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**STUDIES
IN
ANCIENT ART
AND
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STUDIES IN ANCIENT ART AND CIVILIZATION



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FEMALE REPRESENTATIONS
FROM TELL EL-FARKHA

In 2006 a spectacular discovery was made on the Western Kom at Tell el-Farkha. In the western part of the so called administrative-cultic centre, dated to the end of Dynasty 0 and the beginning of Dynasty 1, a room was discovered that certainly served a cultic purpose¹. Among other objects, a small jar (23 cm in height) covered by a bowl was discovered there. The jar was decorated with ostrich and gazelles representations. Inside, 62 votive objects were found, others were discovered in the vicinity, in the same area². Human representations are dominant among the votive objects. These figurines can be divided into a few groups. One of them is formed by six representation of women.

Two of them depicted naked women. The better preserved one (8,5 cm in height), was found in 2006 in the jar mentioned (Pl. I), the second one (3 cm in height), with badly destroyed face, broken left hand and lower parts of the legs (Pl. II), was discovered outside. Both represented women standing with legs together and right arms alongside the body. One hand, with clearly modelled fingers, rests on the hip. The left arm is bent at the elbow, while the hand with similarly rendered fingers is turned up and holds the right breast. The cast of features in the better preserved exemplar are carved in detail: lips are relatively large and narrow, its nose is large and hooked, eyes almond-shaped and eyebrows slightly rounded. Lack of pupils can be the result of the surface damage. Long hair are parted in the middle, reach the waist on the back and fall on the breasts in two separated bands. The figure's womb and buttocks are plastically represented.

¹ Cf. M. Chłodnicki, K.M. Ciałowicz, *Tell el-Farkha 2006*, PAM XVIII, Warszawa 2008, pp. 127-147.

² Cf. A. Buszek, *Dwarf Figurines from Tell el-Farkha*, [in:] J. Śliwa (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization 12*, Kraków 2008, pp. 35-55; K.M. Ciałowicz, *Gazelles and Ostriches from Tell el-Farkha*, [in:] J. Śliwa (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization 12*, Kraków 2008, pp. 21-34.

Two other examples represented women in robes. First (8,0 cm in height) of them is dressed in a long robe reaching the middle of her calves, tied with a belt (Pl. III). She stands on a round basis, her legs together. In the badly damaged face a large and hooked nose, almond-shaped eyes, small and thick lips are still visible. Long hair, parted in the middle, reach the shoulders, ending roundly. In her bent, upturned hands, the woman holds a vessel: a bowl or a plate. The figure is leaning slightly forward as if she was offering the bowl. Her toes are carved in every detail. Second one (6,9 cm in height), standing on an oval basis, is dressed in a robe or coat that reaches her slightly bent knees (Pl. IV). Her feet, with clearly marked toes are put together. The arms hang alongside the body and reach the hips. All fingers are carefully modelled. The face is expressive, with large almond-shaped eyes, clearly marked eyebrows and small, relatively thick lips. The figure's nose is wide and straight. Her left ear is marked much deeper, both are large and sticking. Long hair reach the half of the back, being arranged on top into waves going from fore to back, while on the back itself the waves go horizontally.

Extremely interesting are representations of women with children. First of them (4,7 cm in height) has a child in her arms (Pl. V). The woman stands on a basis and is dressed in a long robe that reaches her ankles. Her long hair fall to the half of her back and on her probably large breasts in two separated bands. The face is not preserved, although it was most certainly schematically carved. The right arm that hangs alongside the body is only partially preserved. With the left hand the woman holds the back of a probably naked child sitting on her hip. The child has a round head and sticking ears. Its face is not marked in detail. The child's left hand is bent at the elbow and rests on its chest. The second figurine (4,1 cm in height) represented two persons sitting in what was probably an oval palanquin (Pl. VI), made of wood or what is more certain of basketwork, composed of four clearly separated horizontal segments. The woman is presented to her waist. She wears a kind of a coat that covers her completely and is visibly marked by her neck. The body was treated very schematically. The face severely damaged: badly preserved almond-shaped eyes and lips, the nose is straight and narrow. Hair parted in the middle of the head, were most probably falling on her shoulders. The woman holds on her knees a child that sits sideways to her. This figure is very schematically presented, most certainly it is dressed in a coat with its hands put together on the chest. Facial features are not marked.

In the Pre- and Early Dynastic art there are numerous representations of naked women. They appear already in the Badari culture. One of the fine examples³, made of ivory (14,3 cm in height) is a woman with a large, bald

³ British Museum inv.no. EA 59648; G. Brunton, G. Caton-Thompson, *The Badari Civilisation and Predynastic Remains near Badari*, London 1928, pl. XXIV,2.

head sited on a very short neck. The arms hang alongside her body, hands resting on hips. The face was roughly modelled, with large oval eyes made by incisions. Pupils were marked with round points – like the nipples on her prominent breasts. Her nose is large and wide, in contrast with a very narrow mouth. Distinctly marked pubic area. The rest of the body was treated very schematically. Also the Louvre figurine⁴ is sometimes thought to be of Badarian origin, though such attribution may rise doubts due to its style⁵. Made probably of ivory, the sculpture is a 8,7 cm high representation of a naked woman, standing with very thin arms bent at the elbows and settled on the stomach. A relatively large head is oval and squeezed between the shoulders with no part of the neck visible. Eyes are slightly oval as well, the pupils (once possibly inlaid) marked by large, round points. Wide mouth accompany quite small a nose. Her hair is modelled into two braids, covering breasts, with the waves emphasised by deep incisions. Breasts and pubic area are clearly marked.

Representations of naked women gained popularity during the Naqada I period. A smallish figurine (4,3 cm in height), made of ivory, was found in grave U-246 at Abydos, dated to the end of Naqada I⁶. Considered as a depiction of a woman by its founders, should probably be treated as a she-dwarf portrait, due to proportions. The figurine is modelled very schematically – a naked woman with narrow torso and very wide hips. Arms, hanging alongside the body reach the middle of her hips. Legs are short, with very small feet which seem to point inwards. The head is bold, eyes marked by round incisions (once inlaid?) with sticking ears, prominent nose and almost invisible mouth.

One of the most significant artefacts, though of an unknown origin, is deposited in the British Museum⁷. The small figurine (11.4 cm in height) represents a naked woman standing on legs that are put together, with her hands holding the breasts. The head is oval, very large in contrast to the shoulders. Neck is not marked. Nose is prominent and mouth wide. Disproportionately large eyes inlaid with lapis-lazuli particularly draw attention. Her hair fall on the both sides of the face in thin plaits. Nipples and navel are marked with

⁴ Inv. No. E 11887; Y. Tristant, *Les premières communautés agricoles dans la vallée du Nil*, *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 307 (2005), p. 21.

⁵ Early phase of the Naqada I culture seems much more probable. A similar opinion was expressed by G. Andreu, M-H. Rutschowskaya, Ch. Ziegler, *L'Égypte ancienne du Louvre*, Paris 1997, p. 38.

⁶ Reg. No. Abydos R 383; U. Hartung, *Friedhof U.* [in:] G. Dreyer, U. Hartung, T. Hikade, E.C. Köhler, *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 9/10 Vorbericht*, *MDAIK* 54 (1998), p. 85, pl. 4d; G. Dreyer, *Abydos*, [in:] U. Rummel (ed.), *Meeting the Past. 100 Years in Egypt. German Archaeological Institute Cairo 1907-2007*, Cairo 2007, p. 61.

⁷ Inv. No. EA 32 141; A. M. Donadoni Roveri, E. Tiradritti, *Kemet. Alle sorgenti del tempo*, Milano 1998, p. 31.

round holes. A wide pubic triangle is created by numerous little punctures. Narrow hips of oval shape, legs joined together, with small feet distinctly modelled. The same collection includes another figurine of a naked woman, with arms situated alongside the body⁸. This artefact, probably of Naqada origin, has been previously a part of MacGregor collection. The head is bald, almost rectangular, with large sticking ears and once inlaid eyes. Semi-circular eyebrows are formed by incisions. Only partially preserved nose is wide, mouth relatively large. Plastically modelled breasts, with a round hole for navel and a number of small punctures forming pubic triangle. The figurine's right hand reaches the middle of rounded thighs, while the left one is only partially preserved. Her feet are small, toes marked by incisions.

A couple of naked women figurines, both of bone and clay, has been published by Petrie⁹. The majority of them lacks archaeological context but can be dated to the Naqada I period. Of particular interest to us are two artefacts that were bought with another five and come, according to the trader, from Ballas. The first one bears resemblance to the British Museum figurines described above¹⁰. Its head is oval and bald, neck not marked, quite large a nose and sticking ears. Both eyes and eyebrows were once inlaid with different material. Prominent breasts and large pubic triangle formed by small punctures on rounded hips. Only the upper part of the arms survived, making it difficult to state if they were straight or bent at the elbows. Legs are held together, with only the left, distinctly separated foot, preserved. Navel was marked by a round hole.

The second figurine, much larger than the one just described, has a similarly oval head with small, though sticking, ears. Its eyes were inlaid with round steatite beads covered with green glaze¹¹. The nose is missing, mouth seem too narrow. Relatively slender torso, wide rounded hips. Both breasts and lower parts of the legs didn't survive. Arms hang alongside the body with hands broken off.

Representations of naked women were still popular in the Proto- and Early Dynastic period. A badly damaged statuette of bone, showing a naked woman with her hands falling alongside the body, comes from the Early Dynastic deposit from Tell Ibrahim Awad¹². Two fragments of faience figurines, dated to the Archaic period, are known from Elephantine¹³. Both preserved from waist

⁸ Inv. No. EA32 141; H. 12 cm; hippopotamus tusk; A.J. Spencer, *Early Egypt. The Rise of Civilization in the Nile Valley*, London 1993, 31, fig. 15.

⁹ W.M.F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, London 1920, p. 6 ff, pls. II-VI.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Prehistoric...*, pl. II, 21

¹¹ Petrie, *Prehistoric...*, p. 9; pl. II, 22

¹² G.A. Belova, T.A. Sherkova, *Ancient Egyptian Temple at Tell Ibrahim Awad*, Moscow 2002, ph. 55

¹³ G. Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII. Der Tempel der Satet. Die Funde der Frühzeit und des Alten Re-*

up, represent women with their right hands held alongside the body while the left one supports a breast. Another example from this site is a statue of a naked woman with hands crossed on her breasts, wearing long hair or a wig¹⁴. Facial features and anatomical details are presented very schematically. One more figurine of Elephantine origin, probably dating to the period of our interest, is made of ivory¹⁵. Small (4,8 cm in height) and very schematic depiction of a naked woman with arms lining her body. Long hair reach the middle of the back. Large eyes and very wide mouth particularly draw attention. The rest of anatomical details is shown only schematically and in a conventional way.

A few examples are known from the Main Deposit of Hierakonpolis. To this group belongs, among others, a figurine from Petrie Museum¹⁶. The large (20 cm in height) figurine of ivory, presents a standing naked woman. Despite the fact that both her hands are broken off, it is safe to suppose that the left arm was bent at the elbow and held breasts, while the right one was falling alongside the body – the hand with carefully shaped fingers is preserved. What draws attention is the distinctively modelled face with almond-shaped eyes, relatively wide nose and thick lips. Particularly interesting is also the hairdo. The long hair or wig reach the figure's waist, with curls represented by horizontal lines. It makes this sculpture very similar to both found in Tell el-Farkha. The majority of figurines from Hierakonpolis is deposited in the Ashmolean Museum. Among them is the one bearing resemblance to the Petrie Museum sculpture mentioned above – both in style and condition¹⁷. A slender naked woman, with waist-long hair falling down her back and forming equally long braids in the front, framing the face. It's impossible to reconstruct the exact set of the arms as they are broken off. Fortunately, another figurine from the Main Deposit survived almost intact from the knees up¹⁸. Its right arm lines the body, while the left one supports the breasts. A hairdo identical as the one described above, almond-shaped eyes, prominent eyebrows and small nose with proportionate mouth, complete the picture. This last example is formally the same as the one from Tell el-Farkha. An exceptional example of a naked woman figure is a lapis-lazuli figurine found in the Main Deposit of Hierakonpolis¹⁹. Its head was made separately and joined with the torso by means of a wooden peg. The

iches, Mainz 1986, p. 99-100; Inv. Nos El.K. 1569; 1239

¹⁴ Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII*, p. 100; Inv. No. El.K. 1016.

¹⁵ Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII*, p. 103; Inv. No. El.K. 664.

¹⁶ Inv. No UC 14860; B. Adams, *Ancient Hierakonpolis*, Warminster 1974, p. 70

¹⁷ Ashmolean Museum E185; J.E. Quibell, W.M.F. Petrie, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. IX, 1-2.

¹⁸ Quibell, Petrie, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. IX, 6-7.

¹⁹ Ashmolean Museum E 1057; 1057a; H. 8,9 cm; The body was found in 1898, but the head eight years later. H. Whitehouse, *Ancient Egypt and Nubia in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 2009, pp. 34-35.

figure is standing with legs kept together, arms bent at the elbows and settled on a stomach, beneath the breasts. Only the pubic triangle – with small punctures, breasts and fingers are marked clearly, with other anatomical details shown only schematically. The legs end in a straight edge at ankle-level. The artist concentrated on the head – almost spheric, carefully modelled, with a hairdo of small, tight curls – possibly indicating the woman's non-Egyptian origin. Prominent, though not sticking ears, large almond-shaped eyes, deeply cut for inlaying. The nose is small and mouth wide.

From the same set come also representations of women dressed in long robes. The first example is a figurine enveloped in a kind of a mantle, reaching the middle of her thighs, with another garment – probably a dress – picking from beneath²⁰. The edge of the outer robe creates a sort of a high collar covering the lower part of the hair falling down the back. Both ears were left uncovered. The eyes are almond-shaped, the nose wide and mouth narrow.

The another figurine's face didn't survive²¹. Her hair apparently fell on the shoulders, with a knee-length coat covering the body. The garment was decorated with a trimming made of cuts and dots. Feet, situated on a round base, are plastically modelled, with each toe clearly marked.

Another figurine – this one from Louvre Museum – bears strong resemblance to those just described²². A woman, covered in a coat, knee-long and decorated in the upper part with an ornament made of a few rows of parallel ropes. This outer layer probably overlaid a dress. The head is almost round and squeezed between the shoulders with neck invisible. The hair, parted in the middle, fall down the back in parallel strands. Eyes almond-shaped, with eyelids visibly lengthened. Equally broad eyebrows marked by incisions. A small nose and plump, though narrow mouth. Both cheeks and chin distinctly modelled. The woman's right hand lies alongside the body, reaching the middle of a thigh, while the left one, hidden beneath the coat, is bent at the elbow and seems to be holding the garment on the breasts. Visible parts of legs are modelled schematically, with feet missing.

A small, ivory figurine (6,1 cm in height) has been found recently in the grave U-182 at Abydos, dated to Naqada IID phase²³. It depicts a woman with a sort of

²⁰ Whitehouse, *Ancient Egypt...*, pp. 32-33.

²¹ Quibell, Petrie, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. IX, 4-5.

²² Inv. No. E11888; H. 13, 5 cm; hippopotamus ivory; Ch. Ziegler, *Le Louvre. Les antiquités égyptiennes*, Paris 1990, p. 19.

²³ Reg. No. Abydos R 564a-b; U. Hartung, *Friedhof U* [in:] G. Dreyer, A. von den Driesch, M. Engel, R. Hartman, U. Hartung, T. Hikade, V. Müller, J. Peters, *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 11/12 Vorbericht*, MDAIK 56 (2000), p. 63, pl. 5a; Dreyer, *Abydos...*, p. 62.

a scarf or mantlet covering the head, falling down the shoulders and reaching her feet. A dress was probably worn underneath. The edge of the scarf is decorated by two stripes: the narrow one, covered in a delicate cross ornament and the wider one, scattered with black paste-filled dots. Oval eye, as well as eyebrows, are formed by similarly filled incisions. Nose and badly damaged mouth are narrow.

Grave B14 in Abydos, connected with the burial of Aha, brings us another small figurine – a woman dressed in a sort of a dress²⁴. The garment reaches just above her ankles. Her arms are bent at the elbows and settled on her breasts. The head, far too large for the rest of the body, is almost round. Hair, divided at the top, fall on her shoulders. Eyes are almond-shaped, prominent nose and wide but thin mouth. The style of the figurine places it rather among the lower quality examples dating to the Early Dynastic period, which is a surprise, considering the place of discovery.

Another couple of women figurines probably also come from Abydos. The first example is actually a piece of a large, clay statue, badly made and preserved from legs up²⁵. The woman is clothed in a coat, falling down from the right shoulder. Her left arm and breast, both clearly marked, remain uncovered²⁶. The edge of the garment, held up by the woman's left hand, is decorated with rope design. Her right hand emerges below from the folds of the coat. Schematically shaped face is broad, with almond-shaped eyes and long, clearly marked brows. The face has a not too large a nose and a proportional mouth. Her hair falls down the back in even, distinguished locks.

The second figurine, curved from limestone²⁷, is that of a woman tightly wrapped in a coat that reaches her ankles. She stands on a round, flat base. Left part of the cloth ends in a clear edge. Her arms, bent at the elbows are visible under the garment, possibly holding it up. The face is broad with a prominent nose and narrow mouth. The ears are large and sticking, almond-shaped eyes, as well as brows, were initially inlaid. Her hair, parted in the middle, fall onto the shoulders and down the back in schematically marked waves. Lower part of the coiffure is seemingly hidden under the coat. Bare feet are large, with toes and nails carefully modelled.

The Munich Museum collection includes a limestone figurine, bought in 1962 and considered by H.W. Müller to originate from Abydos temple complex²⁸.

²⁴ Museum of Fine Arts Boston; Inv. No 01.7367; ivory, h. 6 cm; E.J. Baumgartel, *About Some Ivory Statuettes from the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis*, JARCE 7 (1968), fig. 1-2.

²⁵ Kofler-Truniger Collection; H. Schlögl, *Le préhistoire et la protohistoire* [in:] H. Schlögl (ed.), *Le don du Nil. Art égyptien dans les collections suisses*, Bâle 1978, p. 29

²⁶ H. Schlögl considers this figurine to be the representation of the enthroned ruler.

²⁷ Kofler-Truniger Collection; H. 29,8 cm; Schlögl, *Le préhistoire et la protohistoire...*, pp. 29-30. In his opinion the figure presents the local god.

²⁸ Inv. No. ÄS 4234; h. 34,7 cm; H.W. Müller, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst*, München

A woman in a long, simple dress with her right hand lining the body, while the left one is bent at the elbow and settled under the breasts. Both feet and left side of the head are missing. Waist-long hair fall down the back with two braids covering her breasts and large ears sticking out from the locks. The face is broad, almost round. Oval eyes were inlaid. Her lips were full, the missing nose relatively broad.

Depictions of women with children are relatively rare – only three examples from Elephantine are known to us²⁹. The first one, dated to the Archaic period or the beginning of the Old Kingdom, is preserved from the waist up. The woman is supporting a child she's carrying on her back, while it embraces her waist with its legs. Her face is very carefully modelled for a faience figurine. Oval eyes are trimmed with clearly marked lids and brows. The nose is wide but short, with mouth relatively narrow. Her hair fall down the back and seem to be bound at the neck. The child, meanwhile, is depicted very schematically. Another, similarly dated figurine represents a woman with two children in her arms. This statue, technically much worse, depicts a standing woman, probably in a dress, cuddling to her breasts very roughly modelled figures of children. The head is almost spherical and tilted slightly upwards. Eyes are almond-shaped, mouth wide and nose small. Her legs are disproportionately fat, with big feet forming a base the statue was set upon. Another figurine of this kind, in even worse condition, is preserved from the knees up and heavily damaged. The children are modelled as they were in the previous example. Her hair fall onto the shoulders. With facial features almost completely gone, the only anatomical detail clearly visible is a large ear.

A statuette of a mother with children, without provenance, is also kept in London³⁰: a woman in a long robe supports with her left hand a child that hangs on her back. Two others are now in Berlin³¹, however we do not know where they come from. Both are dated to the Naqada III period and both represented naked women. The first one supports her child on the hip. The surface heavily damaged, her features are unlike any described above. The eyes are almond-shaped, nose and mouth wide. The hair fall down the back, with ears large and distinctly modelled. Her torso is much too big in relation to the legs, hands are too wide. The face and proportions of the child figurine are almost grotesque – possibly due to the state of preservation. It seems to be raising the mother's left

1976, p. 38; cf. A. Grimm, S. Schoske, *Am Beginn der Zeit. Ägypten in der Vor- und Frühzeit*, München 2000, p. 34.

²⁹ Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII*, p. 103; Inv. Nos. El.K. 1444, 1022, 1009; this set includes also a sitting figurine of a man holding a child, dated to the 5th dynasty – Inv. No. El K 916.

³⁰ Inv. No. BM 32 143; J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, London 1905, p. 168.

³¹ Inv. Nos. ÄMP 14441 (H. 7,5 cm); ÄMP 17600 (H. 6,5 cm), ivory; Grimm, Schoske, *Am Beginn der Zeit...*, p. 34.

breast to its mouth. The second sculpture depicts a woman with a large belly and very fat thighs. Her head is flattened at the top, the hole at the back indicates a hairdo made of different material. Ears are large and sticking, the face almost round. Small, almond-shaped eyes seem to disappear between brows and cheeks. The nose is fairly wide but incomplete, with mouth very narrow and broad. The child, with its front to the mother, seem to be supported by her flabby belly, with hand reaching for breasts. The mother holds it with both, disproportionately large, hands.

A number of figurines depicting baboons with their young, is also worthy of our attention. In the example from Abydos, the animal holds its offspring sited between the knees, with its back to the mother³². From this site comes also a figurine of a baboon embracing its young, this time facing the parent³³. The limestone figurine of a seated baboon with a young baboon between its paws is known also from Hierakonpolis³⁴.

While discussing the representations of women with children sitting in a litter, we find ourselves in a completely different situation. No direct analogies to such figurines are to be found in the early Egyptian art. In these cases attention should be drawn to some representations in relief and small objects of plastic art. The former show figures in litters for instance on the mace-heads of Scorpion and Narmer³⁵. Sculptures of covered litters are also known, consisting of a rectangular base, probably depicting a basket, covered by a light construction with oval cross section, made of mat or fabric³⁶. Of particular interest is a limestone model of such a litter from Abydos³⁷. Inside, there is a depiction of a human face, possibly that of a woman, with cow ears and horns. Ribbons showed underneath it are woven together to form the ankh sign. Three hieroglyphs below form an inscription – *reput*. Each side of the litter is adorned with a depiction of humanoid figures with the head of a bird and ram's horns. Covered in a sort of a short coat, decorated so that it resembles bird's wings. As these creatures are shown on the sides of the litter, they were probably its carriers.

Women figurines from Tell el-Farkha can be, already on the first glance, classified as typical examples of the early Egyptian art. However, when compared

³² Kofler-Truniger Collection; H. 9,5 cm; faience; Schlögl, *Le préhistoire et la protohistoire...*, p. 25.

³³ W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos II*, London 1903, pl. V, 41.

³⁴ Inv. No. UC 15000; H. 10, 3 cm; Adams, *Ancient Hierakonpolis...*, p. 25.

³⁵ K.M. Ciałowicz, *La naissance d'un royaume. L'Égypte dès la période prédynastique à la fin de la Ière dynastie.*, Kraków 2001, pp. 197-206.

³⁶ Belova, Sherkova, *Ancient Egyptian...*, phot. 49; H. Schlögl, *Le préhistoire et la protohistoire...*, p. 26.

