1] of a man dressed in a wig with side-lock and panther-skin, grinding corn. His name and titles are 'Prince and *Sem*-priest D¤utmose. Gardiner says about him that he 'was thus probably the predecessor of Pta¤mose as the High-priest of Memphis.' But unless we take for granted that the office of the *sem*-priest was always connected with the office of the high-priest of Memphis (*wr ¥rp ¤mwt*) this statement is questionable. On the other hand, this statuette makes it more likely that the two persons called Pta¤mose on the Leyden stela are wearing leopard-skin and wig with side-lock as insignia of their dignity as *sem*-priest and not as *wr ¥rp ¤mwt*. The leopard-skin is usually worn by one of the priests who are taking part in the so-called 'Opening of the Mouth',[2] the side-lock occasionally.[3] From the Middle Kingdom onwards it was thought

[1] Louvre Inv. 792; *Cat. De la Salle Historique* (1882), II, n. 10.
[2] See British Museum, *The Book of the Dead*, 11: The Ceremony of `Opening of the Mouth' being performed on the mummy of the royal scribe Hunefer.
[3] Budge, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, 11 (1909),150.

that Pta¤ took part in the Opening of the Mouth, while in the Pyramid texts it was mainly Horus,[1] It is therefore possible that in the cases when the *sem*-priest is wearing the side-lock he is wearing it in the same way as Horus when opening the mouth of his father was entitled to the lock of youth, and also as a priest of Pta¤ who takes the place of Horus. The monuments A-D give almost contemporary representations of high officials with the title *sm wr ¥rp ¤mwt*. Of these all five wear the wig with side-lock, three wear the leopard-skin, but only one wears the jackal-collar.

VI. **The costume of the five figures of the Leyden stela**. The mother Tawy wears the simple narrow dress which Egyptian women usually wear until the Eighteenth Dynasty, together with a broad bead necklace and the heavy wig of the New Kingdom, also some armlets and hair-decoration. The vizier D¤utmose wears a long skirt tied under the shoulder and held up by a tape round his neck, a dress which is usually worn by viziers;[2] also a small wig, bead-collar, and sandals. The three other men wear identical costumes; a wig with side-lock, leopard-skin, a plaited scarf from shoulder to belt, a belt with a broad bead-pendant, two gold torques, sandals, and the jackal-collar. Of these the wig with side-lock and the leopard-skin can be attributed to the *sem*-priest,[3] and the shoulder scarf is the distinguishing garment of the *¤ry-¤bt* priest. The greatest problem is raised by the jackal-collar, which is generally considered to be the distinguishing ornament of the high-priest of Memphis, the *wr ¥rp ¤mwt.*

VII. The most recent treatment of the occurrence and meaning of the jackal-collar is by G.A.Wainwright. He gives a list of ten known wearers of it.[4] To these I can add four, the three wearers of the Leyden stela and the upper half of a statue in Cairo.[5] The jackal-collar is first known with Khabawseker of the Third Dynasty.[6] It remained essentially the same through more than a thousand years. It consists of a jackal-shaped elongated figure with two hand-shaped front legs which are raised in adoration and three pairs of legs. The jackal-head lies on the one (usually the right) shoulder of the wearer; the thin strip-like body reaches over the breast while the hind legs lie on the other shoulder. This figure is connected with a narrow ring round the neck of the wearer by means of three zigzag strips. Over or under this collar lie about

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[1] Sandman-Holmberg, op.cit. 94-95.
[2] See Borchardt, *CCG* 11, 427, Middle Kingdom; and Cat. *Boreux* (1932), 55 and pl. 4, Louvre A 72, Dyn. XIX.
[3] See above under note V.
[4] *JEA* 26, 38, n. 3; see also 36.
[5] Borchardt, *CCG* III, 870, from the Saqqara Serapeum, N.K., with jackal-collar, side-lock, leopard-skin, and shoulder scarf.
[6] M.A.Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pl.I.

twelve strings, each of them supporting one amulet. In the case of Khabawseker there are six *'ankh* amulets and six of circular shape.

The problem is, how did the high-priests of Pta¤ come to make this collar their prerogative?

As the animal represented is a jackal, one would be inclined to connect this collar with the service of Anubis. As a matter of fact Khabawseker was connected with two priesthoods of Anubis although his 'great name' was formed with the name of Sokar, and it must be remembered that Sokar later on became intimately connected and almost identified with Pta¤.

The jackal-collar, as far as I know, is only once mentioned in Egyptian texts. On a relief of the Nineteenth Dynasty, a man wearing the wig with side-lock and the jackal-collar is shown,[1] while the words written beside him are: '[*Receive*] *me on the Island of Truth, the Sacred Land. I am coming in peace while I am wearing the s'¤-collar*.' The determinative of *s'¤* is here the jackal-collar. In this case, apparently, the jackal-collar gave some kind of protection in the life after death.

There is only one example of a wearer of this collar which is known not to have come from Memphis.[2] It is in a representation of priests in a festival procession following the divine barks. One bark is accompanied by a number of priests with shaven heads wearing the leopard-skin, but only one of these wears the jackal-collar. Of twelve known bearers of the jackal-collar since the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, seven are known to have been *wr ¥rp ¤mwt*.[3] With three it is very probable that they were *wr ¥rp ¤mwt*; although the inscriptions on their monuments are not complete there are strong indications that the owners were connected with gods of Memphis.[4] The representative of the jackal-collar in the reliefs of the temple of Ramesses III is less certainly an *wr ¥rp ¤mwt*; but even he has an exceptional position. The only real exception to the rule is the chief steward Merpta¤ on the Leyden stela. One must either accept the explanation that

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[1] Berlin 12410, part of a tomb wall; Erman, *ZÄS* 33, 22-23. A recent reproduction of the head of this man in Rudolf Anthes, *Meisterwerke Ägyptischer Plastik* (1947), pl.36, makes it quite clear that the other end of this collar was not a falcon-head, as Erman presumed, but a short tail.

[2] *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* (Chicago), I, *Ramses III's Temple*, I, pl.21*a*, lower register.

[3] They are: Middle Kingdom, S¤etepibra'ankhnedjem and his son Nebpu, Louvre A 47, *Cat. Boreux* (1932), I,52; *Encycl. Photogr.de l'Art*, I, 43. New Kingdom, the two Pta¤moses on the Leyden stela; Pta¤mose, son of Menkheper, Florence 1790, *Cat. Schiaparelli*, 1505; P¤emnute, Louvre A 72; *Cat. Boreux* (1932), 55, pl.4; Kha'emwese, Louvre, *Cat. Boreux*, 481, Erman, *ZÄS* 33, 23, fig. *f*.

[4] They are: on a wall relief, Berlin 12410; Erman, *ZÄS* 33, 23, fig. *d*; fragment from Saqqara, Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pl. 36, 3; fragment from Saqqara, Borchardt, *CCG* III, 870.

Merpta¤ had once been an *wr ¥rp ¤mwt* and had kept the costume but not the title, or one has to admit that it was possible for people other than the *wr ¥rp ¤mwt* to wear the jackal-collar. On the other hand, the bearers of this title were in no way obliged to wear the jackal-collar in all their portraits.

VII. The two praying servant-priests with shaven heads and short kilts (or rather one man twice figured) at the bottom end of the two vertical ledges have a parallel in the servant-priest on the pyramidion in Florence,[1] the choirmaster of Pta¤, who with shaven head and in short kilt brings an offering of incense and water in front of Pta¤mose.

VIII. The monkeys which accompany the two Pta¤moses and Merpta¤ are of a kind which were used as pets in the New Kingdom and have no religious significance.

IX. If the upper part of the middle relief had been preserved we would probably know who was the real dedicator of the stela. It is worth noticing that the standing figures in front of the offering tables are wearing the leopard-skin in the same way as Pta¤mose on the stela in Florence[2] in front of his father D¤utmose. But on the Leyden stela the persons who receive the offerings also wear the leopard-skin, as is indicated by the tail-ends that hang in front of the chairs.

[1] Cf. above D.
[2] Cf. above A.

Part I, 2

BEAD COLLARS WITH AMARNA AMULETS IN THE WELLCOME COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SWANSEA

From Actes du XXIXe Congrès International des Orientalistes
Section organisée par Georges POSENER
Egyptologie, Vol. I Paris, 1975, pp.20-24

In 1971, part of the Wellcome Collection of Egyptian Antiquities was assigned to the University College, Swansea. The first box to be unpacked contained a certain amount of beads and four bead collars[1], each of them sewn on to a piece of cardboard and folded over in the middle. There was no indication concerning their provenance, but some tiny labels with numbers suggested that they had been sold at least once in an auction.[2]

MATERIAL: The beads are strung on linen thread, as has been proved in a test at the Forensic Science Laboratory, Cardiff; and it seems that they have kept their original order of threading. They are made of faience (glass-paste), glass and some semi-precious stones. Their main forms are tiny disc-beads, twin-beads, tubular and spheric beads, drop beads and amulets. There are no terminals.

CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS: The distinctive features of the collars are bead bands of disc-beads and twin-beads as well as a careful choice and arrangement of amulets. On three of the collars, amulets are suspended from the lower edge in such a way that one big blue amulet takes the central place while smaller amulets are paired off to the right and left of it. The fourth collar has no amulets proper, but strings of tiny beads are suspended from the lower edge and thirty pairs (plus one) of light and dark rosettes are sewn on to the outermost band of beads. With reference to their central amulets, I have named the collars respectively: the 'Heart Collar' (W10), the 'Bes Collar' (W9), the 'Fan Collar' (W11); the fourth collar may go under the name of the 'Floral Collar' (W8).

BEAD COLLARS: Original broad collars have been preserved from the time of the Old Kingdom onwards. Representative examples may be mentioned: to the Sixth Dynasty belongs the collar of Impy, found intact at

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[1] The new registration numbers are W8 – W11; W8 (Floral Collar); W9 (Bes Collar); W10 (Heart Collar); W11 (Fan Collar). The former number of the Wellcome Museum was 24 683/4 and on W8 also Egy/COS(tume) 2391.

[2] The auction labels were 67/1, 68/1, 69 on a small white disc.

Giza and now at the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston.[1] From the Twelfth Dynasty we have the collar of Senebtisi, found at Lisht on the mummy, between layers of linen wrapping. It is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.[2] To the Eighteenth Dynasty belong a floral collar of polychrome faience[3] and a broad collar of a Queen of Tuthmosis III[4] with beads in the shape of hieroglyphic symbols. Both are in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

All these collars are composed of elongated beads which may be barrel-shaped, tubular, leaf-shaped or hieroglyphic. They have drop beads suspended from the lower edge. No actual broad collars have been found from the Twenty-third to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

BEAD BANDS: The 'Heart Collar' has two bead bands of disc-beads arranged in geometrical patterns. The 'Bes Collar' has two bands composed of twin-beads with rosettes sewn on to them. The 'Fan Collar' has three bead bands, two composed of twin-beads and one of disc-beads and one of mixed disc-beads and twin-beads. The bands are connected with each other by tubular beads arranged in a net-like fashion.

The threading of disc-beads in geometrical patterns (giving the impression of warp and weft) was known since the Old Kingdom. An example from the Sixth Dynasty is the belt of Prince Pta¤-shepses, found in Giza and now in the Cairo Museum.[5] The Twelfth Dynasty is represented by a bead apron, with the name of Senebtisi, which was discovered at Lisht.[6] The waistband is composed of forty rows of disc-beads and forms a pattern of zigzag lines and diamonds. During the Eighteenth Dynasty was made the splendid ceremonial dress of Tut'ankhamœn.[7] Here the upper and lower edges are formed by broad bands of beads arranged in geometrical patterns and connected with each other by bead-netting. Bead strings with pendants were suspended at equal intervals from the lower edge. 'Falcon collars', entirely shaped like beadbands in zigzag pattern, were found in Meir as an integral part of bead-shrouds which may belong to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[8] They have falcon head terminals made of beads.

AMULETS: For the actual dating of the Wellcome collars we have to rely on evidence offered by the amulets. In a summary way one can differentiate between forms derived from *flowers* (rosettes, cornflowers,

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[1] Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, London 1971, pl.19 and p.183. Reg. No 13, 3086.
[2] *Ibid*., pl.8 and p.17. Reg. n. 08,200.31.
[3] *Ibid.,* pl.125 and p.23. Reg. n. 40.2.5.
[4] *Ibid.,* pl. 66 and p.206. Reg. n. 26.8.135,70 et al.
[5] Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, London 1971, fig.31 and p.45.
[6] Aldred, *Jewels*, pl.9 and p.128.
[7] Murray-Nuttall, *A Handlist of Howard Carter's Catalogue*, Oxford 1963, No 21d.
[8] Carol Mysliwiec, *ZÄS* 98, (1972), fig. 17 and 18 with p.97.

lotus-seed vessels, nasturtium seeds); from the *animal world* (fish, baboon, heart, eye); *human* with papyrus sceptre, Bes, Thoëris, Thoth in the form of a baboon wearing moon crescent and disc); *inanimate objects* (feather fan, drop beads, bulla-vessel). The 'Heart Collar' may serve as an example for the arrangement of the amulets. The centre is taken by a blue heart amulet of traditional form in bright blue colour; right and left of it are two child-like crouching blue figures with kilt reaching to the ankles. Then follow right and left a red drop bead, a blue goddess with papyrus sceptre, left a purple blue fish and right a light green bulla and a purple blue fish; and again right and left pairs of yellow and brown blossoms. Both ends are formed by two-coloured corn-flowers. Although the heart amulet is common, human figures are extremely rare as amulets. This special kind of squatting King (?) seems related to the squatting boy-king of the ointment-box of Tut'ankhamœn in the form of a double cartouche,[1] who wears a similar kilt and also to the crouching figures with one hand lifted to the mouth which were found at Amarna.[2] The figures may possibly represent the King as the child of the Aten or even as the young sun himself. The other 'human' amulet is the tiny figure of a naked striding child with spidery legs. It appears in the 'Bes Collar' and the 'Fan Collar'. Similar amulets are only known in the Amarna period.[3] To the same period in particular belong the three-coloured eye-beads on the 'Fan Collar' (there are twenty of them) and the corn-flower. The Bes-figure is a favourite of the Amarna period, while the blue fan-amulet seems to be unique.

A word must be said about the great number of paired light and dark rosettes. They correspond to the pairs of dark and light rosettes on the edge of the 'Ecclesiastical Throne' of Tut'ankhamœn.[4] The purple fish amulets may have connection with the sun-cult. The careful selection of amulets (goddess with papyrus sceptre, Bes, Thoëris) suggests strongly that the collars were destined for the burial of a girl, possibly a princess. To judge from their shape, they lie best in a half circle, as if to be laid on top of the breast of a mummy. It is at least feasible that the collars were found during an unofficial excavation preceding the official excavations at Amarna which began in 1891.

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[1] *Handlist*, n.240 bis.
[2] Julia Samson, *Amarna*, London 1972, fig. 47(1); U.C. 1239 and 1240, p.81-2.
[3] *Ibid*., fig.49, p.94-5: U.C. 2005 and 2004.
[4] Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, Penguin Books 1965, colour plate IV.

ADDENDA

Part I, 1

In a letter (9.4.1956) J.H.C. Kern, of Leyden, compares the Pta¤mose named on a statue in E. Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Antichità Egizie* (Rome, 1887), 206, Nr. 1506, with the cartouche of Amenophis III. But this Pta¤mose does not bear the title of *Chief of the Master Craftsmen* (*wr ¥rp ¤mwt*), used of the High Priest of Memphis. Mr. Kern, accordingly, rightly refrains from claiming any identity.

Part I, 2. 'Bead Collars . . .'

The subdivisions of this study have a programmatic character and they are treated with more detail in the following sections, albeit with some differing definitions, as in the recognition of Beset in Part I,3.

Part I, 3

THE USE OF DISC-BEADS IN EGYPTIAN BEAD-COMPOSITIONS

JEA 61 (1975), 114-124. With 5 Plates

Disc-beads were occasionally employed in Egypt in a peculiar cloth-like bead-composition which was used for a variety of purposes. Although I had taken note previously, in the Cairo Museum, of the elaborate and sophisticated bead work on a hassock from the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn[1], my active interest was drawn to this particular technique of beadwork when I was obliged to handle, examine, and evaluate a number of bead-objects from the part of the Wellcome Collection which had come to University College, Swansea, in 1971. These objects include bead-collars with bead-bands[2] as well as bead-faces[3] and bead-figures.[4]

By trying to imitate the bead-threading technique of these objects with modern beads, I soon recognized that in spite of their elaborate appearance, the basic skill is a comparatively simple adding and matting technique which ensures that each bead is passed twice by a thread, so that it is possible to compose a bead-band with one single thread. From a number of dated examples of such beadwork, it appears that this technique was used already in the Old Kingdom; it was employed for more elaborate objects during the Middle Kingdom; and it experienced a sudden explosive development during the Amarna Period. In the Late Period, beadwork of this kind was apparently mainly used for funerary equipment.

The general purpose of this study is to draw attention to a field of original Egyptian craftsmanship which has been unduly neglected and deserves a thorough survey of the extant material. The special stimulus for

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[1] *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut'ankhamœn's Tomb*, compiled by Helen Murray and Mary Nuttall (Oxford, 1968), 354. I am most grateful to Miss Helen Murray and the Griffith Institute for permission to show this photograph of the hassock which was taken during the excavation, as well as the photographs of other bead-objects from the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn.

[2] The new registration numbers of the bead-collars are W8-W11. The former numbers of the Wellcome Museum were 24 685/4 and on W8 also EGY/Cos(tume) 259.

[3] Thirteen bead-faces from the Rustafjaell Collection. Auction Catalogue of Sotheby (Dec.19, 1906), no. 341, pl. 19, 52. The new registration numbers are W773-W785.

[4] Three boards with beadwork figures. The new registration numbers are W927-W929.

Pl. 1. Hassock from the tomb of Tut‘ankhamœn (*Handlist*, 354)
Courtesy of Griffith Institute, Oxford

Pl. 2. Hassock from the tomb of Tut‘ankhamœn (*Handlist*, 34)
Courtesy of Griffith Institute, Oxford

Pl. 3. Rosette Collar from the Wellcome Collection at Swansea
Photograph Roger Davies

Pl. 4. 1. Ceremonial Robe of Tut‘ankhamœn (*Handlist, 21d)*

2. Bead-bands from the Ceremonial Robe (*Handlist, 21d*)

Courtesy of Griffith Institute, Oxford

Pl. 5. Bead-collar of Tut‘ankhamœn (*Handlist, 256ttt*)
Courtesy of Griffith Institute, Oxford

writing was the necessity to find facts relevant to the examination and dating of one of the Wellcome collars,[1] which contains three differing bead-bands made of disc-beads. Among the aims are an outline of the development of bead-compositions and an enumeration of objects produced, as well as some techniques and materials employed. Finally an attempt is made to apply the outcome of the inquiry to the evaluation of the 'Wellcome Collar' (pl. 3).

Definition

Although the 'disc-bead' is a regular bead of relatively simple geometric shape, its classification is by no means beyond dispute. I accept here the definition given by Horace C. Beck in a paper 'written in the hope that it may assist in getting more uniformity in the description of beads'.[2] According to him disc-beads are beads 'in which the length is less than one third of the diameter'. In his plates 2 and 3 which show possible variations of disc-beads, he includes even square beads among them. But the disc-bead used in bead-compositions corresponds to his category *IA2b*; this is a circular cylindrical bead with flat ends. It is only on account of their flatness that a composition of disc-beads can achieve a textile-like appearance. An additional feature is that these special disc-beads have a type VII[3] perforation – that is, a tubular perforation found in some cylindrical beads, in which the perforation is 'so large, that the beads become a tube'.

Historical Outline

Disc-beads of stone and shell were made already during the Predynastic Period,[4] but as they were arranged in simple strings, they do not concern us here. The oldest recorded and dated bead-composition belongs to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, and comes from the burial of Prince Ptahshepses near the Valley Temple of Wenis at Saqqâra.[5] The belt is composed of 'small disc-beads threaded to resemble a piece of cloth' which was fixed over a thin band of gold and connected to a gold buckle with

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[1] Registration number W8 (see note 2 above), the only collar without amuletic pendants. The three other collars (W9-W11) have been treated in a paper read in Paris during the XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists (1973), under the title 'Bead Collars with Amarna Amulets'. A summary of this address appears in the *Acta* of the Congress. See Part I, 2 above.

[2] Horace C.Beck, 'Classification and Nomination of Beads and Pendants' in *Archaeologia* 77 (1929), 1-76.

[3] Ibid.51.

[4] Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), 11.

[5] Ibid. 46 and fig. 31.

inscription. The bead-band was 90 cm long and 4.9 cm wide, consisting of 'carnelian and gold beads threaded on gold wires in a geometrical pattern'.[1]

The Twelfth Dynasty is well represented by the bead-apron of Senebtisi from Lisht, 'the first apron and tail to be identified in excavation'.[2] It was found outside the mummy wrapping and consists of three separate parts,[3] 'a narrow band of closely worked beads around the waist', a series of pendant strings hanging to the knees, and a tail. The waistband consisted of 40 rows of small faience beads. The top and bottom row were of black beads strung horizontally while the inner rows were all strung vertically. In the centre was 'a series of diamonds of dark green outlined with black and on either side zigzag bands of light green, dark green, and black'. But for the cheaper material, the belt is obviously closely related to the belt of Ptahshepses. There is, however, one innovation: apart from the two-dimensional stretch of bead-composition, an attempt is made to use it also three-dimensionally over the core of wood which forms the tail 'with small faience beads strung horizontally over the shaft and tip . . . and vertically over the tuft in zigzag pattern'. A colour photograph of the bead-apron is also shown in Aldred's *Jewels of the Pharaohs*.[4] An almost identical apron (but without the tail) is depicted on the anthropoid wooden coffin of the military leader Sepi from El-Bersha, which proves at least its ceremonial (and religious) importance.[5] Wilkinson summarizes a number of similar girdles and bead-aprons (or the remains or them) found at Dahshûr, El-Bersha (bead-work tail and belt of green disc-beads on which is a pattern of green and brown diamond shapes), Hawara (girdle of small glazed composition disc-beads coloured brown and white and arranged in zigzag pattern, belonging to princess Neferu-Pta¤), and Nubia.[6] There must be some connection between this tradition and the fact that a sheet-gold belt with zigzag and diamond pattern was found on the mummy of Tut'ankhamœn.[7] Holes were pierced through the lower edge of this belt, apparently for bead-strings, although no corresponding bead-strings were

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[1] It is not quite clear why the colours given in the description do not correspond with the colours specified in a list on the line drawing, which are: gold, silver, red, blue or black(?), black or blue (?).

[2] Ibid.78.

[3] A.C.Mace and H.E.Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York, 1916), 19;70;pl.27.

[4] (London, 1971), pl.9.

[5] Pierre Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1904 and 1906), *CCG* n. 28084 and pl. 20.

[6] A.Wilkinson, op.cit., 79.

[7] Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen* (London, 1923-33),II, pl.34; A.Wilkinson, op.cit., pl. 48B and p.135; *Handlist*, 256ee.

found in the coffin, and no covering of bead-composition for the belt. However, a ceremonial robe was found in the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn which possesses as many as three bands of disc-bead composition,[1] (pl.4, 1 and 4, 2), of which one band (band A) with strings attached to it, was at the bottom of the robe, while another (band B) with green beads attached, was probably at the top of the robe. Between those two bands stretched a netting of blue and green beads with gold sequins in between, as can still be seen on the photograph which was taken when the famous case with miniature hunting and fighting scenes (Handlist 21) was first opened (pl.4, 1). One can see there part of a band (band C) with a more intricate pattern lying at the edge of the case, furthest away from the sandals; and near it is a fragment of band B. Carter suggests that it was looking 'as though band B ran at right angles to C and A'. All the bands were threaded vertically.

Carter calls it 'Ceremonial robe' (on card 11 of *Handlist*, 21), 'elaborately decorated with beadwork and gold sequins' and mentions 'Border band of tiny glass disc beads of white, green, yellow, red and blue, arranged in patterns and threaded criss-cross'. 'This pattern garment', he says (on card 12 of *Handlist*, 21) 'should belong to a woman. It may, like others in the box, have been a child's garment.' And indeed, the bead-dress seems to have much in common with the bead-dresses worn by some of the goddesses on the pectorals of Tut'ankhamœn.[2] This ceremonial dress, although it may be meant for a woman, is still not far remote from the Old-Kingdom belt of Ptahshepses and the Middle-Kingdom bead-apron of Senebtisi. But there are other objects in the treasure of Tut'ankhamœn which show a far more explorative attitude to disc-bead composition, possibly encouraged by the mass production of the glass factories at Amarna. For now glass beads of shining colours were available to replace the expensive disc-beads of gold and carnelian and the cheap disc-beads of glazed composition. The most astonishing objects, perhaps, are two hassocks with decoration in disc-bead composition (Pls.1 and 2).[3] The better preserved of the two (*Handlist,* 354) shows not only geometric patterns but also complete human figures composed of beadwork, probably the first example of this kind known from Egypt. According to the index-card, it was found in the south-east corner of the chamber, below the left-hand door-jamb of the doorway where it had been thrown. Its maximum diameter is 29 cm, its height 6.5 cm.

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[1] *Handlist*, 21d.

[2] See Aldred, op.cit., pls. 94, 95 and 98 (Isis and Nephthys); pl. 99 (Sakhmet); pl. 109 (Ma'at).

[3] *Handlist*, 34 and 354.

> A circular shaped hassock the basic frame-work of which is made of rush-work, papyrus-pith, and was covered with linen, upon which finely threaded mat bead-work has been worked. The bead-work upon the top and bottom of this hassock is worked into the following device: a large rosette in the centre, around which are the alien foes of Egypt bound with lotus and papyrus, with marginal borders of garland pattern. The sides of this hassock have an ornamental net-work of beads. The colours of the beads employed are: white, light and dark yellow, light and dark blue, red, and black. (From Carter's index card to *Handlist*, 354.)

Looking at the figures in their curved prostration, one is astonished to find that the bearded Asian foe with his dress wound in spirals around his body is an almost exact replica of the curved figure on Tut'ankhamœn's ceremonial stick.[1] It is a striking example of the extraordinary skill of the Ancient Egyptians in the task of reproducing one and the same theme in different media. The large sixteen-leaved rosette in the middle is a new *tour de force* in disc-bead composition. The photograph of the other less well-preserved hassock (*Handlist*, 34) shows how disc-beads of two different sizes could be used to form a netting (pl. II). This hassock was discovered resting against the framework of the lion couch in the Antechamber. Carter's card states significantly that 'in the centre of all sat a bronze nail 1.1 (cm) in diam.' One may therefore assume a similar centre for the other hassock.

The central rosette was apparently not repeated after the Amarna Period; but the bead-figures formed a starting-point for an art which blossomed in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties. Other examples of bead-figures in Tut'ankhamœn's tomb are the uraei on the King's skull-cap.[2] These are described by Carter as follows:

> This temple-band held in place a skull-cap of fine Cambric-like linen, worked upon which was an elaborate Uraei device in minute blue and red glass and gold beads . . . In the centre of each Uraeus (4 in number) are cartouches of thin gold of Aten . . . (From Carter's index card to *Handlist*, 256 4T.)

This then gives an absolute date for the new method of using disc-beads for figure-making and proves that it was practised already during the reign of Akhenaten.

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[1] Carter op.cit., I, pls. 69 and 70: 'a ceremonial walking stick with two foes symbolizing the southern and northern enemies of Egypt. Asiatic of ivory, African of ebony. They are unique in Egyptian art.'

[2] *Handlist*, 256, 4T; Carter, op.cit., II, pl.32.

A new device, too, is the 'bead-picture' on a sandal of Tut'ankhamœn[1] which is decorated with lotus flowers. Carter's card describes it in detail, giving many relevant facts:

> Sandal of coloured beadwork. L. foot . . . Base of leather, Beads threaded & then sewn to leather. *Toe-thong*. . . A circular thong of leather(?) covered with beads in spiral pattern. Ends at top in a flat papyrus . . . overlying ends of side thongs. *Side-thongs* . . . at 4 (cm) up they flare into bands . . . with papyrus designs. Elaborate patterns in coloured faience disc-beads. Colours – blue, yellow, green, red & white.

This is a good example of the extent to which disc-bead composition could be used for profane purposes, and how adaptable it was. Leaving aside a number of less well preserved and defined articles of disc-bead composition in the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn, we must mention two bead-collars. They were found in their original position on the mummy itself and they are the earliest extant examples of a Broad Collar and a Falcon Collar, which – but for the pendants and the terminals – are completely made out of disc-beads. One of them[2] was lying 'on the abdomen left of umbilicus reaching down to lower part of pelvis'.

> Collar of minute violet faience beads, woven or threaded after the fashion of mat work and having semicircular shoulder pieces and pendant border.

Carter also states that 'this collar has not yet been restrung'. But his diagram is sufficient to show the traditional arrangement of the minute disc-beads.

The other collar[3] was 'suspended from the neck, covering shoulders and chest as far down as the lower edge of the *mamma*'. Unfortunately the task of removing it proved so difficult that most of it was left on the mummy. However, Carter's notes together with a black-and-white photograph (pl.5) keep a sufficient record of it, even if the impression must remain incomplete without the colours, which were mainly turquoise blue and gold. According to the diagram there were at least four gold-bead chevrons on turquoise-blue background. The containing band, also turquoise blue, is set off by a slight touch of haematite red and yellow, and gold sequins are sewn on to it while traditional gold pendant drops are suspended from its lower edge. To the side edges of the bead-composition 'gold hawk-headed flexible clasps' are fastened.

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[1] *Handlist*, 85a.
[2] *Handlist*, 2560.
[3] *Handlist*, 256tt; A.Wilkinson, op.cit.112.

The next dated examples of disc-bead composition come from the Late Period. Few of them have been properly recorded. But there must be a good number of examples extant in various museums. It is instructive to read early reports of how pieces of this kind were obtained. For instance, Petrie[1] writes thus on his excavations in Illahûn:

> The next period of importance at Illahûn is from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dynasties. The hills near the pyramid (were) re-used during the Late Bubastic and Ethiopian dynasties. Those internments are generally rude, the coffins seldom having any intelligible inscriptions. Many of the mummies have bead networks and patterns upon them with figures of winged scarabaei, the four genii, the ba bird, and other emblems, all executed in coloured beads.

As I have stated already, there are bead-figures of this kind in the Wellcome Collection in University College, Swansea. Some of them are composed with great skill out of strong beads whose colour has not faded.

Petrie also describes his method of preserving such finds:

> … as the threading is completely rotted, the beads all fall apart with the slightest shake and such work is therefore not preserved when excavations are left to the native overseer . . .
>
> When we entered a tomb I opened the coffins in the gentlest way drawing or cutting out the pegs which fastened them; and then a glance inside showed if any beadwork existed. If there were bead-patterns the next step was to fetch a petroleum stove down into the chamber, melt a batch of beeswax and then, when it was on the point of chilling, ladle it out and dash it over the beadwork. If the wax is too hot, it sinks in and soaks all the mummy wrappings into a solid mass. . . If poured on, it runs off the body in a narrow stream. When all the beads were covered and the wax set, I then lifted up the sheet of wax with the beadwork sticking to it, flattened it out on a board and it was ready for fixing it to a tray permanently with the lower side turned outward.

Budge reports on similar beadwork of the Late Period found at Akhmîm, while describing burials of the Twenty-first to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties:[2]

> . . . the mummies inside them have gilded masks and are usually covered with a network of glazed faience bugle beads upon which are laid figures of Nut and the four children of Horus in smaller beadwork.

This is the period when bead-faces, too, appear in connection with bead-nettings. K.Mysliwiec published four such bead-faces. These were

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[1] *Ten Years Digging in Egypt* (London, 1892), 124.
[2] E.A.Wallis Budge, *The Mummy* (repr. New York, 1971), 309.

originally joined to the netting together with collars with falcon-head terminals, also made of disc-beads. Two of them are known to have come from Meir. Mysliwiec maintains that these bead-faces take the form of the hieroglyph ¤*r*, and that this stands for Horus the son of Osiris, and could possibly be a symbol of rebirth.[1]

> La signification religieuse justifierait la présence du signe ¤*r* comme motif principal dans le décor attaché aux momies, dont quelques exemples non publiés, se trouvent au Musée Egyptien au Caire . . . Ce viage y est accompagné par d'autres symboles religieux de caractère funéraire.

Concerning the bead-faces in the shape of the ¤*r* face on the bead-netting of the mummies from Meir, Mysliwiec comments:

> Le motif principal est toujours la face prenant la forme du signe ¤*r* aux couleurs suivantes: la face jaune avec les yeux bleus aux pupilles noires, le nez et les lévres rouges, le milieu de la bouche bleu . . . est bordée de quatre raies noire, bleue, rouge et jaune.

The main pattern of the collars accompanying the bead-faces in Cairo consists of a number of zigzag lines. Mr. Cyril Aldred[2] kindly sent me the photograph of a similar bead-face in Edinburgh which is still fixed in a netting of tubular beads. Also fixed in the netting and directly under the beard of the face is a semi-circular bead-collar of disc-beads with a pattern of lotus flowers. The terminals of the collar are falcon-heads composed of beads. Under the collar and also fixed in the netting are the bead-figures of a winged scarab and the four sons of Horus.

The bead-faces from the Wellcome Collection in Swansea seem to follow a different tradition concerning the hope of rebirth. They, too, were apparently once part of a bead-shroud, and they, too, are composed of disc-beads; but in their case the faces are essentially green and their expression varies from one face to another, as if the intention had been to create portraits. As Rustafjaell was inclined to buy up whole collections, it is not unlikely that they all came from the same burial place.

Disc-bead Composition

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[1] K. Mysliwiec, 'A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques ¤*r et tp*', *ZÄS* 98 (1972), 96-7 and figs. 17 and 18.

[2] In his letter of Jan. 23, 1974.

As a guide to the present state of our knowledge of ancient Egyptian jewellery, the recent books of Cyril Aldred and Alix Wilkinson[1] are invaluable. But they touch only very lightly on the subject of disc-bead composition. Aldred remarks (op.cit.115) that 'no other nation of antiquity produced such an enormous wealth of beads in so many different shapes and substances, and used them not only in single and multiple strings but threaded in warps and wefts to form patterned textiles and sewed them on linen or papyrus backing to make such articles of dress as belts, aprons and sandals'. This could possibly give the impression that the Ancient Egyptians used bead-looms. But in the course of a stimulating correspondence concerning the 'Wellcome collars' in Swansea, Mr. Aldred corrected this statement, saying in his letter of 8 February 1974:

> I was wrong to imply that the Egyptians used a bead-loom and I withdraw my remarks about warps and wefts. A matting technique was generally used or the looped-thread system as on your sample. I was trying to describe an effect rather than defining a technique.

Wilkinson enlarges on several bead-objects using disc-bead composition including the belt of Ptahshepses (see above p.28) which is composed of 'small disc-beads to resemble a piece of cloth'; he mentions the bib-like collar on the mummy of Tut'ankhamœn (see above, p.28) 'composed of small disc-beads so closely strung together that they resemble a cloth of beads',[2] adding that 'the main design was a chevron pattern with a border of drop-pendants.' But he mentions neither its exceptional colour-scheme of turquoise blue and gold nor the fact that another collar on the mummy, one of the two described as 'purple with semicircular terminals', was also made of disc-beads. Nor did he apparently notice that similar bead-cloth collars were contained in bead-shrouds of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, as he expressly notes[3] concerning the Late Period (Twenty-third and Twenty-sixth Dynasties), that 'no actual collars have been found dating from this period in Egypt'. There arises, of course, the problem whether articles of dress made with the same technique as bead-collars should be included in books on jewellery.

In his card-index on the finds from Tut'ankhamœn's tomb, Carter recorded many important and valuable details relating to the patterns and position of objects of disc-bead composition. But as far as the technique of uniting the beads is concerned, he expresses himself rather ambiguously; for

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[1] See above, note 1, p.28, and note 5, p.28.
[2] Op.cit.112.
[3] Op.cit.194.

example, concerning the collar in *Handlist*, 2560, which was found on the King's body, he writes:

> Collar of minute violet faience beads *woven or threaded* after the fashion of mat work and having semicircular pieces and pendant border.

Concerning one hassock (*Handlist*, 34):

> . . . on the cloth elaborate pattern of beadwork in blue, green, red, yellow, and white disc beads . . . *all strung overlapping*.

And concerning the ceremonial robe *Handlist*, 21d):

> . . . Ceremonial robe . . . border band of tiny glass disc beads of white, green, yellow, red, blue *arranged in patterns and threaded criss-cross*

(The italics in the last three quotations are mine.)

Restorers of beadwork of this kind must be well acquainted with the technique of disc-bead composition. But I was not able to learn from books that the essence of Egyptian disc-bead composition is the fact that – as they are threaded 'criss-cross' – the tension on the beads comes diagonally from two directions; in consequence stress from the horizontal and vertical directions cannot easily tear the bead-composition into pieces (although that could happen through age or dampness). Also, the beads, are, indeed, arranged 'overlapping, giving the impression of warp and weft'. But each bead has to be added one at a time, which allows complete freedom of movement with regard to direction and colouring, as is exemplified by the bead-figures of bound prisoners on one of the hassocks (*Handlist*, 354). Furthermore, there exists technically no restriction of size, however big or small the object is to be. It was possible also to use this technique in composing bead-pictures, like the lotus and papyrus plants on a sandal of Tut'ankhamœn (*Handlist*, 85a) or the lying jackals on a bead-shroud of the Late Period in the Louvre (Salle 244, *sine numero*).

Many variations can be found in the actual compositions and they are worth observing, as they could sometimes help to reconstruct an object. Without attempting to be exhaustive, I shall note just a few of them:

(a) Parts of the bead-composition can be put at right angles to each other, as can be observed, e.g., on one of the hassocks (*Handlist*, 34) where a border band is set at right angles to wider inner bands.

(b) The round pieces of this hassock are connected by a netting of small beads.

(c) Block patterns in a straight line can be formed by threading four beads at a time instead of one, as happens in the ceremonial robe (*Handlist*, 21d).

(d) The edge of a piece of bead-composition is occasionally formed by a straight string of coloured beads put at right angles (hassock, *Handlist*, 354, under the prisoners).

(e) There was a special technique of broadening a piece of bead-composition, particularly employed in figure composition, by using two beads occasionally instead of one and afterwards each of the beads separately (a technique common in modern crochet-working, by the way).

All these techniques were fully known in the Amarna Period. Unfortunately the whole charm of these bead-compositions cannot be appreciated without colour-reproduction, and that may be the reason why disc-bead compositions have not received their due appreciation as *objets d'art*.

Material Employed

There remain some problems concerning the material used in disc-bead compositions. During the Old Kingdom, it seems, gold and carnelian were used together in the belt of Ptahshepses (see above), and gold wire served for the threading. But as soon as the term 'faience' is used, there arises uncertainty as to the real nature of the material. In the publication of the tomb of Senebtisi (see note 3, p.38) it is stated on p.70 that 'the waistband consisted of 40 rows of small faience beads', while on pl.28 in the same book the same object is described as 'girdle of glazed pottery beads'. This mistake could have been made when somebody tried to specify the term 'faience' and found in a dictionary that it is a 'kind of glazed earthenware', and then translated 'earthenware' with 'pottery'.

H.C.Beck[1] remarks concerning the term 'faience' that it is 'often used to describe Egyptian beads. It would be more correct to speak of "glazed composition"'. And so we find the same girdle of Senebtisi described by A.Wilkinson[2] as follows: 'The waistband consisted of 40 rows of glazed composition beads.' Lucas[3] gave a more scientific definition of Egyptian faience, stating that it 'consists of a highly siliceous body coated with glaze, that is to say it is a glazed frit', and adding that 'it is generally coloured, often being blue or green, though it may be of any colour'. The term 'frit' is explained by Beck (op.cit. 54) thus:

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[1] Op. cit. 35.

[2] Op.cit. 78.

[3] A.Lucas, *Antiques* (London, 1932), 61; cf. J.R.Harris in *The Legacy of Egypt* 2 (Oxford, 1971), 95f. and Lucas-Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials* 4, 156.

> Frit is a partially mixed material, consisting of unmelted substances held together by a cement. It may consist of materials which would make a glass but have been only partly melted.

The term ‘glass’ is also defined by him:

> Glass is a vitreous compound that has a conchoidal fracture. It is a combination of silica with lime or lead and an alkali such as soda or potash.

In the New Kingdom an added difficulty arises when one has to differentiate between glass and Egyptian faience; however, the production of glass on a large scale must have helped also to increase the number of objects made of disc-beads, as Aldred[1] states:

> The introduction of glass on an ambitious scale as an intentionally made material occurs only in the New Kingdom . . . Its main quality, when it is found in a good state of preservation, is the brilliance and intensity of its colours, yellow, white, black, red, green, dark blue, light blue and greenish blue.

Even so, it is not always easy to differentiate between the two materials, faience and glass, by sight; and it could happen even to Carter, that while describing two bead-objects found in the same box in the tomb of Tut‘ankhamœn, he called the material of one object glass and that of the other faience:

> Handlist, 21d: Ceremonial robe, border band of tiny glass disc-beads of white, green, yellow, red and blue arranged in pattern.

And

> Handlist, 21s: cap or bag of beadwork . . . The beads were all small discs of faience, red, yellow, white, blue and green.

Nevertheless the description could be correct. The ‘bib-like collar’ (Handlist, 256tt) was still using gold disc-beads, but in connection with turquoise glass beads.

[1] Aldred, op.cit. 36.

The 'Rosette Collar' of the Wellcome Collection

During our correspondence about the `Wellcome Collars' Mr. Aldred remarked (letter of 6 September 1973) that 'much work has been done on beads, but almost nothing on necklaces and collars made of beads'. As an epilogue I shall here try to apply the facts which have emerged from the investigation into disc-bead composition to one of the bead-collars from the Wellcome Collection (pl.3). This collar has no accredited pedigree and must therefore be judged on its own merits. The prejudice, naturally, is against it, as I have been assured from more than one side that any strung beadwork which is taken to a museum's curator is automatically under the strong suspicion of being 'dealers' confection'.

The collar consists of three bands of disc-bead composition which are connected by peculiarly arranged tubular beads. Its fringe is formed by some half-netting which ends in bead-strings with a round red bead at each end. The only 'amuletic' decoration is a row of alternating dark and light rosettes which are fastened on the outer band. This collar, as I have mentioned before, is one of four which are strung in similar style, but for the fact that Amarna amulets are attached to the edges of the three other collars. A piece of thread of one of the collars, which is not quite complete, has been examined in a Forensic Science Laboratory at Cardiff, where it was stated that it is of linen (not of modern cotton). The colours of the beads are blue, red, green, and yellow. Some of the green beads have turned brown, other beads show a separation of siliceous material, which can happen both in faience beads and in glass beads.[1] The radiant blue tubular beads and the smooth red round beads between them are probably of glass.

The neck-band (yellow and mainly faded green) is made of disc-beads in the traditional 'cloth-like' fashion. The pattern consists of twelve yellow and corresponding green triangles with a base of ten beads each, but for two triangles (there is a base of eight beads) suggesting that the bead-band has not been manufactured in a mechanical way. The beads are strung vertically, that is to say, their diameter is turned towards the neck, thus forming a straight edge.

The central bead-band consists of disc twin-beads ('spacer beads') interwoven with a diamond pattern of single yellow disc-beads; its lower edge is a single string of multi-coloured beads. The third band is simply formed of six rows of greenish disc-beads strung 'cloth-like'; they present the background for thirty pairs of yellow and lilac-blue rosettes with a hole in the centre. A translucent glass bead of contrasting colour is fastened over the centre of each bead to keep it in place. Similar 'boss-beads' have been

[1] A.Lucas, *Antiques* (London, 1932), 62 and 69.

found at Gurob[1] and Amarna. I have to thank Dr. P.R.S.Moorey for allowing me to examine the rosettes from an Amarna excavation which are now in the Ashmolean Museum[2] and for providing photographs of these and related Amarna beads and moulds. There may be some significance in the fact that a similar string of light and dark rosettes is pictured on the 'Ecclesiastic seat'[3] (on the curved edge of the seat) of Tut'ankhamœn.

Constructional Ideas

If one compares the 'Rosette-collar' with the falcon-collar (Handlist, 256tt) and the broad-collar (Handlist, 2560) of Tut'ankhamœn, which consist of unbroken 'bead-cloth', the 'Wellcome collar' does not completely correspond. It is significant, however, that the gold sequins on the bead-band which forms the edge of the 'falcon-collar' (pl.5) represent the same idea of ornamentation as is found on our collar. These collars also demonstrate how shoulder-pieces and even flexible gold clasps could be fixed to the edge of the beadwork. A nearer precedent for the constructional idea of the 'Rosette-collar' is evident in the ceremonial robe (Handlist, 21d) where three bands of bead-composition are connected through bead-netting (pl. 4, 1-2) while the edge of the garment is formed by a fringe of bead-strings. The practice of connecting pieces of beadwork through netting consisting of tiny beads is found in two hassocks from the tomb (Handlist, 34 and 354; pls. 1 and 2). There are other features which have accredited precedents: the light-green and blue beads used for the netting of the bead-dress of a servant from the tomb of Meketr^{a}' at Deir el-Ba¤ari, of the Eleventh Dynasty;[4] the blue-red-blue vertical lines between the upper and the central bead-band may have followed the same 'textbook' as the bracelet of Sit-Hathor which was found at Lahûn.[5] Even the 'diamond pattern' formed by the yellow beads on the second bead-band might echo the diamond pattern on the gold-belt of Tut'ankhamœn and the belt of Senebtisi.

