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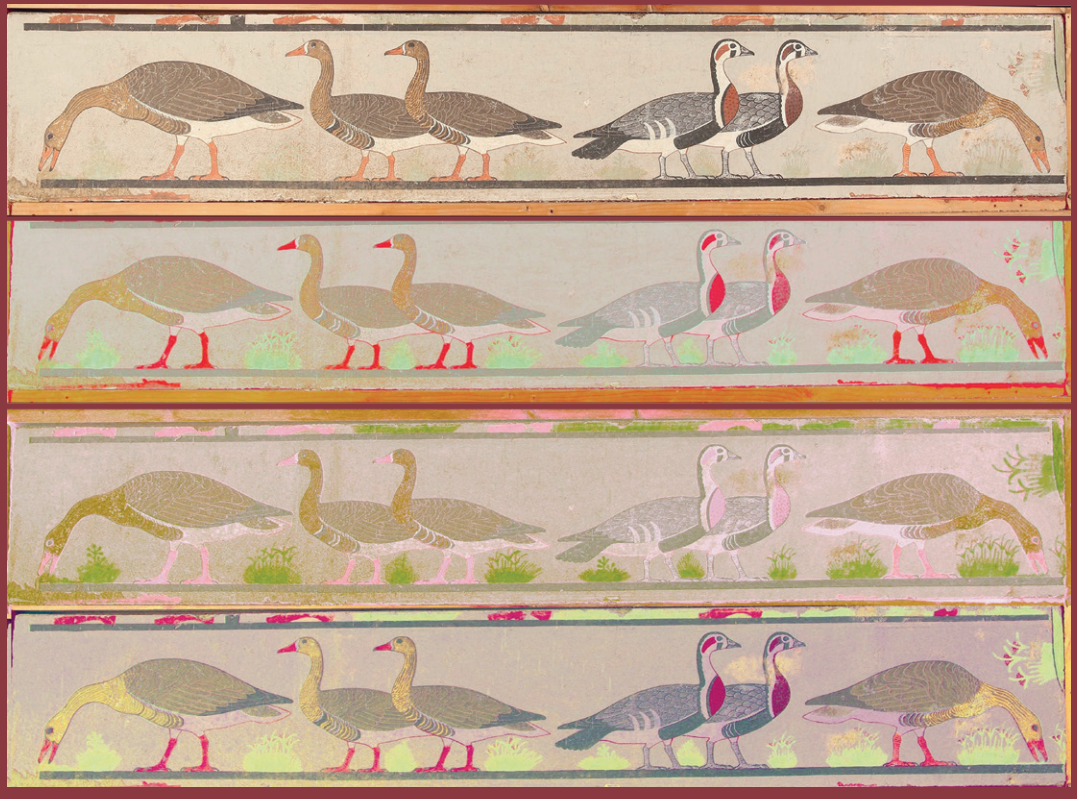

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

MINISTRY OF TOURISM AND ANTIQUITIES

V

VIEWS ON THE EGYPTIAN PAST

Nathalie Couton-Perche, Sophie Labbé-Toutée, Elisabeth David*

Hippolyte Boussac, a French Architect and Copyist (1846–1942)

Watercolours and Tracings of Theban Tombs in the Musée du Louvre

An inventory of the prints and drawings in the Louvre's Department of Egyptian Antiquities, begun in 2008, identified works by Hippolyte Boussac, including 61 watercolour and gouache paintings and seven Indian ink drawings, followed in 2015 by a large collection of 252 tracings.[1] Most of these works are copies by Boussac of the decoration of tombs of Thebes, made on site from 1891. Gaston Maspero, director of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (1881–1886), had launched visual documentation campaigns of these tombs. Noting the state of decay of many monuments, he decided to publish them with the help of a team of architects, artists and Egyptologists, including Urbain Bouriant, Georges Bénédite, Émile Amélineau, Vincent Scheil, Philippe Virey and, later, Hippolyte Boussac. Maspero appreciated the precision of the drawings of Boussac,[2] who was best known for his publication of the tomb of Anna (Ineni) at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 81).[3]

Born in Narbonne, France, on 27 June 1846, Boussac was the son of blacksmith specialising in cutting tools and his mother came from a family of geometers. He went to Paris to study art and architecture at the École nationale des Beaux-Arts, where he was a student of the architects Charles Laisné and Léon Ginain and the painter and sculptor Carolus-Duran.[4] At the same time, Boussac took courses at the École des Arts décoratifs. In 1885, he was awarded a "mention honorable" for an architectural plan for contemporary graves. After spending some time in the Mediterranean, including a short stay in Alexandria, he became fascinated with ancient Egypt. Léon Heuzey, professor of Near Eastern archaeology and curator at the Louvre, advised Boussac to write to Gaston Maspero, from whom he sought a position as architectural draughtsman in 1886. This request having been rejected, Boussac decided to take a three-year course at the École pratique des hautes études (EPHE) taught by Paul Guieysse, a former stundent of the prestigious École polytechnique, specialist in Egyptology and naval hydrographer.

* Musée du Louvre.

1. David 2016, pp. 76–78; Kurz 1998, p. 18.
2. Maspero 1891a, pp. 418–419.
3. Boussac 1896.
4. Biographical information was researched at the Archives nationales (Pierrefite site), the library of the Institut de France (Maspero collection, Ms 4007), the Archives and Collections department of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (French Institute of Oriental Archaeology in Cairo), the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Béziers, as well as the entry on Boussac in Lepage 2008, pp. 153–156.

In November 1890, a recommendation from the French Ministry of Education and Fine Arts led to Boussac being assigned to the Mission archéologique française au Caire, founded a few years earlier by its director, Urbain Bouriant. From then on, Boussac began to work in Egypt, where he made drawings of Theban tombs for three years. He made other expeditions in 1903–1904 and 1916–1920.

A few well-chosen words from Maspero's introduction to the publication of the tomb of Anna reveal the difficulty of the exercise:

> *Les égyptologues ne sont forcément ni des dessinateurs ni des photographes et lorsqu'ils s'attaquent à un monument, ils se tirent de l'entreprise comme ils peuvent et non pas comme ils voudraient le faire. Les dessinateurs eux-mêmes ont à se former la main avant d'arriver à un degré d'exactitude suffisante. […] On trouvera ici, entre autres, exécutées en couleurs les aquarelles que M. Boussac avaient lavées avec un soin minutieux des peintures du tombeau d'Anna ; elles lui ont valu une récompense à l'Exposition de 1892, et justement. […]*
>
> *Beaucoup de nos copies ne sont que la première mise au net de monuments singulièrement difficiles à déchiffrer. […] Tel d'ailleurs qui aurait été peut-être embarrassé de les exécuter dans les conditions où elles l'ont été, pourra accomplir œuvre utile en les corrigeant. Je souhaite seulement qu'il ne montre pas pour ses devanciers cette aigreur que j'ai toujours essayé d'éviter pour mon compte : on a presque toujours grand'chance de mieux faire quand on est le second de faire quelque chose, et il est vingt fois plus aisé de dire résolument le dernier mot sur n'importe quel sujet, si embrouillé soit-il, que d'en bredouiller le premier.*[5]

The monuments inventoried in the Louvre's drawings are almost all Theban. Many of Boussac's drawings were made before the tombs in the Theban necropolis were officially numbered.[6] Some of the tracings and watercolours in the Louvre's collection bear no caption, or only the name of the owner of the tomb from which they were copied (such as "Nebamun", which was a very common name). Sometimes even the provenance, name or number are wrong. Many tracings show only small details such as a foot, a frieze of flowers, or a duck in flight—thus, in more than sixty cases, careful identification work was necessary to locate the source of the reproduced scenes:

Deir el-Medina (TT 1 Sennedjem; TT 2 Khabekhnet; TT 9 Amenmose; TT 211 Paneb; TT 218 Amennakht); **Sheikh Abd el-Qurna** (TT 31 Khonsu; TT 51 Userhat; TT 52 Nakht; TT 56 Userhat; TT 65 Nebamun/Imyseba; TT 69 Menna; TT 71 Senmut; TT 78 Horemheb; TT 81 Ineni, TT 82 Amenemhat; TT 85 Amenemheb; TT 96 Sennefer; TT 100 Rekhmira; TT 108 Nebseni; TT 130 May; TT 135 Bakenamon); **El-Khokha** (TT 178 Neferronpet; TT 179 Nebamun); **Qurnet Murai** (TT 40 Huy; TT 276 Amenemopet; TT 277 Amenemonet; TT 278 Amenemheb); **Dra' Abu el-Naga'** (TT 24 Nebamun; TT 146 Nebamun).

During his first expedition to Luxor in 1891, Boussac made drawings of the tomb of Horemheb (TT 78), which was published in 1894.[7] He was then commissionned to draw and publish the tomb of Ineni (TT 81). His drawings and watercolours of this tomb, exhibited at the

5. Boussac 1896, pp. II–IV.
6. Gardiner, Weigall 1913.
7. Bouriant 1894, pp. 413–434.

Salon des Artistes de Paris in 1892,[8] earned him a medal and were published in 1896. They reflect his training as an architect—he drew elevations easily and his draughtsmanship is fairly schematic. But Boussac soon became interested in colourful scenes and hieroglyphs, which he copied with meticulousness and enthusiasm. His watercolours, for that matter, are more realistic and more carefully done. It should be noted that Boussac reused and/or combined details in order to illustrate publications, starting with articles by Gaston Maspero.[9] Then, encouraged by Victor Loret, he illustrated articles that he wrote himself, generally for the zoology section of the magazine *La Nature*.[10] Boussac's articles accurately identified the species of animals depicted and highlighted the naturalism achieved by Egyptian artists when painting animals (fig. 1). However, despite the artistic precision of the Egyptians, the identification of species is not always obvious, so specialists sometimes disagree.[11] Boussac's interest in animals and the point of view he adopted in his articles certainly influenced his choice of site drawings and his combinations of details within the same layer or watercolour. He therefore depicted animals out of context—only two dogs and a cat were reproduced from the tombs of Nebamun (TT 179) and May (TT 130), while fishes from the tomb of Menna (TT 69) were taken from different scenes.[12] The Louvre's Department of Egyptian Antiquities also holds a proposal for an article on "Pigs in Egypt and Greece", for which two tracings were evidently used as the basis for a watercolour of pigs, also in the Louvre.[13] There are three scenes combined on the same sheet, copied from two tombs, TT 24 and TT 146. The latter was discovered and excavated by the Marquis of Northampton in the winter of 1898–1899, and was published in 1908.[14] TT 146 was never mentioned afterwards, and is now thought to be inaccessible. We can therefore assume that Boussac took advantage of the English excavation to draw this scene after their departure.

In addition to the artistic beauty of these drawings, they are also of scientific interest for information on the decorations that have now been damaged or destroyed.[15] In addition to his official work, Boussac explored cemeteries, excavated tombs and drew scenes without telling anyone and without asking permission to publish them. This was the case of TT 211, the tomb of Paneb, a well-known and notorious character from Deir el-Medina.[16] Boussac claimed to have discovered the tomb,[17] but Karl Wiedemann had published articles about it several years earlier.[18] The tomb is located at the foot of the mountain, northwest of the necropolis of Deir el-Medina, where sand and rockfall must have hidden the entrance, which Boussac then rediscovered. This must have happened again, because Alan H. Gardiner and Arthur E.P. Weigall did not give it a number

8. Lepage 2008, p. 154.
9. Maspero 1891b, pp. 53–55.
10. Conservatoire numérique des Arts et Métiers (Cnum)/*La Nature* <http://cnum.cnam.fr/CGI/redira.cgi?4KY28>.
11. Gaillard 1934, p. 1, n. 3. Gaillard argues that the *Ama* bird is a little bittern rather than the crab plover suggested by Boussac in Boussac 1909, p. 62 fig. 2.
12. Guichard (ed.) 2014, cat. 45a, cat. 143, and cat. 144.
13. Guichard (ed.) 2014, cat. 106b. This text does not appear among the seventy or so articles published under Boussac's name and inventoried to date.
14. Northampton 1908, pp. 13–15, pl. XIII.
15. Dziobek 1992 and Brack 1980 happily used Boussac's drawings for their publications of tombs TT 81 and TT 78.
16. Vernus 1993, pp. 101–121.
17. Boussac 1892, pp. 418–421.
18. Wiedemann 1886, pp. 226–22.

in their first inventory of the tombs at Deir el-Medina in 1909.[19] Meanwhile, Bernard Bruyère's publications never mention Boussac's name, not even as the discoverer of the tomb.[20] It can therefore be assumed that Bruyère was unaware not only of Boussac's tracings at Deir el-Medina but also of the information he passed on to Maspero. It is clear that the tomb suffered greatly between Boussac's exploration and Bruyère's work—the artist's tracings reveal a much better condition than at the time of Bruyère.[21]

One scene in particular has completely disappeared, originally showing the deceased playing the *senet* game with his wife (fig. 2). Boussac described it in a letter to Maspero.[22] Similarly, the adjacent, badly damaged scene of "the children's procession" was complete in Boussac's time. The Louvre holds several tracings (HB_0012, HB_0127 and HB_0133) which are worth comparing with Bruyère's publication and with the photographs published on the IFAO website.[23]

Boussac did not limit himself to the drawings for which he was specifically paid and sent to Egypt. Thus, when he returned to France between two stays in Egypt, he could exhibit and sell other watercolours as a source of income. He thus worked in the tomb of Nakht (TT 52), previously documented by the English and partially published by Maspero.[24] Boussac sought to copy picturesque scenes that would subsequently be sold and exhibited in the Musée Guimet in Paris, which probably explains why several watercolours of the same scene have been preserved in different places.

Boussac devoted much time to a large tomb, the tomb of Nebamun (TT 65), dating from the 18th Dynasty, which was usurped and redecorated by Imyseba in the 20th Dynasty. The tomb was known for a long time,[25] as Champollion described it at length[26] and Prisse d'Avennes made several watercolours of its decoration.[27] Boussac started his own drawings very early, as he mentioned it during his first expedition in 1891, yet the drawing was still not finished in 1917.[28] Boussac wanted to show the continuity of entire walls, without the six octagonal columns obstructing the view. The preserved watercolours and tracings cover almost the entire tomb—only a few scenes are missing—and give a beautiful picture.