³⁷ Kofler-Truniger Collection; H. 8,9 cm; H. Schlögl, *Le préhistoire et la protohistoire...*, p. 27.

with examples of this kind, known from other sites, one notices vital differences. Therefore, it seems plausible to state that despite numerous similarities, their creators were given much freedom and did not have to follow strict patterns.

The most similarities, or even a strict following of a certain pattern, may be seen in depictions of naked women. Here the pattern is clear: standing woman with arms lining the body or with the left arm bent at the elbow and supporting her breast. Such representations appear already in the early Naqada culture, continued later during the Proto – and Early Dynastic periods. Figurines of women with both arms bent at the elbows and settled on the stomach became much rarer then. Seemingly, those early depictions of naked women can be compared mainly with later representations of concubines, one can therefore assume they were produced with similar intention.

Figurines of dressed women make up a more differentiated set. It's caused, on the one hand, by the fact that the garments could be treated in more or less decorative manner. On the other, the artists had more opportunities of showing hands: hanging loosely, covered with a dress or a coat, holding various object. Seemingly, only members of elite were depicted clothed – both those of the highest circles and those from the local social structures. Such representations, like the previous ones, are known throughout the Egyptian territory, but are much more varied.

The fact that there is no direct analogy to the Tell el-Farkha bowl-carrying figurine, shouldn't be a surprise then. To this type belongs a small figurine from Tell Ibrahim Awad³⁸. The surface is heavily damaged, with facial features and majority of details almost invisible. It represents a standing woman in a long robe, with her hair falling on the shoulders and with a jar in her hands. The artifact was placed on a wedged base, to be fixed in place. Among the objects from Elephantine, there are three figures holding something in their hands. One of them represents a man embracing a round object (bread?) against his chest, the second is only partially preserved and shows a woman with a vessel on her head, while the third one, also incomplete, is a sitting figure holding a large vessel in front of it³⁹. Another figurine, this time of faience, also comes from the same site. It is a sitting baboon holding a jar in front of it⁴⁰. The latter object has its counterpart in a monkey from Abydos, now comprising a part of the Kofler-Truniger collection⁴¹.

Similar conclusions, about lack direct analogy, can be drawn while analyzing the statuettes showing women with children. In most cases it is impossible to safely identify if they were mothers or nannies/wet nurses. Here also, by

³⁸ H. about 6,5 cm; Belova, Sherkova, *Ancient Egyptian...*, ph. 104-105.

³⁹ Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII*, p. 101; Inv. No. El.K. 999, 1499, 967.

⁴⁰ Belova, Sherkova, *Ancient Egyptian...*, Fig. 72.


⁴¹ Schlögl, *Le préhistoire et la protohistoire ...*, p. 25.

showing different types of persons: dressed and naked, with children on the back, in the arms, on the breasts etc., the artists had much more freedom in their endeavours, the fact that undoubtedly influenced individual objects. As there was no pattern, the quality of work and the form of the figurines, depicted naked or dressed, depended on the craftsman talent and imagination.

Of particularly special importance is among them a figurine of a sitting woman, with a child on her knees, in the palanquin. As mentioned above, this unique artifact doesn't have an analogy in the early Egyptian art. The woman's dress – a kind of a coat with characteristic high collar – and the fact she sits in the palanquin, imply high social standing. The aforementioned depictions from the mace heads and litter models of Abydos may suggest that the representation from Tell el-Farkha can be in relation to *reput*, recognized as a representation of a mother, a divine pharaoh's mother⁴² or, in a broader sense, women from the royal family⁴³. The closest chronologically, is a depiction of a king on his mother's knees – though not in the litter – like the famous statuette of Pepy II and Ankhnesmeryre II from the Brooklyn Museum⁴⁴. Still, it is almost eight hundred years younger than the figurine described. Depictions of women in the litters, known from the mace-heads, especially that of Narmer, seem to be closely linked with the *sed* festival. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that our figurine represents a young ruler sitting on his mother's knees and is connected to celebration of the royal jubilee – the king shown as a child, to put emphasis on the moment his strength rejuvenated. It is worth mentioning that also a figure of a walking man in a coat – probably a ruler during the *heb-sed* festival – has been found at the Tell el-Farkha site⁴⁵. Should one accept the interpretation of the above statuettes as depictions of the king, another evidence – apart from the golden figurines from Kom E⁴⁶ – is gained for the close connection between the site and the emerging monarchy.

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[All photographs by Robert Słaboński, all drawings by Anna Longa]

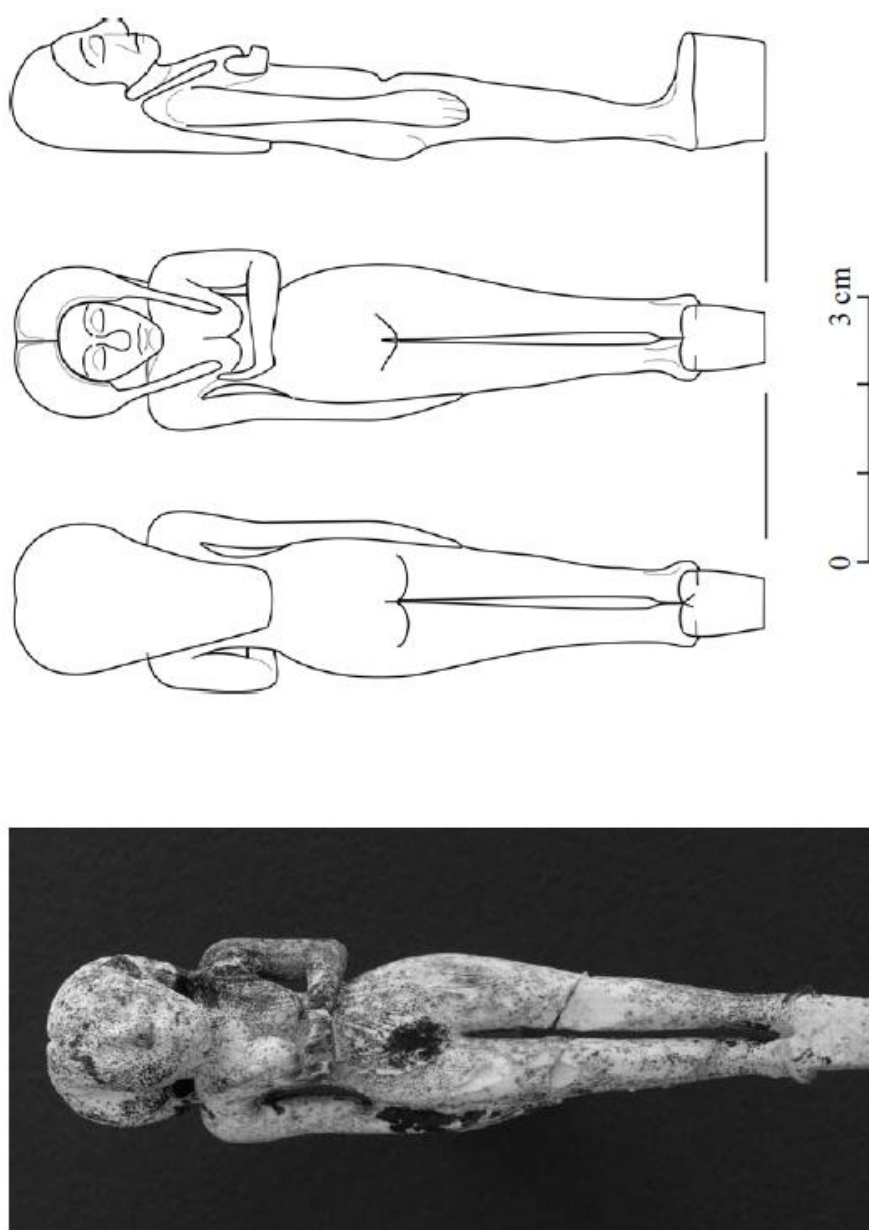
⁴² W. Kaiser, *Zu den  der älteren Bilddarstellungen und der Bedeutung von reput*, MDAIK 39 (1983), p. 262.

⁴³ N.B. Millet, *The Narmer Mace-Head and Related Objects*, JARCE 27 (1990), pp. 53-59.

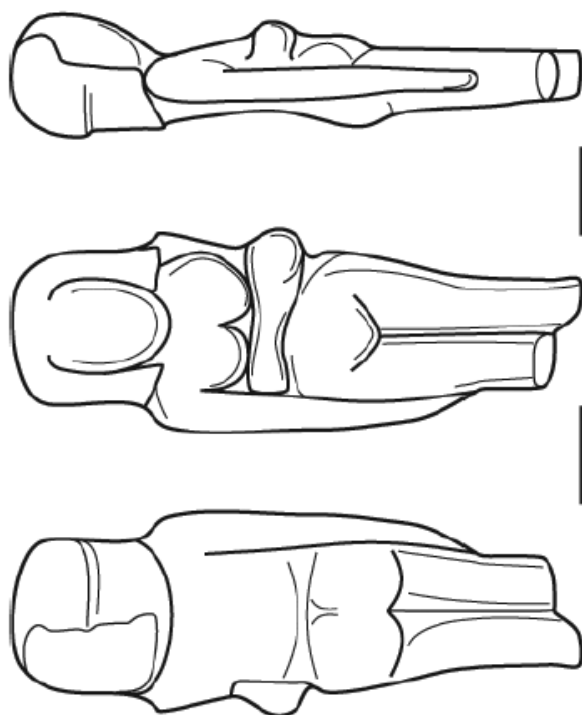
⁴⁴ Inv. No. 39.119; H. 39, 2 cm.

⁴⁵ K. Błaszczak, *The Royal Figurine (?) from Tell el-Farkha*, [in:] J. Śliwa (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization 12*, Kraków 2008, pp. 57-61.

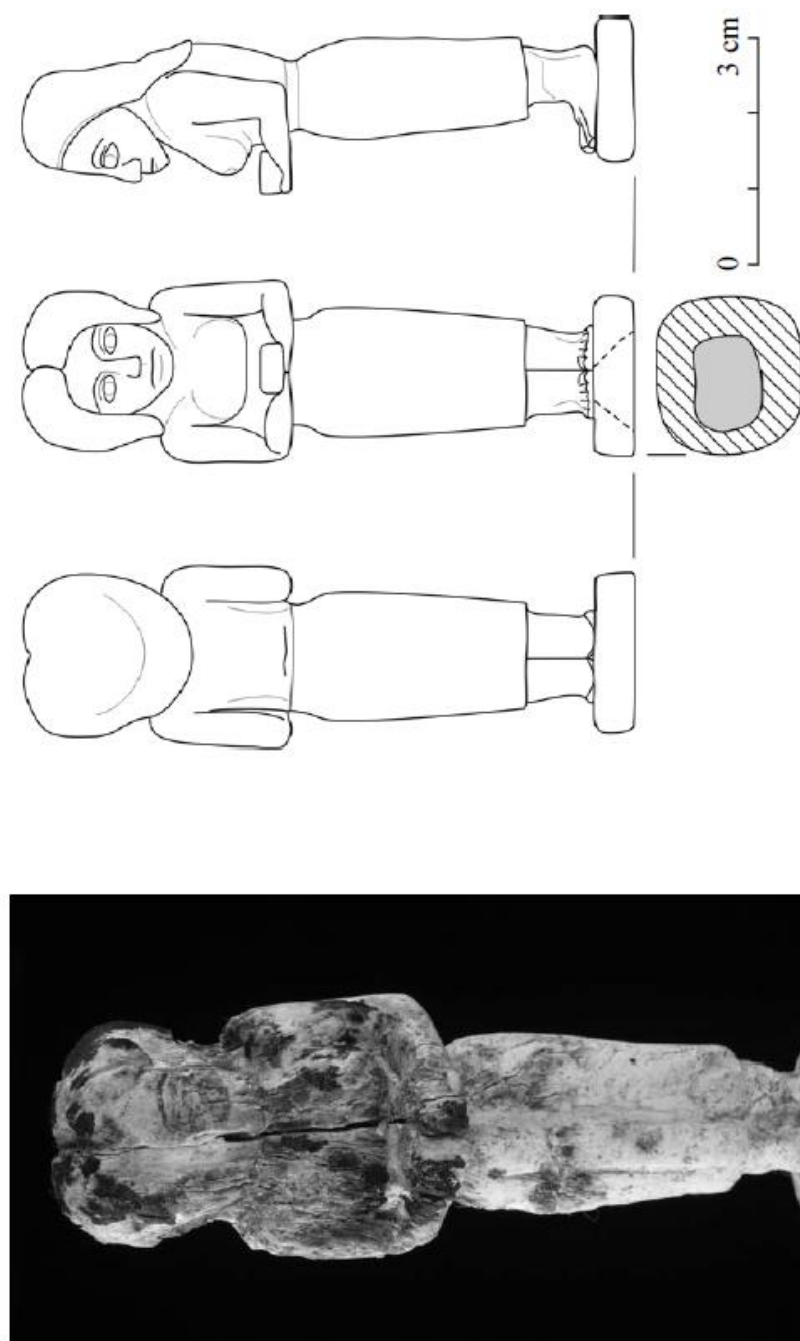
⁴⁶ M. Chłodnicki, K.M. Ciałowicz, *Golden Figures from Tell el-Farkha*, [in:] J. Śliwa (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization 10*, Kraków 2007, pp. 7-21.



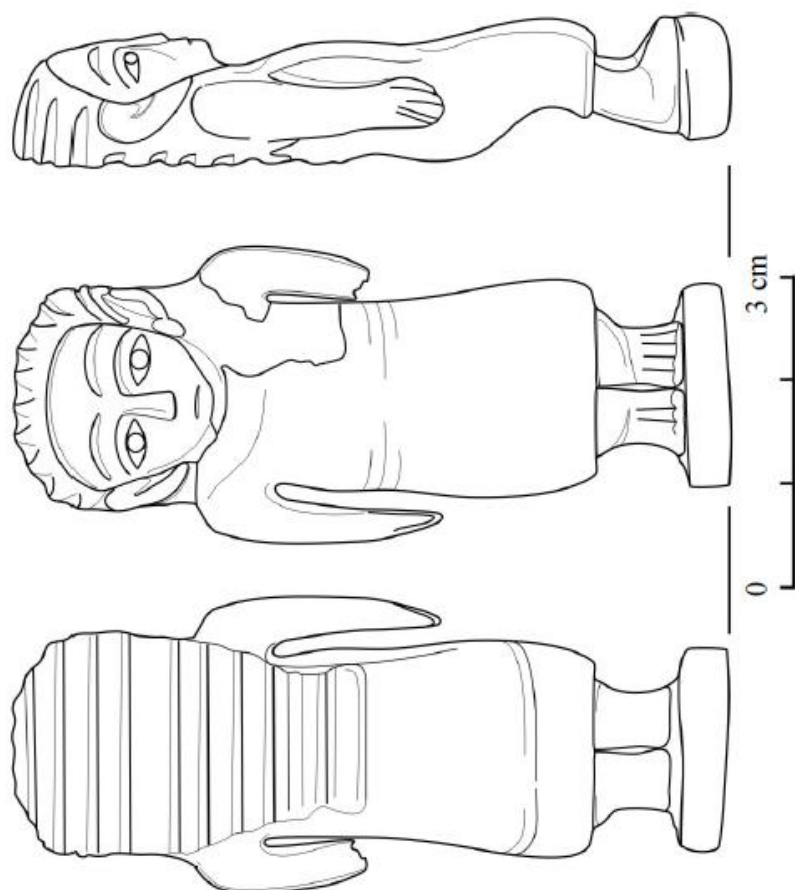
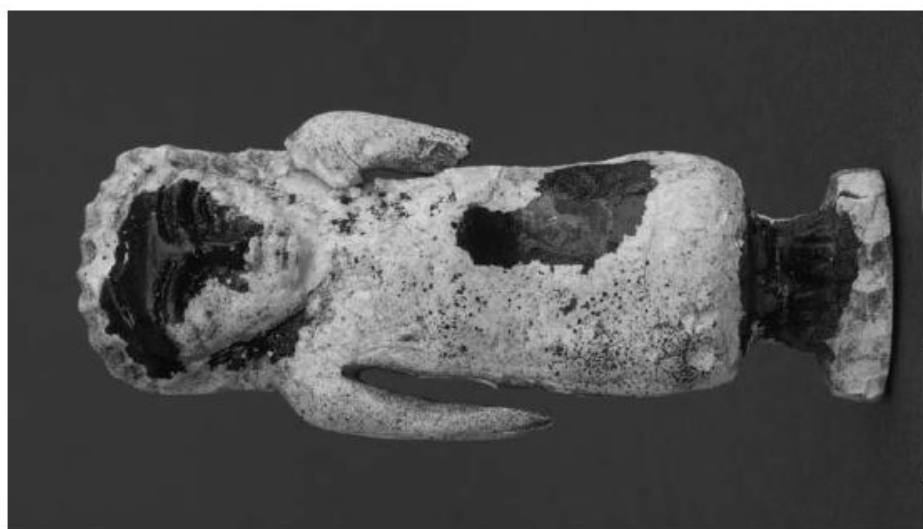
Pl. I. Naked woman; hippopotamus tusk, height 8.5 cm. Reg. No. WD 06/25 (R-624)



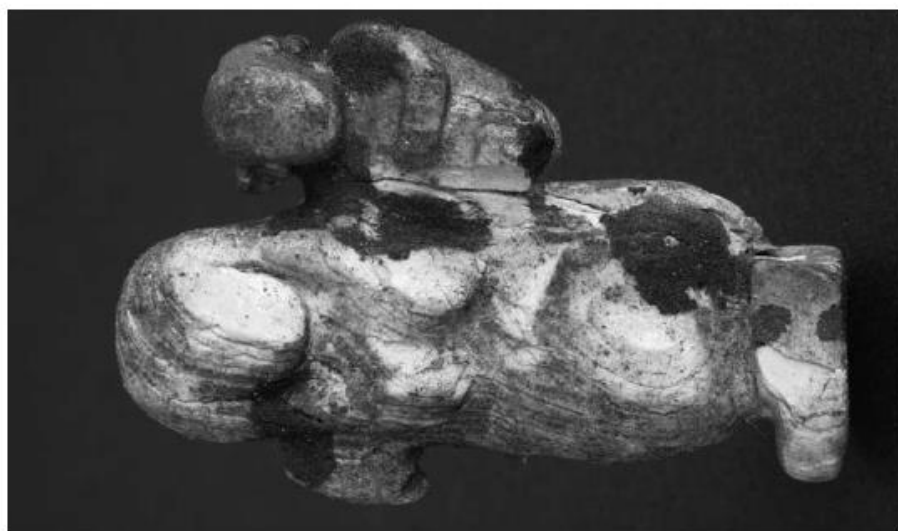
Pl. II. Naked woman; hippopotamus tusk, height 3 cm. Reg. No. 06/7 (R - 665)



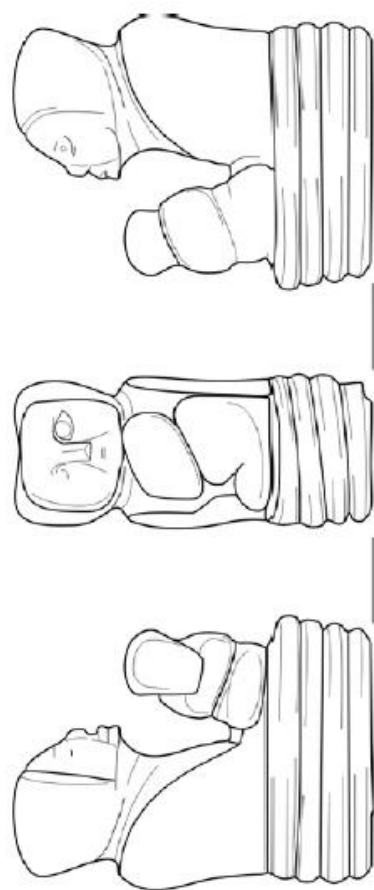
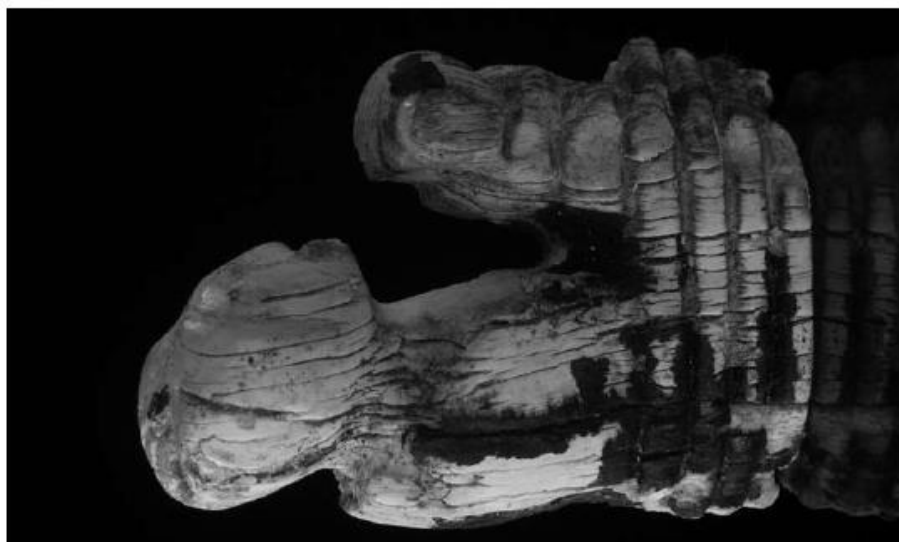
PL. III. Woman with a vessel. Hippopotamus tusk, height 8 cm. Reg. No. WD 06/26 (R - 625)



Pl. IV. Dressed woman. Hippopotamus tusk, height 6.9 cm. Reg. No. WD 06/53 (R - 652)



Pl. V.. Woman holding a child. Hippopotamus tusk, height 4.7 cm. Reg. No. WD 06/28 (R - 627)



0 3 cm

Pl. VI. Woman with a child on her knees sitting in the litter. Hippopotamus tusk, height 4.1 cm. Reg. No. WD 06/49 (R - 648)

Magdalena Sobas

Kraków

TELL EL-FARKHA 2006–2008.
POTTERY FROM CULT ROOM No. 211

During the three consecutive excavation seasons 2006–2008 work has continued in the administration and cult center at Kom W, in Tell el-Farkha¹. This area has already been of special interest to the excavators in the past – as early as 2001 a deposit of figurines, together with a set of ware was found in one of the rooms². A similar deposit of statues was unearthed in the course of 2006 season excavations in the north-western part of the Kom W – room No. 211. Together with the pottery, it is placed at the beginning of the Early Dynastic period and therefore connected with phase 5 of the settlement³.

During the examination of ceramics from Kom W, special attention was given to the examples from aforementioned room No. 211, due to the large variety of shapes, surface treatment and decoration. Both regular, domestic pottery types and those with cult functions are present.

¹ Tell el-Farkha site is located in the Eastern Nile Delta. Polish expedition, directed by Prof. K. M. Ciałowicz from the Jagiellonian University and Dr. M. Chłodnicki from the Archaeology Museum of Poznań, in cooperation with the Warsaw University Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology, has been conducting research there since 1998. See e.g. M. Chłodnicki, K. M. Ciałowicz, *Polish Excavation at Tell el-Farkha (Ghazala) in the Nile Delta. Preliminary Report 1998–2001*, *Archeologia* XIII, 2002 (2003), pp. 63–119; M. Chłodnicki, K. M. Ciałowicz, *Polish Excavation at Tell el-Farkha (Ghazala) in the Nile Delta. Preliminary Report 2002–2003*, *Archeologia* LV, 2004 (2005), pp. 47–74; M. Chłodnicki, K. M. Ciałowicz, *Tell el-Farkha. Preliminary Report 2006* [in:] PAM XVIII, 2008, p. 127–153.