Without trying to press the points of the argument too far, it seems surprising that all these genuine parallels should be found in a piece of

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[1] Guy Brunton and Reginald Engelbach, *Gurob* (*ERA* 41, London, 1927), pl.35 and p.14: Tomb 408. The dating given (time of Tuthmosis III) seems to me a little too early.

[2] E.g. TA/289, a dark-blue and a light-blue rosette with twelve leaves, a central hole and flat rear, about one cm in diameter, deriving from the 1928 excavations at Amarna.

[3] *Handlist*, 351; Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen* (Penguin Books, 1965), pl.4.

[4] Boris de Rachewiltz, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1966), pl.48.

[5] Aldred, op. cit., pl. 40.

‘dealers’ confection’. To me, at least, it seems more probable that some genuine collars of the Amarna Period should have survived by chance in their original form.

Part I, 4

A BESET AMULET FROM THE AMARNA PERIOD

JEA 63 (1977) 98-106. With 2 Pls. and 4 Figs.

There are three similar bead-collars with pendant amulets from the Amarna Period in the Wellcome Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at University College, Swansea. In the centre of the lower rim of each collar a big blue amulet is suspended, to either side of which smaller amulets of various shapes and colours are arranged in an almost symmetrical order. On account of their three chief amulets, I have ventured to name them the 'Fan-collar', the 'Heart-collar', and the 'Bes-collar'.[1] The last name proved to be a misnomer as the figure represented by the central amulet is not a common Bes but a much rarer and evasive female of the Bes-family[2] (pl.1).

My thanks are due to Cyril Aldred for first drawing my attention to the exceptional nature of this amulet, in a letter of September 9, 1973. After he had examined a colour slide of the central part of the collar, he wrote that 'the faience pendants do not look like Bes with his tambourine which is almost the only kind found at Amarna'.

At the time I interpreted his words as a vote of no-confidence and almost a proof that the amulet, and with it the whole stringing of the collar, was under suspicion. In a further letter of October 12, 1973, Aldred defined his opinion more closely by saying that 'the dancing Bes [in Swansea] is not exactly like the Amarna amulet in its design and I had difficulty in recognizing it. However, the long tail is clear enough.' Eventually, however, I came across two almost identical amulets as well as a mould for producing such a figure and this proved to me not only the true nature of the Bes-like amulet in Swansea, but also its origin in the Amarna Period.

A photograph of the first amulet is in the Catalogue of the Collection of E. and H. Kopfler-Truinger. Hans Wolfgang Müller[3] described it as 'weiblicher Bes . . . Glied einer Halskette. Amarnazeit. Fayence mit grüner Glasur, H.2,8cm'. Müller, therefore, explains the exceptional nature of the amulet by the fact that it does not represent a male Bes but the female form, Beset, and dates the object, by its style, to the Amarna Period.

His judgement is proved correct by the second amulet, which is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It is exhibited there side by side with a mould of baked red clay, of the Amarna kind, which was meant to turn out

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[1] Kate Bosse-Griffiths, 'Bead Collars with Amarna Amulets' in *Actes du XXIXe Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Paris, 1976), 1,20-4. (=Part I, 2, pp. 27-30).

[2] The accession number of this collar in Swansea is W11.

[3] *Münchner Ägyptologische Studien*, 5 (Berlin, 1964), 93, fig. 132a.

Beset amulets of this sort (pl.1, 2).[1] The Swansea Beset collar will provide additional information concerning the use of such amulets.

A description of the Swansea Beset holds good – with very little variation – for all three amulets: it represents a naked female figure with bent legs and a long lion-tail, shown in profile and looking to the left. Her right hand grasps the root of the tail while her left hand lies under her left breast. The figure stands on a base line and a disc-bead is fastened on top of the head for the sake of suspension as part of a string of beads. This bead is of slightly differing colouring from the figure itself which is of greenish-blue faience. The back is flat, the height is 2.6cm. The moulding is in the 'open-work technique' which is well attested in Amarna,[2] and there are four holes between the arms, the legs, and the tail. The uncommon feature, for a Bes-figure with a lion-tail, is the head, which is that of a girl whose hair is falling loosely over her shoulders (the other two Besets possess tidy long-haired wigs which make them look even more human). This type of a female Bes bears comparison with other Bes-amulets and figures which are known to hail from Amarna. In calling all these dwarf figures with lion-tail by the name of Bes, I am following Hans Bonnet[3] who found himself unable to draw a clear dividing-line between the godlings called 'A¤a (the fighter), §it or §atiti (the dancer), and Bes, and so decided to use the generic name of Bes for the whole family of dwarf gods with apotropaic qualities.

There can be little doubt that in the long and complex typology of the dwarf gods of this kind, which has been studied in great detail by Franz Ballod,[4] the female is the exception rather than the rule. In consequence, the appearance of Beset-amulets in the Amarna Period – noticed by neither Ballod nor Bonnet – deserves special attention.

Bes figures from Amarna

At Amarna, as stated by Aldred, perhaps the most popular Bes-amulet was the one which shows the naked dwarf god, in side view, dancing and beating a circular tambourine. A number of these were found as pendants of

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[1] The photograph of the amulet and the mould is by courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. I am indebted to the Keeper, Mr. R.V.Nicholls and the Curator of the Egyptian Collection, Miss Janine Bourriau, for their kind assistance. Both pieces came to the Museum in 1943 as part of the Gayer Anderson Collection. The inventory number of the mould is EGA 3637-1943.

[2] W.C.Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (New York, 1959), II,290.

[3] *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 102: 'Bei dieser Lage will es mir nach wie vor statthaft und ratsam erscheinen, den Namen Bes als Gattungsbezeichnung über die in Frage kommenden Dämonengruppen zu setzen.'

[4] *Prolegomena zur Geschichte der zwerghaften Götter in Ägypten* (Moscow,1913).

a small necklace which was discovered in the north-western quarter of the City of Akhenaten.[1] Seven others are said to have come from the Royal Tomb at Amarna,[2] and are now in Edinburgh; Petrie[3] also found such dancing and tambourine-playing Bes-figures at Amarna during his excavations. They all have lion-ears, a lion-tail, and a bearded face.

But there were also the more traditional figures of Bes, seen in front view and putting his hands over his knees. He, too, has a lion's ears and tail, and often shows his tongue.[4] Another Bes, standing with outstretched arms, is dressed in a kilt.[5] But of special concern to us is the bearded figure of a naked Bes who holds the top of his tail with his right hand while his left hand is placed on his left breast (pl.1, 3)[6] – in fact the same posture as that of of the Beset figures from Amarna.

Bes in the Royal Palace

One could be inclined to hold the faience factories of Amarna responsible for the creation and the spreading of Bes-amulets, were it not for the fact that faience amulets of the dancing Bes and the frontal-view Bes have been found in the Palace of Amenophis III and Queen Tiye in Western Thebes[7] where they had been worn by inmates of the Palace. There too, were were found moulds for turning out figures of Bes and Thoëris.

The most astonishing assortment of Bes types, however, is found on pieces of furniture which belonged to Queen Tiye or were given to relatives of hers. They were discovered in the tomb of her parents, Yuia and Thuiu.[8] There were no less than three beds and three chairs with figures of representatives of the Bes-family and gods related to them. The best-known piece of furniture is the chair of Sit-Amœn with the insignia of Hathor, the sistrum and *menat*, receiving 'gold from the countries of the south' out of the hands of female attendants. On the arms of the same chair, on the outside

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[1] Pendelbury *et al*., *The City of Akhenaten*, II (London, 1933), 41 and pl.28.7: 29/325, small necklace with Bes pendants, type IV, A 10, found in the north-western quarter of Amarna.

[2] Geoffrey T.Martin, *The Royal Tomb at el-'Amarna*, I (London, 1974), 79-80, pl.50/28, Edinburgh, 1883. 49.16: 'seven blue glazed faience pendants in the form of the god Bes playing a tambourine.' They are only 1.3 cm high.

[3] *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894), pl.17, nos. 286,287,288.

[4] Petrie, op.cit., pl.17,290 and 291.

[5] Ibid., pl.17,285.

[6] This amuletic figure is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, by whose courtesy I was provided with a photograph.

[7] W.C.Hayes, op.cit. II, 252.

[8] Theodore M.Davis, *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou* (London, 1907); J.E.Quibell, *The Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu* (Cairo, 1908), *Cat. Gén*. 51001-51191

panels, are five Bes-figures (also one of Thoëris) shown in a lively dance, raising their feet and beating their tambourines, or waving their knives. Those seen in profile are quite obviously the prototype of the amulets of dancing Bes-figures in Western Thebes and in Amarna, with the one difference that the Bes-figures on the furniture are clad in short kilts. These strange short skirts with tail[1] suggest that the figures should be understood as dancers with masks over their faces who are acting as Bes-gods.

On the back of the second chair (*Cat.Gén* 51112) is a picture of the great royal wife Tiy seated on a throne which stands in a ceremonial papyrus boat while she is waited upon by two of her daughters. Within the frames of the arms of this ceremonial chair are figures of Bes and Thoëris carved in the round. On the rear part of this chair is a panel with yet another uncommon form of appearance of Bes: he is shown with wings spread from under his arms behind the seat, strongly recalling the falcon who spreads his wings behind the seat of Amenophis III on a carnelian bracelet plaque which pictures Amenophis III and Queen Tiye during their first Jubilee.[2] In addition to protecting the Queen, this Bes also holds up with his hands two baskets filled with symbols of life and protection, while knives are fixed to his feet. Strangely enough, he is not meant to be seen, as he is partly hidden by one of the wooden uprights which support the frame of the chair from behind.

A panel at the back of the third chair (*Cat.Gén*. 51111) has a Bes figure in frontal view between two figures of Thoëris. All three of them are standing on *nub*-signs. By the evidence of these three chairs alone one can measure the importance of the Bes-gods in the life of Queen Tiye.

But, not surprisingly, the three beds are equally exuberant in their use of figures from the circle of Bes. The most decorative of them (*Cat.Gén*.51110) contains no fewer than six panels of this kind with gods who are shown wearing circlets with feathers on their heads. The two other beds have figures of Bes and Thoëris (*Cat.Gén*. 51112 and 51109). Altogether one feels the impact of a certain missionary zeal anxious to spread the good news about the Bes-gods who protect the lives of women and children: a missionary zeal which shows itself in full strength in her son Akhenaten. Perhaps the figures on the furniture could serve as pattern book to devotees and followers of the Bes-family.

That Bes had been acceptable at Court is also proved by a relief in the temple of §atshepsut at Deir el-Ba¤ari,[3] the famous picture of the

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[1] See also Pendlebury *et al., The City of Akhenaten*, II, 35 and pl.38, 1-3: 29/283, steatite Bes figure on alabaster stand, 12 cm, found in the northern quarter of Amarna. This Bes figure definitely has a skirt with tail.

[2] W.C.Hayes, op.cit., II,243, fig. 147.

[3] Édouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, II (London, 1894), pl.51.

confinement of Queen ‘A¤mose when giving birth to Queen §atshepsut. The Bes who appears here among other helpers, and in company of Thoëris, is of the traditional form: seen in front view, naked, with bent knees, lion-ears and lion-tail, a long beard, and showing his tongue.

Bes in the Book of the Dead

Another Bes-like figure of the New Kingdom is of a rarer type and could possibly be of help in connection with the Amarna Beset. A copy of the *Book of the Dead* for Neferubenef[1] shows the deceased sitting in front of a monster while holding a figure of his heart in front of his left breast. The monster is a Bes-like being, seen in profile, who grasps the root of his tail with his left hand while his right hand holds up a knife: this, then, is a Bes-like god of a more malignant nature, a nature reserved for the enemies of the Sun-god, as has been recognized by Hartwig Altenmüller.[2] Chapter 28 of the *Book of the Dead* as well as the preceding and following chapters are concerned with not having one’s heart taken away in the Underworld. The vignettes belonging to these chapters show the heart outside the body either in the hand of its owner, or on an offering table, or else in the hand of a god. According to T.G.Allen[3] the papyrus of Neferubenef belongs to the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty and is therefore approximately contemporary with the Amarna Beset.

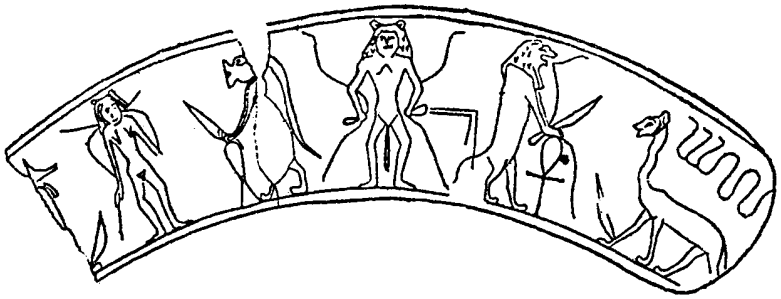

Fig. 1. Magic knife (*apotropaion*) with figures of male and female Bes. From a Twelfth-Dynasty tomb at Thebes (Ramesseum).

The person responsible for the shaping of the Amarna Beset who grasps her tail – be it priest or artist – must surely have been familiar with the aggressive god of Chapter 28 of the *Book of the Dead*. As the Amarna Beset

[1] Louvre III, 93 = Naville, *Totenbuch*, I, spell 28.
[2] *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens* (Hamburg, 1965), 177.
[3] *The Book of the Dead* (Chicago, 1974), 38 n. 65.

gets hold of her tail with her right hand and presses her left hand over her left breast at the same time, she possibly was meant to unite in herself the aggressive nature of the 'Fighting Bes' and human nature in need of protection. Her posture may be a succinct way of suggesting that the amulet protects its wearer against the danger of having his heart taken away.

A female Bes

It is only in the Middle Kingdom that we can find some precedents for the *female* Bes in drawings on 'magic knives' or *apotropaia* as Altenmüller would like to call them. A fine example of this kind was found in the same tomb and in the same chest as the Ramesseum papyri and can therefore be dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty or earlier. We see on this magic knife, among various other daemons, a naked Bes-god with lion-tail, lion-ears, and bent legs who holds a serpent in each hand. A hippopotamus goddess (Thoëris?) stands between him and a *female* goddess with lion-ears and bent legs but without a tail: she also holds serpents in her hands (fig.I).[1] which was also found in the same box as the magic knife (there were actually remains of four *apotropaia*).

It is a wooden figure of a naked woman (fig.2) who has drawn over her head either a complete mask, or at least a partial mask imitating the ears and the hair of a lioness Like the female Bes on the wand, she holds a (bronze) serpent in each hand. Pieces of wood under her feet suggest that she was intended to stand on a plinth. In the introduction to *The Ramesseum Papyri* Gardiner[2] rightly concludes that the contents of the wooden box, found in a Middle-Kingdom tomb under the brick walls of the Ramesseum, are the 'professional outfit of a magician and medical practitioner' and states that in fact 'the subject matter of the papyri confirms this conjecture as they contain both medical and magical treaties'. In one of the spells, for example, we find the following lines:[3]

O thou enemy, dead man or dead woman . . . thou hast caused Apopis to rise up in front of R^{a}' and hast caused him to go up to heaven in place of R^{a}'.

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[1] J.E.Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London, 1898), 11 and pl.3,2. The wooden figure which is 19.8 cm high is now in Manchester Museum (no.1790). A photograph of it appeared in an article by H.R. Hall, 'The Relation of Aegean with Egyptian Art,' in *JEA* 1 (1914), pl.24,2.

[2] *The Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford, 1955), 1.

[3] Ibid., Ram. Papyrus C4, 10-12.

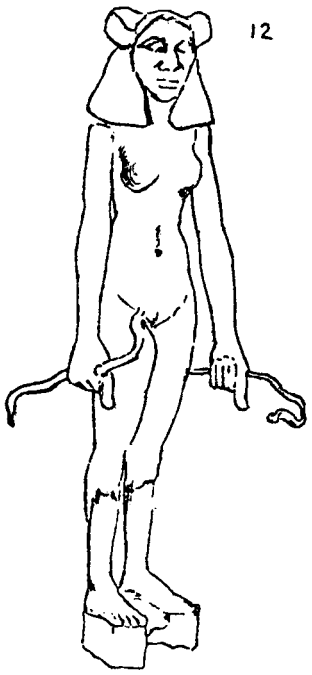

Fig. 2. Wooden female figure wearing a Bes-mask. From a Twelfth-Dynasty tomb at Thebes (Ramesseum).

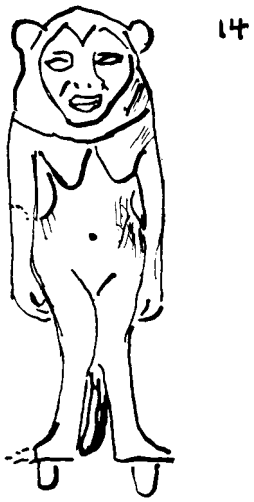

Fig. 3. Wooden female figure wearing a Bes-mask. From a Twelfth-Dynasty house at Kahûn.

Such an enemy must be defeated at all costs – with the collaboration of the gods pictured on the *apotropaion*. One could imagine that the female figure in the disguise of Bes holding serpents in her hands could be placed on the body of a child in order to defeat the enemies of R^{a}‘ who are also the enemies of the child.

From the Middle Kingdom, as well, comes another wooden female figure wearing a Bes-mask (fig. 3) which was found in the living-quarter of a house at Kahûn.[1]

[1] Petrie, *Kahun*, *Gurob and Hawara* (London, 1890), 30 and pl.8,14.

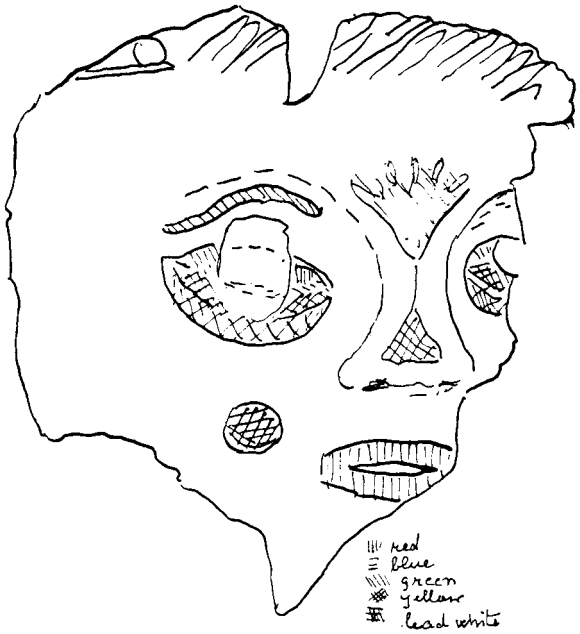

Fig. 4. Cartonnage Bes-mask to be worn by impersonator of male or female Bes. From a Twelfth-Dynasty house at Kahûn.

She may be a dancer who in addition to her mask also has a lion's tail. But there are no serpents in her hands. The body is that of an old woman with hanging breasts. In addition to this figure, Petrie found, almost in the same place, the remains of a real mummer's mask representing, presumably, Bes (fig. 4); it was made of cartonnage and was painted over in many colours. There are holes for the eyes and for the nostrils. One of the papyri found in the same house was also of a medical kind. This material is convincing enough to enable us to assume that the healer was dressing up as Bes (or Beset?) or that there existed an organized cult of Bes in which dancers were acting the part of the god.

It is worth while noting that a similar ivory figure of a 'naked Bes with tail' (not Beset) with a lion mane, but straight legs, who appears to have held metal snakes, was found in a Middle-Kingdom tomb at Sedment.[1]

[1] Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment*, I (London, 1924), 18 with pl.40 (Tomb 1300) and pl. 42,7.

The dancing dwarf

There remains still one other line of enquiry to be followed. In our search for the antecedents of the female Bes of Amarna, we have already found Bes as helper at birth, the protective Bes, the dancing Bes, the avenging Bes, Bes in the Palace, Bes in the company of the Sun-god, and some female Bes known to magical practitioners. The question that remains is how to account for the fact that almost always – although not exclusively – Bes appears in the form of a misshapen dwarf. Franz Ballod[1] and after him Emma Brunner-Traut[2] refer to the religious dances performed by dwarfs before the king and especially to the letter sent by Pepi II to Prince §arkhuf[3] asking him to fetch a *deneg* dwarf from the land of the spirits, from inner Africa, in order that he may perform his dance for the God. This dwarf, possibly a pygmy,[4] is not, of course, a god or a godling himself, but he might have impersonated a god in his dance. However, that may be, his importance was so great that King Pepi himself could venture to tell the ferryman in the other world that he should be permitted to pass, because he (the king) was a *deneg* dwarf, a dancer of the God who pleased the heart of the God in front of his great throne.[5]

So we come to the final question. Why should Bes-gods have succeeded at Amarna at a time when so many great gods had been banned? In a general way one may suggest that at Amarna there was a chance for any symbol that could be related to the sun-disc: the lotus-blossom, the sun-calf, the Goddess Wadjet, even the scarab and the *Wedjat*-eye. And, presumably, it was on this account, because they had featured among the followers and protectors of the young sun-god – and not because they were the tutelary deities of Queen Tiye – that the Bes-gods, and especially the dancers among them, became favourite amulets at Amarna.

Beset

Now we may return to our Beset-amulet. We have seen that the pose of the female Bes, although seemingly playful, follows tradition, as the underlying meaning is connected with the fear of having one's heart taken away by force. Yet this must be one of the few kinds of female Bes (there

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[1] Op.cit. 38.
[2] *Der Tanz im Alten Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1938), 34-5.
[3] Kurt Sethe, *Urk*. I, 128 f.
[4] W.C.Hayes, op.cit., I, 222, fig.139.
[5] Kurt Sethe, *Pyr*.1189 *a-b*

are more of them in the Late Period), perhaps the only one, who has a leonine tail and a human face at the same time. As the daughters of the King played such an important part in that period – beginning with the daughters of Queen Tiye – I should like to suggest that the Beset-figures of Amarna with their girlish faces are impersonations of the king's daughters.

While the tambourine-beating Bes-figures could be worn by the living, as shown above, the Bes and Beset figures who protected the heart were obviously more suitable for the protection of the dead. This is borne out by the delicate work of the Beset-collar at Swansea (pl.II). Bes-figures can be better understood as members in a company – be it on an *apotropaion* or on a royal bed – than on their own. To illustrate this I shall try to examine the other amuletic figures of the Swansea collar with respect to their suitability. Leaving aside one lost and one broken amulet, we find that there are sixteen amulets of a female goddess holding a papyrus sceptre,[1] all of them of bluish faience and some of them in open work. There is one amulet of a baboon wearing on his head a moon-crescent and disc,[2] and there is one figure of a naked child[3] or could it be reminiscent of a *deneg* dwarf? The remaining pendant amulets are rust-red seed pods, and the fixed amulets are yellow and purple rosettes with tiny glass-bead centres. The suspension of the amulets is accomplished in an original manner with the use of double disc-beads. So, essentially, there is a female Bes, one of the company of R^{a}‘; a goddess who could be an impersonation of the eye of R^{a}‘; the baboon of Thoth who could take the place of the Sun-god at night; and the transient Amarna creation of a naked child (or dwarf?) used as an amulet. There is no discord whatsoever between them.

Pl. 1

[1] Comparable to Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pl. 17, 283.
[2] Cf. Petrie, op. cit., pl. 17,294 (but without crescent and disc)
[3] Cf. Petrie, op.cit., pl.17, 275.

1. Female Bes amulet in the centre of the 'Beset Collar' in the Wellcome Collection at University College, Swansea (W. 11) enlarged.
   Photograph Roger Davies

2. Beset amulet and mould for Beset amulet in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (FGA 3637-1943)
   Courtesy Fitzwilliam Museum

3. Amulet of a Bes holding his tail, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (FGA 5995-1943)
   Courtesy Fitzwilliam Museum

Pl. 2 The ‘Beset Collar’ in the Wellcome Collection at University College, Swansea
Photograph Roger Davies

ADDENDA
'A Beset Amulet from the Amarna Period' (Part I, 4.)

See further 'Remarks on Amarna Amulets' by Hedwig Györy in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 82, Leuven, 1998), 497-507. Dr. Györy kindly supplied a copy of her learned study, and warm thanks are due to her. Her main sources are *The City of Akhenaten* (3 Vols.) and the books on Amarna by Petrie and Julia Samson. She points (pp. 500 and 503) to the prominence of Bes and also of the goddess Taweret (Thoëris); cf. Andrew Boyce's detailed study ('Collar and Necklace Designs at Amarna') in Barry J.Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports*, VI (London, 1995), 446-71, with reference to Bes and Taweret on pp. 348-50. The female Bes is absent, however, in these studies. A Bes-figure on an ostrakon, probably of the XIXth Dynasty, shows breasts suggesting a feminine appearance unless they are merely a `sign of corpulence': see Emma Brunner-Traut, *Egyptian Artists' Sketches* (from the Gayer-Anderson Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Nederlands Inst. te Istanbul, 1979), 31, n. 6. She compares forms of Bes suckling the young – an obviously female activity. Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994), 40, discusses the relationship of Bes and Taweret, treating Bes as a constantly male figure; on the other hand, John Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster, 1985), 127 f. recognizes Beset as a `female doublet', and he cites W.A.Ward, `A unique Beset figurine' in *Orientalia* 41 (1972), 149-59, which concerns a bronze statuette found near Heracleopolis but now in Beirut. The deity is shown suckling a baboon, but the head is said to be male. A type of head-dress is apparently shared by the male and female forms. A bi-sexual deity is probably not involved; cf. Dieter Mueller in the Leiden Egyptological Bibl. for 1972 (publ. 1976), 212.

Whereas a pantheistic, polycephalic, and fiery male figure of Bes became popular in the Late Period with apotropaic force (cf. Kákosy, 'The Fiery Aether in Egypt', *Acta Antiqua* 25 (1977), 137-42), the goddess Beset was dominantly a protectress of mother and child; cf. Stephen Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London, 1992), 108-9 with illustrations; also Vivian Davies and Renée Friedman, *Egypt* (London, 1998), 172-3, with reference to protection in the process of giving birth.

Part 1, 5

TWO LUTE-PLAYERS OF THE AMARNA ERA

JEA 66 (1980), 70-82

I. A lute-player on a ring-bezel

Early in 1978 a small box full of fragmented ring-bezels from El-'Amarna was given to the Swansea Wellcome Museum by the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum together with other disposable antiquities. When I examined the bezels under a magnifying glass, I noticed on one of them[1] a female figure similar to the lute-player of the famous group of female musicians from the tomb of Nakht:[2] a nude girl with festive wig – including a perfume cone and a lotus-blossom – holding a long-necked lute diagonally across her breast. The sound-box of the lute lies in the bend of her right arm, while her left arm is bent to a sharp angle. Under her left hand, which holds the distal end of the lute, hangs a cord with two tassels: it is a rather exaggerated representation of the common device for fastening the strings on to the neck of the lute. Unlike the lute-player of the tomb of Nakht she is shown standing, not dancing, while her head is turned to her left, not to her right. A little monkey stands in front of her with a belt tied around his waist. All this is harmoniously arranged in an oval which was originally just over 2 cm high and 1 cm broad, hardly as long as a finger-nail. The two ends of the oval which connected the bezel to the ring-hoop are now broken away without much harm to the figure itself. The material of the bezel is Egyptian faience of a dull-purple colour. The picture is executed in raised relief (see pl.I, i).

Provenance

Luckily, the exact provenance of this bezel is recorded. It appears in outline drawing on pl.49 of the second volume of *The City of Akhenaten* which contains a report on the excavation of El-'Amarna during the seasons 1926-32. The number ID16 which is given to it refers to Pendlebury's 'Corpus of beads, amulets, ring-bezels, etc.'.[3] Here I stands for ring-bezels, D for figures on ring-bezels and 16 is the serial number; to this special number ID16 Pendlebury added the comment 'a new type'. In the outline drawing of the lute-player on this bezel, the lotus-blossom in front of the

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[1] Accession number W1150 (BM)

[2] N.de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes* (1927), frontispiece.

[3] *The City of Akhenaten*, II (1933, reprinted 1972), 114 ff.

nose is omitted, but the foot-end of the bezel is still extant; one can also discern it on an otherwise very indistinct photograph[1] which shows the bezel, half-size, together with thirty-nine other objects on one and the same plate. In the chapter which combines an index of the 298 houses excavated in the North Suburb with a catalogue of contents, ID16 appears only once,[2] among the finds from the house U.36.28. This is described as one of the two slightly better houses in a 'complex of hovels' and as 'a very neat dwelling'.[3] It was excavated in 1929. Among other things found there was a scarab of Amenophis III.

To judge by Pendelbury's corpus list, the bezel ID16 is exceptional. Although in El-'Amarna almost every house possessed its own supply of ring-bezels[4] - many of which show a royal name, while others have figures of plants, animals and amulets – this could be the only bezel with the figure of an ordinary human being (not a princess), a female entertainer with a lute and a monkey. When one tries to appreciate the significance of this ring-bezel at this particular time and place a number of questions arise. They are concerned with (i) the nature and material of the original from which the impression for the faience ring was taken; (2) the provenance and history of the long-necked lute, the musical instrument played by the girl on the bezel; (3) the possible meaning of the monkey in the company of the lute-player.

The Prototype

Pendlebury described the method of manufacturing ring-bezels as simple:[5] 'A popular amulet, ring or bead was borrowed from a friend and pressed into a lump of clay . . . The mould thus obtained was baked and sent off to a glazier.' The oval shape of most bezels derived from the shape of the mobile scarabs which originally served as signet rings. Later the bezel was fixed, but the shape remained. W.C. Hayes, describing this development, states that 'the molds used for the faience ring bezels appear to have been taken directly from actual signet rings, a fact which adds immeasurably to their interest and value'.[6] This mode of manufacture obviously applies also to our ring-bezel, but, as the figure on it appears in raised relief and not in sunk relief (which would be natural for a signet ring), the original could not have served as a signet ring; more likely it resembled

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[1] Op.cit. pl. 29, 5.
[2] Op.cit. 94.
[3] Op.cit. 18-19.
[4] Op.cit. 114.
[5] Ibid.
[6] *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (1959), 250.

the priestly gold rings of Tut'ankhamœn[1] on which the figure of a deity is executed in raised relief and which were obviously not used for the purpose of sealing. However, gold was not necessarily the material of the prototype for ID16; more probably the original representation was carved in carnelian like the bracelet plaque of Amenophis III[2] which displays in raised relief a whole scene of the *Sed*-festival with two princesses standing in front of the enthroned king and queen on a stone which is only 5 cm long. The princesses, who offer emblems of millions of years while simultaneously shaking a sistrum, are actually of about the same height as our lute-player. Whatever the material of the original object, in view of the delicate nature of its design, it could only have been destined for a person of high standing with a fastidious taste. If Aldred's suggestion be accepted that high officials gave to the king and the royal family such valuable gifts on important events like coronations and jubilees,[3] the original ring may have been a present of the Director-of-Court-Music offered to Amenophis III on the occasion of his first jubilee. This would explain why such a tiny representation, which is hardly recognizable without effort, should have been created for such an unsuitable medium as a finger-ring whilst keeping all the essential features of the painted pictures of lute-players. To my knowledge, this is the smallest extant representation of a lute-player. One could easily imagine a person being sufficiently favoured by the king to be allowed to take an impression of the original ring, but perhaps it is better to keep to the known facts.

History of the Lute

Why should lute-players receive such exceptional attention as soloists? The lute was not known in Egypt during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. With its completely new technique of playing a string-instrument, it must have come from outside the country, although string instruments had been well known in Egypt at least since the Old Kingdom. The history of the lute has been convincingly traced by W.Stauder.[4] He came to the conclusion that that its original home was with the settlers in the Caucasus, and that it was

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[1] I.E.S.Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), Cat. n. 22, pl.15.

[2] C.Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (1971), 216 and pl.88; average length 5 cm.

[3] Op.cit.216 '…jewels of this character were given by high officials to the kings they served on such important events as coronations and jubilees.' Cf.p.20: 'on such great occasions valuable gifts were offered to the Royal Family by their courtiers, either from their bounty or by virtue of the duties of their office.'

[4] 'Die Musik der Sumerer, Babylonier und Assyrer', in *Orientalische Musik. Handbuch der Orientalistik.* I. *Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten*, Ergänzungsband IV (1970), 194-7.

brought from there to Syria, Northern Mesopotamia and the Near East in general with the invasion of the 'Mountain People' in the second millennium. The Hyksos, probably under Hurrian leaders, brought the lute to Egypt, where it was possibly first used for the benefit of marching soldiers.[1] Some Egyptian sources suggest connections between the Syrian god of war, Reshep, and the lute. On an Egyptian stela dedicated to Reshep, which is now in Hildesheim, a lute appears as a 'symbol' at the back of the god who is shown as usual with a shield and a spear.[2]

Stauder recognized that the great popularity of the lute arose from the fact that the technique of playing it is fundamentally different from the technique of playing other string instruments which were known so far, like the harp and the lyre. The free-moving strings of the other instruments could produce only one individual note and, in order to increase the number of notes, more and more strings had to be added until the instruments could become very cumbrous indeed. With the lute, on the other hand, notes are produced by pressing the string down on the board of the long neck and a great variety of notes can be produced by one or two strings simply by shortening the strings with the fingers of one hand while the other hand plucks a string with the help of a plectrum which is fastened to the body of the lute. In consequence, because of its lightness, the lute became the ideal instrument for soloists, who could dance, play and sing at one and the same time. This, no doubt, led to the cult of the soloists, and E.Brunner-Traut[3] has pointed out that the lute-player as a soloist was known as early as the time of Tuthmosis IV, although, as a rule, lute-players performed as members of a small group which usually consisted of three to five musicians who played the harp, lyre, and oboe as well as the lute.

A well-preserved lute from the time of Tuthmosis II or §atshepsut has been found at Deir el-Ba¤ari in the tomb of §armose and is now in the Cairo Museum.[4] Nora E.Scott wrote a thorough description of it at a time when it was temporarily exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.[5] A more summary description of the long-necked lute has been given by Lise Manniche in her recent book *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments* (1975):

> The sound-box of the long-necked lute is more or less elongated, carved in one piece or made of tortoise-shell. It is covered with a membrane pierced by the

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[1] The men with lute who are shown marching in the procession of the Opet Festival at Luxor illustrate how the lute could be used for marching music: see Walther Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet* (1931), pl. 2,2.

[2] H.Kayser, *Die Ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim* (1973), 66 and fig. 54, no. 1100.

[3] *Der Tanz im Alten Ägypten* (1938), 65.

[4] See H.Hickmann, *Instruments de musique* (CCG, 1949), no.69, 421.

[5] 'The lute of the singer Har-Mose', *BMMA* (Jan. 1944), 159-63.

> neck and sometimes provided with sound-holes. The neck is straight, and enters the sound-box between the box and the membrane, continuing to the lower end of the sound-box. The top part of the neck may be decorated with the head of a goose or duck . . .The strings, two or three of gut, are attached separately . . . Usually the colour of the lute is red. It is played with a plectrum, suspended from the instrument.[1]

Manniche also gives a detailed and useful list of Egyptian representations of lutes. It should be noted, however, that Stauder[2] disagrees with her statement[3] (where she is following Sachs) that the type of lute found in Egypt was known already by Babylonians a thousand years before its appearance in Egypt: the terracotta from Nippur, which had been used as evidence (depicting a lute-playing shepherd and his animals), is of much later date than was originally assumed.

The Monkey and the Lute-player

The little monkey which stands in front of the lute-player on the bezel deserves some comment. It was first mentioned by E.Brunner-Traut.[4] In our much enlarged photograph the monkey, standing on his hind-legs while his body is slightly bent forward, fits conveniently under the outstretched arm of the girl and under the tassels of the lute. In fact it seems surprising that there existed room for two well-defined figures in such a minute space. The theme of the lute-player and the monkey has a parallel on a blue faience bowl in Leiden[5] (see pl. I, 2) which is decorated with a black outline drawing of a nude young woman with festive wig who is squatting on a cushion in a kind of bower and strumming the lute. A little monkey stands behind her and takes hold of her bead-girdle. One might be tempted to connect this with the little monkey on the ring-bezel, and with the numerous figures of playful monkeys which have been discovered in private houses at El-'Amarna. These have been interpreted either as caricatures of human behaviour or as mere toys. Brunner-Traut[6] has pointed out that as early as the Old Kingdom dancers and musicians were shown in the company of monkeys who played the part of comic entertainers. It seems, therefore, that there is no need to look for a deeper meaning. While that may be true in Egypt, however, it does not necessarily apply to a ceramic plate from the Near East, probably from

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[1] Manniche (1975), 70.
[2] Stauder, op.cit. 196.
[3] Manniche, op.cit. 80.
[4] Op.cit.35n. 7. ID16 is referred to, not quite correctly as a 'Skarabäus'.
[5] W.H.Peck, *Drawings from Ancient Egypt* (1978), pl.15. The bowl is in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.
[6] Op.cit. 33.

Syria,[1] which has been dated to the first half of the second millennium BC (see pl.I,3). This shows in raised relief two nude dancers or singers, two bow-legged dwarfs, playing the lute, and three rather sedate monkeys surrounding them. All the elements of the Egyptian lute-player plus monkey-entertainer are present – the nude women, the lutes, and the monkeys – but the mixture, and probably the meaning, are different. The long-legged nude women resemble the nude Syrian goddess who appears on Syrian cylinder seals of that period;[2] at least two of the monkeys sit and listen attentively, and, most amazingly of all, the bow-legged dwarfs who are playing the lute look like brothers of the dancing toy-dwarfs of ivory found at Lisht[3] near the pyramid of Sesostris II. In fact, this makes it likely that the ivory dwarfs were not Egyptian at all, but an import from Syria.

The Lotus-blossom

Even the big lotus-blossom in front of the lute-player's nose (omitted in the outline drawing of Pendlebury's Corpus) has its own association and meaning. Its disproportionate size suggests that it is important, almost a symbol. It is reminiscent of the song played for the young Amenophis II by a lute-player in the Theban tomb of Kenamun:[4]

> Anoint thyself with oil. Spend a merry day
> Binding garlands in the garden of trees,
> A lotus-blossom at thy nostril, O King Amenophis!

The ring-bezel ID16 is not mentioned by Lise Manniche[5] in her list of representations of lute-players under the reign of Amenophis IV nor can one find there another, possibly royal, lute-player of an Amarna-relief from Hermopolis which is now in the Brooklyn Museum, New York. This is the second of the two lute-players of the Amarna Era who form the theme of this article.

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[1] Catalogue for the exhibition 'Sumer, Assur, Babylon: 7000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur zwischen Euphrat und Tigris' (23 Juni-24. September 1978) in Hildesheim, Römer und Pelizäus Museum, Cat. n. 109 I.M.32 062 (Iraq Museum): 'Scheibe mit Darstellung von Tänzerinnen, Musikanten und Affen. Ca.2000-1600 v. Chr. Terracotta. Durchmesser 15.5 cm Dicke 4.8 cm.'

[2] E.W.Forte, *Ancient Near Eastern Seals* (New York, 1976), 57-9: 'The angular but delicate modelling of the nude goddess on this Syrian seal is similar to that on other Syrian seals dated to the second half of the 19th century B.C.'

[3] *BMMA* Eg.Exp. 1933/4, 36 and fig. 31. See also E.Brunner-Traut, op.cit. 35, fig. 12

[4] Theban tomb no.95. The song is quoted in *BMMA* 1944, 163.

[5] Op.cit. 73-4.

II. A lute-player on a relief-block from Hermopolis

During the reign of Akhenaten the lute was at the height of its popularity. The different uses to which it could be put are illustrated on the walls of contemporary tombs, temples, and palaces, and even on a modest tombstone. There were male and female lutanists, Egyptian and Syrian. Lute-players can be found on pictures of the royal harîm, and among the court bands of Egyptian and Syrian musicians. They could play for light entertainment, at official receptions, or even during a religious service at the temple of the Aten. They occur already on the talatât from Karnak which were made during a pre-Amarna period and also on Amarna relief-blocks from Hermopolis which belong to the late period of Amarna art.

As a rule, lute-players were members of the lower class of society. In the royal harîm girls practising on the lute (and on other musical instruments) were guarded by watchmen sitting at the gate. It is not unusual for lute-players to perform in the nude, made up like serving girls in some of the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, in a festive wig and with a bead girdle around their hips. There exists, however, one representation in raised relief of a lute-player who, to judge from its size and wig, is a member of the higher class. The relief-block is now in the Brooklyn Museum, New York, and I am most grateful to the Curator of Egyptian and Classical Art of this Museum, Professor B.V.Bothmer, for giving me every facility to study the original during my visit to the Museum in September 1978, and for allowing me to use a photograph made by the Museum for publication in this article (see pl.II, I).[1]

The theme of this scene had been wrongly interpreted as trapping fowl in the marshes. I came across it first in books of John D.Cooney[2]and Cyril Aldred[3]at a time when I was looking for representations of lute-players from Amarna which could be compared with the figure of a lute-player on the ring-bezel. I was struck by the fact that the position of the hands and arms of the chief person represented was characteristic of players on the long-necked lute: the thumb and index finger of the right hand hold the plectrum ready to strike the cords, while the long neck extends diagonally, across the body and the left shoulder, over the sharply bent left arm to the left hand whose delicate fingers are pressing the cords down on the neck.

This relief-block is recorded by Roeder[4] in his posthumously published book *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* as P.C.31 (P.C. stands for 'Private Collection'). In this he deals with all the relief-blocks which the German

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[1] Accession number 60.197.9;h. 23.5 cm; br. 53.3 cm. Limestone

[2] *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections* (1965), 87-8, no.52.

[3] *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (1973), 194, no.126: 'Fishing in the Marshes'.

[4] (1969), 405, P.C.31, and pl.175.

Expedition to Hermopolis discovered between 1929 and 1939 in the foundation and in the filling of a pylon of Ramesses II. Originally the blocks had belonged to buildings in the city of El-'Amarna. This is a very thorough work with details which might have been prepared for a computer to work on. There exists, however, a special reason why the description of P.C.31 is nevertheless rather unsatisfactory. In the introduction of the book it is said that Roeder had to leave his work in 1939 with the intention of returning the following year to do the recording. But the war intervened and it was almost twenty years later, in 1957, that Roeder was able to prepare the finds for publication with the help of several collaborators, and to take photographs and make records of 1,500 reliefs on 1,250 blocks. While he was still busy with the preparation of the manuscript, an American connoisseur and collector brought to him photographs of 346 more relief-blocks in the Amarna style which could have come originally only from Hermopolis, although possibly they had been excavated after Roeder had left, P.C.31 being one of them. A little later, Roeder received permission to incorporate these reliefs in his publication. The inevitable haste with which the objects, then in private collections, had to be included in the general work explains certain omissions and misinterpretations which could have been avoided if there had been enough time left for collation. As it happened, the incorporation of over 300 new blocks at the last moment had been possible only because of Roeder's system of recording which elaborates on certain aspects of the reliefs rather than treating each relief on its own merit. Accordingly P.C.31 is mentioned twelve times in the text and is shown once on pl.175. The references to it occur in chapters V and VI.

Chapter V:	H	1a	refers to the aspect of the chief person as king or co-regent.
	O	6i	refers to the men at the bird-trap [*sic*].
	U	5	refers to the papyrus.
	U	14	refers to wild animals. The animal over the hand of the king is called a weasel [*sic*].
	U	15b	refers to the bird-trap [*sic*].
Chapter VI:	G	2	The principal person may be Smenkhkar^{a}' at the bird-trap [*sic*].
	H	6b	It is suggested that the facial expression is that of Smenkhkar^{a}'.
	H	6d	mentions the *Zipfel-Stufen-Perücke*, the peculiar wig on the head of the chief person represented.
	H	7a	notices that the shoulders of the chief

		person are of uneven height and explains it through the effort needed to pull the net of the trap together [*sic*].
H	8a	claims that the movement of arms and hands are more fitting for a labourer than for a king.
O	6p	speaks of men at a bird-trap [*sic*].
U	19	identifies the animal already mentioned in Chapter V, U 14 as a 'wild ass'= *Wildesel* [*sic*]; this is obviously a misreading of the word *Wiesel*.

No mention is made of the boat, the steering oars of which are clearly visible. The initial misinterpretation of the theme of the scene as 'trapping fowl' makes many of the references irrelevant. Significant and valuable, however, are the identification of the chief person as a member of the royal family, and the importance given to the *Zipfel-Stufen-Perücke:* notice must also be taken of the observation that the left shoulder is bent forward, although the explanation for this cannot be accepted.