The Louvre holds five drawings and, above all, 113 tracings of the various stages of documentation of Sennedjem's tomb (TT 1), some of which are enhanced with colour (fig. 3). Sometimes the whole scene is shown. This tomb is almost complete. The drawings were financed by the French Ministry of Education and Fine Arts (from which Boussac sought commissions to continue his drawings

19. Gardiner, Weigall 1913.
20. Bruyère 1952, p. 66.
21. PM I, 1, pp. 307–309; Bruyère 1925, pl. II; Bruyère 1952, pp. 66–87, pl. XV–XXV.
22. Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Fonds Maspero Ms 4007; folio 34–35.
23. Bruyère 1952, pl. XVI.
24. Maspero 1894, pp. 469–485.
25. TT 65 is studied by a Hungarian team led by Tamás Bács, head of department of Egyptology at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.
26. Champollion 1844, pp. 558–569.
27. Prisse d'Avennes 1858–1877, pp. 526–532.
28. See the letter from Georges Foucart, then director of IFAO, demanding that Boussac bring to Egypt all his earlier drawings, on pain of losing his job (Archives and Collections department, IFAO; Hippolyte Boussac file, folio 5, letter dated 25 October 1917).

of Egyptian monuments),[29] but were never published. Again, Bruyère's 1959 publication does not mention Boussac in the list of people who worked on the tomb,[30] and Bruyère seems to have been unaware of the existence of all this material.

The backs of some of the tracings still bear the traces of the drops of red wax used to fix them to the walls of the tomb when the inscriptions and decorations were copied. The diagnosis of the condition of this group of pieces led to conservation work on some watercolours and tracings. It was decided to concentrate on the set of tracings and colour drawings of the decoration of the rock tomb of Imyseba (TT 65). This decision was made because of the quality of the reproduction, albeit incomplete, of the walls showing Ramesses IX presiding over the New Year celebrations and the Valley Festival (fig. 4). The fronts of the watercolours were dusted and dry cleaned with a fine powder, while specific stains on the backs were cleaned with a Wishab sponge. Gaps in the tracings were filled with 100% kozo-fibre Japanese paper (RK-17) and starch paste. To smooth them out, they were steamed and pressed (fig. 5).[31]

After several stays in Egypt during thirty years, Boussac settled in the Latin Quarter of Paris to write his articles.[32] In 1929, following one of his papers at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, the ageing man befriended Paule Paget, goddaughter of sculptor Jean-Antoine Injalbert. In poor health and with little income, Boussac depended at the end of his life on the help and support of this benefactress, who relentlessly lobbied institutions to provide him with accommodation and a means of subsistence. Paget nominated the man she described as "very kind but very wearying" for the Order of the Légion d'honneur,[33] and although she was unsuccessful, she managed to get him a pension and an annuity (a pension from the city of Paris and a veteran annuity in November 1937). Boussac died on 21 January 1942 in a house run by the Sisters of Saint Vincent de Paul in Cazouls-lès-Béziers, where he had lived for three years. He who would have liked to have a pyramid on his grave was finally buried in Narbonne, in his sister's family tomb, without any inscription. Paget died in the 1978 fire at the Villa Antoine, from which works by Injalbert and Boussac were salvaged. Some of the latter still bear the marks of the fire.

An exhibition of his works, entitled *Hippolyte Boussac et l'Égypte*, took place in the city of Béziers in 2004. It was organised jointly by the Department of Egyptology of the University of Montpellier and the musée des Beaux-Arts of Béziers.[34] Some of his drawings illustrated the exhibition *Des animaux et des pharaons, le règne animal dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Louvre-Lens [France], Barcelona [Spain], Madrid [Spain] in 2014–2015.[35] The inventory of his works has made it possible to identify several institutions that hold Boussac's Egyptian drawings: the musée des Beaux-Arts de Béziers; the Palais-musée des Archevêques of Narbonne; the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of

29. See Article F/21/4043, Fonds des Beaux-Arts, Archives nationales. Our thanks to Thomas Lebée for supplying this information.
30. The names of people who worked on TT 1 are given in Bruyère 1959, pp. 4–5.
31. The conservation was carried out by E. Menei, L. Caylux and B. Durocher under the supervision of N. Coural, curator of prints and drawings in the conservation workshop of the Centre de Recherche et Restauration des Musées de France (C2RMF).
32. See, for example, Boussac 1931 pp. 201–208.
33. Paule Paget archives, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Béziers.
34. See *Hippolyte Boussac et l'Égypte*, exhib. cat. (Béziers: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004).
35. Guichard (ed.) 2014, cat. nos. 15, 45a, 52, 54, 95, 100, 106b, 136, 143,144, 295, 344.

the musée du Louvre and the Department of Archives and Collections of the IFAO. Watercolours belonging to the Centre national des arts plastiques (CNAP) are on long-term loan to the musée des Beaux-Arts of Béziers.[36]

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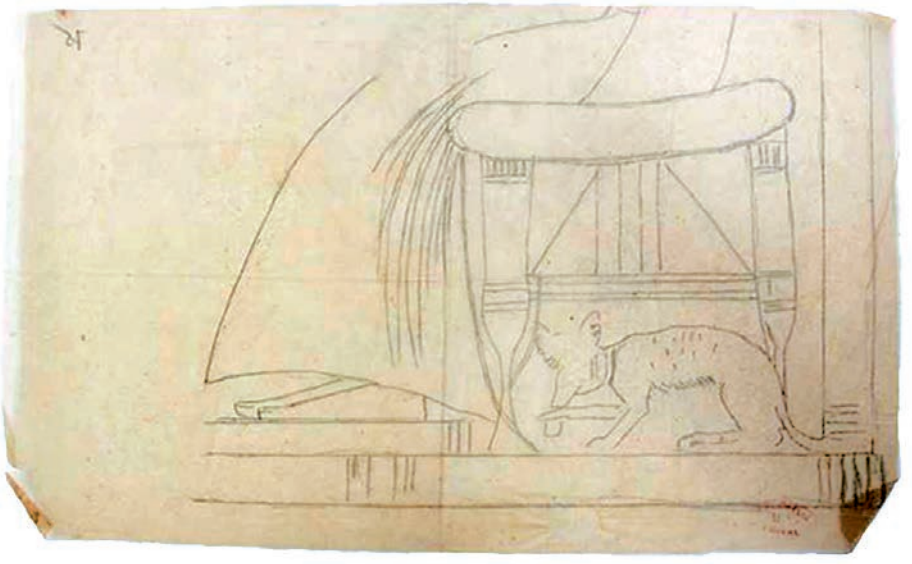

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LA NATURE. — N° 2094. 12 JUILLET 1913

L'ORYCTÉROPE

Ce curieux mammifère, propre à l'Afrique seulement, est connu en Europe depuis deux siècles à peine. On le considéra d'abord comme un animal fabuleux, et Buffon contesta (1) la description, fort exacte d'ailleurs, que dans les premières années du XVIIIe siècle Kolbe donna de l'Oryctérope du Cap (2). On croit pouvoir en distinguer trois espèces qui, peut-être même, seraient plutôt des variétés géographiques; elles ont entre elles de si grands rapports, qu'il est à peu près indifférent de décrire l'une ou l'autre. Leur répartition est faite de la façon suivante: l'*Orycteropus Capensis*, le plus anciennement connu, s'étend sur l'Afrique orientale et australe, jusqu'à l'Angola; l'*Orycteropus senegalensis* (Lesson), particulier à la Sénégambie et l'*Orycteropus ethiopicus* (Sundewal), habitant la région du Nil Blanc et l'Abyssinie.

Fig. 1. — L'Oryctérope d'Ethiopie. Muséum de Paris.

C'est cette dernière espèce que nous allons plus spécialement examiner.

L'Oryctérope, connu aussi sous le nom de Cochon de terre, appartient à l'ordre des Edentés. Il mesure 2 mètres de longueur totale, y compris la queue; sa hauteur est de 50 centimètres. Il a le dos voûté, une longue tête, terminée par un groin semblable à celui du porc, mais plus pointu; les jambes de devant courtes, celles de derrière plus développées, comme chez le kangourou; une queue puissante, dont il se sert pour conserver l'équilibre. Les oreilles sont droites et très grandes; les yeux petits; sa peau, fort épaisse, ressemble à celle du cochon; ses poils sont raides et clairsemés. Le pelage est assez uniforme; d'un ton fauve assez soutenu, chez l'adulte, il est chez les jeunes d'une coloration semblable, mais plus claire, avec le ventre blanchâtre; les nouveau-nés sont couleur de chair. La langue, extrêmement longue, et toujours couverte d'une salive gluante, lui sert d'organe de préhension. Les pieds de devant ont quatre doigts, ceux de derrière cinq, tous garnis de fortes griffes. Le jeune animal a huit molaires à la mâchoire supérieure, six à la mâchoire inférieure; l'adulte n'en a que cinq en haut et quatre en bas (fig. 1).

Cet édenté se tient dans le désert et dans les steppes; on le trouve également dans les plaines couvertes de hautes herbes, surtout là où les fourmis et les termites, dont il fait sa principale nourriture, sont en abondance. Dans la région habitée par l'*Orycteropus ethiopicus*, les fourmilières couvrent parfois un si grand espace de terrain, que l'œil peut à peine l'embrasser du regard.

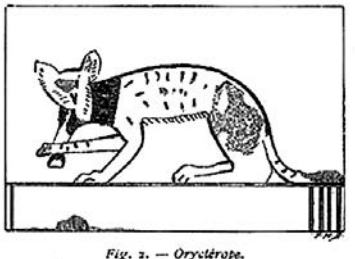

Fig. 2. — Oryctérope.
(D'après une peinture égyptienne.)

Dans le jour, enroulé sur lui-même, l'Oryctérope dort au fond d'un terrier, qu'il referme prudemment derrière lui. Quelque dur que soit le sol, il le creuse avec une extraordinaire facilité et disparaît en peu d'instants. Les griffes vigoureuses de ses pattes de devant lui servent à détacher et à rejeter derrière lui les grosses mottes de terre qui, reprises par les pattes postérieures, sont repoussées plus loin. Il est, au cours de son travail, entouré d'un nuage de poussière.

Il sort la nuit pour aller en chasse. La tête inclinée vers le sol, les oreilles couchées sur son dos arrondi, la queue traînante, il va en sautillant à la recherche d'une fourmilière. Dès qu'il l'a trouvée, il regarde autour de lui, pour voir si aucun danger

1. Buffon. Supplément à l'Hist. nat. des anim. quadrup. T. 6, p. 290. *Le Cochon de terre*, fig. pl. XXXI (Paris, 1782).
2. P. Kolbe. *Description du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, t. III, p. 49 (Amsterdam, 1742).

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Fig. 1. Neferronpet (TT 178), Louvre, HB_0075 (after Boussac 1913, p. 113).

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Fig. 2. Paneb (TT 211), Game of senet, Louvre, HB_0131.

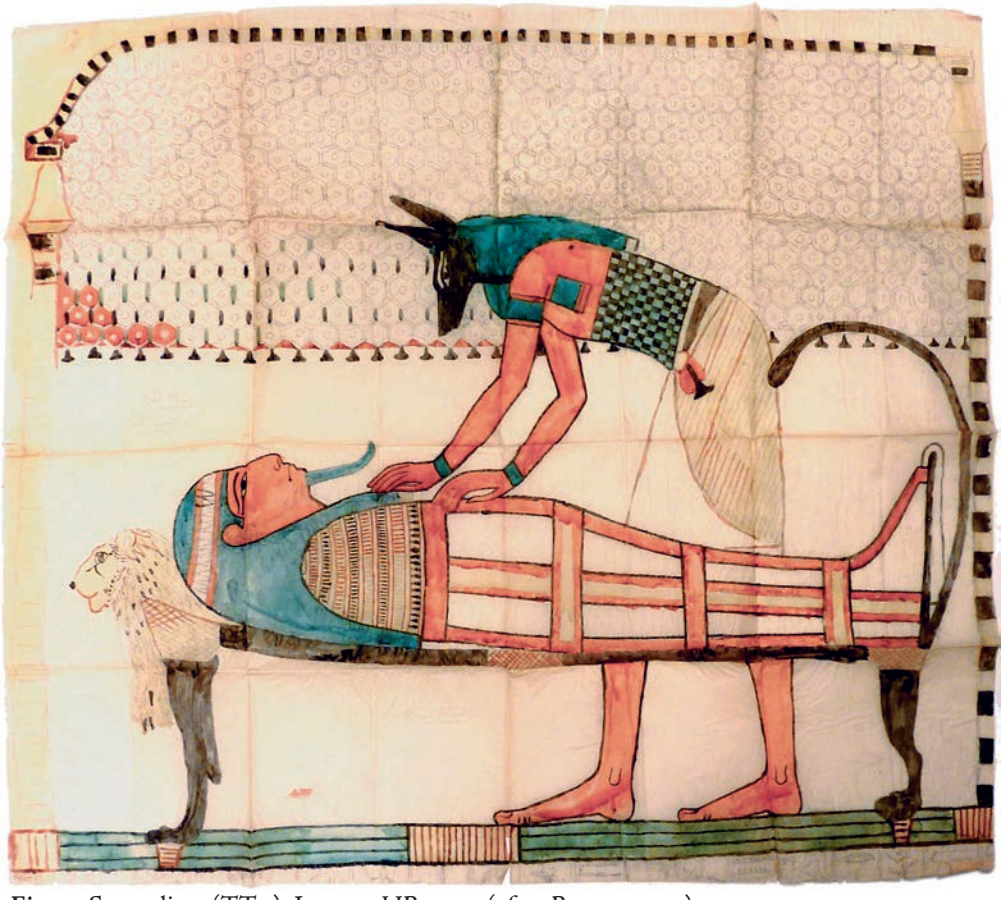

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Fig. 3. Sennedjem (TT 1), Louvre, HB_0175 (after Boussac 1913).

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Fig. 4. Imyseba (TT 65), Louvre, HB_ 0040. Tracing paper damaged.