² M. Jucha, *Tell el-Farkha 2001: The Settlement Pottery of Phases 5 and 4a – A Preliminary Report*, [in:] L. Krzyżaniak, K. Kroeper, M. Kobusiewicz (eds.) *Cultural Markers in the Later Prehistory of Northeastern Africa and Recent Research*, *Studies in African Archaeology* 8, Poznań 2003, p. 193.

³ M. Chłodnicki, K. M. Ciałowicz, M. Jucha, *Chronology*, [in:] Chłodnicki, Ciałowicz (eds.), *Polish Excavation at Tell el-Farkha (Ghazala) in the Nile Delta. Preliminary Report 1998–2001*, pp. 66–67.



Fig. I. Pot stand from room No. 211

Directly under ground level a set of pottery, placed together in the middle of the room was found – made mainly of medium Nile clay, tempered with fine to medium-grained sand as well as straw (Fabric SNII) but also of better quality, with fine clay and similarly fine sand (Fabric SNI). The whole group consists of: a pot stand with three triangular openings (Fabric SNII, pl. I: 10, Fig. 1) with a matching small, round jar (Fabric SNII, pl. I: 4); a bowl (Fabric SNI), of slightly convex, slipped and polished walls narrowing towards the base (pl. I: 9); two jars with rounded, externally thickened rim, spherical body and pointed base (Fabric SNII, pl. I: 2, Fabric SNI, pl. I: 1) and a miniature jar with two knobs on both sides (Fabric SNII, pl. I: 3). Clearly standing out from the group is a lidded barrel shaped jar with four holes at the top of the rim (Pl. II: 1; Fig. 2). The rim was internally ridged to facilitate the use of the lid. It was made of good quality clay, tempered with fine sand (Fabric SNI), the bowl's surface was slipped and polished but the red coat is only partially preserved. An eye-catching decoration consisting of punctured dots and incised lines forming triangles in the upper and waves in the lower part adorns the artifact. Similar design occurs on a couple of vessels from Nagada III period found in Egypt and Nubia – among them an example from Abu Zaidan, El Masa'id⁴ and Adaima⁵ – with the only part decorated being the lid. This type can be compared with Petrie's types D74 and D74D⁶. Also a Nubian vessel from Elephantine, dated to the later period – 2nd Dynasty, bears such decora-

⁴ W. Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum*, New York 1984, pp. 227-229, Pl. 25: 92-93.

⁵ Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt...*, pp. 227-229, Pl. 25:94.

⁶ W. M. F. Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*, Londyn 1921, Pl. XXXVI: 74, 74D.

tion⁷. It is probable that the ceramics and smaller pieces of this kind all belonged to the group of pottery under the influence of Nubian pottery connected, possibly, with late phase of Nubian A Group. But such jars are also known from Palestine.

Of similar incised decoration, covering its whole surface, is a jar (Pl. III: 2, Fig. 3) found by the eastern wall of room No. 211, circa 40 cm below ground (Fig. 5). It held a deposit of 62 votive objects⁸ and was topped with a bowl of slightly concave walls and rounded, externally thickened rim (Pl. III: 1, Fig. 4), made of Nile silt (Fabric SNII). The jar itself was 23 cm high with a short, slightly concave neck, narrow body and flat base. It was made of fine Nile clay, its surface was coated with dark reddish slip and polished. The coat is only partially preserved. The aforementioned incised decoration appears not only on the sides of the body but also on its neck and base. The incisions form triangles, partly filled with white paste. Additionally, beneath the body's maximum diameter, in the middle of the vessel, four animals were carved in one horizontal line. First two, wholly preserved, were identified as gazelles, another two as ostriches – one complete, the other only halfway – probably left unfinished by the maker.

Decoration was seemingly linked directly to the vessel's function and storing of votive objects inside. Both ostrich and gazelle frequently occur in Predynastic and Early Dynastic art – on pottery, palettes or cylindrical seals⁹. A few examples are known from Tell el-Farkha. It is plausible to draw connection between those signs and objects found in the lower strata of room No. 211 – an ostrich egg with an oval hole at the top, placed in a large jar hidden within the N wall and faience cylindrical seal with decoration including two gazelles, their large horns curved and bent backwards. Seemingly, those animals played a role in the ritual taking place in room No. 211 (chapel?) with the pottery found there also being used during the ceremony¹⁰.

⁷ D. Raue, *Ägyptische und nubische Keramik der 1-4 Dynastie*, [in:] W. Kaiser et al., *Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine 25./26./27. Grabungsbericht*, MDAIK 55, 1999, p. 188, Abb. 41: 5.

⁸ M. Chłodnicki, K. M. Ciałowicz, *Tell el-Farkha 2006*, PAM XVIII (in press); K. M. Ciałowicz, *Gazelles and Ostriches from Tell el-Farkha*, [in:] J. Śliwa (ed.) *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 12, Kraków 2008, pp. 21-34; A. Buszek, *Dwarf Figurines from Tell el-Farkha*, [in:] Śliwa (ed.) *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 12, pp. 35-55; K. Błaszczak, *The Royal Figurine (?) from Tell el-Farkha*, [in:] Śliwa (ed.) *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 12, pp. 57-61.

⁹ K. M. Ciałowicz, *Les palettes égyptiennes aux motifs zoomorphes et Sans decoration*, [in:] J. Śliwa (ed.) *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 3, Kraków 1991, pp. 43-46, 55-56; S. Hendrickx, *Autruches et flamants – les oiseaux représentés sur la céramique prédynastique de la catégorie Decorated*, *Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie* 1, 2000, p. 40, Fig. 8.

¹⁰ Ciałowicz, *Gazelles and Ostriches...*, pp. 21-34.

The vessel containing the ostrich egg (Pl. II: 7) is covered with a bowl of the same type (slightly concave walls and rounded rim, externally thickened) as the one covering the jar with figurines (Pl. IV: 13). The jar itself is slender, of a slightly rounded base, rounded rim, also externally thickened and a short neck. It is made of a fine Nile clay, tempered lightly with fine-grained sand (Fabric SNI). The surface is of grayish-black color – a result of either mineralisation or being burned through. Primary coloring: light reddish-brown can still be seen. The jar is very finely smoothed.

Of interest is also a set of four vessels from the lowest strata of room No. 211, clearly hidden under the floor. It includes two large storage jars, an oval lidded vessel with four holes at the top of the rim and a lower part of another large pot. Each element of this set contains inside hidden objects of different kinds.

Storage jars have a low neck, the rounded, slightly externally thickened rim and a flat bottom. The first, round shaped one, was made of medium quality clay (tempered with medium-grained sand and straw, Fabric SNII) – its surface finely smoothed (Pl. II: 5). It contained a large number of faience beads, a round object similar to a band worn on a finger, a bull's leg model and a piece of badly preserved woman figurine. The second jar is of better quality (Pl. II: 6), well made of fine clay (Fabric SNI) with finely smoothed surface. It is adorned with three rope bands: the first one above the base, the second at the maximum diameter of the body and the last one beneath the neck. The upper part of the decoration is a plastic band with finger impressed pattern, while the middle and lower ones have a band pattern consisting also of convex and concave elements interchangeably but are not as plastic as the first one. Those shallow depressions were also made by means of a finger or other blunt tool. This type of decoration is characteristic of Dynasty 0 and the beginning of Dynasty 1¹¹, both in the Delta and Upper Egypt. Tell el-Farkha cemetery offers analogical material¹² – large wine jars, very slender and adorned with three plastic bands were found there. Interestingly, this type of pottery appears much more often at

¹¹ W. M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty. 1900. Part I. Egypt Exploration Fund 18, London 1900: Pl. XXXIX.1-3*; E. C. M. van den Brink, *The Incised Serekh-Signs of Dynasties 0-1, Part I: Complete Vessels* [in:] J. Spencer, *Aspects of Early Egypt*, London 1996, p. 148, type IVa.

¹² R. Ablamowicz, J. Dębowska, M. Jucha, *The Graves of Tell el-Farkha (seasons 2001- 2002)*, [in:] S. Hendrickx, R. F. Friedman, K. M. Ciałowicz & M. Chłodnicki (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Kraków, 28th August - 1st September 2002, OLA 138, 2004, pp. 410-411; M. A. Jucha, *The Corpus of "Potmarks" from the Graves at Tell el-Farkha*, [in:] B. Midant-Reynes, Y. Tristant (eds.), J. Rowland, S. Hendrickx, *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Toulouse (France), 5th - 8th September 2005, OLA 172, Leuven-Paris-Dudley 2008, pp. 131-148.

the cemetery than in the settlement itself.

The jar described above contained the largest amount of artifacts. One of the most important is a she-dwarf figurine made of hippo's bone. Two cosmetic palettes – the larger one rectangular, the other fish-shaped were also found inside, along with a model dagger and an object with an opening, probably a sheath, both made of bone. Two miniature stone vessels: a bowl and water bottle, a few beads and pieces of animal bones completed the set.

The third vessel (Pl. II: 3) was made of Nile silt of medium category (Fabric SNII). Delicate, easily breakable and poorly fired, its surface of light reddish-brown color

was well smoothed. Small remains of light reddish slip are still visible. The lidded vessel had four holes at the top of the rim but, in contrast to other examples of this type, had a slightly concave base. Only a few faience beads and a piece of animal bone were found inside. The last vessel (Pl. II: 4) is preserved only fragmentarily – with the lower part of the body and base remaining. It could be also of a lidded vessel type. A small incision – like an open triangle and slanting lines covering the better part of the surface, barely visible, could be an after effect of smoothing with a sharp tool, rather than an intentional decoration. A couple of beads were found inside. Room No. 211 probably housed more large storage jars, as pieces of characteristic rims and big, flat bases were unearthed there.

During two seasons (2006, 2007), parts of a vessel decorated with incised, horizontal lines were found (Pl. II: 2). A lidded barrel shaped jar was reconstructed. It was made of Nile silt, medium category (Fabric SNII), damaged surface makes exact identification problematic. Probably of light brownish color, the vessel was well smoothed. Partly preserved rim had holes at the top, it is plausible to suggest there were four of them. The whole surface, apart from the zone above the base and below the rim, was covered with incised, horizontal lines. This kind of decoration – be it incised or painted, is not popular and usually linked mainly with Palestine and Nubia, where it occurs frequently.



Fig. 2. Jar from room No. 211



Fig. 3. Deposit jar from the E wall of room No. 211

sacrificial gifts laid in the temple¹⁵. It seems reasonable to assume a similar function of objects from room No. 211 due to their number and diversity being distinctly smaller in comparison with the rest of Kom W area.

Apart from three lidded vessels, pieces of similar rims (from different jars) were found in the room. It is worth mentioning that this type of pottery is known from graves, temples and settlements¹⁶, but appear relatively rarely.

Similar examples are also known from Nahal Tillah¹³, where the majority of vessels was covered with incised, horizontal lines and vertical ones crossing them. But there were also pieces without the vertical incisions – here the analogy with Tell el-Farkha pottery can be clearly seen. In one of the rooms in the above mentioned site, likewise decorated vessels were accompanied by cult-stands, while a large number of bread moulds, atypical for Nahal Tillah, were found nearby. This co-occurrence may be connected with the objects ritual function – pottery bearing such a rare decoration pattern couldn't be of everyday, domestic use¹⁴.

The exact same conclusion comes to mind while exploring room No. 211, where cult-stands also occur alongside vessels with incised lines. Bread moulds are likewise present though their small number (5,52% of the pottery) may suggest they had a different role here. As we know, such moulds were used not only to bake bread but also as

¹³ E. Kansa, S. Hendrickx, T. E. Levy, E. C. M. van den Brink, *Nahal Tillah Reed Decorated Pottery: Aspects of Early Bronze Age IB Ceramic Production and Egyptian Counterparts*, [in:] E. C. M. van den Brink, E. Yannai (eds.) *In Quest of Ancient Settlements and Landscapes. Archaeological Studies in Honour of Ram Gophna*, Jerusalem 2002, p. 202, Fig. 8.

¹⁴ Kansa, Hendrickx, Levy, van den Brink, *Nahal Tillah Reed Decorated Pottery...*, p. 197.

¹⁵ H. Jacquet-Gordon, *A Tentative Typology of Egyptian Bread Moulds*, [in:] D. Arnold (ed.), *Studien zur Altägyptischen Keramik*, Mainz 1981, pp. 12, 20.

¹⁶ C. Köhler, *Tell el-Fara'in Buto III. Die Keramik von der späten Nagada-Kultur bis zum frühen Alten Reich (Schichten III bis VI)*, AVDAIK 94, Mainz 1998, Taf. 24: 9.

Excavations in room No. 211 brought to light a large number of pot stands. Mostly of pottery ware R2 (medium rough ware, tempered with fine-grained sand and straw) and P (red ware with polished or burnished surface, with a small admixture of fine and medium-grained sand). The stands constitute 5,52% of the pottery from room No. 211. They were found in other areas of Kom W as well but the statistics clearly indicate that this type of pottery appear most frequently in the aforementioned room (31,63% of 100% of stands from Kom W). The stands are present throughout the whole time room No. 211 was functioning. A fully preserved artifact of the type with slightly concave walls, three triangular holes and rounded, externally thickened rim (R2 ware, Pl. I: 10; Fig. 1), was found already in the upper strata. It belonged to the group of cult vessels mentioned above. About a dozen centimeters below, three more stands appear – of straight walls, straight or slightly rounded at the base with cutting decoration of triangles (R2 Ware, Pl. I: 8) and a similar, incised pattern on the surface (R2/P Ware, Pl. I: 7). In the same layer, near the eastern wall of the room, a jar with figurines deposit was found. Another pot stand – the type with slightly concave walls and rounded, externally thickened rim (R2 Ware, Pl. I: 5) was unearthed in the strata, close to the *hes*-jar. There was also a fragment of a pot stand with walls slightly rounded at the base and cutting decoration of triangles located nearby. The rest of the pieces – mainly the type with straight walls, narrowing inwards, flat rim top (R2 Ware, Pl. I: 6) and thickened external or internal wall – appear frequently in lower strata of the room. It is worth mentioning that stands with cutting or incised triangular decoration from phase 5 of Kom W, are known mainly from this area. The vicinity of ritual vessels, as well as their high quality, suggest their connection with ceremonies taking place in the chapel.

The pot stands were used practically – their main function was to support vessels with rounded or pointed base (Pl. I: 1-2) that couldn't stand on their own. A discovery of such a ware in room No. 211 confirms it, though they could also be used to hold objects for the sacrifice. Similarly, sacrificial tables or altars were placed upon the stands – this composition symbolized the very act of sacrifice¹⁷. Such ritual function seems unlikely in case of the ware from room No. 211 as no sacrificial table or its fragments was found there, still the stands have a visual meaning and the

¹⁷ T. A. Sherkova, *Offering Stands in the Ritual Practice in Ancient Egypt. On the Materials from the Sanctuary at Tell Ibrahim Awad*, [in:] G. A. Belova, T. A. Sherkova (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Temple at Tell Ibrahim Awad: Excavations and Discoveries in the Nile Delta*, Moscow 2002, p. 145.

one with a flat rim top could be supporting an object. Cutting decoration appearing on the stands (in this case – triangles) is also thought to serve a purpose – by allowing any object placed inside, as well as light from the fire burning in the stand, to be seen from the outside¹⁸. There is no indication that artifacts from Tell el-Farkha were used in such fashion. It is much more plausible that here the meaning of cuts is purely symbolic, they could represent ideas during the ritual. Stands are thought to be sacred in ancient Egypt, linked to the libation rite of purification and restoring all things on earth back to life¹⁹. Ritual status of the stands from room No. 211 is suggested by the context in which they were found, close to the *hes*-jar, vessel holding figurines deposit or the lidded one of Nubian decoration. Still, some of them were probably just used for supporting other ware. Analogical finds of stands from Abydos temple²⁰ or Tell Ibrahim Awad²¹, indicate that the objects from room No. 211 were of cult importance. Though it is not only their finding context that dictates it. Pictures of pot-stands are known from various artifacts of this time, with a scene from the head of king Narmer mace²² being just one of the examples.

Only one *hes*-jar (Pl. IV: 14), a type of a vessel used during the ritual libation in Early Dynastic Period also has been excavated in room No. 211. Almost completely preserved, with a short neck, emphasis on the shoulders area and straight, narrow base extending upwards. Made of good quality clay (with small amount of fine-grained sand, also pieces of unprocessed clay are visible at break point, Fabric SNI), it was covered with reddish-light brown slip. Fragmentarily preserved coat seem to cover mainly the upper part of the jar, especially at the body's maximum diameter. Vessels of this kind came usually from temples/ceremonial sites as similar finds from Tell Ibrahim Awad²³,

¹⁸ Sherkova, *Offering Stands*, p. 150.

¹⁹ Sherkova, *Offering Stands*, p. 153.

²⁰ W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos I*, 1902, The Egypt Exploration Fund XXII, London 1902, pp. 9, 14, tab. XXXV: 195-202; W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos II*, 1903, The Egypt Exploration Fund XXIV, London 1903, p. 29, Pl. XII: 270-273.

²¹ Sherkova, *Offering Stands*, pp. 147-148, Ill. III: 1-5.

²² K. M. Ciałowicz, *Symbolika przedstawień władcy egipskiego w okresie predynastycznym*, Kraków 1993, pp. 60-61, Fig. 18.

²³ E. C. M. van den Brink, *The Amsterdam University Survey Expedition to the Northeastern Nile Delta (1984-1985)*, [in:] E. C. M. van den Brink (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta. Problems and Priorities*, Amsterdam 1988, Fig. 20, No. 17; 81, Pl. 20: 73; W. M. van Haarlem, *Temple Deposit at Tell Ibrahim Awad. A Preliminary Report*, GM 148, 1995, pp. 45-46, 49, Fig. 4.



Fig. 4. Bowl covering the deposit jar from room No. 211

Abydos²⁴, Hierakonpolis²⁵, Elephantine²⁶ suggest but also from cemeteries like Minshat Abu Omar²⁷ or Tell el-Farkha. A similarity of form can be seen in the *hes*-jar from N-W Saqqara²⁸ as well. Such vessels undoubtedly had a function connected with cult. They were used during ritual libations and purification ceremonies—essential elements of every funerary or temple rite. Jars of this kind, both ceramic and alabaster ones, are known from previous excavations at the site, in the eastern part of administrative and cult center²⁹.

²⁴ K. N. Sowada, *Black-Topped Ware in Early Dynastic Contexts*, JEA 85, 1999, pp. 95-96, Fig. 4a.

²⁵ J. E. Quibell, Hierakonpolis I, Egyptian Research Account 4, London 1900, p. 11, Pl. XXXV: 12a, 12b; B. Adams, R. F. Friedman, *Imports and Influences in Predynastic and Proto-dynastic Settlement and Funerary Assemblages at Hierakonpolis*, [in:] E. C. M. van den Brink (ed.), *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th -3rd Millenium B. C.*, Tel Aviv 1992, pp. 327, 332-333, Fig. 8a; 14, Pl. 4; R. Friedman, *The Ceremonial Centre at Hierakonpolis Locality HK29A*, [in:] A. Spencer (ed.), *Aspects of Early Egypt...*, p. 27, Fig. 10:a.

²⁶ W. Kaiser et al, *Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. Fünfter Grabungsbericht*, MDAIK 31.I, 1975, pp. 56-58, Taf. 26c.

²⁷ K. Kroeper, *The Excavation of the Munich East -Delta Expedition in Minshat Abu Omar*, [in:] van den Brink (ed.) *The Archaeology of the Nile...*, Fig. 99 (group 3b); K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar I. Gräber 1-114*, Mainz 1994, Taf. 30, No. 80:2; 41, No. 111:1.

²⁸ S. Yoshimura, N. Kawai, H. Kashiwagi, *A Sacred Hillside at Northwest Saqqara: A Preliminary Report on the Excavation 2001-2003*, MDAIK 61, 2005, pp. 374, 385, Fig. 18: 5.

²⁹ Jucha, *Tell el-Farkha 2001: the Settlement Pottery of Phases 5 and 4a- a Preliminary Report...*, pp. 193, 196, Fig. 12:1.

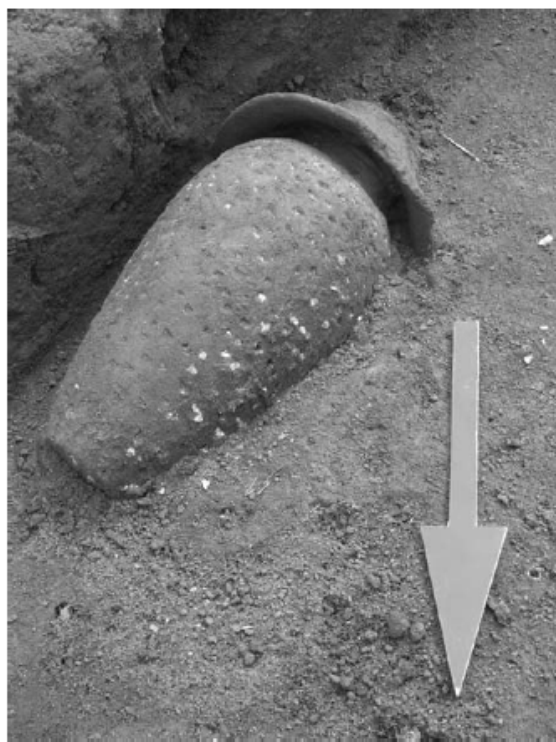


Fig. 5. Deposit jar from room No. 211, in situ

ce, tempered with fine and medium-grained sand and straw) – around 63,70% and Fabric SNII. Room No. 211 was dominated by bowls – 46,97% of the pottery. 25% of them were bowls of coated and polished surface. Most common types were the ones of straight rim with rounded top and convex walls, extending upwards (Pl. IV: 15). To this group belong also bowls with similarly modelled rim, externally thickened, and convex walls (Pl. IV: 9). Fragments of bowls with pointed or rounded tops, narrowing inwards, slightly convex walls, extending upwards (Pl. IV: 7) are present in the room as well. Occasionally, pieces of vessels with the breakdown of the upper part of the body, coated and polished surface, appear.

The rest of the bowls was made mostly of medium and good quality clay (Fabric SNI, SNII, R2 Ware). Most frequent among them are those of medium depth, straight rim and rounded top, with walls almost straight, expanding upwards (Pl. IV: 16) or with similarly modelled walls and externally thickened rim (Pl. IV: 8) and those of concave walls with rounded rim, extending outwards (Pl. IV: 13). It has been observed during studies,

Of similar use were probably small, jar-like forms with rounded body and base and rounded rim, extending outwards – probably a kind of ‘drinking cups’. Two pieces of such vessels had coated and polished surface of dark brownish color. Apart from everyday activities, they could also be used in ritual libations as there is a high probability that also the color had a symbolic meaning in this case. In Hierakonpolis vessels (of a different form), coated with black slip had cult functions³⁰.

Apart from the specific ware described above, room No. 211 also housed a group of vessels characteristic to the rest of Kom W. The most popular pottery ware was R2 (with rough surface,

³⁰ Friedman, *The Ceremonial Centre*, p. 29.

that the type of bowls predominant in room No. 211 is the one with straight, rounded rim and straight or convex walls expanding upwards, represented mainly by small, usually shallow bowls which could be used as sacrificial plates.