Cooney[1] followed Roeder's suggestion, stating that the scene represents 'the ancient subject of trapping wild fowl in a marsh'. He noticed that the scene is 'entirely in raised relief and so probably from the interior of a building'. He mentions the boat and steering-poles and remarks casually that the hands of the chief person do not clasp the rope [*sic*] as 'their position is more suggestive of playing an instrument'. 'The scene', he says, 'is too incomplete to allow a firm interpretation.' In 1975 Aldred[2] was still searching for a better solution to the problem. He calls the scene 'Fishing in the Marshes' and states, with several question-marks, that the scene is dominated 'by the upper part of the large figure of a woman (?) facing right, who wears a Nubian wig and holds in her two hands the shaft of a fishing spear (?)'. He adds: 'To the right against a background of papyrus stalks, are the rudder posts and steering oars of a state barge, the tillers of which are held by two steersmen who face forward.' Here everything, with the exception of the description of the chief person, is acceptable. Of importance is also the fact that Aldred was able to identify the boat as a state barge by the 'panther skin attached to the rudder post'. Since then I have corresponded with Aldred, and he now agrees that the dominating figure is a

[1] Op.cit. 87.
[2] Op.cit. 194.

lute-player, and points out that, in fact, a tell-tale tassel is hanging from the neck of the lute.[1]

After taking into account what had already been discovered about special aspects of the relief it can be summarily stated that we see here the upper part of the dominating figure of a male or female lute-player against a background of papyrus stalks. The lute-player looks in the direction of the steering-oars of a state barge, the tillers of which are held by two steersmen in the usual male Amarna dress (a tunic and kilt with full front-panel). The steersmen look forward while their right hands stretch out backward for the slightly curved wooden tillers. Just over the ropes of the pivot on which the rudders move appears the head of a panther skin, the feet of which give the appearance of standing on the neck of the lute just in front of the delicate fingers of the player's left hand. An artistically pleasing touch is the appearance of some buds behind the head of the lute-player which run parallel to the slanting back of the wig. There remains the puzzling question of the position of the lute-player in relation to the barge.

Playing the Lute in front of Papyrus Reeds

Before determining whether the lute-player is standing or squatting, male or female, royal or otherwise, it will be useful to seek for parallels.

One's first impression is that playing the lute and singing, and possibly dancing, in the marshes do not go well together. The amusements of the marshes are more likely to belong to the traditional practices of hunting and trapping fowl or fishing. The pastoral romance of instrumental music in combination with a picnic seems more akin to the spirit of the *Wandervögel* before the Second World War, who took their beribboned guitars out with them during their excursions into open spaces; and yet playing the lute in front of papyrus reeds is an artistic motif which was well known already at the time of Amenophis III, if not earlier. This is amply proved by scenes on unguent spoons carved in wood which show lute-playing soloists in front of papyrus reeds. On one example in Berlin[2] a nude young girl with straight hair plays the lute while kneeling on a reed mat in front of what seems to be another reed mat whose stalks are indicated by stylized straight lines crossed by one horizontal line. Her drawn-up left knee just fills the space between

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[1] In his letter of 12 July 1977, Aldred wrote: 'I think I can now detect what may be the foremost of the two tassels that usually hang near the distal end. What I took to be the spud at the end of the shaft of the spear is probably the beginning of the sound box, and the fingers of the right hand, in so far as one can judge from the little that remains, appear to be curved as though plucking a string.' He concludes: 'I now am of the opinion that you are right and the woman is playing the *Langhalslaute*'.

[2] Berlin 1877 see A.Hermann and W.Schwan, *Ägyptische Kleinkunst* (1940), 61.

her left elbow and the ground. There are examples of 'Water Music' executed in delicate open work, as on an unguent spoon from Heracleopolis in the Petrie Collection of University College, London[1] (see pl.II,2). This shows a naked lutanist (wearing only a long festive wig, ear-rings, and a hip-girdle) balancing herself in a papyrus skiff which is floating on the water. She is surrounded by stalks of papyrus, the highest of which reaches her head. The stem and stern of the boat, as well as the terminal of the lute, end in duck's heads. Another similar lute-player in a boat, on an unguent spoon in Paris,[2] shows the girl wearing a loin-cloth.

Lute-players in a skiff are paralleled, during this period, by pictures of nude or slightly dressed girls who are punting their skiffs through the marshes, as shown on a blue faience plate from Gurob.[3] Here a nude girl with festive wig is transporting a calf through the papyrus thicket. Similarly, on a blue-painted buff pot, possibly from the palace of Amenophis III at Malkata,[4] a nude girl is punting a papyrus skiff through a marsh-scene surrounded by rising birds and leaping bull-calves.

Ultimately, the theme of all these pictures can be related to the theme of the king taking his harîm for an outing to a lake or riverside, as described in Papyrus Westcar (v,1 ff.). Recently H.G. Fischer[5] was able to connect the tale of Papyrus Westcar with customs of the nomarchs of the Middle Kingdom as represented in the tomb-chapel of Ukh¤otpe. Here half-naked women gather lotus-blossoms and catch fish from papyrus boats while on another picture 'overdressed and elaborately coiffured women' are enjoying the marshes by exercising the masculine activity of seining. Fischer comments that in this instance the nomarchs were emulating the extravagances of Pharaohs of the Old Kingdom. The custom was continued in the Amarna Era. In the case of Akhenaten himself the nearest parallel can be found in a representation in the rock-tomb of Meryr[a]'□II.[6] Here the king is shown sitting relaxed in a kiosk while the queen is filling his cup through a strainer. Three children are near. 'Ankhesenpaaten brings an untidy bunch of flowers, freshly gathered, while a band of female court musicians, including two lute-players, provides the entertainment. Carved ducks hang from the pillars, a motif taken 'from the sportsman's shelters, hastily constructed in the marshes . . . to the pillars of which birds which had been

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[1] H.Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik der Ägypter* (1921), pl.141 left; UC.14 365.
[2] Fechheimer, op.cit.pl.140 right.
[3] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (1891), pl.20.3.
[4] Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten* (1969), 156, pl.x (colour) and pl.35.
[5] 'Iconographic and literary comparisons' in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (1977), 161-5; p.161: 'Boats manned with women (Westcar V, I ff.)'; figs. 10 and 11: pictures from Ukh¤otpe's tomb chapel at Meir.
[6] N.de G.Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, II (1905), 34-6 and pl.32.

secured were naturally hung'. All this goes far to prove that music and open-air entertainment went well together. There remains, however, the problem that the lute-player on P.C.31 does not appear to be an ordinary member of the harîm. This is suggested by the dominating size of the figure and also by the peculiar kind of wig.

A Royal Wig?

The wig worn by the lute-player on the Hermopolis relief represents a new fashion. Roeder[1] speaks about a *Zipfel-Stufen-Perücke*; Aldred[2] calls it a 'Nubian wig'. Julia Samson,[3] while writing about a similar wig, claims that the term 'Nubian wig' is inexact when used of a 'wig with flat, straight, parallel strips of hair falling from the top of the head to the overlapping layers'. She would like to confine the term 'Nubian wig' to the cap-like wigs covered in ringlets as worn by Nubians. The wig of the lute-player of P.C.31 is just such a wig with almost parallel strips of hair falling from the top of the head to the overlapping layers; there are four of these layers ending in a sharp point (or *Zipfel*). The upper part of the head, from the eyebrows upwards, is admittedly missing, but this part could be completed from a head on a sandstone relief block from Karnak (see pl. II,3) which appeared in the Munich exhibition catalogue[4] under the title of *Der König unter der Strahlensonne.* It has since, however, been proved to represent Queen Nefertiti who (as an additional fitting block shows) is followed by her first-born daughter Meritaten.[5] Over her forehead these layers continue in four parallel rows of curls until they meet the straight parallel strips of hair which descend from the top of the head. From the brow of the queen rises a uraeus which is crowned by a radiating disc. This is dated to the early, probably still pre-Amarna period. From the excavations at El-'Amarna itself comes a similar representation in relief on the drum of a sandstone column[6] which was found in the Broad Hall of the Great Palace and must be dated before Year 9 of Akhenaten. Here a short fifth layer is added to form the actual point (*Zipfel*), and there is no sun-disc on the head of the uraeus, but otherwise the faces are identical. Nefertiti's daughter, 'Ankhesenamœn, wears the same kind of wig with four overlapping layers, coloured blue, in

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[1] Op.cit.176 = VI H 6 d.
[2] *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (1973), 194.
[3] 'Amarna Crowns and Wigs', *JEA* 59 (1973), 56.
[4] H.W.Müller and J. Settgast, *Nofretete, Echnaton* (1976), no.19.
[5] R.W.Smith and D.B.Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, I (1976), pl.29: panels from the side of *Gm(t)-p3–ìtn* gateway, 2: 'The queen and one daughter making offering.' New stone number 2805-12.
[6] Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (1973), 126 no.48 with bibliography.

the relief on the back-panel of Tut'ankhamœn's throne, while she is anointing her husband under the life-giving rays of the sun-disc.[1] Last, but not least, Queen Tiye herself wears a wig with four overlapping layers on the stela from El-'Amarna which shows her together with her aged husband,[2] and also, it seems, on the coffin of Tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings which was taken over by Smenkhkar^{a}'.[3]Of the same kind are the identical calcite stoppers of the four canopic jars from the same tomb.[4]It is tempting, therefore, to call this type a 'queen's wig'. I certainly do not know of any example of Akhenaten appearing in it.[5] But it seems that towards the end of the Amarna Era, at least, a young king, too, could wear this wig; for Tut'ankhamœn wears it occasionally.[6] There exists also a number of variations. Wigs of princesses could look similar as far as the *Zipfel* is concerned, but would be different in other respects. Wigs with no more than three layers could be worn by officials of the court, and there are wigs of similar general shape but without any overlapping layers. But the fact that this new kind of wig with four or more overlapping layers crowned by a uraeus was so consistently worn by queens of the Amarna Era suggests an underlying significance of deliberate intent. If one compares it with the vulture head-dress sometimes worn by Queen Tiye,[7] it appears that there is a a definite similarity between the pointed wing of the bird and the feather-like layers of the wig which also end in a sharp point (or *Zipfel*). It could well be that this wig was especially created for the queen early in the Amarna Era when it was no longer permissible for queens to wear the traditional vulture-head-dress. The wig worn by the lute-player of P.C.31 is certainly a royal wig, possibly that of a queen.

Identification of the Lute-player on P.C.31

That the dominating figure on the Brooklyn relief-block was a member of the royal house seems to be accepted by all, but according to Roeder[8] it was the co-regent Smenkhkar^{a}'; Cooney[9] suggests a girl from the royal

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[1] Aldred, *Akhenaten* (1969), pl.10.
[2] Ibid. pl.80.
[3] Ibid. pls.97, 98 and pl. xiv (colour)
[4] Ibid.pl.67.
[5] *Pace* Aldred's claim in *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, no.27, that the royal pair are often represented, as on this slab, with the same Nubian wig.
[6] E.g. on some representations of the little golden shrine: see I.E.S.Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (1972), no.25.
[7] Aldred, *Akhenaten*, pl. ix (colour)
[8] Op.cit. 159, Kap.V H ia.
[9] Op.cit., 87 no.52.

family, and Aldred[1] wants to identify her with ‘Ankhesenpaaten. There are special reasons why I should like to see in this lute-player a woman rather than a man. The task of the lute-player, as depicted in a great variety of examples, is to entertain by playing the instrument, singing and possibly dancing, mostly accompanied by other musicians. The king, even in Amarna art, is not shown as serving other people, but being served, or he serves god by fulfilling religious ceremonies. On the other hand, there seems to be a tradition during the Amarna Era that male members of the royal family were not shown in portraits until they had become co-regents or kings, and once they were entitled to wear the crown, of course, they could no longer be shown providing entertainment for other people. The logical conclusion is that the lute-player here must be a queen or princess. Princesses are often shown shaking the sistrum in religious services. There may have been princesses of royal blood among the lute-players of the harîm. A precedent for a king’s daughter making music in a family circle can be found in the case of Sesheshet, daughter of King Teti and wife of the Vizier Mereruka, who is shown playing the harp for her husband.[2]

It would be pleasant to associate the known agility of Tut‘ankhamœn’s queen ‘Ankhesenpaaten (or ‘Ankhesenamœn)[3] with the bravado of showing a princess as a lute-player (not only as helpmate of her husband, as Aldred suggested), but I found obstacles to this assumption when I attempted to find an approximate date for this fine piece of sculpture in raised relief. Roeder,[4] while discussing the different kinds of relief found on the Hermopolis blocks, states that very few of the scenes are executed in raised relief. Aldred[5] dates the relief to the late period of the Amarna style. He very convincingly suggests that this later softer style, especially in limestone, owes its character to the appointment of a new master sculptor who was conversant with the artistic tradition of Memphis (a style in fact, which is amply evident in the Saqqâra tomb of §orem¤eb).

‘Ankhesenpaaten, as the third daughter, could hardly have been born before the regnal year 3 of Akhenaten. When Akhenaten died in his seventeenth regnal year, she would have been about fifteen years old. The relief of the lute-player, which comes from a building in El-‘Amarna, must have been made some time earlier than that. Although it seems to be

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[1] *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 194 no.126.

[2] H.Hickmann, ‘Altägyptische Musik’ in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. I. Ergänzungsband IV, *Orientalische Musik* (1970), 149 and 151. Tomb of Mereruka, Saqqâra.

[3] Amply exemplified in the representations of the little golden shrine of Tut‘ankhamœn: see n.5, p.76 above.

[4] Op.cit. 20.

[5] Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 61.

humanly possible that this portrait shows a young princess of about thirteen years, the question arises from what kind of building this relief could have come. As there is a choice between decorations in tombs, temples and palaces, the most suitable place seemed to me the southern palace of Maruaten,[1] a royal country-house built for Queen Nefertiti, and taken over about the regnal year 13 by her daughter Meritaten: a pleasure resort with lakes, gardens, temples and pavilions. Roeder[2] discusses carefully the reliefs from Hermopolis which might have belonged to some of the buildings in Maruaten. Among these, the building-complex called II by the excavators[3] seems to be the most likely to have contained a relief of this kind. It lies to the east of the great lake and consists of a temple and a group of three buildings on an island: a stone-built kiosk and two pavilions. The whole group of buildings had been of solid masonry and a great variety of stones. Roeder[4] notices that columns from this building-complex show motifs in the naturalistic manner, including hanging ducks, papyrus reeds, and lotus-blossoms. Although very little of the actual masonry was left at the place, it seems quite possible that the relief with the royal lute-player could have fitted into this setting, especially as the building complex II was built most probably after regnal year 9,[5] and there would have been sufficient opportunities for a sculptor to practise the softer late-Amarna style. But after regnal year 13 Meritaten had become queen, and had received Maruaten as her own 'sun-shade'. It seems to me, therefore, that the young woman playing the lute near a royal barge and in front of papyrus reeds is Queen Meritaten rather than her younger sister. If a king is near, the most likely candidate would be Smenkhkar^{a}'.

There remains the vexing question of how to complete the scene. The player and the steersmen are looking to the right. Perhaps we should expect to see the king there. There is no room for the lute-player on the boat itself. Possibly she was kneeling or squatting. This seems to be the most likely alternative as the long neck of the lute is running almost parallel to the ground. Only a few fitting relief-blocks could help to solve the question.

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[1] *The City of Akhenaten*, 1, 109 ff.: 'Maru-Aten, or the precinct of the southern pool.' Cf. pl.29

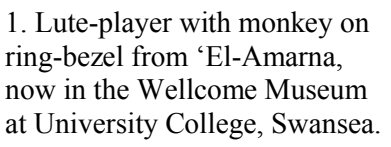
[2] Op.cit. Kapit. VII B, 'Reliefs aus bestimmten Gebäuden in Amarna' 8a: 'Der südliche Palast Maru-Aton', pp.356-7; d: Gebäude II.

[3] *The City of Akhenaten*, I, 119.

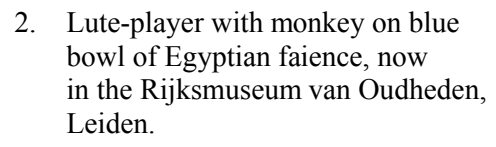
[4] Op.cit. 359, B8K.

[5] *The City of Akhenaten*, I, 150: Inscriptions. In Maru-Aten II 96% of the names are of the later form; the bulk of the building was constructed after year 9, the year when the change in the doctrinal name of the Aten had been officially promulgated, while the building Maru-Aten VIII was commenced before the change of name.

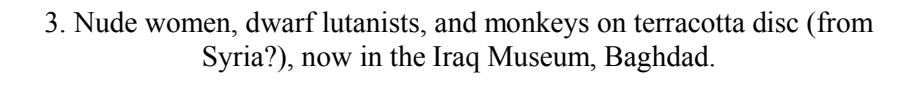
Pl. 1



1. Lute-player with monkey on ring-bezel from ‘El-Amarna, now in the Wellcome Museum at University College, Swansea.



2. Lute-player with monkey on blue bowl of Egyptian faience, now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.



3. Nude women, dwarf lutanists, and monkeys on terracotta disc (from Syria?), now in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

Pl. 2

1.Lute-player near a royal barge on a relief-block from Hermopolis, now in the Brooklyn Museum, New York.
Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum

2. Lute-player in a boat on an unguent spoon from Herakleopolis, now in the Petrie Collection of University College, London.

3. Queen Nefertiti wearing an Amarna-style wig on a relief-block from Karnak, now in the Luxor Museum.

ADDENDA

See further C. Nicholas Reeves, 'A lute player of the Amarna period', in *Göttinger Miszellen* 87 (1985), 79-83, where other examples are adduced, including one in the Oriental Museum, Durham. Reeves accepts the suggestion made by W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (1959), 250, that 'the archetypes from which such faience rings were produced were of metal'. A shorter version of the study by K. Bosse-Griffiths appeared in *L'Égyptologie en 1979: Aux prioritaires de recherches.* Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, No. 595 (Paris, 1982), 213-17.

Part I, 6

THE FRUIT OF THE MANDRAKE IN EGYPT AND ISRAEL

Fontes atque Pontes. Eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner.
(*Ägypten und Altes Testament 5, Wiesbaden 1983, 62-71.*

> In the time of wheat-harvest Reuben went out and found some mandrakes in the open country and brought them to his mother Leah. Then Rachel asked Leah for some of her son's mandrakes, but Leah said, 'Is it so small a thing to have taken away my husband, that you should take my son's mandrakes as well?' But Rachel said, 'Very well, let him sleep with you tonight in exchange for your son's mandrakes.'[1]

Ten years ago, Hellmut and Emma visited us in Swansea to have a look at some newly unpacked ancient Egyptian objects which had been given to University College Swansea by the London Wellcome Museum.[2] In the evening we came to talk about the little golden shrine of Tut'ankhamœn[3] and an article I intended to write on the coronation scenes of its back.[4] Since then I have found that our Collection is also in the possession of a fine pendant of Egyptian faience in the shape of a fruit of the mandrake[5] (Fig. 1): 1): yellow with a chalice of blue, pointed, slightly curved leaves, in fact quite similar to the mandrakes in the bead collar of the famous Berlin bust of Nefertiti.[6]

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[1] Gen. 30, 14-15. Translation of The New English Bible, 1970, 33.

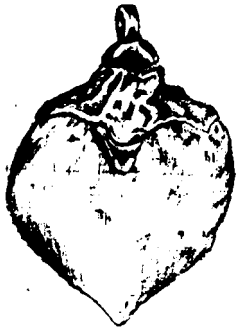
[2] They now form the Wellcome Museum of Antiquities which is associated with the Department of Classics and Ancient History at University College, Swansea.

[3] Cairo n. 61 481; CARTER n. 108. Good pictures of it and a detailed description by EDWARDS in *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, the Exhibition Catalogue of 1976, n. 13.

[4] This has since appeared in *JEA* 59, 1973, 100-108, 'The Great Enchantress in the Little Golden Shrine of Tut'ankhamœn'.

[5] It may possibly be identical with the mandrake pendant of the find no. 453 which was given to the 'Wellcome Historical Medical Museum' from the finds made in Amarna in 1931. See FRANKFORT and PENDLEBURY, *The City of Akhenaten*, II, 1933, 119. (Distribution list) and pl.49 (New types of ring bezels etc.) IV C 12a.

[6] Rudolf ANTHES, Die Büste der Königin Nofretete, 1954. Of the collar it is here only stated (p.6) that
"Der aus Steinen und Gold bestehende Halskragen hat die Form eines zweifachen Kranzes von Blütenblättern." No mention is made of the clearly depicted row of mandrake pendants between the two rows of flower leaves.



Scale 2:1

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

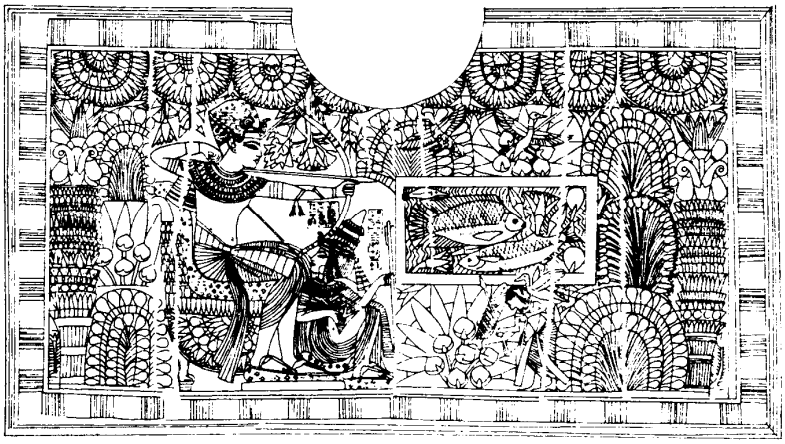


Fig. 3

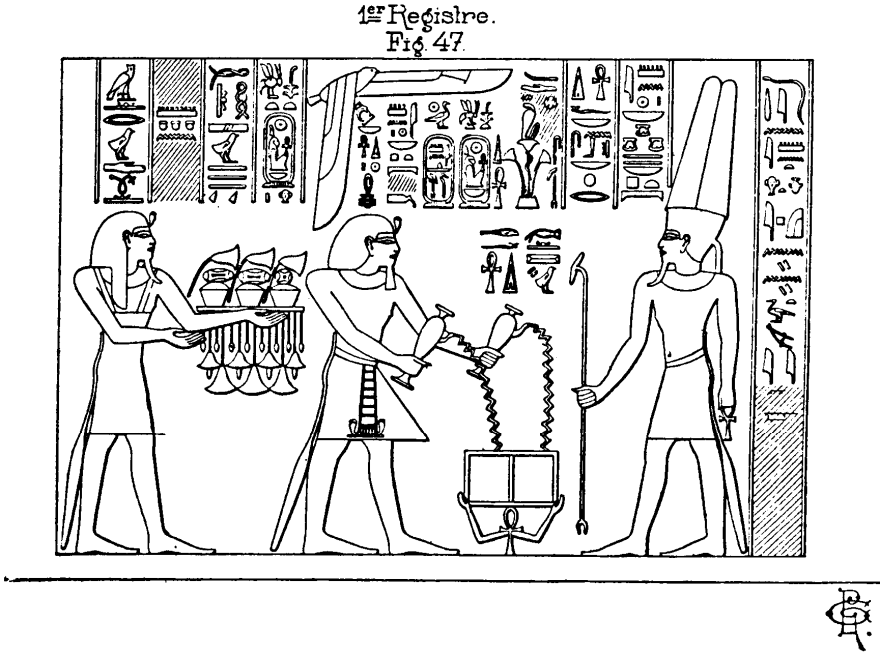


Fig. 4

This gives me an opportunity to discuss another scene on the little golden shrine which has not yet been sufficiently explained. This scene, one of four on the right side of the shrine which are 'all of an unusual kind'[1] is described as follows (P1):

> On the left of the lower register the king pours water from a vessel into the cupped right hand of the queen. Her left elbow rests on his knee. The king, holding a bouquet of lotus flowers and poppies, sits on a stool covered with a cushion and an animal skin …

Nothing is said about the thirteen mandrake pendants in the King's collar. There is also a misunderstanding about the flowers in the King's left hand: they are a lotus flower, a poppy and a fruit of the mandrake shaped not unlike the bare right breast of the queen. Obviously, there is a special emphasis on the mandrake fruit for a reason I shall discuss later on. Yet it seems strange that it is here the King, and not the Queen, who is in need of the mandrake, as he is carrying the amulets as well as the real living fruit.

But can there be any doubt at all about the identification of the mandrake fruit in the King's hand? In order to be able to meet any objections, I consulted the latest authoritative description of the mandrake or *Alraune* (Mandragora officinalis L.) in the LÄ[2] Here the main description runs as follows (by Ludwig Keimer):

> Über die Verwendung der A. im Alten Ägypten ist nichts überliefert, auch sind keine Überreste gefunden worden. Ihr Nachweis beruht auf Darstellungen des NR. Hier werden die A.- Blätter gewöhnlich mit den dem Ägypter geläufigen Perseafrüchten verbunden. Nur einmal entspriessen die Früchte oder Blüten mit den lanzettförmigen Blättern direkt dem Boden, d.h. dem unterirdischen Wurzelstock. Erst in einem dem.Papyrus aus dem 3. Jh. n. Chr. wird die A. als Bestandteil eines Schlaftrunkes genannt.

The principal reference given is KEIMER, Gartenpflanzen[3]. KEIMER describes the fruit of the Persea-tree (*Mimusops Schimperi Hochst*) as well as the mandrake (*Mandragora officinalis Mill*) and accompanies each description with a 'Formtafel', of outline drawings, and detailed notes about

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[1] Exhibition Catalogue 1976 (see note 3, p. 82 above), 118.

[2] LÄ I, 144-145, s.v. *Alraune* (Mandragora officinalis L.) by Erika Feucht.

[3] Ludwig KEIMER, Gartenpflanzen, 1924, 24: *Mandragora officinalis Mill*; p.87: notes; p.174 Formtafel.
p.31: *Mimusops Schimperi Hochst* = 'Persea der klassischen Autoren'; p.94: notes; p.176: Formtafel.

the sources of the drawings. But here a strange mistake occurred (which KEIMER himself corrected later on.[1] In his 'Formtafel' of the Persea-fruit all the examples of ancient drawings are in fact pictures of the fruit of the mandrake. KEIMER's identification had been based on pictures published by NEWBERRY in 1899[2](Fig. 2). NEWBERRY, having procured at Luxor a number of well preserved ancient specimens of the fruit of the Persea-tree, "at once recognized in them the little yellow fruit figured in the tombs". KEIMER, with his sharp power of observation, discerned that the chalice leaves of the fruit shown in ancient Egyptian paintings are much bigger than those of the fruit of the Persea-tree, in proportion to the whole fruit; but he explained it away by suggesting: "Wohl infolge des Strebens nach Deutlichkeit sind die oft konkav ausgebuchteten Kelchblätter fast immer zu gross geraten"[3] His 'Formtafel' for the Persea-fruit includes pictures from the Tomb of Nakht (figs. 6;7;8) and the Amarna-relief at Berlin called 'Spaziergang im Garten' (fig.5b) which we shall discuss below (see p.91, n.2).

The fact is that the fruit, leaves and branches of the Persea-tree have been found in ancient Egyptian tombs[4], but the fruit of it was never shown in ancient Egyptian pictures; it is even not certain that the tree itself is represented on monuments of the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Dynasties.

The possibility that the mandragora plant actually grew in ancient Egyptian gardens seems to have been first recognized by the Dane Fritz HEIDE[5] in connection with a fragment of a relief from Memphis in the Glyptothek at New Carlsberg. This relief shows lancet-shaped leaves and fruit coming directly from the ground and not from a stem. This was confirmed by SCHWEINFURTH. For the identification KEIMER compared medieval pictures of the mandrake which were concerned with its strange root rather than with its fruits. He shows them in his 'Formtafel' for the mandragora and concludes that ancient Egyptian pictures of the leaves of the mandrake were of plants which genuinely grew in Ancient Egypt but that they were connected with the fruit of the Persea, saying:[6]

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[1] Ludwig KEIMER, 'La baie qui fait aimer', Mandragora officinarum L.' in B.I.E. 32, 1951, 391.
[2] Percy E. NEWBERRY in *PSBA* 21, 1899, 303-305.
[3] KEIMER, Gartenpflanzen, 33.
[4] H. SCHÄFER, Priestergräber (1908), 159.
[5] KEIMER, Gartenpflanzen, 20-21.
[6] KEIMER, Gartenpflanzen, 21.

> Daß hier Mandragor-Blätter mit Mimusops-Früchten verbunden werden . . . ist zwar merkwürdig, aber die Tatsache wird begreiflich, wenn man bedenkt, daß die Darstellung der Mimusops-Frucht jedem Maler oder Steinmetzen des NR besonders geläufig war.

The fact that the fruit of the mandrake really possesses a stalk (as shown in most pictures of the whole plant with fruit) is confirmed by Harold H. MOLDENKE in his book on Bible Plants,[1] who describes the *Mandragora officinarum* (the 'love-apple') as

> a stemless herbaceous perennial, related to the nightshade, potato and tomato. It has a large beet-like tap-root . . . many lanceolate oblong, or ovate, wrinkled, dark green leaves about a foot long and 4 inches wide, lying flat on the ground in the form of a rosette, much like those of an English primrose. From the center of this rosette of leaves arise the flower-stalks each bearing a single . . . flower, followed in due time by a subglobose yellowish berry about the size of a large plum. When perfectly developed the fruits lie in the center of the rosette of leaves like yellow bird eggs in a shallow nest, and have a fleshy pulp possessing a peculiar but not unpleasant smell and sweetish taste. The plant is slightly poisonous . . . being principally an emetic, purgative and narcotic.

In an attempt to get out of this maze, I tried to find some picture of the real mandragora fruit of today. Professor Raphael GIVEON of the Hebrew University at Tel Aviv had told me that the mandragora fruit could be found growing wild in the woods near the kibbutz Mishmar Haemeg, where he is living now, not far from Mount Carmel. On my request for a colour slide of the fruit, which can be found in May, he tried to get an existing slide of a mandragora fruit from the department of Botany at his University. Unfortunately the head of this department, Prof. Jakow GALIL, only had slides of the flower of the mandragora but he gave some useful information which he very kindly allows me to quote:[2]

> 1) In contrast to other fruit, you cannot dry the fruit of the mandragora and use it on a necklace, because it has too much water; the beads were always imitations of the fruit.

[1] Harold H.. MOLDENKE, Bible Plants (1952, USA), 137.
[2] Quoted from two personal letters of March and August 1981.

2) The aphrodisiac effects of the fruits are largely or completely imaginary, as against the roots, which seem to have that effect.

Although Prof. GIVEON was unable to provide a colour slide of a mandragora fruit growing near his home in Israel, he very generously remembered my wish while on a lecture tour in Europe. In the botanical gardens of Wuppertal-Elberfeld, the town of his birth, he found a mandragora plant with fruit and took a colour slide of it and sent it to me. Although the fruit was not yet quite ripe and still green, it corresponds with the pictures of the mandrake fruit given by the ancient Egyptians.

A confirmation that the same kind of fruit is really still growing and well known in Israel, appears in a book on Flowers of Jerusalem.[1] Here a watercolour (on an unnumbered plate) shows the flowers, the fruit and the leaves of the mandrake (*Mandragora officinarum* L) and it is stated that:

> At the beginning of winter the plant produces a rosette of dark green leaves and purple flowers. But in this season the scent is not pleasant. In the spring, however, when the fruits ripen and become yellow, man and animal are attracted to the plant by its intoxicating and pleasant scent.

As far as ancient Egypt is concerned, KEIMER's second opinion should be quoted here, although it is known only in a resumé of a communication which he read in the 1949/50 Session of the *Institut d'Égypte*[2] under the heading "Le baie qui fait aimer, Mandragora officinarum L. dans d'Égypte ancienne" The paper itself has not been printed.

> La Mandragora (Mandragora officinarum L.) plante de la famille des Solinacées et originaire de la Palestine, du Liban, de la Syrie etc., a été introduite en Égypte vers le debut du Nouvel Empire. La plante toute entière ou les fruits seuls, sont très souvent representées entre 1500 et 1200 avant J.-C. sur les monuments pharaoniques. Sans aucune doute la société égyptienne de cette epoche ce servait des baies de Mandragore, plants cultivés dans les jardins des riches, comme aphrodisiaque, fait nullement étonnant lorsqu'on prend en consideration la rôle très considerable qu'a joué Mandragore chez les differents peuples de l'antiquité et moyen âge.
>
> Mais si ces derniers utilisaient surtout les racines de Mandragore qui avaient ou auxquelles on donnait artificiellement la forme d'un corps humain (homme ou femme) aucun dessin égyptien ne represent

[1] Brakge AVIGAD and Avinoam DANIN, Flowers of Jerusalem (1977).
[2] See p.86, n. 1 above.

> ces racines extraordinaires, ce qui semble prouver que l'on ne les employait pas, se contenant des baies qui sont d'ailleurs mentionées dans la litterature égyptienne du Nouvel Empire (surtout dans les Chants d'amour où elles portent le nom de *Reremet*).

Although the fruit of the Persea-tree is not actually mentioned, it seems evident that KEIMER had changed his mind and knew that only the fruit of the mandragora (and not that of the Persea) was represented in Egyptian art. Nevertheless, the influence of KEIMER's former opinion still persists. In 1975 Ph. DERCHAIN still quoted KEIMER, Gartenpflanzen, claiming about the Persea[1]

> ce sont surtout ses fruit que l'on a representés dans la decoration égyptienne, souvent combinés à des lotus bleus – soit en guirlandes et colliers naturels, soit imités en ceramique ou orfèverie,

implying that "une idee de renaissance" was connected with them. According to him, the mandragora-pendant of the Swansea Collection which is made of Egyptian faience (called by him 'ceramique') would represent a Persea fruit.

Reremet, the name for the mandragora mentioned by KEIMER,[2] occurs three times on an ostracon (part of a big vessel) with a literary text from Deir el-Medineh.[3] This contains a series of short love songs which are treated and skilfully translated by DERCHAIN in his article on 'Le lotus, la mandragore et le persea'.[4] The fact that these charming songs were written down on a broken pot suggests that they were meant to be used by one of those artistic female lute-players, who were also singers and dancers, of the same period, as their pictures, too, appear on ostraca from Deir el-Medineh. Sometimes, as in the tomb of Kenamun, their song was also recorded beside them.[5]

The poetic expressions and comparisons of the poems seem to offer a key to the understanding of pictures showing the fruit of the mandragora; as when it is said (DERCHAIN's translation p.77): "L'amour est comme une mandragore dans la main d'un homme" one is reminded of the festive scene

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[1] Ph. DERCHAIN, 'Le lotus, la mandragore et le persea', in CdE 50, 1975, 85.

[2] *rrm.t* as name for the mandragora is also mentioned in LÄ I, 337; the same word is translated in Wb II 439 as : "Art kleine Frucht . . . auch bei Kränzen verwendet, auch von der Brustwarze".

[3] G.POSENER, Catalogue des Ostraca hiératiques litteraires de Deir el Medineh II (1957), no. 1266 and Musée du Caire 25 218., on pl. 76,5; 77,18 and 78,23.

[4] DERCHAIN, op.cit., 65-86.

[5] BMMA (1944), 163.

in the tomb of Nakht[1] where ladies seated behind the blind harp-player offer each other fruits of the mandragora.

Similarly: "Si j'étais la nègresse qui est à son service! Certe elle me faisait apporter (une coupe) de mandragores" can be compared with a picture of a servant gathering mandragora fruit in a garden. This picture is on an ornate chest of the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn.[2] Even the smelling of the fruit is given a secret meaning: "respirer d'odeur de mandragore" could signify "offrir la couleur de son corps tout entier".

It is the language of the flowers and fruit which has persisted throughout the ages.

The mandragora as a royal plant

There is one great difference between the mandragora of Palestine and the mandragora of ancient Egypt. Today, as in the times of the Bible, the mandragora grows wild in suitable territory. But in ancient Egypt it was only known as a plant grown in gardens, possibly near water ponds, and in gardens at that, which belonged to the nobility and the royal family. Its fruit would not be discovered by chance 'at the time of the wheat harvest' in May, but it was collected in armfuls as is shown in a picture of the ornamental chest with ivory inlay of the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn which we have just mentioned.

During the Eighteenth Dynasty – if not earlier – the Egyptians showed a lively interest in foreign plants. §atshepsut and Tuthmosis II imported them from abroad and recorded pictures of them on temple walls. And not only plants were imported in great numbers, but also foreign women for the King's Harîm, often daughters of kings and princes, and with them came hundreds of foreign women in their following. Some of these women, very probably, brought with them the folklore knowledge of the power of the fruit of the mandragora to arouse passion, to intoxicate, to create sons. To please these women, and perhaps the King himself, the mandragora plant was fetched from foreign countries and made at home in the gardens of the rich where its fruit could be gained without danger.

It was like that, it seems, that the fruit of the mandragora became a craze (just as the playing of the foreign lute had become a craze for a time): one smelled it, one ate it, one became intoxicated, one placed it on bouquets; the fruit of the mandragora became a symbol of love, an ornament; at its acme it found its way into the treasure house of ancient traditional royal symbols of power and potency.

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[1] Pictured a.o. in Ch.F. NIMS, Thebes of the Pharaohs (1965), fig. 51, Theban Tomb 52.

[2] CARTER no. 540 (lid), 551 (box); Cat. Of the 1976 Exhibition, no. 51, pl.33.

It was at the height of this craze, it seems, that the ornate chest 26 of Tut'ankhamœn was created (Fig. 3). On the front side it shows the King and the Queen near an oblong pond. The king – either for the sake of pleasure or, more likely, as a ceremonial symbolic act (to destroy evil) – is shown shooting birds and fish. A killed bird has fallen in the middle of a mandragora plant at the side of the pond and on top of a cluster of mandragora fruit. Another mandragora plant is conspicuous at the near side of the pond and there is a third one behind the King's seat. On the lid of the chest is another picture of the royal couple. Here a mandragora plant with a ripe fruit is shown under (which perhaps means in front of) the feet of the King and the Queen and its fruit is gathered by an attendant. Some mandragora fruits appear also in the garland near the King's knees. But the two bouquets in the hands of the Queen consist mainly of papyrus and lotus plants with some added poppies. This, again, seems to be a crypto-ceremonial action, the plants symbolizing Upper and Lower Egypt and what appears to be a walking-stick is really a sceptre in disguise.

To understand this picture one has to compare it with that of the King and Queen on the inner face of the right hand door of the little golden shrine.[1] Here, too, the Queen presents a bouquet and the King raises his left hand in greeting. There is a mandragora fruit on top of the bouquet, and instead of the other bouquet the Queen holds a sistrum; instead of a walking-stick, the King holds the crook and flail. Otherwise the figures (but not the heads) are almost identical, even in details in dress. The meaning of the picture on the inner face of the door becomes evident if one notices that it is placed between royal cartouches on the gold sign supported by uraei, and there are lapwings symbolizing the adoration of all people.

To return to the ornate chest: there is a profusion of mandragora plants with fruit used repetitively all over the sides of the chest, encircling the pictures at the sides and appearing even in front of the ibex which is attacked by a cheetah.

On the ornate chest, it is true, the Queen does not present the mandragora fruit in her bouquet. But that does happen in the more classical simplicity of the representation on a limestone stela in Berlin which is known an "Spaziergang im Garten".[2] Here, again, the Queen holds two bunches of flowers. There are two lotus blossoms and a lotus bud in her left hand. But in her right hand, tied together with another lotus bud, she holds two mandragora fruits near the nose of the king. Does it suggest that she intended to give potency to the rather limpid boy with a belly in the Akhenaten-tradition?

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[1] *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, Exhibition Catalogue of 1972, n.25

[2] Irmgard WOLDERING, Egypt (1963), pl.30.

This makes it the more remarkable that the roles are inverted on the depiction of the little golden shrine which shows the King pouring out water into the cupped hand of the Queen, where the King is decked with mandragora amulets and holds a living mandragora fruit. To explain his action another depiction on the same side of the shrine must be taken into consideration, the second in the top row. Here it is the Queen who is shown pouring water from a small vessel into a stemmed cup held by the right hand of the King. This scene is described in the exhibition catalogue like this.[1] (Pl.2)

> In the second scene, in the top register the king, seated on a cushioned chair, holds out a vessel containing flowers and the queen pours water into the vessel from a vase in her right hand. In her left hand she holds a lotus flower and bud and a poppy.

The King, in fact, is seated on a throne, which is made clear by the *sm3-t3wy* symbol between its legs. Above the head of the King is a simple sun-disc with two uraei reminiscent of a similar sun-disc with seven pendant ankh-symbols which mark a scene on a bracelet[2] where Tut‘ankhamœn is standing between §arakhty and Atum.

The scene is thematically based on a similar relief in the rock-tomb of Merir[a]‘ II.[3] There Nefertiti is pouring out a drink through a strainer into a similar stemmed cup held out by the King. This is presumably a golden cup of un-Egyptian shape, similar to the gifts brought by Aegean people, as shown in the tomb of Rekhmir[a]‘.[4]

What is more, there, too, are lotus flowers and blossoms rising seemingly out of a stemmed cup, as is the case in the depiction on the little golden shrine. This could mean either that they were engraved on the cup or that they were a plastic addition on the rim of the cup. But they were certainly not living lotus-flowers which had to be watered.

The question therefore remains: why does the Queen pour out water into the golden cup? It must be a symbolic act. The symbolic act of pouring out water is here performed twice: once by the King and once by the Queen. This double act can be compared with a relief in the hypostyle hall of Amenophis III at the Luxor temple.[5] (fig. 4) Here Amenophis is shown standing in front of Amen-R[a]‘ and pouring water out of two slim vessels into

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[1] See p.82, note 3 above (Edwards).
[2] Exhibition Cat. 1972 no. 35: ‘Scarab Bracelet’.
[3] N.de G. DAVIES, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna II (1905) pl.XXXII.
[4] Sinclair HOOD, The Minoans (1971), fig. 60: ‘Envoys from the Aegean in the tomb of Rekhmire’.
[5] A.GAYET, Le temple de Louxor (1894), pl.VII, fig. 47.

a double pond or basin which is held up by an *ankh*-sign with arms. The action is described as *'ir.f d? – 'n¤*. Behind the King stands another figure very much like him with his uraeus but yet different, as he is wearing the pleated beard of the gods. Like a Nile god he is carrying a tray which is covered with lotus blossoms and cake. According to a text near him, he too is Amenophis III 'filling the pools'. The whole of the scene suggests the life-giving power of the Nile inundation which is set into action by the King as intermediary between the god and the world.

Viewed in this way, the two scenes on the little golden shrine receive traditional Egyptian meaning, although the trapping could mislead: it is the double pouring out of water to give life and fruit to the plants and the living beings (represented by the Queen).

The really new addition in this scene is the emphasized presence of the mandragora fruit as carried by the King. It can only mean one thing. It is there to strengthen the potency and sexual power that gives life. Yet this power is not restricted to the relation between King and Queen, but is meant to benefit the whole country.

This was the climax in the history of the Syrian mandragora in Egypt. With the return of the old regime, the power of the mandragora faded. Soon there remained little more than some symbolic ornaments whose meaning was only faintly understood.

Pl. 1

Pl. 2

ADDENDA

THE FRUIT OF THE MANDRAKE IN EGYPT AND ISRAEL (Part I, 6)

Whereas the reference of the Hebrew names and shapes have been widely accepted as involving the mandrake (*Mandragora officinalis L.*), the Egyptian material has evoked a degree of debate. This material, as Dr. Erika Feucht emphasises, is based on representations and not on actual remains: see her article 'Alraune', *LA* I (1975), 144-5, with a reference to the demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden (A.D. iii), Col. 24, 17-18, where the mandrake figures in 'a medicament for making a man sleep'. In the representations difficulty arises in the attempt to distinguish between the fruits of the persea and the mandrake; this is because of the highly stylized method of the figures. See M.Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1985, 19-20), cf. Renate Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz, 1985, 169f.) See also Lise Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal* (London, 1989), 117-19, where she notes that 'the fruit appears to have had a symbolic erotic significance in pharaonic times.' Her book has been reprinted with revisions (London, 1999).

Part I, 7

FINDS FROM 'THE TOMB OF QUEEN TIYE' IN THE SWANSEA MUSEUM

JEA 47 (1961), 66-70 With 1Pl

In 1957 Sir Alan Gardiner drew attention to the uncertain ownership of the so-called 'Tomb of Queen Tiye'.[1] Shortly afterwards a number of Egyptian objects was offered to the Swansea Museum (of the Royal Institution of South Wales) by Miss Annie Sprake Jones of Bryn Myrddin, Abergwili (Carmarthenshire). Among her gifts was a cardboard box with 'gold dust from the tomb of Queen Tiye', as she described it, which aroused my curiosity. In this box, mixed up with fine gold leaf and sand I found:[2]

a) a clay seal with a royal cartouche:
b) a fragment of white glass with a royal name in coloured glass;
c) some bright blue pieces of glazed ware;
d) two half cowrie-shells of gold.

The objects had been left to Miss Sprake Jones by her brother, Harold Jones, after his death in 1911. In 1907, at the time when the 'Tomb of Queen Tiye' was discovered,[3] Harold Jones was employed by Theodore M.Davis as artist for his excavations in the Valley of the Kings.

When I visited Miss Sprake Jones in December 1960, she told me how her brother had obtained the objects. After the discovery of the 'Tomb of Queen Tiye' many of the American visitors to the tomb took 'souvenirs'. It was then that her brother asked Theodore M.Davis for permission to take a handful from the floor himself, and he received the reply: 'Certainly, take two!'

She also told me that the gold leaf had originally been taken in the form of a sheet, but had crumbled later on. These remarks sound genuine, especially if one compares them with the note written by Mrs. Emma B.Andrews who saw the tomb when it was newly opened:[4]

> All the woodwork of the shrine, doors, etc. is heavily overlaid with gold foil and I seemed to be walking on gold, and even the Arab working inside had some of it sticking in his woolly hair.

