



Joyful in Thebes

Egyptological Studies in Honor of
Betsy M. Bryan

Edited by
Richard Jasnow
Kathlyn M. Cooney

With the assistance of
Katherine E. Davis

JOYFUL IN THEBES
EGYPTOLOGICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF
BETSY M. BRYAN

MATERIAL AND VISUAL CULTURE
OF ANCIENT EGYPT

NUMBER ONE



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Betsy Bryan in the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.

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Richard Jasnow
Kara (Kathlyn) Cooney

INTRODUCTION

The editors of this book were deeply moved by the enormously positive response to the invitation to contribute to this collection of articles in honor of our friend and colleague, Betsy Bryan. Distinguished scholars, despite all of their other pressing obligations, volunteered to write. Even more remarkable, perhaps, most actually submitted their articles on time. While we could not predict the response to our initial invitation, we had in fact suspected that undertaking this project would indeed be a joyful experience. Having worked with Betsy for years, we knew that few Egyptologists have as many friends and colleagues as she throughout the world. Frankly, a major challenge to the editors was simply compiling a list of possible contributors from such a large circle of potential invitees. It seemed necessary to maintain an Egyptological focus for the volume while at the same time keeping it within practical bounds. We know well that we have omitted some who would have gladly participated. We apologize to them and hope they will understand our dilemma. The present volume is only a token of the great good will and esteem which Betsy has earned; it hardly represents the sum total of all her friends and well-wishers within the Academe.

It is often said of a particular scholar that she or he has a wide a range of interests. While this is sometimes mere rhetoric, in Betsy's case the phrase is perfectly apt. The imposing breadth of topics treated in this Festschrift, from Pre-Dynastic to Late Antiquity, truly reflects Betsy's Egyptological interests. A glance at the table of contents reveals, fittingly, that many authors wrote about New Kingdom objects from an art historical perspective or dealt with excavations and standing monuments, particularly those located in Thebes. Nevertheless, several articles treated philological subjects from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman period. Other contributors examined historical or gender issues. A few explored topics strictly speaking outside of Egypt proper; thus both Nubia and the Near East are represented. Those not knowing Betsy may doubt that she should be seriously interested in so many subjects. Nevertheless, her friends will surely agree that this rich diversity of interests is one of the most striking characteristics of Betsy's scholarly persona. Not only is she receptive to topics outside of her "formal" specialties, but she has the background knowledge and intellectual curiosity to engage productively with them. This point was quickly impressed upon Richard when in 1995 he began team-teaching Egyptian texts with her. Once, aware that Betsy had returned to Baltimore from Egypt around midnight, after a long excavation season, he hardly expected her for class early the next morning. Betsy nevertheless appeared, enthusiastic as always, declaring, "she could not bear to miss reading this particular Coptic Gnostic text." Some time after that he was equally amazed to learn that, before Richard's arrival at Hopkins she had also taught Demotic. We suspect few art historians have felt the urge to teach Demotic, but, as Betsy has said, "she thought it was important that the students know this stage of Egyptian." And so she taught it. Richard thus realized early on that Betsy was no "narrow specialist." Here was a colleague with whom one could talk about many scholarly topics in the expectation of receiving really constructive feedback and advice.

Of course, Betsy's interest in Coptic Gnostic texts and Demotic should hardly have been surprising. The graduate program at Yale was strongly historical and philological. She wrote her very much text-based thesis on the reign of Thutmose IV under the supervision of William Kelly Simpson, a scholar equally at home in art and language. Philology is therefore very much at the core of her Egyptological soul. It was really after receiving the doctorate that she proceeded to make her name as an art historian, with such groundbreaking exhibitions as that on Amenhotep III in the Cleveland Museum and the Louvre (in collaboration with Arielle Kozloff and Larry Berman). Already as a student she had participated in archaeological excavations, beginning with Donald Redford at the Akhenaten

Temple Project (1977–1980). Since 1993 she has staged annual expeditions—first at the Tomb of Suemniwet (Theban Tomb 92) on the West Bank and then at the Temple of Mut in Karnak.¹ This last project is a massive undertaking, involving excavation, epigraphy, conservation, and restoration of the monuments on a large scale. In addition to the many significant finds, Betsy and her team have been able to reconstruct such structures as the “Drinking Portico of Hatshepsut,” which now forms part of an “open-air” museum at the site. Many of us have had the opportunity to learn something about the various subdisciplines comprising Egyptology. A philologist may join an excavation for a season or two, an archaeologist may intern at a museum for a semester. However, Betsy’s intense work in these very different fields is clearly of an entirely different order. It is precisely this sustained engagement with philology, archaeology, and art history which gives her a unique Egyptological profile. The most casual reader of her articles and books quickly observes that she marshals evidence from all three subdisciplines (if not more) in her investigations of a given subject.

If Betsy’s scholarly work is nothing else, it is holistic—taking into account the materiality, production history, social importance, ritual place, and visual quality. She never looks at a tomb painting without considering the entire *chaîne d’opératoire*—which craftsmen painted which parts of a given tomb scene, whether sparkling yellow orpiment or the bright orange of realgar were included and in which scenes, what social markers were included in a painting and why. Her work always treats the entire monument or the entire assemblage, and beyond. It goes without saying that she can rattle off most of the Theban Tomb numbers together with their owners and titles, to the consternation of her graduate students. Her recent work, lectures, and articles on the festivals of drunkenness in Thebes are a *tour de force* of holistic examination, drawing on Theban tomb scenes, religious hymns, temple scenes and architecture, historical treatises, and arcane ritual instructions.² All are marshaled into a nuanced and beautifully intricate discussion of human behavior. She teaches her graduate students to look at Egyptian production, be it text or object, in the same holistic manner—what stone was the statue made of and what does this tell us about craft production? Where was the text placed and who was its intended audience? Was the piece reworked or recut? Where was the focus of attention meant to be drawn? Her work on women’s studies is particularly illuminating: simultaneously social, historical, anthropological, and visual, she has, for example, deftly swept aside outdated patriarchal assumptions about female kings like Hatshepsut (including some about her possible affairs) and placed Egyptian female power in its larger context of kingship, dynastic succession, elite power systems, and the Egyptian desire for continuity.

Teaching has always been central to Betsy’s scholarly activity. Having begun as an Adjunct Assistant Professor in Ancient History at Marymount Manhattan College (1978–1986) and as a lecturer at Yale (1980–1982), she came to Johns Hopkins in 1986. She was named the Alexander Badawy Professor of Egyptian Art and Archaeology in 1997. Thanks to her efforts, Hopkins has a vigorous graduate program in Egyptology. It is no surprise that applicants from all over the world have sought to study with her. Betsy has always taught far more than was required, both on the undergraduate and graduate levels. She has carefully balanced her offerings in language and art history. She has also presented regularly the essential introductory survey classes to ancient Egypt. Having led the effort to renovate the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum and to arrange for the long-term loan of many pieces from the Eton Collection, discussed in more detail below, Betsy has made first-hand examination of the objects an integral part of her art-historical classes.

As a teacher, Betsy impresses upon her students the importance of approaching a particular problem of ancient Egypt using all the available evidence. A theoretical framework is important, but lasting results require a first-rate knowledge of the material. You must “own the material,” as she says. Naturally, this is an aspirational goal; a scholar

1. The large site is divided between the Brooklyn Museum of Art Archaeological Expedition to the Precinct of Mut, directed by Richard Fazzini, and the Johns Hopkins University Expedition, directed by Betsy.

2. See, e.g., “Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelries in the New Kingdom,” in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, ed. J. Galán, B. Bryan, and P. Dorman, SAOC 69 (=Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop = Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010) (Chicago, 2014), 93–123.

constantly seeks to deepen his or her knowledge. A scholar never stands still and must be prepared to take risks. Clearly, Betsy herself has always been ready to explore new lines of research and to ask new questions. This willingness to face fresh challenges and never repeat herself makes her an exciting teacher and popular lecturer. Kara remembers a particular teaching moment that made an impression. In her first year of graduate school, in her first art-history seminar, Betsy asked Kara to present and critically compare the exhibition catalogue on Amenhotep III (the lauded *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*) with other academic work on the Eighteenth Dynasty king. Not only was this a daunting assignment for a beginning graduate student to be performed in front of her advisor, but it made clear to Kara that Betsy was entirely open to scrutiny and criticism. Betsy once said that some scholars are willing to change their minds and admit they were wrong; others stick to their story forever, especially once it has been immortalized in print. Betsy is, thankfully, of the former category.

While certainly an innovative scholar, Betsy can be proudly “old school” as a teacher. Students in Betsy’s Egyptian language classes know her systematic approach to texts. They can expect questions about the grammar and vocabulary of every sentence. Of course, there is a purpose to this preoccupation with philological detail; her goal is to enable the students to recognize the meaning and significance of the text. Aware that a simple resolution is often impossible in ancient Egyptian, she tries to ensure that the students understand clearly the nature of the problems. Her abomination is a superficial explanation of a text or the easy acceptance of an “establishment” rendering. Betsy happily reads with students from virtually every genre known from ancient Egypt: literature, religion, medicine, magic, history, or economics. While of course not neglecting the core works, such as Ptahhotep or Sinuhe, she always keeps in mind the individual interests of her students in such reading classes. If a student would like to explore more specialized areas, Betsy has never hesitated to set up independent studies in such topics as Nubian period Texts or Hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Medina.

Betsy has been closely associated with museums through her entire career. While living in New York, she was a Research Associate with the Brooklyn Museum (1983–1986), establishing enduring scholarly and personal relationships of great importance in her academic development. Having moved to Baltimore, Betsy became deeply involved in the reinstallations of the Egyptian collections in both the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian (1993–2000) and the Walters Art Museum (1996–2000). A particular highpoint was the exhibition “The Quest for Immortality,” which she organized with Erik Hornung for the National Gallery of Art. The above mentioned 1992 Cleveland Amenhotep III exhibition, hailed as “extraordinary,” certainly stimulated the study of that seminal period of Egyptian history.³ It is thus natural that, in addition to her teaching, research, and fieldwork, Betsy is the Director of the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Museum. Together with her colleagues at the Museum and with the students, she has been working to set up an online catalogue of the objects in the Museum. She and her Museum colleagues have successfully applied for substantial grants to fund this catalogue project. Visitors to the Museum can often see groups of students, both undergraduate and graduate, closely examining a scarab or seal under microscopes. Sanchita Balachandran, the Curator/Conservator at the Archaeological Museum, who collaborated with Betsy on the new installation, has been ideally placed to observe Betsy’s interaction with Egyptian objects. We quote here Sanchita’s remarks, reflecting the point of view of a scientifically trained conservator:

I’ve long admired the fact that she loves the full object, the weight of it, the materiality of it, and doesn’t see an object as a mere substrate upon which text is inscribed. And she wants to know the details, the tiny technological details—such as her obsession with how the bow drill really worked—that have everything to do with how the final object was produced.

Betsy’s friends will immediately recognize how accurate is another of Sanchita’s observations: “What I love about talking to Betsy about objects is that she immediately gets drawn into them, and often loses track of the many other meetings she has scheduled.”

3. See, e.g., D. O’Connor and E. Cline, eds., *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign* (Ann Arbor, 1998), v.

Having traveled yearly (often twice yearly) to Egypt since at least 1977, Betsy has developed a close attachment to the land and people. She has made a special point of training young Egyptian Egyptologists in the Hopkins graduate program. The articles of these scholars in this volume bear witness to her mentorship. Betsy's dedication to strengthening cultural ties between Egypt and the United States also finds expression in her activity on behalf of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), which promotes and expedites fieldwork in Egypt. Despite her heavy scholarly and university obligations, she has selflessly served on many important committees of the American Research Center in Egypt.

As colleagues have probably noted, the title of this Festschrift, *Joyful in Thebes*, evokes the various New Kingdom eulogies to the ancient capital. Certainly, Betsy has been closely associated with both ancient Thebes and modern Luxor through the years. However, her contributions to our knowledge of this important city go beyond her own personal research. Some years ago, for example, she began a series of extremely productive workshops with Peter Dorman of the Oriental Institute (and now of the American University in Beirut) for the purpose of bringing together scholars involved in all aspects of Theban Studies. These meetings have encouraged an open exchange of ideas and information in a most congenial setting. The workshops have explored such subjects as Ptolemaic Thebes, sacred space, and the iconography and ideology of war in New Kingdom Thebes. The latest publication of papers from this series is *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (2014), co-edited with Peter Dorman and Jose Galán.

Art Historian, Archaeologist, Philologist, and Historian, an impressive list of designations no doubt ... Still, academic credentials and achievements only partly explain why so many felt honored to contribute to this Festschrift. Betsy Bryan has always been more than a researcher; she has been a benevolent, if exacting, mentor to her students and a supportive ally to her colleagues. A true lover of Egypt and Egyptology, a believer in the importance of Near Eastern Studies to the Humanities, she has often sacrificed her own work (and time) for the good of our discipline and of the University. She is one of those fortunate people who have truly made a difference both as a scholar and as a person.

We conclude in the second person singular. As a modest individual, Betsy, this display of affection by your colleagues and students may well embarrass you. Still, we know you will accept this Festschrift with your characteristic grace and good will. May you continue for many years to be "joyful in Thebes!"