Of particular interest among the pottery ware R2, is a small bowl with a line of small knobs circling its upper part, just below the rim (Pl. IV: 12). This type of decoration wasn't popular in Egypt, while vessels like the one mentioned above were widespread in Palestine, from Chalcolithic to Early Bronze I period. The bowl from Kom W is probably an imitation of the foreign form³¹, made by the local potter. As contacts between Egypt and Palestine during early Dynasty 1 were well developed, occasional finds of Palestinian pottery fragments or their imitations at Kom W are not surprising. It is possible that the use of such atypical vessels in room No. 211 was intentional – to underline its special role.

Also a bottle-shaped vessel of cylindrical neck, with missing rim (Pl. IV: 10), can be included to this group as well. Made of good quality clay, tempered with small amount of fine-grained sand (Fabric SNI), its form is similar to Petrie types 95R³² and L64³³. Another such example comes from Elephantine³⁴. Its very form, as well as the small bowl with knobs is more typical for Palestinian pottery.

The second largest group is formed by the jars – 20,10%. Predominant among them is the type with a distinct neck and rounded rim, externally thickened. Jars with a gentle transition between body and rim, wide (Pl. IV: 1) and narrow body or a slight curve with wide (Pl. IV: 2) and narrow body (Pl. IV: 4) also fall in this category. They represent around 30% of all the jars in the room, made of medium and good quality clay (Fabric SNI, SNII). Quite distinctive a group – around 16% of vessels, is formed by jars with rounded rim and low neck. Cylindrical jars, typical for Tell el-Farkha cemetery are represented in room No. 211 only marginally. A small piece of miniature cylindrical vessel (Fabric SNI) was preserved but it is devoid of any decoration (Pl. IV: 11).

Yet another group is formed by fragments of jars with rounded and sometimes slightly flattened rims, distinct necks and convex walls (Pl. IV: 5), as well as those of rounded rim, heavily externally thickened, with concave neck (Pl.

³¹ R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land. From its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age*, Jerusalem 1969, pp. 46, 48, Pl. 10: 9; Photo 32; D. Esse, *Village Potters in Early Bronze Palestine: A Case Study* [in:] A. Leonard, B. B. Williams (eds.) *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor*, Chicago 1989, p. 84, Fig. 15.

³² W. M. F. Petrie, *Corpus of Proto-Dynastic Pottery*, London 1953: Pl. XXIX: 95R.

³³ Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric...*, Pl. L: 64.

³⁴ P. Kopp, *Elephantine XXXII. Die Siedlung der Nagadazeit*, Mainz 2006, Taf. 22: 346.

IV: 6) and finally the jars with tight-finished rims (Pl.IV: 3). They are made of good quality Nile clay (Fabric SNI) and marl clay (Fabric M). The rest of the vessels from the room appear only occasionally.

Pottery found in room No. 211 for the most part showed similarity to objects discovered in other parts of the Kom W settlement. All types of pottery wares and fabrics, typical for Tell el-Farkha site were recorded³⁵. Among the large number of vessels also atypical forms, of cult function appeared – they were used during the ritual taking place in room No. 211. A set of vessels, discovered in the upper strata belongs undoubtedly to this very group. Their concentration in one place seems to be intentional. Distinct objects – pot stands, miniature jar with knobs or a vessel with Nubian decoration, confirm their cult functions. Also, the large number of pot stands accumulated in one room, suggests they had additional use during the ceremonies in the chapel.

There are no doubts about the ritual function of the *hes*-jar, as indicated by known examples from temple sites mentioned above. Only one vessel of this kind was found in room No. 211. Another small group are lidded vessels - in other parts of Kom W (explored in years 2006-2008) only one piece of this type was uncovered. Such rarity clearly indicates those objects were not of everyday use. Pottery of this kind, as well as stone and faience vessels, known from numerous sites in Egypt and Lower Nubia, are considered to be objects of prestige. Another thing worth mentioning are diverse decoration patterns found on pottery from room No. 211. Both incisions, cut horizontal lines, animal forms and small knobs can be found here. Those elements were not very popular in Egyptian pottery.

Fragments and vessels of Nubian origin, Egyptian imitations of Palestinian ware or a distinct group of bowls (which also could be used during sacrifice ritual) further indicate high rank of room No. 211.

Such unique set of forms and their limited number suggests, that the vessels housed there were not of common use and widespread among local population, while the room No. 211 must have played a significant role in the lives of Tell el-Farkha residents.

Two hidden deposits (from 2006-2008 seasons) confirm the value and importance of the material discovered. The first one, consisting of 62 objects, was found near the eastern wall and, in all probability, served as a hiding place for valuables right before Kom W was abandoned. The second one, within the northern wall might have been placed there when the temple was being built.

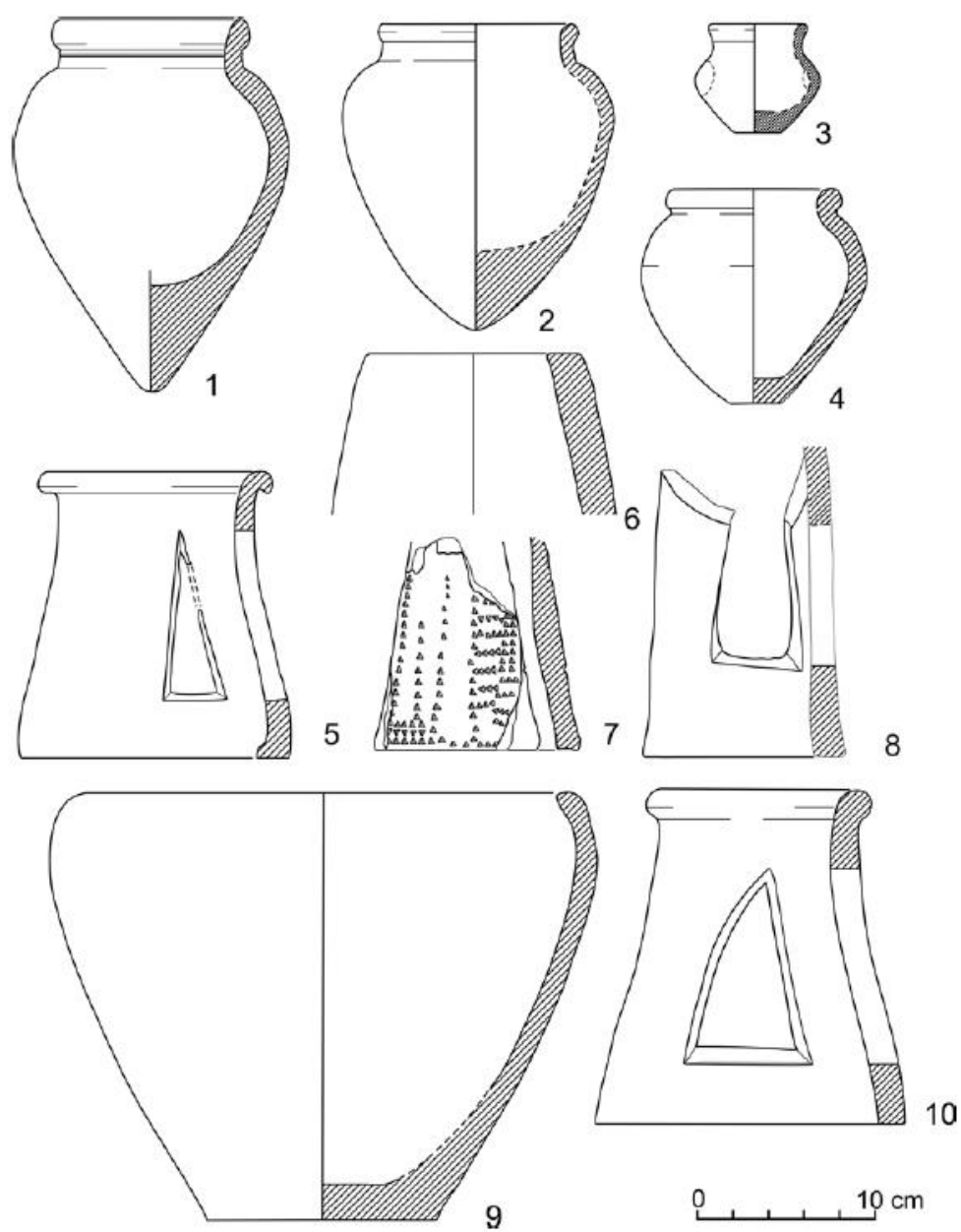
³⁵ M. A. Jucha, *Tell el-Farkha II. The Pottery of the Predynastic Settlement*, Kraków-Poznań 2005, pp. 27-34.

Those vessels, together with a set of four big ones, created a shelter for the objects hidden. Their decoration and form indicate its special use.

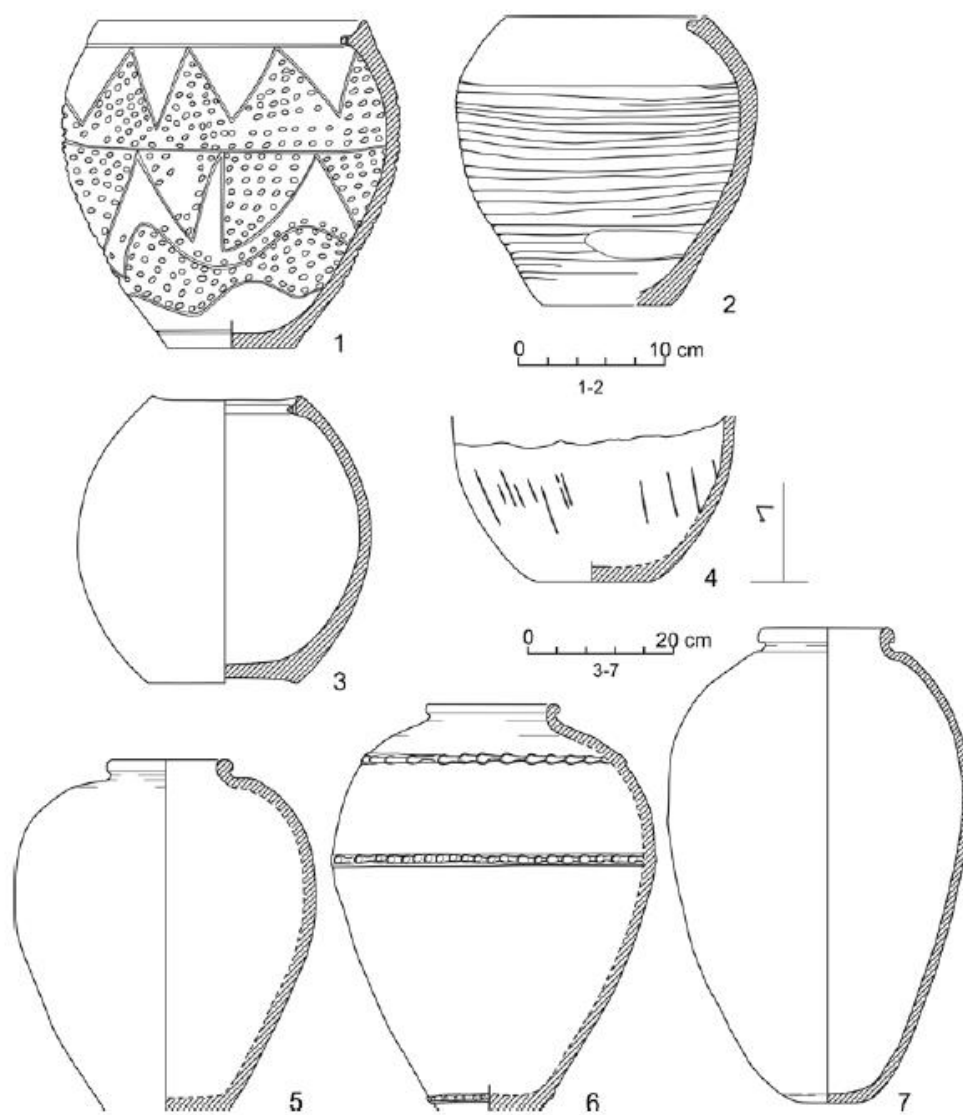
There is a correlation between the majority of ceramics found in room No. 211 and linked with cult, and religious function at other temple sites like: Tell Ibrahim Awad, Abydos, Hierakonpolis, Elephantine, Saqqara or Nahal Tillah. Their symbolic and ritual status is confirmed by numerous figurines found in the chapel of both cult and prestige function.

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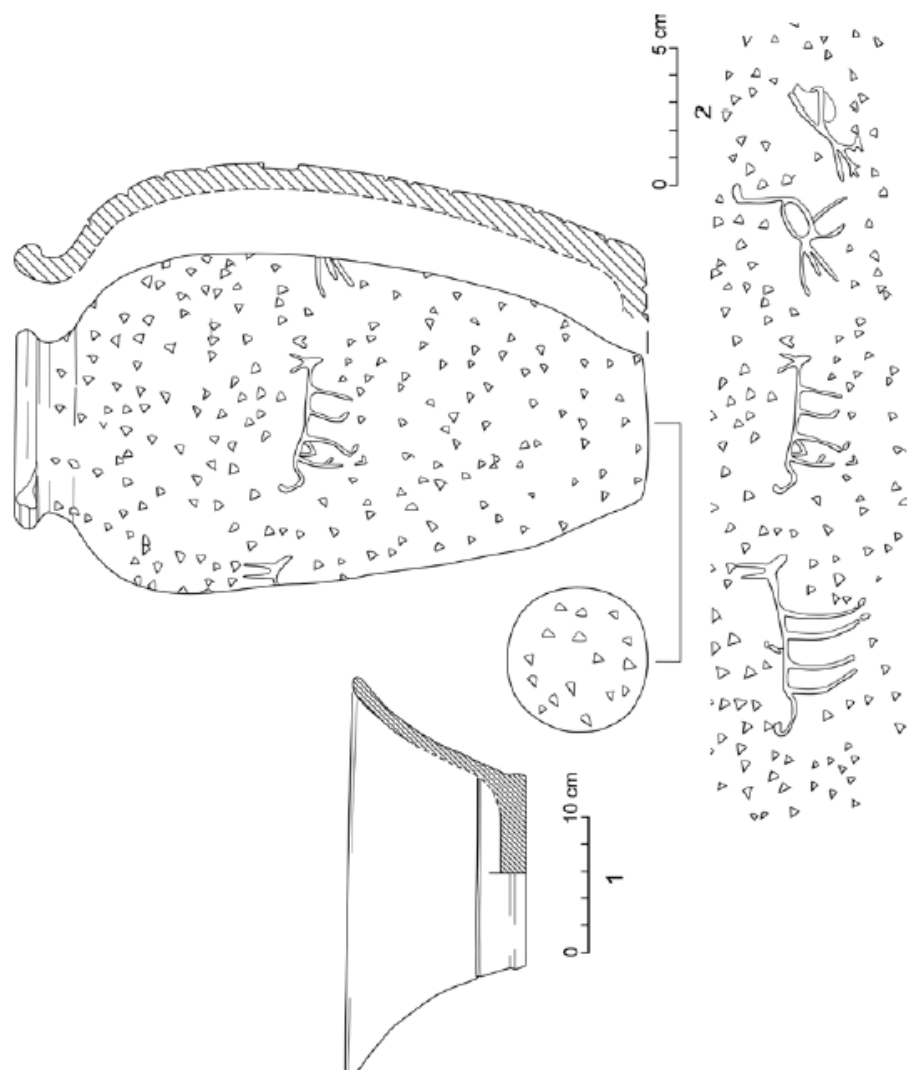
[All drawings by the Author. All photographs by Robert Slaboński]



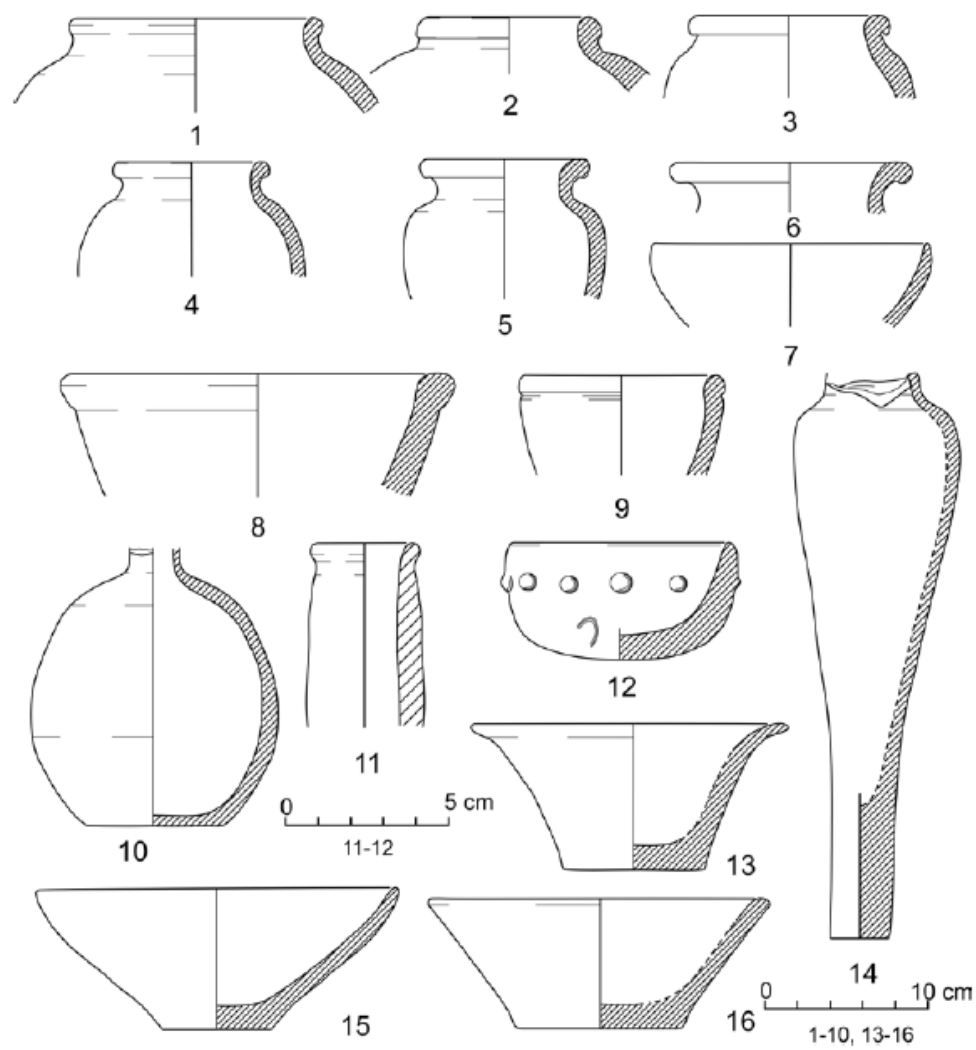
Pl. I. Tell el-Farkha, Kom W. Pottery from room No. 211



Pl. II. Tell el-Farkha, Kom W. Pottery from room No. 211



Pl. III. Tell el-Farkha, Kom W. Pottery from room No. 211



Pl. IV. Tell el-Farkha, Kom W. Pottery from room No. 211

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TELL EL- FARKHA 2006
OVAL- SHAPED POTTERY
FROM GRAVE NO. 9

During the season 2006 at the Tell el-Farkha site, special attention was given, apart from the two previously discovered deposits, to the unprecedented set of vessels, found in one of the graves¹.

In the course of the season 2002, a brick construction forming the superstructure of grave No. 9 was unearthed. As it was lying within the eastern trench profile, exploration had to be postponed until the whole area was excavated. Such opportunity finally occurred in the year 2006 with the site thoroughly examined and finds documented. Anthropological analysis of the human remains found there, followed. J. Dębowska- Ludwin has given a detailed account on this subject in her dissertation.

grave No.9 (Fig.1) is a pit construction reinforced by a brick enclosure and a superstructure above 1 meter high. Of north-south orientation with a slight deviation to the east, it housed the remains of a male, aged 40-50, lying on his left side with head pointing north. Fortunately not robbed, the funerary gifts consisted of 27 ceramic vessels, 2 cosmetic palettes, 2 stone bowls, a spoon made of bone and a large number of semi-precious gemstone beads. Also a piece of a miniature vessel and ochre traces were found inside. Ceramic inventory was dominated by cylindrical objects, placed directly beside the body, while the remaining bowls and jars lined the chamber's shorter sides. One of the wine-jars bears a serekh with king's Narmer name.

According to J. Dębowska- Ludwin, the aforementioned set can be ascribed to group I, chronologically linked to the end of the 0 Dynasty and the

¹ See also the yearly excavation reports from Tell el-Farkha in PAM (X) and „Archeologia” LIII, Warszawa.



Fig. 1. Grave No. 9. Photo M. Czarnowicz

beginning of Dynasty 1. Grave No. 9 certainly merits attention due to its undisturbed order, curious architectural form and a wide variety of artifacts it housed, some of which lack analogy at the first glance. The objects of our interest are middle-sized jars with flattened body, their cross section resembling an ellipse. The surface bears clear traces of smoothing treatment. While the vessels themselves, or at least their bodies, were hand-made as indicated by the asymmetrical shape, the necks and rims could be formed separately, possibly with the use of a potter's wheel. The average dimensions are as follows: body diameter: 10,3 cm, base diameter: 6x8 cm, height: 20,2 cm. Made of a medium Nile clay, tempered with sand and straw (Fig.2). As the technique and material used does not differ from those generally employed at Tell el-Farkha, one can assume their local origin. Three discovered objects of this kind were given inventory numbers G9-17, G9-18 and G-20.

Detailed analysis brought only a few analogies to the grave No. 9 vessels. Similar artifacts appear on three different sites, two of them in southern Palestine, one in Upper Egypt. First of the aforementioned sites is **Tel Erani** cemetery, where an almost completely preserved object of unusual shape has been discovered – a middle-sized jar resembling the examples known from Tell el-Farkha. Probably 35 cm high, with significantly flattened elliptic body and a similar base, 8x4 cm (Fig. 3)². According to B. Brandl, the vessel is an

² B. Brandl, *Observations on the Early Bronze Age strata of Tel 'Erani*. [in:] P. de Miroschedji, *L'urbanisation de la Palestine à l'âge du Bronze ancien*, BAR International Series 52, Oxford 1989, Fig. 9.

Egyptian product, made of the Nile G9- 17

clay³. As no information is given on the artifact's exact strata position, dating is problematic⁴. Though lacking the archaeological context⁵, the object can be quite safely attributed to the period of king Narmer's reign,



this being the main phase of the Egyptian-Palestinian contacts represented at Erani.

G9- 18



The aforementioned jar is larger than those from grave No. 9, nevertheless one can notice a similarity in form, as well as the treatment of the neck and rim. There is a possibility, these parts were formed on a potter's wheel to be joined later with the hand-made body and base in a fashion known from Tell el-Farkha. Undoubtedly intended for storing imported goods, its probable Delta (Tell el-Farkha?) provenance remains hypothetical without detailed petrological analysis.

G9- 20



Fig. 2. Oval-shaped pottery from grave No.9.
Drawing by M. Czarnowicz

Two fragments of similar jars with flat base and elliptical cross section of the body, come from **En Besor** (Fig. 3). Their exact size, apart from the base, cannot be established, due to the poor state of preservation. The longer diagonal of the base's ellipse is 6 cm, the shorter one – 2 to 4 cm⁶. The question of provenance has yet to be answered as R. Gophna laconically states the En Besor jars were in part of local origin, with the rest of them produced in Egypt⁷. One can assume though, on the basis of the shape, that they belonged to the group of imports from the Delta region⁸. Nevertheless, style analysis of seal impressions, combined with the serekh uncovered and ceramic analogies,

³ B. Brandl, *Observations ...*, p. 357-387.