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[1] Sir Alan Gardiner, 'The So-called Tomb of Queen Tiye' in *JEA* 43 (1957), 10-25.
[2] Pl. I, 1-4.6; in the inventory of the Swansea Museum these objects are now registered under 959.3 (1-9).
[3] Theodore M. Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tîyi*, London, 1910.
[4] Sir Alan Gardiner, op.cit.25.

Pl. I

1. Clay seal with the name of Tut‘ankhamœn

2. Glass fragment with the name of Amenophis II

3. Ibis pendant, blue glazed ware

4. Djed-pillar pendant, blue glazed ware

5. Upper part of Cairo 2804

6. Gold cowrie-shell bead

Two of the objects in the Swansea Museum are inscribed with royal cartouches:

a) Part of a clay seal, about 42 mm. in diameter, shaped like the capital of a papyrus column with some zigzag-design at the neck and an inscription pressed into the top (pl.I,i). It may have been used as the stopper of a vessel. Of the inscription is preserved *nṯr nfr*, 'Good God', and the upper part of a cartouche with the sun-disk and the left claw of the scarabaeus-beetle. These traces can be interpreted to produce only one royal name of Eighteenth Dynasty date: *Nb-¥prw-R'*, the prenomen of Tut'ankhamœn. Similar seals are stated to have been found in the 'Tomb of Queen Tiye', as is recounted in the excavation report:[1]

> In the rubbish under the funeral couch and behind the boards against the South wall we found numerous fragments of small clay seals some of which bore, besides the device, the cartouche of Nb-khepru-ra (Tutankhamen).

This clay seal therefore confirms the account of the provenance of the Swansea objects. The relevance of the name of Tut'ankhamœn in deciding the possible ownership of this tomb has been dealt with by Gardiner.[2]

b) A fragment of white glass, roughly triangular in shape and slightly curved (pl.I,2). On the concave inside are the traces of a sand-core, as is to be expected in ancient Egyptian glass-ware. The measurements of the sides are 43 mm., 37 mm., and 35 mm. respectively. Its thickness is about 8 mm. A brown, semi-transparent, quite irregular and deep, wavy line runs through the white glass. On the left side, it is covered by a dark blue panel, 28 mm. wide, with two yellow cartouches crowned by yellow feathers with red sun-disks. About half of the name is broken away, but there remains part of *'Imn* (left) in light blue and *'3 –¥pr-R'* (right) in red and yellow. Because of the *'Imn* in the first cartouche this name can only be amended to *'Imn-¤tp '3 -¥prw-R'*, the name of Amenophis II.

Glass vessels were not uncommon in the Eighteenth Dynasty. When Percy E.Newberry published a blue chalice from Munich with the name of Tuthmosis III,[3] he mentioned that he knew about fifty nearly perfect glass vases of the New Kingdom, some of which were dated by the names of kings. Blue is the most common colour of the glass vases, while white glass vases are rather unusual. Davis,[4] however, accounts for three small vases, or parts of them, of white glass which had been found in 'The Tomb of Queen

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[1] Davis, op.cit.10.
[2] Gardiner, op.cit.11.
[3] Percy E.Newberry, 'A Glass Chalice of Thutmosis III', in *JEA* 6 (1920), 155.
[4] Davis, op.cit. 36, no.43 and pl.iii, fig. 2.

Tiye', one of which could be almost completely reconstructed. But those small white vases are not decorated.

I then tried to see whether I could derive any relevant information from other vases of different material which had been found in the same tomb. Here again, the excavation report was helpful:[1]

> In the south-west corner were the remains of a large oblong wooden box which had collapsed under the weight of stucco fallen from the wall above. The wood was, however, in good condition, and we were able to remove it. Between this and the west wall were the remains of another box of small size which may have originally fitted into the larger . . . so affected by the moisture that it crumbled to the touch. It has been full of small vases, wands and figures of blue glaze.

It was among these objects that a small toilet-jar in black haematite was found on which the names of Amenophis III and Queen Tiye were engraved,[2] and a small vase of green amazonite with the cartouches of Amenophis III very lightly engraved.[3] The 'magical bricks', which were also found at different places, bore the name of Akhenaten. But no object bearing the name of Amenophis II was mentioned.

However, less than ten years before the discovery of 'the Tomb of Queen Tiye', the tomb of Amenophis II had been opened by Loret in 1898. In it was found a *cache* with over thirty royal burials – what Baikie calls 'a royal concentration camp'.[4]

Here my inquiries were more successful. In the volume of the *Catalogue général* of the Cairo Museum which deals with the excavations at the Valley of the Kings I found a white glass vessel[5] which not only has a decoration almost identical with that of the Swansea fragment, but also carried on its shoulder the remains of two cartouches crowned with feathers (pl.I,5).

The height of this vase is about 40 cm (16 inches); it has an almost egg-shaped body which is supported on a small stand, and a long neck. The cartouches are only partly preserved with *n* ¤*tp* in the left cartouche and *n* in

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[1] Ibid., 10.
[2] Ibid., 35, no. 41 and pl. iv, fig.3.
[3] Ibid., 35, no.42 and pl. iv, fig. I.
[4] James Baikie, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* (1932), 68.
[5] Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, no. 24804, p.202 and pl. xliv: 'verre opaque blanc . . . Sur le rebord est tracée une bande brune . . . Vers le haut de la panse, un rectangle bleu foncé de o m.028 mill. de largeur, contient les deux cartouches d'Aménophis II, surmontés des plumes, tracés en hiéroglyphes multicolores'.

the right cartouche; also the tops of the feathers above the cartouches remain: in short, here are exactly the parts of the inscribed panel which are missing on the Swansea fragment. Judged from the drawing in Daressy's publication, the missing piece is roughly triangular in shape, the width of the blue panel being 28 mm., the same as on the Swansea fragment. There can be no doubt that the Swansea fragment is part of the vase in the Cairo Museum which is an outstanding example of the luxurious glass-manufacture of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

c) Several pieces of blue glazed ware:
1. The finest is a pendant shaped in the round in the form of a squatting ibis (pl.I,3). The suspension hole is at the back. The piece can also stand freely on its own base. Length 25 mm.; height 17 mm.

2. A pendant in the form of the hieroglyph *dd* (pl.I,4). The tubular suspension hole is at the top of the pillar. The back is flat. There are traces of linen on the front and on the back, as if the pendant had been wrapped in bandages. Height 32 mm.

3. An irregularly shaped, longish bead. Length 29 mm.

4. A ring. Diameter 17 mm.; thickness 4 mm.

d) Two identical half cowrie shells, 14 mm. long and 10 mm. high, mixed up with sand and gold leaf. In each a narrow slit-opening runs from end to end, while the lips of the slit are bluntly toothed and turned inward (pl.I,6). On closer examination, I discovered that the two halves fitted perfectly together and formed one single bead. By cementing them together two threading holes became evident on the left side and there must have been two others on the right side; so that one thread passed through the upper half of the 'cowrie' and another through the lower half. This gold cowrie differs from the real cowrie shell in that it is not univalve, but bivalve with the slit going right through the body. That cowrie-shell ornaments are not mentioned in the excavation report does not in itself mean that none were found in the 'Tomb of Queen Tiye'; for, according to Gardiner, 'the publication is incomplete and inaccurate'.[1]

Gold cowrie shells as ornaments are rare in Egypt but do occur during the Twelfth Dynasty. At el-Lâhûn[2] in 1914 Flinders Petrie found an

[1] Gardiner, op.cit. 10.
[2] Guy Brunton, *Lahun I, The Treasure*, 30 and pl.iii; H.E.Winlock, *The Treasure of el Lahun*, New York, 1934.

ornament of gold cowrie shells in the burial of princess Sit-Hathor-Yunet near the tomb of Queen Weret who died during the reign of Sesostris II. Restored as a girdle, this ornament is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

At Dahshœr ten gold cowries were found during the excavations of de Morgan.[1] They belong to the period of Ammenemes III. Vernier noted that these gold cowries, like the Swansea cowrie, have no back.[2] The el-Lâhœn gold cowrie shells are about three times as long as that in Swansea. Mme P. Kriéger-Posener (Paris), who saw the Swansea cowrie during the International Congress of Orientalists at Moscow (1960), was of the opinion that the light colour of the gold indicated a Middle Kingdom rather than a New Kingdom origin.

Natural cowrie shells have been popular as adornment from palaeolithic times onward.[3] At Kafr 'Ammâr knotted cords with natural cowrie shells and several other amulets were found on the neck or chest of the deceased. These are dated to the period of the Twenty-third to Twenty-fifth Dynasties.[4] The following reason for the use of cowries has been suggested:[5]

> Certain shells, such as cowrie, shaped in the form of the portal through which a child enters the world, seem to have been connected with the female principle and to have been widely employed as fertility charms.

The same reason would serve to explain their use on a knotted cord, for, according to Pliny, the wearing of a knotted cord was considered helpful to conception.[6] However, it does not quite account for the existence of one single gold cowrie in the 'Tomb of Queen Tiye'. The Swansea finds, in fact, far from helping towards a solution, only seem to complicate the difficult problem, of the ownership of the so-called 'Tomb of Queen Tiye'.

Not much more helpful is the knowledge I could gather from the Harold Jones documents which are now in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth. I am obliged to Miss Megan Ellis, Keeper of Prints and Maps,

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[1] De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour,* 65, no.7; 68, no. 29; pls. xx, xxiii.

[2] Émile Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, 53,074, pl. lxxviii: 'Trouvé à Dahchour fouilles de Morgan dix coquillages (cyprées); au point de vue imitatif ces coquillages offrent cette étrangeté de n'avoir pas d'envers. Tous ces coquillages ont été faits en emboutissant des plaques de métal dans des creux et en les soudant ensuite deux à deux . . .'.

[3] J.W.Jackson, *Shells as evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture*, Manchester, 1917.

[4] Petrie, *Amulets*, 131 *b-g;* pls. xvii-xviii.

[5] E.O.James, *Prehistoric Religion*, 28.

[6] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXVIII, 27 and XXX, 49.

for letting me see the documents, which had been given to her department and to the Department of Manuscripts (in several donations in 1947, 1948, 1949, 1952) by Miss A. Sprake Jones on the request of Sir W.Davies, the Librarian.

There were no new maps or plans of the tomb; but among the great number of letters which Harold Jones wrote from Egypt to his family, there are a few which have some interest in connection with the tomb in question. The first was written on December 1, 1906, shortly before the discovery of the tomb, when Harold Jones was still digging with Garstang:

> . . . George is with me and comes across to the tombs of the Kings to camp tomorrow. I am going to use one of the tombs as a dining room.
> . . . Theodore Davis came . . . with Mrs. Andrews and his niece Miss Hardy a few days before I left Cairo . . .

More letters were written after the discovery of the tomb:

> Luxor Hotel, Feb. 3rd 1907 . . . Once again I am here, this time to do the drawing for Davis of the large piece of a shrine which was found covered with gilt stucco. I expect I shall be here for a week living at the tombs of the Kings.
> . . . Having met Howard Carter . . . Mr. Maspero, Naville, Prof. Wiedeman, Theo M. Davis . . . Weigall, The Inspector General of Antiquities of this district . . . I stayed till 10 o'clock having a fine time looking over the things he had found – gold diadem, canopic jars with beautiful portraits of Queen Thiy etc. etc.
> Feb. 5th . . . Today I have been interrupted by tourists and friends calling on me while at work and I lunched with Weigall.
> . . . I am working way down underground in a tomb at a side of a shrine 8 feet by 6 feet and it is covered with fine modelling in stucco overlaid with thick gold leaf almost as thick as this paper and highly varnished. As naturally it is dark underground I have electric light fitted on for me and I am doing a drawing quarter size on an imperial sheet of paper. Davis has heaps of small beautiful objects which *I hope* he will want me to copy for him but of which he has said nothing as yet . . .
> Feb. 16th . . . Still at Luxor on Mr. Davis' Dahabya and still painting the head of Queen Thiy of which Mr. Davis found 4 in Alabaster . . . Mr. Davis has very kindly offered me a present of £160 for next year towards my expenses for me to give up Garstang and his excavating . . .

From these letters it is evident that Harold Jones was employed by Theodore M. Davis very shortly after the ‘Tomb of Queen Tiye’ had been discovered, and mainly because of the discovery of the tomb.

ADDENDA

‘Finds from “The Tomb of Queen Tiye” in the Swansea Museum’, *JEA* 47 (1961), 66-70. (Part 1, 7.)

Extensive discussion of this tomb (KV 55) has occurred, and the most detailed account up to 1990 is said to be that of Dr. C.Nicholas Reeves in the second edition of Theodore M.Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tiyi*, San Francisco, 1990 (KMT Publications). Unhappily this book proved inaccessible in the UK – even in the Griffith Institute, Oxford and in the three London collections of the British Library, the British Museum, and the Egypt Exploration Society. An intrinsic difficulty stems from the fact that the tomb was intended to serve one particular royal person, but was actually used to serve another or others. Heated discussions concern the possibility that the main person involved (the owner of the coffin and the skeleton) was one of the following: Queen Tiye, Akhenaten, Smenkhkar^{a}‘, Kya, Meketaten, Meritaten, and Nefertiti.

In the same number of *JEA* where K.B.-G.’s article appeared, H.W.Fairman contributed a study entitled ‘Once Again the so-called Coffin of Akhenaten’ (*JEA* 47 (1961), 66-70), followed by Cyril Aldred’s on ‘The Tomb of Akhenaten at Thebes’ (ibid. 41-65). Fairman argued that the coffin was originally made for Meritaten, the eldest daughter of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, but that her body was later removed and replaced by that of Smenkhkar^{a}‘; the latter was afterwards favoured by some as the original owner of the tomb; cf. M.Eaton-Krauss, *The Sacrophagus of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1993), 14. Aldred’s article, on the other hand, while holding that the coffin was originally intended for Meritaten, argued strongly that it was adapted to receive the body of Akhenaten; and here the medical evidence is invoked. In a later article (‘The Harold Jones Collection’, *JEA* 48 (1962), 160-62) Aldred discusses the claim made by Fairman that K.B.-G.’s article provides ‘indirect support’ for his theory that Smenkhkar^{a}‘, and not Akhenaten, was buried in KV 55. He assigns her account to ‘mere hearsay’ and questions the claim that Harold Jones had himself removed the objects from the tomb; and he even suggests that thieves among the workmen had disposed of various objects of disparate origin to dealers in Luxor and that Davis, after retrieving some of these objects, ‘unloaded on him (Jones), objects that had never been in the tomb.’ K.B.-G., it should be noted, refrains from any conclusions about the ownership of the tomb and states that the Swansea finds only seem to complicate this difficult problem. See also Lyla Pinch-Brock in *JEA* 85 (1999), 223-6.

In his book (with R.H. Wilkinson), *The Complete Valley of the Kings* (London, 1996, repr. 1997), 79-80, Dr. Reeves gives a sympathetic account of Harold Jones and his work in various tombs. The suggestion that he could easily have been led astray by Davis concerning the source of the objects belies what is known about his standards. I am indebted to Mr. V.Anthony Donohue, as often, for a most helpful list of discussions relating to KV 55. His list goes up to 1998, and it includes the outstanding study by the late lamented Martha R.Bell, 'An Armchair Excavation of KV 55' (*JARCE* 27 (1990), 97-137). Of Harold Jones she writes as follows:

> On the whole Harold Jones' facsimilies seem to be more reliable and useful than the handcopies of Ayrton/Daressy or Sandman.

She duly discusses the Harold Jones contribution in a welcome tone of objectivity. Aidan Dodson in *GM* 132 (1993), 21-28 notes the 'sometimes violent debate' (p.21) which has marked discussions of KV 55; he finds the core meaning in the burial by Akhenaten of the male Smenkhkar^{a}'/Neferneferuaten; cf. too his remarks in the Acta of the Turin Congress, I (1992), 135-8, where he makes the valid point that there are parallels to the funerary use of objects derived from royal predecessors, as in the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn.

A leading scholar in this field is of course Dr. Nicholas Reeves, and Mr. Donohue kindly drew my attention to a BBC talk (Radio 4) which he delivered in July 1999. I asked Dr. Reeves whether he could give me a record of the talk, since the BBC did not publish it. With great speed and generosity, he sent me a cassette record. The talk is entitled 'Unearthing Mysteries: KV 55'. It is a masterly survey, focussing mainly on the body ('the greatest mystery of the tomb') and reaching the conclusion, after a detailed analysis of the medical studies, that the body is that of a 35 year old male and is probably that of Akhenaten.

A competing theory, as we have seen, is that the body is that of Smenkhkar^{a}', and Reeves accepts the view of Prof. John Harris that Smenkhkar^{a}' was now equated with Nefertiti: see Julia Samson, who supports this view, in her book *Amarna, City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (2nd Edn., Warminster, 1978), 107-39, with full references to the relevant publications by Harris. For a firm rejection of this theory see Donald B.Redford, *Akhenaten the Heretic King* (Princeton, 1984), 189-93; cf. Nicolas Grimal (tr. Ian Shaw), *A History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1992, original French, 1988), 237. Both these scholars believe that the body is that of Smenkhkar^{a}'. So too does Joyce Tyldesley in her *Nefertiti: Egypt's Sun Queen* (London, 1998), 160-63.

Debate and research are set to continue. According to an article by David Rohl in the *Daily Express* (October 27, 1999) Professor Geoffrey Martin, Dr. Nicholas Reeves and others have been given a concession 'to dig for new, undiscovered tombs in the Valley of the Kings'. They will aim to clear the area north of KV 62 (Tut'ankhamœn's tomb) and the adjacent KV 55 may well receive new illumination.

The small cluster of objects brought by Harold Jones from KV 55 include some which have irrefutable links to Akhenaten and his family; and the letters of Jones himself agree with the account given by his sister; the objects came from the tomb where he worked as excavator and artist.

Reverting to the problem of the second edition of the book by Th. M.Davies (1990), I realized that it must have been available on the continent. Harrassowitz in Wiesbaden had advertised it in 1993, but when I tried to buy a copy, there were none left. Eventually I sought the aid of my learned friend Professor Matthew Heerma van Voss, and he quickly located a copy in Leiden. In his kind letter to me (10 January 2000) he gives details of the relevant references supplied by Dr. Reeves in his bibliography. On p.xvi, N 2 15, he refers to the article by K.B.-G. in *JEA* 47 (1961), 6-70, and states: 'Objects formerly in the possession of Harold Jones, mistakenly identified as originating from KV 55; extracts from the Jones correspondence relating to the tomb's clearance.'

Reeves is also reported as citing on the same page, as n. 16, the article in *DE* 6 (1986), 7-10, and summarizing thus: 'Analysis of gold leaf said to come from the Tomb 55 shrine.' These two brief references show that Dr. Reeves is here renewing a dismissive attitude based on Aldred's discussion. His second reference is merely sceptical, while the first hardens into outright rejection ('mistakenly identified'). The absence of a detailed discussion minimizes the value of these verdicts. Needless to say, my gratitude to Professor Heerma van Voss remains fervent; and also to Dr. Reeves for other contributions by him.

See further Lyla Pinch-Brook in *JEA* 85 (1999), 223-6; and Reeves in *JEA* 67 (1981), 49. In *Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (Autumn 2000), 13-14, Joyce Filer presents a new examination of the body conducted at the Cairo Museum: 'The KV 55 body: the facts.' Her conclusion is that 'this was a man between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years.' She adds that it is now up to historians to decide whether Akhenaten or Smenkhkar^{ac} is involved. 'Or could it be neither?'. On the problems relating to 'Smenkhkar^{ac}-Nefertiti' see Dominic Montserrat, *Akhenaten: History, Fantasy and Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 2000), 28.

Part I, 8

GOLD-LEAF FROM THE SHRINE OF QUEEN TIYE

Discussions in Egyptology 6 (1986), 7-10, with 1 fig.

The commemorative exhibition at Carmarthen Museum (21.6. – 27.9.86) for the 75th anniversary of the death of Harold Jones[1] offers an opportunity to publish a recent analysis of gold-leaf from the Shrine of Queen Tiye.

Harold Jones, excavator (mainly with John Garstang) and illustrator (mainly with Theodore M.Davis), died in 1911 and was buried in `Luxor's sand'. I became first conscious of his existence in 1959, when his sister, Miss Annie Sprake-Jones, donated to the Swansea Museum (The Royal Institution of South Wales) a number of ancient Egyptian objects which had been given to her by her brother, among them some gold-leaf from the tomb of Queen Tiye.[2] This is mentioned in the guide through the exhibition[3] as well as the fact (p.6) that 'the American Theodore M.Davis . . . had recently found the so-called Tomb of Queen Tiye' and that 'Jones was initially employed in drawing a large gilt shrine from the tomb'. The most impressive drawing from this shrine made by Harold Jones was also shown in the Memorial Exhibition, not in the original form but in the publication by Th.M.Davis:[4] Queen Tiye pouring a libation to the Aten. She is preceded by her son whose figure has been erased.[5]

About the crumbling condition of the gold-leaf it may suffice to quote the note written by Mrs. Emma B.Andrews who saw the tomb when it was newly opened:[6] "I seemed to be walking on gold and even the Arab working working inside had some of it sticking in his woolly hair.'

Part of the importance of the shrine and the gold-leaf lies in the fact that it can be dated by the inscription with the later name of the Aten to the late years of Akhenaten, who made it for his mother. A comparison with the shrines of Tut'ankhamœn, which had not yet been discovered at the time,

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[1] *A Son to Luxor's Sand*, a commemorative exhibition of Egyptian Art from the collection of the British Museum and Carmarthen Museum, April 1986.

[2] Kate Bosse-Griffiths, 'Finds from "the tomb of Queen Tiye" in the Swansea Museum'; in *JEA* 47 (1961), 66-70 = above, I, 7.

[3] See note 1 above, p.14.

[4] Theodore M.Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tiyi*, (London, 1910) pl.XXXIII.

[5] For the complete scene see Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten*, 1968, fig. 102 (drawing) and pl.95 (photograph).

[6] See note 4, p.97.

reveals the unmythological attitude to death which characterised the Amarna period.

The bits of foil from the shrine which had been given to the Swansea Museum, although interesting in themselves, were for various reasons an unlikely object for exhibition and remained stored away for many years. But the fact that I am now in charge of the Wellcome Museum at University College, Swansea made a new and more positive approach possible: a chemical analysis of the gold following the examples given by Harris-Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials.*[1] Mr. A.P. Greenough of the Department of Metallurgy and Technology showed a keen interest in the task and I am glad to be able to give here the result of his examination.

Examination of Egyptian gold foil

> X-ray emission spectroscopy of an apparently clean area of foil in the stereoscan electron microscope showed that the gold contained appreciable silver and a small amount (probably about 0.5%) of copper. Traces of silicon and calcium indicated that a small amount of contamination was present. The area of foil contaminated by a surface film showed in addition to gold, silver and a trace of copper, large amounts of silicon and calcium and some potassium and iron. This suggests that the film was essentially a very fine lime/sand mix. Plaster of Paris seems to be ruled out since sulphur was not detected. A small rounded particle attached to the film was high in iron content, indicating that the particle was ochre. A metallographic section showed that the foil was of variable thickness, typically 5 x 10^{-3} mm (= 0.005 mm). A small (0.6mg) sample of foil with surface film in places was assayed. Gold and silver made up 97% of the sample, confirming that the copper content was low. The silver content was about 2%. These figures must be regarded as approximate in view of the small weight of the sample and sensitivity of available balance (0.01 mg).
>
> A.P.Greenough, 30.6.86.

These results can be usefully compared with analyses by W.B.Pollard[2] of gold coming from the tomb of Yuaa and Thuia: (19): gold 96.4%; silver 1.9%; copper pres.; not det. 1.7% (20): gold 82.3%; silver 14.3%; copper

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[1] Lucas and Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, (London, 1962), 490 (Appendix) giving results of the analyses of various different specimens of gold from Ancient Egypt.

[2] Lucas and Harris, op.cit, 490., Nos 19-22: Analysis by W.P.Pollard and J.E.Quibell, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu*. (Cairo, 1968), 78-79.

1.5% not det.1.9% Petrie is also quoted for stating[1] that leaf was often about 0.0051 mm thick.

The surface film on the gold-leaf seems to confirm that the gold-leaf had been collected from the ground.

The outline drawing is the figure of Queen Tiye as drawn by Harold Jones while the shrine was still *in situ*.

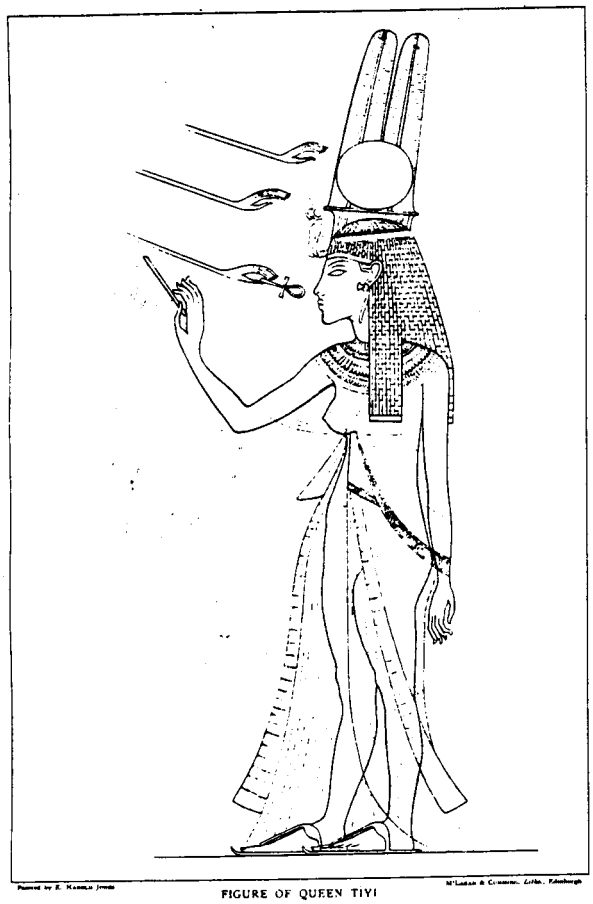

Figure of Queen Tiye

[1] Lucas and Harris, op.cit., 231.

Part I, 9

THE GREAT ENCHANTRESS IN THE LITTLE GOLDEN SHRINE OF TUT‘ANKHAM¡N

JEA 59 (1973), 100-108, with 2 Pls and 2 Figs.

The little golden shrine is one of five objects of the treasures of Tut‘ankhamœn with pictures of the King and Queen in Amarna style. The others are the golden throne, an ornamental chest, an alabaster lamp upon a trellis pedestal, and gold open-work ornament which probably comes from a harness.[1] All these objects show the young king and his queen in a variety of actions which apparently have nothing to do with funerary themes. They have not yet been treated together. In a description of the ornamented chest in the British Museum Exhibition of ‘Treasures of Tutankhamun’,[2] however, it is stated that no more than four pieces from the tomb of Tut‘ankhamœn ‘show the king and queen together in a style reminiscent of so much in the art of the preceding Amarna Period but different in theme’. The most detailed description of the little golden shrine, so far, is also to be found in the same Guide.[3]

On the whole, the inclination has been to interpret the scenes in a domestic sense. Carter[4] himself had set the tone when he described the pictures on the little golden shrine thus:

> *a series of little panels . . . depicting, in delightfully naive fashion a number of episodes in the daily life of king and queen. In all these scenes the dominant note is that of friendly relationship between the husband and the wife, the unselfconscious friendliness that marks the Tell el Amarna school.*

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[1] All these objects are mentioned in *A Brief Description of the Principal Monuments of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, (Cairo, 1964), 144 ff. among ‘Objects from the Tomb of Tut‘ankhamœn’ and also in *A Handlist to Howard Carter’s Catalogue of Objects in Tut‘ankhamœn’s Tomb* compiled by Helen Murray and Mary Nuttall (Oxford, 1968). Given the numbers of the Handlist first and the numbers of the Cairo Museum Guide in brackets, they are registered as follows: the little golden shrine 168 (14); the golden throne 91 (1); the ornamented chest 540 and 551 (1189); an alabaster lamp 173 (184); a gold open-work ornament 519 (557).

[2] I.E.S. Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (Guide through the 1972 Exhibition at the British Museum), no.21.

[3] No.25.

[4] Howard Carter and A.C.Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen* (London, 1923), 119f.

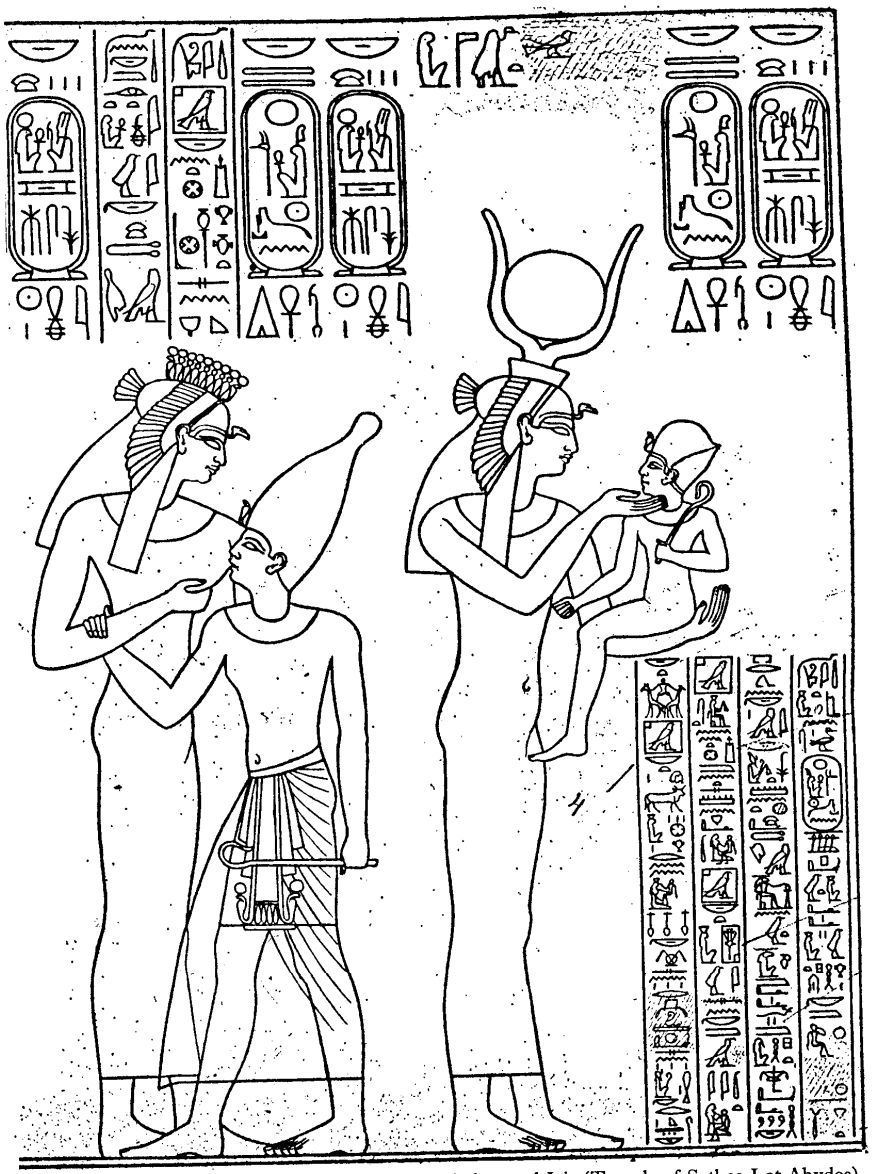

FIG. 1. The nursing of the young Ramesses by Hathor and Isis (Temple of Sethos I at Abydos).

Pl. 1

1. As found, enveloped with strings of cloth: seen here from the back.
2. Unwrapped, showing *Wrt-§k3w* nursing Tut‘ankhamœn

NECKLACE AND GOLD PENDANT WITH SNAKE-DEITY IN THE LITTLE GOLDEN SHRINE.

Courtesy Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Pl. 2

Above: the anointment of the King; below: Tut‘ankhamœn on the throne of Horus

THE BACK OF THE LITTLE GOLDEN SHRINE OF TUT‘ANKHAM¡N

Courtesy Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Penelope Fox[1] calls them 'charming, unaffected, domestic' and Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt[2] interprets them as 'a variety of episodes centred upon their relationship as lovers'. Cyril Aldred,[3] who had stated in 1963 that the famous scene on the back panel of the throne of Tut'ankhamœn shows the Queen 'anointing her husband during the coronation ceremonies', was able to write in 1967[4] about the 'domestic nature' of exactly the same scene. Edwards[5] follows a similar line when he says that 'on the outer faces of the door are representations of incidents in the daily life of the king and the queen'. But otherwise he shows a new direction of approach when he compares the little golden shrine with the *per wer* of Nekhbet, which together with the *per nu* of *Wedjoyet* formed the *iterty*; the two sanctuaries were regarded, it is said, as 'representative of the sanctuaries of all the local deities in the respective regions of the united kingdom', the vulture goddess of El-Kâb, Nekhbet, being the tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt and the serpent goddess of Buto, Wedjoyet, the tutelary goddess of Lower Egypt.

Edwards is also the first to draw attention to the importance of 'The Great Enchantress' in the hieroglyphic inscription of the little golden shrine. Discussing the inscriptions on the jamb of the doorway, he states concerning the King that 'in each case he is proclaimed as "beloved of (the goddess) Urt Hekau", a name meaning "The Great Enchantress" who is called in another inscription on the shrine "Lady of the Palace"'. He is doubtful, however, about the identity of the Great Enchantress, and later on (in connection with a scene on the right side of the shrine) he suggests that she may be 'Isis, Hathor or Mut, any one of whom may be called the Great Enchantress'.

There is no satisfying evidence, up to now, to explain why incidents of 'the daily life of the king and queen' should be depicted on the walls of a state sanctuary (even if it is a sanctuary in miniature). The identity of the 'Great Enchantress' who plays such an important part on the shrine also deserves closer scrutiny.

It is here that I have been able to gather additional information concerning the identity of the goddess and, closely connected with this, concerning the meaning of the pictures of the shrine and the significance of the shrine itself. To begin with the 'Great Enchantress': as if obedient to the rules of true magic, the name *Wrt §k3w* appears at the end of each vertical inscription on all four corners of the shrine – that is eight times – and additionally once on the roof and once on the right-hand side of the shrine,

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[1] *Tutankhamun's Treasures* (Oxford, 1957), 16.
[2] *Tutankhamen* (Penguin Books, 1965), 197.
[3] *The Egyptians* (London, 1963), 254.
[4] Id., *Akhenaten* (London, 1969), pl.10.
[5] See nn. 2 and 3 above.

as mentioned above. Eight times the King is called 'beloved of *Wrt §k3w'* although the shrine has the form of the sanctuary of the Upper Egyptian goddess Nekhbet, who is not commonly known as 'Great Enchantress'. The solution to the identity of *Wrt §k3w* is to be found inside the shrine. While on the outside the dominant theme seems to be the relationship between King and Queen, inside the shrine the King is literally to be seen represented in the embrace of *Wrt §k3w*. The Handlist[1] mentions three objects which remained in the shrine after the thieves had interfered with it, namely 108a, stand for a statuette; 108b, part of a corslet and collar; 108c, necklace and gold snake-deity pendant. While the stand for the statuette and the reconstructed corslet have been pictured in books,[2] the 'snake-deity pendant' has remained almost unnoticed. Carter[3] called it 'a large gold pendant in the shape of a very rare snake goddess' and the 'Brief Description'[4] of the Cairo Museum (under n.85) speaks of a 'pendant representing a serpent goddess of gilded wood'. But so far, no picture of it has been published.

In 1966 I was able to see the object in the Cairo Museum where it was exhibited in Hall 4, the room of the gold coffin, in case 34. Dr. Abd el-Rahman, then Director of the Museum, was most helpful in getting photographers to take a picture of the object in his presence. Unfortunately, I did not receive the promised print. I am therefore most grateful to the Griffith Institute, Oxford, and especially to Miss Helen Murray, who made it possible for me to get prints from photographs taken during the excavation of the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn of the snake amulet and of several aspects of the little golden shrine. She also most helpfully provided for me copies of Carter's notes describing the necklace with the snake amulet, and of several photographs related to the subject.

The two photographs of the necklace with the snake-deity pendant are shown here for the first time (pl.1, and 2). The first picture shows the necklace as it was when it was taken out of the little golden shrine, where it had been lying under what remained of the ceremonial corslet, 'bound round with strings of cloth' (back view). In the second photograph appears the necklace with pendant unwrapped and in frontal view. The pendant is described in Carter's notes as

> Goddess with plumed and horned head-dress and snake body, suckling a standing figure of the King. Made of heavy plate gold on? Two large suspension rings at back, just below head-dress. *Inscription on base.*

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[1] See n. 1, p. 111.
[2] For example in Carter and Mace, op.cit.I, pl.38.
[3] Op.cit.I, 120.
[4] See above n. 1.

Dimensions. Pendant H. 14 cm, max. width 7.3 cm max. thickness .6 [cm]

There are also six strings of beads strung on the two figures of the pendant: one just below the head-dress of the goddess; one round her head; two round her neck; one round the King's neck, and one round the King's legs.

The King is standing completely impassive with his hands hanging down at the sides of his body. He is wearing the *khepresh*-crown with uraeus, the usual head-dress of the Egyptian kings during the Eighteenth Dynasty. He wears sandals and is dressed in a kilt with a big apron, and is decorated with a bead collar and bracelets. Although he is standing on a pedestal he is only about half the size of the goddess. She is putting her left arm around the little king's shoulder, while her right hand is guiding his mouth to her breast. From the inscription we understand that this is 'the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb-kheperu-R^{a}', beloved by *Wrt §k3w*, the mistress of heaven'. In fact, this group of uraeus-goddess and King seems like a pictorial representation of part of utterance 508 of the Pyramid Texts.[1]

> *The Mistress of Buto rejoices and she who is in Nekheb is glad*
> *On that day when the King advances in the place of R^{a}. . .*
> *That he may go up thereon unto his mother,*
> *The living uraeus, that is upon the head of R^{a} . . .*
> *She has compassion on him,*
> *She gives him her breast that he may suck it . . .*
> *The god is on his throne,*
> *Well is it that the god is on his throne.* (1115c).

It seems therefore that the *Wrt §k3w* named so often on the outside of the little golden shrine is the uraeus goddess Wedjoyet of Buto, the crown goddess who with her divine milk prepares the King for his office.

Looking more closely at the outside of the little shrine, one can see there, too, as Edwards has noticed, that 'a winged uraeus with the eternity sign between the wings occupies the entire length of each of the vertical sides of the roof'. To dispel any doubt that this is the correct interpretation one can compare the coronation scene in the temple of Queen §atshepsut at Deir el-Ba¤ari[2] in which *Wrt §k3w* as well as Amœn are taking part. *Wrt §k3w*, here shown as a goddess with lion-head and crowned with the sun-disc, is stretching her *menat*-necklace towards Queen §atshepsut with the words:

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[1] *Pyr*. 1107*b* ff. Cf. Sethe, *Komm*. V. 6ff.; Faulkner, *Pyr*. *Texts*, 183.
[2] Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, IV (EEF, 1901), pl.101 and p.5.

To be spoken by the Great Enchantress:
'Daughter of my body, beloved . . .
I have suckled thee on his throne
to be a king lasting eternally'

The word for suckle, *rnn* is here written with the determinative of a woman giving suck to her child. So, even if the appearance may vary, the Great Enchantress who suckles the King also prepares him for his coronation.

Iconographically the closest parallel for a goddess giving suck to a standing boy-king is perhaps to be found in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos.[1] There a number of Hathor-goddesses are suckling the young Ramesses, who is wearing different crowns, with Hathor of Dendera, Hathor of Diospolis, Hathor of Cusae, and Hathor of Aphroditopolis, while Isis herself is holding in her arms a still smaller sitting figure of the infant king wearing the *khepresh*-crown (fig. 1). Ramesses is here named *Lord of the Two Lands* as well as *Lord of the crowns*.

The important role played by *Wrt §k3w* during the coronation of the King is also confirmed by an inscription on the back of the double statue of §arem¤ab and his queen Mutnodjme, which gives a written record of §arem¤ab's coronation at Luxor:[2]

Then did he proceed to the King's house, (when) he (Amœn) had placed him (§arem¤ab) before himself, to the Per-Wer of his noble daughter the Great-[of-Magic [Wrt §k3w], *her arms] in welcoming attitude, and she embraced his beauty and established herself on his forehead, and the Divine Ennead, the lords of Per-neser were in exultation at the glorious arising . . . Behold, Amœn is come, his son in front of him, to the Palace* ('¤) *in order to establish his crown upon his head and in order to prolong his period like to himself . . .*

By fixing the uraeus on the forehead of §arem¤ab, his right to be king is established although he was not of royal blood. The uraeus on the royal forehead is, of course, Wedjoyet. One need not be disturbed by the fact that *Wrt §k3w* is called the daughter of Amœn, for her followers are still to be found among the Lords of Buto (*Per-neser*).

Now it becomes clear what it means when, on the left side of the little golden shrine, *Wrt §k3w* is once called *nbt* '¤ in the inscription

[1] Mariette, *Abydos* (Paris, 1869), I, pl.25, temple of Sethos, Salle C.
[2] Sir Alan Gardiner, "The Coronation of King §arem¤ab', *JEA* 39 (1953), 13-31, p.15.

Tut‘ankhamœn, Lord of the crowns (nb kh‘w), *beloved by the Great Enchantress*, *Lady of the Palace* (nbt ‘¤).

One has to conclude, then, that every time *Wrt §k3w* is named in the inscriptions of the little golden shrine, she is understood to be the cobra goddess Wedjoyet of Buto in her office as coronation goddess and that this little shrine has a meaningful relation to the coronation of Tut‘ankhamœn himself.

A closer study of the pictures and inscriptions on the outside of the shrine support and confirm this conclusion. Direct proof can be gained from the lower of the two pictures at the back of the shrine (pl.II) which can in no way be interpreted as a mere ‘episode in the daily life of the king and queen’. Edwards gives a detailed description without commenting on its probable significance:

> In the lower scene the king, seated on a throne and wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, raises his left hand to receive from the queen two notched palm-ribs, the hieroglyphic sign for ‘years’. Within these signs are the symbols for jubilee festivals and also amulet signs in groups. They are attached at the bottom to single tadpoles – the sign for ‘100,000’ – mounted on the sign for ‘eternity’. The inscription behind the king reads: ‘The son of R^{a}, Lord of Diadems, Tut‘ankhamœn has appeared in glory on the throne of Horus like R^{a}.’

There are only a few small points where I would differ. The King, it seems to me, raises his left hand in greeting while his right hand clutches the crook and flail. Perhaps it would be better also to translate ¤*‘w* as ‘crowns’ instead of ‘diadems’, as the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, for example, which are included in the concept of ¤*‘w*, are evidently not diadems in the strict sense of the word (something which is tied around the head). Gardiner himself is not quite consistent in his translation of the inscription of §arem¤ab. In line 17, where the word ¤*‘w* used for the crowns which Amœn sets upon the head of the king is determined with the *khepresh*-crown (the ‘blue’ crown), he translates it ‘crowns’, while in the introductory line 1 he renders *nb* ¤*‘w* as ‘Lord of Diadems’.

In fact, this scene is almost an illustration of the ceremony described in the §arem¤ab inscription (line 18) where the new King received the *Jubilees of R^{a} ` and the years of Horus as king* and also of the words in line 26 *mayest thou give him millions of jubilees*.

The decisive symbolic objects in this ceremony are the ‘notched palm-ribs’ in connection with tadpole, the sign for eternity, and the symbols for jubilee festivals (double halls with and without thrones, and bowl with diamond pattern). These occur mainly in pictures connected with the

coronation and the *Sed*-festival, which in essence is a repetition of the coronation.

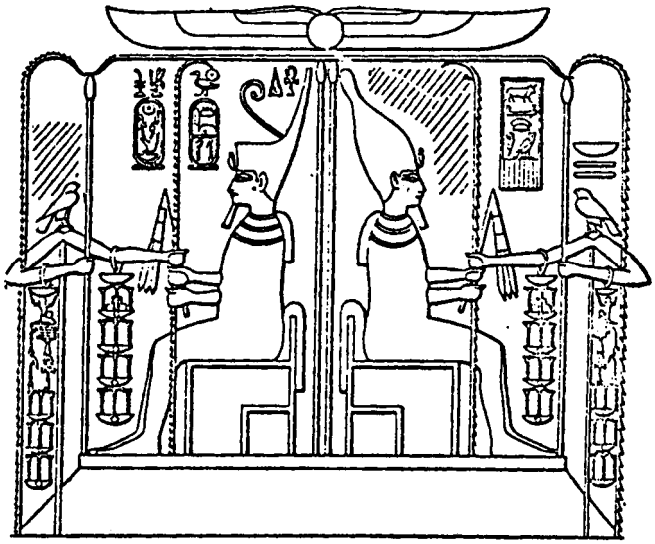

Fig. 2 Amenophis III in the Double Hall of the *Sed*-Festival
(Temple of Amenophis III, Luxor)

A close parallel to our picture of a king sitting on his throne wearing the red crown and receiving the notched palm-ribs can be found in a *Sed*-festival scene from Medamœd[1] where Sesostris (Kha‘kaw- R^{ac}) is sitting in the twin pavilion on his throne wearing in one half the white crown of Upper Egypt and in the other the red crown of Lower Egypt. He receives notched palm-ribs from Horus and Seth-Nubty who are perched on standards with human hands while near by are the tadpole and symbols for eternity. The double pavilion is surmounted by the winged sun-disc of Horus of Be¤det exactly like the front of the little gold shrine. The only striking difference is that Tut‘ankhamœn is wearing the ordinary royal dress and not the all-enveloping white coat. Another similar scene is to be found in the Luxor temple[2] showing Amenophis III sitting in the twin pavilion and receiving notched palm-ribs and symbols of jubilees from Horus-falcons perched on standards, again under the protection of the winged sun-disc (fig.2). One might be inclined to assume that the Queen rather than the ‘Gods’ (or their symbols) was chosen to present, at the coronation of Tut‘ankhamœn, the

[1] A good reproduction is to be found in H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago,1948), fig.25.
[2] A.Gayet, *Le Temple de Luxor* (Mem. Miss.F., 15, Cairo, 1894), pl.71,fig. 177.

jubilees and the years of Horus in the tradition of Amarna, as a device of adapting traditions without obliterating them.