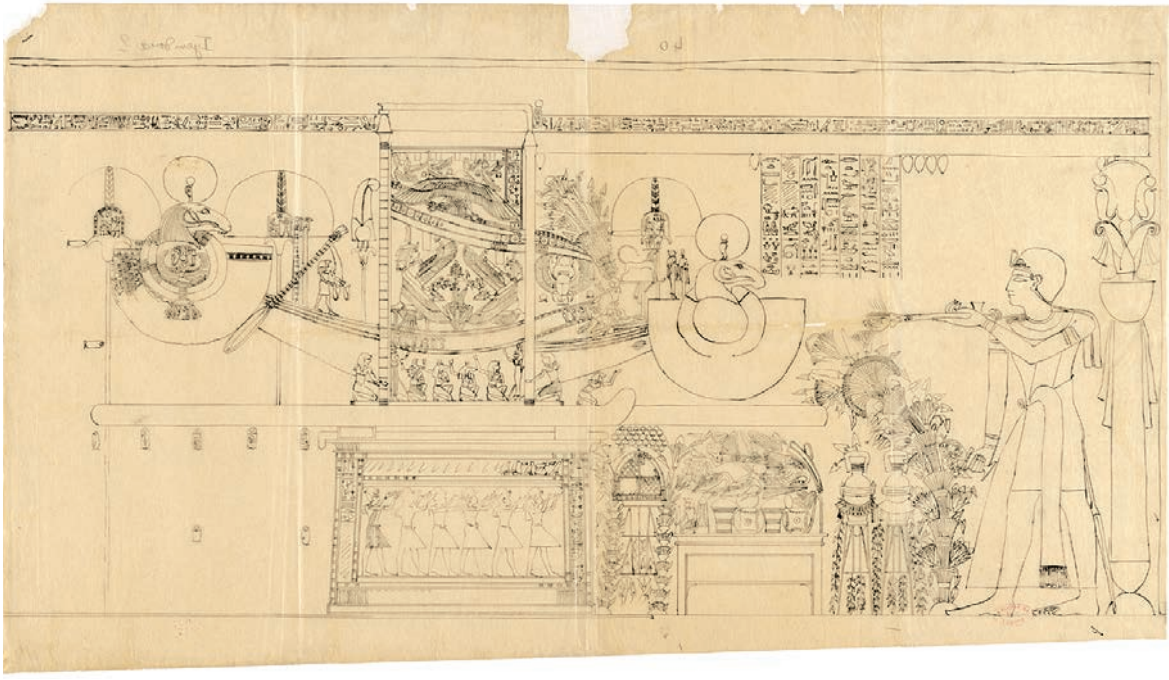

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Fig. 5. Same scene after conservation.

Marcin Czarnowicz*

The Role of the Nile Delta in Early Egyptian State in Foreign Relations with the Near East

Instead of joining the recent scholarly discussion on the cultural shift that occurred in the Delta in 4,000 BC,[1] the purpose of this article is to focus on the changes brought about by the emergence of the administrative apparatus in this area; at least those inspired by the solutions developed in Upper Egypt.

Therefore, all expressions used in this work, such as 'Naqadians' or the 'Naqada/Lower Egyptian culture', do not refer to ethnic groups but are understood from the point of view of archeological science as groups characterized by the production of similar material culture and inhabiting a specific geographical area.

CHRONO-CULTURAL SETTING

The 4th millennium BC was a time of enormous development for areas in the Eastern Mediterranean. First cities appeared and social changes led to the formation of state organisms. During this time, contacts between the communities living in Egypt and the Southern Levant intensified.[2] This manifested itself in the presence of imports, mainly ceramic vessels. The largest amount of goods reached Egypt in the Naqada IId-IIIA2 phases,[3] which corresponds to the Erani C phase (EB 1B1 in the Southern Levant). In Egypt, imports are most often found in Upper Egyptian cemeteries. Finds of this kind were discovered in Naqada[4] and Hierakonpolis Hk6.[5] Finds from the Umm el-Qaab cemetery in Abydos became a specific symbol of this relationship. Both the scale of such import and its destination, which were the graves of dignitaries (royal tombs), indicate the value of the

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1. Köhler 2020; Ciałowicz 2020; Midant-Reynes 2020.
2. De Miroschedji 2002; Hartung 2014.
3. Czarnowicz 2014.
4. Petrie, Quibell 1896.
5. Tutundźić 1993, p. 34; Hendrickx, Bavay 2002, p. 68.

products imported from Levant and to whom they were delivered.[6] It is assumed that goods that were to meet the requirements of the nascent nobility class, such as the aforementioned wine, olive oil, copper or lapis lazuli,[7] arrived from the Levant.

It is surprising that the amount of imported items declined drastically in Egypt when limited settlement of the Naqada culture occurred in the Southern Levant. This took place in the phase Naqada IIIB/C1, which equals the end of EB 1b. The nature of Naqada's presence was explained in various ways, from armed invasion and occupation[8] to colonization.[9] The excavations carried out in recent years on Tel Erani[10] contradict these hypotheses, giving legitimacy to a thesis put forward by Ruth Amiran, which says that the exchange of goods served as the basis for this relationship.[11] The disappearance of imported ceramics during this period may indicate taking over of trade routes by the inhabitants of Egypt, who began to transport their ceramics, that were much better adapted to being moved.[12] The vessel itself was not important, but its content: wine or olive oil.[13] It is generally believed that the end of the Naqadian presence in the Southern Levant is related to social changes that eventually occurred in EB 1. Communities inhabiting the Levant did not want to be further exploited by the colonial inhabitants and turned against the 'invaders'.[14] In the light of recent finds, this view can also be questioned.[15] Whatever the reasons for the change, after Narmer's reign, the decline in the amount of imported products becomes apparent.

Branislav Anđelković believes that as early as the Naqada IIc phase we are dealing with the formation of the Upper Egyptian proto-state organism.[16] Such organisms developed a bureaucratic system which was necessary to exercise control over various areas of life, including trade. Its development is manifested, *inter alia*, by the appearance of cylinder seals. The first objects of this type are known, for example, from Naqada[17] at the beginning of Naqada IIB/C.[18]

It can therefore be said that the chronological scope of this study fits within the period between the phases of Naqada IIc–IIIC1.

6. Dreyer 2011; Hartung 1993, 2001, 2002; Hendrickx, Bavay 2002, p. 68.
7. Hendrickx, Bavay 2002; Ciałowicz 2012.
8. Yadin 1955.
9. De Miroschedji 2002.
10. Czarnowicz et al. 2016.
11. Amiran 1985.
12. Czarnowicz 2012.
13. Hartung 2002, p. 437.
14. Yekutieli 2008.
15. Czarnowicz et al. 2016.
16. Anđelković 2011, p. 29.
17. Petrie, Quibell 1896.
18. Kołodziejczyk 2012, p. 267.

LOWER EGYPTIAN CULTURE AND RELATIONS WITH THE LEVANT AND UPPER EGYPT

The communities inhabiting the Nile Delta had extensive relations with the Levant at the beginning of 4th millenium BC. Not surprisingly, the inhabitants of Upper Egypt turned to the Delta to meet the needs of the nascent nobility. In the period when the demand arose, the liaison function was served by the settlement in Maadi.[19] It was probably through that settlement that the copper from Wadi Feinan[20] reached Upper Egypt, followed also by goods transported in ceramic containers. Findings of imported ceramics are also known from other locations of the Lower Egyptian culture, such as Tell Iswid[21] or Tell Ibrahim Awad.[22] However, their number decreased with the cultural unification of the Delta and Nile Valley areas.[23] Maadi lost its relevance earlier, before the end of the development of the Lower Egyptian culture. At a time when pressure from the people of Upper Egypt had arisen, Tell el-Farkha acted as the center. The traces of settlement found in Central Kom[24] prove that—contrary to what has been thought so far—Lower Egyptian culture displayed an extensive social stratification that can be easily compared to solutions known in Upper Egypt. However, the form in which social status was manifested was different.[25] The Lower Egyptian residency, a building inhabited by the local ruler, is of particular interest. The building was erected in the Naqada IIB-C phase[26] and was in use until the end of Naqada IId2.[27] The so-called Lower Egyptian residency had a very complex layout. It was separated from the rest of the settlement first by a palisade, then by a brick wall. In its context Upper Egyptian mace heads, a copper knife and gold ornaments with semi-precious stones were found.[28] Undoubtedly, Tell el-Farkha was the political, social and administrative center of the eastern part of the Nile Delta. Therefore, the analyzes presented in this study are based on the findings at that site.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE FIRST ELEMENTS OF TRADE ROUTE CONTROL

During the Naqada IId1 period, high flooding of the Nile destroyed the breweries located in the Western Kom. In their place, a vast edifice made of mud-brick was built.[29] It is now assumed that the inhabitant of this building was an Upper Egyptian dignitary. The building was destroyed and rebuilt several times. In its context it was possible to find undecorated clay seals and tokens—

19. Hauptmann 1989.
20. Hauptmann, Weisgerber 1987.
21. Guyot 2014, p 117, fig. 11.8.
22. Mączyńska 2013, p. 193.
23. Guyot 2014, p. 117.
24. Chłodnicki, Gemming 2012, pp. 92–93.
25. Ciałowicz 2018, p. 10.
26. Ciałowicz 2018, p. 10.
27. Chodnicki, Mączyńska 2018, pp. 81–82.
28. Chłodnicki, Geming 2012, pp. 92–97, figs. 7, 12-15.
29. Ciałowicz 2012; Ciałowicz 2018, pp. 11–12.

clay markers used in trade as counters of transported items.[30] Researchers found similar finds at Tel Erani, which indicates that they were used when organizing goods exchange. It should be noted here that many fragments of imported vessels discovered in the context of the Naqadian Residence have decorations typical of the Erani C horizon, related to the above-mentioned site.[31]

Undoubtedly, the Naqadian Residence was the first manifestation of an attempt by newcomers from the South to control the trade route that was supplying Upper Egypt.

On the ruins of the aforementioned Lower Egyptian Residence, a storeroom was built at the beginning of the Naqada IIIA1 phase. Most probably its size was about 20 × 30m. There were rooms on both sides of a wide, long courtyard. The outer walls were up to 1.8m thick, which suggests that the building may have had more than one storey.[32] In the ruins of this building, many examples of ceramics from the Levant have survived.[33] The exit from the building most likely led toward the Naqadian Residence, which existed at the same time. It probably served as a back-up facility used to store goods before they were dispatched on a further journey. The fact that the items kept there were used for trade is evidenced by the discovery of yokens in form of clay balls ready to be fired.[34] The building had two phases of construction. It ceased to be used in the first half of Naqada IIIB (fig. 1).[35]

ADMINISTRATIVE-CULTIC CENTER

The Naqadian Residence was destroyed during the later part of Naqada IIIA1. It fell into ruin perhaps for natural reasons, or maybe due to an invasion.[36] Another extensive complex with worship and administrative functions was erected on top of the destruction layer. It consisted of numerous rooms, including chapels, storerooms and workshops located around the courtyard. In the context of this site, many imported items were found. These were vessels in the type of storage ledge-handle jars. The surface treatment shows that they were made in the southern part of the Southern Levant. This is confirmed by petrographic studies showing that clay used for their production was coming from the Monza Formation, which can be found near Lod.[37] These vessels were found mainly in storage rooms and in the courtyard, which may indicate that this space was used for storing goods.

At this point, it is worth mentioning a fragment of the body of a storage vessel with a dark surface, decorated with narrow stripes painted white (fig. 2). It is a unique piece of ceramics. The only analogies can be found in the site of Megiddo.[38] This emphasizes that the ties between the people of Tell el-Farkha were more extensive than it was previously thought. The discovery of significant

30. Kołodziejczyk 2012.
31. Czarnowicz 2014.
32. Chłodnicki, Mączyńska 2018.
33. Chłodnicki, Mączyńska 2018, p. 87.
34. Chłodnicki, Mączyńska 2018, p. 82.
35. Chłodnicki, Mączyńska 2018, p. 86.
36. Ciałowicz 2012, p. 168.
37. Czarnowicz 2012; Ownby 2014.
38. Braun 2013.

amounts of Levant's pottery within the administrative cultic center located at the Western Kom provides grounds to claim that in the proto-dynastic period, long-distance trade became a monopoly controlled by the nascent state of the first kings of Egypt.

IMPORTED POTTERY AT TELL EL-FARKHA

Although imported ceramics are found in Tell el-Farkha in all three koms,[39] most finds come from the context of storage rooms. The first examples of imports appeared already in Tell el-Farkha I, which may indicate that, from the very beginning, the community living in the settlement was running an economy based on the exchange of goods. The ceramics that reached Tell el-Farkha were storage vessels from the south of the Southern Levant. Among them, there was also a small group of vessels of a different type—these were small jugs or teapots. They are bearing very distinctive red burnishing, typical of the northern part of the Southern Levant (fig. 3).[40] Finds of this type are very rare in Egypt. A similar number of imports was seen at all stages of the development of Tell el-Farkha. They disappeared during the Naqada IIIB period. This is the period corresponding to the establishment of the first Naqadian trading posts in the Levant. At this time, wine jars were becoming widely used. They are more intensely fired and have a special shape that is better suited for transportation. Interestingly, in the layers dated to the Naqada IIIB-C1 period, at a time when imports were disappearing in the Tell el-Farkha inventory, imitations of Levantine vessels suddenly appeared. This may indicate that the inhabitants of the site traveled with caravans to the Levant and observed local ceramic styles there, and then, after returning home, tried to imitate them (fig. 4).[41]

DELTA'S ROLE AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE EXCHANGE WITH THE LEVANT

At the turn of EB 1 and EB 2, far-reaching socio-political changes took place in the Levant. Hostility grew between the main centers, which manifested itself in the creation of extensive city defense systems. Perhaps, consequently to that unrest, economic systems known from an earlier stage have deteriorated. In this situation, Egyptians were forced to introduce changes, and as it soon turned out, the Southern Levant was no longer needed as an intermediary in obtaining certain goods. Egyptians were increasing their presence and strived to conquer the Sinai in order to obtain copper directly from that area. Simultaneously, with the disappearance of the Naqadian enclaves in the Levant, first vineyards in the Delta could be seen. Their products were to fill the gaps related to the interruption of deliveries from the Levant.