⁴ B. Andelković, *The Relations Between Early Bronze Age I Canaanites and Upper Egyptians*, Belgrade 1995, p.39.

⁵ B. Brandl, *Observations ...*, XX; B. Andelković, *The Relations ...*, 39.

⁶ R. Gophna, *The Egyptian Pottery of 'En Besor*, Tel Aviv 17, 1990, p.157.

⁷ R. Gophna, *The Egyptian Pottery*, 158.

⁸ R. Gophna later states, that the narrow-rimmed vessels found in stratum III, belonged to the group of imported ceramics, used for storage and transport of luxury consumer or cosmetic goods; p.158.

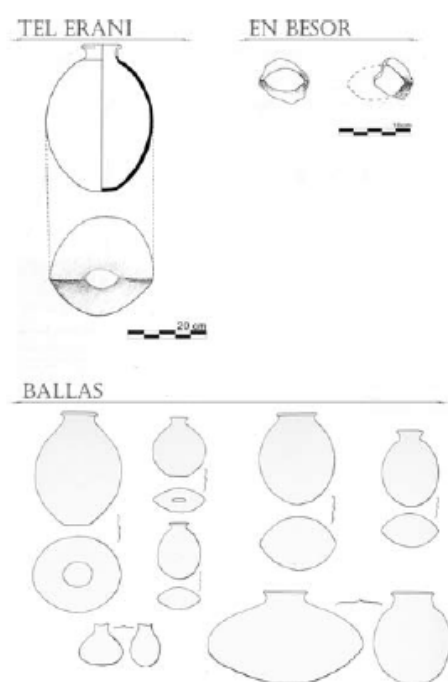


Fig. 3. Nagadian oval shaped pottery from Southern Levant and Upper Egypt.
Drawing M. Czarnowicz

allowed for a certain dating – phase III of the settlement belongs to the period of late Dynasty 0 and the beginning of Dynasty 1⁹.

Though only a scarce amount of En Besor pottery survived, one can easily see similarities with Tell el-Farkha jars. Both the shape of the base, as well as the angle it forms with the body, make them the closest analogy to jars found in grave No. 9.

At least 7 vessels of oval-shaped, flattened body (Fig. 3) come from the Ballas cemetery¹⁰. In two examples of this set, body diameter exceeds the height, while three others lack a fully formed base – a feature clearly separating them from Tell el-Farkha ceramics. The closest analogy to the objects of our interest, seem to be the jars from Pl. XXVI (Fig. 3)¹¹. Unfortunately, the author of the site's study omitted crucial information on the vessels' exact location, their dating, details

of shape and objects found inside them¹². Nothing can be said about the material used, surface treatment or the color of the ceramics as well. Though the lack of detailed data about the jars makes further analysis hypothetical, their very presence on the Upper Egyptian site is another argument for long distance trade connections linking Tell el-Farkha with regions far away.

Apart from the Ballas pottery of which our knowledge is quite modest, all other examples are, in all probability, of Egyptian origin, made of similar quality clay tempered with sand and straw. Discovery of king Narmer's serekhs allows us to date vessels from both Tell el-Farkha, En Besor and possibly also those of Tel Erani to the same – Nagada IIIC1 phase. In such context, one can safely assume that En Besor ceramics belong to this time period as well. The majority of the oval-shaped pottery, excluding a few Ballas examples, has an

⁹ R. Gophna, *The Egyptian Pottery*, 151.

¹⁰ J. E. Quibell, *Ballas*, London 1896, pl. XXVI.

¹¹ J. E. Quibell, *Ballas*..., pl. XXVI, 30, 31a, 31b, 31c, 31d, 34a, 34b.

¹² J. E. Quibell, *Ballas*..., 4-8; 14-15.

elliptic base. Characteristic of them is also a short neck, that could be formed on a potter's wheel, as well as the externally projecting rim. The question of contents remains unanswered. At this stage of investigation, we can only follow R. Gophna's statement they were used for transporting luxury goods of consumer or cosmetic variety¹³. Providing the vessels came from Tell el-Farkha, it is plausible to assume that e.g. fish meat or pork were placed inside. As the so-called non-consumer fragments outnumber those containing significant amount of meat, R. Ablamowicz (verbal information) considers meat to be produced and exported beyond the site's boundaries.

One shouldn't also dismiss the possibility of other, e.g. vegetable products being stored and transported in similar manner – beer, brewed for generations at Tell el-Farkha, fits this category perfectly.

Though the general technique employed in creating jars from grave No. 9 doesn't differ from the one used for the rest of the local pottery, an appealing theory of oval-shaped vessels being manufactured on the site has yet to be confirmed.

Despite fragmentary information, the analogies cited indicate a broad range of contacts linking Tell el-Farkha residents and those of the Delta Valley or southern Levant. The ceramics unearthed can be dated to the reign of Narmer – a time when the presence of Nagada culture people in western Canaan intensified. There is a general consensus, that a form of settlement had to exist, possibly involved in the trade between Nile Valley and Palestine. Of special importance in this process was the Delta territory, leading the exchange already in the past, during the Lower Egyptian culture period. The rank of



Fig. 4. Grave No. 9.
Drawing by M. Czarnowicz

¹³ R. Gophna, *The Egyptian Pottery*, ..., 157.

settlements lying by the trade routes to Canaan grew, as could be the case of Tell el-Farkha¹⁴. An important discovery of a spacious construction should be mentioned here, with various trade related objects found in its ruins – e.g. so-called counters or seal impressions¹⁵, as well as a vessel of Palestinian origin¹⁶. Other ceramic forms imported from the southern Levant are known from the site, also a miniature stone vessel unearthed at kom W, has distinctly foreign features¹⁷. One should keep in mind, that the period of prosperity ended when the water route at great distance to Tell el-Farkha started being used more commonly. The extent of impoverishment observed at the site is an irrefutable proof of a healthy profit the residents of ancient Ghazala gained from trade. Undoubtedly, Tell el-Farkha played a special role during the formative period of the united Egyptian state. The site, currently at the edge of a modern Arab village – Ghazala, was involved in commercial exchange with Palestinian territory, possibly controlling the distribution of goods in the Delta area¹⁸, as suggested, among other traces, by the vessels from grave No. 9.

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¹⁴ M. Jucha, *Tell-el Farkha i rozwój kontaktów handlowych Egiptu od V do początku III tys. p.n.e.*, Alma Mater 99, 2008, p.213.

¹⁵ Chłodnicki M., Ciałowicz K. M., *Tell el- Farkha(Ghazala) Season 2002*, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean, XIV-2002, 2003, p. 102.

¹⁶ Chłodnicki M., Ciałowicz K. M., *Tell el- Farkha...*, p.100 - 103.

¹⁷ Vessels forming the deposit discovered in 2006 are currently being studied. Any work on this subject has yet to be published.

¹⁸ M. Jucha, *Tell el Farkha...*, 213.

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GRANARY MODELS
FROM TELL EL-FARKHA

Models of grain silos found in Tell el-Farkha during the 2006 season belong to a limited group of artifacts made of clay and stone, which are found on many Egyptian sites from Early Dynastic to the Late Period, in mortuary context as well as in the settlement layers.

Five items found in Tell el-Farkha comes from the Eastern Kom and they are clearly related with grave No. 50. Its superstructure constructed of a massive, very compact cover of light sand and mud bricks in a very regular rectangular shape, preserved to the height of ca. 90 cm. was oriented along the N-S axis and measured 4,92 m x 2,36 m. Between the superstructure and the top of the substructure the 40 cm of break was clearly visible. In this layer the deposit of the granary models was found. The slightly dislocated to the east underground part of the tomb consisted of two mud-brick-lined chambers. The north chamber was 1.5 m long, 0.86 m wide and 0.79 m deep and the southern chamber was 1.25 m long, 1.2 m wide and 0.92 m deep. In both chambers 37 pottery vessels and 11 stone vessels ("Egyptian alabaster" and sandstone) were found as well as decorated seal impressions, faience bead, a fragment of a rattle, ceramic counter and a faience fragment of an unidentified object. The very weak preserved bones belonged to an adult man, who was resting tightly contracted on his left side, the head pointing to the north. The grave No. 50 as well as the granary models are dated to the second half of the Dynasty 1¹.

The nearest analogies to the models found in Tell el-Farkha are known from the area of Upper Egypt. Two very similar objects, made of clay however without

¹ Chłodnicki at al., *Eastern Kom at Tell el-Farkha. Excavations in 2006-2007* (in print).



Fig. 1. Granary models from Tell el-Farkha (sequence as in the catalogue – left to right).
Phot. Robert Słaboński

the side holes were found in the tomb of Den in Abydos². They are less carefully constructed than the models found in Tell el-Farkha. The dating of the four pottery objects found by W.M.F. Petrie also in Abydos in the so-called “subsidiary” tombs is more difficult³. Two of them are very similar to the shape of objects from Tell el-Farkha. Two objects of the said four have two holes in the side walls. The third item is heavily damaged and has a one visible hole. The fourth item has no lateral holes and thus is quite similar to the objects from the grave of Den. The discussed items should be dated to the reign of Dynasty 1.

Another interesting, similarly dated clay object comes also from Petrie’s excavations in Abydos. A set of four models of granaries found with stand probably symbolizes the type of fence surrounding the silos has the same dating. The cut-marked square holes are clearly visible on the side walls of the models⁴.

The next three, a slightly younger objects made of “Egyptian alabaster”, were found in the underground gallery at the Saqqara pyramid of Djoser and they are dated to the reign of Dynasty 3⁵. Two of them have two holes in the side walls each and horizontal lines that suggest functioning of the silos levels

² G. Dreyer et al., *Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 3./4. Vorbericht*, MDAIK 46 (1990), p. 53-89.

³ Petrie W. M. F., *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, BSAE XXVIII, London 1925, pl. VII.

⁴ Petrie W. M. F., as above, pl. VIII.

⁵ Firth C. M., Quibell J. E., *The Step Pyramid I*, Cairo 1936, p.130-136.

or kinds of floors. The third model has no holes. On one of the items the kind of the „neck” can be noticed as well as on the one found in Abydos⁶.

A little later examples come from Dynasties 4 and 5. Made of clay, dated to Dynasty 4, item discovered in the grave No. 285 at El-Kab has a distinct type of “neck” and rim but no side holes⁷. Also the two “alabaster” objects from the Qau cemetery dated to Dynasty 5 have a distinctively marked “neck”. One of them has also a carved symbolic doors and at the bottom of the object a decorative rope-pattern is visible⁸.

As examples of objects belonging to the reported group, however, dated for much later periods we can stressed the item found on Hu cemetery which belong to the Second Intermediate Period⁹. It represents a type of inverse grain silo model with a cut square and with fitting to this hole separate closing component. The object can be probably specified as a granary-shaped ceramic lamp.

Another category of cereal silos models dating for the Archaic Period are spindle-shaped objects without side holes but often with a kind of line in most wide part or in the upper part of the object¹⁰. The object from the grave No. 15.h.5 located in Turah, now in the collection of the Cracow Archaeological Museum can be a good example¹¹. Several vessels of this type comes also from recent excavations at Tell el-Farkha site (Eastern Delta, author is a member of the expedition crew).

Described examples clearly demonstrate the existence of over-chronologic group of objects that can be interpreted as models of cereal granaries. Certainly the relics from Tell el-Farkha belong to this group. They symbolize the very important element of the Egyptian economy – a construction probably made of clay and organic material used as a grain storage¹². The hole at the top of the silos was used to filling the facility with a grain and the holes placed on the side walls to the cereal absorption. Such structures could be both relatively low or high. The height of those constructions are suggested by a multi-lines

⁶ El-Khouli A., *Egyptian Stone Vessels. Predynastic Period to Dynasty III*, Mainz 1978, p. 325.

⁷ Quibell J. E., *El-Kab*, London 1897, pl. XII/26.

⁸ Brunon G., *Qau and Badari*, London 1927, pl. XXVIII/156-157.

⁹ Petrie W.M.F., *Diospolis Parva: the cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu*, London 1901.

¹⁰ Petrie W.M.F., *Corpus of Proto-Dynastic Pottery*, London 1953, pl. XVII/70l,o,m,n,p,-72-d,g.

¹¹ Śliwa J., *Granary Models and Related Objects In Egyptian Tombs of the Archaic Period*, *Etudes et Travaux XII*, 1983, p. 33-36.

¹² Murray M. A., *Cereal Production and Processing* [in:] Nicholson P.T., Shaw I., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge 2000, p. 505-535.

separating the different levels at the further openings are marked. The storage structures were probably surrounded by protective ring-fences. Such information may be proved by the examples of models from Abydos mentioned above. A wooden ladder (well-known from iconography - for example wooden label from Abydos¹³) used to facilitation of the access to the hole on the top and holes on the upper floors of the silo was an important additional element¹⁴. It is important to mention the significant role of this structural element in the architecture and the economy of Egypt¹⁵ and the unusual relationship between the granary models and both sepulchral and settlement architecture. The mastaba No.3038 (Mastaba of Nebetka) originating from the reign of Anjib can be stressed as the most interesting example of this relationship. In one of its stores nine round granary models arranged on the type of benches, partially embedded in the wall were found¹⁶. Another traces of the circular structures of this type from the settlement layers dated for the Archaic Period are known from several sites. The most interesting examples were discovered in Abydos. They can be interpreted as a very important part of houses not only as a storage facility but also as an element which provides to highlighting the wealth and social role and position of the inhabitants¹⁷. Interesting examples of silos relics come from Tell el-Farkha as well¹⁸. The question of the granary models functions as a votive goods or toys is still partially unknown. Is worth to mention that even today in the primitive tribal communities on the areas of Africa and Asia, the usage of this type of construction for the storage of cereals is still noticeable¹⁹.

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¹³ Rostem O. R., *Modern Granaries as Relics of Ancient Building*, ASAE 57, Le Caire 1962, p. 99-105.

¹⁴ Petrie W.M.F., *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. V/10.

¹⁵ Emery W. B., *Archaic Egypt*, Middlesex 1961, p. 238-239.

¹⁶ Ciałowicz K.M., *Początki cywilizacji egipskiej*, Warszawa-Kraków 1999, p. 274-276.

¹⁷ Adams M.D., *Household Silos, Granary Models and Domestic Economy in Ancient Egypt* [in:] Hawass Z. (ed.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, vol. I, CASAE 36: 1-23, 2007.

¹⁸ Chłódnicki M. et al., *Polish Excavations at Tell el-Farkha (Ghazala) in the Nile Delta. Preliminary report 2002-2003*, Archeologia LV, 2004: 47-74.

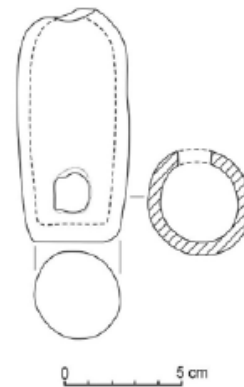
¹⁹ FAO - AGSE, African experience in the improvement of post-harvest technique, based on the workshop help in Accra, Ghana 4 - 8 July 1994, Rome 1998.

Catalogue

All items are made of Nile silt with an addition of sand and organic temper. All the models are very well preserved.

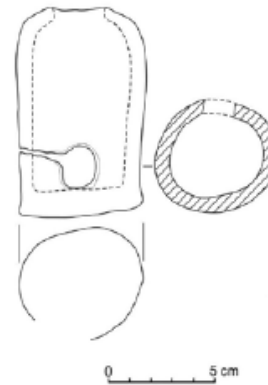
1. Inv. No.: E06/31

Cylindrical shape, flat base with a diameter of 4.0cm, height 9.7cm. In the lower part of the side wall the rectangular hole with rounded corners measuring 1.5x1.5 cm is visible. Upper part slightly convex, in the central position a round opening with a diameter of 1.4cm is situated.



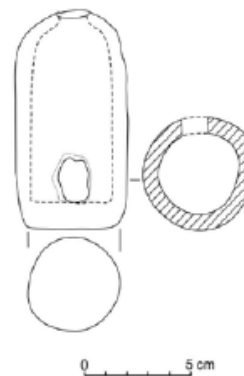
2. Inv. No.: E06/32

Cylindrical shape, flat base with a diameter of 5.7cm, height 9.5cm. In the lower part of the side wall a rectangular hole with rounded corners measuring 1.7x1.9cm is visible. Upper part slightly convex, in the central position a round opening with a diameter of 1.5cm is situated.



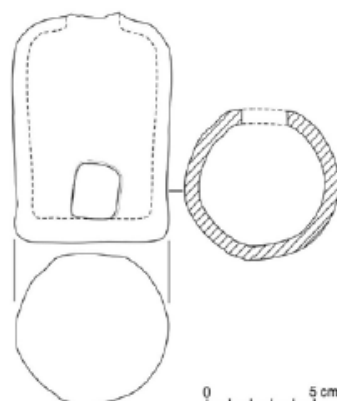
3. Inv. No.: E06/33

Cylindrical shape, flat base with a diameter of 4.3cm, height 10.0cm. In the lower part of the side wall a rectangular hole with rounded corners measuring 1.5x2cm is situated. Upper part slightly convex, in the central position a round opening with a diameter of 1.6cm is visible.



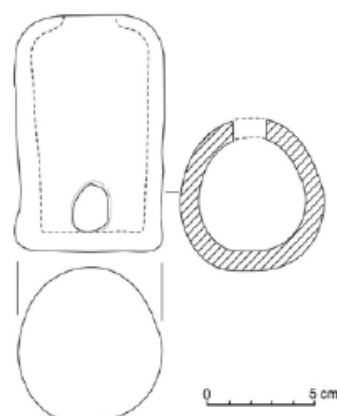
4. Inv. No.: E06/34

Cylindrical shape, flat base with a diameter of 7.0cm, height 10.2cm. In the lower part of the side wall a rectangular hole with rounded corners measuring 2.0x2.4cm is visible. Upper part slightly convex, in the central position a round opening with a diameter of 2.3cm is situated.



5. Inv. No.: E06/35

Cylindrical shape, flat base with a diameter of 7.1cm, height 10.7cm. In the lower part of the side wall a rectangular hole with rounded corners measuring 1.7x2.2cm is situated. Upper part slightly convex, in the central position a round opening with a diameter of 2.1cm is visible.



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TELL EL-FARKHA 2007
STONE VESSELS FROM GRAVE NO. 55

During the 2007 season a large number of stone vessels were discovered¹. A particularly interesting set was found in grave No. 55. The material was subject to analysis and allowed to reach conclusions regarding chronology resulting from the architectural structure of the grave, an analysis of the ceramic material and analogies known from other Egyptian sites. The set of stone vessels discovered in grave No. 55 is a typical example of vessels appearing from the 1st to the 3rd Dynasty. Due to a relatively smaller number of stone vessels in comparison to ceramic vessels discovered on Pre- and Early Dynastic sites we need to remember that such objects are not particularly useful for dating. A lack of distinguishable features makes obtaining absolute dating slightly difficult. On the other hand, the number of discovered stone vessels allows a statement that the forms and shapes of that type were the most popular during the period between the second half of the 1st Dynasty and the beginning of the 2nd Dynasty to later times.

Grave No. 55

It is one of the largest and richest graves that have been discovered in Tell el-Farkha up to date. It was surrounded by a wide wall with rounded corners

¹ For earlier seasons in Tell el-Farkha see: M. Chłodnicki, K. M. Ciałowicz, *Tell el-Farkha Season 1998-1999. Preliminary Report*, MDAIK 58, 2002, pp. 89-117; M. Chłodnicki, K. M. Ciałowicz, *Tell el-Farkha (Ghazala)*, PAM X-XVII; M. Chłodnicki, K. M. Ciałowicz, *Polish Excavations at Tell el-Farkha (Ghazala) in the Nile Delta. Preliminary Report 2002-2003*, *Archeologia* LV, 2004, pp. 47-74; K.M. Ciałowicz, *Excavations at the Western Kom at Tell el-Farkha 1998-2003 (Nile Delta, Egypt)*, *Recherches Archéologiques de 1999-2003*, Kraków 2006, pp. 334 – 353 and K. M. Ciałowicz, *Gazelles and Ostriches from Tell el-Farkha*, SAAC 12, Kraków 2008, pp. 21-35.

and it consisted of four chambers. The northern chamber contained a flexed burial. Directly above the head a cylindrical stone vessel was placed. The central part of the grave consisted of two smaller chambers. The east one contained the above described set of vessels. The west chamber contained a cosmetic palette as well as objects made of organic materials. The last chamber was filled entirely with ceramic vessels.

Stone vessels

The grave contained approximately 30 stone vessels (a part is still being studied)². All of the vessels were deposited in the south chamber of the grave. Vessels discovered in grave No. 55 in Tell el-Farkha have forms typical for many such objects discovered in graves in Upper and Lower Egypt. However, among numerous standard forms, quite unique ones were also found, such as vessel E07/58 (Fig. 1) and bowl E07/22 (Fig. 2) made of carnelian. Most of the vessels, however, were made of an easily workable material – travertine. Interesting results of mineralogical studies were provided by a small fragment of a stone vessel discovered in the northern wall of the grave³. It is a rim fragment, most probably of a bowl, which was similar in shape and form to vessel E07/22. Stone vessels during the discussed period were considered luxury goods. The fact that they appear in graves and other places (e.g. Settlements) indicates that they may be identified as special equipment. In case of graves we may also speak of high social status of the deceased. A few dozen treasures deposited in grave No. 55 points to the fact that we are dealing here with such a special burial. It is interesting, however, that the entire necropolis had relatively few graves so well equipped. Most probably the current state of research and the research area are yet too small to conduct a more thorough investigation and analysis. Stone vessels from grave No. 55 may be divided into six groups, all the items are made of travertine if not stated otherwise.

² Basic measurements: H – vessels's height from the bottom's outer surface to the rim's edge; RoD – rim's outer diameter; BD – maximum body diameter; BtD – bottom's diameter. Most of the stone vessels from grave No. 55 are made of travertine, we must stress, however, that some of the vessels and fragments of vessels are still being analysed. I. Shaw, *Sources*, [in:] P. T. Nicholson, I. Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 59-60. In older literature the term *Egyptian alabaster* or simply *alabaster* was used for travertine.

³ M. Pawlikowski, *Tell el-Farkha 2007. Mineralogical and Petrographical Investigation of grave No. 55*, this volume, pp. 98-99, sample No. 1.

Group I: cylindrical vessels

1. Inv. No.: E07/20. Pl.I:1. H: 15,9 cm ; RoD: 11 cm; BtD: 9,8 cm. The walls in the middle part of the vessels are arched to the inside. The rim is round. The bottom surface is flat.
2. Inv. No.: E07/24. Pl.I:2. H: 16,5 cm ; RoD: 12,4 cm; BtD: 9,8 cm. The walls are arched to the inside. The rim is round. In the upper part of the vessel, below the rim, a plastic slat with diagonal cuts is present. Between the rim and the slat the walls of the vessel are arched to the inside. The bottom surface is also arched to the inside.
3. Inv. No.: E07/55. Pl.I:3. H: 27 cm ; RoD: 10 cm; BtD: 8,5 cm. The walls are arched to the inside. The rim is round. In the upper part of the vessel, below the rim, a plastic slat with diagonal cuts is present. Between the rim and the slat the walls of the vessel are straight. The bottom surface is flat.
4. Inv. No.: E07/56. Pl.I:4. H: 13,5 cm ; RoD: 11 cm; BtD: 9,5 cm. The walls in the middle part of the vessels are arched to the inside. The rim is round. The bottom surface is flat.
5. Inv. No.: E07/57. Pl.I:5. H: 13,5 cm ; RoD: 11 cm; BtD: 9,5 cm. The walls in the middle part of the vessels are arched to the inside. The rim is round. The bottom surface is flat.