But even here a precedent is given by Amenophis III, as is shown on a carnelian plaque carved in relief. This was found near the entrance of the tomb of Amenophis III.[1] Here the King is again shown seated in the double pavilion which is resting on a bowl with diamond pattern (the symbol for *Sed*-festival) and surmounted by the winged sun-disc. Amenophis III is dressed in the festival garment; he carries the flail and crook, and wears the red and white crown respectively. In front of him stands Queen Tiye (her name is written behind her) wearing a tall plume on her head and holding in one hand the notched palm-rib on tadpole and eternity sign, and in the other something like a flower.

It is evident, therefore, that for their coronation ceremonies Tut'ankhamœn and his Queen are only following examples set already by King Amenophis III and Queen Tiye.

Once the true character of this scene has been established many other peculiarities become clear and fall into their place: for example the naming of Pta¤ and Sakhmet as well as Amœn and Mut as the King's father and mother on the frame of the back; the recording in full of the five great names of the King which are given to him during the coronation, on the left and right side of the shrine.

> *May he live, the Horus, mighty Bull, Beautiful-of-Birth,*
> *The Two Ladies, Goodly-of-Laws, who pacify the Two Lands,*
> *The Horus of Gold, Exalted-of-Crowns who placates the gods,*
> *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Neb-kheperu- R^{a} ', given life. The son of R^{a}', Tut'ankhamœn;*

also the appearance of lapwings in adoration on the inside of the doors of the shrine and the lapwing on the left hand of the ruler on the outside of one door.

I want to address myself here to the interpretation of the uppermost picture at the back of the shrine (pl.II). It is an anointing scene in which a vulture holding the symbols for eternity and life hovers behind the head of the King, who is wearing the *khepresh*-crown and is sitting on a throne which carries as an ornament the symbol for the union of the two countries. Edwards describes the Queen as follows:

> The queen stoops towards the king, her right hand touching his left arm. In her left hand she holds in addition to a bunch of lotus flowers and

[1] Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten*, 217, figs. 90 and 91.

buds hanging downwards, an unguent-cone holder mounted on a stand and decorated with lotus flowers. *Apparently it is a replacement for the unguent-cone holder with plumes already on the queen's head above the crown of uraei.*

With his last sentence, which is here given in italics, I cannot possibly agree. According to any standard the Queen could hardly be involved in such a double action, carrying spare equipment for herself and 'touching' the King at the same time.

That the cone in the hand of the Queen is not a mere 'replacement' becomes obvious when one compares this scene with the almost identical scene on the back panel of the golden throne, which has the additional advantage of showing the figures in colour. It has already been interpreted by Aldred as 'the queen anointing her husband during the coronation ceremonies'.[1] Here the Queen is carrying her ceremonial crown on her head, and not the cone-holder; in fact there is no cone-holder at all but only a small basin in the left hand of the Queen. Otherwise the similarities between the two pictures are striking: the same attitudes of King and Queen, the same dress, the same throne with the symbol of the union of the two countries; even the different position of the left arm of the Queen may have artistic reasons in that overcutting of lines on a gold surface is thus avoided.

The decisive difference lies in the crowns and in the gods who are patrons of the scene. On the throne the hands of the sun are giving life to King and Queen, while on the little golden shrine it is the tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt, the vulture, who is the life-giving power.

One rather surprising similarity is to be found in the titles of the Queen, who both times is called *rp'.t wrt ¤nt nbt i3mt mrwt ¤nwt t3wy*: *the great princess, the cherished and loved one, Lady of the Two Lands*. But only on the little golden shrine is she also called *great beloved wife of the king*.

As the name of Aten is not yet completely deleted from the golden throne, and the sun-disc is still shown in its Amarna form, it is clear that the picture on the throne shows an older and less censored version of the anointment scene.

There remain still many problems to be solved, but it will be difficult to deny that the picture on the throne as well as the picture on the back of the little shrine show the anointment of the King during his coronation, and that the little golden shrine itself is a model of the *pr-wr* in which the King was crowned. Quite possibly representations in relief were shown on the actual *pr-wr* just as inscriptions and scenes were shown already on the outside of the sanctuary erected by King Sesostris I at Karnak on the occasion of his

[1] See above n. 3, p. 115.

Sed-festival.[1] It seems likely that all the 'intimate' scenes of King and Queen are representations of happenings during the coronation and that the objects on which they appear were used during the coronation itself: the alabaster lamp with the translucent picture of the Queen extending the notched palm-ribs to the King would certainly be most suitable for such a purpose and the decorated chest, too, might have kept the coronation robes; even the golden open-work ornament shows the Queen touching, perhaps anointing, the King, and might have been used during the coronation procession.

Edwards himself has designated certain objects of Tut'ankhamœn's treasure as ones which might have been used during the coronation: these are the little gold figure[2] of the King and the flail[3] which still bears the name of Tut'ankhamœn. He claims that 'it is at least possible that this object was used by Tutankhaten in his coronation at El-Amarna when he was about nine years of age and before he was crowned at Karnak'.

I assume that all objects which show the notched palm-rib on top of the tadpole and symbol of eternity were made to be used during the coronation, and especially the ceremonial corslet found (in parts) in the little golden shrine with its picture of the god Amœn himself presenting the notched palm-rib and the festival-hall as well as the sign of life to the young King.[4]

If this is correct, the part of the treasure of Tut'ankhamœn which is connected with the coronation achieves a new historical importance which goes far beyond the significance of the symbolic and material value of objects made for funerary use only.

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[1] See for example Eberhard Otto, *Egyptian Art and the Cult of Osiris and Amon* (London, 1968), pl.21.
[2] Edwards, op.cit. no.22
[3] Ibid.,no.44.
[4] Detlef M. Noack, *Tut Ench Amun* (Cologne, 1966?), pl.60.

Part I, 10

FURTHER REMARKS ON *Wrt §k3w* (THE GREAT ENCHANTRESS)

JEA 62, (1976) 181-2

In the article printed above (*JEA* 62 (1976), 100-107) Dr. Robert Hari tries to draw a distinction between 'Ourt-Hekaou' *(Wrt §k3w)* and 'Ouret-Hekaout', that is between 'The Great Enchantress' and 'La Grande-en-grains'. He maintains that the goddess of the pendant found in the little golden shrine of Tut'ankhamœn is really 'Ouret-Hekaout', while the goddess mentioned repeatedly in the inscriptions on the outside of the shrine is 'Ouret-Hekaou' (p.101):

> Le pendentif . . . représente la déesse Ouret-Hekaout – et non Ouret-Hekaou mentionée a dix reprises dans les textes de cette chapelle.

For reasons of etymology I cannot agree with that distinction. Dr. Hari derives the name of his so-called 'Ouret-Hekaout' from the word for 'measure de grains' (*Wb.*III, 174,15) which he reads ¤*k3t* or ¤*k3wt* (p.100, note 4) but which in fact should be read ¤*¢3t*. There is no suggestion that *k* and *¢* are here at any time interchangeable.

The Goddess Renenet, who according to Dr. Hari is frequently assimilated to or identified with 'Ouret-Hekaout' (p.2) and is often represented as a goddess with serpent head, has, however, another frequent epithet as *nbt k3w*, 'Mistress of Food' (for *k3w* = 'Speise' see *Wb.*v,93). Ample references for the various epithets of this goddess can be found in a list of epithets of Renenwetet collected by J.Broekhuis, *De Godin Renenwetet* (Assen, 1971), 142-8.

A second point of disagreement concerns the provenance of the pendant, as Dr. Hari states (p.101):

> Si réellement, le pendentif 108c provient bien de la chapelle, il ne lui est pas nécessairement lié, puisqu'il représente la déesse Ouret-Hekaout – et non Ouret-Hekaou.

As his distinction between two goddesses of these names has not been proved, the statement really puts the cart before the horse.

The pendant was discovered by Carter inside the shrine, as stated in his card-index concerning 108c: 'Position under (b) bound round with thin strips of cloth', which means that it was found under the ceremonial corslet. At the most one could argue that the pendant was put into the shrine by mistake during the clearing-up operations after thieves had entered the tomb.

The actual connection between the shrine and the pendant is suggested by analogy: in a number of shrines from the tomb the King is called 'beloved' by the god who occupies the shrine. For example, on the 'Hawk Standard' inside one shrine (*Handlist*, 283) he is called 'Osiris Neb-Kheperu- Rª', beloved by Sopdu'; in another shrine (*Handlist*, 296) an inscription on the figure of Menkaret calls the 'Good God Men-kheperu-Rª'' beloved by Menkaret', and so on.

It is logical to assume that the shrine on which the King (and twice King and Queen together) is called 'beloved by *Wrt §k3w*' should contain a figure of *Wrt §k3w*. And if a figure of a goddess is found inside this shrine on which 'the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neb-kheperu- Rª'' is called 'beloved by *Wrt §k3w*', it is difficult to escape the conclusion, that both belong together and represent the same goddess.

But I have to thank Dr. Robert Hari for drawing my attention to a picture of the pendant in an article by J.Leibovitch on 'Gods of Agriculture and Welfare in Ancient Egypt' (*JNES* 12 (1953), 73-113, fig. 15). I was therefore wrong in stating that 'no picture of it had been published'. In fact, only the picture of the pendant in its wrapping was unpublished. However, Leibovitch mentions the pendant only very briefly. He does not state the provenance of his picture apart from the fact that the pendant belongs to the treasures of Tut'ankhamœn. He simply assumes that 'the Goddess can only be Renenutet who is being assimilated to Isis, following a principle of syncretism'. He takes 'the great one in magic' as an epithet of Isis and the King in the attitude of being suckled as an assimilation to Neper, the god of grain. Broekhuis (op.cit.98), however, does not accept this interpretation as the King is called 'son of Neper' in the hymn of Sethos I. He concludes instead that the child nursed by a snake-headed goddess on the stela of Sethos I must be the Horus-King himself.

As Leibovitch had not noticed the factual relation between the shrine and the pendant, his interpretation of its meaning could only be conjectural, and I see no need to differentiate between the *Wrt §k3w* inside and outside the shrine.

A more delicate problem is the identity of this *Wrt §k3w* herself, as 'The great of magic' is a title which can belong to a number of goddesses. Dr. Hari wants to identify her with the lion-headed coronation goddess who appears on the stela of §orem¤eb in his article, and concedes

> L'idée que le monument est essentiellement en relation avec le couronnement paraît donc logique.

But is it right to assume that this lion-headed goddess called *nbt* '¤ (Lady of the Palace) on the shrine and on the stela has a separate existence as a coronation goddess?

Ramesses III was nursed by *Wrt ¤k3wt* (sic) *nbt ‘¤* (Broekhuis, op.cit. 8) and on one of the pectorals of Tut‘ankhamœn (*Handlist* 267 q) the lion-headed Sakhmet is shown in a coronation scene together with her consort, the god Pta¤, while the uraeus serpent appears behind Pta¤ between symbols of the *Sed*-festival.

Would it not be nearer to Egyptian thinking to accept the lion-headed goddess and the uraeus serpent (*Wedjoyet*) as different forms of appearance of the daughter of R^{a}‘ as they are united already in a Middle Kingdom hymn to Hathor in the tomb of Antefoker (Schafik Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, Berlin, 1963, 139) where Sakhmet and the uraeus serpent are names for one and the same goddess?

It is important to notice that the scenes on the outside of the shrine still belong to the Amarna period with its antipathy to idols. *Wrt ¤k3w* stands for the coronation deity rather than for any lion-headed or snake-bodied goddess. Dr. Hari agrees that most of the scenes on the shrine have parallels in coronation pictures; he even convincingly compares the striding king in the papyrus boat holding birds in his outstretched hand with the ‘Vogel-lauf’ which occasionally was part of the coronation ceremonies. Yet he finds difficulties with the scenes of King and Queen pouring out fertilizing water. But these ceremonies too, can easily be understood if one ignores the frivolities of dress and attitude and concentrates on the symbolic action and the symbolic chains of mandrake fruit (so much beloved in Amarna symbolism) worn by the King. A parallel can be found in *Sed*-festival scenes of Amenophis III at Luxor (Gayet, *Luxor,* Mém. Mission 15, pl.8, fig.47) where the King is pouring out two streams of life-giving water (*ir.f dy ‘n¥*) into two basins which are held up by an ‘*ankh*-sign with arms. The King stands in front of Amœn and is followed by his double in the form of a Nile God.

It would be useful to collect more scenes from Amarna art itself which correspond to scenes on the shrine, and to compare also other scenes from the treasure of Tut‘ankhamœn with pictures of gods (as for example the coronation scene before Amœn on the pectoral of the ceremonial corslet *Handlist*, 54K).

But the relation between the *Wrt §k3w* of the shrine with the coronation of Tut‘ankhamœn is almost beyond doubt.

Part I, 11

REVIEW OF M.EATON-KRAUSS AND E.GRAEFE, *The Small Golden Shrine* (1985).

JEA 75 (1989), 271-3

The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamœn,
By M.Eaton-Krauss and E.Graefe 290 x 215 mm
Pp. xii + 43, pls. 29. Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1985,
ISBN 0 900416 48 3. Price £18.00

At the *Deutscher Orientalistentag* in Berlin in March, 1984, Erhart Graefe read a paper entitled "Zur Deutung der Bilder auf dem vergoldeten Schrein des Königs Tutanchamun". This shrine (Find no.108) is famous for its scenes in raised relief which depict Tut'ankhamœn and his Queen 'Ankhesenamûn. It was one of the chief objects in the exhibition of the Treasures of Tut'ankhamœn at the British Museum in London, in 1972, and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, in 1976, where a general description of it was written by I.E.S. Edwards. M. Eaton-Krauss (Berlin) and E. Graefe (Freiburg i.Br.) decided to collaborate in the publication of this book. There is no indication of how much each of them contributed.

The four chapters of the book deal respectively with 'The Shrine and its Contents' (1); 'The Relief Decoration of the Shrine: Description' (2); 'The Relief Decoration of the Shrine: Interpretation' (3); 'Style and Dating of the Shrine' (4). Photographs of all the objects described are given and the original photographs by Harry Burton are supplemented by new ones. There are diagrams which show the exact position of the original hieroglyphic text. The hieroglyphs were written by Marion Cox after the authors' collated hand-copies.

The actual description of the scenes, the inscriptions and the costumes is exemplary. The treatment of the extant literature is conscientious and thorough, with 262 footnotes for forty-three pages of text.

Their main contribution to present-day research is a proposed solution and explanation of the intended purpose of the shrine. Against previous discussion by W.Westendorf, K.Bosse-Griffiths and R.Hari (p.25) they reject the shrine's specific function in the funerary cult as well as a direct link with Tut'ankhamœn's coronation. Instead they propose (p.29) that

> the decoration of the small golden shrine is intended to document Ankhesenamun's ideological role as Tutankhamœn's queen, this being in turn the transposition of the wife's traditional role in ancient Egypt into the royal sphere.

The weak link in the chain of arguments for the interpretation of the scenes lies in their unequal treatment of the contents of the shrine. While much attention is given to 'The Pedestal' (pp.3-6) and the 'Necklace and

Pendant' (pp.6-7), the authors refuse to treat 'Parts of a Corselet and Collar' (p.6), also found inside the shrine, on the ground that 'the corselet cannot be demonstrated to belong to the original contents of the shrine and thus will not be considered here.' They do not discuss whether the corselet might possibly have belonged to the original contents. All the same the most significant part of the corselet was found inside the shrine as shown on pl.III; it is nothing less than a pectoral with a coronation scene where Atum and Nut of Heliopolis lead Tut'ankhamœn 'Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Appearances' (*nb t3wy Nb-¥prw-R', nb ¥'w Twt-'n¤ –'Imn*) in front of 'Amen- R^{a}', Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands in Thebes, Lord of Heaven who reigns eternally' (*'Imn – R' nb nswt t3wy ¥nty 'Ipt, nb pt ¤q3 dt*).

Both Nut and Amen- R^{a}' carry palm ribs with symbols of one-hundred-thousand jubilee festivals.

This pectoral is also of prime importance in connection with an argument presented by the authors elsewhere, in Chapter 3, concerning the interpretation of the relief decoration (p.26). Here is it maintained that the shrine could not possibly depict the actual coronation of Tut'ankhaten, "for all the texts of the shrine in their original form name Tut'ankhamœn" and also because of "the naming of the traditional gods Amun, Mut, Pta¤, Sakhmet, Atum and R^{a} in the shrine's text." But they also reject the postulation of a second coronation of the King as "something which is supported neither by texts nor by archaeological evidence."

If they are right in this rejection, then the one and only conclusion to be drawn from the evidence of the pectoral is, that the actual coronation took place in Thebes. The coronation theme of the pectoral links up directly with the figure of 'The Great of Magic' inside the shrine and the coronation scene at the back of the shrine (pl. XII, Back D, DR 2). Yet the authors claim that this scene at the back of the shrine does not commemorate a specific event but rather alludes to

> 'the aspiration of every Egyptian ruler to perpetuate his kingship, Ankhesenamun's presence asserts her role in guaranteeing the fulfilment of the king's aspiration while simultaneously ensuring her participation in Tutankhamœn's destiny.' (p.40)

Other explanations of the scenes are of the same nature. Concerning panel AR3 and BR1 it is said:

> 'We would interpret all these scenes quite literally to express the royal lady's affectionate sustaining role in her marriage.' (p.36)

Concerning PI, XI, CR4, the tying of a neck ornament:

> 'the Queen embodies her desire to provide for her husband's welfare.' (p.35)

Compared with the tangible facts of the coronation scene on the pectoral of the corselet which must have been worn by the king during his life-time, these statements of female affection (which may have existed) and female overpowering ambition seem rather doubtful as the *raison d'être* for the creation of the small golden shrine in the first place.

Yet what was the function of the shrine? The authors rightly claim (p.28) that 'any plausible interpretation of the small golden shrine's decorative programme must (1) be applicable to all scenes, (2) account for the prominence given Weret-hekau in the texts and (3) be consistent with a function of the shrine in this life.' This can be countered by the facts that (1) all the scenes have been claimed (by different authors) to be applicable to a coronation; (2) by now, nobody can doubt the importance of Weret-hekau as coronation goddess; (3) it can thus be argued that the making of the little golden shrine was commissioned in order to convey tangibly the message that an Amarna prince had married an Amarna princess and was the new rightful King of Egypt. Just as §arem¤eb travelled up and down the river for a similar purpose, this shrine could be sent to Memphis and Heliopolis (and possibly other places) to prove the fact that Egypt had once more a king who was "beloved of Amœn" (see pl.XI Side C, CR1 and p.18). The corselet worn during the coronation ceremony could then be kept inside the shrine at a sacred and safe place (perhaps in Heliopolis) until the day when they were returned to be buried with the King. In order that the shrine could fulfil this task, its dating must be set early in the reign of Tut'ankhamœn, in fact at a time of transition when the soft style of the late Amarna-Art was still acceptable even in the presence of the old gods who had been persecuted by Akhenaten.

In the chapter on 'Style and Dating' (chapter 4, pp.41-43) the authors find it difficult to explain why "the technical proficiency of the goldsmith was not equal to the task posed by the designer", if designer and artisan were one and the same person. But they could have solved this problem if they had followed Cyril Aldred, whom they quote, in his suggestion *(Akhenaten and Nefertiti*) that one could differentiate between an Early Period of the Amarna Style (pp.38 ff) and a Late Phase (pp. 58ff) which were initiated by master artists who were followed by lesser craftsmen (the first of the master artists, Beck, even claimed that he was a pupil of nobody less than Akhenaten himself). This could also explain the discrepancy between the two anointing scenes, one on the shrine (pl.18, Back D Dr 1) and the other

on the golden throne, although they are almost identical in other aspects (p.38).

Although characteristics of the style are carefully differentiated in the last chapter, the conclusions drawn from special peculiarities – like the big head – do not lead to anywhere in particular. It seems to me that the idiosyncrasies of the late Amarna style would no longer be accepted, once the City of Amarna had been deserted.

Summing up, it is good to see such detailed care being expended on the publication of the puzzling "small golden shrine". In presenting the facts the authors have given a solid foundation for further discussions, although their proposed solution seems to be wholly unacceptable to me. However, we may look forward to a study by M.Eaton-Krauss which was still in preparation at the time of the publication of this book: *Tutanchamun: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, with its special section devoted to the queen (see note 145).

Part I, 12

INCENSE FOR THE ATEN

from *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Studies presented to László Kákosy, ed. U. Luft, Budapest 1992; Studia Aegyptiaca, XIV, 77-79.

With 1 Pl., A and B

A rare inscribed object of the Amarna Period in the Wellcome Museum at the University of Wales, Swansea deserves attention (Pl.I.A, accession number W 1400). It is cone-shaped, made of granite and approximately eleven centimetres high and five and a half centimetres wide at the top. There is a small round impression at the centre of the top. The cone is chipped at the top and at the bottom. In the middle of one side is a square inscribed with four cartouches. The writing in the cartouches is very uneven, probably because of the nature of the stone. It is possible to decipher the cartouche at the left hand side on our picture. This shows: a standing falcon with the sundisc on his head and an ankh in front of his legs. Behind his head stands a double *akht*. Then follows ¤^{f}*i* determined by a papyrus roll and *akht.*

'n¥ R' -Sr- 3¥ti ¤*'i m 3¥t* ' R^{a}' Harakhti lives, who rejoices on the Horizon'.

The second half of the name of the Aten can be seen in the middle of the picture and it needs some effort to decipher it as

m rn.f m Šw nti m 'Itn 'in his name as Shu who is Aten'.

This in fact, is how the early didactic name of the Aten was written in the Amarna period: and like this it appears on an object from Amarna in Berlin.[1] Here the name of the Aten is surrounded by a double line and the name of the King himself is written underneath.

On the cone in Swansea the name of the Aten is written twice, that is in sets of two cartouches – each surrounded by a single line – twice. But only the name of the ATEN appears and not the name of the King. The use of granite was uncommon in the Amarna period and suggests the importance of

[1] Heinrich Schäfer, *Amarna in Religion und Kunst*, 1931, cover picture: "Echnaton erhebt den Namen des Atons. Zeichnung nach einem rund 9 cm hohen Alabastertäfelchen, wie man sie als Weihgeschenk im Tempel niederlegt. Berlin 2048."

the object. The purpose of the cone remained obscure. I have to thank Mr. Michael Jones – who studied our Amarna material in Swansea for the Egypt Exploration Society – for suggesting that the cone might have been used as a CENSER. He pointed out the similarity of its shape to that of a much larger limestone offering stand of the Twelfth Dynasty.[1]

The similarity of the round impression on the top cannot be denied. It can also be accepted that this small "basin" was used for burning incense. Apart from the size there is, however, one significant difference: in the Twelfth Dynasty the incense was presumably burned on a solid stand, but the Amarna-object cannot stand on its own; it is formed as if it could be held in a closed fist.

One may ask, therefore, what do we know about the way incense was offered to the Aten during the Amarna Period? An early example was originally part of a wall of an Aten-temple at Thebes. This relief on a sandstone block is now in the Louvre. It shows how the rays of the sun reach out to the King the symbols of ¤*b-sd* and life. The King holds in his left hand a censer in the shape of an outstretched arm and throws incense into it with his right hand.[2] From this example it appears that it was possible for the King to offer incense to the rays of the sun by making use of an arm-shaped censer.

A more elaborate form of offering incense to the Aten is shown on the stela of Bek and Men at Aswân. This is reproduced in outline in Cyril Aldred's *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*.[3]

Here, too, Akhenaten holds an arm-shaped censer up to the rays of the Aten. But under his arms stands a table with offerings and on top of the offerings stand four cups which also contain burning incense. This happens in the *House of Aten at Akhet-Aten*.

Cups with burning incense were also part of an offering tray of red sandstone, a fragment of which is also in our Museum in Swansea (Pl.I.B, W154). The provenance of this object is assured. The number written on it is : T.A. 31/32.11: this signifies that it was found at Tell el-Amarna by members of the Egypt Exploration Society in the 1931/32 Campaign and that its find-number is 11. It was then given to the Wellcome Museum in London whose accession number is 153 558. And from there it eventually reached Swansea. On the accession slip it is identified as "base of a statue". This was a mistake: on the lower side are the fingers of a hand which holds up a tray of offerings.

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[1] Ahmed Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, Vol.I, 1959, pp.86-7, pl.XXXII.

[2] Heinrich Schäfer, *Amarna in Religion und Kunst*, 1931, pl.5.

[3] Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*, 1991, p.93, fig.13.

On the upper side is a lamp of burning incense on top of food offerings. The fragment of a statue holding a similar offering tray was found at the North end of the Palace at Amarna.[1]

But who was holding the tray with cups of burning incense?

In 1911, the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft excavated in a house at Tell el-Amarna a small statue of painted yellow limestone which shows the King wearing his blue crown and carrying such a tray of offering.[2]

For the unprejudiced eye the King looks like a waiter carrying a plate of food. But where is the Aten to receive the offerings? What was the purpose of such figures? The answer can be found in a relief which was discovered at Hermopolis but was originally part of a building at Tell el-Amarna.[3] This relief shows a view of the High Altar of the Great Temple at Tell el-Amarna. In the middle of the upper half are two tables with offerings and in front of them stand two statues of the King carrying a tray of offerings. In the lower half are cups of burning incense on top of offering tables. There are also special empty stands with cone-shaped top at the side of the tables, not unlike the offering stands of the Twelfth Dynasty.

From similar depictions in the Rock Tombs of Amarna we know that the rays of the Aten were shining from above.[4] We may conclude that this was the proper way of offering incense to the Aten. We have seen examples of the King using an arm-shaped censer and of cups with burning incense on top of the offerings and also of figures of the King carrying a tray of offerings and incense cups. There is no certain answer as to whether the cone-shaped object in Swansea, the object with the early name of the Aten, was also used as a censer. It is improbable that it was used to be held in the hand of the King or a priest; but it could possibly have been placed on one of those stands with cone-shaped top near the offerings in order to prepare or receive one of the cups with burning incense.

A number of years past Prof. Kákosy honoured our Museum in Swansea by writing an appreciation of one of our Egyptian objects. My article deals with two other objects from the same Museum and is meant as *Weihrauch* in honour of László Kákosy as well as "Incense for the Aten".

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[1] *CA* III pl. LXIV 4-6.

[2] Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 1973, fig. 42 and p.65

[3] John D.Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections*, 1965, pp.100-101, no.51.

[4] N.G.Davies, *R.T.*1 pl. XXIII and *R..T.* III pls. XI, XXX.

Pl. 1

A. Cone-shaped Granite Object with the Early Didactic Name of Aten, Swansea W 1400 a [V.A. Donohue]

B. Fragment of Offering Tray of Red Sandstone, Swansea W 154 [R. Davies]

Part I, 13

SOME FACTS ABOUT MAYA'S TOMB

Discussions in Egyptology 4 (1986) 17-25 with 1 Figure

On the tenth of February 1986, Geoffrey Martin and Jacobus van Dijk discovered at Saqqara the entrance to the burial chamber of Maya, the treasurer of Tut'ankhamœn. As soon as the Press reported the find, the name of Tut'ankhamœn generated an almost hysterical response and by now it must be quite impossible for the uninitiated to distinguish between fact and fancy. By way of rectification the scholars explained they hoped "texts on the wall of the tomb would provide information about Maya's career under Tut'ankhamœn, the boy king, and his successors." It was also conceded that C.R. Lepsius, the pioneering Prussian archaeologist, had seen part of the tomb of Maya in 1843 and had made drawings of reliefs he later received permission to remove. But while Lepsius had seen part of the superstructure only, it was the substructure which was discovered by Martin and van Dijk. *The Observer* (16-2-1986) showed an informative diagram of Maya's tomb near Zoser's Pyramid "with temple above still to be excavated" as well as the "route into Maya's tomb" (that is, the substructure). But it is surprising that at least six Egyptologists, some British and some German, who expressed an opinion concerning the discovery did not mention the fact that there exists already a detailed study of the part of the tomb which had been seen by Lepsius and which is called "The Temple" in *The Observer's* diagram.

Erhart Graefe in his article "das Grab des Schatzmeisters und Bauleiters Maya in Saqqara", *MDAIK* 31, 2 (1975), 187-222, also *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 31-33 attempted a reconstruction of the decoration of the superstructure of the tomb of Maya, using in addition reliefs found by Quibell – Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1908-9, 1909-10), Le Caire 1912 – in the remains of the Jeremias-monastery, and giving translations of all the accompanying hieroglyphic texts. For this study he also made use of information about Maya (Mj3) in Wolfgang Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (1958) and was able to add some corrections. This article is illustrated by outline drawings and some photographs of objects in museums. So, primarily for my own benefit, I tried to find out some facts which can be known and proved in contrast to mere speculation, hopes and fancies.

The Temple

The designation "Temple" for the upper part of this tomb is justified by A.J.Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt* (1982), 238-39. Type 5 of his Funerary Architecture is the *built mortuary chapel-tomb*, "a group of buildings in which the superstructure assumes the form of a small temple or shrine built on the ground surface" with rooms arranged along an axial plan . . . clearly imitative of a temple with the cult-room at the far end of the building . . . A fine example is the chapel-tomb of General §orem¤eb at Saqqara. "with decorated stone-lined walls and limestone columns around the courtyards" … "The substructures of chapel-tombs were reached by shafts from the courtyards, descending to the burial chambers in the bedrock." Spencer notes that "this class of tomb appears quite late in the story of Egyptian tomb development, the first examples of its use belonging to the New Kingdom". The construction of the tomb of Maya accordingly follows contemporary designs of tomb-building.

Names and titles

According to Dr. van Djik *Observer*, 16-2-86) "there might be hieroglyphs in the tomb that will tell us whether Tut'ankhamœn's father was Akhenaton, renowned as the inventor of monotheism or his predecessor Amenhotep III." This expectation should be compared with the already known inscriptions of the superstructure (the temple). A representative example can be found on the south side of the antechamber to the main hall (Peristyle): *LD* III BL 240 a = Graefe loc. cit. 194, Fig. 3a; description p.190; translation p.210. The relief shows Maya in life size, followed by his wife, "leaving his house for his tomb" while his brother Nahuher is burning incense in front of him. On a narrow ledge near him his titles are given:

> Geliebt vom Herrn beider Länder, Einziger angenehmen Herzens für den Herrscher, einer über all das was er tut man zufrieden ist, wirklicher Schreiber des Königs, den jener liebt, Wedelträger zur rechten des Königs, Vorsteher der Schatzkammer des Herrn beider Länder, Maya, selig, Herr der Ehrwürdigkeit.
> *("Beloved by the Lord of the two Lands. The only one of pleasant heart for the King. One with whom one is satisfied concerning all that he does. Real Scribe of the King whom he loves. Fanbearer on the right of the King. Overseer of the treasury of the Lord of the two Lands. Maya, justified, Lord of Reverence.")*

In a line of inscription behind his wife, special activities of Maya are noted:

> Ich bin der Mund des Königs, um die Tempel vortrefflich zu machen, um Götterbilder herstellen zu lassen. Ich bin einer, der eintritt und das Goldhaus schaut, um ihre Kultbilder zu versorgen.
> *("I am the mouth of the King, to make the temples excellent, to set up figures of the gods. I am one who enters and sees the gold-house to provide for their cult-images.")*

Most of the reliefs in the Peristyle Hall are concerned with carriers of offerings and funerary furniture, including the pulling of statues. Worthy of special notice is a relief found by Quibell. (Graefe op. cit. p.203, fig.7); description p.204; translation p.218 = Quibell 66 A.) It shows the registration of prisoners of war, including women with children. The inscription states:

> Gegeben als Gnade wie sie vom König kommt für den Gelobten des Guten Gottes, den der Herr der beiden Länder wegen seines Wohlverhaltens liebt. Wedelträger zur rechten des Königs, Maya, selig. An Kriegsgefangenen, die Seine Majestät aus Asien mitbrachte, "Nimm dir", sagt der Herrscher.
> *("Given as a favour of the kind which the King gives for the praised one of the Good God, whom the Lord of the two Lands loves because of his good demeanour. Fanbearer on the right of the King, Maya, justified. Among prisoners of war whom his Majesty brought from Asia, 'Take for yourself', says the ruler.")*

It is evident that in the superstructure, at least, not one of the three kings under whom Maya had served is called by name (still less the names of their fathers). Instead a variety of words are used to describe the king like *nb t3wy, bity, ity, ntr nfr*. On the other hand, there can be no doubt, that the owner of the tomb was indeed MAYA, the royal treasurer.

Divine worship

Geoffrey Martin's claim that the substructure of the tomb of Maya is unique for Saqqara (*Times*, 17-2-86), refers obviously to the painted reliefs which show Maya and his wife worshipping gods like Osiris, Isis and Nut face to face and of equal size with the gods. This is quite different in the superstructure where deities do not appear but are evoked in prayers and hymns. Most of the prayers are of the ordinary funerary kind. More

ambitious are a hymn to the moon and a hymn to the sun on the frame of the eastern entrance to the peristyle hall. On the southern part of the frame stood the hymn to the moon (*L.D.* III, 241 b; Graefe, loc. cit. p.196 fig.4; translation p.211). A small part of it is missing, but there exists a duplicate in the tomb of Khaemhat at Thebes:

> Den Mond verehren, wenn er aufgeht im östlichen Lichtland des Himmels, seitens des Osiris, des königlichen Schreibers und Schatzhausvorstehers Maya, selig, er spricht: O Mond, der im Neumondstage ist, dessen Strahlen die Unterwelt erleuchten, mögest du erscheinen im Gesicht des Osiris Maya, selig! Er blickt auf deine Schönheit, er jubelt dir zu. Er verehrt deine Strahlen. Mögest du die Mumie des königlichen Schreibers und Schatzhausvorstehers Maya, selig, erheben!. . .
> *("To worship the Moon in his rising in the eastern horizon of the sky by the Osiris, the royal scribe and supervisor of the treasure-house, Maya, justified, he says: O moon who is on the day of new-moon, whose beams light the underworld, mayest thou appear in the face of the Osiris, Maya, justified. He glances at thy beauty, he jubilates in front of thee, he worships thy beams. Mayest thou raise the mummy of the scribe and supervisor of the treasure-house, Maya, justified ...")*

The hymn to the sun is written on the northern part of the same door-frame (*LD* III 241 = Graefe p.197 fig. 5; translation p.211).

It has been treated by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, 300 ff. The hymn proper begins:

> Gegrüsset seist du, Harakhte, er (der zugleich) Chepre ist, der Selbstentstandene . . .
> *("Greetings to thee, Harakhte, he who is at the same time Khepre, who created himself . . .")*

Another conception about the life in the other world is expressed in a relief found by Quibell (Quibell 66 A = Graefe p.203 fig. 7; translation p.218):

> … Maya, selig, Du steigest auf zum Himmel. Du befährst die Himmelsgewässer, du gesellst dich zu den Sternen. Man gibt dir Lobpreis in der Barke. Man ruft dich in der M'ndt-Barke. Du siehst den Abdu-Fisch wenn sein Fall eingetreten ist und der Böse gefällt ist wie vorausgesagt war. Du siehst den *jnt*-Fisch in (seinen)

> Gestalten wenn er das *jnt*-Schiff leitet auf seinem Gewasser, Osiris, wirklicher Schreiber des Königs, den jener liebt, Vorsteher der Gold- und Silberhäuser . . .
> *("Maya, justified, thou dost rise to the sky. Thou joinest the stars. Praise is given to thee in the barque. Thou art called in the Mandjet barque. Thou dost see the Abdu-fish after its fall, when the evil one has been thrown down, as it had been told in advance. Thou dost see the Int-fish in its shapes while it is guiding the int-boat on its waters, Osiris, real scribe of the King, beloved by him, administrator of the gold-houses and the silver-houses.')*

This line is written directly under a relief on which Maya is shown in adoration in front of an altar on which stands an image of the Hathor-cow in a boat.

A present to Tut'ankhamœn

After LD III, 240 a

The hope of joining the stars is expressed also on one of the two gifts which were placed by Maya into the tomb of Tut‘ankhamœn. It is a wooden figure of the King lying in state on a bier, while two birds sit at his side, each spreading a wing over him. One of them has a human head. There is a colour-picture and a description of it in *Treasures of Tutankhamun,* the Catalogue of the Tut‘ankhamœn exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cat. n. 40 and plate 23. The central line of inscription on the figure reads:

> “Words recited by King Nebkheperura (i.e. Tut‘ankhamœn). Descend, my mother Nut, spread yourself over me and let me be (one of) the Imperishable Stars that are in you.”

There is also a long dedication by Maya, the Superintendent of Building Works in the Necropolis, Royal Scribe and Superintendent of the Treasury, on the lower part of the bier.

The measuring rod

On p. 208 Graefe remarks that the only object that remains from the furnishing proper of the tomb is the measuring rod (*Elle*) with the name and titles of Maya which is now in the Louvre. According to *LD* Text I, 182(1) it was brought back from Memphis by Drovetti. Strangely enough it was this measuring rod (Musée du Louvre, Paris, N 1536) which Timothy Kendall and Lynn Holden of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston used recently as a model for “A Reproduction of an Ancient Egyptian Ruler with inch and centimeter scale.” The remarkable feature about it is the fact that the 28 fingers of the Egyptian division were identified with 28 Egyptian deities starting with the Heliopolitan Ennead and including Seth. For our purpose this measuring rod, which must once have been part of the tomb treasures, can be taken as proof that the tomb chamber has indeed been entered by robbers.

ADDENDA

‘Some Facts about Maya’s Tomb’ (Part I, 13)

See also E.Graefe in *LÄ* III (1980), 1166 s.v. Maja.

In the meantime work has proceeded in both sections of the tomb. See Geoffrey T.Martin in *JEA* 75 (1989), ix-x and in *JEA* 82 (1996), 6, with details of work in the underground chambers, where reliefs were restored in newly constructed rooms. In 1997 major works of restoration continued here under the supervision of Dr. Jacobus van Dijk; see Martin in *JEA* 83 (1997), 7 and J.van Dijk, ‘Restoring the burial chambers of Maya and Meryt’, in *Egyptian Archaeology* 12 (1998), 7-9.

Part II, 1

A PREHISTORIC STONE FIGURE FROM EGYPT

With 1 Fig.
Valcamonica Symposium '72 – Actes du symposium international sur les religions de la Préhistoire, Capo di Ponte (ed. Del Centro) 1975, 313-16

A prehistoric cult figure of stone came recently (in 1971) into the possession of University College, Swansea, together with a great number of Egyptian objects from the collection of Sir Henry Wellcome: it is a cone-shaped object of light stone which carries a male head; or else one might say that it is a male head resting on top of a tusk-shaped column which is slightly reminiscent of a Greek *herma* (that is a phallic pillar surmounted by the head of the god Hermes or another human head). See Fig. 1.

In fact, its head is of a kind found on ivory plugs in prehistoric Egypt (Vandier, 1952, p.420, fig. 282, 9-10) quite bald with prominent ears and almond-shaped eyes which are drawn by an incised outline; drilled holes take the place of pupils. Presumably they were once filled with shell disks or coloured steatite beads. At the base is a broad ring. The figure is hollow up to a third of its height and a hole is drilled into the crown of its head.

The figure is 29 cm high and the diameter at the base measures 6.2 cm. The provenance is uncertain. According to the index slip of the Wellcome Collection it was acquired at an auction in 1919 and received the accession number 21 385. It is described as a 'remarkable Penate figure . . . of very primitive style; use and purpose unknown.'

The new accession number in Swansea is W 150. As a stone object the Swansea figure seems to be unique. But the Berlin Museum possesses an ivory object which resembles it so closely in form and style as to suggest a similar period and place of origin. This object has been published by Alexander Scharff (1929, p.28 & pl.10, n.45). A good photograph of it is also shown in a book by Alfred Hermann (1940, pp.22-23). Scharff calls it a '*stabartiges Amulet mit bärtigem Männerkopf* ' (staff-like amulet with bearded male head). It is a hollow ivory tusk with ring-shaped base which is surmounted by a male head. The head is bald with prominent ears, almond-shaped eyes and an elongated straight chin. On the top of the head is a loop which resembles the loops found on prehistoric Egyptian ivory tusks, for example at el-Mahasna (Ayrton – Loat, 1911, pl. XI,1). The object is 24.4 cm high. It was bought in Egypt in 1898, but otherwise its provenance is unknown. A slight difference between the ivory figure and the stone figure lies in the treatment of the mouth and the eyebrows. But otherwise it seems that both represent the same kind of person – or god – and the now missing

object on top of the stone figure may quite possibly have been a ring-shaped loop.

Fig. 1

For the dating, a group of objects found at el-Mahasna near Abydos in an undisturbed tomb during an excavation in 1909 (Ayrton – Loat, 1911, p.26) can take us a step further: for here an 'ivory figure and four ivory wands' were discovered in tomb H 29, the richest tomb excavated.

They were deposed near a female skeleton and to the south of a mass of beads and bracelets. The tomb is dated to the Naqada I civilization of prehistoric Egypt (S.D.41), about 3600 B.C. by a red pottery bowl with white linear design which carries on its rim the plastic figure of four hippopotami. The head of this ivory figure is bald, the ears are prominent and the eyes are formed by small cylindrical blue glazed steatite beads which, it is stated, 'give a curious lifelike expression'. The mouth is a mere slit but the chin is broad. Thus far extends the similarity between the el-Mahasna figure and the two others in Berlin and Swansea. The head of the el-Mahasna figure, however, belongs to a whole male figure with arms, legs

and a phallus-sheath (?) of the kind worn by a basalt figure in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Vandier, 1952, p.962, fig. 633) which is similar also in attitude and appearance. From its slim and elongated shape it is obvious that the figure was carved out of an ivory tusk, probably the tusk of a hippopotamus. For our purpose it is important that this figure was found in the tomb of a woman together with four ivory tusks, two hollow and two solid respectively, which have loops on their top exactly like the figure in Berlin. Therefore, the same elements occur together once more, although tusk, loop and bald male head are here found on different objects.

Summing up we can say that the stone figure in Swansea resembles in colour and tusklike shape, but not in material, certain pre-dynastic Egyptian ivory objects, some of which were found during an excavation and can be dated to the Naqada I civilization of prehistoric Egypt. We may assume also that the ivory objects were the norm and that the object of light stone was the exception, imitating ivory objects. The hole on top of the head of the stone figure could have supported a ring-like loop for suspension; otherwise the idol may have been carried about on a pole.

More problematic is the question what purpose figures and wands of this kind might have served, as they were obviously of no practical value like food offerings and even ornaments. Peter J. Ucko (1968, p.427 ff.) suggests that anthropomorphic figurines of this kind might have been used as initiation figures, twin figures, sorcerers, agents in sympathetic magic, *ex-votos*, mourning figures, servant figures and dolls. Unfortunately his research does not include wands with human heads.

As far as the Swansea figure is concerned, one can be sure at least of one thing, that because of its weight it could not possibly have served as a doll. The most likely reason for making ivory wands and wand-like idols still seems to be their use in some kind of religious or magical ceremony.

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Part II, 2

ZWEI KUNSTWERKE AUS DER ÄGYPTISCHEN SAMMLUNG DER EREMITAGE

Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache, 72 (1936), 131-135. With 5 Figures.

Ich möchte auf zwei geschichtlich und kunstgeschichtlich beachtenswerte Skulpturen der Eremitage, die Bronzestatuette eines äthiopischen Königs und eine Stele Haremhebs aus der Zeit vor seiner Thronbesteigung, aufmerksam machen, die in russischer Sprache in der Nachkriegszeit veröffentlicht wurden und von deren Vorhandsein die übrige ägyptologische Literatur noch keine Kenntnis genommen hat.

I. Die schlanke Figur des stehenden äthiopischen Königs[1] trägt das gleiche kurzgelockte, durch eingravierte Kreise wiedergegeben Haar[2] und einen ähnlichen Halsschmuck mit Widderkopfamulett wie eine Anzahl bereits bekannter knieender Bronzestatuetten von Königen[3] mit Weihungen in den Händen. Sie werden durch die Statuette aus der ehemaligen

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[1] Éremitage Impérial: W. Golénischeff, La collection égyptienne S. 85 Nr. 731. – Veröffentlicht in einer dem Archäologen O. Waldhauer gewidmeten Festschrift des Staatlichen Kunsthistorischen Instituts, Das antike Portät, Leningrad 1929, S. 7-13: N. Flittner, Porträtstatuette des Taharka.