39. Mączyńska 2018; Czarnowicz 2012; Czarnowicz 2018.
40. Czarnowicz 2012, pp. 249–250, fig. 12: 2-4.
41. Czarnowicz 2012, pp. 252–257.

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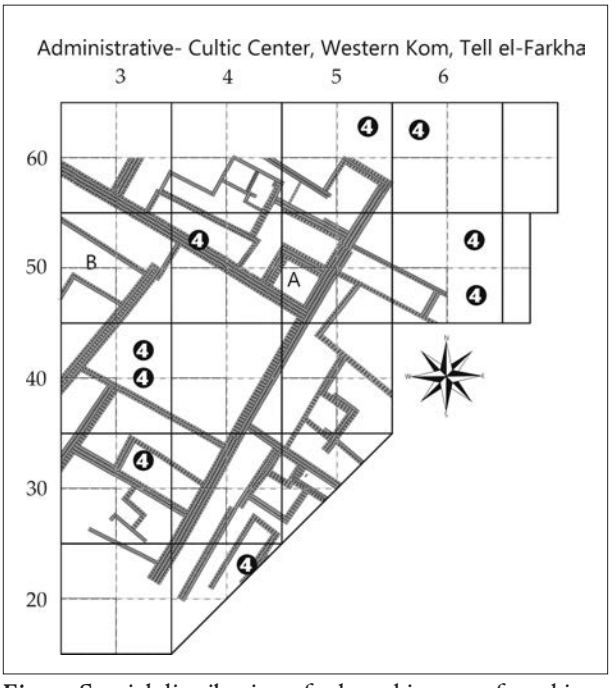

Fig. 1. Spatial distribution of selected imports found in the context of Administrative-cultic center, Tell el-Farkha, Western Kom.

Fig. 2. A painted body fragment, the strips of the white paint cover dark background (pottery decorated in this way is known only from EB 1 Megiddo), Tell el-Farkha, Western Kom.

Fig. 3. Imported juglet bearing distinctive red burnishing, typical of northern regions of the Southern Levant, Tell el-Farkha.

Fig. 4. Imitation of Southern Levantine ledge handle storage vessel made of local travertine, Tell el-Farkha, Eastern Kom, Naqada IIIC1.

Marleen De Meyer*

Jean Capart, from Brussels to Brooklyn in the 1930s

The disciplinary history of Egyptology is often studied within specific national contexts, and Belgium forms no exception. Since 2018 a large-scale project entitled "Pyramids and Progress: Belgian Expansionism and the Making of Egyptology, 1830–1952" brings together five Belgian institutions to investigate the development of Egyptology within the Belgian socio-economic and political context.[1] While most researchers within the project look east towards Egypt, my research looks west towards the United States of America, where Belgian Egyptologist Jean Capart (1877–1947) built a career as advisory curator of the Brooklyn Museum (BM) during the 1930s. Capart was a museum man to the core. He worked his entire career at the Royal Museums of Art and History (RMAH) in Brussels, where he started as a young volunteer in 1897. He became curator of the Egyptian collection in 1912 and, mainly through subscriptions to the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES), Capart built up the collection of the museum with a multitude of objects from British excavations in Egypt.[2] In 1925 he became the chief curator of the entire museum, a position he held until his retirement in 1942. Thus, the RMAH was basically "Capart's Museum" for much of the first half of the 20th century.[3] However, it is his career in the United States, as an advisory curator at the Brooklyn Museum, that interests us here. This research is based mainly on the archives kept in the two museums to which Capart was linked and which complement each other, namely those of the RMAH in Brussels and the Brooklyn Museum in New York.

Prior to his employment at Brooklyn, Capart's links with the United States date back to the 1920s, with his first trip across the Atlantic in 1924 at the invitation of the Commission for Relief in Belgium (CRB) Educational Foundation. The CRB had been founded by Herbert Hoover during World War I, in October 1914, to support the people of Belgium who were suffering from German occupation. After the war, the remaining budget of this fund was used for educational purposes, mainly to stimulate exchanges between Belgian and American scholars, thus creating the CRBEF, which still exists today as the Belgian American Educational Foundation (BAEF).[4]

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1. The aims of the project are detailed in De Meyer et al. 2019. See also the contributions by V. Oeters and A. Van der Perre in this volume.
2. See the contribution by A. Van der Perre in this volume.
3. For a more detailed description of Capart's career, see Bruffaerts 2013.
4. Bertrams 2015.

Between 18 October 1924 and 25 February 1925, Capart toured the United Stated as a visiting professor for the CRBEF in collaboration with the Archaeological Institute of America. This trip took him from the East to the West Coast, to forty-four institutions (mainly museums and universities) in thirty-one cities, where he gave more than fifty lectures.[5] This whirlwind tour gave Capart an instant network in the United States, which he would build on for the rest of his career. He returned to the United States in 1928 to study Lord Carnarvon's Egyptian collection, which had just arrived at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) in New York. The 1928 trip was also important for Capart, as it was on this occasion that he met the eccentric and wealthy artist Marius de Zayas (1880–1961) in New York, who later became the patron of the first Belgian excavations at Elkab in 1937.

In 1931 the death of Victor Wilbour, son of Charles Edwin Wilbour (1833–1896), was the catalyst that brought Capart back to the United States, this time on a more systematic basis. Victor's father Charles had turned to Egyptology only late in life, but he had spent part of every year from 1880 until his death in 1896 in Egypt studying monuments and making copies of inscriptions. At this time, he also collected antiquities and built up an important library, which accompanied him on the Nile in his dahabiya "the Seven Hathors." When Charles Edwin Wilbour's wife Charlotte Beebe Wilbour died in 1914, she asked her children to donate her late husband's library and much of his Egyptian collection to the Brooklyn Museum.[6] This happened in 1916, but the museum did not have the means at the time to properly validate this generous gift. It did not have them until 1931, after the death of Victor Wilbour, who left a substantial sum of money in his will to the Brooklyn Museum so that his father's collection could be properly displayed and publicized. The Wilbour Fund made possible the establishment of both the Wilbour Library of Egyptology and a curatorial department for ancient Egyptian art.[7]

At that moment, Brooklyn did not have an Egyptologist on staff. There was only Edwin Lynn Taggart (1905–1994), who was actually an artist, and who had somehow become assistant curator of Egyptology. Hence, the Brooklyn Museum went looking for an Egyptologist, as described in the letter by Edward C. Blum, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Brooklyn Museum, to Paul May, Belgian Ambassador to the United States:

> The Brooklyn Museum is about to reorganize and extensively enlarge its collection of Egyptian antiquities. To carry out its purpose, the Museum's Director, Dr. Fox, was commissioned to go to Europe during the summer and prepare for these changes.
> At my instance, Dr. Fox invited Professor Jean Capart, Conservateur en Chef, Parc du Cinquintaire [sic, should be Cinquantenaire], Brussels, to advise and assist in this reorganization.

5. These lectures were later published as a monograph (Capart 1928).
6. Riefstahl 1955.
7. For a history of the Department of Ancient Art at the Brooklyn Museum, see Bothmer, Keith 1970, pp. 1–9.

> The choice of Professor Capart among other European savants is especially grateful to us, not only on account of Professor Capart's competence and the fact that he is familiar with the Brooklyn Museum and its collections, but we feel that it will drawer [sic] closer the cultural relations and mutual sympathy existing between our own and the Belgian people.[8]

Thus began Capart's career in Brooklyn, first as honorary curator of the Egyptian collection in 1932, then a year later as part-time advisory curator, while remaining chief curator of the RMAH in Brussels, and spending a few months each year in Brooklyn. With Taggart he reorganised the gallery of Egyptian objects, which was officially opened on 19 May 1933 as the Charles Edwin Wilbour Memorial Hall.[9] In addition to the building and organisation of the Egyptian collection, the publication of Charles Edwin Wilbour's letters written between 1880 and 1891 was an important contribution.[10]

The Wilbour Fund moreover enabled the Museum to continue acquiring antiquities, and Capart suggested that the Board of Trustees invest in and expand the Amarna collection by funding the EES excavations led by John Pendlebury. The Brooklyn Museum already had a number of Amarna period objects in its collection since the donation of Wilbour's children in 1916, such as the famous 'Wilbour plaque' (BM 16.48) and other objects (e.g. a relief depicting two princesses, BM 16.60; a fragmentary statue of Meketaten, BM 16.46). On 21 June 1932, Capart wrote to Mary Jonas at the EES:

> Does the Society contemplate to excavate next winter at El Amarna? If so, what should be a fair contribution to the expenses of the expedition, in order to assure to Brooklyn a first choice in the discoveries?
> The Brooklyn Museum has received important sums of money to be devoted only to the Egyptian Department. My plan, accepted by the trustees, is to develop mainly the collections of the Amarna period. I dare say that there is perhaps a first class opportunity to bring the excavations at El Amarna again to a very satisfactory standard of proficiency.[11]

A reply from the EES soon followed, already two days later:

> As to the question of work next winter at Amarna, the present state of our finances does not allow us to contemplate a season there next winter, but Mr. Pendlebury hopes to go out for a short time and doubtless, if further funds were forthcoming, his work there would be prolonged and more men engaged than is at present in the mind of the Committee. At present our Amarna Fund is practically exhausted [...].[12]

8. Brooklyn Museum Archives, Department of Egyptian, Classical and Ancient Middle Eastern Art records: General correspondence, Capart, Jean [01] 1931: letter of Edward C. Blum to Paul May, 12 November, 1931.
9. Taggart 1933.
10. Capart (ed.) 1936.
11. Archives of the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth (FÉRÉ) at the RMAH, folder 'Egypt Exploration Society': letter of Jean Capart to Mary Jonas, 21 June, 1932.
12. Archives of the FÉRÉ at the RMAH, folder 'EES': letter of Mary Jonas to Jean Capart, 23 June, 1932.

Capart persisted, and on 8 September 1932, he confirmed to Mary Jonas that the Trustees of the Brooklyn Museum would allow him to contribute $5.000 to Pendlebury's excavations at Amarna "if in your judgment we are likely to get a good return for the money."[13] The door was even left ajar for further contributions in the years to follow: "[…] Mr. Blum is of the opinion that if this results in our receiving satisfactory material for our collections, we should probably make an appropriation of an additional five thousand dollars and perhaps more, for a choice of material, next season."[14] This was the beginning of a fruitful arrangement between the Brooklyn Museum and the EES for several years, until the EES excavations at Amarna came to a halt in 1936.

Pendlebury sent Capart frequent updates on the progress of the work, often accompanied by sketches of the situation on the ground. As Pendlebury was working in Central City at that time, several drawings of the ground plan of the Great Palace appear in the 1935–1936 letters, indicating the location of the work. In exchange for its financial contribution, Brooklyn received artefacts from the Amarna period whose provenance and archaeological context were certain (e.g. a tile with floral inlays from the Great Palace, BM 35.2001; a necklace with cornflowers, BM 35.2023; a sculptor's model, BM 35.2005, and many more). However, since large pieces of sculpture or decorated stone architecture were not to be found at Amarna, the majority of the objects that went to Brooklyn were small in size. This would later be considered poor judgement on Capart's side by the Trustees (cf. *infra*). It is clear from telegrams he sent to Capart that Pendlebury relied heavily on funding from Brooklyn: "No money yet received from Brooklyn, cannot begin work, Pendlebury."[15] A day later he wrote: "Money just arrived, many thanks, Pendlebury."[16]

Apart from acquiring objects through the EES, Capart also actively purchased antiques from dealers on behalf of the Brooklyn Museum. Of course, he was familiar with the European scene of these dealers and often sent them along to Brooklyn. The dossiers are too numerous to discuss here, but BM 36.262 may serve as an example. This piece of sculpture representing 'two mating hippopotami' was offered to Capart in 1935 by the French dealer Géjou in Paris, who predominantly dealt in Near Eastern antiquities and only had a few Egyptian pieces on offer. Capart stated in their first letters that he did not think Brooklyn would be interested in such an object, of which he said: "Je vous répète que c'est avant tout un objet curieux, mais qui ne séduira personne par son aspect artistique. Je préfère ne mentionner aucun prix, car je ne crois pas que le Comité de Brooklyn apprécierait beaucoup un objet de l'espèce."[17] Perhaps Capart was playing hard in order to get the price lowered, because he ended up recommending it for purchase to the Brooklyn Museum anyway, and it was accessioned there in 1936.