Richard Jasnow
Kara Cooney



Betsy examining archaeological plan drawn by a graduate student; back of the Mut Precinct. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Betsy in conversation with the conservator Hiroko Kariya at the Open Air Museum at the Temple of Mut. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Betsy recording excavation pottery from the Temple of Mut. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Betsy (with Dr. Zahi Hawass, then secretary general of the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities, and others) at the discovery of the recarved statue of Queen Tiy (now on display at the Cairo Museum), the Temple of Mut, 2006 season. Photograph courtesy of James T. VanRensselaer.



Above: Betsy at Sedinga Temple, Sudan, 1989. Photograph courtesy of Larry Berman

Left: Betsy measuring a colossal statue in the British Museum. Photograph courtesy of Arielle Kozloff

FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES AT
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

The Department of Near Eastern Studies at Johns Hopkins prides itself on its collegial atmosphere and the harmonious cooperation between its subdisciplines. We are happy to acknowledge that we owe a great deal of this tradition of mutual interest and encouragement to our much admired and cherished colleague Betsy Bryan. Since joining the Department as an Assistant Professor of Egyptian Art and Archaeology in 1986, working with Professor Hans Goedicke to build the Egyptology Program, Betsy has always reached out to colleagues and students in the other subfields and encouraged a free flow of ideas and interactions. Having studied Akkadian at Yale, where she first developed a deep interest in the interaction between Egypt and the Near East, Betsy effortlessly established collegial and intellectual relationships with her other fellow departmental faculty members, Jerry Cooper, Del Hillers, Georg Krotkoff, Kyle McCarter, Glenn Schwartz, and Ray Westbrook. This group fostered a spirit of scholarly interaction, encouraged students to explore classes in other fields, and supported one another's projects. Indeed, Betsy already knew Glenn and Ray from Yale, all three having been graduate students there.

While the core faculty of the Department has, of course, changed and grown since the 1980s, the spirit of cooperation has continued. Betsy's empathy for, and interest in, sister-fields served her well when she chaired the Department of Near Eastern Studies for a number of years and helped to solidify and expand our program. In a broader context, Betsy has also been an extremely active university citizen, serving on high level committees and advising the administration on strategy. In this arena, she has been an advocate and eloquent spokesperson for the role of the Humanities (and of Near Eastern Studies) in university education, and we greatly appreciate her work in this regard, as we do all her efforts on behalf of Near Eastern Studies and Egyptology.

Prof. Glenn Schwartz, Chair

Jerry Cooper
Paul Delnero
Marian Feldman
Michael Harrower
Richard Jasnow
Jacob Lauinger
Ted Lewis
Kyle McCarter

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

///	indicates damage
BCE	before the Common Era
Bd.	(German) <i>Band</i> , “volume”
BD	Book of the Dead
BM	British Museum, London
BP	before the present
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn
ca.	<i>circa</i> , approximately
cat.	catalogue
CE	Common Era
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare
CG	Catalogue Général
cm(s)	centimeter(s)
CNI	Carsten Niebuhr Institute
col(s).	column(s)
Dem	Demotic
diss	dissertation
ed(s).	editor(s), edited by, edition
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
esp.	especially
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , and so forth
fasc.	fascicle
ff.	following
fig(s).	figure(s)
frag(s).	fragment(s)
GEM	Grand Egyptian Museum
ht.	height
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same place
IFAO	Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire
JE	JdE = <i>Journal d’Entrée</i> , Cairo Museum
KV	Valley of the Kings
lit.	literally
m	meter
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
n(n).	note(s)

NK	New Kingdom
no(s).	number(s)
NYHS	New York Historical Society
o.	ostrakon
OI	Oriental Institute (Chicago)
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
P, Pap.	Papyrus
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
PC	Papyrus Carlsberg
PT	Pyramid Text(s)
q.v.	<i>quo vide</i> , which see
RSV	Revised Standard Version (Old Testament)
SCA	Supreme Council of Antiquities
SR	Special Register
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , under the word
Taf.	<i>Tafel</i> (German)
trans.	translator
TT	Theban tomb (tomb number)
UC	University College (London)
UCL	University College London
var.	variant
vol(s).	volume(s)
vs.	verso

BIBLIOGRAPHIC

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 1960–.
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament, 1979–.
ACE	Australian Centre for Egyptology
ACER	Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports. Sydney, 1989–.
ACES	Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies. Sydney, 1989–.
<i>AcOr</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
<i>ActAnt</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Hungaricae</i>
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe. Glückstadt, 1958–.
AegHel	Aegyptiaca Helvetica. Geneva, 1974–.
AegLeod	Aegyptiaca Leodiensia, Liège, 1987–.
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen. Glückstadt, 1936–.
Ä&L	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i>
AHAW	Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Heidelberg, 1997–.
ÄIB	G. Roeder, <i>Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> . 2 volumes. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913–24.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>

AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AJSLL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AnAe	Analecta Aegyptiaca. Copenhagen, 1940–1959.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969–.
AOB	<i>Acta Orientalia Belgica</i>
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AOS	American Oriental Series. New Haven, 1925–.
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt. London, 1893–.
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte</i>
ASCEVOA	Archeologia e storia della civiltà egiziana e del Vicino Oriente antico. Materiali e studi. Bologna, 1996–
AVDAIK	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen/Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo. Mainz, 1970–.
BÄBA	<i>Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde</i>
BACE	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
BAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1932–.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports. Oxford, 1978–.
BARIS	British Archaeological Repots. International Series. Oxford, 1974–.
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Étude. Cairo, 1908–.
BeiBf	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde. 11 volumes. Cairo, Zürich, Wiesbaden, 1937–1997.
BEM	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum</i>
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
BEStud	Brown Egyptological Studies. Oxford, Providence, 1954–79.
BidE	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut du désert d'Égypte</i>
BIE	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien</i> , later <i>Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte</i>
BIFAQ	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BMFA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i>
BMJ	<i>Brooklyn Museum Journal</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
BMOP	British Museum Occasional Papers. London, 1978–.
BMQ	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i>
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
BSA	<i>British School of Archaeology in Egypt</i> . London, 1905–1953.
BSAC	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte</i>
BSAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte</i>
BSEG	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève</i>
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>
CAD	I. J. Gelb et al., eds. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . 21 volumes. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010.
CD	W. E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1939.
CDD	J. Johnson, ed., <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . 2001–. http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago .
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> . Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth

CENIM	Cahiers "Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne." Montpellier, 2008–.
CGC	<i>Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> . Cairo, 1901–.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East. Leiden, 2000–.
CRIPPEL	<i>Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille</i>
CSEG	Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie. Geneva, 1991–.
DAWW	Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Kl., 1850–1918.
DCH	<i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Edited by David J. A. Clines. 9 volumes.
DDD	Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter W. van der Horst, eds. <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1995.
DE	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
DemStud	Demotische Studien. Leipzig 1901–1929; Sommerhausen, 1988–.
DGÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie. Vienna, 1947–.
EA	<i>Egyptian Archaeology, The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society</i>
EG	Alan Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs</i> . 3rd rev. ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957.
ENiM	<i>Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne</i>
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, Leiden, 1961–1992.
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo, 1921–.
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion</i>
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen (IV. Reihe: Ägypten), Göttingen, 1973–.
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge. Hildesheim, 1976–.
HALOT	Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
Hannig, Wb. I	Rainer Hannig, <i>Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit</i> . Hannig-Lexica 4; Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 98. Mainz: von Zabern, 2003.
Hannig, Wb. II	Rainer Hannig, <i>Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit</i> , 2 vols. Hannig-Lexica 5; Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 112. Mainz: von Zabern, 2006.
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik, erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten. Leiden, 1952–.
HP	Georg Möller, <i>Hieratische Paläographie. Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit</i> . 3 volumes. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909–2012.
HTBM	<i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum</i> . London, 1911–.
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. Berlin, 1998–.
IJAHS	<i>International Journal of African Historical Studies</i>
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch</i>
JES	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Studies</i>
JFA	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>

JRASup	Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series. Ann Arbor, 1990–.
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
KÄT	Kleine ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden, 1969–.
KAW	Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt. Mainz, 1977–.
KHWB	Wolfhart Westendorf, <i>Koptisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Heidelberg: Winter, 1977.
KRI	Kenneth A. Kitchen <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> . 8 volumes. Oxford: Blackwell, 1968–1999.
KSG	Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen. Wiesbaden, 2004–.
KTU	Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds. <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
LÄ	Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds., <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
LAAA	(Liverpool) <i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
LD	Richard Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . 12 volumes. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–56.
LGG	Christian Leitz, ed., <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> , 8 volumes. OLA 110–116 and 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003.
LingAeg	<i>Lingua Aegyptia</i>
LingAegSM	Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica. Hamburg, Göttingen, 1994–.
MAe	Monumenta Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1968–.
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien. Berlin, 1962–.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MEEF	Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund. London, 1885–1936.
MEES	Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Society. London, 1885–.
MEOL	Mededeelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap “Ex Oriente Lux.” Leiden, 1934–1946.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie orientale du Caire. Paris, Cairo, 1902–.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
MMAF	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
MonAeg	Monumenta Aegyptiaca. Brussels, 1968–.
MVAeG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i>
MVAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft</i>
NAWG	Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse. Göttingen, 1941–2006.
NH	<i>Natural History</i> (Pliny the Elder)
OAJ	<i>Oxford Art Journal</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freiburg, Göttingen, 1973–.
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta. Rome, 1935–.
OEAE	Donald Redford, ed. <i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt</i> . 3 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
OLC	Oriental Institute Communications. Chicago, 1922–.
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications. Chicago, 1941–.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924–.

- OIS Oriental Institute Seminars. Chicago, 2004–.
- OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven, 1975–.
- OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
- OMRO *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*
- ORA Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Tübingen, 2009–.
- OrMonsp Orientalia Monspeliensia. Centre d'égyptol. de l'univ. Paul-Valéry (Montpellier). Montpellier, 1979–.
- PÄ Probleme der Ägyptologie. Leiden, 1953–.
- PM I¹ B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 1: *The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1960.
- PM I² B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 1: *The Theban Necropolis, Part 2: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1964.
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- PM IV B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 4: *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyut)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1934.
- PM VI B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 6: *Upper Egypt: Chief Temples*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1939.
- PM VII B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, assisted by E. Burney. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 7: *Nubia, The Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1952.
- PM VIII¹ J. Málek. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 8: *Objects of Provenance Not Known, Part 1: Royal Statues Private Statues (Predynastic to Dynasty XVII)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1999.
- PM VIII² J. Málek. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. 8: *Objects of Provenance Not Known, Part 2: Private Statues (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period). Statues of Deities*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1999.

PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition. New York, 1916–.
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
PTT	Private Tombs at Thebes. Oxford, 1957–.
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire. Cairo, 1930–.
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RdE	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>
RecTrav	<i>Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
RGRW	Religions of the Graeco-Roman World. Leiden, 1992–.
RILT	Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple. Chicago, 1994–.
RIMAP	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Period. Toronto, 1987–.
RTA	<i>The Rock Tombs of El Amarna</i> . London, 1903–1908.
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens. Heidelberg, 1990–.
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago, 1931–.
SASAE	Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Cairo, 1946–.
SAT	Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch. Wiesbaden, 1998–.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Vienna, 1848–.
SDAIK	Sonderschrift des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo. Cairo, 1975–.
SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse). Vienna, 1848–1946.
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities. Toronto. 1977–.
StudDem	Studia Demotica. Leiden, 1987–.
TÄB	Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge. Bonn, 1973–1976.
TLA	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae</i> . Berlin, Brandenburg, 2004. http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/
TTS	The Theban Tomb Series, London, 1915–1933.
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Gütersloh, 1982–2001.
TUATNF	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Gütersloh, 2004–.
UEE	<i>UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology</i> . Los Angeles, 2010–. https://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens. Leipzig, 1896–1956.
Urk. I	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reichs</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.
Urk. IV	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 4, fasc. 1–16. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–09. 2nd rev. ed., 1927–1930. Continued by W. Helck, fasc. 17–22. Berlin: Akademie, 1955–1958.
Urk. VII	Kurt Sethe and Wolya Erichsen. <i>Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 7. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935–.
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
Wb.	Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds., <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 volumes, plus 5 volumes. Belegstellen. Berlin: Akademie, 1926–1963.
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta, 1990–.
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
WZKM-B	Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vienna, 1936–.
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies. New Haven, 1986–.
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

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SOME ASPECTS OF TOMB REUSE DURING THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY

Tamás A. Bács

Generalizations about late New Kingdom developments of funerary customs, appealing or valid though they may seem, are notoriously questionable and when subjected to closer scrutiny are usually wanting on numerous specific points. One such is the perception that the abandonment of preparing above-ground funerary monuments by the period's elite was a gradual process, the dispensing of an element that has become redundant.¹ This is not to question or deny the phenomenon itself, as apart from a handful of exceptions newly created, New Kingdom-style elite tomb chapels disappear from the mortuary landscape of the Twenty-First Dynasty Theban necropolis.² Rather the issue here is how this change grew directly out of the conditions and pressures of the period and how funerary behavior accordingly had to accommodate rewritings of its intellectual as well as physical boundaries.