Material: Rötliche Bronze. Höhe: 0,185 m. – Die Figur steht mit vorgestelltem linken Bein. Die linke Hand hängt zur Faust geschlossen am Körper herab, die rechte Faust ist bis in Schulterhöhe erhoben. Beide Fäuste sind durchbohrt. Bekleidet ist der König mit einem gefälteltem Königsschurz, dessen Gürtel mit einem Muster aus wagerechten und senkrechten Relieflinien verziert ist. Um den Hals liegt eine Schnur mit einem Widderkopfanhänger, deren Enden von hinten nach vorn auf die Brust herabfallen. Um den Kopf ist ein Band gelegt, dessen Enden bis auf den Rücken hinabreichen. Über der Stirn erheben sich zwei Uräen, deren Schänze über den Scheitel laufen und bis auf die Bänder hängen.

Erhaltung: Es fehlen der rechte Fuß von oberhald der Knöchel an, die Zehen des linken Fußes und die Gegenstände, die die beiden Hände hielten. Flittner spricht von einer leichten Verletzung der Handgelenke durch Oxydation, während Golénischeff einen Armreifen am rechten Unterarm erwähnt. War hier vielleicht eine Stelle am Handgelenk für die Vergoldung aufgerauht? Nach der Photographie scheint mir das möglich zu sein.

[2] Entgegen der Annahme Schäfers, *ZÄS*.33 S.114ff., möchte ich wegen des vor dem Ohr befindlichen Löckchens nicht an eine Kappe denken.

[3] 1. Eine Statuette in Kairo, Cat gén. L. Borchardt, Statuen u. Statuetten Bd. III 823. 2. Eine Statuette aus der ehemaligen Sammlung Mac Gregor jetzt in Kopenhagen, Kat. Mogensen Bd. I S. 8, A 18, Bd. II Taf. IX. 3. Eine weitere Statuette in Kopenhagen, Kat. Mogensen Bd. 1 S.9, A 20, Bd.II Taf.IX. Nur bei ihr sind die Gefäße in den Händen des Königs erhalten. 4. Vgl. folg. Anm.

Abb. 1

Abb. 2

Abb. 3

Abb. 4

Sammlung Mac Gregor, auf deren Gürtel H. Schäfer den Namen Taharka erkannt hat[1], in die 25. Dynastie datiert. Vor kurzem wurde eine entsprechend knieende Statuette im Tempel des Taharka im obernubischen Kawa ausgegraben und an das Brüssler Museum abgegeben[2], während bei allen übrigen die Herkunft unbekannt ist.

Das Muster am oberen Rand des um den Kopf laufenden Bandes der Petersburger Statuette, das wir auch bei dem Taharka der Sammlung Mac Gregor finden, ist als Uräenstreifen zu deuten, wie es der Vergleich mit dem Granitkopf eines äthiopischen Königs in Kairo lehrt.[3]

Die verlorenen Attribute hat man sich etwa nach einem Relief des Königs Menkau-Hor[4] als ein *W3s*-Szepter in der rechten und ein '*n¥*-Zeichen oder einen Stab in der linken Hand zu denken. Vielleicht hielt die rechte Hand auch wie zwei Statuen Sesostris' I[5] einen Krummstab.

Was aber die Petersburger Statuette vor den übrigen auszeichnet, ist das besonders sorgfältig gearbeitete und gut erhaltene Gesicht, dessen volles Oval, wenn wohl auch nicht porträthafte, so doch sicher individuelle Züge besitzt. Die großen Augen, die geschwungene Doppellinie der Brauen, die gebogene Nase mit Angabe der Nasenlöcher, die vollen Lippen, das scharfe Kinn und schließlich die gutgeformten Ohren zeigen eine erstaunlich sorgfältige Arbeit. Das unnegroide Aussehen des Königs möchte Flittner als Beweis benutzen, um die noch immer fragliche Herkunft der äthiopischen Könige der 25. Dynastie zugunsten der Reisnerschen Anschauung[6] zu entscheiden. Wie weit ägyptische Skulpturen gerade von Königen geeignet sind, das wirkliche Aussehen eines Herrschers erkennen zu lassen, wie weit Tradition oder Schmeichelei gerade hier die Züge gestaltet haben, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden, eine sichere Grundlage für die Erkenntnis der Rasse bilden sie kaum.[7]

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[1] *ZÄS* 33 S.114ff.

[2] Veröffentlicht Chronique d'Égypte 20 (1935), S.324/25. Die erwähnte erhaltene Vergoldung bedeckte wohl, wenn man nach Schäfers Aufsatz urteilen darf, den Schurz und vielleicht noch Teile des Hals- und Kopfschmuckes.

[3] Borchardt, o.c. Bd. IV, 1291.

[4] Maspero, Aegypten (Ars Una) Abb. 97.

[5] Schäfer-Andrae, Prop. Kunst II^2 S. 272.

[6] Reisner, JEA 6 S. 54 hält Verwandtschaft zwischen den libyschen Herrschern der 22. Dynastie und den äthiopischen Herrschern der 25. Dynastie für möglich. - Vgl. auch: Kees, Ägypten S. 351.

[7] Daß Flittner die größte Ähnlichkeit mit der Petersburger Statuette gerade bei dem - leider in Petrie, History III, Abb. 130 abgebild. - Kopf einer Gottesgattin in Sidney mit ergänztem Gesicht findet, ist etwas peinlich. Seine Benennung "Taharka" gründet sich auf die Ähnlichkeit mit der Statuette aus der Sammlung Mac Gregor.

Abb. 5

Für die Spätzeit bezeichnend ist die Haltung des Königs; denn obgleich er die Haltung einer Statue des AR nachahmt[1], steht er gleichsam im Kontrapost, d.h. er streckt den linken Fuß und den rechten Arm nach vorn, wie es auch die saitische Bronzestatuette des sogenannten Moses aus der ehemaligen Sammlung Posno[2] tut, während die Statuen der AR stets das linke Bein und den linken Arm nach vorn nahmen.[3] So ist gerade diese Statuette ein gutes Beispiel für das in der 25. Dynastie beginnende Archaisieren, in der Art, die wir bei einer Statue des Stadtfürsten von

[1] Etwa die des Pepi. Vgl. Maspero, o.c. Abb. 132, oder auch nur die eines Privatmannes. Etwa Maspero, o.c. Abb. 155.
[2] Louvre Cat. Boreux II, S. 409/10, Abb. Taf. LVI.
[3] Ich kenne als einzige Ausnahme den bei Maspero, o.c. Abb. 153 abgebildeten Oberteil einer Holzstatue.

Theben Montemhet[1] ausgeprägt finden, die einen archaisierenden Körper mit einem realistischen Kopf vereint, wie viel später auch die römische kaiserzeit ihre Porträtköpfe auf griechische Athletenkörper setzte.[2]

II. Die Stele stellt den Erbfürsten und Heerführer nach rechts gewandt in betender Haltung vor den drei Göttern Atum, Osiris und dem falkenköpfigen Pta¤-Sokaris dar.[3] Schon Golénischeff hat erkannt, daß diese Stele sehr wahrscheinlich in einer Stele des Britischen Museums ihr Gegenstück besitzt[4], auf der Haremheb in fast gleicher Haltung nur nach links gewandt zu dem falkenköpfigen Re-Harachte, dem ibisköpfigen Thot und der Maat betet. Hier ist der untere Teil der Stele mit Hymnen an diese drei Götter erhalten, und danach ist die Form der Eremitage-Stele, deren unterer Teil leider verloren ist,unschwer zu ergänzen.

Die Tracht des Haremheb ist von Struve in Einzelheiten unrichtig beschrieben. Haremheb trägt ein Leinenhemd mit Scheinärmeln[5] und einen Doppelschurz, der aus einem langen "vorgebautem Schurz"[6] und einem kurzen, von einem Gürtel gehaltenen Schurz, dessen fächerförmiges doppeltes Mittelstück auf den Vorbau herabhängt[7], besteht.

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[1] Cat. gén. Legrain, Statues et Statuettes Bd. III, 42236.

[2] Daß sich die Schurztracht des Takarka auch von einer entsprechenden des ausgehenden NR unterscheidet, zeigt der Vergleich mit der ebenfalls stehenden Bronzestatuette König Osorkons I., Abb. Möller, Metallkunst S. 24.

[3] Kat. Golénischeff Nr. 1061. - Veröffentlicht von W. Struve in dem Jahrbuch des Russischen Kunsthistorischen Instituts, Bd. I, Petersburg 1922, S. 91-109, Eine Stele des Haremheb in der Eremitage. - Material: Kalkstein. Höhe: 0,78m; Br. 1,08m; Tiefe 0,06m. Die Inschriften bei den Göttern lauten: Atum, der große Gott, der den Himmel trennt von der Erde, der König der Götter, Herr der Ewigkeit, Herrscher ewiglich. Osiris *Wnn-nfr*, der erste der Westlichen, der Herr von *T3-ḏsr*. Pta¤-Sokar, der Herr von *Štj*, der Herr des Himmels, Herrscher ewiglich. Das Gebet des Haremheb: Preis deinem Ka, Atum, Harachte, großer Gott, Herr des großen Sitzes (hier ist die Bedeutung nicht ganz sicher!) Gib, daß sich meine Seele befriedigt an dem, woran du dich befriedigst, daß sie das Wasser trinkt, das herauskommt auf deinen Opfertisch, daß sie das Brot empfängt, das herauskommt auf den Opfertisch der Herren von Heliopolis, daß ich atme den süßen Hauch des Nordwindes. Für den Ka des Erbfürsten und Heerführers Haremheb.

[4] Budge, A guide to the Eg. Galleries (Sculpture) Nr. 461, S. 130, Taf. XIX, Inv. Nr. 551. - Struve Abb.2. - Ed. Meyer, *ZÄS* 15, S. 148, Die Stele des Haremheb, bringt die Übersetzung der drei Hymnen - Scharff, Sonnenlieder, S. 58ff bringt den Hymnus an Re-Harachte. - material: Kalkstein. H. 1,90m; Br. 1,025m. Erhaltung: Die Figur des Haremheb und die Beischriften der Götter haben durch Verwitterung gelitten.

[5] Vgl. Bonnet, Die ägyptische Tracht, (Sethe, Unters. VII 2) S. 51.

[6] Vgl. Bonnet, o.c. S. 54.

[7] Vgl. Bonnet, o.c. S. 55.

Dem Stil nach paßt die sehr zart gearbeitete, leicht nach vorn geneigte Gestalt des Haremheb, bei der die handhaltung und die Zeichnung des etwas vorgeschobenen bauches schon die Amarnakunst voraussetzen, gut zu den Reliefs seines Grabes in Sakkara[1], so daß man die Stele eben in der Zeit entstanden denken möchte, als Haremheb nach dem Tod Amenophis' IV. die Feldzüge für den jungen König Tutanchamun führte, die er auch in seinem Grab darstellen ließ.[2] Daß Haremheb zu Atum und Pta¤-Sokaris betet, spricht ebenfalls für die Entstehung der Stelen in oder bei Memphis.

Über die Aufstellung der Stelen läßt sich nichts Sicheres sagen. Vielleicht waren sie wie die Stelen im Grab des Neferhotep in die Außenwand des Grabes rechts und links vom Eingang eingelassen.[3] Dann wäre es eigenartig, daß man gerade bei diesen allen sichtbaren Werken die Nachtragung des Uräus vergessen haben sollte, den Haremheb nach seiner Thronbesteigung an seinen Darstellungen im Innern des Grabes hat anbringen lassen. Vielleicht waren die Stelen auch in einem Tempel aufgestellt. Dafür würde sprechen, daß Haremheb den Atum und die Herrn von Heliopolis um einen Anteil an Ihren Opfergaben bittet.

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[1] Zur Verteilung der Reliefbruchstücke aus dem Grab auf die verschiedenen Museen vgl. Ed. Meyer, Geschichte, II 1, S. 403, Anm. 1.

[2] Struve erwähnt merkwürdigerweise den Namen Tutanchamuns überhaupt nicht und datiert die Stele noch in de späte Amarnazeit. Scharff, Sonnenlieder, Anm. 75 will die Stele des britischen Museums in die frühe Amarnazeit datieren. Das erscheint mir allein schon wegen der Stileigentümlichkeiten der Haremhebfigur auf der Eremitagestele als ganz unwahrscheinlich.

[3] G. Davies, Tomb of Neferhotep I, Pl. I und VII. - Zur Aufstellung der Stelen im NR vgl. *ZÄS* 70, S. 27 in Borchardt-Königsberger-Ricke, Friesziegel in Grabbauten.

Part II, 3

SOME EGYPTIAN BEADWORK FACES

JEA 64 (1978), 99-106. With 2 Plates

In 1971 thirteen bead-work faces of mainly green colouring came to Swansea as part of the Wellcome Collection of Egyptian Antiquities. They once belonged to the collection of Robert de Rustafjaell, M.R.G.S., which was acquired between 1894 and 1906 and was auctioned by Sotheby on December 19, 1906. The thirteen bead-faces formed no.341 of the auction catalogue and one of them is pictured on plate 19, no. 52 of the catalogue. With the exception of one they are in a nearly perfect state of preservation. Their present accession numbers are W 773-W 785. The aim of this article is to assess their place in the history of Egyptian art.

All thirteen faces are similar enough in size, workmanship, and style to have come from one place. However, not one of them is exactly like another and they differ in colouring and expression. For our purpose it will suffice to discuss only three of them in detail (pl.I,1-3). These have the accession numbers W 774, W 780 and W 782 respectively.

Description

The faces are roughly triangular in shape. They are composed of disc-beads and are surrounded by a frame of tubular beads with disc-beads at the points of friction. They are threaded with blue thread in such a way that front and back look alike[1] and they were not meant to be sewn on any piece of material. Their measurements are:

	Height	***Breadth***
W 774	13.2 cm	12.2 cm
W 780	14 cm	15 cm
W 782	13.2 cm	12.2 cm

The position of the ears is indicated only by a slight recession. Under the mouth they have an extension which looks in two of them (W 780 and W 782) like a beard, but in the third (W 774) like a long chin. One suspects that an attempt was here made to differentiate between male and female faces.

The material is Egyptian faience with exception of the white beads, which are made of shell. Their general colour is green. Eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth, teeth, and beard are indicated by contrasting colouring in black, white, and rust-red with the addition of some blue beads. There are bands of

[1] For this 'matting technique' see K. Bosse-Griffiths, 'The use of disc-beads in Egyptian bead-compositions' in *JEA* 61 (1975), 114 ff. See above, Part I, 3.

blue beads under the eyes of W 780, as if to indicate the deep shadows under the eyes of an elderly, rather fierce-looking man. The eyes have almost geometrical shapes and are rectangular (W 780), diamond-shaped (W 782), and rhombic (W 774).l At the first impression the faces seem to possess a rather un-Egyptian lack of naturalism. It can be shown, however, that all their characteristics can be related to good Egyptian precedents.

The use of bead-faces in Egyptian art

Bead-work faces are rarely mentioned in literature but they are occasionally exhibited in museums. I was able to see such faces in the City Museum of Birmingham; the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; and the *Museum für Völkerkunde*, Freiburg i. Br. Others I saw stored away in the British Museum, London; the Merseyside Museum, Liverpool; and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[1]

An exhibit in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, called 'Funerary Beadwork'[2] shows a bead-work face in its proper setting, as an integral part of a bead-netting shroud. A bearded face made of disc-beads is shown there, inside a netting of tubular beads. It stands on top of a broad collar made of disc-beads with falcon-head terminals. Underneath the collar is a winged scarab, and under the scarab are bead-figures of the four sons of Horus. The face has a light yellow colour; the nose is rust-red. All the bead-figures are made of disc-beads of Egyptian faience. This exhibit certainly shows successfully that bead-work faces were conceived as part of a bigger composition.

I am less sure that the restoration work is correct in all its details. The scarab, surely, should have pushed a sun-disc and the netting should have surrounded the top of the head as well as the sides. A very similar bead-shroud with the same mistakes is shown in the 1920-Guide of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.[3]

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[1] I have to thank Mr. John Ruffle, Birmingham, Miss Janine Bouriau, Cambridge, Dr. Dorothy Downes, Liverpool, and Mrs. Joan Crowfoot Payne, Oxford, for taking much trouble in order to provide photographs and colour-slides of bead-work faces in their care.

[2] Accession number E.B. 101. The beads were provided by Sir Flinders Petrie. The restoration work was done under the supervision of C.T.Currelly. The date named is 'ca 8^{th}-6^{th} centuries B.C.'

[3] *Guide to the Collection of Egyptian Antiquitie*s (Edinburgh, 1920), pl.7. The date given here is 'The Ptolemaic Period'. Thanks are due to Dr. Erika Feucht, Heidelberg, for telling me about this publication of a picture which I had known up to then only by a photograph given to me some years ago by Mr. Cyril Aldred. There is no description here of the shroud, but in the 1910 *Guide to the Egyptian Antiquities in the National Museum, Edinburgh*, M.A. Murray records under no. 404

This element of doubt in even such an excellent work of restoration made it clear that certainty can only be gained from a picture which shows a bead-shroud immediately after its discovery and before it is disturbed even by such well-meaning attempts of preservation as those described by Petrie,[1] who poured melted wax over the bead-work and when the wax was set, 'lifted up the sheet of wax with the bead-work sticking to it, flattened it out on a board and then fixed it permanently in a tray with the lower side turned outward.' By a stroke of luck I was able to find such a picture on a recent visit to Heidelberg (pl.II, I). It was taken during an excavation at El-Hibeh in 1913-14 under the guidance of H.Ranke. With some effort the shrouded mummy in the open coffin can be recognized in Ranke's[2] excavation report. But fortunately much better prints were made from the original negatives which are still kept in Heidelberg. The following notes in the excavation diary, for March, 1914, give details about the discovery:

> Das Grab in IV wird fertig ausgeräumt . . . Nachdem wir drei Steinsarkophage ausgeräumt hatten, sehen wir zur linken in einer Felsenkammer noch einen guterhaltenen 4-eckigen Holzsarg stehen, neben dem zwei Kästchen mit Uschebtis . . . und 1 grosse (61 cm) Osirisstatuette aus Holz in recht guter Erhaltung lagen. In dem I. Holzsarkophag scheint ein zweiter zu liegen. Der alleinstehende Holzsarkophag wird vorsichtig herausgenommen.
>
> 24.3.1914 Nr 1705. Lage IV Grab. Mat. Holz. Grösse 192 x 60.5 cm. Beschreibung: 4-eckiger Holzsarkophag, innen ein 2. in Mumienform, darin die guterhaltene Leiche mit schönem Perlennetz über d.ganzen Körper. In 2 Teilen mitgenommen. Verbleib: Freiburg.

Unfortunately, however, I was unable to trace the coffin itself and its contents. On my inquiry in Freiburg, I received the following reply from Dr.

(p.24) a 'network of glazed beads from a mummy with the original threading'. This must be the same shroud although she mentions neither bead-face nor bead-collar. Miss Murray was right in saying that the winged scarab lay on the breast and the 'Genii of the dead' (the sons of Horus) on the abdomen. But she was wrong in claiming that the network of beads was laid on the outside of the coffin.

[1] *Ten Years Digging in Egypt* (1881-1891) (London, 1892), 125.

[2] *Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karâra und der Amontempel Scheschonks I bei el Hibe* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), Taf. II, 6. The closed mummiform coffin and the outer box-like coffin are shown on Taf. X, 4 without mentioning their relation to the picture on Taf. II, 6. I am most grateful to Dr. Erika Feucht for providing prints from the original negatives of the closed and opened coffin and also of an unpublished close-up of the bead-face over the bead-collar. She also sent me the quotations from the Excavation Diary.

Erhart Graefe about Egyptian objects which are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Freiburg:

> Die Aegyptiaca waren im Krieg in einer Brauerei ausgelagert und haben dort Schaden genommen. Es könnte theoretisch möglich sein, daß Stücke auch ohne Inventarisierung geblieben waren und dann während des Krieges verschwunden sind.

However, the photographs taken during the excavation in 1914 are clear enough to provide reliable information concerning form, composition and use of the bead shroud, especially if we compare them with the shroud which is exhibited in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. We see here that the bead-face is an integral part of a bead-netting shroud which reaches from the top of the head down to the ankles of the wrapped mummy. It is shaped to conform with the frontal view of the body and is tied to the body (which it greatly hides) by cords. It should be noted that the shroud is not meant to lie flat, but is adapted to the curves of the body. In consequence the removal of any shroud and its 'flattening out' is bound to meet with some difficulties. The bead-figures in the shroud seem to follow a traditional pattern: the bead-work face lies over the face of the dead and its beard stands directly in the centre of a bead-work collar with falcon-head terminals. This collar reaches up to the middle of the ears. In this special case the pattern of the collar is formed by a double row of hanging lotus flowers. Underneath the collar and over the heart of the mummy (compare note 4) is a winged scarab which holds up a sun-disc. Then follow two kneeling figures of winged goddesses and underneath them in one row the four sons of Horus. Finally, the figure of a jackal crouches over a vertical bead-band with a hieroglyphic inscription. Generally speaking one could say that the upper part of the bead-work has associations with Horus, while the lower part is connected with Osiris.

I know of at least one similar shroud the picture of which was taken shortly after its discovery and while the mummy was still lying in an opened coffin. This shroud was found by Ahmed Musa under the causeway of King Unas during Emery's excavations at Saqqâra. In the *Arab Observer* of January 10, 1966, its picture is shown in p.41 and it is described as follows:

> A wooden coffin containing a mummy covered from head to toe with coloured beads of unique beauty and in a perfect state of preservation. .

Although the picture is not very clear, certain features are recognizable: a bead-netting which reaches from the top of the head to the ankles; a light-coloured bead-face with dark nose and a beard which stands on a broad collar with falcon-head terminals. The broad collar has a zig-zag pattern (not

flowers). Underneath it we find a winged scarab pushing a sun-disc, a winged kneeling goddess, the four sons of Horus and a band with inscription, all made of disc-beads. Here again, I was unable to see the object itself. When I visited Saqqâra in 1976, Ahmed Musa informed me that, for the time being and until proper storage can be provided, the mummy has been returned to its tomb, which is now closed. He said that he intended to publish his find. Another bead-work shroud of a similar kind was found in a coffin of the Late Period by J.E.Quibell near the Teti Pyramid.[1]

Significance of the face

Various possibilities arise when we seek to interpret the meaning of the bead-face itself. It could be intended to replace the portrait of the deceased or else, like the rest of the bead-shroud, it could possess amuletic significance. The position of the wigless face directly on top of the broad collar is certainly surprising. A bead-shroud with gold mask and gold-leaf amulets[2] which was also found at Saqqâra allows some distance between the end of the beard and the top of the broad collar while the shoulders seem to be indicated by the shape of the bead-shroud itself. On the other hand, the bead-work faces from El-Hibeh and Saqqâra look more like the hieroglyphic sign for 'face' and could possibly be an abstract expression with the meaning that here is the face of the dead (not the portrait). Karol Mysliwiec[3] goes further than that. In an article on the hieroglyphic signs ¤*r* and *tp* he claims that the yellow-coloured bead-face represents the god Horus as sun-god. He shows four bead-faces in the Cairo Museum, two of which hail from Meïr, and gives an exact description of the colouring of the faces (p.97 no.41) which is of some importance for the interpretation of their meaning:

> Le motif principal est toujours la face prenant la forme du signe ¤*r* aux couleurs suivantes: la face jaune avec les yeux bleus aux pupilles noires, le nez et les lèvres rouges, le milieu de la bouche bleu – est bordée de quatre raies: noire, bleue, rouge et jaune. Une face (b) possède les yeux et le milieu de la bouche verte. La barbe se compose de bandes horizontales de couleur bleue et rouge alternant.

He claims (p.96) that the sign ¤*r*, being the phonetic equivalent of the name of Horus, could be a symbol of the god. The yellow colour of the face

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[1] J.E.Quibell and A.G.K. Hayter, *Excavations at Saqqara* (Cairo, 1927). Pl.6, 4. The collar has here a zigzag pattern.

[2] Émile Vernier, *Bijoux et Orfèveries* (Cairo, 1927), CCG 53 668, vol. I, 478-80; vol. II, pl.103. The inscription names an admiral (*chef de navires*) of the 26th Dynasty.

[3] 'A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques "¤r" et "tp"', in ZÄS 98 (1973), 85 ff.

would then stand for the luminous nature of the god. Even more convincing is a picture from the tomb of Ramesses VI (fig. 15) which shows the Sun-god in the form of the ¤*r*-face standing in the middle of his barque.[1] Because of the red colour of the face Mysliwiec does not accept this picture as relevant, although there is a striking resemblance between it and the bead-face standing with its beard on top of the broad collar. Mysliwiec maintains that the religious significance of the ¤*r*-sign justifies the dominating position of the bead-work face in the shroud: the face of Horus, the son of Osiris, on top of the mummy could signify the regeneration of the dead Osiris (p.97).

The colour of the face

But the colour of the face is not always yellow. Similarly shaped faces are occasionally green, rust-red, and even blue. The bead-work face in the Merseyside Museum, Liverpool,[2] which is still tied to a severed head, is of green colour with a red nose. So is a bead-work face of unknown provenance in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[3] In the inventory this face is called a 'Hathor-head'. This opinion has certainly to be considered as the triangular face of Hathor belongs to the few exceptions to the rule that Egyptian art showed two-dimensional faces always in profile. This face can be derived from a cult-symbol at Dendera which had a double-faced head fixed on a round pillar.[4] This original form was perpetuated in the Hathor-head sistrum with its long handle taking the place of the original round pillar under the double-faced head. The alternating bands of the beard of the bead-faces, however, bear no relation to the long round pillar. One would also expect at least one of the other characteristics of the Hathor-head to be present: the wig with curled ends, the cow's ears, or the horns. I can therefore not accept the interpretation of the green face as Hathor-head. If the yellow face is

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[1] Taken from A.Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramses VI* (New York 1954), i, 258 fig. 54; ii, pl.58. Near the large human face in the barque is written: 'face of the Disk'. This picture belongs to the tenth division of the *Book of Gates*. In the text we read about 'The Great Face', the 'Mysterious Head', the 'two eyes of the One of the Horizon'. In fact the Great God is led to the Eastern Horizon.

[2] P.H.K. Gray and Dorothy Slow, *Egyptian Mummies in the City of Liverpool Museum* (Liverpool, 1966), no. 19; p.66, fig. 98 and 99. The description of the colours in this publication is incorrect. It reads: 'The mask is composed of faience disk beads of red, black, yellow and white.' But the colour-photograph sent to me from Liverpool shows a green face with a red nose and additional use of black, white, and blue beads.

[3] Accession no.1968.520. This face shows the same colouring as the face in Liverpool from which it differs only slightly in the shape and colour of the pupils of the eyes.

[4] Hans Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 278.

assigned to Horus, one is tempted to relate the green colour to the colour of Osiris.

At least one face of known provenance is of a shining blue colour, having also a red nose and a beard which is striped red and white.[1] Blue could be the colour of Amœn or of Pta¤. This face, too, was found at El-Hibeh during an Italian excavation in 1934. It was discovered in the innermost of two mummiform coffins.[2] From the shape of the coffin it seems that the owner was a woman. Other faces found at El-Hibeh are of yellow colour.[3] While yellow, green and blue have some relation to the colours preferred by certain gods, it is more difficult to explain the rust-red colour of other faces, like a bead-work face in the City Museum of Birmingham.[4] This face was once part of the Wellcome Collection, but otherwise its provenance is unknown. It has a rust-red face with a yellow nose and a beard which is striped blue and black. Possibly it is of a later date and disregards the symbolic colouring of earlier examples and shows instead the colour of an ordinary human face. Or could it be that this is the rust-red colour of the face of the Sun in the underworld which is shown travelling in a boat in the tomb of Ramesses VI?[5]

Dating

The dating of bead-shrouds and bead-faces, if attempted at all, is mostly done in a summary fashion like 'epoca saitica Persana'[6] or 'selon G. Maspero . . . les réseaux provenant de Meir pourraient remonter à la XXVIe dynastie'[7] or 'breast covering in beadwork of the Ptolemaic Period'.[8] But by by general consent they belong to the Late Period. Perhaps it would be helpful to fix a few points of departure. According to E.Hornung[9] it was in the Twenty-first Dynasty that coffin-painting reached a high point of development and took over motifs which had previously been seen on the walls of tombs of officials at Thebes. It was at this time that the burial

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[1] Giuseppe Botti, *Le case di mummie e i sarcofagi di el Hibeh nel Museo Egizio di Firenze*, 2 and 23 (Florence, 1958), pl. C2 (in colour). Accession number of the face: 10 505.

[2] Botti, op.cit., pl.4. The accession numbers of the coffins are 10 504 and 10 504a.

[3] e.g. Botti, op.cit., pl. A 1. Accession number 10 713.

[4] Accession number W 13675.

[5] See p.157, n.1 above.

[6] Botti, op.cit., 94.

[7] Mysliwiec, loc. cit.,97, no.41: 'Selon G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, 1915, p.356 . . .'

[8] See p.153 ,n.3 above.

[9] 'Särge' in *So lebten die Alten Ägypter*, Führer durch das Museum für Völkerkunde, Völkerkunde, Basel. Sonderausstellung 1976-77, 25.

customs changed generally. A temple of Amœn founded in El-Hibeh by Sheshonq I in the Twenty-second Dynasty could be a *terminus post quem* for the bead-work faces from El-Hibeh. The placing of bead shrouds on the mummies could have been part of the general change of burial customs about 1000 B.C. Techniques which were known from royal burials could now find a wider application. A bead-work collar made of disc-beads was already placed on the breast of the mummy of Tut'ankhamœn in the Eighteenth Dynasty. But it was not yet part of a bead shroud.[1]

Another form of dating could be achieved by comparative studies of style. The Egyptians were accustomed to create one and the same picture in different materials. When bead-work figures were first invented they were made as similar as possible to an original made in wood, as can be seen if one compares a hassock with bead-work from the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn with a ceremonial stick in the same tomb: both show the curved figures of bound enemies.[2] The most perfect imitation, therefore, would be the earliest, earliest, while later figures became imitations of imitations. In the Wellcome Collection at Swansea we possess a bead-work figure of one of the 'Sons of Horus'[3] which is all but identical in colouring and shape with a faience figure of the Twenty-first Dynasty in the British Museum.[4] If one accepts that bead shrouds with bead-work figures of the sons of Horus must be contemporary with the use of bead-work faces, this would be another proof for dating the earliest bead-work faces to about 1000 B.C.

There are other bead-work figures, but not faces, which can be dated closely to the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. They are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and were found at Sanam in Nubia, in the only cemetery explored in the neighbourhood of Napata which contained other than royal burials.[5] Because of the limited duration of the Ethiopian rule they can be dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, about 700 B.C. There is part of a finely worked wing of a scarabaeus, the figure of a lying jackal and parts of a bead-work band with inscription. The dating of bead-work faces by means of the coffins in which they were found should also eventually be possible. While it seems certain that bead-work faces were in common use from the turn of the millennium until about 500 B.C., I have found no evidence to show how long this custom persisted. The great variety in quality in the bead-work

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[1] K.Bosse-Griffiths, *JEA* 61 (1975), Pl.XXI.

[2] Ibid., p.117.

[3] Accession number W 947d.

[4] Accession number 26 230. Four multicoloured faience figures of the four sons of Horus were shown in colour-print in the Br. Mus. Calendar of 1973 (Oct.).

[5] Accession number 1921-807. They come from tomb 1428. See also F.Ll. Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia' in *LAAA* 10 (1923), 169.

faces which are exhibited in Room U 22 in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo may be due to difference either in provenance or in date.

The bead-work faces in Swansea

Looking at bead-work faces other than those in the Wellcome Collection, we have found that, together with other amuletic bead-work figures, they formed an integral part of bead shrouds which were put on top of the wrapped mummy inside the coffin during a period which began about 1000 B.C. and lasted at least until the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Although the broad collar, the winged scarab, the winged goddesses, and the sons of Horus followed traditional patterns, it is less certain why the triangular face was chosen rather than an ordinary human face. A deeper religious meaning seems to have been present, at least in the beginning. But it was open to misinterpretation. There exist bead-shrouds without a bead face, like the one of Horsies, priest of Horus of Edfu, which was found at Hassaia near Edfu in 1916. His coffin stands in Room 21 of the Cairo Museum.[1] Here a bead netting lies directly over the mummy while a cover of cartonnage with amuletic figures is laid over the netting.

A comparison of one of the Swansea bead-faces (pl.I, 3) with the face of the bead-shroud from El-Hibeh (pl.II, 2) shows that there is a certain similarity in the set-up: similar are the triangular shape of the face, the nose in contrasting colours, the horizontal stripes of the beard, the black outline of eyes and eyebrows. The general impression, however, is completely different: Egyptian realism in the one, exotic expressionism in the other.

Fundamentally, this difference in expression can be explained by a slightly different technique in the stringing of the beads, and this holds true for all the bead-faces in Swansea in comparison with all the other bead-faces mentioned. It can best be demonstrated by a comparison of the beards: on the face of El-Hibeh the lines of the beard are completely straight, as it should be when one wants to show alternating bands of colours; but the Swansea face has dented horizontal lines, not only in the beard but also in the eye-brows and in the mouth. The reason for this appearance is that the Swansea face is threaded in lines which run from top to bottom, while the El-Hibeh face is threaded in lines which run from left to right. In consequence the El-Hibeh face has straight horizontal lines, while the Swansea face has straight vertical lines. The representation of the eyes seems to have caused the greatest problems. While the El-Hibeh face shows the irregular outlines of an ordinary wide-open eye, which could be recognized

[1] Journal d'entrée 1916, 122-3.

on its own, one Swansea face has a simple diamond shape of the kind which is known already from bead-belts of the Old Kingdom.[1]

But in a paradoxical way the ordinary bead-work face presents in the likeness of a hieroglyph the conventional face of a God, while the thirteen faces in Swansea seem to aim at differentiation between personalities, even between male and female. The frame of tubular beads which surrounds them would prevent them from standing directly on top of a broad collar, if there ever was a collar at all. They are, in fact, different in technique and in style.

If one looks for a place where faces of this kind could have originated, one is inclined to go outside Egypt proper. Possibly they could have come from Nubia, from a place where the Egyptian tradition was preserved without being fully understood. It is not impossible that they come from a region which had continued the tradition of making bead-work belts. In Nubia the making of bead-work belts is well attested already before the Twelfth Dynasty. In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, a fragment of such a belt is exhibited which was found in a C-group cemetery at Faras in a child's grave.[2] Its patterns are set out in black-, green-, white- and blue-coloured beads. This could have been genuine native work. Parts of bead shrouds of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty which follow more closely current Egyptian traditions were found as far south as Sanam near Napata, as stated already above.[3] It seems therefore possible, although I am as yet unable to prove it, that an experimental kind of bead-work developed which used a technique that was more suitable for belts than for faces. In this way they created something new, something which the Egyptians proper had never attempted to do: they created bead-work faces which represented individual human beings.

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[1] Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), fig. 31.

[2] F.Ll. Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia' in *LAAA* 8 (1921), pl.12, 1 and pl.24, a and b.

[3] See p.159, n. 6 above.

Pl. 1

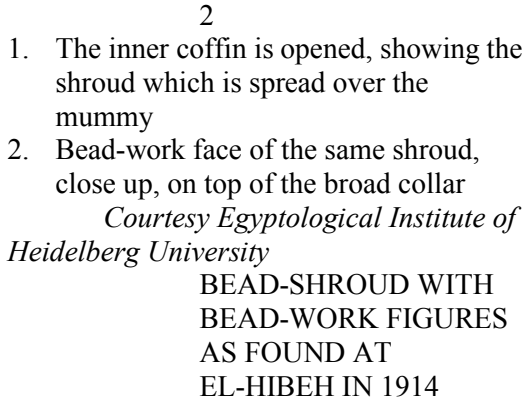
1. W774

2. W 780

Bead-work faces in
the Wellcome Collection
at University of Wales Swansea
Photographs by Roger P. Davies

3. W 782

Pl. 2



2

1. The inner coffin is opened, showing the shroud which is spread over the mummy
2. Bead-work face of the same shroud, close up, on top of the broad collar

Courtesy Egyptological Institute of Heidelberg University

BEAD-SHROUD WITH BEAD-WORK FIGURES AS FOUND AT EL-HIBEH IN 1914

1

ADDENDA

On colour

For a notable discussion on the use and symbolism of colour in Egyptian and comparative religion see Terence DuQuesne, *Black and Gold God* (London, 1996). The book is mainly concerned with the gods Anubis and Wepwawet. In his appreciative review in *DE* 40 (1998), 169-72 Prof. L. Kákosy adds perceptive remarks on a wider scale, and points to the importance of an Appendix by A. El Goresy and Solveig Schiegl where the instability of blue pigments is stressed; in wall paintings and faience objects their deterioration is said to turn them often to green. See further, on

pigments used at Amarna, Fran Weatherhead in Barry J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports*, VI (London, 1995), Chapters 13 and 14 (pp. 384-410).

Part II, 4

BABOON AND MAID
(3 Plates)

Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens ed. F. Junge (Fs W. Westendorf) Band 2: Religion. Göttingen 1984, pp. 743-8.

In his stimulating book on *Paintings, Sculpture and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*[1] WOLFHART WESTENDORF also deals with the baboon of Thoth in his various aspects as "Keeper of the Eye of Light" (208), as "The Lord of Writing" (212) who protects the scribes and as "Moon-god" crowned with the disc and crescent of the moon (212).

It is this latter aspect that I shall treat here in the more uncommon form of a baboon which is worshipped by a young woman. This scene I found on a small unfinished limestone stela which is in the possession of the Wellcome Museum at University College, Swansea (Taf. 1 und Taf. 2b). The stela[2] has a rounded top and is 19.2 cm high and 12.2 cm wide. The back is still left curved and rough as it was when cut out of the local rock, and its present thickness is still about 5 cm. The front side, on the other hand, is quite plain and made smooth, apparently, with a thin cover of gypsum. The outline drawings of the figures have been made in red paint. Some, but not all of these lines have been followed up with a chisel. Some black colouring is applied to the girl's wig. In fact it is the technique which is described by JAROSLAV CERNY[3] as being used in the preparation of the tombs of the Kings: after covering the surface to be decorated with a thin layer of gypsum and whitewash, the picture is "drawn with outline", "graven with chisel" and "filled with colours" to be "finished" - - - only that our picture remained unfinished. From the application of this technique alone the provenance of the stela could be ascribed to the City of Deir el-Medineh.[4]

The stela almost certainly was once part of the Collection of R.De Rustafjaell and most likely belonged to lot no. 71 of the Sales Catalogue of Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, December 9/10 1907, when the second half of the Rustafjaell Collection went on auction. A square label with the no.

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[1] Wolfhart Westendorf, *Painting, Sculpture and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, translated from the German by Leonard Mins, New York and London, (1968).

[2] Accession number W 1326.

[3] Jaroslav Černy, *The Valley of the Kings*, IFAO 1973, 35.

[4] A second similar stela in our Collection has actually the name "Deir el-Medinah" written on its back by modern hand. It is more than likely that the two stelae were sold at the same time.

268 on the back of the stela is of the kind used by Rustafjaell for his great exhibition in London, previous to the sales.

The scene shows on the left a baboon squatting on a high chest-like pedestal and looking towards the right. His head is crowned by the moon-symbol: a disc in a crescent. Around his neck is suspended a pectoral which, according to Westendorf,[1] should depict the sun-disc in the celestial bark. Facing him stands a young woman. She raises her left hand in the gesture of greeting or adoration while her right hand is holding (and presumably shaking) a sistrum. A ribbon is tied around her forehead over her straight long hair. She is wearing a festive dress which reaches down to her feet, but still allows her anklets to be seen. Between the baboon and the maid stands a small table with a water-jug (?). Over it a big lotus blossom stretches diagonally upwards and widely opens its blossom towards the baboon. The lower part of the stela is left free and could have provided sufficient place for an inscription. Even without the text, the theme of the stela can be clearly understood as showing a young woman in the act of worshipping the moon-god. Although it is quite common to see learned scribes under the protection of the sacred baboon of Thoth, it is not easy to find direct parallels for the "Baboon and Maid".

The first place to look for them was of course among the objects excavated at Deir el-Medineh.[2] From the point of view of composition a stela found by E.Baraize and published by B.Bruyère[3]is almost a twin piece of the Swansea stela (Taf. 2b). It has a rounded top and is very nearly of the same size (height 18.5 cm; width 15.5 cm, but thickness only 1.3 cm). The representation shows a man in the costume of the Twentieth Dynasty standing and raising his hands in adoration in front of a baboon with moon-disc and crescent. The baboon is seated on a high socle with cavetto cornice and a naos-shaped pectoral is suspended from his neck. In his hands the baboon holds a writing palette and a reed. There is no offering-table. An inscription above their heads describes them as: *Thoth, Lord of Khemenw, scribe of the Ennead of Gods* and as *The royal scribe of 'The Place of Truth'* (the Cemetery) *Neb-nefer, son of Horus, justified.* This then is a funerary stela of a royal scribe who had been occupied at Deir el-Medineh. But the positioning of the figures and the attitude of the hands of the worshippers on the two stelae are near enough to suggest that both belong to the same "workshop" and the same religious background, even though one stela is finished and the other is apparently a trial piece which has been rejected.

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[1] Op.cit., 212.

[2] B.Bruyère, `Quelques stèles trouvées par M.E.Baraize à Deir el-Medineh', in *ASAE* 25 (1925), 76-95, pls. I-IV.

[3] Loc.cit., pl. II no. 3; p.89 no. 43 571.

Another fragmentary stela of the same provenance[1] shows a woman in an attitude of prayer, holding flowers in her raised left hand; the deity worshipped, however, is not Thoth, but Taweret, the helper at birth. We can assume, then, that this is not a funerary memorial stela, but a product of very personal piety, expressing the hope of help from the deity or giving thanks for help received.

Another stela from Deir el-Medineh (Taf.2c) brings us a step nearer to the solution of our problem as it contains the figure of a girl who is called *a servant (b3k.t) of the Moon*.[2] Yet the girl, Meryetamûn, is not represented in her own right but only as a daughter of her father, Pen-Amœn, whose prayer to Iᶜa¤-Thoth (Thoth as Moon-god) fills the main space of the stela. The upper portion of the rounded stela is filled with a depiction of the baboon crowned with disc and crescent and squatting in his heavenly bark. The inscription over his head calls him Iᶜa¤-Thoth. But the special feature here derives from three big ears near him, as well as two *wedjat*-eyes: for here he represents the god who listens to the prayers of one who calls upon him (in Assman's translation)[3]: "der die Gebete erhört dessen, der ihn ruft"). These added ears make clear the new personal relation of the worshipper and his god which finds open expression at Deir el-Medineh, although traces of it must have existed earlier.

Various attempts have been made to explain this apparent change in the attitude of the individual towards his deity. Assmann is well aware of the difference (op.cit. p.14):

> Nur während einer verhältnismäßig kurzen Periode der ägyptischen Geschichte — in der 19. und 20. Dynastie — finden wir auch in diesem Bereich Kommunikationsakte eine denkmalhafte Fixierung. Sie nennen sich aber nicht "Anbetungen" — dieser Terminus setzt die kultische Epiphanie des angebeteten Gottes voraus — sondern Huldigung (*rdj j3w — sn t3* Lob spenden, die Erde küssen) und sind als Gebete zu verstehen, die auch an einen aus der Ferne hörenden Gott gerichtet werden können. Sie sind uns auf Votivstelen erhalten, die ein beliebiger Beter, Priester oder Laie im Tempel aufstellen lassen konnte.

This statement in itself would suffice to explain the use to which the stelae from Deir el-Medineh were put. Assmann then suggests that the reason for this change of attitude can be found in the experiences of the Amarna-Period (op.cit. p.16):

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[1] Loc.cit. pl. III no. 2; no. 43 573, p.91

[2] B.Bruyère, '*Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh*', *IFAO Rapport* 1935-1940, vol. 20.2 pp.42 and 79-81, fig. 159, pl. X-XI.

[3] Jan Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 1975, 361 no. 158 and p.16.

> Hinter dieser religiösen Lyrik, die sowohl in der Literatur wie auf den Votivstelen in Erscheinung tritt, steht auslösend und inspirierend die Erfahrung der Amarnazeit. Hier mußte der Ägypter ohne den Kult und ohne die Mittlerfunktion des Königs auskommen … In der Verfolgungszeit, als die Kulte verboten waren und die Tempel verfielen, muß sich eine mündliche Tradition des Betens zu den Göttern herausgebildet haben …

It can be doubted whether it would have been possible for something so positive to happen so quickly, had it not been for some general international climate and influence from outside which pointed in that direction. Thorkild Jacobsen is convinced that this influence came from Mesopotamia. He understands *Personal Religion* as a religious attitude in which the religious individual expects "help and guidance in his personal life and personal affairs";[1] the earliest examples of this attitude he finds in Mesopotamia towards the beginning of the second millennium, but in Egypt only about 1230 B.C.[2] after the Amarna age with its international intellectual climate in which Mesopotamian writings and ideas spread far and wide throughout the Near East.

He therefore reasons:

> Since the Egyptian examples appear suddenly as a new element in popular religiosity unconnected with established Egyptian religion, it would seem likely that they reflect influence from outside — especially from Mesopotamia . . .

This explanation of the phenomenon of "personal religion" sounds very persuasive. But a certain amount of personal dependence on gods must have existed already before that, for example in connection with minor deities like Taweret in her character as birth-helper. It is also relevant that some amulets of the baboon as moon-god appear already among the Amarna amulets. They seem to have been overlooked in the official lists of Amarna amulets,[3] but I know of one example in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge and there is

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[1] Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*, A History of Mesopotamian Religion (1976), 147.