Another interesting case is a fragmentary Old Kingdom statue that shows the body of a kneeling bound prisoner, but without a head. The statue was offered for sale to the Brooklyn Museum in 1937 by dealer Daniel Kellad, and while Capart recommended it for purchase, assistant

13. Archives of the FÉRÉ at the RMAH, folder 'EES': letter of Jean Capart to Mary Jonas, 8 September, 1932.
14. Archives of the FÉRÉ at the RMAH, folder 'EES': letter of Jean Capart to Mary Jonas, 8 September, 1932.
15. Archives of the FÉRÉ at the RMAH, folder 'EES': telegram of John Pendlebury to Jean Capart, 14 November, 1935.
16. Archives of the FÉRÉ at the RMAH, folder 'EES': telegram of John Pendlebury to Jean Capart, 15 November, 1935.
17. Archives of the RMAH, Dossier Brooklyn, IV. Affaires et correspondances avec les antiquaires, 22. I.E. Géjou (Paris): letter of Jean Capart to Géjou, 19 November, 1935.

curator John D. Cooney rejected it. This statue surfaced again a decade later, when in 1947 it was accessioned into the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, but then with a head (MMA 47.2).[18]

One of the most important artefacts that Capart acquired on the antiquities market for Brooklyn, was undoubtedly the ramesside Wilbour Papyrus (BM 34.5596). In 1934 he bought this document from the Egyptian dealer Mohamed Mohasseb in Luxor, and obtained the official permission by the Service des Antiquités to export the papyrus out of Egypt.[19] Another happy coincidence that occurred during the years Capart was active in the United States, was his discovery in 1935 of Papyrus Leopold II inside the wooden statuette of Khay at the RMAH in Brussels. This papyrus turned out to be the upper half of Papyrus Amherst, one of the tomb robbery papyri purchased in Egypt by Lord Amherst in the mid-19th century and sold to John Pierpont Morgan in 1913. Papyrus Amherst is kept at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and Capart dealt with the famous librarian Belle da Costa Greene to arrange for the publication of both papyri together in 1939 in collaboration with Alan Gardiner.[20]

After a few years of having Capart on staff as part-time advisory curator at the Brooklyn Museum, the wish to terminate his position became voiced. On 14 March, 1935 the director Philip N. Youtz wrote to the Board of Trustees:

> I feel that in the initial stage of the development of our Egyptian Section it was of the utmost importance to have an able foreign advisor, such as Professor Capart. However I am certain that this period is past and that he has made his contribution.
> I believe that now the Museum needs a first-rate resident Curator in charge of the department, for it is one of the few departments which can afford a high-salaried man. I think we have all felt that our purchasing policy has been somewhat unsatisfactory in this department. That is to say, we have the two contradictory policies of desiring large objects rather than a lot of small material which we cannot show—and yet have purchased chiefly from Tell-el-Amarna site where there are only small objects to be had. I do not think that we can straighten out this policy until we have the counsel of a first-rate curator in charge of the department.
> [...]
> My hope is that the Board will feel that it is wise to terminate Professor Capart's salary in connection with the Museum after his present contract expires. I think it would be appropriate to present him with a generous gift to indicate our appreciation of his services which have been very distinguished ones. We will then be free to appoint one of the outstanding men of the country to this department.[21]

This 'outstanding man of the country' turned out to be John Ducey Cooney (1905–1982), who was appointed Assistant Curator of Egyptology in 1936 and became Curator of the Department of

18. The history of this object was recently discussed in detail in Prakash 2020.
19. The acquisition history of the papyrus is detailed in Gardiner 1948, pp. 1–3.
20. Capart, Gardiner 1939.
21. Brooklyn Museum Archives, Department of Egyptian, Classical and Ancient Middle Eastern Art records: General correspondence, Capart, Jean [06] 1935: letter of Philip N. Youtz to Edward C. Blum, 14 March, 1935.

Ancient Art two years later.[22] Capart was then bestowed the title of Honorary Advisory Curator, also because of his very good relationship with Theodora Wilbour, Wilbour's only remaining daughter at the time Capart was in Brooklyn. World War II prevented Capart from returning to the United States during the war years, and 1939 was his last stay on American soil. Theodora Wilbour died on 26 February , 1947, only a few months before Capart's death on 16 June of the same year.

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22. Bothmer, Keith 1970, p. 5.

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Christos Kekes

Communicating with the Hands in Egypt and the Aegean World

Aspects of a "Gestural Koiné" in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean

Humans often use their body, consciously or even unconsciously, to communicate a message to the people they interact with. For example, the orientation of people at a gathering, their postures and gestures can show whether they like or dislike the people surrounding them and if they hold a high social position or are interacting with a social superior.[1] Likewise, the postures and gestures represented in the art and literature of the ancient world convey various codified symbolic meanings, which contemporaries would have easily understood, knowing the social context in which they were developed. It is up to researchers to decode the symbolic messages, in order to understand the life and thought of the people who performed these body movements.

The present study is based on my doctoral dissertation at the University of the Aegean,[2] dealing with Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures during the Bronze Age. One of the goals of my research is to identify potential parallel Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures and to interpret them (if possible) in the light of the intense interrelations between these civilizations in the Bronze Age. A comparative study of Egyptian and Aegean gestures had never been implemented before.

During the compilation of complete typological catalogues of Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures and their analysis, 11 parallel gestures have been identified (fig. 1). These are: "hand to mouth", "hand on chest", "palm outwards", "hands on chest", "hands on opposite shoulder and chest", "hands on opposite shoulders", "hands on opposite shoulder and elbow", "hands on opposite shoulder and forearm (Egypt)"/"hands on opposite shoulder and wrist (Aegean)", "upraised arms", "palms outwards", and "palms downwards".

Due to the limited space of this paper, I will briefly present some of these parallel gestures and the data arising from their comparative study. A comprehensive analysis of individual aspects of these parallel gestures, in order to verify if their development in Egypt and the Aegean is due to intercultural interactions or not, will be the subject of future studies.

1. Argyle 1975 (ed. 1988), pp. 168–180, 209–210; Morris 2001, pp. 248–249.

2. I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Panagiotis Kousoulis, for his guidance, and my friend Christina Antoniadou for the gesture drawings. The research work is supported by the Hellenic Foundation for Research and Innovation (HFRI) and the General Secretariat for Research and Technology (GSRT), under the HFRI PhD Fellowship Grant (G.A. no. 867).

1. HAND TO MOUTH

This gesture (fig. 1a) appears to be associated with speech in both Egypt and the Aegean. In Egyptian art, it is represented in scenes of various iconographic content from the Old Kingdom onwards.[3] Depending on the circumstances, it may function symbolically as a gesture of (co-) speech, recitation of religious and magical incantations, an apotropaic gesture, oath taking, prayer, invocation, worship or praise, or even as mournful/respectful silence.[4]

In Aegean art, the "hand to mouth" gesture is represented from the Middle Minoan III period (17th c. BC) onwards, in wall paintings and on seals, while it is also performed by figurines from sanctuaries and settlements.[5] Depending on the ritual and archaeological context in which it is performed, such as a ritual dance, it may be interpreted as a gesture of (co-)speech, religious recitation or chanting, worship or prayer.[6] Perhaps it may symbolically function even as an indicator of the performers' emotions (e.g. deference) and social status and identity (e.g. priestess, adorant, member of the elite), especially when a free hand movement is observed (e.g. to torso).

2. HANDS ON CHEST

The "hands on chest" gesture[7] (fig. 1d) mainly states the performers' authority and may also function as an indicator of their social status and identity or their divine nature (e.g. Osiris, the Pharaoh, an Aegean deity, a member of the Minoan elite, etc.).[8] In Egyptian mourning scenes, this gesture may express the performers' respect or grief,[9] and may also contain regenerative symbolic connotations. In the case of a naked female figure, hands on breasts, in an offering scene to the statue of the deceased,[10] her movement may be correlated with the expectation of rebirth, through the projection of female fertility.

Religious deference is also projected in the case of the Aegean figurines, while their gesture may also be interpreted as an act of worship or supplication.[11] Furthermore, based on some Minoan female figurines, the gesture may be correlated with fertility and female rites of passage.[12]

3. See e.g. Ni. de G. Davies 1963, pl. II; Simpson 1976, fig. 24.
4. See e.g. Vandier 1969, pp. 108, 117–118; Brunner-Traut 1977, cols. 579–580; Dominicus 1994, pp. 19–21, 31–32, 77–78, 87, 95, n. 550, 129, 131, 134–135, 143–147; Calabro 2014, p. 513.
5. See e.g. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, pl. 25, fig. 98; Davis, Stocker 2016, p. 641, fig. 10.
6. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, pp. 110–111, 142–143; Davis, Stocker 2016, p. 643.
7. For Egyptian examples, see e.g. Vandier 1958b, pl. CXXXII.6; Kanawati, Abder-Raziq 2003, pl. 57. For Aegean scenes and artefacts depicting the gesture, see e.g. Verlinden 1984, pl. 64, fig. 143; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005, pp. 93, 143; *CMS* I, no. 68; *CMS* II,6 no. 5; *CMS* II,7 no. 124; *CMS* V, no. 201; *CMS* VS2, no. 106.
8. Dominicus 1994, p. 69; Pilz 2006, p. 371; Murphy 2011, pp. 16–17; Rethemiotakis 2014, pp. 156–157.
9. Brunner-Traut 1977, cols. 580–581; Dominicus 1994, pp. 5–9, 67, 69, 73.
10. Kanawati 1982, fig. 12.
11. See e.g. Rutkowski 1991, p. 54; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, pp. 106–107; Rethemiotakis 2014, p. 150.
12. ΠΛΑΤΩΝ 2014.

3. GESTURES THAT COMBINE PLACING ONE HAND ON THE OPPOSITE SHOULDER WITH A SIMILAR MOVEMENT OF THE OTHER HAND

In this section, I include the "hands on opposite shoulder and chest" (fig. 1e), "hands on opposite shoulders" (fig. 1f), "hands on opposite shoulder and elbow" (fig. 1g), the Egyptian "hands on opposite shoulder and forearm" (fig. 1h), and the Aegean "hands on opposite shoulder and wrist" (fig. 1i) gestures. The Egyptian "hands on opposite shoulder and forearm" gesture morphologically refers to the Aegean gesture of "hands on opposite shoulder and wrist". Indeed, the hand that touches the opposite forearm is sometimes placed very close to the wrist.

In Egyptian art, the above-mentioned gestures are mainly represented in Old Kingdom tomb wall paintings, while some of them continue to be portrayed through the Middle and even New Kingdom.[13] They are usually performed by individuals approaching or escorting a social superior (e.g. the deceased) or by officials, expressing respect, humility and submission to people of high status or, in some cases, to deities.[14] Moreover, these gestures may function symbolically as indicators of performers' social status and identity, since they are often performed by people who play a significant role in the scenes (e.g. relatives of the deceased) or hold a specific office (e.g. chiefs, foremen, foreign ambassadors, etc.).

In Aegean art, the gestures examined in this section are depicted on clay and/or bronze figurines from Minoan sanctuaries dating from the Middle Bronze Age onwards, while some are only represented in Middle Minoan or Late Minoan figurines.[15] The figurines probably represent adorants approaching the worshipped deities. Furthermore, in some cases they may be initiates participating in male and female rites of passage.[16] It appears that, in the Aegean too, these gestures express the performers' respect, humility and submission. The adorants would be approaching religious sites deferentially to worship their local deities, adopting these submissive postures that would project their humility towards the divine. Furthermore, this kind of gesture might indicate the performers' social status and identity (e.g. adorants, initiates, members of the elite). In some cases, their high social status is also indicated by the high-value material the artefacts are made of (e.g. bronze figurines).

4. PALMS OUTWARDS

The "palms outwards" gesture (fig. 1k) is represented in Egyptian art from the Old Kingdom onwards;[17] it is adopted on various ritual occasions and includes a wide range of symbolism. It is

13. See e.g. No. de G. Davies 1927, pl. XIII; Dunham, Simpson 1974, fig. 8; Simpson 1976, fig. 27; Simpson 1978, fig. 26; Kanawati, Abder-Raziq 2003, figs. 54, 71.
14. See e.g. Vandier 1964, pp. 319–321, 323; Dunham, Simpson 1974, pp. 16, 18; Brunner-Traut 1977, col. 578; Dominicus 1994, pp. 5–18; Wilkinson 1994, pp. 194, 198; Wilkinson 2001, p. 23.
15. Davaras 1982, p. 34, fig. 28; Rutkowski 1991, p. 55, fig. 31.2; Marketou 1998, p. 59, fig. 7; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005, p. 98; ΣΑΠΟΥΝΑ-ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΑΚΗ 2012, p. 39, fig. 33a.
16. See also Marketou 1998, pp. 64–66.
17. See e.g. Vandier 1958b, pl. XLIX, fig. 2; Kanawati 1982, fig. 12; Faulkner 1972 (ed. 1985), p. 125.

one of the few gestures that may be performed by members of any class of Egyptian society: from commoners and foreign captives to Pharaohs and divine entities. Depending on the performer, the recipient, and the ritual context, this gesture may be interpreted as one of greeting, worship, praise, expression of respect, mourning, surrender or submission, supplication or prayer, an apotropaic or self-protective gesture, etc.[18] It could also indicate social inferiority.

In Aegean art, this gesture is represented from the Middle Bronze Age onwards and performed by male and female figures: male and female adorants, priestesses or female deities, and hybrid divine figures.[19] Correspondingly, the recipients of the gesture are defined as divine or mortal figures and religious symbols or buildings. This gesture primarily indicates worship,[20] although in Aegean art divine figures are not always easily identifiable. It may also be interpreted as a greeting,[21] invocation or prayer.

CONCLUSION

The compilation of complete typological catalogues of Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures and their comparative study resulted in the identification of several parallel gestures. Most of these gestures, besides their morphological resemblance, appear to share certain symbolic functions as well. The preceding brief presentation of these parallel gestures highlighted certain common elements worthy of further consideration, which may be summarised as follows: first of all, the existence of a common communication code between the Egyptian and Aegean civilizations concerning the conventional rendition of speech in art is apparent. Furthermore, the ancient Egyptians and the Aegean inhabitants apparently adopted certain common attitudes of worship and gestures expressing their emotions and demonstrating their social identity. From this perspective, it seems that ancient Egyptians and the Aegeans shared a common perception of the gestural expression of religious sentiment and social hierarchy.

In this light, the gestures presented above could be perceived as aspects of a "gestural *koiné*" shared by the Egyptian and Aegean civilizations. This "gestural *koiné*", which I have attempted to outline in the present study, does not necessarily mean that the development of a gesture in Egypt or in the Aegean is due to the interrelations between the two. On the contrary, some of these parallel gestures may be related to the wider intertemporal and intercultural human mentality.

Indeed, this seems to be the case primarily in the movements in which the hands are touching the body. According to anthropological and psychological studies, this type of body movement expresses the performers' insecurity, passivity and inferiority, especially when performed in front of high-status people and combined with submissive postures, such as kneeling or bowing.[22] However, this observation also means that the symbolic meaning(s) of the "self-touching" gestures presented

18. See e.g. Vandier 1958a, pp. 152, no. 3, 473, n. 12; Vandier 1964, pp. 319, 321; Simpson 1976, p. 6; Brunner-Traut 1977, cols. 575, 577–579; Kanawati 1982, p. 24; Wilkinson 1992, pp. 29, 51; Wilkinson 1994, pp. 194–195, 197; Dominicus 1994, pp. 23–36, 65–69; Calabro 2014, pp. 556–562, 652–654, 656, 659–660.
19. See e.g. Davaras 1982, p. 43, fig. 45; *CMS* I, no. 127; *CMS* II,3 nos. 51, 326; *CMS* II,6 no. 3.
20. See e.g. Davaras 1982, p. 43, fig. 45; Marinatos 1993, p. 163; Wedde 1999, p. 917.
21. Wedde 1995, p. 495.
22. Morris 1977, pp. 102, 133–135, 142–145; Argyle 1975 (ed. 1988), pp. 198, 203–204, 208, 212, tbl. 13.1.

here would be easily comprehended by Egyptians and Aegean inhabitants, regardless of how these gestures developed in each civilization in the first place. Moreover, these parallel "self-touching" gestures are complex movements, which are not always easy (but not impossible) to perceive and perform independently in different civilizations and periods having a common symbolic background.