Giving up the so-called temple-tomb form³ as the preferred type of burial place was not exclusively a question of funerary behavior, but significantly enough, also one of momentous political import. Besides fulfilling their primary function, these elite mortuary monuments (or *m^ch^c.wt*) also imparted a sense of authority in the visual environment of the Theban necropolis. In this context they were an expression of tradition with its underlying authority that thereby served as a means of maintaining cultural integrity. To possess one meant belonging to the *h^sy.w* or *w^r.w*,⁴ the elite of the age, an aspiration not easily given up either collectively or individually.

Here, indeed, the question of giving up tomb-chapel decoration should be reversed. If the situation was as dire as presumed, why was this form not relinquished much earlier than the Twenty-First Dynasty, during the last third of the Twentieth at the latest, when we learn from the *locus classicus* of P. Abbott (P. BM 10221, recto 4,1–4,4) that:

1. See, for example, the recent summary outline of this development leading up to what can be perceived as a peculiar and idiosyncratic treatment of the Theban elite's mummies during the Twenty-First Dynasty in K. Cooney, "Objectifying the Body: The Increased Value of the Ancient Egyptian Mummy during the Socio-Economic Crisis of Dynasty 21," in *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World*, ed. J. Papadopoulos and G. Urton (Los Angeles, 2012), 144.

2. Of the five known tomb chapels (TT 68, 70, 307, 337, and 348) where the Twenty-First Dynasty owners added decoration or texts to the preexisting ones, L. Manniche would consider only that of TT 307 (Tjanefer) starting on a decorative programme of his own; see L. Manniche, *Lost Ramessid and Post-Ramessid Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis*, CNI Publications 33 (Copenhagen, 2011), 73; for the problematic tomb chapel TT A18, see 70–86. D. Aston (personal communication 2014) would attribute the secondary scenes found in TT 285 to this period as well, rather than the Twentieth Dynasty, a dating also proposed in E. Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel: Die Kunst der ramessidischen Privatgräber*, Theben 17 (Mainz, 2004), 63 with figs. 84 and 85. On the period's tombs, albeit with omissions, see also T. Kikuchi, "Die Thebanische Nekropole der 21. Dynastie: zum Wandel der Nekropole und zum Totenglauben der Ägypter," *MDAIK* 58 (2002), 344–71; K. M. Cooney, "Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification," *JARCE* 47 (2011), 4–20.

3. For the perceptive analysis of this tomb form, see J. Assmann, "The Ramesside Tomb and the Construction of Sacred Space," in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, ed. N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (London, 2003), 46–52.

4. More recently discussed in this sense in B. Claus, "Les chapelles funéraires des favorisés/no(ta)bles (*n3 m^ch^c.wt n n3 h^sy.w/w^r.w*). Une désignation de la 'Vallée des Nobles' sous la XX^e dynastie?" in *Thèbes aux 101 portes. Mélanges à la mémoire de Roland Tefnin*, ed. E. Warmenbol and V. Angenot, *MonAeg* 12, série *imago* 3 (Brussels, 2010), 55–61.

The tombs and burial chambers in which the blessed ones of old, the citizenesses and the men of the land rest on the West of Thebes. (It was) found that the thieves had violated them all, having turned their owners out of their inner and outer coffins, (so that) they were cast out on the desert, they having stolen their funerary equipment which had been given to them, along with the gold, silver, and adornments which had been in their inner coffins.⁵

Furthermore, why then did the priest Imiseba create a highly conspicuous tomb chapel (TT 65) for himself in one of the most visible parts of the necropolis, and why did Ramessesnakht and Amenhotep, father and son, both High Priests of Amun, construct the even more-imposing dual monument of Dra Abu el-Naga (K93.11/K93.12) amidst all this?⁶ Yet they did, and I would suspect the answer may be the same as for the question of why the Valley of the Kings was only given up by the Ramesside kings as a burial place at the last possible moment, when the situation moved beyond the untenable. It should be borne in mind that this was not decided until the reign of Ramesses XI, despite such precedents as the fact that already a burial for Ramesses X could not be achieved in the Valley,⁷ or that even earlier the completion of Ramesses IX's tomb suffered critical setbacks and resulted in a seriously scaled-down version than originally planned.⁸

Abandoning the established form of elite burial, I would argue, would have been an admission on the part of the elite of its loss of social control, symptoms of which can also be seen in the otherwise endemic tomb robbery. It would have led to a very real elite embarrassment. And as a highly visible gesture, it would have made a very public declarative statement, visible to a wider audience. This is not to say that the Twentieth Dynasty elite of Thebes (or that of the whole country for that matter) was unaware of or turned a blind eye to sociopolitical realities, but that it attempted to absorb these in a routine manner and to negotiate its contingencies by projecting a sense of impervious stability.

It may not be a coincidence then that one of the elite tombs of the period may provide one of the earliest examples of caching as a reaction to tomb robbery as well. Although who was actually responsible for this salvage work and when it happened remains conjectural, it is clear that the subterranean areas of the mortuary monument of the Third Prophet of Amun under Ramesses III–V, Amenemope (TT 148) had been altered to accommodate the placement of extra sarcophagi not only for Amenemope's father, Tjanefer, the looting of whose burial (TT 158) in Year 13 of Ramesses IX is so graphically described (in P. BM 10054 recto 1,3–7), but presumably also for his father-in-law, the High Priest Ramessesnakht and his wife, Adjet-aat, as well as for other family members.⁹

If evoking the idea of stability meant erecting funerary monuments in the appropriate Ramesside tradition, it had to be achieved within the particular circumstances presented by the necropolis by this time. One such was the

5. Translation in A. J. Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*, Documenta Mundi, Aegyptiaca 3 (Jonsered, 1994), 233.

6. For the dual monument or "tomb temples" of the High Priests of Amun Ramessesnakht and Amenhotep of Dra Abu el-Naga (K93.11/K93.12), see U. Rummel, "Der Tempel im Grab, Die Doppelgrabanlage der Hohepriester des Amun Ramsesnacht und Amenophis (K93.11/K93.12) in Dräa Abū el-Nagā/Theben-West," in *Forschungscluster 4. Sanktuar und Ritual: Heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund*, ed. I. Gerlach and D. Raue, Menschen–Kulturen–Traditionen, Studien aus den Forschungsclustern des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 10 (Rahden, 2013), 223–35; also U. Rummel, "Ramesside Tomb-Temples at Dra Abu el-Naga," *EA* 42 (2013), 14–17.

7. Consequently, the probability of a burial for Ramesses X outside of Thebes, at Per-Ramesses, has been raised in Th. Schneider, "Ramses X.: Person und Geschichte," in *Das Grab Ramses' X. (KV 18)*, ed. H. Jenni, AegHel 16 (Basel, 2000), 108. The postabandonment history of the tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4), whose place of internment also remains unknown, has been reassessed more recently in M. Barwick, *The Twilight of Ramesside Egypt: Studies on the History of Egypt at the End of the Ramesside Period* (Warsaw, 2011), 263–68.

8. The history of KV 6's construction and decoration is discussed in F. Abitz, "Der Bauablauf und die Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' IX.," *SAK* 17 (1990), 1–40; a shorter English version is F. Abitz, "The Structure of the Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX.," in *After Tut'ankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes*, ed. C. N. Reeves (New York, 1992), 165–85; see also T. A. Bács, "Traditions Old and New: Artistic Production of the Late Ramesside Period," forthcoming.

9. As argued convincingly in B. Ockinga, "Use, Reuse, and Abuse of 'Sacred Space': Observations from Dra Abu al-Naga," in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, ed. P. F. Dorman and B. M. Bryan, SAOC 61 (Chicago, 2007), 144–46.

serious limitation set by the restricted availability of space for constructing tomb complexes conforming to this tradition.¹⁰ Although it pertains to the Memphite and not the Theban necropolis, nevertheless a textual reflection of the severity of the situation and how it was cause for concern may be echoed in the rather underutilized documents dating to Year 15 of Ramesses III written by a certain scribe of letters Bukentuf.¹¹ Supervising the building of a tomb for an otherwise unknown general May, he notes in one of the entries in the text of the work journal that on a certain day a chantress of Thoth came to the site and voiced concern over their work encroaching on the neighboring tomb of a vizier (unfortunately not named).

A further piece of information provided by the text, despite its obvious limitations, is much too valuable to disregard. It strongly implies that tomb building was far from a private matter. What this particular case seems to suggest is that for such an enterprise, governmental, viz. royal, permission granting a funerary concession may have been necessary. Whether this only applied to special cases, as here, for instance, where the concession was a royal gift, or was of more general applicability, cannot be conclusively decided.

This landscape context of scarcity of suitable empty spaces inevitably entailed the reuse of older tombs.¹² Predominantly pragmatic in nature, this reuse in most of its manifestations was done with the aim of producing tomb complexes to meet the needs of the late Ramesside present. Effectively palimpsests, these tombs were made and understood as new and legitimate creations. Reflection on the past, even the past of the reused monument or architectural space, however, could be as much a part of self-presentation as any other aspect of mortuary complexes. To what extent this was exploited depended on the different strategies of self-presentation that no doubt existed. How the latter came to be articulated in turn, however, was feasible only within constraints defined by the social standing and financial means of the individual or family. In the present context a handful of illustrations should suffice to demonstrate how this individual variability played out.

1. The relief-decorated tomb of Senemiah (TT 127) from the reign of Hatshepsut was reused sometime during the Ramesside period by one Piay and his son Paury.¹³ In added inscriptions Piay receives a fictive filiation and is thus presented as the son of Senemiah, a legalization of reuse that has more levels of meaning than previously thought. Namely, the choice of Senemiah's tomb for reuse did not conform to standard practice, in that it was a relief decorated tomb rather than a painted one. Seeking to understand the choice of selecting this particular tomb for reuse, the evidence leads to the question of the new owner's stance towards the art of the past. The fact that he supplemented the intricately cut raised relief scenes of the early Eighteenth Dynasty with texts equally well worked in sunk relief shows an appreciable admiration for the quality of the originals (fig. 1). He thus looked at the art of the past through a perspective defined by his being a sculptor (*hry s'nh.w n pr-'Imn*), that is, an artist himself. It was then a perspective centered on an artist's perception of his own position.
2. The tomb of Hekamaatrenakht (TT 222), dating from the reign of Ramses III–IV (fig. 2), supplies another

10. On nonroyal tomb construction in the Theban necropolis during the Twentieth Dynasty, see the survey in T. A. Bács, "The Last New Kingdom Tomb at Thebes: The End of a Great Tradition?" *BMSAES* 16 (2011), 6–10.

11. P. Posener-Kriéger, "Construire une tombe à l'ouest de *mn-nfr* (P. Cairo 52002)," *RdE* 33 (1981), 47–58; for P. Cairo 52002 also KRI VII:263–65; for P. Cairo 52003, see P. Posener-Kriéger, "Au plaisir des paléographes. Papyrus Caire JE 52003," in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. P. Der Manuelian and R. E. Freed (Boston, 1996), 655–64; also KRI VII:266–68.

12. The topic of tomb reuse in general, and that of Theban tombs in particular has fairly abundant literature, see e.g., J. Baines and P. Lacovara, "Burial and the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Society: Respect, Formalism, Neglect," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2 (2002), 17–20; D. Polz, "Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der Thebanischen Nekropole," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 310–36; H. Guksch, "Über den Umgang mit Gräbern," in *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung: Internationales Symposium, Heidelberg, 9–13 Juni 1993*, ed. J. Assmann, E. Dziobek, H. Guksch and F. Kampp, SAGA 12 (Heidelberg, 1995), 13–24; or N. Strudwick, "Use and Re-use of Tombs in the Theban Necropolis: Patterns and Explanations," *CRIPEL* 28 (2009–2010), 239–61.

13. Kampp opts for the Twentieth Dynasty based on the title; see F. Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Theben 13 (Mainz, 1996), 417; on the tomb's reuse, see also Polz, "Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung," 312–13; for the tomb itself PM I¹, 241–43 with plan on 238; also Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 417–18.



Fig. 1. *Opening of the Mouth* detail. Tomb of Senemiah (TT 127).

eloquent example of the use of the artistic past. Some scenes, such as the funeral procession, have obviously been copied from the neighboring tomb of Amenemope, director of the treasury under Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III, TT 276.¹⁴ The practice is not exceptional or unique and is best described as selective imitation, a constant factor profoundly characterizing the painting of the period.¹⁵

3. Veneration for the classical Thutmoside art of the past expressed in one way through selective imitation and quotation as the conceptual context can be claimed for a feature of TT 65's late Ramesside decorative programme, as well.¹⁶ It can be seen in the unusual treatment of the base areas of the transverse hall's walls, which instead of the appropriate monochrome coloring or niched panelling contain scenes otherwise belonging to

14. N. M. Davies, "An Unusual Depiction of Ramesside Funerary Rites," *JEA* 32 (1946), 69–70. Other features reflective of the dependence on TT 276 have been also noted in J. Spiegel, "Prah-Verehrung in Theben," *ASAE* 40 (1940), 265, 266 n. 1. For the tomb, PM I³, 323–24 with plan on 318; Kampp, *Die thebanische Necropole*, 496–98; wall fragments from the tomb are in Manniche, *Lost Ramessid and Post-Ramessid Private Tombs*, 94–95.