[2] Jacobsen, op.cit., 152.

[3] J.D.S. Pendlebury, 'Corpus of beads, amulets, pendants, ring-bezels, inlays, scarabs, udat eyes and moulds' in *The City of Akhenaten* II (1933 reprinted 1972), 114-117 based on Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pl. XIV-XX, but adding new types.

certainly a very fine blue amulet of this kind on the Beset-collar[1] in the Wellcome Museum at Swansea (Taf.2d). On record, also is a tiny stela which was found in the slum district of the North Suburb of Amarna.[2] The little figure of the baboon on it is only just over 4 cm high: here too he wears the lunar crescent and disc and squats in front of a tiny offering table – but without sitting on a pedestal – and a big lotus blossom reaches over the table to his nose.

Further there is the possibility that the strange pedestal of the baboon of Thoth can be explained. It seems to follow the example set in certain places of worship. One of these places, strangely enough, is not in a temple but in "The Royal Foreign Office", as it was depicted in the tomb at Qurna of the Royal Scribe of the letters of the Lord of the Two Countries named 'Tj' (Tay).[3] (Taf.3a) Here a baboon crowned with the lunar symbol sits in a special chapel on a pedestal with cavetto cornice. In front of him stands once again a small table with a water jar and a lotus blossom which opens out widely towards him. In a nearby office about a dozen scribes sit and write. Something like this must have been in the mind of the artist who designed the stela in Swansea and others similar to it.

Although I have not come across another example of a young woman actually worshipping the baboon as moon-god, there exists a very similar example of a high-ranking woman praying in front of a baboon, save that this baboon does not wear the moon symbols. The representation is to be found in the mythological papyrus of 'Ta-wedja-R^{a}'[4] which belongs to the Twenty-first Dynasty (Taf.3b).

The scene follows the initial adoration of Osiris and comes before the Weighing of the Heart. The baboon is seated on a chest with cavetto cornice which stands on a sledge (not unlike the Little Golden Shrine in the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn). The shrine is decorated with symbols of Osiris and Isis (*djed*-pillar and 'blood-of-Isis') which points to its funerary character. In his hands the baboon holds a writing palette and a reed. The Lady, a chantress of Amen-R^{a}', chantress of the pure foundation of Pta¤, Singer of the Choir of Mut, raises her hands in a gesture of worship. In her left hand she holds a branch of ivy leaves. She wears a festive dress with lotus bud and perfume cone on her wig. Between her and the baboon stands a small offering table with two cakes and a basket. A large lotus blossom once more surmounts the whole and opens up towards the baboon. The adjacent inscription explains

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[1] Kate Bosse-Griffiths, *'A Beset Amulet from the Amarna Period*', in: *JEA* 63, 1977, 106.

[2] *The City of Akhenaten* II, pl. XXXV 3, p.66.

[3] Ludwig Borchardt, '*Das Dienstgebäude des Auswärtigen Amtes unter den Ramessiden'*, in : *ZÄS* 44, 1907, 59 ff. Abb.1.

[4] Alexandre Piankoff*, Mythological Papyri*, 1957, no.15.

that we have to do with Thoth as the *Lord of the Divine Word, Scribe of the Truth of the Great Ennead* – not with Thoth in his character as moon-god.

So it seems that the unfinished little stela in Swansea is correct in its details but exceptional in its message, that is if I am right in interpreting the message as an appeal of a young woman to the moon-god who listens to prayers.

POSTSCRIPT

As a postscript I feel compelled to mention one other case of 'Maid and Baboon' which was discovered only recently when the mummies of the Pharaohs were X-rayed. This case is exceptional in all its aspects. It concerns Makar^{a}', God's wife of Amen-R^{a}', who lived in the Twenty-first Dynasty. It appears that Makar^{a}' had died during childbirth. A wrapped body of a "princess" had been buried together with her. But on an X-ray examination it was found that the assumed mummy of the "princess" was really that of a "small female hamadryas baboon'.[1] No satisfying explanation for this "deception" has yet been offered.

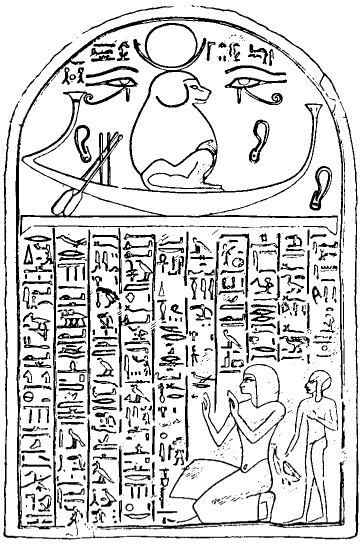
[1] James E. Harris and Kent R. Weeks, *X-raying the Pharaohs*, 1973, 53. See also A.J.Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt*, 1982, 213.

Pl. 1

1a The unfinished stela in Swansea with representations of 'Maid and 'Baboon'.
Photograph R. Davies

2a Outline-drawing of the stela shown on pl.1. Drawing by Emyr Davies.

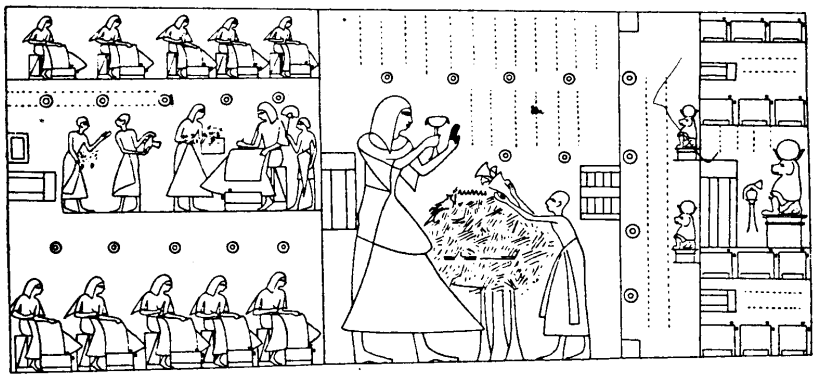
2b Stela of Neb-nefer (after BRUYÈRE, *ASAE* 25, pl.II no.3)



2c Stela of Pen-Amun (after BRUYÈRE, *IFAO* vol.20,2, fig.159)

2d Baboon-amulet on Beset-collar (see K.B.-G., in: *JEA* 63, 106). The true size of the pendant is 1.4 cm.

Pl. 2



3a Baboon of Thoth in the 'Foreign Office' (after L.BORCHARDT, in: *ZÄS* 44, 1907, Abb.1)

3b The great Singer Ta-wedja-Rē in front of the baboon of Thoth (after A.PIANKOFF, *Mythological Papyri*, no.15).

Pl. 3

Part II, 5

REMARKS CONCERNING A COFFIN OF THE 21ST DYNASTY

Discussions in Egyptology 19, 1991, 5-12
Cf. an unpublished paper presented to the 3rd International Congress of Egyptology, Toronto, 1982.

In 1988 appeared the first volume of Andrzej Niwinski's book *21st Dynasty coffins from Thebes* which contains the chronological and typological studies, leaving the iconographical studies for a later volume. In this first volume he mentions several times a coffin in the care of the Wellcome Museum at University College Swansea.

A factual account is given on p.170: no.368. SWANSEA, University College. The Wellcome Museum n. inv. Number. Inner case. Provenance: from the collection of the Exeter Museum, presented by Fitzherbert Fuller in 1819. Name: [in hierogl.] *Iw.st-¤šw-Mwt* Title: *nbt pr šmᶜyt 'Imn ¤si Mwt nb (Išrw)*. Dating: middle 21st Dynasty.

On p.185 the coffin is mentioned under Personal Names found on the 21st Dynasty coffins, no.28: *'Iw. st-¤sw-Mwt* m (= male, clearly a mistake), o (= owner).

On p. 191, Appendix 2 : Titles Connected with the Names on the 21st Dynasty Coffins, no.39: *¤st n p3 ¤si n Mwt nbt 'Išrw*.

Discovery

This coffin had been discovered in 1981 during what may be called a "storeroom excavation" in the Royal Albert Museum, Exeter where J.Gwyn Griffiths was looking for representations of "The weighing-of-the-heart". The coffin was in a bad state and coffin case and lid were kept apart from each other. But the "weighing-of-the-heart" scene was clearly to be seen on the right hand side of the coffin case. On our request the coffin was given on indefinite loan to the Wellcome Museum and was transferred to Swansea in January 1982. After the taking of documentary photographs in black and white and colour the coffin was moved for conservation treatment to the Laboratory of the Department of Archaeology at University College, Cardiff.

By then it was evident that the coffin contained not only the "Judgement" scene but also a number of other important religious scenes like "The Separation of Heaven and Earth", "The Tree Goddess as bestower of food and drink" and "The Western Mountain with Tomb and Hathor-cow". In autumn 1982 I read a paper about the coffin at a Meeting of the

International Congress of Egyptologists at Toronto. This paper remained unpublished; but the principal scenes on the coffin box have been printed in outline drawings in a booklet: *"A Musician meets her Gods*, Pictures from The Wellcome Museum, University College, Swansea n. 2 (1984)." The inscriptions on the coffin remained unpublished.

Dating

For iconographical reasons I had been able to date the coffin into the 21st Dynasty, especially by using details of the judgement scene which were specified in *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Aegypten* by Christine Seeber (1976). On typological grounds Niwinski comes to the same conclusion, dating the coffin even more exactly into the middle of the 21st Dynasty. According to Niwinski, the Exeter Coffin belongs to a group where "the long sides of the case are divided by means of a few vertical lines in such a way that at least one scene is very long and the whole decoration gives the impression of being horizontally composed" (p.87). Moreover, the Exeter coffin belongs to "the earliest type of exterior decoration of the cases of the yellow type coffins." This originated directly from the traditional decoration of the 18th Dynasty and possesses a low degree of density of the decorative elements which gives such clarity to every scene. (p87). This very long and horizontally composed scene is on the right hand side of the coffin case. Beginning at the foot-end it shows a spreading sycamore tree in front of which stands a slim tree goddess with her gifts of food and drink for the deceased and her *ba.*

Then follows the "Weighing of the Heart" which is faced by the Musician in an attitude of jubilation. On the other side of the balance a procession of gods leads the deceased to the enthroned Osiris with Isis and Nephthys standing behind him.

Only then come the vertical lines which divide the Judgement Scene from the Scene of "The Triumph of Osiris on the Primeval Mound". These lines carry an inscription with the name of the deceased in big hieroglyphs: *di nswt ¤tp Wsir nṯr ʻ3 ¤qa Imntiw di n nbt pr šmᶜit ʼImn ʼIw.st ¤swt Mwt.*

> A boon which the King gives to Osiris, the great God, ruler over the Westerners, that he may give to the Lady of the House, the Musician of Amœn. *Iw.set- ¤eswt- Mwt.*

The name of the deceased occurs five times on the right-hand side of the coffin box, with variations. The most elaborate form appears between six narrow vertical lines in front of the head of the Musician, who has seized the hand of Maat. Like this: *n nbt pr šmᶜyt ʼImn Rᵃʻ nswt nṯrw šm Mwt wr nb Išrw Iw.st-¤sw-Mwt m3ʻ¥rw.*

> The Lady of the house. Musician of Amen-R^{a}‘. King of the Gods, follower of Mwt the Great, Lady of Isherw, Iw Set-hesw-Mwt, true of voice.

There can be no doubt that this coffin was especially made for this “priestess” of Amen- R^{a}‘ and Mwt.

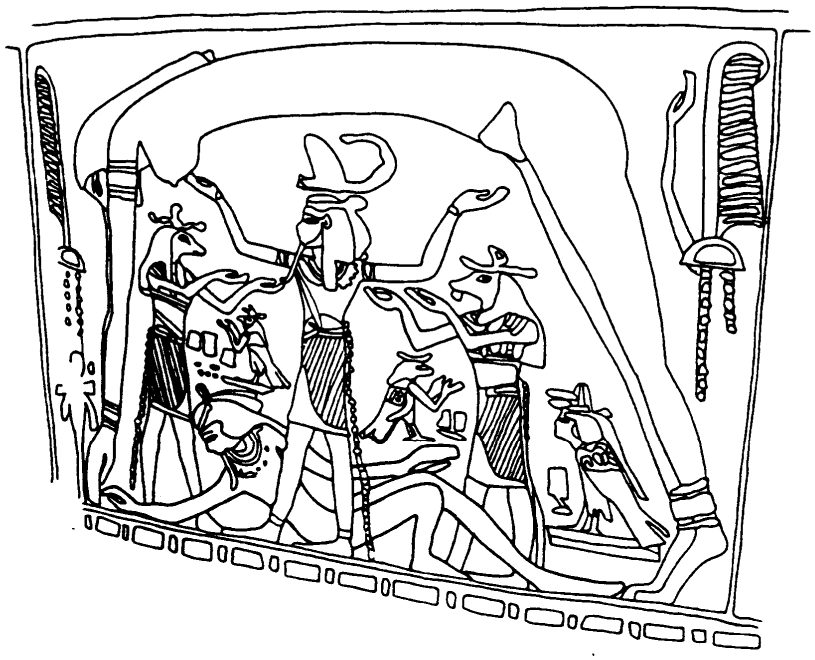


Fig. 1 *The Separation of Heaven and Earth*

Varying Forms

Apart from having her name written many times all over the coffin, the musician appears many times and in differing attitudes and forms which are always identified by the lotus bud under a perfume cone on her head: together with her *ba* she receives food and drink out of the hands of the tree-goddess; she raises her arms in jubilation on being found “justified” in front of the balance; as a little mummy-shaped figure she rises out of her bandages while under the balance: in the processions dressed in her pleated festive garment and with a sistrum in her left hand she is led by Maat; as a priestess she stands in adoration in front of the ram-headed god, and as a priestess she

brings offerings to the Hathor cow in front of the mountain which contains her tomb chapel; she stands as a *ba*-bird under the legs of Nut at the moment of the Separation of Heaven and Earth; she stands in mummy shape in front of the divine falcon and is bowing down demurely in front of Osiris in a second scene where Osiris is enthroned as Rᵃʿ. Thus she appears on the coffin case nine times, always in differing attitudes, and many more times, it seems, on the coffin lid, which is very badly preserved.

The musician of Amœn is in fact the only human being represented on the coffin case. All the other figures belong either to gods or to spirits. On the right hand side, which is composed with conscious care, there is a special way of making a difference between gods and human beings by their size. Although the gods are of the same bodily height as the humans, they possess crowns which reach to the upper line of the frieze and make them appear as superhuman beings.

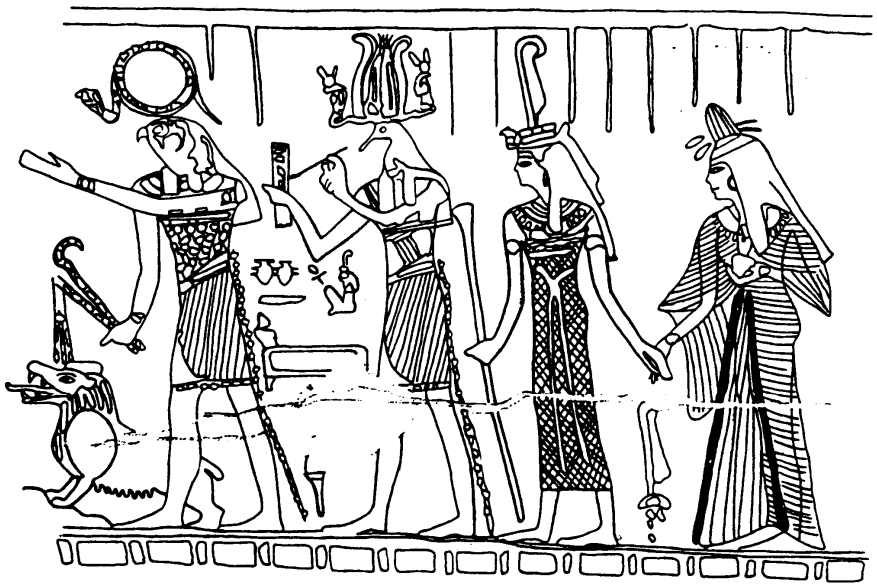


Fig. 2 The musician is led by Maat to the throne of Osiris

Colour

Colour is also used in a symbolic way: the faces of most of the deities, even of Isis and Nephthys, are green, thus symbolizing their life-giving power. The limbs of Harakhty and Shu-Heka on the other hand are rust red, like the colour of heat and air. Black is the colour of Anubis and the demons, while the skin-colour of the musician as well as of the sky-goddess Nut is the yellow of the background within the red outlines of the drawn figures.

The special merit of the Exeter coffin lies in the simplicity and clarity with which its statements are set down. There is a sensible order in which the

main scenes correspond on opposite sides. The tomb in the mountain and the benevolent Tree-goddess – that is, scenes which belong to this earth – have their place at the foot-end. The speculative scenes of the creation of the world (by means of the separation of heaven and earth) and the resurrection on top of the primeval mound are at the shoulder end. Fitted in between are the Judgement scene and the double encounter with Osiris and R^{a}‘-Osiris.

Main Themes

John H. Taylor, who received his PhD for his study of the development of Theban coffins of the Third Intermediate Period, states in his recent book on Egyptian coffins (1989, p.42): concerning the coffins of the 21st Dynasty:

> ‘The main theme of most of them was that of rebirth … the journey of the deceased into the netherworld, with the judgement before Osiris and demon gatekeepers … images of the sunrise, the journey of the solar barque … quite new motifs such as the separation of Geb(earth) and Nut (sky) and Osiris enthroned over the double staircase … older established subjects such as the sons of Horus, the deceased offering … the Hathor cow in the necropolis and a tree goddess providing the deceased with life-giving water.’

The Exeter Coffin possesses most of these themes with the exception of the plain solar ones like the sunrise and the journey of the solar barque. It is of some interest to notice that the solar barque and the sun disk are given preference on the coffin of Khonsumes in Uppsala (well published by Gertie Englund in 1974), while the name of the owner is mentioned only once; there is no weighing of the heart and the introduction of Osiris is very abbreviated.

There exist of course many painted coffins which were mass-produced and which do not possess an owner’s name. On the other hand, only recently have serious attempts been made to appreciate the religious pictures on the coffins of the 21st Dynasty as works of art.

In museums the coffins are usually exhibited in such a way that only the pictures on the lid can be clearly recognized, while the important pictures of the 21st dynasty coffins are displayed on the case. The same is true of most publications.

Very much more could be said about the deities and the symbols and the mythological themes and the status of the musician of Amœn as priestess.

The drawings were made under great technical difficulties by Emyr Davies. They are outline drawings of (1) the Separation of Heaven and Earth

by Shu, the God of the Air, who carries the crown of Heka, the God of Magic and (2) the Musician of Amœn being led to Osiris by the hand of Maat, her favourite patron-goddess.

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ADDENDA

Several other important and relevant contributions by A. Niwinski are listed in the Bibliography given in his cited book. M. Heerma van Voss, in his fine study, *Zwischen Grab und Paradis* (Basel, 1971), presents a superbly illustrated manuscript of the Twenty-first Dynasty relating to the lady Ta(y)ouheryt, with episodes parallel to those discussed here. His many other contributions to this field include his 'Totenbuch' in LÄ VI (1985), 641-3, and one devoted to an item in the Swansea Wellcome Collection (W 869): 'Een Dodendoek als Dodenboek' ('A Shroud of the Dead as a Book of the Dead') in *Phoenix* 20 (1974), 335-8; he dates the shroud to the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty, and gives details of the sections of the Book of the Dead which are included. In *BSFE* 105 (1986), 10-22, he writes on 'Le Livre des Morts au nouvel Empire au Musée de Leyde' and refers to the title 'musicienne d'Amon' (p.11).

See further the richly documented study by John H. Taylor, 'The Burial Assemblage of Henutmehyt: Inventory, Date and Provenance' in W.V. Davies (ed.) *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities: A Tribute to T.G.H. James* (British Museum, Occasional Papers, 123, London, 1999), 59-72. On p. 68 Dr Taylor discusses the title which he translates here and elsewhere as 'chantress of Amun'. He states that the title 'merely reflects entitlement to participate in the musical accompaniments to the temple ritual, a role open to all women of rank, but not an indication of special privilege.' Cf. the sistrum in the left hand shown in one scene on the coffin described above, the title being several times assigned to the deceased.

The massive study by Prof. A Niwinsky has now been followed by his equally important *La Seconde Trouvaille de Deir El-Bahari (Sarcophages)*, *Cat. Gén.* (Cairo, 1996), which continues the 1909 Catalogue of É. Chassinat. These numerous coffins, all of the Twenty-First Dynasty, represent, as Niwinsky remarks, echoing Chassinat, a culminating phase in Egyptian religious iconography.

Part II, 6

PROBLEMS WITH PTA§-SOKAR-OSIRIS FIGURES

Presented to the 4th International Congress of Egyptology, Munich, 1985

Cf. Sylvia Schoske, (ed.), *Abstracts of Papers*, 26

In October 1983, our Museum (The Wellcome Museum of Antiquities at University College, Swansea) was offered on permanent loan a number of Egyptian objects which had been kept for over half a century in the store-room of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. The most spectacular of these, although perhaps not the most valuable, was an almost completely preserved painted wooden figure of Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris, 78 cm high[1].

Following the pattern set by Maarten J. Raven in his recent most informative study 'Papyrus Sheaths and Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris Statues'[2] I may describe the figure as follows:

> This is the funerary figure of a mummiform human being (or deity) with a tripartite blue wig. On top of the wig is set a *šwty*- crown consisting of ostrich-feathers, ram's horns and a sun-disc. The figure is provided with a back-pillar and stands on a rectangular plinth which jets out considerably in front of the statue; the statue was fixed on its rear by means of a wooden peg. The length of the base is 37.5 cm. A mummiform wooden falcon squats in front of the base facing the statue; the base is solid, but not so the figure. Eventually it became evident that there was a hidden cavity at the back of its head inside the wig and on top of the back-pillar. The possible content of this cavity provided one of the problems which had to be faced. There is one column of inscription on the front and one on the back of the figure.

The figure is covered with plaster which is painted in various colours. The face is red, the eyes white and black. The body is white but covered with

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[1] Accession number W 2001-C. The figure of the hawk carries the Cardiff accession number 24-85-3; this signifies that it was given by Lord Aberdare to the National Museum of Wales in 1924, like most of the other objects we received. The Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris figure itself carries no museum-number at all. I could trace it, however, as part of the Collection of R.de Rustafjaell in the auction Catalogue of Sotheby, 1907, Dec. 9/10. Here it carries the number 117, and a picture of it is shown on pl.VIII. On p.11 it is described as 'A fine Pta¤-Sokar-Uasar Figure with well-preserved colourings: a band of hieroglyphs running down the front and back of the mummified figure.'

[2] Maarten J. RAVEN, 'Papyrus-Sheaths and Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris Statues' in *OMRO* 59-60, 1978-1979, 251-296, pls. 39-41.

a red reticulate pattern with inset blue spots.[1] On the plinth are four rectangular 'lakes' indicated by a blue line on white back-ground with red borders. The base is surrounded by a *sr¥*-pattern in red, blue and black on white. The statue's breast is covered by a *ws¥ n bik*, a semicircular broad collar with many rows of different motifs, terminating in two falcon heads crowned by a sundisc. Underneath the collar hangs a shrine-shaped pectoral with two figures. The line of inscription in front reads:

¤tp di nsw n Wsìr ¥nty 'Imntt - - the next hieroglyph is illegible. It is the beginning of the name of the owner who, according to the determinative, must have been a woman. 'A boon which the King gives to Osiris first of the West'. The inscription on the back-pillar can be read as follows:

Skr Wsir ¤ry ib Št3w (?) di n.f pr ¥rw n ¤nkt k3w 3pdw n 'Imntt nfr n; there follows a name with a flower determinative the reading of which can only be guessed.

'May Sokar Osiris inside the Sacred Place (?) give him (sic) invocation offerings of beer, meat, geese of the West, good (things) for . . .'

The Swansea figure corresponds most closely with type IV C[2] of Raven and on account of its resemblance to painted cartonnage of the Ptolemaic Period and its badly written hieroglyphs can be dated to the early Ptolemaic Period. It can also usefully be compared with a similar figure in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston which has recently been published in a book by William Kelly Simpson.[3]

Concerning the Boston figure Simpson claims that it is 'actually a container for an amuletic or oracular papyrus (missing) which was hidden inside the large figure . . . through a sliding panel in the column of the inscription on the back of the statue.'

Although the contents of the cavity could be called 'amuletic', the evidence of Raven gives no support to the idea that their nature was 'oracular'. According to him it was most unlikely that at this late period even a papyrus could be found in the cavity. Instead of that he claims that the later Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris statues usually contained a corn mummy wrapped in linen.

There are in our store-room at Swansea two other similar but less well preserved Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris figures with well shaped cavities inside the back of their heads, just over the back-pillar. In one of the figures the lid which

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[1] The pattern of round beads fixed inside a netting of tubular beads can usefully be compared with the ceremonial robe of Tut'ankhamœn, excavation number 21d, as shown in *JEA* 61 (1975), pl.XX.1.

[2] Raven, op.cit. p.267.

[3] William Kelly SIMPSON, *The Face of Egypt: Permanence and Change in Egyptian Art*, Boston, 1977, fig. 55: 'Papyrus container in form of Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris, painted and gilded wood, Ptolemaic Period'.

covered the cavity is still extant, although nothing is known about the contents.[1]

By knocking on the back of its head the existence of a cavity in the back of the figure from Cardiff had been discovered. But this cavity was closed. And there was a certain justification for the hope that we could discover the contents *in situ*, to find out, for once, the inner object.

I asked the photographer of the Faculty of Arts, Roger P.Davies, to be present when the delicate operation of opening the head of the statue was undertaken by Emyr Davies, a conservation student trained in carpentry work and with a good knowledge of Egyptology. Theoretically it should have been easy to scratch the outline of the lid through the plaster and raise it. But in spite of all our efforts, the lid resisted. In the end a certain amount of force had to be applied and then it became sadly evident that the fault lay with a nineteenth-century iron nail (the figure had been sold in an auction in 1907) which held an odd piece of wood over the opening of the original cavity that was empty. The cavity itself was well shaped and 5 cm deep. Somebody who had been there before us presumably took out the content and covered up his track in order to sell the figure.

In spite of this initial disappointment about the statue from Cardiff, the information gained from Dr. Raven's article led to some surprising discoveries in our own store-room. When, on the request of Dr. Raven, I tried to make a list of all possible Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris figures in Swansea, I found that there were eighteen of them, not counting the feather crowns. Among them were at least two quite unexpected cases which I could identify only by the new knowledge gained.

One of them is the black varnished head of a wooden Osiris figure[2] with atef crown and divine beard but no wig. The ears are finely modelled. The outside of the head is all black but for a few yellow lines to identify the eyes and the design of the feathers. This head almost certainly originally belonged to a true 'hollow Osiris' of Raven's type IC[3], the type which contained funerary papyri of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

The 'hollow-Osiris'papyrus sheaths preceded the Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris figures by several centuries and disappeared from the funerary equipment in the Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty. They were replaced by Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris figures of a great variety, most of which Raven counts among his Type IV. They very rarely contained papyrus rolls. Their content could nevertheless be of religious significance. This is exemplified by another only partly preserved figure in our Collection which up to recently I had been

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[1] W 2052. It was also once part of the Rustafjaell Collection.

[2] W 2060: Rustafjaell Auction Catalogue, as in note 1, no.158.4: 'head of a similar figure covered with bitumen.'

[3] Raven, op.cit. pp.258/9.

unable to place.[1] It is the lower half of a miniature coffin with an uncommon inscription on its back, written in black hieroglyphs on yellow ground. In it lies a female figure made of rolled up, shaped and painted linen and plaster. The lower half of the coffin and of the female figure is missing. The inscription on the coffin-back is written in two columns as follows:

Right column: *Dd mdw Wsir ¥nty 'Imntt ntr '3 nb 3bdw Skr Wsìr ¥nty 'Ipw 3st wrt*

'Words spoken by Osiris, first of the West, great God, Lord of Abydos, Sokar-Osiris in Akhmîm, Isis the great'.

The left column reads: *ind ¤r.k i'w pr m ntr pn n¥¥ pr m Tm dt ntr ìì*

'Hail to thee, Heir who proceeded from this God, spittle which proceeded from Atum, divine body who returned.'

The special significance of these lines lies in the naming of the Primeval God Atum. Raven draws special attention to this hymn,[2] the Atum hymn, which he found inscribed on a good number of statues of type IV either in part or in full. He has not been able to find copies of this text on any other kind of monument. Therefore, by this evidence alone, we are entitled to consider this half coffin as part of a Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris figure. Raven also stated that some statues of Type IV are manufactured in the shape of a coffin with a lid and back-half joined by means of tenons and enclosing an elongated cavity,[3] a solution which was probably restricted to the Ptolemaic Period.

The exceptional nature of the Swansea 'coffin' lies in its content: fitting neatly the cavity is not a mummy, but the fully clad figure of a woman, the lower half of whose legs are broken off. Her arms extend close along her body and there is a hole in the top of her head which is almost 4 cm deep, ready to have some kind of crown implanted. The colour of her wig is dark blue and the colour of her shirt-dress is light blue, while the colour of her skin is yellowish. By trying to identify this figure, a female figure lying in a coffin like Snow-White, I was struck at first by its similarity to a figure in 'The Book of the Earth.'[4]

The text which belongs to it, as translated by Hornung, reads:[5]

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[1] W 2051: according to its inscription it comes from Akhmîm.

[2] Raven, pp.276 ff. division 12: The Hymn.

[3] Raven, p.270: 'The third solution is shown by fig. 4: the figure has been manufactured in the shape of a coffin with a 'lid' and a back half joined by means of wooden tenons and enclosing a narrow elongated cavity.'

[4] Erik Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* 2, 1984, p.478, fig. 109.

[5] Op.cit. p.478.

> Was R[a] zu dem grossen Bild sagt, das unter den Füssen der *Schetit* ist:
> O dieses Bild mit geheimen Erscheinungsformen . . .

Finishing with the words:

> Wenn ich vorbeiziehe (an) eurer *Schetit*, seid ihr zufrieden mit dem (Schöpferwort) das in meinem Mund ist.
> Ich befehle euch, dass eure Leichname atmen,

It would be convenient to see in this figure the expression of hope for resurrection. But we still would need to explain why the figure is wearing a light blue dress. Light blue is an exceptional colour for the dress of a goddess. It is found on goddesses who represent the sky or are clearly related to the sky. Early examples are found in one of the Middle Kingdom coffins with astronomical texts from Asyut[1] which is now in Tübingen, where the goddess Nut is shown in a blue dress raising the blue hieroglyph for sky with her raised arms. The accompanying text says: *Nwt f3y 'wyt,* 'Nut, raise both your arms'. Here Nut and Ms¥tjw are representing the Northern sky, while the Southern sky is represented by Orion and the goddess Soped who is also dressed in blue. Another example of Nut in a blue dress belongs to the Late Period,[2] a small beadwork figure showing Nut stretching out her wings. We are used to see the figure of the naked Nut on the inside of a coffin lid stretching herself out over the mummy. To explain the presence of a Nut-figure in a Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris statue with the Atum-hymn, the second half of this hymn can be quoted as rendered by Raven.[3]

> The great god has returned, coming forth from the primaeval water … He has (already) been ruling when he came forth from it. He is shining in the sky as Orion, his followers are the unwearying stars.

The Atum-hymn contains the beginning in the primaeval water as well as the ultimate reign of Osiris as Orion followed by the unwearying stars. If this special kind of Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris figure could contain a corn-mummy to express the hope for resurrection, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that it could contain a figure of the goddess Nut for the same purpose.

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[1] Emma BRUNNER-TRAUT und Hellmut BRUNNER, *Die Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, 1981. Tafelband und Textband, Tafel 47, Text 216.
[2] Monaco, Egyptian Museum, without accession number. I am grateful for the slide which was made for me on my request.
[3] Raven, op.cit. p.278.

Figures:

1. Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris statue, W 2001-C
2. Lower half of a Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris figure with part the Atum-hymn containing a figure of Nut. W 2051.

Photos: V.A. Donohue

Although Dr. Raven told me that he knew of no parallel with similar content, I should like to maintain that our museum is in possession of a seemingly unique piece which but for Dr. Raven's remarks on the Atum-hymn would have remained unnoticed. It may be of some significance that a figure of Nut with outstretched wings is sometimes shown on the outside of the statue over the beginning of the Atum-hymn.[1]

[1] Raven, op.cit. p. 278.

ADDENDA

'Some Problems with Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris Figures' (Part II, 6)

This is the first publication of the full paper, and it illustrates, on the basis of Dr. Raven's research, the way in which a textual appendix assumes a greater importance than the original triadic icon. The three gods of this form are centred in Memphis; but the group is attested also in Thebes: see Jean Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVe dynastie dite éthiopienne* (Cairo, 1965), 269 n.4; and J.Gwyn Griffiths, *Triads and Trinity* (Cardiff, 1996), 91 and especially p.64, Fig. 5 with the note on p.351; but here a correction is called for: the photograph actually relates to a companion figure (W452) and not to W 2001 C.

The composite Pta¤-Sokar-Osiris, which probably began as Pta¤-Sokar, clearly implies a renewal of life. However, with the invocation to Atum, the triad becomes a tetrad; cf. Leclant, op.cit. 318, on Rª -Harakhty-Atum-Osiris.

Thanks are due to V.A. Donohue for the related photography; and to him as well as to the Curator, C. Graves-Brown, for illumination on the whole group of triple figures in our collection.

A different theme, the life of the Ramesside Vizier Paser, is represented in our collection by a statuette-base (W232) bearing his names and titles. Donohue has published a notably thorough study not only of this object but also of Paser's widespread other monuments: see his 'The Vizier Paser' in *JEA* 74 (1988), 103-23.

Part II, 7

THE PAPYRUS OF HAPI-ANKH

Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache 123 (1996),
97-102. With 1 Plate

H.M.Stewart, in his article 'Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns of the New Kingdom', p.29, expresses the hope that the texts discussed by him 'have a practical use in filling lacunae and clarifying corruptions in the *many parallels which are still unpublished*' (italics are mine).

The papyrus of Hapi-ankh in the Wellcome Museum at the University of Wales, Swansea, proved to contain one of the unpublished parallels to the compilation of Sun-Hymns of the Book of the Dead (BD) 15 a-g, and the task of identifying them has been made much easier with the help of his article.

This illustrated papyrus came to Swansea in 1971, when the collection of Egyptian Antiquities of Sir Henry Wellcome was distributed among a number of British museums. Its accession number is W.867. When it arrived it was kept in a wooden frame behind glass. Some parts of it had slipped down. In order to take a photograph as quickly as possible, the papyrus had to be taken out of its frame and the dislodged fragments had to be restored to their right place and fixed from behind. This task was undertaken by Mr. Maurice Clague Taylor in the Swansea Museum of the Royal Institution of South Wales. The papyrus is now kept between two plates of perspex. Its measurements are 54 cm by 33.5 cm.

The papyrus, as far as it is preserved, has 44 vertical lines of text written in 'linear hieroglyphs' with red and black ink, while a vignette with a continuous scene stretches horizontally over the whole of the text.

The Name of the Owner

The name of the owner preceded by *Wsir* appears six times on the papyrus and there is an additional *Wsir* without a following name. The form of the name varies from *Wsir §pi-'n¥ m3'-¥rw* (column 1-2) to *Wsir §pi-'n¥ m3'-¥rw s3 P3-ḫrd-Mnw, ms nbt-pr T3-n-3st m3'-¥rw* (column 19/20). In column 33 *Mnw* has been replaced by the *wḏ3t*-eye. In Column 35-36 the name of the father is once more *P3–ḫrd-Mnw*.

H. Ranke, *Personennamen* I gives the following translations of the names: *§pi-'n¥* (Hapiankh): p.237.10: 'Der Apis ist lebendig geworden'. *P3 -šri-n-Mnw* (Pa-sheri-en-Min) p.118.20: 'Der Sohn des Min'. *T3–dj-3st* (Ta-di-ast):p.372.13: 'Die Isis gegeben hat'.

When the name is followed by *ind* ¤*r.k*, it means that a new hymn begins. In this way it has been possible to find the beginning of four hymns. But only the end of the first hymn (or prayer?) is preserved. Stewart, TESH, p.42 states that 'In most cases the ancient Egyptians quoted from the beginning . . . the original form of the ending is sometimes more uncertain'.

The Vignette

The vignette, which stretches across the whole of the text, ends at the left hand corner with the picture of the enthroned falcon-headed *Sr-3¥ti*. In the middle of the vignette is a traditional representation of the ceremony of the 'Opening of the mouth'. M.E.Matthieu, *Book of the Dead*, p.2 comments that in the Book of the Dead the ritual scene 'reproducing the burial procession and the ceremony of opening the mouth of the mummy, before the entrance of the tomb', is most often used as illustration to chapter one.

At the left-hand side the falcon-headed Harakhty, crowned by the sun-disc, sits enthroned in front of an offering table with flowers, bread, and jars with drink. This stands behind the tomb-chapel and another bigger offering table loaded with bread and meat.

On the opposite end a calf (looking like the sun-calf in Amarna pictures) runs to its mother and a bull is slaughtered. In between the ceremony of the Mouth-opening is enacted.

A black Anubis embraces the mummy of the deceased in an awkward fashion in front of his kneeling mourning wife. Other priests pour out libations, burn incense, take care of the implements for the Opening of the mouth. One of them, who is crowned by two feathers, recites out of an opened papyrus-scroll. Behind the Anubis-priest stand a stela and two obelisks. In other papyri — like that of Ani — this scene is at the end of a long funerary procession (Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, p.38). In the papyrus of Ani, of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the figures are coloured, while in the papyrus of Hapi-ankh they appear only in outline.

Hymns to the Sun

The main task was to identify the first complete hymn which starts at the top of column 3 with *ind*-¤*r.k Sr-3¥ti ¥pr dsf* and ends in column 11 over *Wsir ind*-¤*r.k*. This obviously is a hymn to the rising sun (that is Harakhty). Stewart TESH, p.41 says that 'in the Ptolemaic papyrus used by Lepsius for his edition of the Book of the Dead, the part which he entitled Chapter 15 consists of a collection of hymns to the sun-god'. Concerning this chapter he states on p.44 that 'an increasing standardisation is evident, which from the

26th Dynasty resulted in the establis¤ment of the fixed form of Chapter 15 which occurs in Lepsius's text'.

For a proper identification of the hymn(s) to the sun in the papyrus of Hapi-ankh a hieroglyphic text was needed with which it could be compared. This is easily available in chapter 15 of Budge's edition and translation of the Book of the Dead, where the original text is taken from the famous Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum. Budge has transformed the vertical columns of the original text into horizontal lines to be read from left to right. But otherwise he has noted the number of each column and through underlining indicated the rubrics which usually occur at the beginning of a new hymn. The translation of the hieroglyphic text, in a volume of its own, has the same form. The hieroglyphic text which corresponds to the first hymn in the papyrus of Hapi-ankh begins on pp.72, column 7 and its translation on p.40 column 7.

J.Assmann, *ÄHG*, gives a German translation of our hymn as the second of eight hymns which are identified as BD 15a-h and are numbered 34-41 (p.139-146). The text of all these hymns, apart from 15g and 15h, he took from the Papyrus of Ani, as did Budge. On p.525 our hymn is identified as BD 15b. An additional note refers to Stewart, TESH, p.57f. and his pp.300-313. Stewart, TESH, p.57 gives a translation as well as a transliteration of Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, chapter 15b and names five other sources for it, one of them being the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum. Another English translation of BD 15 a-f (identifying the owner only as Osiris N) is given in Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, p.41f.

Hymns, Prayers and Litany

In spite of many errors and idiosyncrasies in spelling, BD 15b, as given in the Papyrus of Hapi-ankh, agrees almost word for word with the rendering given in the Papyrus of Ani. In fact, this is not only a hymn to the Sun-god, but a hymn preceded and followed by a personal prayer. This is in agreement with the custom that, as 'Egyptian hymns are often preliminary to prayers . . . in the funerary cult these are for the deceased' (Stewart, TESH, p.40).

A PRAYER, in the funerary cult, is a personal request to the God by or for the deceased. A HYMN is the reflection of an event which takes place in time and space (Assmann, *LL*90) while a LITANY 'circumscribes the essence of the God independently of a present situation' (Assmann, *LL*90). The contents of these hymns and prayers in the Papyrus of Hapi-ankh can be summarized, following Assmann, *ÄHG*, p.525f. like this:

BD 15a, col.1-2: PRAYER to the Sun-god for permission to take part in the life of the sun-boat.

BD 15b, col.3-8:	HYMN. Crossing of the sky as the triumphal procession of Harakhty who created himself.
BD 15b, co.8-11:	PRAYER. Request to join the land of eternity as one who had been favoured on earth. The Sun-god as lord of the funeral.
BD 15c, col.11-19:	HYMN. A day of travel of the Sun-god across the sky.
BD 15c, col.17:	PRAYER. To be allowed to come and go likewise.
BD 15d, col.19-23:	HYMN. The Sun-god as one who created himself.
BD 15d, col.23-27:	PRAYER. To be allowed to be with the Sun-god together with the blessed souls as one who keeps him in his heart.
BD 15e, col.27-32:	HYMN. The birth of the gods in the primeval ocean.
BD 15e, col.32-36:	PRAYER. Request to be allowed to reach the fields of Iaru free from sin.
BD 15f, col.37:	Promise of fulfilment.
BD 15g. col.38-42;	LITANY for the Sun-god in the evening.

Comparison with the Turin Papyrus

I am obliged to the Edwards Library of the Petrie Museum, University College, London, for the photo-copies from Lepsius, *Todtenbuch* which record BD 15a-i. The hymns to the sun are rendered in the Turin Papyrus in 49 columns of text. Of these columns 1-35 (= BD 15 a-g) can be compared with the Papyrus of Hapi-ankh, columns 1-44.

The composition of this text has much in common with the Papyrus of Hapi-ankh. The vignette with the Opening-of-the-mouth scene near the tomb stretches over the whole of the text and ends with the figure of the enthroned Harakhty. The text is arranged in vertical columns, but differently from Hapi-ankh, in such a way that each new hymn begins at the top of the line and some empty space is left where it ends. This made it easy for Lepsius to add underneath each hymn his identifying lettering marks a-i. The Swansea Papyrus begins with the same column and the same hymn BD 15a as in the Turin Papyrus, and its missing parts can approximately be completed from the Turin Papyrus. The Papyrus of Hapi-ankh ends with column 42, which is identical with column 35 and the end of hymn BD 15g of the Turin Papyrus.

The comparison with chapter 15 of the Turin Papyrus shows that the Papyrus of Hapi-ankh, too, is a unit, although a shorter one. Both texts begin with BD 15a, and in both the vignette which covers the whole of the text

ends with the picture of the Sun-god enthroned outside the tomb. The main difference is that this picture stands in the Papyrus of Hapi-ankh over the end of BD 15g and in the Turin Papyrus over the end of BD 15i.

However, chapter 15 is only a small part of the Turin Papyrus, while the Papyrus of Hapi-ankh could well have existed on its own. Its value would have been its religious significance as a collection of hymns and prayers which were used for the deceased during the ceremony of the Opening-of-the-Mouth What is more, this special collection was not freely chosen but followed a long tradition which went back to the Nineteenth Dynasty, as BD 15a-f existed in the same order already in the Papyrus of Ani. If there is some meaning to be found in the arrangement of alternating hymns and prayers, the religious thought belongs to the Thirteenth Century B.C. while the material itself may be much older and finally reach back to the Pyramid Age.

Religious Significance

The text is crowned by a ritual scene: the Opening-of-the-Mouth in front of the entrance to the tomb. This is a scene which could have happened in real life. In it priests take leading parts with offerings of incense, libations, and reading. But common people are also present and the deity appears in the picture of the enthroned Sun-god and (symbolically) in the sun-calf which runs away from the ceremony towards its mother. The text contains prayers, hymns and a litany. Stewart, TESH p.40: 'Egyptian hymns are often preliminary to prayers, in the funerary cult these are for the deceased.'

Cf. A.W.Shorter, *Catalogue* (1938), p.56: 'The custom of including hymns to the Sun-god in copies of the Book of the Dead first became general during the 19th Dynasty . . . From the 19th Dynasty onward . . . these hymns form an important feature of nearly every papyrus.'

The vignette of the funeral procession usually accompanies the text. A statement frequently contained in the title, that this is to be 'recited on the day of the burial', makes it clear that this text was actually recited by the officiant at some stage of the funerary ceremony (Shorter, *Catalogue*, p.19).

Summing up, we may conclude, therefore, that the Papyrus of Hapi-ankh is a compilation of hymns and prayers of BD 15 a-g and a parallel text to that in the Papyrus of Ani (which does not have BD 15g) and the Turin Papyrus which has an additional BD 15h and BD 15i. It probably belongs to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and is a further proof of a continuation of a fixed compilation for over a thousand years. It has the added advantage that the actual text is easily accessible in its original form unlike the Papyrus of Ani and the Turin Papyrus. It gives the impression that the rite of the Mouth-opening in front of the Sun-god, as represented in the vignette, and the

hymns and prayers to the Sun, as represented in the text underneath, really form a meaningful unit.