In order to verify whether or not Egyptian-Aegean intercultural contacts and interactions resulted in the development of these parallel gestures, one must first examine the iconographic, ritual, and archaeological contexts in which they were performed in each case. The next step in my study is to comprehensively analyse the following individual aspects of these gestures:

A. Performers' social identity;
B. Recipients' social identity;
C. Iconographic/Ritual context(s) in which the gestures are performed;
D. Archaeological context(s) of the artefact(s) portraying the gestures;
E. Chronology of the appearance of gestures in Egypt and the Aegean.

The analysis of the above elements and the conclusions reached will be presented in future studies.

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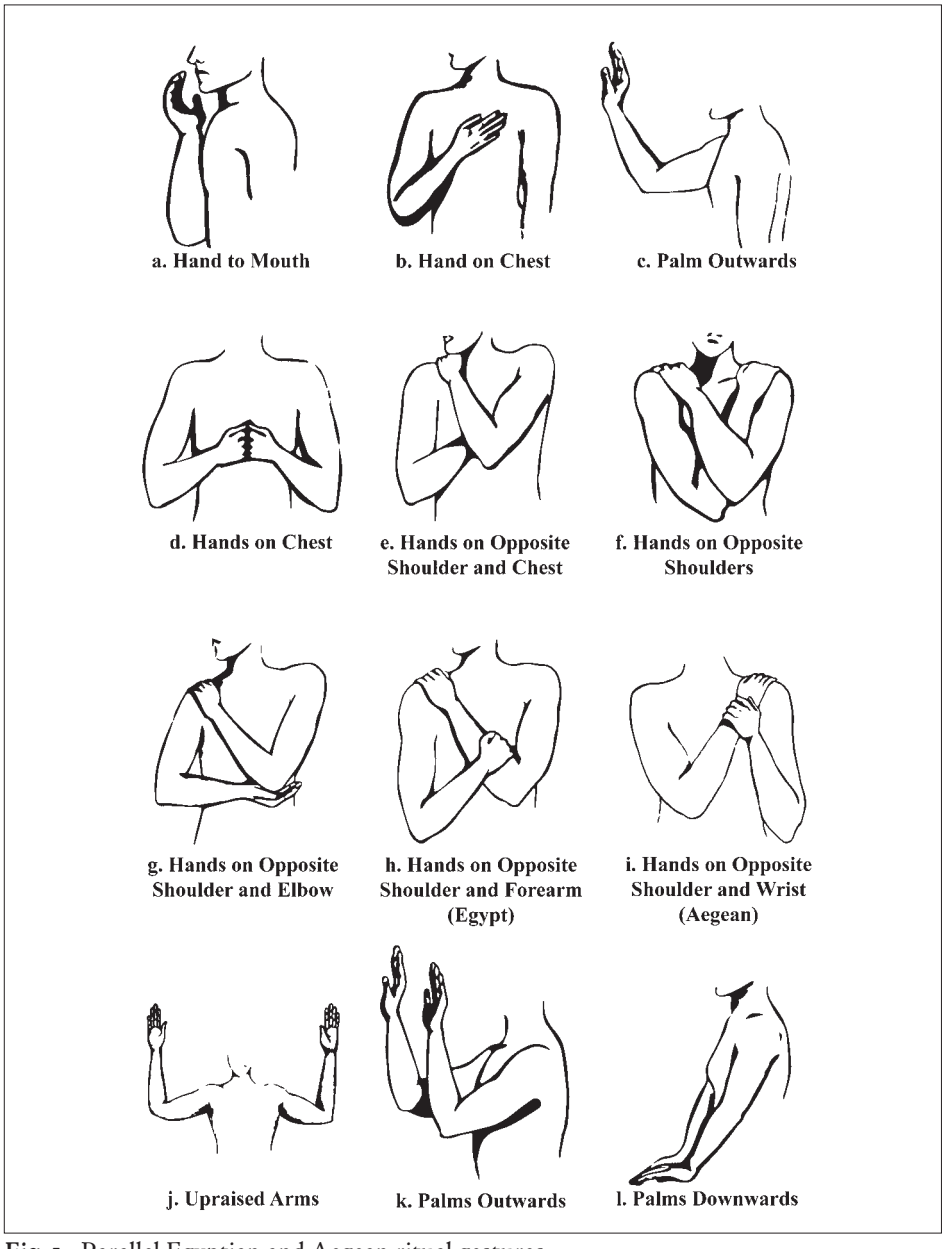

Fig. 1. Parallel Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures.

Valeria Tappeti*

The Concept of Copy During the 25th–26th Dynasties

Editing or Copying?

This paper[1] focuses on the concept of copy during the 25th and 26th Dynasties: the analysis will consider the contrast between the antithetical concepts of copy and innovation characteristic elements of the artistic and cultural production of this period, which finds wide manifestation in the phenomenon of Archaism. By mentioning some significant examples of allusions to specific ancient monuments, it will try to delineate the transmission system of themes and the concept of copy between the Kushite and the Saitic periods.

The term Archaism means the allusion to a previous historical period, recognizing a certain break with the historical moment of reference. This phenomenon would therefore be distinguished from that of tradition, for which a general continuity of use can be considered.[2]

Although a general tendency to recall the past is visible in every epoch of Pharaonic history, it is a fundamental[3] aspect of the Late Period, culminating in the so-called Saitic Renaissance.

The tendency to the revival of more ancient customs of Pharaonic Egypt has been variously emphasized in the Egyptological literature, as a characteristic of the Saitic period or attenuated and incorporated within a more general vision. Different causes, from the political reunification to the reference to a golden age[4], have been considered to define the origin of the Archaism of the 25th and 26th Dynasties. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to consider several concurrent causes, trying not to delimit in a single formula such a complex phenomenon.

With the 26th Dynasty, a peak of the archaic trend in the artistic and literary production of ancient Egypt would be reached, however, it is not possible to crystallize the expressive form of this era as a mere and passive reproduction.

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1. The topic of this paper is part of my Ph.D. thesis, at Sapienza University of Rome. My thanks are due to my tutor, Professor Paola Buzi, for her kind support.
2. Der Manuelian 1983, p. 231; Kahl 2010.
3. For Late Period Archaism see in particular: Bothmer et al. 1960; Brunner 1970; Der Manuelian 1994; Russmann 2004.
4. Cf. Brunner 1970, p. 171; Der Manuelian 1994, p. 409; Kahl 2010, pp. 5–6.

It is often difficult to determine exactly what is based on an older model and what is instead the result of a continuous and perhaps not clearly documented tradition[5], or even the result of the diffusion of archaic motifs starting from the decoration of contemporary monuments.

The models of the archaising culture of the period are different, both chronologically, with references from the Old to the New Kingdom, and geographically, with allusions to motifs ranging from the Memphite to the Theban area.

It seems that we can recognize a predominant influence of the Memphite art of the Old Kingdom on the sculptural production of the 25th Dynasty.[6] This consideration has led some scholars[7] to consider the origin of the Archaism in the Memphite area, in particular for the Kushite Dynasty. Der Manuelian underlines, instead, the impulse that Middle and Upper Egypt must have had in the creation and capillarisation of the archaising themes.[8]

A link to the northern sites appears evident in the diffusion of motifs in the Memphite area necropolises. On the contrary, the role of the centers of Upper Egypt seems relevant in the selection of themes and iconographies of the Theban tombs, related to monuments of Western Thebes, Karnak, and Abydos. Nevertheless, there is also a circulation of themes throughout the Pharaonic territory, with the presence of Theban patterns in the Memphite area, as exemplified by the case of Bakenrenef's tomb, and vice versa, as can be seen, for example, with the presence of the sun hymn of Horemeb in the late monumental tombs of el-Assasif.[9]

Moreover, the allusion of the 25th and 26th Dynasties' productions to older textual works, including the famous stele of Shabaka, recalls the issue of the knowledge that the scribes of the Late Period had of the artistic and literary manifestations of the past.

Some productions, in fact, denote a rudimentary, generally mnemonic, and imitative knowledge of a set of standard phrases, whereas more innovative works use an ancient form of the Egyptian language, distant from the contemporary demotic[10]—as in the case of spells associated with the Pyramid Texts that appear in this period,[11] raising the question of their new redaction or their reference to some unknown spells because of a documentary gap.

Therefore, the Archaism of the 25th and 26th Dynasties is characterized by the erudite revival of various models, summarized in original works, which alludes to the reference motif and enriches it with innovative details.

Closely related to the concept of Archaism is that of copy, the subject of a lively debate that is devoid of clear and unambiguous terminology.[12] The various approach to the issue of copying, as well as the nature of the concept itself, has given rise to often conflicting readings of the phenomenon.

5. Cf. Morkot 2003, p. 79.
6. Bothmer et al. 1960; Morkot 2003, pp. 84–93; Russmann 2004.
7. Cf. Morkot 2003.
8. Der Manuelian 1994, pp. 58–59, fig. 16.
9. These sun hymns were also the subject of my paper presented at the International Congress for Young Egyptologists 2019, Leiden.
10. Der Manuelian 1994, pp. xxxix, 101 ff.
11. Cf. Morales 2017.
12. Der Manuelian 1983, p. 221.

The use of archaising models transpires in the Theban production of the 25th and 26th Dynasties and there are also cases of direct reference to scenes of temples and tombs. The temple of Amon-Ra, erected by Taharqa at Kawa, Sudan, with various details modeled on the Old Kingdom monuments[13] is an emblematic case of this process. An example is a relief that depicts the sovereign as a sphinx that subdues the Libyan leader, the related inscriptions with the names of the Libyan family reproduce those of the relief from the temple of Sahura at Abusir of the 5th Dynasty,[14] allowing us to identify the direct reference to the Memphite monument.

Starting from this evidence we can denote some important features of this archaising production: the taste for the echo and the innovative re-elaboration of the models, the circulation of the patterns over a wide territory, with the likely movement of artists as testified by the inscriptions,[15] and the royal patronage that underlies this specific work.

From the same temple are also known late casts[16] of Old Kingdom reliefs (fig. 1) that testify the direct contact with ancient monuments.

Furthermore, we can mention the grids of the copyists written, according to the canons of the 26th Dynasty, on two reliefs (fig. 2) in the underground chambers of the complex of the step pyramid of Djoser,[17] Saqqara. These scenes portray the pharaoh in ritual actions related to the renewal of royal power and the celebration of the Sed-festival.

During the Late Period, this area became an important place of pilgrimage, connected to the figure of the sovereign as the founder of the stone building. Probably some restoration works were carried out and during the 26th Dyasty a new access has been opened to give access to the underground funeral apartments. We can underline, therefore, the access, at least by artists, to the sacred area and their direct dialogue with the ancient monument,[18] which becomes an effective source and model.

However, except in cases where there is a clear reference to a specific monument, the distinction between an exact allusion of a precise older work and a generic revival of archaic elements is not always so evident. A direct and univocal dependence between two monuments can be difficult, or sometimes impossible, to prove. Moreover, according to textual criticism, only non-dependence can be demonstrated, while the dependence of a supposed copy on an older source occurs only as a possibility[19].

The nature of the Archaism of the 25th and 26th Dynasties which, instead of passively copying models, draws their essential and identifying elements by innovating their composition, generates difficulties in the identification of clear sources and in the definition of the concept of copy itself.

Rarely are attested cases of mere imitations, with some inscriptions that expand or reduce the breadth of the cited texts by inserting or eliminating phrases and text segments:[20] there are hardly

13. Morkot 2003, pp. 80–85.
14. Cf. Macadam 1955, pl. IX, XLIX, LX.
15. Stele of Taharqa, 6th year, Temple T, Kawa (n. 0462; ll. 20–23).
16. Kahl 2010, pp. 4–5, fig. 7.
17. Firth, Quibell 1935, I, pp. 5, 33–34, II, pl. 15–16.
18. Cf. Der Manuelian 1994, p. 57, n. 134.
19. Cf. Der Manuelian 1994, p. 55.
20. Cf. the saitic *corpus* in: Der Manuelian 1994.

any Saitic inscriptions that reproduce the model word for word. This updating of the most recent text reflects the iconographic evidence, in which summaries of different models or innovative additions are identified.

It can be stressed that the term copy does not seem to convey the concept of active and innovative (re)production that underlies the artistic and cultural elaboration of the 25th and 26th Dynasties. The resumption of known themes and motifs does not appear as a passive process of copying. It is, rather, a phenomenon of creative production and high cultural level, based on known motifs. Therefore, the term allusion or quotation seems more proper, as it defines neutrally and openly the reference to a specific theme, involving the observer in the identification of the cited motif, appealing to his memory and knowledge.

The process of transmission, and copying, during the Late Period, in fact, is a complex issue, which takes into account several aspects: from the characters involved to the way of processing and editing the material, besides the related cultural context.

The variety of the so-called models is also evident: to the cases of allusion to specific monuments and to more generic archive elements, there is also a movement of models, even on wide paths, as exemplified by the cited cases of the temple of Taharqa or that of the sun hymn of Horemheb's Memphite tomb. This hymn is inscribed in the Theban Saitic tombs of Pabasa (TT 279), Basa (TT 389), and Sheshonq (TT 27)[21], which suggests the diffusion of the hymn starting from a version introduced from Lower Egypt, probably by Pabasa, and its consequent transmission in the late necropolis of el-Assasif. The inscription of the tomb of Pabasa, possibly, acted as a model, at least, for the version of Sheshonq (TT 27).

This multiplicity of references underlines a plurality of transmission routes, since the only system focused on temple archives does not seem to explain the peculiarities found in different cases.