15. See briefly in Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel*, 53–55.

16. See Bács, "The Last New Kingdom Tomb," 10–18; earlier in "Art as Material for Later Art: The Case of Theban Tomb 65," in *Colour*



Fig. 2. Ramesses III under a baldachin. Tomb of Hekamaatrenakht (TT 222).

the context of the main areas of tomb walls. Of the three preserved scenes the southern one is also surprising in its subject matter (fig. 3). It shows the Eighteenth Dynasty genre scene of the workshop in two registers, faithfully reproduced in draughtsmanship, composition, figure style, and palette.¹⁷ As this scene type normally belongs within the framework of those with commemorative or biographical function in tombs of the earlier period, its juxtaposition here presents an enigma, unless it is a subtle reference to one of the owner Imiseba's functions indicated by his title of "Overseer of Works of Monuments of Amun in Karnak" (*imy-r k3.wt n mnw n 'Imn m 'Ipt-swt*).¹⁸

4. It is not so much that individuals like Hekamaatrenakht (or Imiseba) were making the past live but rather that they saw themselves as part of a living tradition. That it was very real to them is also underscored by the Elkab tomb of Setau (Elkab 4), in which the scene structure of the tomb of Pahery that dates from the reign of Thutmose III was faithfully reproduced for the same purpose.¹⁹

and *Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. W. V. Davies (London, 2001), 94–100; also briefly in, "Theban Tomb 65: Dynasty 20 Decoration," *EA* 21 (2002), 21–24.

17. Unfortunately not enough survives of the scene to determine which neighboring Eighteenth Dynasty tomb or tombs served as models. This is equally true for the decoration of TT 67 (Hapuseneb) that also had workshop scenes and from which tomb at least one text was copied by Imiseba for his tomb, see Bács, "The Last New Kingdom Tomb," 14.

18. The title occurs once on the southern half of the axial corridor's ceiling.

19. J.-M. Kruchten and L. Delvaux, *La tombe de Sétaou*, Publications du Comité des Fouilles Belges en Égypte—Elkab, Elkab 8 (Brussels, 2010), 31–32.



Fig. 3. Workshop scene detail. Tomb of Imiseba (TT 65).

5. The tomb of Setau, however, speaks to yet another aspect of tomb chapels that is often neglected or overlooked. Related to the High Priest Ramessesnakht through intermarriage, Setau, or more likely his son-in-law Merybastet, despite the claims of the local artist Meryre to the contrary (fig. 4), had his tomb decorated by artists brought from Thebes, in fact the same crew that worked on TT 148, that of Amenemope, another relative's tomb.²⁰ Less to do with aesthetics, it sheds light on how expenditure articulates prestige for not only the tomb owner as an individual, but also for the family.
6. This theme of projecting power and image through access to the best artists of the day can also be discerned in the quite late tomb of the High Priest of Horus of Nekhen, Hormose and his wife, Henut-ao at Hierakonpolis from the reign of Ramesses XI,²¹ the style of which strongly suggests a Theban background and training for its artists. Not surprisingly, Hormose also had family ties to Thebes through his wife.²²
7. The well-known case, TT 45, the tomb of the steward of the High Priest of Amun Djehuty, a contemporary of Amenhotep II, contrasts well with that of Hekamaatenakht.²³ It was reoccupied, probably early in the Twen-

20. Kruchten and Delvaux, *La tombe de Setaou*, 37–39; for TT 148, see now B. Ockinga, *The Tomb of Amenemope at Thebes (TT 148): Architecture, Texts and Decoration*, ACER 27 (Oxford, 2009).

21. R. F. Friedman, A. Maish, A. G. Fahmy, J. C. Darnell, and E. D. Johnson, "Preliminary Report on Fieldwork at Hierakonpolis: 1996–1998," *JARCE* 36 (1999), 31–33; R. Friedman, "The Dynastic Tombs at Hierakonpolis: Painted Tombs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty," in Davies, *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London 2001), 106–7; B. M. Bryan, "The Artists in the Tomb of Hormose," *Nekhen News* 11 (1999), 20; idem, "The Artists in the Tomb of Hormose, Part II," *Nekhen News* 12 (2000), 23.

22. As Bryan has shown in her sensitive analysis, this status or "independent mind and independent means" of the wife is even emphasized further within the decoration of the tomb chapel itself; see Bryan, "The Artists in the Tomb of Hormose, Part II," 23.

23. See N. de Garis Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, Mond Excavations at Thebes 2 (London, 1948), 1–10, pls. I–IX; PM I¹, 80, 85–86; Kampp, *Die thebanische Necropole*, 242–44.



Fig. 4. "Signature 1" of the artist/scribe Meryre. Tomb of Setau (Elkab 4).

tieth Dynasty, by a Djehutyemhab, who left most of the original decoration untouched.²⁴ He nevertheless made minor alterations that involved, for instance updating the wardrobe of the Eighteenth Dynasty women with garments in vogue during the Ramesside period.²⁵ In principle, Djehutyemhab's or his artist's retouchings are different in that they physically alter their source and produce new works of art. This was literally grafting the present onto the past.

8. In the probably unfinished tomb chapel from the time of Amenhotep III (TT 58)²⁶ of an unknown owner, the new owner, a temple scribe of Medinet Habu, Amenemone, employed yet another artistic solution for the same purpose. He integrated the surviving dual depictions of the enthroned Amenhotep III flanking the entrance to the axial corridor (the *Blickpunktsbild* or, as also called, the Royal Kiosk icon²⁷) into a scene of praise, in which he was depicted as honoring the king (fig. 5). Unfortunately, the motives underlying the solution, whether covering or modifying the royal image would have been seen as inappropriate, or whether there was some special official or personal devotional link to the king, remain subject to speculation.

24. As a well-known and much-cited Nineteenth Dynasty precedent, that of TT 54 can be referred to here, where the unfinished decoration of the original tomb owner Huy, which probably dates from the reign of Amenhotep III, had been completed in style by its new Ramesside occupant, the priest Kenro/Kel under Ramesses II; see D. Polz, *Das Grab des Huy und des Kel, Theben Nr. 54, AVDAIK 74* (Mainz, 1996).

25. Understood as religious "prudishness" in S. Schott, "Ein Fall von Prüderie aus der Ramessidenzeit," *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 10–106; an interpretation already refuted in Polz, "Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung," 306, n. 15.

26. For TT 58, see PM I, 106, 119–20; Kampp, *Die thebanische Necropole*, 269–72, 271, fig. 158.

27. See with literature T. A. Bács, "The Tip of a Horn: The Possible Origin of an Iconographic Theme in the Elite Tombs of New Kingdom Thebes," *ActAnt* 46 (2006), 4–5.

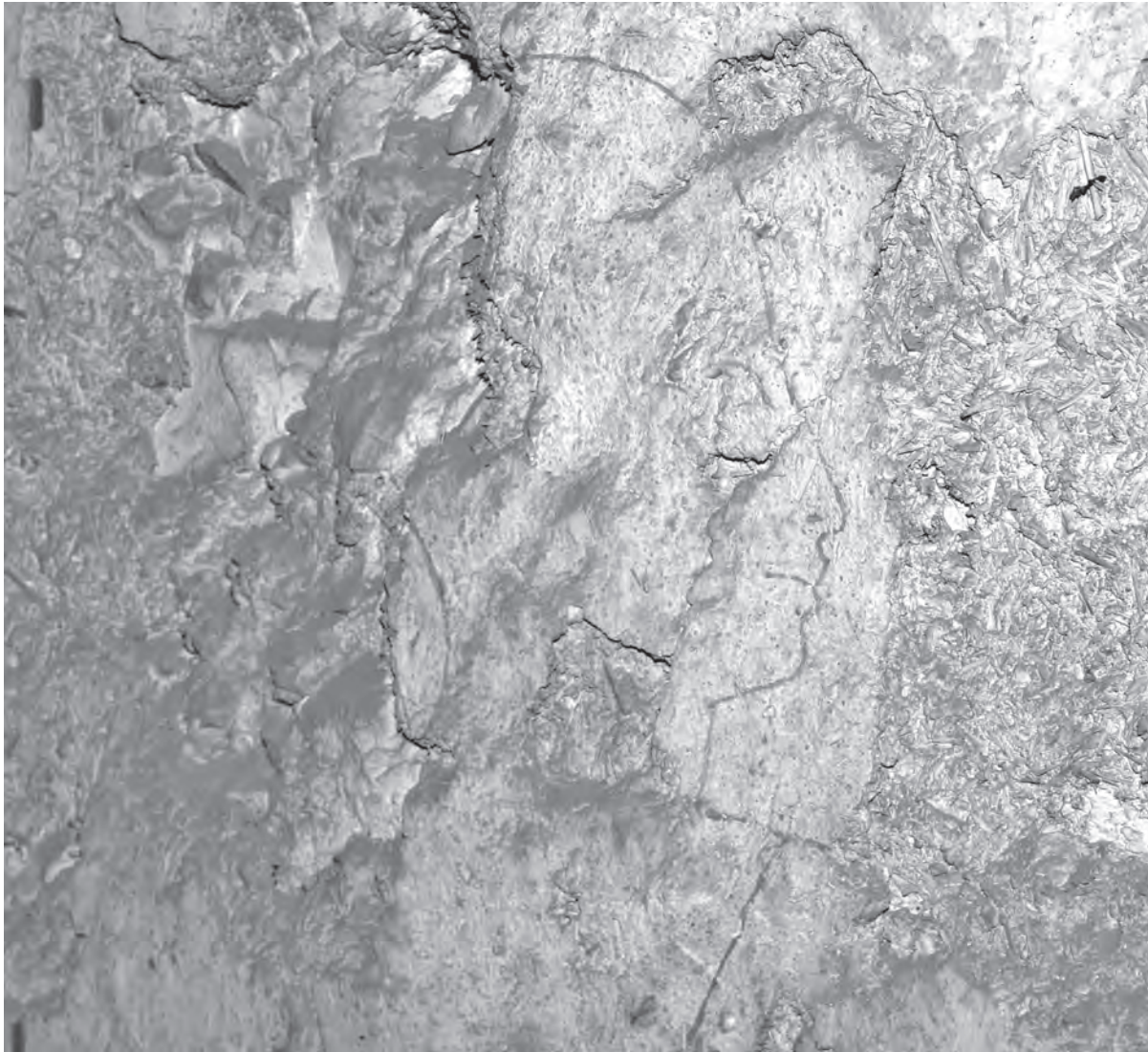


Fig. 5. Head of Amenemone in red. Tomb of Amenemone (TT 58).

9. All the more regrettable, a slightly similar situation can be cited from Imiseba's tomb chapel, where only the preliminary drawings of a planned kiosk scene were found in place (fig. 6).²⁸ It seems that instead of covering it with plaster, Imiseba opted to utilize it in his new decorative program. Portraying probably Hatshepsut or perhaps Thutmose III originally, the figure and several elements of the drafted scene's iconography were retained and included in a new image of Osiris. Other elements, like the baldachin, albeit keeping the element of the bull-head protome, were repainted in a more contemporary style, and again others, like the Sons of Horus or the hymn, were added.

28. See in detail Bács, "The Tip of a Horn."



Fig. 6. Figure of Osiris (detail). Tomb of Imiseba (TT 65).

The examples briefly reviewed here, then, provide a fairly simple answer to the question posed at the beginning: the continued construction of tomb chapels through the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty supplied and sustained the sense of authority in an increasingly insular elite, and offered an outlet for display beyond the primary funerary functions. Moreover, what may now appear as seemingly futile, or even plainly self-deceptive and frowned upon in hindsight, was not an already empty tradition merely being carried on by its own inertia. On the contrary, the New Kingdom-style tomb chapel continued to generate intellectual and artistic activity to the very end of its history.

THE LION-HEADED GODDESS AND HER LOST CAT: BROOKLYN MUSEUM 37.1379E

Yekaterina BARBASH

I feel truly privileged to have studied under the guidance of Dr. Bryan at Johns Hopkins University. She graciously shared her knowledge and inspired students with the quality of her scholarship and passion for Egyptology. It is with respect and appreciation that I present this article in her honor. Mut, whose temple precinct at Karnak Dr. Betsy Bryan has excavated since 2001, is closely linked with feline divinities. At times represented as a lion-headed woman, Mut was one of the powerful goddesses known as the Eye of Re. I hope Dr. Bryan will enjoy this brief discussion of a leonine goddess from the Brooklyn Museum.

Today's academics often only publish items whose meaning and function have been established. With this paper, I would like to revive an old Egyptological tradition of publishing unusual or seemingly unexplainable objects in hopes of encouraging further discourse and increasing the chance of finding a solution to the question of their meaning or significance. I have thus far been unable to come up with a fully suitable explanation for the Brooklyn figurine discussed below. It is the very peculiarity of this figure that provides the reason for presenting it here.

Brooklyn Museum 37.1379E is a gilded wooden statuette of a goddess with a leonine head and the body of a woman, sitting atop a floral base (fig. 1). Prior to entering the Brooklyn Museum in 1937, it belonged to the New York Historical Society (NYHS), and to the Abbott collection before that.¹ Unfortunately, no further provenance is known for this piece.