Analogies for the above described group of cylindrical vessels may be found chiefly on the Saqqara necropolis (mastabas nos. 3038 – Anedjib, 3504 – Djet, 3505 – Qa'a, 3111 – Den or Anedjib, 3506 and 3507 – Den, 3477 - 2nd Dynasty)⁴. In el-Khouli's classification they are part of Class I⁵. Further analogies to vessels from Tell el-Farkha E07/24 and E07/55 are known from Abydos⁶. Cylindrical vessels of various sizes made of alabaster were found in tombs Nos. 221, 251, 329, 420, 423, 461, 464, 485, 490, 531, 534, 602, 611, 702, 710 and were dated to the 1st Dynasty⁷. They have a well-defined plastic slant with diagonal cuts around upper parts of vessels. Yet another examples come from the excavations in Ballas. Three cylindrical vessels with a slant running in the upper part with clearly visible diagonal cuts were discovered in graves there. All were made of alabaster⁸. Other examples are cylindrical vessels from the excavations conducted on the Minshat Abu Omar necropolis. Three cylindrical stone vessels of alabaster were found in grave No. 160 dating

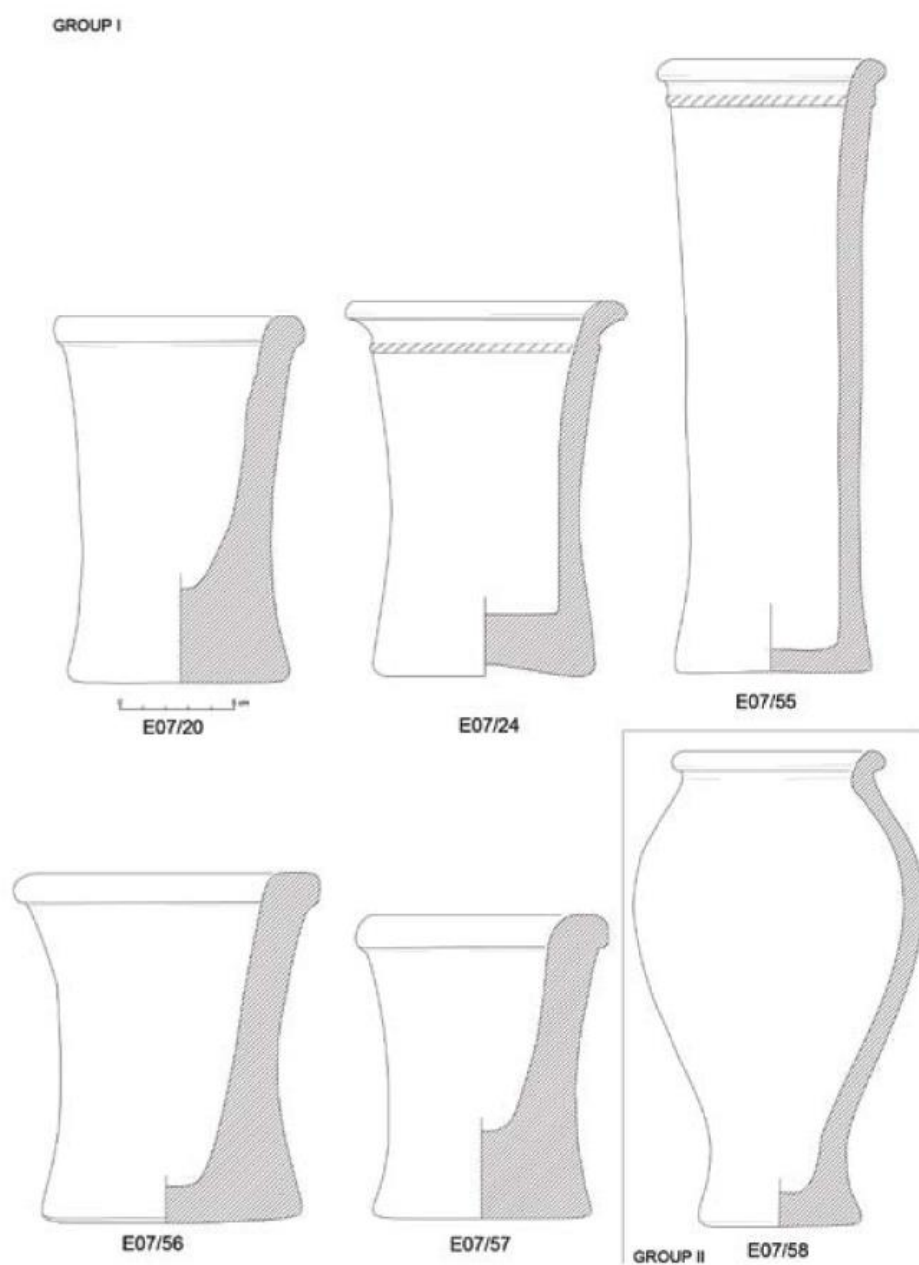
⁴ W. B. Emery, *The Great Tombs of the First Dynasty I*, London 1949, pp. 5-36.

⁵ A. A. R. H. el- Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels. Predynastic Period to Dynasty III*, vol. III, Mainz 1978, pp. 21-46.

⁶ W. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, London 1925, Pls. IX – X.

⁷ W. F. Petrie, as above.

⁸ W. F. Petrie, J. E. Quibell, *Nagada and Ballas*, London 1896, pp. 20-21, Pls. X.



Pl. 1. Tell el-Farkha. Stone vessels from grave No. 55. Groups I-II

to Dynasty 0⁹. Vessel No. 160/11 – (height approx. 20 cm), has a slant in the upper part with diagonal cuts leaning to the left. Similar vessels with a well-defined plastic decoration come from graves Nos. 886 and 415, both dating to Dynasty 0¹⁰. In each case the vessels are made of alabaster, with straight walls and flat bottoms – in the upper part a slant with diagonal cuts is visible¹¹. Four cylindrical vessels were also discovered in tomb 335 dating to the 1st Dynasty¹². In case of three vessels (335/1, 335/4, 335/8) the walls are slightly arched to the inside¹³. Each has a massive bottom. An analogy may also be found in a funerary vessel from the former collection of the Archaeological Cabinet of the Jagiellonian University¹⁴.

Group II: jars

1. Inv. No.: E07/58. Pl.I:6 H: 21 cm ; RoD: 9,4 cm; BD:9 cm; BtD: 7 cm¹⁵.
The rim is round. The most protruding part of the belly is located in the upper part of the vessel. The walls grow narrow towards the bottom and slightly widen at the base, creating a sort of a foot. The bottom is flat.

Vessels of this type were very popular during the 1st Dynasty and there are many examples of similar forms. Numerous analogies are also provided by ceramic vessels. One of them originated from Mesaced (grave No. 230) and is dated to the 1st Dynasty¹⁶. A stone vessel of the above described type was discovered in Minshat Abu Omar in a grave dating to the 1st Dynasty¹⁷. It was larger and made of alabaster. The form and shape are identical to the vessel from Tell el-Farkha. Another example comes from Tarkhan. It was found in grave No. 178 dating to the second half of the 1st Dynasty¹⁸. Other analogies come from Cemetery 300 in Abu Roash. One of the graves (No. 343) dating to

⁹ K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar I*, Mainz 1994, pp. 158-162.

¹⁰ K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, Mainz 2000, pp. 34, 160.

¹¹ K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, pp. 34-41; 160-165.

¹² K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, pp. 96-99.

¹³ K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁴ J. Śliwa, *Egipskie naczynia kamienne*, [w:] J. Śliwa (ed.), *Egipt, Grecja, Italia... Zabytki starożytne z dawnej kolekcji Gabinetu Archeologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Kraków 2007, pp.159-164, pl. XXIV, 1.

¹⁵ M. Pawlikowski, *Tell el-Farkha 2007. Mineralogical and Petrographical Investigation of grave No. 55*, this volume, p. 107, sample No. 12.

¹⁶ G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops*, Cambridge 1936, p. 375, il. 181, fig. 17.

¹⁷ K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, pp. 124-129.

¹⁸ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, London 1913, tabl. 38:31.

the end of the 1st Dynasty contained a vessel of the above described type¹⁹. In this case, however, the rim is visibly divided from the belly by a clearly defined neck.

Group III: small jars

1. Inv. No.: E07/11. Pl.II:1. H: 5,8 cm; RoD: 2,9 cm; BtD: 2,2 cm. The rim is rounded. The walls are arched towards the outside. There is a small neck between the rim and the belly. The bottom is flat and very thick.
2. Inv. No.: E07/13. Pl.II:2. H: 7 cm; RoD: 3,1 cm; BtD: 2 cm. The rim is rounded. The walls are arched towards the outside. There is a small neck between the rim and the belly. The bottom is flat and thick.
3. Inv. No.: E07/11. Pl.II:1. H: 5,8 cm; RoD: 2,9 cm; BtD: 2,2 cm. The rim is rounded. The walls are arched towards the outside. There is a small neck between the rim and the belly. The bottom is flat and very thick.
4. Inv. No.: E07/16. Pl.II:3. H: 7,5 cm; RoD: 3,9 cm; BtD: 2,5 cm. The rim is rounded. The walls are arched towards the outside. There is a small neck between the rim and the belly. The bottom is flat and very thick.
5. Inv. No.: E07/18. Pl.II:4. H: 6,8 cm; RoD: 3,6 cm; BtD: 2,4 cm. The rim is rounded. The walls are arched towards the outside. There is a small neck between the rim and the belly. The bottom is flat and very thick.
6. Inv. No.: E07/19. Pl.II:5. H: 7,7 cm; RoD: 3,7 cm; BtD: 5,3 cm. The rim is rounded. The walls are arched towards the outside. There is a small neck between the rim and the belly. The bottom is flat and very thick.
7. Inv. No. E07/54. Pl.II:6. H: 6,1 cm; RoD: 3 cm; BtD: 4,5 cm. The rim is rounded. The walls are arched towards the outside. There is a small neck between the rim and the belly. The bottom is flat and very thick.

Vessels of the above described type were discovered in Abu Roash in graves Nos. 453, 856 and 926 dating to the 1st Dynasty²⁰. Klasens classifies them as type G2 and G12. Identical vessels were discovered in the mastabas of the two last kings, Semerchet and Qa'a in Abydos, but their rims were destroyed²¹. Another identical vessel made of alabaster was found in grave No. 275 on the same site²². Yet another few were deposited in Tarkhan (S.D 80) in grave No. 162

¹⁹ A. Klasens, *The Excavations of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities at Abu Roash. Report from the Second Season 1958*, Leiden 1958, p. 42, fig. 19.

²⁰ A. Klasens, *The Excavations of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities at Abu Roash. Report from the Third Season 1959*, part I, OMRO XLI, pp. 69-94.

²¹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva. The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu*, London 1901, p. 44, Pl. LI; K. Ciałowicz, *Początki cywilizacji egipskiej*, Kraków 1999, p. 153.

²² W. M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, p. 7, tabl. IX.

dating to the reign of Djet. Petrie classifies them as class 78h²³. Five alabaster vessels similar in shape were discovered in graves Nos. 187, 219, 1017, 1008, 1029. Those vessels, classified as type 78h according to Petrie, are dated to the middle of the 1st Dynasty (S.D 81) – the reign of Den to Semerchet²⁴. Graves Nos. 80 and 1033 contained vessels of the 78n type. Graves Nos. 541, 1513 i 4056 in Naga ed-Der contained alabaster vessels of assigned to classes 78h and 78m according to Petrie's classification²⁵. The first one – from grave No. 541, is dated to the reign of the 2nd Dynasty²⁶. Reisner assigned the vessels from this grave to group VB2. The next grave No. 1513 is dated to the times from Den to Semerchet²⁷. The last of the above mentioned graves – No. 4506, is dated to the 3rd Dynasty²⁸. Mastaba No. 3505 excavated by W.B. Emery in Saqqara dates to the reign of the last king of the 1st Dynasty – Qa'a²⁹. Vessels of the above described type were among the numerous objects discovered on the burial site. Emery assigned them in his classification to group G – barrel-shaped vessels³⁰. The grave contained 12 vessels of this shape made of calcite. The most similar types are G2 and G12. The differences between them concern the shape of the rim. Another vessel of the G12 type was discovered in a different grave No. 3038. That burial dates to the reign of Anedjib (S.D 79-80)³¹. A number of similar vessels were discovered in Ezbet el-Tell in graves dating to the Early Dynastic Period³². Among numerous characteristic fragments oval – barrel-shaped vessels were also discovered, the rims of which varied. All the vessels were made of calcite³³. Vessels of this type were also discovered in Tell el-Fara'on. Graves dating to the Early Dynastic period contained a few cosmetic vessels made of calcite. One of them is barrel-shaped and resembles the vessel discovered in Tell el-Farkha³⁴. Other examples come from an Early Dynastic grave No. A/87/3 from Tell el-Iswid. They are small and made of calcite³⁵.

²³ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, London 1913, p. 3, pl. XLIV.

²⁴ W. M. F. Petrie, as above.

²⁵ G.A. Reisner, *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga ed-Der*, Leipzig 1908, p. 3.

²⁶ G.A. Reisner, as above, p. 43.

²⁷ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan*, pl. LXVII.

²⁸ A.C. Mace, *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga ed-Der I*, Leipzig 1909, pp.24-60.

²⁹ K. Ciałowicz, *Początki*, p. 143.

³⁰ W. B. Emery, *Great Tombs, III*, pl.35.

³¹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan*, p. 3; W. B. Emery, *Great...I*, p.82.

³² K. Kroeper, *Settlement in the Nile Delta to the End of the Old Kingdom – According to Contemporary Evidence*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1989, pp. 74-75, pl. 45.

³³ K. Kroeper, as above.

³⁴ K. Kroeper, *Settlement...*, p. 186, pl. 129.

³⁵ E. C. M. van den Brink, *Transitional Late Predynastic–Early Dynastic Settlement in the Northeastern Nile Delta, Egypt*, MDAIK 45, 1989, pp. 56-108.

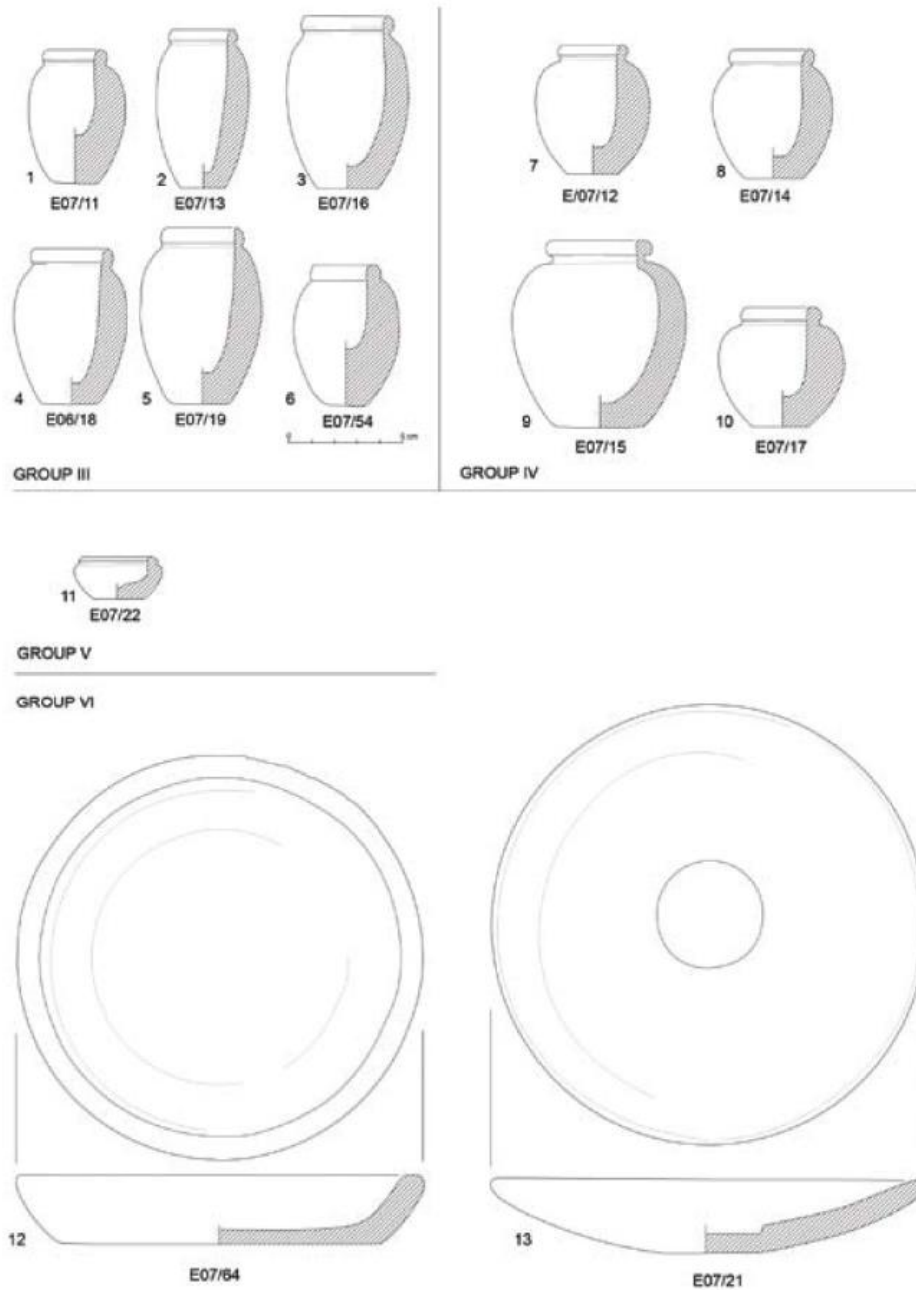


PLATE II. Stone Vessels from grave 55. Tell el-Farkha. Groups III - VI

Pl. 2. Tell el-Farkha. Stone vessels form grave No. 55. Groups III-VI

Group IV: small squat jars

1. Inv. No.: E07/12. Pl.II:7. H: 5,6 cm; BoD: 3,0 cm; BtD: 2,2 cm. The rim is rounded. The belly is protruding. Slightly marked arms run on the outside of the vessel. A small neck is visible between the belly and the rim. The bottom is flat and very thick.
2. Inv. No.: E07/14. Pl.II:8. H: 5,5 cm; BoD: 3,5 cm; BtD: 2,5 cm. The rim is rounded. The belly is protruding. The walls are arched. The bottom is flat and very thick.
3. Inv. No.: E07/15. Pl.II:9. H: 8,2 cm; BoD: 4,6 cm; BtD: 4,0 cm. The rim is rounded. The belly is protruding. Slightly marked arms run on the outside of the vessel. The largest diameter of the belly is located in the upper part of the vessel. A small neck is visible between the belly and the rim. The bottom is flat and very thick.
4. Inv. No.: E07/17. Pl.II:10. H: 5,2 cm; BoD: 3,5 cm; BtD: 2,5 cm. The rim is rounded. The belly is protruding. Slightly marked arms run on the outside of the vessel. The largest diameter of the belly is located in the upper part of the vessel. The bottom is flat and very thick.

This type and shape of vessel was very popular in Early Dynastic Egypt. Examples were discovered in Tarkhan in graves Nos. 80, 1020 and 1029 dating to the middle of the 1st Dynasty (type 78e, m – in Petrie's classification)³⁶. Other examples come from graves Nos. 536³⁷, 3015³⁸, 3551, 4375³⁹ from Naga ed-Der. The first dates to the reign of the 3rd Dynasty⁴⁰, the others (3015, 3551), while grave No. 437 dates to the 2nd Dynasty⁴¹. Those vessels were classified as Va and V in Reisner's classification. They were all made of alabaster. Another example comes from the royal tombs in Abydos dated to the 1st Dynasty⁴². Those vessels were also made of alabaster. Another examples were found in the chamber of mastaba No. 3505 discovered in Saqqara⁴³. In Emery's classification they fit into group G6 – squat vessels with rounded arms. The burial is

³⁶ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan*, p. 3, pl. XLIV.

³⁷ G. A., Reisner, *A Provincial Cemetery of the Pyramid Age. Naga ed-Der III*, Leipzig 1932, fig. 7, p. 41, 99, 205.

³⁸ G. A. Reisner, *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga ed-Der, I*, Leipzig 1908, fig. 196, p. 105.

³⁹ A. C. Mace, *The Predynastic Cemetery N7000, Naga ed-Der, II*, Leipzig 1909, fig. 93/10, p. 19, 57.

⁴⁰ G. A. Reisner, *A Provincial Cemetery...*, p. 41, 99, 205 fig. 7.

⁴¹ G. A. Reisner, *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries*, p. 105 fig. 196; A. C. Mace, *The Predynastic Cemetery N7000, Naga ed-Der, II*, Leipzig 1909, p. 19, 57 fig. 93/10.

⁴² W. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, p. 7 pl. IX.

⁴³ Emery B. W., *The Great Tombs, III*, pp. 5-36.

dated to the reign of Qa'a⁴⁴. Another vessel was found in grave No. 172 (404) in Minshat Abu Omar, dating to the reign of the 1st Dynasty⁴⁵. It is made of alabaster and was placed right next to the legs of the deceased between pottery vessels. A single example comes from grave No. 178 (886) dating to the 1st Dynasty⁴⁶. It is also made of alabaster.

Group V: miniature bowl

1. Inv. No.: E07/22. Pl.II:11. H: 2,0 cm; RoD: 2,5 cm; BtD: 2 cm. Agate. Between the rim and small shoulders there is a slight groove forming a neck. The protruding arms are at the same time the widest part of the belly. In the lower part the walls of the vessel drop at a slight angle towards a massive bottom. Inside the vessel at the bottom there is a small hollow in the shape of a small opening.

Small bowl-shaped vessels were very popular in Early Dynastic Egypt. An identical vessel was discovered in grave No. 600 in Qau dating to the 1st Dynasty⁴⁷. The vessel was made of diorite. Other examples come from graves Nos. 1012 and 1013 discovered in Tarkhan⁴⁸. They were classified as type 42f by Petrie. In case of grave No. 1013 the vessels were placed right next to the hands of the deceased. The vessels were made of alabaster and the burials date to the middle of the 1st Dynasty – S.D. 81⁴⁹. Another example of an alabaster vessel of the above described type comes from mastaba No. 3505 in Saqqara⁵⁰ dating to the reign of Qa'a (the vessel was placed in the funerary chamber)⁵¹.

Group VI: large bowls

1. Inv. No.: E07/62. Pl.II:12. H: 3,2 cm; RoD: 17,8 cm; BtD: 14 cm. The rim is flat. The walls are thick and massive. The bend between the walls and the bottom surface is sharp. The bottom is flat and thick-set.

Examples of such forms are vessels (Nos. 259, 260, 265) discovered in Hierakonpolis⁵². Vessels Nos. 259 and 260 had traces of burning, which suggests

⁴⁴ K. Ciałowicz, *Początki*, p. 276.

⁴⁵ K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, pp. 109-113, pl. 32-33.

⁴⁶ K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, pp. 124-128, pl. 38.

⁴⁷ G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari I*, London 1927, p. 52 Pl. XX.

⁴⁸ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan*, p. 11 pl. XXXVIII.

⁴⁹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan*, p. 3 pl. XXXVIII.