Moreover, the transmission system of motifs during the Late Period does not appear clearly defined. There are, in fact, different hypotheses of reconstruction,[22] including the use of direct copying for figurative representations and the *Musterbuch* for texts, or the use of pattern-books written during the 25th Dynasty starting from scenes of the New Kingdom tombs, or also the use of models from temple archives available for the Theban funerary complexes of the Late Period.

The use of archive models produced for a generic use recalls a concept, and a kind of transmission, opposed to that of the use of an intermediate copy (*Vorlage*),[23] produced in a specific moment for a precise monument. The use of the *Musterbuch* remains, however, hypothetical, since such a witness has never been archaeologically found.[24]

It can be considered that the archive transmission, centered on the temples or the craft ateliers, was presumably the main means of approach to the source of the past by the Pharaonic elite. This, however, does not exclude the possibility of a parallel channel of research of models, aimed at a direct dialogue with the ancient monuments, as exemplified by the late grids on Djoser's reliefs.

21. Cf. *supra*.
22. Tappeti 2018, pp. 198–199.
23. Cf. Der Manuelian 1994, p. 55.
24. Kahl 2010, p. 5.

It is emphasized here, in fact, that the use of one type of transmission does not exclude another: on different and specific occasions different models can be used or can be summarized in new works.

If therefore, one can consider the use, even contemporary, of different transmission systems, on the other hand, the direct interdependence between two exemplars is difficult to prove in an absolute manner.

The identification of the direct allusion to a specific monument is also complicated by the presence of any innovations inserted in the most recent work or even scribal errors, which would often be due to misunderstandings of the hieratic and confusion with similar signs. These misunderstandings and revisions support the hypothesis of transmission by means of intermediate copies,[25] or *Vorlage*, such as a drawing or a sketch of the original work on papyrus[26] or ostracon, made especially for the new monument.

The transposition of iconographic or textual themes from one support to another can, in fact, cause misunderstandings, amendments, or adaptations of the composition that alter the similarity between the model and the new version.[27] The work can thus be enlarged or restricted so that there may be no exact correspondence between the model and the new version.

A complex process of transposition and creation is carried out with the reproduction of the selected elements on the intermediate copy and their subsequent translation within the final decorative plan. This process would involve at least the editor, who selects the material, probably together with the future owner, and draws up the intermediate copy, and the artist or scribe, who transfers it to the final support.

This phenomenon of reproduction of the textual and iconographic object[28] outlines the transmission process as a creative act of (re)production, differently from what is considered, on the contrary, as a copying process, understood as a mere duplication of the text or the theme considered.

The process of (re)production, in fact, implies the adaptation and reorganization of the selected theme in relation to both the personalities involved and the material chosen as intermediate copy and final support. Another emblematic case may be the use of different models, summarised in a new version.

Therefore, the textual and iconographic transmission of the 25th and 26th Dynasties considers different ways of allusion to the models, often without resuming them slavishly, so it can be complex to identify with absolute certainty the exact reference.

However, the possible identification of some intermediate copies, such as the figurative ostraca[29] found in the tombs of Nespakashuty (TT 312) and Anch-Hor (TT 414) (fig. 3), or the ostracon with a hymn to the first hour from the area of Deir el-Bahari,[30] highlights the possibility of textual and iconographic transmission also by means of such copies of use.[31]

25. Cf. Der Manuelian 1983, p. 321.
26. As suggested by the inscription with an invitation to copy in the tomb of Ibi (TT 36); Tappeti 2018, pp. 204–205.
27. Cf. Hussein 2017, p. 304 seqq.
28. Hussein 2017, pp. 307–308.
29. Bietak, Reiser-Haslauer 1978-1982, II, pl. 43 b; Pischikova 2002.
30. Hassan 2014.
31. Cf. Lüscher 2013.

The analysis carried out shows that the issue of textual and iconographic transmission during the Late Period is not defined, more recent investigations[32] call into question the possibility of a direct approach of the ancient Egyptians with the sources and monuments of their past.

With an attitude comparable to archaeologists and philologists *ante-litteram*, the scholars of the 25th and 26th Dynasties are the promoters of the recovery of ancient themes. By the use of the temple archives, with their models transmitted during the Pharaonic history, and the search for inspiration with direct contact to ancient monuments, they reacquired rare and precious motifs, otherwise forgotten.

The selection of specific iconographic and textual elements would be due even to the future owner's desire to be connected to a precious monument, whose fame and value can be emulated and even surpassed.

The elements that, then, seem to characterize the search for models between 25th and 26th Dynasties are: the circulation of models, the archive survey, parallel to the direct contact with ancient monuments, moved by a specific client, part of the elite, for a specific occasion.

Within this phenomenon the choice of the future owner, probably, acquires more value in the selection of the decorative elements. The reproduction of ancient texts and related iconographic motifs can, therefore, be considered within the more general context of the Archaism of the Late Period as an identity process. By reclaiming the themes of the Egyptian tradition, the individual affirms not only his link with the Pharaonic past but also, and above all, his belonging to a cultural community.

In this perspective the Archaism of the 25th and 26th Dynasties can be defined as a (re)production phenomenon, based not on the mere copy of models but on their innovation.

32. Cf. Werning 2011, I, pp. 71, 73, 81, n. 31; Morales 2017.

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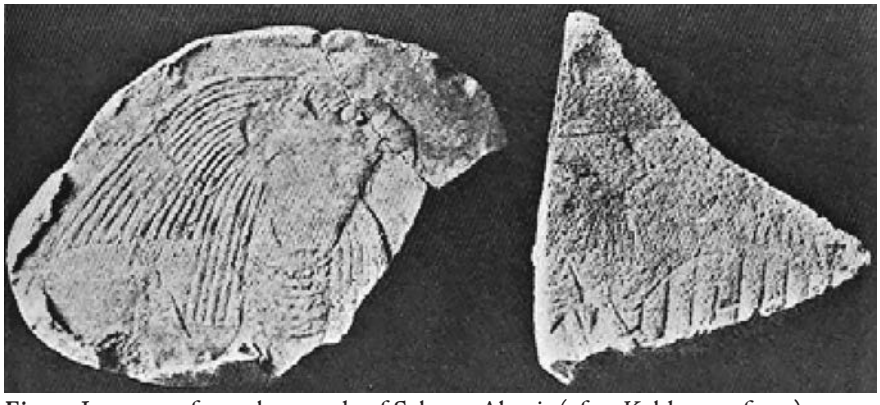

Fig. 1. Late casts from the temple of Sahura, Abusir (after Kahl 2010, fig. 7).

Fig. 2. Relief with the copysts' grids, from the complex of the step pyramid of Djoser (after Firth, Quibell 1935, vol. II, pl. 16).

Fig. 3. Ostracon with monkey and related relief of the solar court, tomb of Anch-Hor (TT 414) (after Bietak, Reiser-Haslauer 1978–1982, vol. II, pl. 42 b–43a, modified).

Kento Zenihiro

Funerary Cones as Tools for Dating Theban Tombs

Dating has always been one of the most important themes in Theban tomb research. Until now, researchers have dated tombs using a variety of tools, including architectural evidence, such as plans of the tombs themselves; pictorial evidence, such as wall painting methods and styles; objects from the tombs, such as pottery, statues, and stelae; and/or relationships between the tomb owner or his family and others.

The present study introduces an additional tool for tomb dating: funerary cones. We have only two chronological surveys of funerary cones, including the author's article published in Japanese in 2009.[1] This paper refines and extends this research, the result of which will contribute not only to the study of funerary cones themselves but also to the study of Theban tombs.

1. PREVIOUS CHRONOLOGIES OF FUNERARY CONES

Only two funerary cones chronologies have been published yet: one written by Mohammed al-Thibi in 2005 and the other by myslef in 2009.[2]

M. al-Thibi created his chronologies to understand the function of funerary cones and to date undated cones.[3] He pointed out that the word 'Osiris' on the cones began to disappear before the reign of Amenhotep III; further, he insisted that the solar associations replaced the Osirian associations (which I disagree with).

More than a decade has passed since the publication of al-Thibi's work, and during that time, new types of cones have been discovered. Therefore, we need to revise these chronologies.

1. Zenihiro 2009a.
2. Zenihiro 2009a.
3. Al-Thibi 2005, pp. 36, 45–46.

2. CONES AVAILABLE FOR THIS RESEARCH

Norman de Garis Davies and M.F. Laming Macadam published a catalogue of cones in 1957 which listed 611 cone types,[4] but we currently have a total of 681.[5] However, not all cone types are available for this sort of scientific research, as some remain undated, while others are broadly dated under 'New Kingdom' or '18th Dynasty'. After excluding inappropriate cones, only 228 types remain.

I have divided the 18th Dynasty into six phases. These six phases cover the entire 18th Dynasty, and each period is of roughly the same duration.[6]

3. FEATURES THAT SHOW CHRONOLOGICAL TRANSITIONS

Through the analysis of the various features of the given types, I have made 15 chronologies that show the historical transition of the different aspects of the cones.

However, in this study, in order to use these features to suggest the dates of undated cones, I extracted the chronologies that show clear phase-by-phase transitions only. The cones can be dated according to the following data:

- Use of dividers;
- Seal impression outline shape;
- Presence or absence of brick types;
- Location of the tombs to which the cone was initially allocated;
- Religious information in the text inscribed on the cone.

4. Davies, Macadam 1957.

5. For the latest data, see the author's website: Zenihiro, *The World of Funerary Cones – Statistics*, https://tinyurl.com/9p8vp29c.

6. The phases timespans and the cones from each phase are listed below:
Phase I (Iahmose I–Amenhotep I): Cones nos. 204, 245, 342, 343, 480, 481, 513, 535, 536, 537, 575.
Phase II (Thutmose I–Hatshepsut): Cones nos. 21, 31, 47, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 95, 103, 113, 120, 121, 134, 138, 139, 147, 176, 177, 182, 193, 229, 232, 234, 235, 247, 257, 263, 301, 302, 303, 342, 343, 359, 361, 446, 447, 448, 480, 481, 494, 514, 517, 518, 522, 546, 556, 558, 575, 648/B.21.
Phase III (Thutmose III): Cones nos. 1, 4, 16, 21, 22, 24, 31, 34, 42, 43, 47, 60, 61, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 100, 109, 113, 128, 129, 138, 139, 147, 152, 154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 182, 186, 188, 189, 191, 193, 200, 201, 213, 214, 222, 226, 229, 232, 234, 235, 248, 257, 263, 270, 280, 281, 283, 326, 350, 355, 358, 361, 367, 368, 370, 374, 375, 388, 393, 394, 413, 441, 442, 446, 447, 448, 491, 492, 493, 494, 499, 503, 508, 514, 516, 517, 518, 522, 538, 539, 544, 546, 549, 556, 591, 654/B.27.
Phase IV (Amenhotep II–Thutmose IV): Cones nos. 1, 4, 7, 8, 15, 19, 22, 24, 36, 42, 43, 54, 60, 73, 74, 78, 90, 102, 130, 136, 143, 144, 146, 156, 157, 163, 166, 174, 178, 179, 181, 185, 186, 187, 200, 201, 214, 218, 223, 224, 226, 228, 230, 240, 246, 248, 262, 265, 267, 270, 281, 283, 297, 298, 299, 300, 312, 322, 324, 327, 350, 374, 381, 388, 390, 398, 400, 402, 403, 407, 408, 417, 431, 432, 446, 447, 459, 464, 466, 475, 476, 492, 493, 494, 514, 556, 559, 576, 583, 590, 591.
Phase V (Amenhotep III): Cones nos. 7, 10, 11, 12, 30, 40, 54, 65, 73, 76, 132, 133, 144, 146, 153, 157, 170, 174, 179, 249, 285, 286, 299, 321, 322, 335, 398, 406, 407, 408, 412, 415, 430, 459, 464, 476, 477, 501, 559, 576, 622/A.11, 651/B.24, 673/B.46, 674/B.47, 679/B.52, 681/B.54, 685/B.58, 694/B.67.
Phase VI (Akhenaten–Horemheb): Cones nos. 132, 133, 255, 256, 284, 291, 453, 454, 471, 529, 532, 554, 658/B.31, 659/B.32, 660/B.33, 667/DAN I, 685/B.58, 691/B.64, 694/B.67, 701/B.74.

3.1. PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF DIVIDERS

The graph on fig. 1 shows the presence or absence of dividers in each phase. In phases I and II, around 50% of the cones have dividers. After phase III, a gradual increase of dividers occurs, and in the last two phases, this number reaches approximately 90%, showing a clear trend.

3.2. SEAL IMPRESSION OUTLINE SHAPE

The second chronology concerns the outline shape of the seal impressions (fig. 2). Here, we have another clear chronological trend. In phases I and II, all funerary cones are circular or oval. Phase III produces a few examples of angular outlines: square or rectangular, but most are still spherical. From phases IV to VI, there is a constant rise in angular seal impressions, and 35% of all impressions are angular in the last phase. These data, therefore, are useful for dating funerary cones.

3.3. FORMS OF STAMPED MATERIAL

The graph on fig. 3 shows the forms of the clay sealings on which the seal impressions are to be stamped. There are four types: cone, brick (including wedge-shaped sealings), pyramid, and prism. Some seal impressions are stamped only on cones, others only on bricks, and yet others on both cones and bricks.

Therefore, I classified seals stamped with seal impressions into the following four categories:

- Impressions only on cones;
- Impressions on cones and bricks;
- Impressions only on bricks;
- Other sealing forms.

According to the graph, the conical is dominant in phase I. From phases III to V, the ratio of cone and brick increases. Simultaneously, the brick-only type appears from the fifth phase (around 13%). In the sixth phase, it reaches 35%.

3.4. LOCATION

As for the location of the cones, the data reveal some interesting facts. First, the Sheikh abd el-Qurna area produced the most cones. Second, Asasif yielded most of its cones (50%) in phase I. Phases IV and V also show Asasif cones, but the quantities were small.

Third, like Sheikh abd el-Qurna, the al-Khokhah area also produced cones in almost all phases, but no cones were found during phase I.

3.5. RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS

Finally, if we look at the graph of religious relationships, we can see that the Osirian association increases regularly as the phases proceed (fig. 4). Hence, we can say that the cones became more 'funerary' over time.