The goddess wears a tripartite wig with a wig cover that reveals her leonine ears on top of the head. The remains of a now missing peg, visible in old photographs, suggest that a sun disk or headdress once held her bronze uraeus in place (fig. 2). She sits with both her feet and buttocks touching the floor and knees drawn up to the torso.² Her feet appear tightly bound together. Her arms are bent at the elbows, with the right hand clenched in a fist beside her right knee, while the left palm extends beside her left knee. The black painted floral base, reminiscent of a papyrus umbel or lotus flower, has an opening on the stem end.

Measuring 42.5 cm in height,³ the figure was shaped from two crudely carved pieces of wood that were hollowed out on the interior to form a receptacle. The goddess's arms, knees, and feet were modeled from separate pieces of wood and attached with dowels and tenons.⁴ The entire figure was covered with a layer of gesso and tightly wrapped in linen cloth that was subsequently coated with another thin layer of gesso. Much of the finer modeling was done in the layer of gesso, rather than wood. The latter gesso layer must have served as binding for the gold leaf covering the entire figure. Given the small size of the statue, perhaps the gold leaf was meant to imitate a cult

1. C. R. Williams, "Wooden Statuettes of Gods in the Abbott Collection," *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* 2 (1918–1919), 81–83 and figs. 9–11.

2. This pose has been referred to as "crouching" or "squatting." Neither of the terms accurately expresses this somewhat unnatural attitude. Nevertheless, to be consistent with the existing literature, this paper will use both of the above terms, interchangeably.

3. The figure's full measurements are: 42.5 × 13 × 16.5 cm.

4. More specifically, the forearms were doweled to the upper arms and the latter to the body.



Fig. 1. Leonine Goddess, Brooklyn Museum 37.1379E. Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.



Fig. 2. The Leonine Goddess before conservation, scan from an old black and white photograph ca. 1930s. Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.

image of solid gold. The statuette's layered construction technique matches that of funerary guardian figures from late New Kingdom (NK) royal tombs, and of high quality containers for animal mummies.⁵

Old Brooklyn Museum records confirm the original function of this statuette as the latter, indicating that a small animal mummy was originally enclosed in the hollow interior of the figure.⁶ According to these records, on "April 11, 1918, the mummy was examined by Dr. Lucas, Director of the Museum of Natural History, who pronounced it a cat, mature, but not old." This must have taken place while the object was in the collection of the NYHS, where the cat mummy was studied and photographed (fig. 3). Unfortunately, the mummy has since disappeared, having been separated from its container, likely never arriving at the Brooklyn Museum.⁷

When the statuette was opened around 1918, it became apparent that the thickness of its wooden walls varied considerably, presumably in order to accommodate the mummy that was larger than initially expected by the

5. See, for instance, British Museum EA 635, cat. no. 70 in E. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt. Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* (Berkeley, 2001), 158. For gilded wooden animal coffins, see S. Ikram and N. Iskander, *CG 24048–24056; 29504–29903 (selected); 51084–51101; 61089* (Cairo, 2002), 35–36. These and other examples are discussed in more detail below.

6. While cat mummies were commonly placed in cat shaped containers, lion-headed goddesses seated on a throne are generally associated with images of Wadjet and contained mummies of ichneumons, rather than felines. See discussion below.

7. Despite my efforts, the mummy could not be located at the New York Historical Society or the Natural History Museum.



Fig. 3. The mummy inside the Leonine Goddess, scan from an old black and white photograph ca. 1930s. Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.

craftsmen.⁸ Judging by the photographs of the time, the mummy could not have exceeded 32 cm in length, but it was still too big for the container. Nevertheless, no openings in the figure, as it is now, are large enough to fit an animal mummy, and it must have been stuffed inside its container before the latter was closed and finished. While the wood has been cut down to a very thin layer in certain places, it appears to be completely absent on the lioness' muzzle, which was entirely modeled from gesso. However, even without wood, there was insufficient space, and a break in the muzzle—visible in old photographs but which has since been repaired—exposed the “sharp teeth of the little mummied animal within.”⁹ The NYHS records indicate that the dowel holding the headdress created an even tighter fit and must have broken the animal's skull as it was located too close to the top of the receptacle.

Although no exact parallel for the Brooklyn figure has yet been identified, several objects in a variety of media have notable similarities to it. The possible comparanda, discussed below, initially pointed to a wide range of dates for the statuette. This was, thankfully, resolved by Carbon 14 testing, which confirmed a date consistent with the early phase of animal mummy production, placing the figurine between 770 and 419 BCE.¹⁰

Although the Brooklyn statuette incorporates many familiar features, the compilation of these features makes it very unusual. More specifically, the figure's pose, materials, shape of its base, and the cat mummy inside form a rather unconventional combination of elements:

- ✦ The goddess sits with both knees drawn up to the torso, in a crouching or squatting pose, familiar from two-dimensional images of divinities in both mortuary and temple contexts. However, three-dimensional representations of lion-headed female divinities are rarely attested crouching. Rather, lion-headed goddesses are commonly depicted standing, striding, or seated on a throne.
- ✦ The shape of the statuette's base may be understood as a papyrus umbel because feline divinities are frequently represented with papyrus-shaped scepters, and cats often appear on papyrus-form columns.¹¹ Still, floral

8. Williams, “Wooden Statuettes,” 82–85.

9. *Ibid.*, 83.

10. One sample was taken from the underside, interior of the floral base of the wooden structure. The second sample was from the linen, adhered to the inside of the wooden coffin. The pieces of linen, presumably from the mummy, were stuck to the inside wall of the figure with extraneous bits of resin.

11. Papyrus-shaped scepters are commonly held by figures of both Sakhmet and Wadjet. See, for example, British Museum EA 76 and EA 80 in N. Strudwick, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2006), 156–57. T. G. H. James, “A Wooden Figure of Wadjet with Two Painted Representations of Amasis,” *JEA* 68 (1982), 160; J. Yoyotte, “Une monumentale litane de granit. Les Sekhmet d'Aménophis III et la conjuration permanente de la déesse dangereuse,” *BSFE* 87–88 (1980), 47 and 57. For the so-called papyrus of Sakhmet, see S. Cauville, “La permanence de la protection (à propos des ‘chronocrates’),” *JARCE* 46 (2010), 234–35. For an example of Bastet as a cat on a papyrus column, see Louvre E 4257, cat. no. 283 in M. Étienne, *Les Portes du ciel: Visions du monde dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 2009), 325.

shaped bases are unusual for wooden figures of gods of this size, and rarely occur in animal mummy containers. Such bases are, however, found in smaller bronzes, amulets, and large, stone sculpture.

Since the statuette served as a coffin for an animal mummy, it must be examined within this context. Again, the figure proves to be unusual because containers for cat mummies do not typically depict crouching feline goddesses, but are far more common in the form of a sitting cat or a simple rectangular coffin. Animal coffins in the shape of the lion-headed Wadjet, in turn, tend to contain mummies of ichneumons, not cats.¹²

Despite such discrepancies from the well-attested “norm,” certain details of the Brooklyn figurine may hold clues to its identity. Namely, the feline-headed female form, its uraeus, and the now-missing headdress, presumably a sun disk, point to several powerful Solar Eye goddesses. Unfortunately, the lack of an inscription or any other attributes prevents a more precise identification with a specific divinity.

Numerous goddesses, endowed with the lioness’ strength, prowess at hunting, and potential danger to humans, were represented as a lion-headed woman with a sun disk and uraeus on her head.¹³ From early on, these included Sakhmet, Bastet, Wadjet, Mut, Hathor, Neith, Tefnut, Pakhet, Shesemtet, and others. Every one of them could appear as a ferocious feline divinity that acted as a fiery protector of the sun god, and had to be appeased in order to keep *maat* in place and humanity safe. The goddesses’ devotion to Re was explained through a familial relationship as well as through physical proximity, as each of the above goddesses held the epithets Daughter of Re and Eye of Re.¹⁴

Most commonly recognized as the lion-headed female divinity, Sakhmet sported numerous myths in which she protected Re, and at the same time raged almost uncontrollably, becoming pacified only with great effort by other gods.¹⁵ Frequently paired with Sakhmet, the feline goddess Bastet generally represented the more amicable, motherly aspect of the Solar Eye. Several other deities, identified as the Daughter of Re and the Solar Eye Goddess, were also charged with protecting the sun god. For instance, the goddess Mut figured prominently among the feline goddesses identified as the Solar Eye.¹⁶ Her epithet, Mistress of *Isheru* (also held by other Solar Eye goddesses) established her as one of the feline divinities in charge of the local *Isheru*, or crescent-shaped lake.¹⁷ Wadjet, generally represented as a cobra, also commonly appeared in the form of a lion-headed woman, particularly during the Late and Greco-Roman periods.¹⁸ Wadjet’s name, etymologically connected with the papyrus plant,¹⁹ was associated

12. J. Vandier, “Oudjet et l’Horus léontocéphale de Bouto. À propos d’un bronze du Musée de Chaalis,” *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et Mémoires Publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 55 (1967), 55 and 58; James, “Wooden Figure of Wadjet,” 159–65; B. Bothmer, “Statuettes of *W3d.t* as Ichneumon Coffins,” *JNES* 8 (1949), 121–23.

13. The cobra crowning a lion-headed divinity evokes the fiery nature of the Solar Eye Goddesses: Yoyotte, “Monumentale litanie,” 71; H. te Velde, “The Cat as Sacred Animal of the Goddess Mut,” in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, ed. H. van Voss et al. (Leiden, 1982), 127–37; N. Spencer, *The Gayer-Anderson Cat* (London, 2007), 21.

14. J. Darnell (“The Apotropaic Goddess in the Eye,” *SAK* 24 [1997], 35–36), suggests that the solar eye and the Horus eye merge in this role. On the typically dual nature of Solar Eye goddesses, see J.-C. Goyon, “Une formule solennelle de purification des offrandes dans les temples ptolémaïques,” *CdE* 45 (1970), 272, with further references.

15. *LÄ* V:323–33. Yoyotte (“Monumentale litanie,” 47–73) offers an exhaustive overview of the functions and manifestations of Sakhmet in the New Kingdom.

16. Mut, identified by inscription, is represented as a lion-headed woman as early as the Middle Kingdom; *LÄ* IV:246–48, n. 1, and passim. H. te Velde, “Mut, the Eye of Re,” in *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München (1985)*, ed. S. Schoske, *BSAK* 3 (Hamburg, 1988), 395–403; te Velde, “Cat as Sacred Animal,” 127–37. Book of the Dead spell 164 lists (the lioness) Pakhet as one of the heads of Mut; see R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 1985), 160.

17. The *Isheru* lakes, located in such religious centers as Memphis, Bubastis, and Karnak, served as places where the lion-goddesses were appeased; H. te Velde, “Towards a Minimal Definition of the Goddess Mut,” *JEOL* 26 (1979–1980), 7; S. Sauneron, “Villes et légendes d’Égypte,” *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 50–57; *LÄ* I:460–62.

18. James, “Wooden Figure of Wadjet,” 159; Vandier, “Oudjet et l’Horus léontocéphale de Bouto”; J. Vandier, “Un bronze de la déesse Oudjet à Bologne,” *ZÄS* 97 (1970), 126–29.

19. For *w3d*, see *Wb.* I:263.

with life, rebirth, and the sun god, fitting well into the cyclical solar ideology. Similarly represented as a large feline (lioness or panther), Pakhet, the Scratcher, was believed to escort Re's boat through the dangers of the night and to claw or tear up the enemies of Re.²⁰ Like Wadjet, Pakhet was at times shown as a fire spitting cobra who protected Re and his heirs.²¹

These and other feline-headed goddesses possessed a transient nature, manifesting in various forms depending on the mythological circumstances. The Myth of the Eye of the Sun inscribed at Philae describes Hathor-Tefnut as the one who "rages like Sakhmet and is friendly like Bastet."²² A purification formula found in several Greco-Roman temples invokes Wadjet as one of the manifestations of the Solar Eye goddess: "Sakhmet of yesterday, Wadjet of today."²³ All these goddesses should perhaps be seen as aspects of one fierce feline female force, that carried the power of the sun's fire, could easily destroy, burn, and scratch all who stood in her way, and turned into a peaceful and motherly divinity when pacified.²⁴

The above-mentioned goddesses assume a variety of forms and poses. Sakhmet generally appears as a woman with a lion's head standing or sitting on a throne.²⁵ Originally associated with a lioness, Bastet ordinarily takes the form of a cat or a cat-headed woman in diverse poses. When represented as a human-animal composite she is most commonly standing or striding.²⁶ In her feline form Wadjet is a lion-headed woman seated on a throne.²⁷ Mut appears in the same forms as the above-mentioned goddesses.²⁸ A comparable selection of images extends to the leonine manifestations of Tefnut, Pakhet, and other Solar Eye goddesses. The squatting attitude of the Brooklyn figure, however, is not typical of any of them.

The crouching pose, with knees drawn up to the torso and both feet and buttocks on the ground, was assumed by various gods and supernatural entities. The familiar image of the goddess Maat in both two- and three-dimensional art takes the form of a squatting woman. Although other deities were represented in this pose more rarely, there are several examples of crouching figures of divinities in the round. For instance, the granite statue Vienna ÄS 31 portrays an unidentified goddess with a uraeus, crouching on a rectangular base with both hands placed on her knees and feet visible below the hem.²⁹ Similarly, the composite diorite statue Turin P.400 depicts a crouching

20. LÄ IV:640–41. Coffin Text V 399, 1–2, describes Pakhet as the one "whose claws are sharp, the lioness who sees and catches by night"; R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2 (Warminster, 1977), 103.