⁵⁰ W. B. Emery, *The Great Tombs, III.*, pp. 5-36.

⁵¹ K. Ciałowicz, *Początki*, p. 276.

⁵² B. Adams, *Ancient Hierakonpolis*, London 1974, Pl. 34. p. 48.

that the items were in direct contact with fire. Vessel No. 260 was discovered in the main deposit dating to the 1st Dynasty⁵³. All the vessels were made of alabaster. There are some differences in the shape of the main edge of the rim, which is usually rounded. All the vessels date to the 1st Dynasty⁵⁴. Other examples come from Zawiyet el-Aryan. In grave No. 118 two vessels of the described type were discovered. The first one and smaller one (No. 3) was made of yellow calcite, the second one (No. 5) was larger⁵⁵. In this case some differences are also visible in the shape of the upper edge of the rim. The most similar vessel to the one discovered in Tell el-Farkha is No. 3. This burial dates to the 1st Dynasty⁵⁶.

2. Inv. No.: E07/21. Pl.II:13. H: 3,2 cm; RoD: 19 cm; BtD: 4,5 cm. The rim is rounded. The thick and massive walls drop towards the bottom at a wide angle. The bend between the walls and the bottom surface is gentle. Inside the vessel at the bottom part there a base countersunk is visible. The bottom is flat and thick-set.

Vessels of the above described type were discovered in Abusir in graves Nos. 10 and 11. Both burials date to the 1st Dynasty⁵⁷. Similar alabaster vessels come from grave No. 294 discovered in Tarkhan. Inside there is a base countersunk. The burial dates to the 1st Dynasty (S.D 81)⁵⁸ - in Petrie's classification - 8n and r⁵⁹. In case of group 8n the rim is sharp. Another vessel comes from grave No. 142 (322) in the above mentioned necropolis in Minshat Abu Omar⁶⁰. It is smaller, made of alabaster, with the height of 2,6 cm⁶¹. In this case there is a visible lack of a base countersunk in the bottom. The vessel also has massive walls and the rim is rounded⁶². The burial dates to the reign of the 1st Dynasty (MAO IV)⁶³.

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⁵³ J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, London 1900, Pl. XXXIV:5a.

⁵⁴ A. A. H. el-Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels, II*, p. 646.

⁵⁵ D. Dunham, *Zawiyet el-Aryan, The Cemeteries Adjacent to The Layer Pyramid*, Boston 1978, p.16.

⁵⁶ D. Dunham, *Zawiyet el-Aryan*, p.16.

⁵⁷ H. Bonnet, *Ein Frühgeschichtliches Gräberfeld bei Abusir*, Leipzig 1928, pp. 7-53.

⁵⁸ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan*, pl. XXXII.

⁵⁹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan*, pl. XXXII.

⁶⁰ K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, pp. 47-55, Pl. 15-17.

⁶¹ K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, p. 49.

⁶² K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, p. 49, fig. 322/8.

⁶³ K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II*, p. 47.

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TELL EL-FARKHA 2007
MINERALOGICAL AND
PETROGRAPHICAL
INVESTIGATION OF GRAVE No. 55*

Excavations at the Tell el-Farkha, Kom E, tomb No. 55 in the Nile Delta, brought to light a variety of substances and artifacts. Mineralogical and petrographical examination of objects discovered has been carried out, in order to identify and establish the primary sources of materials unearthed. The results are presented below.

Methods of investigation

The samples collected were examined using digital microscope (DM), polarized light microscope (PLM), scanning electron microscope (SEM), as well as X-ray diffraction (XRD) techniques. PLM of Carl Zeiss brand was used, with the phenomena observed documented in series of microphotos. SEM Jeol 540, coupled with the EDS counter, was used for determination of morphology and chemistry of tested samples. XRD analysis focused on identifying the products of copper corrosion. Philips diffractometer and Cu K α radiation were used, while the interpretation of results was conducted using X-ray software.

1. Fragment of a melting pot (Figs. 1 A-D; 2 A-B, 3 A-C)

Preliminary observation using DM confirmed granular structure of fragment of vessel and the presence of pores and inclusions of metal. Metal inclu-

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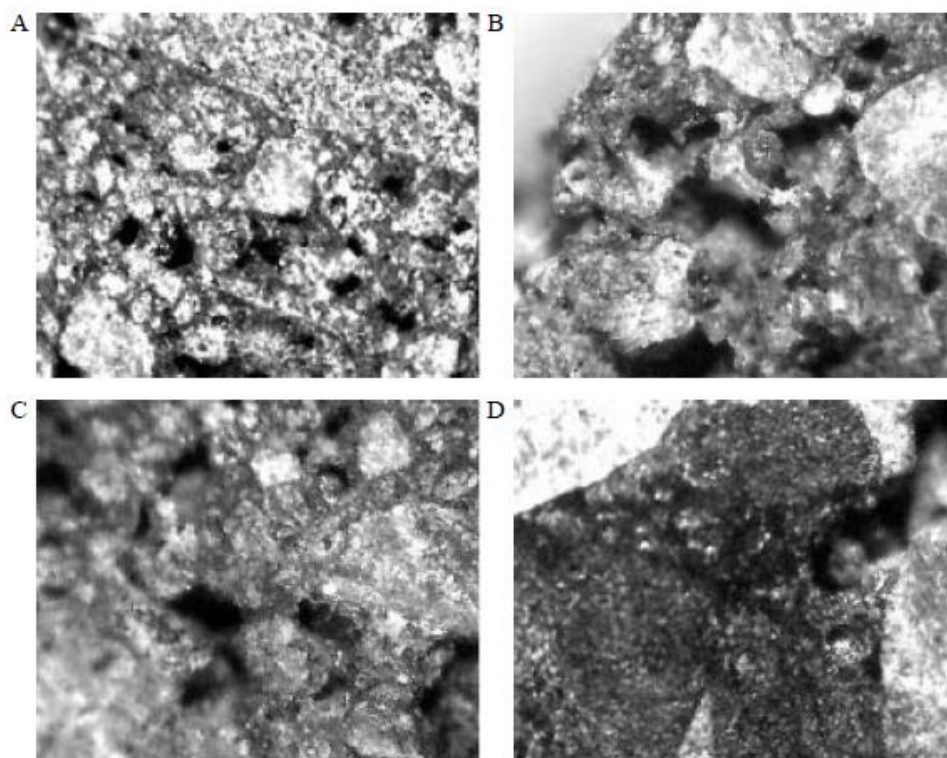


Fig. 1. A – Structure of the small black spots of metal disseminated at thermally altered slag. DM, magnification 40 x; B – Dark pores present at melted slag. DM, magnification 40 x; C – Dark pore present at slag; D – Dark concentration of metal

sions are disseminated irregularly in form of small grains. They are located mostly at places where are present small pores. Observation of structures of sample showed the presence of secondary phases formed at high temperature (Phot. 2A) as well as inclusions of metal containing secondary phases formed due to high temperature and cooling of material (Phot. 2B). Mentioned phenomenon documents heating of vessel at high temperature. Data obtained with using DM as well as PLM informed about heating of vessel at high temperature. Because of this next examination was focused on determination of metal inclusions present at the vessel. The examination performed using SEM and EDS methods confirmed the presence of various metal inclusion (Phot. 3A-C). Mentioned inclusions are small and of size mostly smaller than 20-50 μm .

Chemical investigation of metal inclusions (Fig. 3 I-III) performed using EDS method showed that they contain Cu, Fe, Pb, Mn, traces of Ni, Cr, Sn. Together with metals are present non metallic phases including Al – silicates containing Ca and traces of Mg.

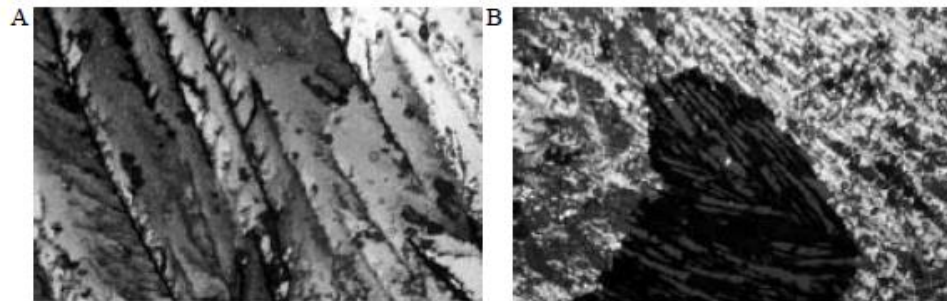


Fig. 2. A – Structure of secondary formed transparent phases. PLM, N part X, magnification 80 x; B – Inclusion of metal with isotropic phases. PLM, N part X, magnification 80 x

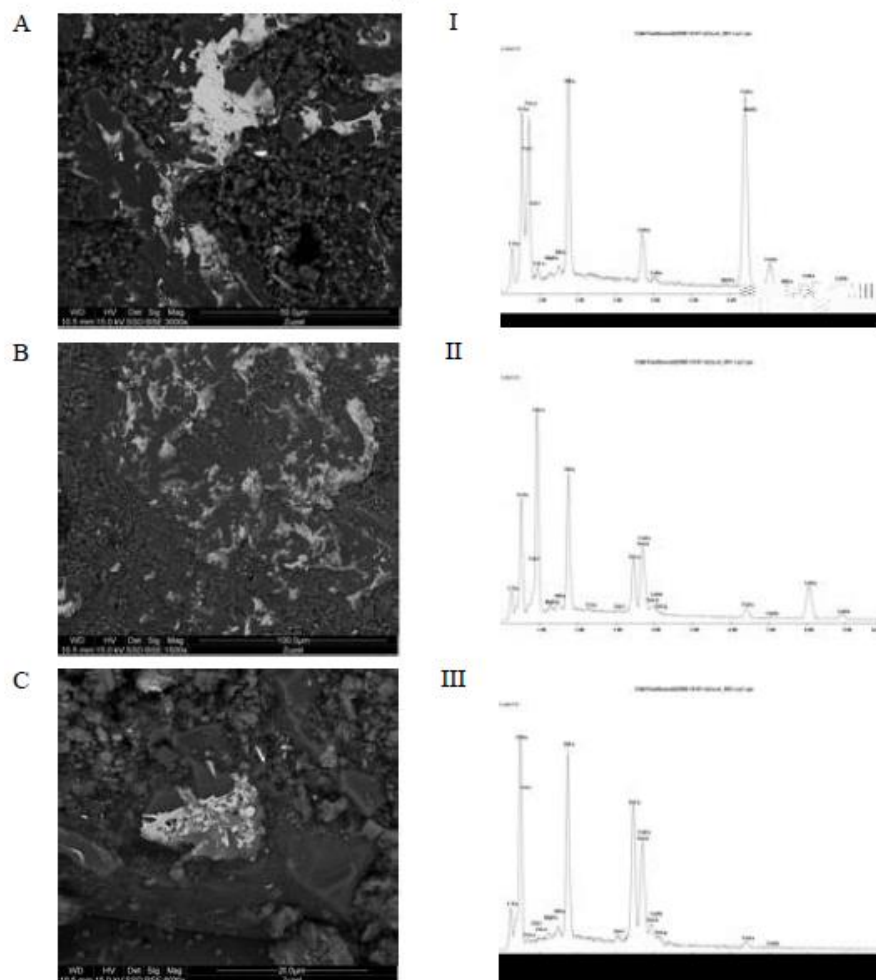


Fig. 3. A-C – A-C Light concentration of metals at the wall of the melting pot. SEM; I-III – EDS diagrams of light metals showed at photos 3A-C

It is necessary to stress that during exploration of tomb No. 55 two copper harpoons were discovered (see below, sample No. 13). Examination of not weathered metal present inside of objects showed not homogeneous structure and chemical composition. Observation of structure of metal performed using SEM method documents the presence in pure Cu inclusions containing admixtures of As, Ni in form of dark inclusions. Together with the mentioned forms one can see in pure copper small crystals of sulphides.

Together with copper harpoons small fragments of slag containing traces of metal were discovered (see below, sample No. 8). Microscopic examination of slag confirm it is composed of glass, not crystalline substance containing various inclusions of gas as well as solid phases. Not transparent inclusions present suggest the slag is the result of metal production – melting.

Investigation confirmed that the fragment of vessel is fragment of a melting-pot used for copper production. This discovery is also confirmed by the presence of copper harpoons and grains of slag at tomb No. 55. The origin of copper is up to now not known. But according to literature, deposits of Sinai or Jordan may be taken into account¹.

2. Yellow pigment (Fig. 4)

Microscopic observation showed a fine-grained carbonate substance, displaying optical features typical of siderite. Together with carbonate, disseminated opaque limonite grains were present. Powdered material is of the yellow-reddish colour.

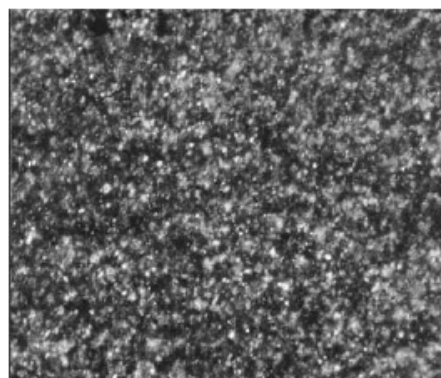


Fig. 4. Yellow pigment – siderite mixed with limonite.
PLM, polarization X, magnification 120 x

¹ S. Klain, A. Hauptmann, *Iron Age Leaded Tin Bronzes from Khirbet edh-Dharih, Jordan*, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26, 1999, p. 1075-1082; A. Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers in Fena/Jordanien*, Deutsches Bergbau Museum, Freiburg 2000, p.238; Mikoś T., *Górnictwo skarby przeszłości. Od kruszców do wyrobu i zabytkowej kopalni*, Kraków 2008, p. 231.

3. White pigment (Fig. 5)

Characteristic of this sample is a crystalline – porous inner structure with white-beige crystals of calcite, that makes the pigment soft and easy to use.

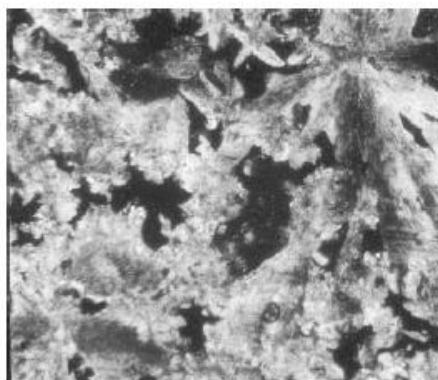


Fig. 5. White pigment- light crystalline calcite with dark, empty spaces between crystals creating a soft structure. PLM, polarization X, magnification 120 x

4. Reddish pigment (Fig. 6A-B)

Investigation by means of a DM showed the presence of small, rounded grains of hematite with inclusions of small quartz grains. Further study, carried out with a PLM, confirmed the presence of hematite cemented with a silty mass.

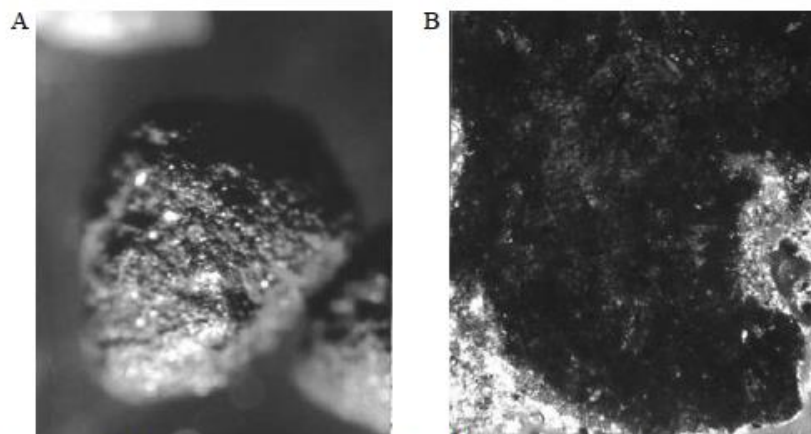


Fig. 6. A – grain of hematite separated from the reddish pigment. DM, magnification 60 x;
B – grain showed at photo 3A under PM. Red hematite with inclusions of small quartz grains, surrounded with silty material represented by clay minerals and fine quartz.
PLM, polarization X, magnification 120 x

5. Black pigment (Fig. 7)

Inner structure of fine-grained sandstone, cemented with black manganese minerals. Grains of sandstone are represented by quartz, rounded fragments of flints and, occasionally, altered feldspars. The exact function of the black pigment in this particular case remains unknown. It is valid however to speculate that it was imported from the Eastern Desert as the cretaceous sandstones of the Western Desert do not contain this kind of manganese cement.

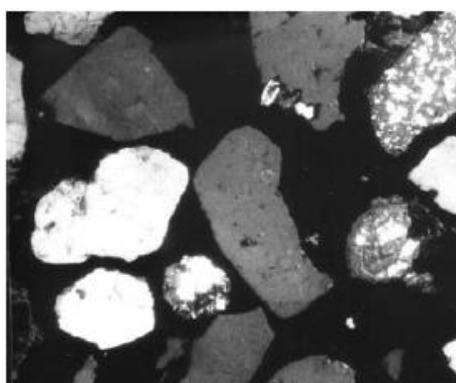


Fig. 7. Black pigment – fine-grained sandstone, cemented with black manganese oxide. PLM, polarization X, magnification 120 x

6. Burned clay coating the internal walls of a vessel used as a gasket (Fig 8 A-C)

Study of the sample's structure, carried out by means of a DM, revealed the presence of small cracks (Fig. 8A) and remains of burned organic matter, seen

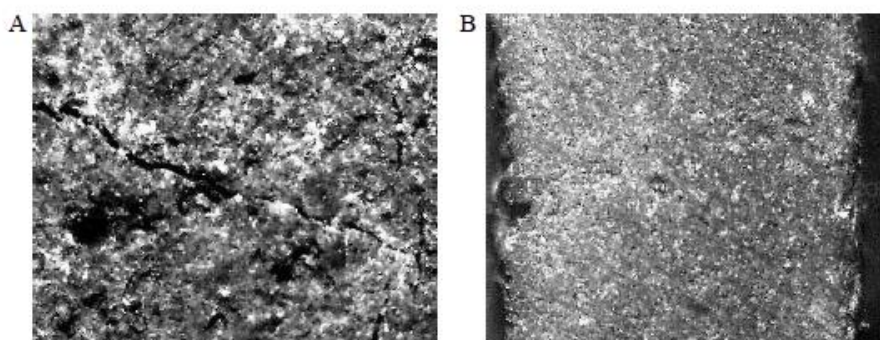


Fig. 8. Thin layer of fired clay from the internal wall of the vessel used as a gasket.
A – surface of the gasket. One can see small black cracks and dark spots of organic matter;
B – cross section of the gasket. Reddish, internal part (INT) – oxidized.
Grey part at the point of contact with pottery (CON) – not oxidized. DM, magnification 40 x

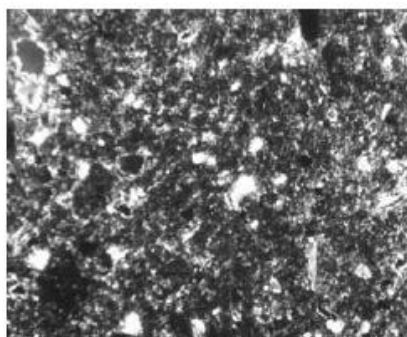


Fig 8. C – The structure of clay used as a seal on the internal wall of a vessel for storing liquids. PLM, polarization X, magnification 120 x

below as dark spots. Analysis of the cross section confirmed, that the clay used as a gasket was fired together with the vessel as indicated by the reddish colour of the internal clay walls (Fig. 8B). This, in turn, suggests that the artifact was used for storing liquids (beer jug). Remains of the organic substance, seen as dark spots on the surface of the sample, are unfortunately too scarce to allow for an identification. Microscopic observation of the clay's thin section provided a picture of very fine silts, seemingly specially prepared for sealed vessels (Fig. 8C).

7. Fragments of a vessel of “Egyptian alabaster” (Fig. 9A-C)

Investigation into the surface of the vessel shows the difference in morphology between the external and internal walls, which are coated with traces of various organic substances (Fig. 9A, B). Under the polarizing light, “Egyptian alabaster” shows porous structure where its crystals are separated from one another by empty, elongated fissures (Fig. 9C). Polarizing colours of crys-

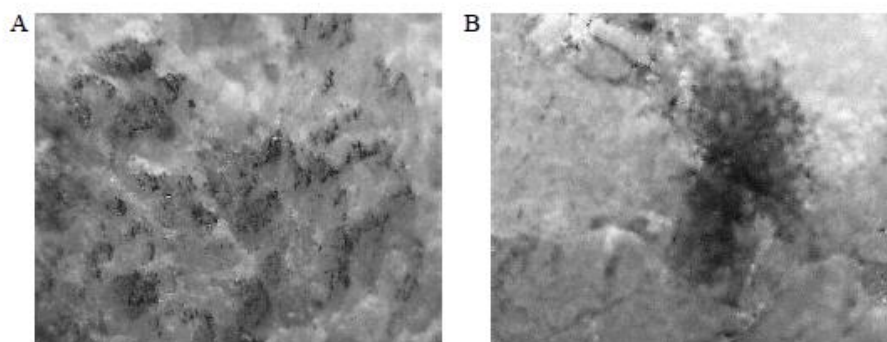


Fig 9. Surface of the vessel coated with traces of an organic substance. A – external surface of the vessel coated with soot; B – internal surface with preserved traces of the organic matter stored in the vessel. DM, magnification 85 x



Fig 9C. The structure of Egyptian alabaster of the vessel tested. One can see elongated crystals of gypsum altered partially into anhydrite. Crystals are oriented perpendicularly to internal and external surfaces of the vessel. The dark pores seen between crystals signify a relatively high porosity of the vessel wall, which in turn suggests that it wasn't used for storing liquids. PLM, polarization X, magnification 120 x

tals confirm that a part of gypsum crystals was altered into an anhydrite. This phenomenon is probably the result of the reaction (dehydration) between the gypsum crystals ("Egyptian alabaster") and a substance present in the vessel, as there are no traces of high temperature alternation of the vessel.

8. Slag (Fig. 10A-B)

Microscopic examination of the sample confirmed that it is composed of glossy, not crystalline substance containing various inclusions of gas, as well as solid phases. The investigation does not specify the origins of the slag – whether it is a result of the metal (copper?) melting or of firing at a very high temperature. Though opaque inclusions present suggest the former situation, further investigation by means of electron microprobe method is needed.

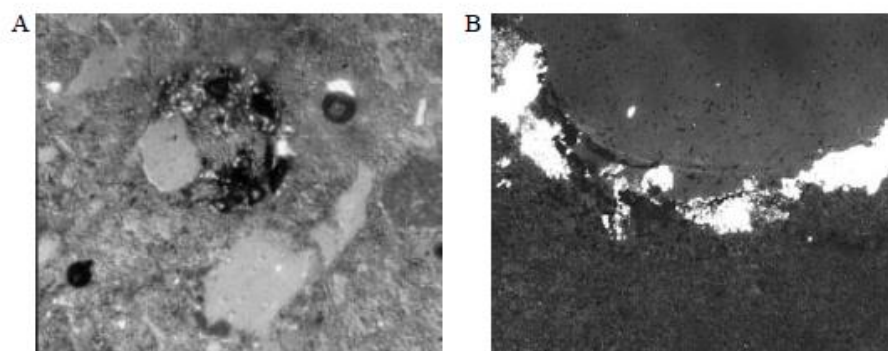


Fig. 10. Microscopic pictures of the slag tested. A – structure of slag containing transparent and metal inclusions; B – quartz and calcite grains (light) on the internal surface of a small gas inclusion present in the slag. PLM, polarization in part X, magnification 120 x

9. White clay (Fig. 11)

Clay is a composition of kaolinite, illite/sericite and small, rounded grains of quartz. There is a possibility, that it was used as white pigment. Because of the admixture of kaolinite, stable at high temperatures, this substance was much more useful for decorating e.g. heated pottery, than thermally unstable powdered calcite or gypsum. Though the origins of clay are unknown, it is definitely imported as all the local clays and silts are of gray colour.