Concordance

BD15a

Hapi-ankh, col.1-2 Lepsius, col.1-2; Budge, p.39-40, col.1-6; Assmann, ÄHG, n.34, p.139; Faulkner, BD (1985), p.41

BD15b

Hapi-ankh, col.3-11 Lepsius, col.3-7; Budge, p.40-41, col.7-15; Stewart, TESH, p.57; Assmann, LL, p.30; Assmann, ÄHG, no.35, p.140

BD15c

Hapi-ankh, col.11-19 Lepsius, col.8-12; Budge, p.41f., col.6-24; Stewart TESH, p.54f.; Faulkner, BD (1972), p.41; Assmann, ÄHG, no.36, p.141

BD15d

Hapi-ankh, col.19-27 Lepsius, col.13-17; Budge, p.42, col.25-31; Faulkner, BD (1972), p.41; Assmann, ÄHG, no. 37, p.141

BD15e

Hapi-ankh, col.28-36 Lepsius, col.18-22; Budge, p.41, col.32-38; Stewart, TESH, p.60; Faulkner, BD (1972), p.43; Assmann, ÄHG, no.38

BD15f

Hapi-ankh, col.36-37 Lepsius, col.23-27; Budge, p.44, col. 40-49; Faulkner, BD (1972), p.44; Assmann, ÄHG, no.39

BD15g

Hapi-ankh, col.38-44 Lepsius, col.28-35; Stewart, TESH, p.68-70; Assmann, LL, p.77-78, 92, 96, 405-411

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The Papyrus of Hapi-ankh.
Photgraph: Roger P. Davies

ADDENDA

The Papyrus of Hapi-ankh

Studies by Jan Assmann have been rightly much deployed, and others by him can now be added. *Re und Amun* (OBO 51, 1983) is highly relevant, and an English Version by Anthony Alcock has appeared : *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom* (London, 1995). It is significant that this solar religion gave rise in Egypt to the idea of monotheism. See Othmar Keel (ed.), *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt* (Biblische Beiträge, 14; Freiburg Schweiz, 1980), where Keel contributes a substantial introduction and Erik Hornung a valuable study of the Pharaonic experience. Assmann has returned to this theme in his *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Harvard U.P. and London, 1997). He is concerned here with 'Moses as a figure of memory' and this collective memory is essentially based on 'the monotheistic revolution of Akhenaten'. His very imposing study contains a detailed analysis of the 'Great Hymn'. He concedes that this work has a universal sweep which shows that 'the sun shines over Egyptians and non-Egyptians alike, as well as over good and evil' (p. 179); also he sees 'the signs of parental love in the cosmos, "You are the mother and father of all that you made" ' (p. 189, from the 'Shorter Hymn'). Yet he concludes (p. 210) that the Aten of the Amarna cult is 'neither spiritual nor ethical', but merely cosmic. It is true that the end of the 'Great Hymn' exalts the role of the King as the only one who knows the Aten. This clamant egocentrism is presented as a feature that cancels out the many previous allusions to a 'benevolent intention' (p. 189); but it would be better to allow these allusions to retain their full ethical force.

The sun-hymns of BD 15 belong to a different context, embedded as they are in a funerary framework which the Amarna doctrine rejected. A certain affinity remains however. In these hymns the enthroned sun-god Harakhty is regarded as a benign and helpful deity whose aid is entreated in the ceremony of Opening the Mouth; and this aid will not only warrant renewed life but also enable the deceased Hapi-ankh to join the deity in the voyage to the afterworld until he reaches the blissful fields of Iaru.

Part II, 8

DWARFS IN EGYPT AND GREECE

Review of VÉRONIQUE DASEN: *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*. (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology.) Pp. xxix + 354; 80 plates, 15 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. Cased £60
Classical Review 45 (1995), 116-17

In this learned book Dr. Dasen presents the medical, artistic, and ideological history of a type of misshapen people in two countries which are famous for their love of the beautiful human form. Its beginning was a *Mémoire de Licence* in classical archaeology on the dwarfs of Athens (*Les nains d'Athènes*), which was presented at the University of Lausanne in 1982. This formed the basis for an Oxford D.Phil. thesis under the supervision of John Boardman and John Baines. Largely thanks to the 'unfailing assistance' of John Baines, the author has made a very successful and welcome incursion into the field of Egyptology.

The jacket illustration is of a Greek red-figured skyphos with the figure of a dancing naked dwarf with balding head and beard, while the frontispiece shows the touching Egyptian statue group of the dwarf Seneb and his family. This is described on p.276 as: 'Seneb in a kilt, seated on a chair with his wife; beneath him, where his legs would be, his son and daughter.' This is evidently not a humorous fantasy but the representation of an intelligent, but misformed man who has succeeded in living a normal life.

In chapter IV the Catalogue deals with 207 figures (including named individuals) of Egyptian dwarfs and 213 figures of Greek dwarfs. Each one of these numbers is accompanied by a detailed bibliography which reflects the book's basically assiduous and effective research. Perhaps the use of computers makes it easier now to keep a record of such minute facts. On the other hand, the use of the computer, while giving so many details, can endanger the overall unity of the individual object of research. This became evident when I looked for facts about the famous group of Seneb and his family which is given so much prominence as frontispiece. In the General Index his name is enumerated in six places under 'iconography' and three under 'titles', but the all-important illustrations are omitted: the family group of the frontispiece; the amazingly intelligent profile of the head of Seneb on Pl.28.2: as well as Figure 9.19a-d with outline drawings of four relief scenes from his tomb at Giza showing Seneb in his boat and in diverse activities as high official. We could have discovered a description of the scenes on Figure 9.19a-d (p.128) if the General Index had noted that on p.259 in the Catalogue the tomb of Seneb is mentioned under number E41 (= Dynasty 6 *Giza*); what I cannot understand is, why (p.259) one is advised to go to E

113 to look for the statues of Seneb and his titles [= OLD KINGDOM (2575-134 B.C.) Dynasties 5/6. *Giza*]. On the positive side, it was very valuable to find there the transcriptions and translations of all his titles (pp.276-7).

The Greek attitude towards dwarfs was mostly satirical: many vase paintings show them as grotesque figures in funny situations. But there is also a mythological tradition, in iconography and literature, which goes back at least to Homer, about little men who fight with long-necked birds. This is studied by D. in great detail. In the Catalogue of 213 Greek objects (mostly vases) at least fifty have pictures of pygmies in battle with cranes; there are also about a dozen pictures of them in the plates. The role of the cranes (p.177) admittedly 'is a mixture of actual and false data', but the author concludes (p.188) that 'the essential function of the myth was not to account for the hypothetical existence of ethnic short men. As suggested by the parodic tone it answered a number of archetypal fears within Greek society.' The literature about what R.Hennig (p.177n.22) calls '*Der kulturhistorische Hintergrund der Geschichte vom Kampf zwischen Pygmäen und Kranichen'* seems immense.

A late mythographer under the Empire gives *hybris* as the underlying reason for the fights between pygmies and cranes (p.180). A very beautiful pygmy-woman called Gerana, he says, had been worshipped by her people as a goddess. As a punishment for her *hybris* she was transformed into a crane. When she tried to come back to her people, 'the small men, frightened, repelled her brutally, and thereafter cranes waged war on them.'

On the whole, the representation of female dwarfs is exceptional. But here again there is a noticeable difference between Greece and Egypt. In Greece, the female, shown on a Skyphos (G.16, Pl. 51a and Fig. 1.1d), is ugly, short-necked, and short-legged with protruding thoracic cage, suffering from *spondylo-epiphyseal dysplasia congenita*. With the Greeks, D. says (p.173) 'the rendering of female deformity was under some kind of taboo.' In Egypt, on the other hand, the female dwarf (E 202 Pl.36) in a calcite boat from the tomb of Tut'ankhamœn shows great charm as she stands naked on the prow of the boat, holding a pole.

The book contains also a general factual section on 'Typology of Growth Disorders' and 'Palaeopathology'; an additional catalogue on 'Skeletal Remains', a 'Glossary on Medical Terms' and an 'Index of Objects in Museums and In Situ.'

Summing up: this is a very useful, extremely thorough, well illustrated, and at times fascinating presentation of little-known facts about the Egyptian and Greek experience of dwarfs in the ancient world.

Part II, 9

THE NILE MOSAIC

Review of P.G.P.Meyboom: *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina: Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy*. (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 121.) Pp. ix + 409. 98 illustrations. Leiden, New York, Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1995

Classical Review 46 (1996), 282-4

The famous Nile Mosaic of Palestrina in central Italy is 'one of the earliest large mosaics which have been preserved from the classical world.' It presents a comprehensive picture of Ethiopia and Egypt at the time of the inundation of the Nile. Originally it was laid on the floor of a semicircular grotto in a temple (of Fortuna) in Praeneste and was covered by a thin layer of water and was not supposed to be walked upon. Its turns of fate were tempestuous. It was broken up several times; it was removed to and from Rome several times; it was restored several times. Now, finally, it is exhibited as a wall-decoration in the Palazzo Barberini, the *Museo Nazionale Prenestino*.

After the first removal of the broken pieces to Rome, around 1630, water-colour copies of the scenes were made for Casiano dal Pozzo before the segments were repaired in the mosaic works of St. Peter's. These copies were lost until recently, when Helen Whitehouse discovered them and rearranged the original parts of the mosaic 'in a convincing way'. Her conclusions were published in her report on *The Dal Pozzo Copies of the Palestrina Mosaic* (1976) (the numbers used on the various parts of the mosaic are derived from the copies of Dal Pozzo) and on the whole these conclusions are accepted by Meyboom Much has been written about the different aspects of the mosaic. There is no final consensus concerning its date and interpretation, or why it should be displayed far from Egypt in a town of small importance to the ancient world. M, who is assistant professor of Classical Archaeology at Leiden University, reconsiders the literature on the mosaic 'in a comprehensive way' and after a long stay in Rome tries to reach more definite conclusions (p.2).

The content of his study falls into three main parts: Chapters I-VII contain the study proper in about 100 pages; The Appendices 1-21 (pp. 109-90) take about eighty pages. The Notes to Chapters 1-VII (pp.191-381) take almost 200 closely printed pages. In addition, there are 98 illustrations, with a coloured frontispiece showing the Nile Mosaic of Palestrina in a photo of the *Museo Nazionale Prenestino*; and, of course, Abbreviations,

Bibliography and Index. Altogether very impressive evidence of the work done by M. to reach his results step by step. His two main themes are 'The History of the Mosaic' and its 'Religious significance'. The chapter headings are as follows: Chapter I: The reconstruction of the original mosaic; II: The original location and the date of the mosaic; III: Description according to sections and figures; IV: Interpretation; V: The function of the Nile Mosaic; VI: The workshop; VII: The cultural background.

M.concludes (p.41) that 'the upper part of the mosaic depicts a hunting scene in faraway Aethiopia. The lower part shows scenes which take place in Egypt at the time of the yearly inundation.' According to him the importance of the mosaic lies in the fact that 'this picture is not represented in a generic way, as is usual in later Nilotic scenes' but offers an 'overwhelming amount of detailed information' concerning animals, plants, buildings, population (soldiers in armour, cleruchs, women, Egyptian priests, peasants, Ethiopians, and even the poorest people).

Of special significance is the fact that the feast of the inundation of Egypt by the Nile is not restricted to ancient times and ancient gods, but is celebrated (at least until the recent building of the Aswan dam) in the religious services of the Coptic church. M. quotes, in hieroglyphs and translation, as an introduction to his book, from an inscription in the temple of Isis at Philae, the order of Horus to all the townships and districts of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Come let us make Osiris revive by means of the great funeral in order that he makes the Nile efflux* (sic) *to your townships* . . . The Coptic Liturgy of St Basil (translation published by the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Cairo, 1963) celebrates the rising of the Nile in an intercession which is read between 11 June to October 20 and contains the words: *Pray for the rising of the water of the river this year, that Christ the Lord may bless it and raise it . . . pray for the plants, the vegetation and the herbs of the fields, that Christ the Lord may bless them so that they may grow and increase in their fullness with many fruits, and have compassion on the creatures of his hands and forgive us our sins*. M. proves convincingly (note IV, 180) that the feast was celebrated not at the beginning of the flood, but at the time of the High Flood.

I find it difficult, however, to agree with M. about the role played by Osiris (p.57) in the picture (segment 16) of the priests carrying a rectangular object on a litter on two poles. M. says that 'Egyptian parallels for a procession with a rectangular object carried on two poles may be found in the representation of burial processions where the object in question is a sarcophagus.' But he does not consider the processions where the priests carry gods who visit each other on special festive days, or gods who are carried in public for the purpose of giving oracles. And anyhow, a sarcophagus does not have the shape of a rectangular box. But M. may be

right if he concludes (p.69f.) that the honoured visitor to the festival (in section 13) was a Ptolemy-ruler with his queen who had taken upon himself the role of a Pharaoh. To prove his point M.discusses at length the significance of a PARASOL which he discusses in notes (pp.312-19) reaching from the parasol in Mycenae to 'the parasol in late antiquity.' But even if M. goes sometimes out of control in his eagerness to display all the information he has collected, the information itself will be of value and interest to all future students of the Palestrina Mosaic.

Part II, 10

PHAEDRA'S LETTER

On a mosaic-pavement in a museum at Ismailia

Dedicated with gratitude to Christopher Collard

Our visit to Ismailia was almost accidental. In March 1966, at the time when Gwyn was a guest-teacher at Cairo University, we visited Port Said for two days. On our return we stopped at Ismailia where we had to wait three hours for a bus to take us back to Cairo. Ismailia owes its name to the Khedive Ismail and was an important centre of operation during the construction of the Suez Canal. They even built a small Museum in neo-classical style to contain the antiquities which were found near the Canal.

We decided to use our spare time in Ismailia to see this museum for the sake of the recent discoveries from Ancient Egypt. The most impressive object we found there might have been the commemoration stone of Darius written in four languages: Egyptian (in hieroglyphs) and old-Persian, Babylonian and Elamitic (in cuneiform script) to celebrate the re-opening of a canal between the River Nile and the Red Sea in the fifth century B.C.

But much more surprising for us was the fact that the Museum also contains a perfectly preserved Graeco-Roman Mosaic pavement. This mosaic and especially one of its pictures, serves as the theme of the present essay.

The meaning of the two dramatic scenes depicted on the mosaic could not be mistaken, as names are clearly written near the main characters: the lower scene shows the triumphal procession of DIONYSOS and HERAKLES. The names written on the upper picture are PHEDRA (sic); ERÔS. TROPHOS; HIPPOLYTOS; and KYNAGOI. The scene is well spaced.

The dominating figure is Hippolytos, who stands in the middle between two trees. He holds a lance in his left hand and stretches his right hand out to receive a note with the name of PHEDRA (sic) written on it. This note is handed over to him by the demure figure of the Nurse (TROPHOS). Right over her head a winged Eros with bow and arrow in his left hand points with his right hand towards HIPPOLYTOS. On the right hand side of the picture two hunters (KYNAGOI) are taking care of the horse (which according to the drama of Euripides is going to cause the death of Hippolytos). On the left hand side, Phaedra is seated, in great sadness, between two drawn-up curtains in the opening door of the palace.

Fig. 1: Outline drawing of the Mosaic from Sheikh Zouède (as shown in the article by M.Jean Clédat, fig. 5.)

The mosaic was said to have come from an excavation in Sheikh Zouède on the Mediterranean coast of the Sinai peninsula. At the time I asked myself, whether it could have served as a wall-decoration, similar to the splendid mosaic-pictures of the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora in San Vitale in Ravenna. If so, what was the kind of room in which it was exhibited? A theatre? A temple? Could that be the souvenir reproduction of a performance of the *Hippolytos* of Euripides? Was it likely that the drama was still performed at such an obviously late date? Greek verses accompanied the pictures. So its owner must have known Greek, which is not surprising in the Egypt of the Graeco-Roman period. Yet the papyri recovered in Egypt show that Euripides, after Homer, was the most popular of Greek authors, eighty texts from his works having been salvaged, including twenty-six lines of *Hippolytos*. (See E.G.Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1948), 90 and 107-8.)

I tried to imagine the person who was interested in Euripides in Egypt, so far from the big cities. It was different with the Dionysiac mysteries (*TELETH* which had become a religious cult in Egypt, ever since the Ptolemies claimed to descend from Dionysos). Yet the Curator of the Museum had a photograph only of the Triumph of Dionysos, but was able to sell us a correct outline drawing of the whole mosaic.

When Chris Collard started his work in Swansea, I showed him the picture of Hippolytos and Phaedra, as he was an authority on the dramas of Euripides. He wisely advised me to find out whether the mosaic had been published already. I was then working hard on the newly arrived Wellcome Collection. Some time passed until, at last, I learned from Dr. Helen Whitehouse (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) that Professor W.A. Dassewski, Director of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, was preparing a corpus of Egyptian Mosaics. On August 13th, 1981, I received a very helpful letter from Professor Dassewski himself telling me:

> 'I think Helen Whitehouse was right giving you my name with regard to the Sheikh Zouède mosaic. Apart from bibliography, which you will find enclosed to this letter, I wish to add that this and other mosaics from Sinai will be included in the second volume of my corpus of Egyptian mosaics which is now in preparation.'

Fig. 2: Photograph of the Hippolytos-scene after Clédat, pl.3.

With the help of this bibliography I had received from Prof. Dassewski, I was able to collect the main facts about the Mosaic of Sheikh Zouède that I had seen in the Museum in Ismailia. The first report about it was given by its excavator Jean Clèdat in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte* 15 (1915), 15 ff: 'Fouilles B Sheikh Zouède (Janvier-Février 1913)'. Sheikh Zouède is situated on the Sinai peninsula near the Mediterranean coast, on the road between EL-ARISH and RAFA, the only road which led from Egypt to Syria. But there existed several roads leading from EL-ARISH to the West into Egypt. These could be used by armies and caravans alike. In order to secure the frontier at EL-ARISH the Romans created here a number of military posts and fortresses in regular distances. Sheikh Zouède was one of these fortresses. Its ruins lie on a sand dune which is parallel to the sea coast and about 15 m high. It was there, on the highest point of the sandhill, protected only by about 30 cm of sand, that the perfectly preserved mosaic was discovered. It is 4.75 m long and 3 m broad and nearly filled half of a room, while the rest of it was covered with white mosaic stones. It was situated in a corner near an entrance, so that one could hardly avoid treading on it. Anyhow, it was definitely not a wall-decoration.

THE LETTER

Perdrizet, 'Le mosaique de Cheikh Zouède. *Rec. d'études Égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Champollion* (Paris 1922), p.93, points out the problem of the letter. According to the prize-winning tragedy HIPPOLYTOS STEPHANEPHOROS it ought to have been a letter directed to Phaedra's husband, Theseus; but the scene on the mosaic clearly represents it as a love-letter sent by Phaedra to Hippolytos.

We are far away from the drama written by Euripides 'où la passion de Phèdre est contrairement à la volonté de celle-ci revelée oralement à Hippolyte.' There Theseus discovers the letter fastened to the hand of his dead wife (856): 'What's this fastened to her dead hand? A letter! With a message for me— ' and then

(877): 'The letter - - it shrieks, it howls horrors insufferable . . .

A voice from the letter speaks / And tells — what things, what things!'

and again in the words of the messenger (1252): 'no, not if the whole race of women should hang themselves, not if a mountain of such letters accused him. I know Hippolytos is a good man.'

I have here used the version of P.Vellacott (Penguin Classics). The term used in the extant Greek text (ed. Diggle, 856 and 877) is *déltos* 'writing tablet', and (1253) *grammatôn*.

THE HOUSE OF DIONYSUS IN NEW PAPHOS
(Fig. 3: Hippolytos and Phaedra, (G.S. Eliades, p.31)
Photographs: Roger P. Davies

This, then, allows an answer to my second question: the scene on the mosaic did not reflect the drama *Hippolytos* of Euripides as we know it. In consequence there is no need to assume that the drama was still enacted at the time when the mosaic was laid down in a house in Sheikh Zouède.

Yet the story of Hippolytos and Phaedra remained a favourite theme in literature and art for many centuries. (W. Kroll, P.W.4, 1938, s.v. 'Phaidra') Ovid and Seneca used it; it was represented in relief on more than 30 sarcophagi. Among wall-paintings, there is one from Herculaneum (reproduced in colour) on the cover of the translation which I used. It seems that they all follow the version in which Phaedra herself confesses her love.

In Cyprus I happened to see another mosaic with a picture of Hippolytos and Phaedra which had been discovered only recently.

When we were in Cyprus in 1982, we visited the House of Dionysus which is famous for its mosaics with mythological themes and I brought back with me the book by G.S.Eliades: *The Villa of the Mosaics in New Paphos: The House of Dionysus,* Paphos-Cyprus, 1980. Translated from the Greek by B.E.Newton. This is rich in practical information:

> p.13: In the spring of 1962, while a bull-dozer was being used to level some fields, it destroyed part of an important mosaic floor, apparently belonging to a private villa of the Late Roman period. The ruins of this villa are located between the harbour and the lighthouse.

It seems that the villa was destroyed in the earthquakes of A.D. 332 and 342. The mosaic of Sheikh Zouède probably belongs to the same century. This villa was excavated in the campaign of 1964-65 by Dr. K. Nicolaou, then Curator of the Cyprus Museum. Among the mosaics still preserved is the 'Triumph of Dionysus' after which the Villa has been named 'The House of Dionysus'. But there are also pictures of a number of Greek myths like 'Thisbe and Pyramus'; 'Apollo and Daphne'; 'Narcissus'; 'Ganymede and the Eagle'; and most important for me, there is a mosaic picture of HIPPOLYTOS AND PHAEDRA.

The picture is shown on p.31 and described on pp.31-33. The two figures of Phaedra and Hippolytos are framed by an Eros with bow and torch, pointing at Phaedra, and a dog at the side of Hippolytos. Phaedra 'sits sadly on a throne', Hippolytos holds in his left hand a long spear 'while in his right hand he holds out the tablet'.

The nurse is absent. But it is made clear that Hippolytos has received the message. On the other hand, there is no reason to assume that the picture itself is based on a play of Euripides. It is only one of a number of other myths which decorate the villa.

There have been many attempts to explain why in the drama of Euripides Phaedra's letter is directed to her husband, while otherwise it is a love-letter from Phaedra to Hippolytos. It is known that Euripides had written two dramas on the same theme of which only one, the *Hippolytos Stephanêphoros*, has been preserved. See W.S. Barrett's Commentary (Oxford, 1964), 10 ff. The earlier play, the *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos* had been blamed for its impropriety. So it was claimed that Ovid and Seneca and the others followed the earlier play in which Phaedra herself discloses her passion.

Rohde, *Der griechische Roman* [3rd ed., Leipzig, 1914, repr. 1960, p.36 n.6] attributes the love-letters to Lycophron, who in his desire for novelty tried to vary the theme. Carl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophaage III.2* suggests that the motif of the letter was invented by one of the sculptors to facilitate the understanding of the story which they had to reproduce. But if Euripides used the 'love-letter' motif in his first version of *Hippolytos*, the *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos*, there is no need for the motif to be re-invented by sculptors or in the Hellenistic period. Apparently, the letter, in one form or another, was of such importance for the development of the drama, that Euripides could not do without it in his 'improved' form the *Hippolytos Stephanêphoros*. If the others refused to follow his example, it is likely that they relied on an older tradition which existed already at the time of Sophocles. After all, a love-letter is so much simpler and more convincing than the sophisticated form of a letter of hate and deception tied to the hand of a dead woman. On the other hand, the popularity of the story of Hippolytos and Phaedra may well be due to the after-effect of a work of genius; cf. W.Kroll in *RE* (1938), 543, 'Nachwirkung einer genialen dichterrischen Leistung.'

ADDENDA

See further Christopher Collard, *Euripides* (New Surveys in the Classics, 14, *Greece and Rome*, Oxford, 1981), 33; and J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Divine Verdict* (Leiden, 1991), 75f. Collard has been General Editor of 'The Plays of Euripides' in the series from Warminster, and has himself edited the *Hecuba*, with Introduction, Translation and Commentary (Warminster, 1991). Since retiring from his Chair of Classics in Swansea, Collard has lived in Oxford with his wife, and continues to work on Greek tragedy; he also plays a leading role on the Classical examining boards of both Oxford and Cambridge.

Part II, 11

THE QUR'AN IN SALMAN RUSHDIE'S THE SATANIC VERSES

(*New Welsh Review* 7 (1994), 57-64)

Salman Rushdie is seeking to re-establish a normal life. He has appeared in public in several countries including Wales; he has attended the Hay-on-Wye literary festival. A paperback edition of *The Satanic Verses* has duly appeared (Consortium Inc., 1992, £10.00).

However, the death threat made by the late Ayatollah Khomeini continues to hang over him. Salman Rushdie still cannot go anywhere without a posse of bodyguards. Appeals to the authorities in Iran to lift the *fatwa* have so far been in vain. (But see Addenda.)

Yet, amid all the outcry little discussion of the novel itself has emerged, and still less of its origin in the sacred book of Islam. Since the Editor assures me that very few, even among the learned readers of the *New Welsh Review* will be familiar with the novel, I will begin with a brief synopsis of the book. Its opening scene concerns the flying fall of 'two real, full-grown, living men' from a great height over the English channel to land on a snowbound beach (it is early January). These men are Gibreel Farishta and Saladin Chamcha, and the title of the section is 'The Angel Gibreel'. Chamcha is a solid fellow in a grey suit, but he insists on falling head first, 'in the recommended position for babies entering the birth canal'. During the fall Gibreel sings an old song which has been translated into English; it includes the words, '*On my head, red Russian hat; my heart's Indian for all that*.' (Rushdie was born in Bombay in 1947.) On the way down they meet, emerging from a swirl of cloud, a glamorous young woman, Rekha Merchant, sitting 'equably, upon a flying carpet'. Awaking on the beach, Gibreel feels that he and his friend have been 'born again'. His friend is impelled to grab Gibreel 'by the balls'. We are told in the meantime that their experience was due to the fact that the jumbo-jet, Bostan, in which they were travelling from Bombay, had been hijacked and then blown apart, and that these two men were the only survivors. In this opening section we already confront several facets of the novel's qualities. In style and tone it mingles the lyrically poetical with the bawdily prosaic; amid humorous flurries it raises religious questions such as 'Is birth always a fall?' and 'Of what type – angelic, satanic – was Farishta's song?' Above all, it mixes fantasy and reality. Nor does the label 'magic realism' explain this facet fully, for the religious element becomes later more strident.

Movie Star

Gibreel had been a movie star under D.W.Rama in Bombay, and an extended flashback tells us of his early life in that city and also of Chamcha's experiences there. Bearing the name of the archangel Gabriel (though said to be an added name), Gibreel in his film career yet played parts like the 'blue-skinned' Krishna and the meditative Gautama (the Buddha) in popular movies termed 'theological', thus 'crossing religious boundaries without giving offence'. These activities involved numerous sexual liaisons until an accident while filming laid him low. He was comforted by Rekha Merchant and visited by the lady Prime Minister (clearly Indira). Although he recovered, he 'had lost his faith' after praying in vain to Allah, and indulged in a gluttonous orgy of 'forbidden foods' (pork sausages, York hams, and rashers of bacon, forbidden to both Muslims and Jews). Soon afterwards he met a ravishing blonde girl, Alleluia Cone, who had conquered Everest. His infatuation with her persists for long. He is prone to dwell on his erotic ecstasies with her, and this eventually is the main cause of his quarrel with his friend, Chamcha.

The long section 'Mahound' (= Muhammad) begins with an allusion to Gibreel's mother calling her son Shaitan (Satan); and he is fond of the three daughters of Allah. In this section we are landed back in the sixth and seventh centuries when the Prophet was founding the faith of Islam in Jahilia (= Mecca). It is only after this episode (on p.129) that the main narrative is resumed, telling how Gibreel and Chamcha fared after their strange arrival in England. An element of the miraculous attaches to both of them.

From time to time Gibreel's head is adorned with a radiant glow, suggesting an angelic halo. Much less welcome is Chamcha's fate: he is changed into a man-goat, growing horns in his head while his hairy legs end in shiny hooves; worst of all, his excrement takes the goatish form of soft pellets. Chamcha had lived in England long before this and had married an English girl, Pamela Lovelace; the horrid metamorphosis naturally gave her a big shock. Eventually Chamcha is restored to human form through the sheer force of his hatred. Rushdie compares the story of the *Eselmensch* in Apuleius; but there it is the loving-kindness of the goddess Isis that does the restoring trick. Like Gibreel, Chamcha had excelled in Indian films and continues his career in London. When he gets fed up with Gibreel's endless erotic talk, his powers of vocal impersonation come in useful, for he inflicts on his friend a constant flow of obscene telephone calls, some of 'masturbatory coarseness', but others with an apparently simple rhyming appeal, such as

> Violets are blue, roses are red,
> I've got her right here in my bed.

Gibreel sees these lines as 'little satanic verses', and when he realises in the end who their author is, a rude rift ensues. A final scene has Gibreel shooting himself in Chamcha's Bombay home. But the London events include a great deal more than the story of the two friends. 'Mrs. Torture' (= Thatcher) is the ruling power, and the Brixton riots provide some of the material. Attitudes to England are ambivalent. Chamcha's early stance is that of adoration. When the England cricket team played India in Bombay, 'he prayed for an England victory' (compare the Tebbitt test) and after coming to London he wants to be a 'secular man', living without a god of any type; above all he wants to be an Englis¤man – an attitude not unknown in Wales, as shown in the famous song by Huw Jones ('Dwi eisiau bod yn Sais'). Gibreel is less attracted: 'The trouble with the English was that they were English : damn cold fish!' He proposes various reforms, first being the need to tropicalize the weather. 'Away with all fogs!' He is specially interested, naturally, in London's Asian community, but touches more than once on the Hindu-Moslem tensions which have recently taken so tragic a toll in India.

Islamic Origins

Rushdie's novel displays a wealth of cross-cultural patterns and an impressive narrative power. If it has evoked a threat of death on religious grounds, its treatment of Islamic origins is clearly the reason. On reading the novel for the first time I felt obliged to look for an edition of the Holy Qur'an which had been waiting for years – almost untouched – on my bookshelves: Arabic text, English translation, and Commentary by Maulana Muhammad Ali, all in one, printed in Lahore in 1965. Unlike most translations of the Qur'an which are available in English, Maulana M. Ali's book is widely acclaimed as the first work published by any Muslim with the thoroughness worthy of Qur'anic scholarship. Salman Rushdie is a native of Bombay and was brought up as a Muslim. He mentions this edition in an appendix. There are many allusions to the Qur'an in the novel, some hidden and some obvious. For what kind of people was the novel written? Were the allusions genuine or were they imaginary? Several other tales in his style of 'Magic Realism' mix up facts and fancy. Rushdie said about a novel which precedes *The Satanic Verses* (*Shame*, 1984, p.70)

> Fortunately, however, I am only telling a sort of modern fairy tale, so that's all right; nobody need get upset or take anything I say too seriously. No drastic action need be taken either. What a relief!

But in *The Satanic Verses* (p.97) the satirical poet Baal claims that 'a poet's work is: To name the unnameable, to point at frauds, to take sides, start arguments, shape the world and stop it from going to sleep.'

The novel's title was enough in itself to stir up emotions, go under the skin, and cause death wishes. We are told on p.24 that 'the incident of the Satanic verses in the early career of the Prophet' was part of the studies of Gibreel Farishta, together with – among others – the theosophy of Annie Besant, and united field theory. There exists, indeed, a well-known tradition about certain verses which were uttered by Muhammad at the instigation of Satan and later replaced by words of the Archangel Gabriel. Alfred Guillaume in his book *Islam* (1964, p.19) refers to 'the notorious verse' (Surah 53. 13f.) as internal evidence that the Qur'an was subject to alteration in its initial stages. In the translation of M.M. Ali, verses 19-21 of Surah 53 read thus:

> Have you then considered Lat and Uzza and another, the third, Manat? Are the males for you and for him the females?

In note 2082 of his Commentary M.M. Ali gives verse 21 in its original (replaced) form: Tilk algharaniq al-`ula wa inna shafa' ata hunna la-turtaja i.e. 'these are exalted females whose intercession is to be sought.' On p.340 of his novel Rushdie quotes transliteration and translation in almost the same form, claiming that it made 'a mullah's hair stand on end under his turban' when he was asked to translate this. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (1964, pp.98-9) explains as follows the important position of the 'three exalted females' in the pre-Islamic world:

> Al-Uzza, al-Lat and Manah, the three daughters of Allah, had their sanctuaries in the land which later became the cradle of Islam. In a weak moment the monotheistic Muhammad was tempted to recognize these powerful deities of Makkah and al-Madinah and make a compromise in their favour, but afterwards he retracted and the revelation is said to have received the form now found in Surah 53:19-20.

Divine Status

Rushdie's novel has thus highlighted Muhammad's initial error and this explains the sense of deep outrage which it has provoked. Islam presents an uncompromising monotheism, for which the unforgivable sin is to suggest that there is any other god beside Allah. Yet the Satanic verses within the sacred book take this appalling step: they claim divine status for

the three daughters of Allah. To Muslims, in the same way, there is something profoundly outrageous in the Christian idea of the Trinity.

Gibreel's original stance, as we have seen, was that of a Muslim believer. His mother had told him a great many stories about the Prophet, and he grew up believing in God, angels, demons, afrits and djinns. After recovery from a mysterious disease, he lost his faith, but he was afflicted then by a nocturnal retribution, a punishment of dreams. In these he got the insane idea that he was an archangel in human form. They were serial dreams, each starting where the preceding dream had left off. He became afraid of dreams, afraid of going to sleep. He was treated for paranoid schizophrenia. He killed the woman he loved. In the end, when he thought he would never be able to get rid of this sickness, he killed himself. Many of his dreams are conceived as if they were part of 'theological movies' in which Gibreel plays the parts of the archangel, Shaitan (Satan) or even Mahound (Muhammad). The description of the temptation of the Prophet to compromise is strangely convincing (p.111):

> The souls of the city, of the world, surely they are worth three angels? Is Allah so unbending that he will not embrace three more to embrace the human race?

Gibreel's fear, the fear of the self his dream creates, makes him struggle against Mahound's arrival (p.109):

> Mahound comes to me for revelation, asking me to choose between monotheist and henotheist alternatives, and I am just some idiot actor . . .

And there follows the climax: the proclamation of the Satanic verses in front of the people, the people who had persecuted the Prophet; and their dramatic change of attitude after his compromise. The occasion is the day of the annual poetry competition after which the seven best verses will be nailed up on the walls of the house of the Black Stone. In the poetry test there are lyric poets, composers of assassination eulogies, narrative versifiers, and satirists. Present is also the Grandee Abu Simbel who had tried to persuade the Prophet to change his mind about the nature of Allah. Mahound enters like a man walking in his sleep; he speaks with closed eyes (p.114: *I am the messenger and I bring verse from the greater one than any here assembled.* And he continues, while the scribes begin to write, with the words of what is now Surah 53 (p.114):

> In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. By the Pleiades, when they set. Your companion is not in error, neither is he deviating. . .

Then he comes to the verses about Lat, Uzza, and Manat:

> Have you thought about Lat and Uzza and Manat? They are the exalted b i r d s and their intercession is desired indeed.

The people cheer and shout; the Grandee exclaims *Allahu Akbar* (Allah is great) and falls on his knees. All the crowd in the full tent follow his example; but the true adherents of the Prophet shed tears of disappointment.

Whatever the implications may be, Salman Rushdie makes a deeply spiritual use of Surah 53 and the human story which possibly stands behind it. For here we are faced with a dilemma which is part of human nature: changing a vision for the sake of convenience. I could name Welsh politicians who have recently done the same thing, but did not come out of it so well as the Prophet, who saw his error and recanted. But why did Rushdie use the term 'birds' instead of 'females'? Certainly not because of the modern English slang usage. In this term he is in fact nearer to the true translation than Maulana M. Ali himself. Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Arabic* (1966, p.671) translates *gharaniq* as 'cranes'.

Story of Ayesha

There are other stories linked to the Qur'an which could be and have been called 'blasphemous', like the story concerning Ayesha. We are told (p.376) that 'Gibreel dreamed a curtain.' There is a curtain mentioned in Surah 33.53 in a section which gives rules on conduct in domestic relations. These rules are concerned primarily with the houses of the Prophet: *And when you ask of them any goods, ask of them from behind a curtain.* The curtain in Gibreel's dream is in some way also concerned with the Prophet. *Hijab*, the curtain, is the name of the most popular brothel in Jahilia (= Mecca). Baal, the satirical poet, had received refuge here, according to the novel, at a time when the triumphant Prophet had returned after ten years of exile together with his wives. The twelve prostitutes of the Curtain then took it into their heads to identify themselves with the twelve wives of the Prophet; they married Baal and thus Baal became the 'husband' of the wives of the Prophet, including Ayesha, the youngest and most beloved, and 'Mary the Copt', the mother of the Prophet's only son, who died in childhood. While the Curtain as a brothel may be a product of the imagination, the

Prophet's wives are real enough. Allusion to 'Mary the Copt' can be found in the Commentary to Surah 66:1:

> Prophet, why doest thou forbid (thyself) that which Allah has made lawful for thee? Seekest thou to please thy wives?

The Commentary, note 2517, remarks that 'this verse is said to contain a reference to the Prophet's conjugal relations with Mary, of which it is alleged, being discovered by his wife Hafsah, the Prophet swore not to have anything more to do with her.' It is a long comment, referring to a temporary separation of the Prophet from his wives. The slander of Ayesha was much more serious and in this 'dream' it was told to Baal by the tipsy Salman, the Persian, a former scribe to the Prophet, as 'the hottest story in town'. (Salman, by the way, is meant to represent Salman Rushdie.) In the Qur'an the second section of Surah 24 is headed with an allusion to Ayesha's Slanderers and verse 11 begins *Surely they who concocted the lie are a party from among you*, while Commentary Note 1740 explains that the incident referred to what took place when the Prophet, accompanied by his wife Ayesha, was returning from an expedition. In the novel Salman tells how, by a mistake, her litter-bearers went on without her. Left behind, Ayesha sat patiently and was finally picked up by a young man, Safwan, safe and sound. Not unnaturally (p.387) 'tongues began to wag . . . The two young people had been alone in the desert for many hours . . . Safwan was a dashingly handsome fellow, and the Prophet was much older than the young woman . . . Quite a scandal.' The sequel contains a reproach:

> What will Mahound do? Asked Baal, and Salman, the Persian, retorted: 'O he's done it . . . Same as ever. He saw his pet, the archangel, and then informed one and all that Gibreel had exonerated Ayesha.'

So that was how the archangel came into the story, which had only to do with human relationships and nothing with transcendental searching for the eternal truth.

Deviation

The most serious deviation from the stories of the Qur'an is perhaps to be found in Rushdie's tale about the 'Nocturnal Journey' and the death of Al-Lat, the female form of Allah. Surah 17 deals with this journey of the Prophet and it has a special appeal to the imagination. It is about something

that happens clearly in the mind rather than in the physical world. The translation of Maulana M.Ali reads thus:

> Glory to Him who carried His servant by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Remote Mosque, whose precincts We blessed that We might show him of Our signs!

His commentary, note 1410, explains that 'the carrying by night of the Prophet from the Sacred Mosque of Mekka to the remote Mosque at Jerusalem is in reference to the Prophet's reported Ascension'. It is celebrated throughout the Muslim world on the 27th day of the month of Rajab. Rushdie uses an adaptation of the Ascension story, to give an apocalyptic vision of what has happened in our own time. The place of the Prophet is taken by the Imam in exile. He is sending his message in surreptitious radio waves. The Imam nightly calls (p.210) to his people to rise up against evil. 'We will make a revolution .. . that is a revolt, not only against a tyrant, but against history.' He summons the archangel Gibreel: 'tonight is the night and you must fly me to Jerusalem.' The Imam's Jerusalem is the palace of 'the Empress' whom radio messages have unmade. 'This is a revolution of radio hams'. In front of the Empress's gate her household guards are waiting in three ranks, with machine guns at the ready:

> The people are walking up the slope towards the guns; seventy at a time, they come into range; the guns babble and they die, and then the next seventy climb over the bodies of the dead ...

'You see how they love me . . . No tyranny on earth can withstand this slow-walking love.' Al-Lat is bursting out of the shell of the Empress Ayesha. 'Kill her', the Imam commands; and as Al-Lat, queen of the night, crashes down to earth, Gibreel sees in horror that the Imam has become a monster. 'As the people march through the gates he swallows them whole.' A key to this vision can be found in the organisation of the Shia 'Church' in Iran with their disciplined control over vast emotional crowds, which during the latter half of 1978 generated enough strength to uproot the Shah and his regime. Of course the Imam is the Ayatollah Khomeini, sole author of the verdict against Rushdie (with no mention of an Islamic court) and since then himself deceased.

Rushdie was especially depressed by the ban imposed on his novel by the Government of India. In an open letter to Rajiv Gandhi he maintained that 'the book isn't actually about Islam, but about migration, metamorphosis, divided selves, love, death, London and Bombay; it deals

with a prophet who is not called Muhammed …' His first sentence here invites a pinch of salt. If the book isn't about Islam, why did he call it *The Satanic Verses*? The other themes are indeed present, often in a richly vibrant form. Yet Salman the Persian gives a good deal of thought to Islam. He dislikes its petty regulations. In one episode (p.374) he is dragged before the Prophet and is told, 'Your blasphemy, Salman, can't be forgiven. Did you think I wouldn't work it out? To set your words against the Words of God.' Here at any rate, the Prophet goes badly astray; for Rushdie found his material in the original form of the Qur'an itself. In that text and in a learned commentary on it any one is free to read the stories which have been condemned as blasphemous.

However, one can hardly deny a certain affinity between Rushdie and Gibreel (p.513), who resuming his film career produced a film called Mahound that 'hit every imaginable religious reef and sank without trace'.

ADDENDA
'The Qur'an in Salman Rushdie's Novel, The Satanic Verses'
(Part II, 10)

After nine years of living under the shadow of a threat to his life, Salman Rushdie was informed by the British Foreign Office that the Government of Iran had changed its stance.

Although the *fatwa* as a theological decision was not revoked, the bounty of two million dollars placed on Mr. Rushdie's head was denounced by the Iranian Government and so were any plans to try to implement the *fatwa*. See *The Guardian* 23 September 1998.

However, this change in the stance of Iran's government has not prevented renewed support for the *fatwa* from religious sources. Ayatollah Hassan Sanei, head of the 15 Khordad Foundation, has declared that the reward for the murder of Rushdie has been raised to 2.8 million dollars, in order 'to make the fatwa everlasting and encourage its execution'. See *The Times* 13 October 1998.

In a parallel Welsh study which is slightly later, but not identical (see *Taliesin* 84 (1994), 59-69), Kate cites the claim made by Rushdie that the Ayatollah Khomeini could not have seen the novel itself (see the *New York Review of Books*, 4 March 1993). No copies were available in Iran and no translation into Persian (Farsi) had been made. Of course competent scholars could have supplied a report. The *fatwa* was published in the Ayatollah's name on February 14th 1989. The Ayatollah was born in 1900 and he died on June 3rd 1989 after an operation for stomach cancer. Several witnesses have pointed to his extreme illness and weakness during that year, making it very unlikely that he could have discussed the matter with anyone. Other religious leaders in Iran were undoubtedly the authors of the decree, and it was not supported by Moslem leaders in Egypt and elsewhere. In general, however, the Teheran theologians won firm support from Moslem believers, and they were helped by the radical misconception that the novel's title implied a condemnation of the whole of the Qur'an as being *Satanic Verses*. In Egypt Rushdie was supported by the novelist Naguib Mahfouz, who won the Nobel prize for literature in 1988, but had seen one of his own novels being condemned by an Islamic *fatwa*. That decree, however, did not include a sentence of death.

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DE	Discussions in Egyptology, Oxford.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. London.
SWEP	South Wales Evening Post. Swansea.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. Leipzig, Berlin.

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('A scroll of the Book of Esther', in Hebrew calligraphy, a copy of which was presented to the Swansea synagogue by K B-G in memory of her mother, Käte Bosse, who died in Ravensbrück, in 1944. The gift was accepted on behalf of the Synagogue by Dr Leonard Mars, lecturer in anthropology at the University of Wales Swansea, who has published a history of the Swansea Synagogue, founded in 1768, which once had more than a thousand members.)

'Anrheg i Synagog', *Y Cymro*, 16.09.1992, 5, gyda llun.
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('A Work by Rilke which was the basis of a Modern Opera in Dresden'.)

LOCAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The many entries dealing with local archaeology (prehistoric, Roman, mediaeval and modern) stem from the author's work as Hon. Curator of Archaeology at the Royal Institution of South Wales and often relate to special exhibitions arranged by her at the Swansea Museum. Interpretation is frequently linked to a wider background and Celtic themes are sometimes traced to European archaeological evidence, as in 'The Celts at Stuttgart'; she also deployed, on occasion, the Welsh literary evidence with which she became intimately familiar. In both these contexts she profited from her

friendship with Professor D. Ellis Evans, who occupied the Chair of Welsh in Swansea, and later the Oxford Chair of Celtic.

VERSE

More than fifty poems, including those cited above, are typed in a file entitled *Gedichte*. They are mostly in German and were written between 1940 and 1955.

GENERAL INDEX

References are to pages. Names of authors can connect, in the locations noted, with their writings, thus furthering a bibliography. See also Geoffrey T. Martin, *A Bibliography of the Amarna Period and its Aftermath*, London, 1991.