21. G. Pinch, *Handbook of Egyptian Mythology* (Santa-Barbara, 2002), 134.

22. H. Junker, *Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien* (Berlin, 1911), 32. Thus, Sakhmet, Bastet, and other Solar Eye goddesses may be viewed as aspects of the same divinity; J. Malek, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993), 95.

23. A. Blackman, "The King of Egypt's Grace before Meat," *JEA* 31 (1945), 57–73. Goyon ("Formule solennelle," 269–70 and 272), points out that in addition to Edfu, Esna, and Kom Ombo, the same formula at Philae designates Isis as the Solar Eye.

24. Yoyotte ("Monumentale litanie," 54 and passim) refers to these divinities as the "Dangerous Goddess." The Solar Eye goddesses Ai and Nehemanit are similarly presented as being "complementary parts of a single divine entity," in M. Depauw and M. Smith, "Visions of Ecstasy. Cultic Revelry before the Goddess Ai/Nehemanit. Ostraca Faculteit Letteren (K. U. Leuven) dem. 1–2," in *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, ed. F. Hoffmann and H.-J. Thissen, *StudDem* 6 (Leuven, 2004), 84–85. See also Darnell, "Apotropaic Goddess," 42.

25. Bothmer ("Statuettes of *W3d.t.*," 123) observed that in the New Kingdom Sakhmet was most often represented seated, but her attitude changed to a standing one in the Late period, while Wadjet appeared seated more frequently at this time. See also Yoyotte, "Monumentale litanie," 62, 64, and 67. On rare occasions, however, Sakhmet is depicted in two dimensions as a crouching lion-headed female; É. Chassinat, *Le temple de Dendara*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1934), 29–31 and 59–61, pls. 87–88 and 94 and 98.

26. LÄ I:628–30; Malek, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt*, 94–102; te Velde, "Cat as Sacred Animal," 129–37.

27. Statues of Wadjet and Sakhmet often show the goddess with a sun disk on her head and holding a papyrus-scepter, see James, "Wooden Figure of Wadjet," 159–60.

28. Te Velde, "Cat as Sacred Animal," 127–37; J. van Dijk, "A Cat, a Nurse, and a Standard Bearer: Notes on three late Eighteenth Dynasty statues," in *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, ed. S. D'Auria, *CHANE* 38 (Leiden, 2010), 322–36. Mut appears as a lion-headed woman wearing a double crown on the west wall of the sanctuary at Hibis. The north wall of the Hibis sanctuary depicts Mut as a cat on a plinth, among other forms; see N. Wahlberg, "Representations of Hathor and Mut in the Hibis Temple," in *Current Research in Egyptology III. December 2001*, ed. R. Ives et al. (Oxford, 2003), 71–73, with further references; see esp. nn. 24 and 36.

29. The 21.8 cm-high statue, dated to late Dynasty 25–early Dynasty 26, may be identified as Hathor or Isis; see E. Rogge, *Statuen der*

goddess with both palms on her knees.³⁰ The small bronze Hildesheim 352 is another unidentified mummiform crouching lion-headed goddess, with a sun disk and uraeus on her head.³¹ Notably, the pose of block statues that represent private (human) individuals, rather than gods, is comparable to that of crouching divinities.³²

In addition, several examples from the corpus of apotropaic figures held largely by the British Museum bear an uncanny resemblance to the Brooklyn figurine in pose, hand gestures, approximate size, and even details of manufacture.³³ Most of these enigmatic “guardians” from late New Kingdom royal tombs have an anthropomorphic mummified form with a variety of human and animal heads.³⁴ All figures in this corpus are represented sitting with legs bent and knees drawn up to the torso, but only some of them are mummiform and crouch akin to the Brooklyn figure.³⁵ A number of these guardians, including the turtle-headed EA 50704 and gazelle-headed EA 50703, parallel the hand gestures of the Brooklyn figure with one flat hand and one hand clenched in a fist. The British Museum statues range in size from 35.5 to 39 cm, roughly corresponding to the Brooklyn figure, which measures 42.5 cm. Resembling the construction of some superior animal coffins, the Brooklyn figure and some of the British Museum guardians were carved from wood, enveloped in thin linen, and then covered with gesso. None of the attested guardians, however, were gilded, instead having been covered in a black resinous material.³⁶ It should be mentioned that not one statue in this corpus has a floral base or appears to have contained a mummy.³⁷ A number of “guardian”

Spätzeit (750–ca. 300 v. Chr.) Sammlung Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Mainz, 1992), 27–29.

30. The composite statuette, now missing her wig, headdress, and details of face, measures 35 cm in height. It is stylistically dated to Dynasty 25; see J.-J. Fiechter, “Une statue insolite du Musée Égyptien de Turin,” *CdÉ* 83 (2008), 90–97. See also the Karnak Cachette statue of Ramesses offering a shrine with three crouching gods, Cairo 42.144, in G. Legrain, *CG 42001–42250*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1909), 8 pl. 6; and Osiris crouching among the triad of Osorkon II, in J. Yoyotte, *Tanis. Lor des pharaons* (Paris, 1987), 172–73. See also Hildesheim 56, the bronze triad of Amun, Osiris, and Horus, being offered on a hand; G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzewecke* (Hamburg, 1937), 27, §117–18, figs. 76–77, pl. 15 g–h. Images of the king as a solar child, such as Tutankhamun JE 60702, 60718, at times also appear crouching; Fiechter, “Statue insolite,” 96.

31. This statuette is only 5.5 cm high; see Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzewecke*, 37, §160, pl. 20a–b.

32. Cf. types 1.1–1.3 in R. Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus. Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten “Würfelhockern,”* HÄB 33 (Hildesheim, 1992), 1:20–21 and passim; B. Bothmer, “Block Statues of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom: I. Ipepy’s Funerary Monument,” in *Egyptian Art: Selected Writings of Bernard V. Bothmer*, ed. M. Cody (New York, 2004), 83–102.

33. This corpus closely relates to the guardian deities represented in Book of the Dead spell 182, J. Taylor, *Journey through the Afterlife. Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Cambridge, 2010), 199–203; J. Taylor (*Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* [Chicago, 2001], 211), refers to these as apotropaic deities. B. Hornmann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* (Copenhagen, 1957), 2.484 (BM 50701); 2.485 (BM 50700); 2.501–503 (BM 61416, BM 61417, BM 50704); 2.506 (BM 50703); 4.1007 (BM 50699). See also cat nos. 120–21 in Étienne, *Portes du ciel*, 154–55. For an extensive bibliography of such protective figures see G. Martin, “Protecting Pharaoh: Three Unpublished Magical Figures,” in *Verba manent. Recueil d’études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks par ses collègues et amis*, ed. I. Régen and F. Servajean (Montpellier, 2009), 278–84 and 287–89, who also adds the statuette of a crouching “demon” with a crocodile’s head (Fitzwilliam E.GA.545.1947); and the “demon” with a lion’s head seated on a throne (Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.546.1947). Both are wooden, with traces of plaster and black resin. See also W. Waitkus, “Zur Deutung einiger apotropäischer Götter in den Gräbern im Tal der Königinnen und im Grabe Ramses III,” *GM* 99 (1987), 51–82.


34. These were found in the tombs of Horemheb, Ramesses I, Sety I, and Ramesses IX; Taylor, *Journey through the Afterlife*, 201. Although the purpose of these figures is not entirely clear, the eight standing mummiform entities on the second shrine of Tutankhamun may clarify their role. The heads of this group include that of a cow, snake, forward-facing human without ears, lion, cat, and ibex, closely corresponding to the British Museum corpus. The scene on the shrine is annotated with the demons’ names and their function as inhabitants of the Netherworld is clear: *nn n ntr.w m šhr pn m ḳr(r).wt=sn imy.wt ḥry(t) wnn ḥ3.t(?)=sn m ḳkw*, “These gods are in this fashion in their caverns which are in the Upper Region: It is in the darkness that their corpses exist,” J. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*, OBO 198 (Fribourg, Göttingen, 2004), pl. 5, 62–64; A. Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-ankh-Amon*, MIFAO 72 (Cairo, 1952), 30 and pl. IV. The shrine also includes lion-headed male demons.

35. Some of the figures’ legs are bent only slightly; Taylor, *Journey through the Afterlife*, 200–201.

36. T. Davis, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatânkhamanou*, MIFAO 72 (London, 2001), 101. Some of the figures may have been covered with a layer of gold foil (the black pitch binding it to the figures), as Romer’s account of the looting in Ramesses I’s tomb notes that some figures “were thrown at the wall with such violence that this foil came off and stuck to the painted plaster, where it may still be seen; tiny fragments of gold glistening on the dented surface of the plastered walls”; J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings* (New York, 1981), 66.

37. Although some figures from this corpus, such as BM EA 61283, include circular hollows, these were not of sufficient size to hold an

statues from the tomb of Montuemhat in a comparable squatting pose should also be noted here. However, these solid granite figures took the form of statue groups, rather than individual crouching divinities.³⁸

While the crouching pose is seldom assumed by three-dimensional images of gods, crouching divinities commonly occur in two-dimensional representations on papyri or wall reliefs in temples and tombs. In fact, the familiar seated god determinative,  (Gardiner A40)³⁹ and its derivatives used in the writing of various divine names display the same squatting pose. The temple of Dendera depicts much of the Egyptian pantheon in a form identical to the Brooklyn figure (not including the floral base) as lion-headed gods and goddesses—with each deity identified in an adjacent inscription.⁴⁰ The crouching pose is similarly adopted for divine images of the type carried in processions on standards.⁴¹ For instance, a priest of the New Year's procession, depicted on a Dendera staircase, holds a divine standard with a crouching canine-headed divinity identified by the inscription as *Isds*.⁴² The squatting pose of the divine image in this scene and its size in relation to the priest carrying it correspond to our statuette, suggesting a possible correlation. But, there are no other indications that animal mummies were placed inside processional images on standards.⁴³

Because portrayals of the crouching pose often render the legs and feet bound together, the resulting mummiform shape implies a netherworldly context for the entity represented. Numerous gods and demons, responsible for guarding the passages of the hereafter in the Book of the Dead and other underworld books, were depicted crouching.⁴⁴ For example, the dangerous and protective demons of Book of the Dead spells 144–47 guarded the Netherworld gates and passages through which Re and the deceased proceeded before the morning rebirth.⁴⁵ Conveying this important protective function, the two- and three-dimensional guardian demons frequently have an animal head on an anthropomorphic, mummiform body and are depicted either standing or crouching, akin to the Brooklyn figure.⁴⁶ But, unlike the Brooklyn figure, these guardian demons are most often male.⁴⁷

animal mummy, but have been suggested to house funerary papyri; see N. Reeves, "Tut'ankhamun and his papyri," *GM* 88 (1985), 40.

38. The statue groups from the tomb of Montuemhat consist of squatting (and standing) divinities; J. Leclant, *Montouemhat: quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville*, B&E 35 (Cairo, 1961), 113–31. Berlin Staatliche Museen, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, n. 23279; Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, KS 347; Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, D 890.1.67, cat. nos 122–24 in Étienne, *Portes du ciel*, 157. Fiechter, "Statue insolite," 90–97 lists a number of such statues.

39. This pose is also assumed by various royal determinatives (Gardiner A41–46) and the seated woman determinative (B1).

40. É. Chassinat, *Le temple de Dendara*, IFAO 1–2 (Cairo, 1934), 1.119–22 and 151–55, and pls. 75, 77, 79 show male gods; and 2.29–31 and 59–61, pls. 87–88 and 94 and 98, have goddesses in lion-headed female form.

41. S. Bickel, *In ägyptischer Gesellschaft: Aegyptiaca der Sammlungen BIBEL+ORIENT der Universität Freiburg Schweiz* (Freiburg, 2004), 47.

42. Chassinat, *Dendara*, vol. 8, 106, pl. DCCXLIX, staircase X, left, east wall, priest numbered "X."

43. The majority of evidence for animal mummies comes from the catacombs into which they were deposited annually, or at regular intervals. However, the display and manipulation of animal mummies prior to burial, perhaps in a temple context, remain an open question; see for instance, J. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, Texts from Excavations 2 (London, 1976), 140.

44. Despite being distinguished from the gods that received cult, demons were commonly invoked with the familiar *ntr*, "god"; R. Lucarelli, "Demons (Benevolent and Malevolent)," *UEE*, <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025fks3>. Some demons did, in fact, enjoy cult in the later periods; R. Lucarelli, "The Guardian-Demons of the Book of the Dead," *BMSAES* 15 (2010), 85–102.

45. Spencer, *Gayer-Anderson Cat*, 20. The feline's link with the sun god and his constant movement between the worlds may be based on the cat's natural tendency to sit in a window or doorway, symbolizing the passage between the worlds; Malek, *Cat in Ancient Egypt*, 87; te Velde, "Cat as Sacred Animal," 134. Similarly, the various manifestations of Re in the form of standing mummiform figures in the Litany of Re at times acted as individual guardians of the deceased, see for instance, the sarcophagus chamber of Thutmose III and the second corridor of the tomb of Serty I, E. Hornung, *Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity* (New York, 1990), 88–89, 96–97, and pls. 58–62. M. Stadler (*Weiser and Wesir: Studien zur Vorkommen, Rolle und Wesen des Gottes Thot am ägyptischen Totenbuch*, Oriental Religions in Antiquity 1 [Tübingen, 2009], 295–319) demonstrates the connection between various forms of the Solar Eye goddess and the names of netherworld gates, the recitation of which pacified the goddess.