Another interesting fact concerns solar associations. Some insist that the funerary cone is the symbol of the sun and has something to do with solar deities. However, the cones show few solar relationships in their texts.

I would like here to look at the general outline of the chronologies again and highlight useful features for dating funerary cones:

- The percentage of cones with dividers in phases I and II was approximately 50%. After phase III, dividers gradually occurred more often, and almost all the cones had dividers in phases V and VI.
- As for the seal impression outline shape, the angular ones steadily increased from phases III to VI, and the ratio increased over time.
- As for the sealings to be stamped, the brick-only types occurred mainly in phases V and VI.
- In the 18th Dynasty, Asasif cones were limited to phases I, IV, and V. Notably, during phase I, half of the cones were from Asasif. Additionally, al-Khokhah cones occurred in all phases except for phase I.
- As shown in the last graph, the cones in phase I were not as funerary, as none of them included the word 'Osiris'. However, the cones gradually became more funerary, and in phases V and VI, nearly 50% had the name Osiris inscribed.

4. USE OF THE CHRONOLOGIES: KAMOSE (NENTAWAEREF) CONES FROM TT 398

This then raises the following question: how are these chronologies used? Of the 681 cone types known today, 453 have not yet been satisfactorily dated. This means that 67% of all known cones are our research targets.

A good case study is determining whether cones nos. 13, 118, 119, and 207 belonged to the same official who was entombed in TT 398.

4.1. REASONS TO SUPPORT THE IDEA

Almost all previous researchers have insisted that cones nos. 13, 118, and 119 were for the same individual, the owner of tomb TT 398, the "Child of the '*kap*'", Kames (also called 'Nentawaeref').[7] Michel Dewachter and Friederike Kampp further pointed out the possibility that no. 207 also belonged to this tomb.[8]

7. Depauw 1997, p. 217, n. 3; Dewachter 1984, p. 86; Kampp 1996, p. 608; Kondo 1998, p. 40; Kondo et al. 2015, p. 32; Manniche 1988, p. 11; N. Strudwick, H. Strudwick 1996, pp. 3, 16, 105, 113, 155; Vivó 2002, p. 26.
8. Dewachter 1984, pp. 86–87; Kampp 1996, p. 608.

One of the reasons for this identification is that these cones have similar names, and these names are rare. Cone no. 13 has 'Nentawaeref' as its owner's name; nos. 118 and 119 have 'Kames', also called 'Nentawaeref'; and no. 207 has 'Kemis'.

The second reason is the similarity of titles. The owner of no. 13 is described as a 'Child of the *kap*' and a '*Wab*-priest of Amun'; nos. 118 and 119 as a 'Child of the *kap*'; and no. 207 as a '*Wab*-priest' and a 'Bearer to the east before Amun'. The title 'Bearer to the east before Amun' is regarded as practically the same as another title, 'the first King's son of Amun',[9] and as a typical case, 'Kemis' from cone no. 207 also had this title. According to the stela in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 34048), a certain '*Kms*' was 'the first King's son of Amun',[10] and he certainly was our 'Kemis'.[11] Based on this, it can now be solidly determined that no. 207 was also intended for the TT 398 Kamose.

As for no. 13, Robert Ludwig Mond discovered the stelophorous statue of Nentawaeref (Inv. no. 1986.747 at the MFA, Boston) at or near TT 398, although the exact place is ambiguous.[12] The text described on it reads *ḫrd n kꜣp jmj-rꜣ wʿbw [n Ỉmn?]* 'Child of the *kap*, Overseer of the *Wab*-priests [of Amun?]'. Therefore, this certainly also belongs to the owner of TT 398.

These facts lead us to believe that all four cones belong to the same person, the owner of TT 398, Kames.

4.2. REASONS TO REJECT THE IDEA

On the contrary, however, there are also several reasons to believe that they were not made for one person. First, it is uncommon for New Kingdom officials to possess up to four different types of cones. Second, it is certain that the four cones were made by three different persons. This is clear if one looks at the writing. While no. 13 has N35 (ripple-*n*) to spell the possessive case, both nos. 118 and 119 have S3 (red crown-*n*) to describe it. Likewise, the letters employed to describe the words '*tꜣ*' and '*wꜣ*' in '*nn-tꜣ-wꜣ-r=f*' are different between cone no 13 and cones nos. 118–119. The writing style of the signs on no. 207 is quite different from that of the others. Hence, it is obvious that a different person made that cone.

Therefore, a tentative theory can be posited as follows:
- No. 13 was produced by person A;
- Nos. 118 and 119 were produced by person B;
- No. 207 was produced by person C.

9. Kees 1953, pp. 20–21.
10. Lacau 1909, pp. 82–84.
11. Kamose: Habachi 1968, pp. 53–54; Kees 1960, p. 45.
12. Collins 1976, p. 33.

Concerning the archaeological features, all the examples of no. 13 are from within and around tombs TT 47,[13] 201,[14] 253,[15] and 257.[16] In other words, they come from the al-Khokhah area. However, there are no examples from TT 398 or its vicinity. On the contrary, more than 30 examples of no. 118 have been found only at TT 398.[17] No examples of cones nos. 118 and 119 have been found in the al-Khokhah area. Thus, the areas where these cones have been discovered are clearly different from each other. One cannot determine the original area of no. 207, because only one example has been found so far.[18]

Analysis of the data on non-cone materials reveals the date of each cone. No. 13 dates to Amenhotep II's reign because the facial style of his Boston statue reflects the features of the Amenhotep II period.[19] However, it is quite surprising that researchers have not pointed out the timespan inconsistency because TT 398 was much older than Amenhotep II's reign. In other words, we now have two dates concerning no. 13: the end of the 17th Dynasty to the reign of Thutmose II, as suggested by TT 398, versus the reign of Amenhotep II, as suggested by the Boston statue.

Both cones nos. 118 and 119 date from the end of the 17th Dynasty to Thutmose II's reign because TT 398, the tomb to which these cones belonged, is dated to this period.

Cone no. 207 is dated between Thutmose I and Hatshepsut's reigns due to the owner's stela in the MMA (Inv. no. 17.2.6.).[20] During the reign of Amenhotep II, the owner's grandson, Amenhotep, made this stela. Therefore, the cone is thought to have been made during the period of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut.

As stated above, previous researchers, besides myself, argue that the same individual is the owner of the three or four cones. Although I agree that nos. 118 and 119 are from TT 398, I have not clearly expressed my views about nos. 13 and 207.[21] This has been the general situation until now.

4.3. EMPLOYING FUNERARY CONE CHRONOLOGIES TO SOLVE THE ISSUE

How, then, can cone chronology solve this problem? Let us apply the chronological data to our four cones individually. First, no. 13 has dividers. Fig. 1 shows that such a cone is more likely to come from later phases, such as phases III to VI, although the first two phases also have cones with dividers. Second, the cone is from the al-Khokha area. This means that the cone is less likely to be from phase I, as no cone tombs from this phase have been discovered in the al-Khokhah area. In addition, since the text mentions the owner's Osirian association, it implies that the cone is from the later phases. Three factors, dividers, location, and religious relationship, exclude the

13. Kondo, J., "On Inscribed Funerary Cones from Al-Khokha area, West bank of Thebes", *Speech presented at 59th Annual Meetings of The Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan in University of Tokyo*, Tokyo, 2017.
14. Davies n.d., p. 24; Macadam n.d., p. 79.
15. N. Strudwick, H. Strudwick 1996, pp. 105, 155.
16. Mostafa 1995, p. 79.
17. Collins 1976, p. 33.
18. Kruck 2012, p. 141.
19. Brovarski 1988.
20. Hayes 1990, pp. 172–173, fig. 94.
21. Zenihiro 2009b, pp. 52, 84–85, 110.

possibility that the cone is from phase I. On the contrary, the divider and religious relationship graphs suggest that it is probably from phase III onwards. From a chronological point of view, this cone does not belong to tomb TT 398, which is dated to phase I or II.

Then, how about cones nos. 118 and 119? All researchers, including the author, think these are from TT 398. These two cones have dividers. Phases I and II include cones with dividers, although the percentage is relatively low. The outline shapes of both cones are circular. Cone no. 118 was stamped only on cones, but cone no. 119 was stamped on cones and bricks. In any case, this is not a problem. Looking at the location, TT 398 is located in Sheikh abd el-Qurna. Samples of such tombs in phase I are few, but they do exist. Finally, two cones have no Osirian-associated words. These features reflect that they are either from phase I or phase II.

Lastly, let us look at cone no. 207. It does not have dividers, and the outline shape is circular. It does not have known stamped bricks. We know about the discovery location, however, due to minimal data (just one specimen), we cannot point out the place of the tomb to which this cone once belonged. Our cone has the word Amun in its text, and the religious relationship graph shows that the feature appears mostly in phase I. In phase II, the text does not denote an Osirian association, supporting the idea that the cone was from phase I or II.

In short, from a statistical point of view, cone no. 13 is not likely to have been produced and used in phase I or II, while nos. 118, 119, and 207 are highly likely to come from these earlier phases. Therefore, no. 13 does not share the same owner with the other cones.

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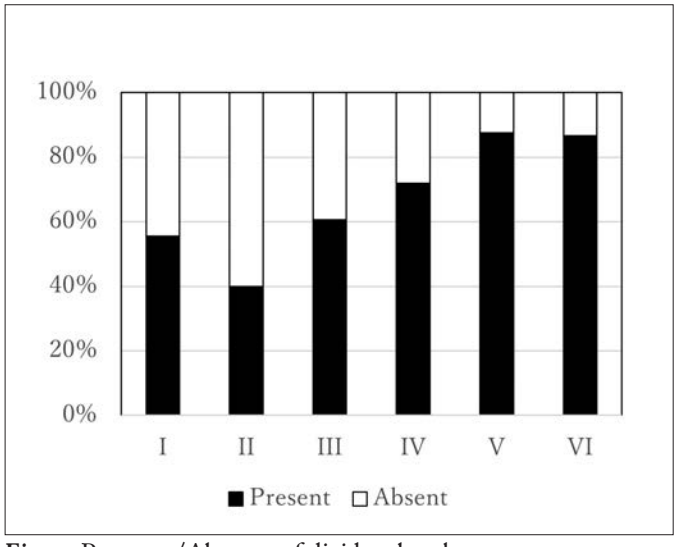

Fig. 1. Presence/Absence of dividers by phase.

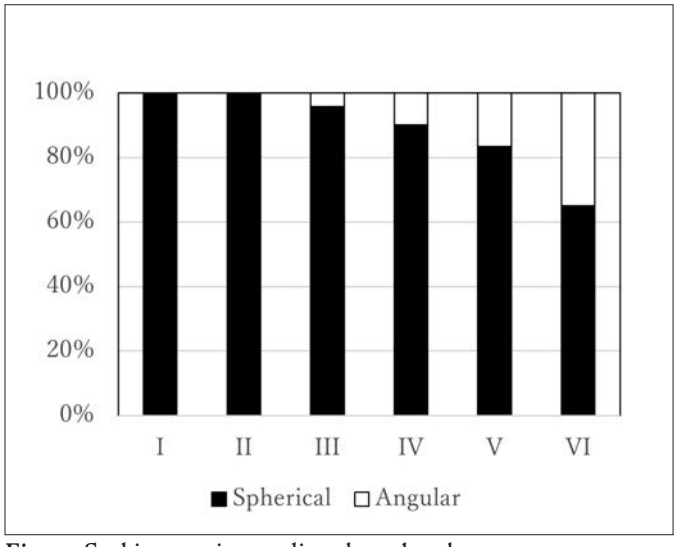

Fig. 2. Seal impression outline shape by phase.

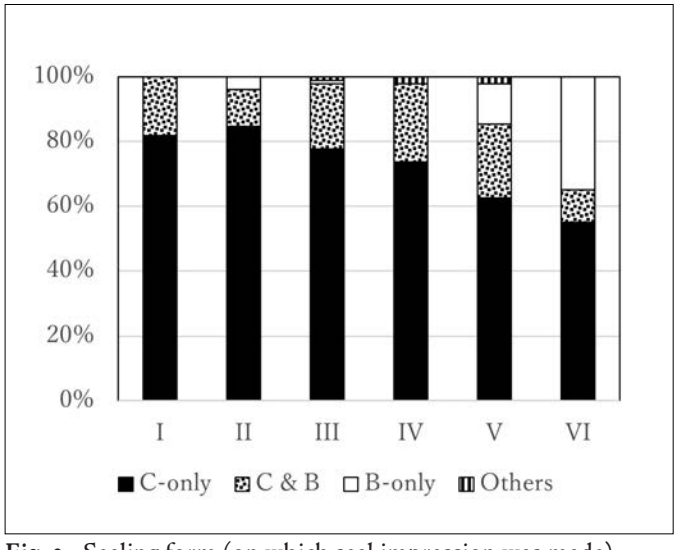

Fig. 3. Sealing form (on which seal impression was made) by phase.

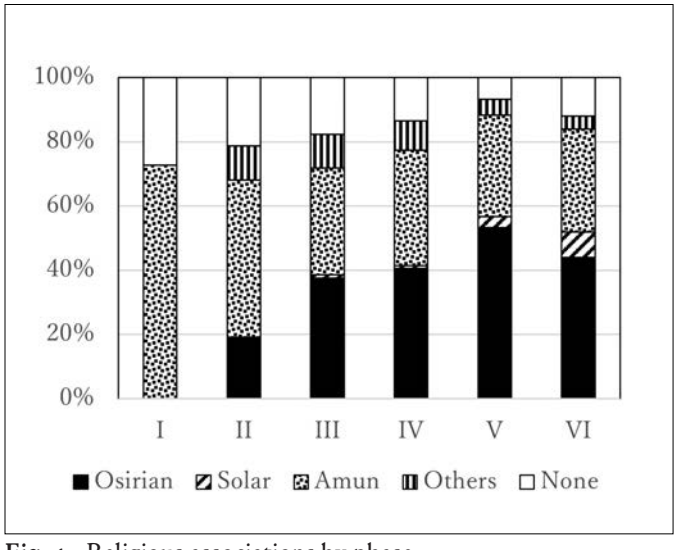

Fig. 4. Religious associations by phase.