46. Entities whose terrifying powers are visually expressed by their feline heads abound among the guardian demons of the beyond. These demons generally hold knives or other weapons in their hands; see Lucarelli, "Guardian-Demons," 86.

47. The rare female demons, deemed as bringers of evil, death, or illness, and revered as protectors of the living, were sent by the feline goddesses Sakhmet and Bastet; see Lucarelli, "Demons (Benevolent and Malevolent)," 4 and 6.

The British Museum guardians and their two-dimensional equivalents on papyri, tomb walls, and sarcophagi were arranged around the deceased, literally placing the latter within the netherworld, and forming a defensive ring for the mummy.⁴⁸ These demons and other crouching entities, known from underworld books, performed a protective function for Osiris or a deceased individual on his/her journey through the netherworld. Their dreadful powers were also rendered suitable for more general, nonfunerary protection. Represented in personal amulets and on temple walls they guarded important places and protected regular living Egyptians against sickness and death.⁴⁹

The pose and style of the Brooklyn figure fit well among the representations of protective guardian demons from the late NK onwards and evoke depictions of certain gods.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the now-missing animal mummy must determine the figure's primary function.

The form and quality of animal mummy containers varied widely. Some animals were simply wrapped in coarse linen or stuffed in jars. Others were carefully embalmed and placed in beautifully carved containers, whose shape corresponded to the animal inside, or a divinity associated therewith. As mentioned above, most cat mummies were placed in either rectangular or cat-shaped coffins. Felines were rarely deposited in anthropomorphic lion-headed coffins such as the Brooklyn figure. Rather, lion-headed females, commonly identified by inscription as Wadjet, generally represented the goddess seated on a throne and contained mummified ichneumons.⁵¹ Thus, the possibility that the mummy, now missing from the Brooklyn figure, was erroneously determined to be a cat should certainly be considered, although there is no way to resolve this question.

Few atypical animal mummy containers parallel the Brooklyn goddess. Four wooden animal coffins in the shape of a feline-headed woman crouching on a shrine-shaped box are currently in the Louvre.⁵² Although these resemble the Brooklyn figure in form, size and shape, there are notable discrepancies with this small corpus. Two of the Louvre coffins are represented with heads of a cat rather than a lion. While the Brooklyn figure's hands show two different gestures, the hands of the Louvre figures are either both clenched in fists or both placed flat on the knees. Furthermore, the feet of the Louvre coffins are modeled separately, in contrast to the distinct mummiform shape of the Brooklyn figure's feet. And lastly, although some remains of plaster are visible on the Louvre coffins, they do not appear to have been covered in fabric, gilded, or painted.

48. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 211. The placement of the guardian figures, that are now presumably in the British Museum, is described as follows: "though the (Horemheb's) sarcophagus rests on the ground yet it appears to be supported by six wooden figures of deities placed in hollows in the rock beneath it, five of which are still in position"; see E. Ayrton, "Recent discoveries in the Bibân el Molûk," *PSBA* 30 (1908), 177; Romer, *Valley of the Kings*, 66. Martin ("Protecting Pharaoh," 277 and passim) interprets their function as protecting the body of the king during the journey into the tomb, as well as after.

49. A. von Lieven ("Book of the Dead, Book of the Living. Book of the Dead Spells as Temple Texts," *JEA* 98 [2012], 254, 259, and 264–68) analyzes the role of Book of the Dead guardians on temple walls related to the cult of Osiris. Cf. for instance, the temple of Hathor in Dendera where guardians known from Book of the Dead spells 149 and 182 appear among other apotropaic and protective entities, R. Lucarelli, "Demonology during the Late Pharaonic and Greco-Roman Periods in Egypt," *JANER* 11 (2011), 120–21; Dendera X, 357–59; S. Cauville, *Le temple de Dendara: les chapelles osiriennes*, BdE 117 (Cairo, 1997), 194–95. For the demons guarding the netherworld mounds (*j3wt*) of Book of the Dead spell 149, as representations of astral bodies in the temple of Esna, see A. von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna: Eine Fallstudie zur religiösen Astronomie in Ägypten*, ÄA 64 (Wiesbaden, 2000), 16–17.

50. Interestingly, such dangerous goddesses as Sakhmet, Bastet, Mut, and others, were believed to control the slaughtering demons that were frequently represented crouching and holding knives.

51. Bothmer, "Statuettes of *W3d.t*," 121–23. British Museum EA 11482, published by James, "A Wooden Figure" and representing a seated, lion-headed goddess, may have contained a cat mummy, as per the British Museum online catalogue.

52. Louvre E5209, E2553, E2556, E5780 contain unidentified animal remains. The coffins, ranging in size from 26.8 cm to 33.8 cm high, remain unpublished, but images are available in the Louvre online catalogue: http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=crt_frm_rs&langue=fr&initCritere=true. A similar, animal-headed container, Brussels E7074, measuring 64.3 cm in height, represents a goddess with a human body and an animal's head. She squats on a shrine shaped box with her feet modeled separately and both hands clenched in fists and placed atop her knees. The construction of the Brussels piece consists of layers of plaster and fabric on top of carved sycamore wood. See Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, 4:1009. The head is somewhat damaged, making it difficult to discern which animal is represented. However, the mummy inside is that of a baboon, see cat. no. 212 in M. Raven, et al., *Des animaux et des hommes: Témoignages de la préhistoire et de l'antiquité* (Exposition) (Brussels, 1988), 188.

A relatively close parallel to the Brooklyn goddess recently appeared in a Christie's sale. The figure of a lion-headed goddess squatting on a rectangular base atop a papyrus umbel may be identified as Wadjet and stylistically dated to the Third Intermediate period.⁵³ Much better-preserved than the wooden examples, this bronze figure wears a sun disk on her head with indications of a now-missing uraeus. Both of her hands are clenched in fists and placed at either side of her knees. The separately modeled feet are visible below the hem of her dress. Although the Christie's bronze appears to be empty, the numerous bronze containers representing Wadjet seated on a throne suggest interpreting this one as a coffin for an ichneumon.

The Brooklyn figure remains a mystery that can give rise to several varying explanations. Her leonine head and female body connect her to the Solar Eye goddesses. Her pose evokes apotropaic demons, as well as "generic" representations of divinities. Yet, the now-missing animal mummy identifies the figure's primary function as a coffin for an animal mummy. Since the Solar Eye goddesses and guardian demons protected Re, as well as the dead and the living, an offering in their likeness with an animal mummy inside was perhaps intended to shield an individual from certain evils, disease and even death. However, as our figure combines mortuary and mythological symbolism with an animal mummy, it may also hold a clue to the largely unexplained phenomenon of animal cults. These problems require further research on animal mummies in the context of Egyptian theology before the Late period, taking into account personal amulets and offerings, as well as funerary and Osirian rituals. For now, the meaning of the Brooklyn leonine deity remains obscure, but it raises many interesting questions.

53. *Christie's New York Antiquities Catalogue*, December 2011, 40–41.

ON THE HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PAYEFTJAUEMAWYNEITH'S SELF- PRESENTATION ON LOUVRE A 93

Hussein BASSIR

Late Saite Egypt witnessed a political shift in which the nonroyal elite elevated themselves to a rank normally restricted to royalty in earlier centralized periods.¹ As a consequence of this rise in power, the sophisticated nonroyal elite presented themselves through text and image. Self-presentation² was a crucial component of Egyptian high culture and experience and lasted from the Old Kingdom to Roman rule.³ The Late Saite⁴ hieroglyphic inscription of Payeftjauemawyneith on the naophorous⁵ statue Louvre A 93 (figs. 1–4) is much studied⁶ because

I dedicate this article as a token of my deep respect and gratitude to my teacher, Professor Betsy M. Bryan. She has been a true inspiration to me. I first met Betsy at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and then at the Giza Pyramids. Subsequently I went to Johns Hopkins University to study with her. Betsy has always been remarkably helpful and supportive. I should also like to thank Fayza Haikal, Karl Jansen-Winkeln, David Klotz, and Anthony Leahy for comments on earlier drafts of this article. Any remaining mistakes are solely my own.

I am very grateful to Guillemette Andreu-Lanoë, Elisabeth David, and Audrey Viger of the Louvre Museum for allowing me to publish the photographs of Louvre statue A 93 and for providing me with these photographs.

1. See A. A. Hussein, "Self-Presentation of the Late Saite Non-Royal Elite: The Texts and Monuments of Neshor Named Psamtikmenkhib and Payeftjauemawyneith" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2009), 1.

2. "Self-representation" is equivalent to "self-presentation"; see P. Jay, *Being in the Text: Self-Representation from Wordsworth to Roland Barthes* (Ithaca, 1984); W. Mitchell, "Representation," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. F. Lentricchia and T. McLaughlin, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1995), 11–22.

3. See J. Assmann, "Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture," in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. P. Der Manuelian (Boston, 1996), 1:55–56; E. Froom, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt* (Atlanta, 2007), 1; J. Baines, "Egyptian Elite Self-Presentation in the Context of Ptolemaic Rule," in *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece*, ed. W. V. Harris and G. Ruffini (Leiden, 2004), 34.

4. See most recently, D. Agut-Labordère, "The Emergence of a Mediterranean Power: The Saite Period," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. J. C. Moreno García, HdO 1.104. (Leiden, 2013), 965–1027; O. Perdu, "Saïtes and Persians (664–332)," in *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, ed. A. B. Lloyd (Chichester-Malden, 2010), 1:140–49.

5. For this iconographical form of artistic presentation, see H. Bassir, "The Self-Presentation of Payeftjauemawyneith on Naophorous Statue BM EA 83," in *Decorum and Experience: Essays in Ancient Culture for John Baines*, ed. E. Froom and A. McDonald (Oxford, 2013), 10.

6. First published by A. Baillet, "La statue A 93 du Louvre," *ZÄS* 33 (1895), 127–29. Recent mentions are: S. B. Shubert, "Realistic Currents in Portrait Sculpture of the Saite and Persian Periods in Egypt," *JSSEA* 19 (1993), 27–47; U. Rössler-Köhler, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum der Spätzeit: Private Quellen und ihre Königswertung im Spannungsfeld zwischen Erwartung und Erfahrung*, GOF 21 (Wiesbaden, 1991), 243–45; D. A. Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten: Die Verwaltung in der 26. Dynastie in Ägypten (664–525 v. Chr.)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), 231–33; H. De Meulenaere, "Personnages debout tenant un naos dans la statuaire de la Basse Époque," in *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, ed. W. Claes, H. De Meulenaere, and S. Hendrickx, OLA 191 (Leuven, 2009), 225 (a); D. Klotz, "Two Studies on the Late Period Temples at Abydos," *BIFAO* 110 (2010), 128–29; K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit, Teil IV: Die 26. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2014), 557–58 (text 57.287); D. Klotz, "Replicas of Shu: On the Theological Significance of Naophorous and Theophorous Statues," *BIFAO* 114 (in press); H. Bassir and P. P. Creasman, "Payeftjauemawyneith's Shabti (UC 40093) and Another from Nebesheh," *JARCE* 50 (2014), 161–69.

he was an influential figure who actively participated in the events of the period.⁷ His lengthy self-presentation commemorates affairs in Abydos, with an emphasis on responsibility for protecting the inhabitants of Abydos. There is less focus on his activities at the Osiris temple⁸ there. His self-presentation deals with significant historical events. It documents the rise of “individualism,”⁹ a distinctively Saite phenomenon.¹⁰ The text also sheds light on the “struggle” between Apries and Amasis. Here I focus on the historical implications of Payeftjauemawyneith’s self-presentation.¹¹

DESCRIPTION

STATUE DATA

Museum: Paris, the Louvre Museum, AE

Location: Room 12/base

Museum’s Record: A 93

Reign: Amasis

Provenance: Abydos (from the temple of Osiris) (?)

Material: Gray granite (?)

Measurements:

Height: 172.5 cm

Width: 42.5 cm

Depth: 67.5 cm

7. For more on this high official, see Hussein, “Self-Presentation of the Late Saite Non-Royal Elite,” 116–209.

8. Among the recent work on this temple may be mentioned: U. Effland and A. Effland, *Abydos: Tor zur ägyptischen Unterwelt* (Darmstadt, 2013), 78–89; A. Effland and U. Effland, “‘Ritual Landscape’ and ‘Sacred Space’: Überlegungen zu Kultrausrichtung und Prozessionsachsen in Abydos,” *MOSAIKjournal* 1 (2010), 127–58; A. Kucharek, “Die Prozession des Osiris in Abydos: Zur Signifikanz archäologischer Quellen für die Rekonstruktion eines zentralen Festrivals,” in *Archäologie und Ritual: Auf der Suche nach der rituellen Handlung in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands*, ed. J. Mylonopoulos and H. Roeder (Vienna, 2006), 53–64; M. Marlar, “The Osiris Temple at Abydos: An Archaeological Investigation of the Architecture and Decorative Elements of Two Temple Phases” (PhD diss., New York University, 2009), 1–9.

9. I know no monograph on individualism in ancient Egypt. See, however, T. DuQuesne, “Individualism in Private Religion during the Egyptian New Kingdom: The Question of Amarna Influence on Votive Stelae from Asyut,” in *Persönliche Frömmigkeit: Funktion und Bedeutung individueller Gotteskontakte im interdisziplinären Dialog: Akten der Tagung am Archäologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg* (25.–27. November 2010), ed. W. Friese, A. Greve, K. Kleibl, and K. Lahn (Berlin, 2011), 51–62; A. Loprieno, “Loyalty to the King, to God, to Oneself,” in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. P. Der Manuelian (Boston, 1996), 2:533–52; D. Wildung, “Egypt 2000 BC: The Birth of Individualism,” *Minerva* 11 (3) (2000), 9–16; R. A. Hema, “Individualism between Idealism and Realism,” in *Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan*, ed. K. Daoud, S. Bedier, and S. Abd El-Fattah (Cairo, 2005), 2:39–45; J. Assmann, “Individuum und Person: Zur Geschichte des Herzens im Alten Ägypten,” in *Individuum: Probleme der Individualität in Kunst, Philosophie und Wissenschaft*, ed. G. Boehm and E. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1994), 185–219; R. B. Parkinson, “Individual and Society in Middle Kingdom Literature,” in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. A. Loprieno, PÄ 10 (Leiden, 1996), 137–55. Individualism and “life writing” are much related; see M. Danahay, “Individualism and Life Writing,” in *Encyclopedia of Life Writing: Autobiographical and Biographical Forms*, ed. M. Jolly (London, 2001), 1:466–68; G. Brown, “From Domestic Individualism: Imagining Self in Nineteenth-Century America,” in *Theory of the Novel: A Historical Approach*, ed. M. McKeon (Baltimore: 2000), 476–84.

10. See, e.g., N. Spencer, “Sustaining Egyptian Culture? Non-Royal Initiatives in Late Period Temple Building,” in *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE. Proceedings of an International Conference, Prague, September 1–4, 2009*, ed. L. Bareš, F. Coppens, and K. Smoláriková (Prague, 2010), 441–90; Rössler-Köhler, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, 204–56, 367–69, 383; E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit: Ihre geistesgeschichtliche und literarische Bedeutung*, PÄ 2 (Leiden, 1954), 66–79.

11. For a more general treatment of the self-presentation of Payeftjauemawyneith on his naophorous statue Louvre A 93, Hussein, “Self-Presentation of the Late Saite Non-Royal Elite,” 127–32, 137–210.



Fig. 1. Front of naophorous statue Louvre A 93, © 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet.



Fig. 2. Right side of naophorous statue Louvre A 93, © 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet.



Fig. 3. Back of naophorous statue Louvre A 93, © 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet.



Fig. 4. Left side of naophorous statue Louvre A 93, © 2008 Musée du Louvre, Georges Poncet.

Naophorous statue Louvre A 93 represents Payeftjauemawyneith standing against a back pillar on a blank rectangular base with his left foot advanced, presenting an uninscribed naos¹² with a standing statuette of Osiris Khentymentyu. He wears a long, tight garment with the two ends tied up on his chest.¹³ A bag wig falls behind the shoulders as is characteristic of the period.¹⁴ His ears are prominent against the wig. Around his long neck a cylinder seal¹⁵ hangs at his chest, an insignia of his numerous administrative offices.¹⁶ The anatomical details in the area of the hands, the feet, and toes are clearly visible. The statue is carefully carved with a well-polished surface. Payeftjauemawyneith holds the *hrp* naos¹⁷ between his legs. His advanced left leg is very close to the edge of the naos stand. Payeftjauemawyneith's hands touch gently upon the two sides of the naos.¹⁸ The naos has two sections: the upper section has a statuette of Osiris inside; the lower is a stand carved with the base and supports the upper section. The frontal view of this statue shows that Payeftjauemawyneith's forehead is short, mostly covered by the bag wig. His rounded face¹⁹ exhibits facial features characteristic of the period. He has elongated sharp eyebrows²⁰ over wide eyes looking forward, big ears set against the bag wig, a triangle nose, a large mouth with prominent lips,²¹ with a deep furrow, and a flat and protruding chin. Payeftjauemawyneith's facial features,²² with its smiling face,²³

12. The use of the naos generally emphasizes "a wider cult and ritual purpose"; see N. Spencer and D. Rosenow, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis: Religious Iconography and Temple Building in the 30th Dynasty* (London, 2006), 31–38. Payeftjauemawyneith's statues were probably cultic, benefitting magically from rituals performed at the temple; see R. El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, BdE 69 (Cairo, 1975), 133; Ch. Zivie-Coche, *Giza au premier millénaire: autour du temple d'Isis, dame des pyramides* (Boston, 1991), 234; Spencer and Rosenow, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis*, 31; D. Klotz, "A Naos of Nectanebo I from the White Monastery Church (Sohag)," *GM* 229 (2011), 37–52; C. C. Van Siclen III, "Nectanebo II's Great Naos for Bastet," in *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, ed. B. M. Bryan and D. Lorton (San Antonio, 1994), 321–32; D. Rosenow, "The Naos of 'Bastet, Lady of the Shrine' from Bubastis," *JEA* 94 (2008), 247–66.

13. B. Bothmer, H. De Meulenaere, and H. Müller, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (New York, 1960), 76–77, think this garment was Persian; however, this opinion is no longer accepted by Egyptologists. Shubert ("Realistic Currents in Portrait Sculpture," 34), considers this "wraparound garment" an "iconographic innovation" of the reign of Amasis. See also n. 34.

14. See J. A. Josephson, "Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period Revisited," *JARCE* 34 (1997), 3.

15. I understand this to be a cylinder seal because it is tiny and uninscribed. For other examples of pectorals depicting a king offering to a divinity, see the Late Saite statue of Ahmosaneith (Louvre E. 25390), Bothmer, De Meulenaere, and Müller, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, No. 57, pl. 55, fig. 134; and the Late Saite/early Persian statue of Ptahhotep (Brooklyn no. 37. 353), Bothmer, De Meulenaere, and Müller, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, No. 64, pl. 60, fig. 151. For the recent discussion of pendants on statues see, H. De Meulenaere and M.-P. Vanlathem, "Pendentifs portés par des particuliers dans la statuaire de Basse Époque," *CdE* 85 (2010), 51–67; O. Perdu, ed., *Les statues privées de la fin de l'Égypte pharaonique (1069 av. J.-C.-395 apr. J.-C.)*, Tome I: hommes (Paris, 2012), 282–89 (24), 290–95 (25).

16. Shubert, "Realistic Currents in Portrait Sculpture," 34, describes this pictorial element as a "little plaque hanging from a cord around the neck." He considers the depiction of this "plaque" in the reign of Amasis "an iconographic departure from the austere, idealized Saite image." He refers to another example of this plaque on the greywacke statue of Psamtik under the cow Hathor (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, = CG 784), see L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo, Nr. 1–1294*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1930), 91–92 (pl. 144). In fact, in this statue Psamtik wears a cylinder seal, not a "plaque," so as to reflect his profession as "overseer of the seals" and "director of the palace." For a photograph of this statue and the titles of his owner, see M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo: Official Catalogue* (Cairo, 1987), no. 251.

17. The *hrp*-sign here is more appropriate than *šhm*, which K. Bosse, *Die menschliche figur in der rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit von der XXII. bis zur XXX. Dynastie*, ÄF 1 (Glückstadt, 1936), 39 (88), 90, suggests, since it refers to Payeftjauemawyneith's title, "*hrp-ḥ*, administrator of the palace."

18. D. Klotz (personal communication, June 15, 2014), observes that "the protective gesture on Louvre A 93, where Pefuaneith guards the naos of Osiris with his hands, might allude to his personal involvement in rebuilding, staffing, and providing offerings for the Osiris temple, as he relates in his biography"; also Klotz, "Replicas of Shu."

19. Shubert, "Realistic Currents in Portrait Sculpture," 34, remarks that Payeftjauemawyneith's face is "idealized" without offering further explanation.

20. Shubert (*ibid.*) points out that Payeftjauemawyneith's eyebrows are "sharp" and "not plastic" as a characteristic of the period, again without further discussion.

21. Shubert (*ibid.*) states that the form of Payeftjauemawyneith's mouth is a characteristic of the period, without further discussion.

22. On the facial features of Payeftjauemawyneith on shabti UC 40093, see Bassir and Creasman, "Payeftjauemawyneith's Shabti," 164.

23. See, e.g., C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs, 3100–320 BC* (London, 1980), 228.

resemble probably those of Apries²⁴ more than those of Amasis (pls. 1–4).²⁵ Louvre A 93 was probably created in the royal workshop by a royal sculptor after a royal model. The similarity between Payeftjauemawyneith's facial features and those of Apries suggests that Louvre A 93 was sculpted in the reign of Apries. I would further propose that when Apries was removed from the throne, Payeftjauemawyneith added the name of Amasis at the end of this text upon its completion.

While the naophorous statue BM EA 83 of Payeftjauemawyneith²⁶ depicts him kneeling, Louvre A 93 and, probably, statue Miträhina 545²⁷ show him standing.²⁸ These different postures of Payeftjauemawyneith's body in the round may reflect a change in the artistic and religious terms of his self-presentation. Significantly, naophorous statues were a popular form mainly for nonroyal use.²⁹ They usually depict a standing or kneeling male figure presenting a divine image, Osiris being the most common. These statue types were commissioned for display in temples; they, therefore, integrate the statue owner into the daily services and rituals performed for the divinity. Accordingly, the protagonist hoped to participate in and benefit from the rituals, offerings, and prayers addressed to the deity in the temple. Thus, the aesthetics of self-presentation in this statue relies heavily on this iconographical form with which Payeftjauemawyneith chose to present himself artistically to his audience. This powerful artistic form, the standing naophorous statue, was a major expressive medium in the Saite period.³⁰

Long inscriptions are on the back pillar and the left side of the statue.

24. On the facial features of Apries in the round, see O. Perdu, "Tête attribuée à Apriès," in *Le crépuscule des pharaons: chefs d'oeuvre des dernières dynasties égyptiennes. Ouvrage publié à l'occasion de l'exposition au Musée Jacquemart-André du 23 mars au 23 juillet 2012*, ed. O. Perdu and R. Meffre (Brussels, 2012), 190 (94); PM VIII¹, 162 (no. 800-871-400); L. M. Berman and B. Letellier, *Pharaohs: Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Louvre* (Cleveland, 1996), 78–89; J. A. Josephson, "Royal Sculpture of the Later 26th Dynasty," *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 94, pl. 16 (c); A. Leahy, "Saite Royal Sculpture: A Review," *GM* 80 (1984), 74 (n. 7).

25. For iconography of Amasis in the round, see, e.g., his sphinx statue in Rome (Museo Capitolino, no. 8), and his statuette in Copenhagen (National Museum, Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, Inv. No. 3603), K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz, 1988), pls. LXIII, b and LXIV, a; J. A. Josephson, "An Altered Royal Head of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty," *JEA* 74 (1988), 232–35; idem, "Royal Sculpture of the Later 26th Dynasty," 93–97; O. Perdu, "Sphinx à l'effigie d'Amasis," and "Tête attribuée à Amasis," 182 (90), 192 (95).

26. Bassir, "The Self-Presentation of Payeftjauemawyneith," 6–8 (figs. 1, 6), 10.

27. For more on statue Miträhina 545, see H. S. K. Bakry, "Two Saite Monuments of Two Master Physicians," *OrAnt* 9 (1970), 325–33 (fig. 1); Hussein, "Self-Presentation of the Late Saite Non-Royal Elite," 124–26.

28. Pressl, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 233 (E 3.5), refers to a lower part of a statue; and suggests that it belongs to Payeftjauemawyneith. This statue was discovered in the University of Tanta excavations by the late Professor F. Mekkawy at Buto/Tell Al-Faraïn. No date of this excavation is mentioned. However, she does only refer to Payeftjauemawyneith's titles on this statue, and dates it to the reign of Apries. Unfortunately, my attempts to gain access to this fragmentary statue or photographs of it have been unsuccessful. For this statue, see Hussein, "Self-Presentation of the Late Saite Non-Royal Elite," 119, 128–29 (5. 4. Doc. 11).

29. To be sure, royal naophorous statues appeared from the reign of Ramesses III; see Saleh and Sourouzián, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, no. 228; B. Lurson, "Les gestes de culte dans les statues royales égyptiennes et mésopotamienne (fin IIIe–fin IIe millénaires): éléments d'une étude comparée," *AOB* 11 (1998), 63–69, 72–75.

30. On the use of naophorous type, costume, and stylistic features as a basis for the artistic analysis of naophorous statues, see, e.g., H. Selim, "The Naophorous Statue JE 38016 in the Cairo Museum," *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 361–69; idem, "The Naophorous Statue of P3-*hr-hnsw* in Cairo Museum JE 37993 bis from Karnak Cachette, Excavation Number K.585," in *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück: Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. N. Kloth, K. Martin, and E. Pardey, *BSAK* 9 (Hamburg, 2003), 399–407; idem, "A Naophorous Statue in the British Museum (EA 41517)," *JEA* 76 (1990), 199–202.