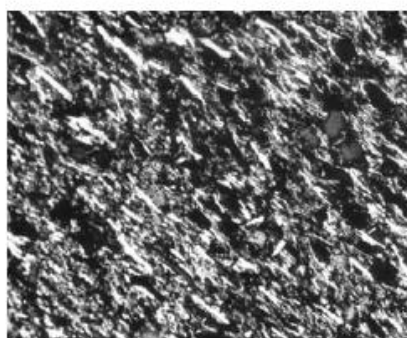


Fig. 11. Structure of the white clay (pigment?). One can see small light flakes of sericite, fine gray mass composed of kaolinite and fine grains of quartz. PLM, polarization X, magnification 120 x

10. Beads of agate (Fig. 12A,B)

They are of red-brownish, red and orange colour, with the majority of them unearthed already damaged. Under the microscope they present a variety of hues and quite often do not possess a zonality typical for this mineral – the bead tested represents just this sort of agate. It is transparent and of a red colour. Its

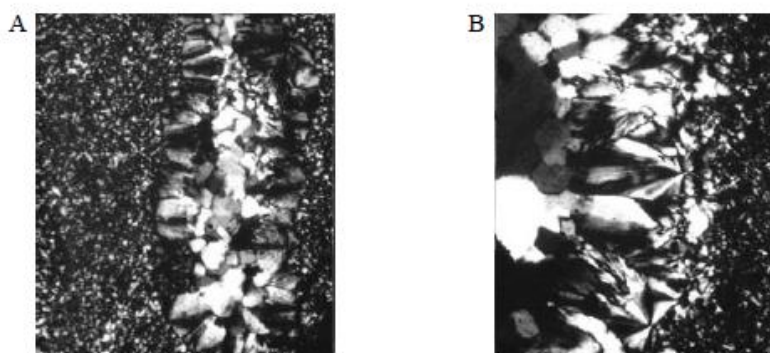


Fig. 12. A – a zone built of fine quartz (light bigger crystals) and chalcedone (fine light points); B – a zone of agate built of coarser quartz and chalcedone. PLM, polarization X, magnification 120 x

external surface is polished and the hole shows morphology characteristic for preparation with the use of a crescent drill, most probably made of flint. Internal structure of the agate is also typical – under the PLM one can see zones constructed with quartz of various crystallinity, with fine and coarse crystals of chalcedony and quartz.

Agates, like the one tested, occur plentifully in Egypt, their primary sources being magmatic, igneous rocks. They are especially easy to collect in the desert, where they often occur in the secondary position on top of Qena sand and also in younger sediments. Those discovered at Tell el-Farkha however, are not of local origin but were transported from areas located outside of the Delta, mostly from Upper Egypt where they appear frequently in the top layers of Qena Sands².

11. Faience with white glossy coat (Fig. 13)

Microscopic observation of the sample's internal structure shows fine, sharp grains of quartz (light, gray), cemented with isotropic glossy substance. The relation between the quantities of those two elements implies the extra strength of the glossy cement. One can also see small, irregular concentrations of brownish substance – another component of the faience mass.

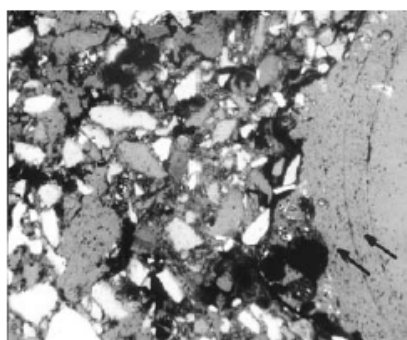


Fig. 13. Microscopic picture of the faience bead cross section, near the internal hole. One can see mixed quartz-glossy mass and a part of the internal hole coated with two layers of glass (arrows). PLM, polarization in part X, magnification 60 x

² Pawlikowski M., *Climatic changes during Holocene in the region of Armant* [in:] B. Ginter, J.K. Kozłowski, *Predynastic settlements near Armant*, Heidelberg 1994, pp. 125-132; Pawlikowski M., *Reasons for the Predynastic – Early Dynastic Transition in Egypt. Geological and Climatic Evidence*, [in:] Hendrickx S., Friedman R.F., Ciałowicz K., Chłodnicki M. (eds.), *Egypt at its Origin*, Leuven 2004, pp. 919-923; Pawlikowski M., *Sedimentary Structures and Mineralogy of Tell el-Farkha Archaeological Site (Nile Delta – Egypt)*, *International Symposium Prehistory of Northeastern Africa. New ideas and discoveries*, Poznań 2007, pp. 16-17.

The presence of two layers of glass coating the external walls of the object, as well as the internal hole of the faience bead suggests at least two stages of the coat's preparation. Observation suggests, that the bead was prepared first as a "ceramic mass", coated with glossy light substance, before being additionally covered with a second layer of a very thin glossy substance, containing small admixture of blue pigment. The aforementioned technology is the reason for the good condition of the older light glass cover and the almost complete corrosion of the thin blue coloured external layer of glass. This is why we find light (not blue) faience beads at Tell el-Farkha.

12. Organic substance coating the external walls of a vessel of "Egyptian alabaster" (Fig. 14A-B)

As has been stated above, "Egyptian alabaster" vessels could not be used for storing liquids due to the high porosity of the mineral's structure. Therefore, the black (burned?) organic substance present on the external walls of many vessels (Fig. 14A) found at the site wasn't originally filling them. As the remains of the aforementioned matter occur only occasionally inside the Egyptian alabaster artifacts, the process of coating must have been of a later date and focused mainly on the outside of the vessels. There are grounds for supposing, that the organic matter under investigation is a natural product of decomposition of the primary organic substance, currently unidentified. One can observe that this secondary organic matter spread in various directions and coated various objects present in the tomb.

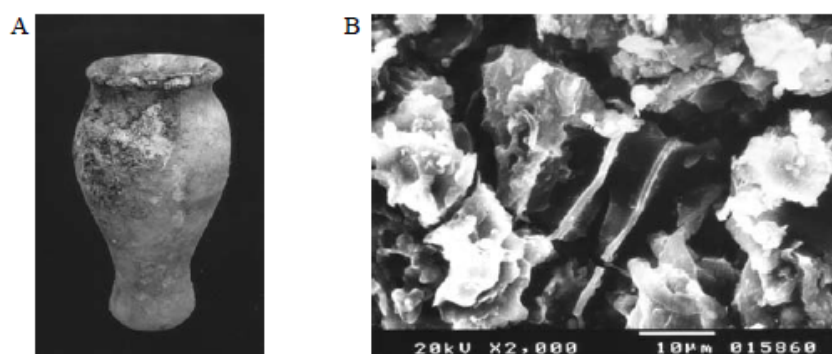


Fig. 14 A – vessel made of "Egyptian alabaster" with the visible part of its external wall coated secondarily with black organic substance. B – SEM picture of the black organic substance from the vessel's wall. One can see the organic mass in a structure containing small unidentified organic fragments (central part of the photo)

13. Copper harpoon and products of corrosion of copper points

(Fig. 15A-C)

An investigation of the copper pike heads has been conducted, with the analysis of both the fresh metal, as well as the products of corrosion by using SEM and EDS methods.

Examination of the unweathered metal present inside of the objects, showed heterogeneity, both in the structure and chemical composition. Apart from the pure copper, inclusions of Cu, containing admixtures of As and Ni in form of dark inclusions, appear (Fig. 15B, 15 I). Also, small crystals of sulphides (Fig. 15C, 15 II) can be distinguished. Those inclusions, as well as the very form of the pikes confirm, that the metal used was not melted but rather hammered. Forms of inclusions and their chemical and mineral composition exclude the process of copper melting because of the presence of not oxidized sulphides.

The above observations suggest the probability of pure natural copper being used in the making of the pikes, instead of copper minerals. On the other hand small fragments of slag were also discovered in the same tomb. Detailed explanation of the interrelations between slag and the pikes needs further investigation.

Transition zone between copper and the products of corrosion

Investigation of this zone within copper objects is of great importance for our understanding of the corrosion processes occurring in the specific environment of a tomb. As the body tissues undergo decomposition, a large number of secondary components is formed, some of which may react with metals. Analysis of the zone mentioned by means of SEM (Fig. 15C) showed irregularity of the border line between the two spheres.

Differences observed are due to the heterogeneous structure of the metal, containing various inclusions and admixtures. As a result, the oxygenated (corroded) outer layer, formed during the process, is of various thickness in different parts of the pikes surface.

Products of copper corrosion

Green colour of the faience beads, observed under the microscope, suggest the presence of copper sulphates and carbonates as major products of metal corrosion. SEM investigation of the altered layer confirms the crystalline character of the corrosion products (Fig. 12 E,F). Crystals represent mainly oxides and chlorides of copper i.e. paramelaconite, paratacamite and atacamite (Fig. 12 IV, V, VI). Also, corrosion products of amorphous structure are present.

Both the products of copper corrosion and the conditions found in the tomb are specific. Oxides of copper are dominating but the presence of copper chlo-



Fig. 15. A – harpoons discovered in tomb No 55. One can see small variations in the shape of artifacts due to the technology of production

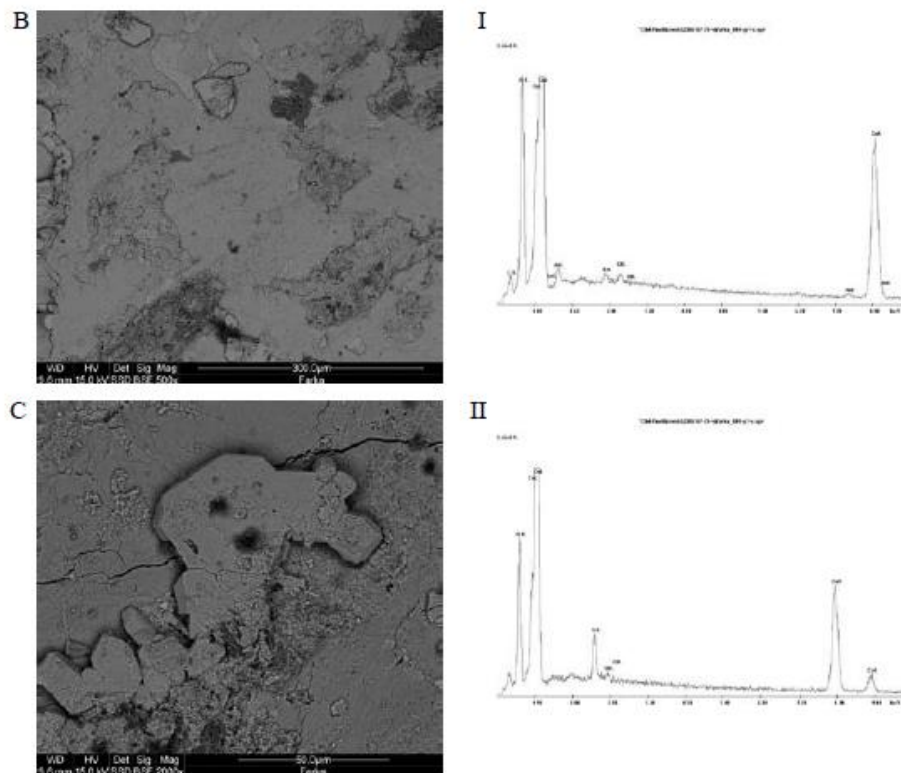


Fig. 15. B – pure copper with inclusions of dark grains containing As and Ni;
C – crystal of sulphide present as an inclusion in the copper. SEM; I – EDS energetic curve of dark inclusions present in the copper. One can see small peaks of As and Ni;
II – EDS energetic curve of the sulphide crystals – inclusion in the copper

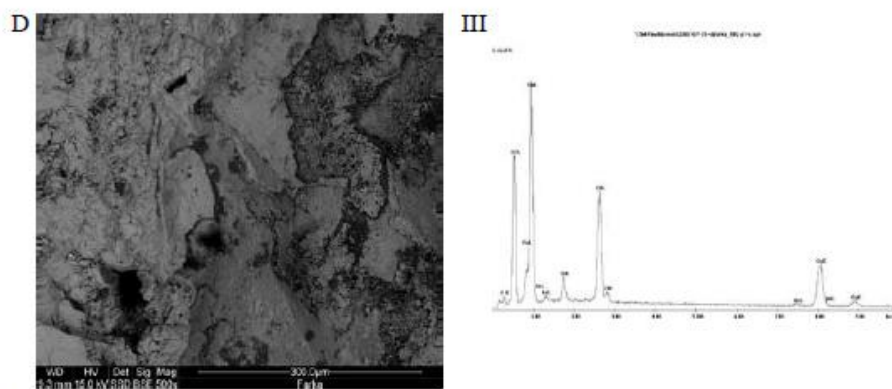


Fig 15. D – Contact zone between pure copper and corrosion products. Copper – left, lighter part of the photo; products of corrosion, dark “islands” and “peninsula”, right part of the photo; SEM; III – EDS energetic curve of the copper corrosion zone. One can see peaks of Cl and S

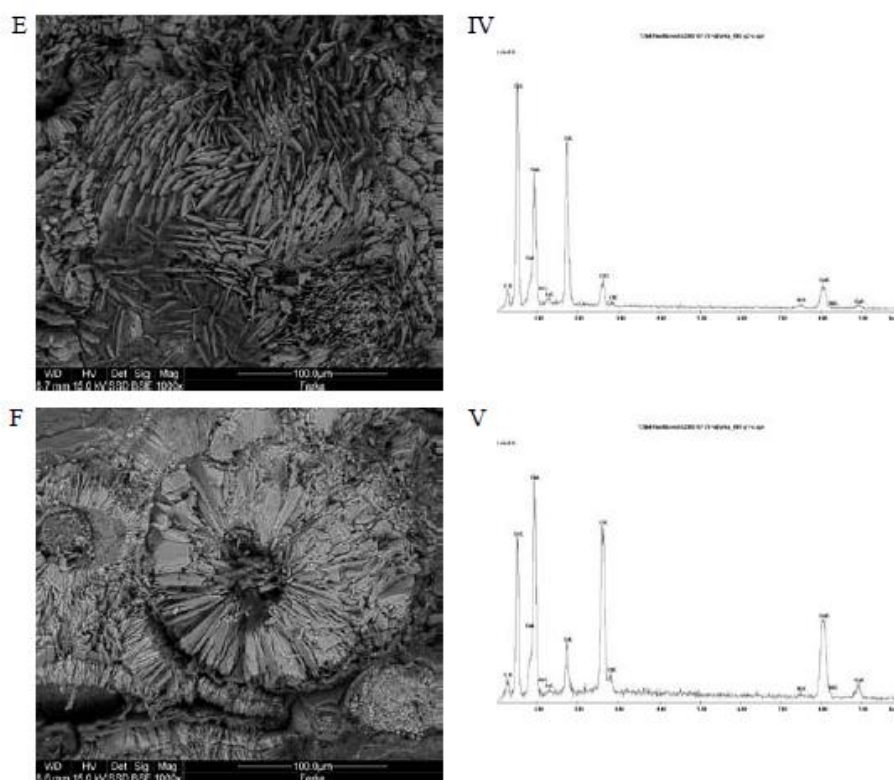


Fig. 15. E – Crystals of corrosion products (mixture of paratacamite and atacamite) covering the surface of the copper pikes; F – spheroidal form of the copper corrosion product of the secondary crystallization– atacamite; IV – EDS energetic curve of the crystals showed in photo 12D; V – EDS energetic curve of atacamite

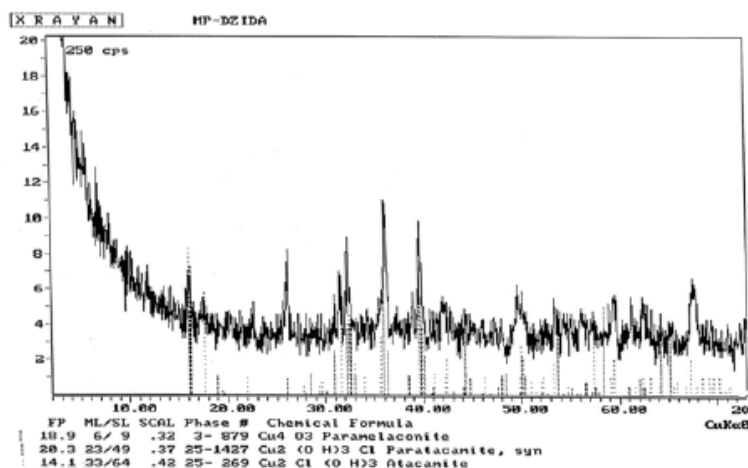


Fig. 16. Xray diffraction pattern of the corrosion products coating the copper pike from Tomb No 55, Kom E

rides is very interesting due to their presence at the Tell el-Farkha site. The absence of Na suggest that primary chlorides did not represent halite (NaCl). Natural salinity of the underground waters have to be therefore excluded. Another important source of the chloride are human bones, where parts of the OH groups in the structure of hydroxyapatite are substituted by Cl anions. It is highly probable, that the chloride liberated from the bone structure during the body decomposition process, reacts with atmosphere oxygen and with copper. Therefore, the secondary products of copper corrosion could be of a mixed human-metal origins. Nevertheless, one must consider a possibility of chlorides being used in order to preserve the human body discovered in tomb No 55 (a simple, very early mummification). Confirmation of this hypothesis requires further, more detailed examination. While discussing the results of Cu – harpoon investigation, the problem of the copper's primary sources has to be considered. There are no large copper deposits in the Western Desert, the Nile Valley and Delta, while in the Eastern Desert and Sinai the copper is present only occasionally and only in small number. The biggest deposits of copper are known from Wadi Fayran – Jordan³ which supplied Mesopotamia and Egypt. Mining and metallurgical tools had been in use there as early as 5000 BP⁴.

³ Klaein S., Hauptmann A., *Iron Age Leaded Tin Bronzes from Khirbet edh-Dharih, Jordan*, Journal of Archaeological Science 26, 1999, p. 1075-1082.

⁴ Hauptmann A., *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers in Fayran/Jordanien*, Deutsches Bergbau Museum, Freiberg 2000, p. 238.

Conclusions

Our investigation brought to light a number of facts concerning both the human activity and also natural processes occurring at the site after it was abandoned. All the results additionally obtained, confirmed the necessity of engaging advanced scientific methods while working on the details which traditional archaeological methods cannot fully examine.

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THE WOODEN INNER COFFIN
OF TAKHENEMET
IN THE CZARTORYSKI MUSEUM,
KRAKÓW

One of the most excellent pieces of the Czartoryski Museum in Kraków is a painted wooden anthropoid coffin,¹ once containing the mummy of a noble woman named Takhenemet according to its inscriptions. The coffin of Takhenemet presumably has been made sometime around the middle of the 26th Dynasty.

I. DESCRIPTION

The backgrounds of the scene panels of the lid are dark blue. The figures are depicted on cream-coloured background which has turned into golden-toned due to the varnishing process obviously in order to imitate gilding. In consequence the overall layout emphasises the pattern of 'golden figures' on the dark blue background resulting in a very impressive artistic composition. The colours of pictorial illustrations are blue, green and red. The inscription panels are written in black on cream-coloured and red backgrounds alternately, on the lid as well as the back of the case. The footboard and the crown of the head remained unvarnished.

¹ Inv. No. MNK XI-481. L.: 184 cm, max. w.: 54 cm. The coffin coming from Thebes as given in the list of the objects bought for Prince Władysław Czartoryski in Egypt, was shipped from Luxor to the Czartoryski Museum in Krakow in 1884. I owe a thank to Dr. Dorota Gorzelany (Department of Ancient Art, National Museum in Kraków) for these data of the piece.

*The exterior of the lid**Scene panel 1*

The crown of the head which provides a round-shaped surface for decoration is encircled by a stylised floral garland bordered by a red head-band. The round scene panel itself represents the goddess *Nephthys* appearing in a kneeling position and with raised hands. Her figure is accompanied by three text columns on both sides.

Right columns

1. *dd-mdw n Nbt-hwt*
2. *[snt] ntr di.s prt-hrw k3w 3pdw*
3. *snt mnht htpw*
'Words spoken by Nephthys,
the divine sister. May she grant prt-hrw: oxen, fowls,
incense, clothing; htpw-offering, ...'

Left columns

1. *df3w irp hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt)*
2. *wb(wt) hwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3*
3. *n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-*
'... and df3w-offering, wine, everything good and pure, everything sweet
for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Ta-'

The text with abrupted end continues in a panel of four lines below the goddess, the middle two lines of which are rather fragmentary and thus almost illegible where the lid and the case join – in the very place of the names of the father and the mother. One can, however, try to complete it according to the other texts occurring on the coffin.

Text

1. *-hnm m3c-hrw nb im3h hr ntr 3 nb pt hry ntrw nbw*
2. *[nhw im=f s3t B3k-n-rn=i m3c-hrw nb im3h]*
3. *hr ntr 3 nb pt hry ntrw [mwt=s nb(t) pr T3-b3k-n-]*
4. *-Hns m3c-hrw nb im3h hr ntr 3*
'-khenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of
heaven, The One upon all gods
[who live through him, daughter of Bakenreni, justified, possessor of veneration]
by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods, [whose mother is
the lady of the house, Tabaken-]
-khonsu, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god.'

Wig and face

The striped wig is covered by a stylised vulture head-dress falling about the forehead. An interesting iconographical feature showed by the Krakow coffin

is the representation of the fringe of curled hair running along the lower edge of the wig which occurs only on a few female coffin before the second half of the 7th century BC, but after that date it became more frequent.²

The face of her mask has orange-yellowish colour with a pinkish-red nuance, a characteristic feature of some female coffins used during the 25th-26th Dynasties.³ The cheeks are round, and the facial features are generally characterised by the gently arched rounded outlines and with a relatively big nose and ears. Both ear lobes are adorned by small red piercings.⁴

The two dark blue lappets of the wig partially cover the floral motifs of the many-striped, richly decorated *usekh*-collar which is fitted to the shoulder by hawk heads on both sides.

Scene panel 2

The characteristic motif of the coffin type is the goddess *Nut* bending one knee on a *nwb*-symbol, wearing bead-net patterned robe, with outspread, four-partite wings and arms holding *maat* feathers. The face and the arms of the goddess are painted in green. Her figure is attributed with the sun disc containing her name upon her head. The head of the goddess adorned with sun disc partly overlaps the collar, providing a further iconographic clue to a more correct dating of the coffin.⁵

By the edge of her wings (on both sides) there are additional short inscriptions to determine the cosmic role she plays in the given iconographical context (*Nwt mswt ntrw*: 'Nut, mother of the gods'). Under the four-partite wings vertical text columns can be found.

Under the right wing:

1. *ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir*
2. *Wnn-nfr ntr ʿ3 nb pt*
3. *ḥry ntrw nbw*
4. *Rʿ-ḥr-3ḥty ntr ʿ3*
5. *nb pt di.sn prt-ḥrw ḥ3 m*
6. *t ḥ3 m ḥnkt*
7. *ḥ3 m k3w ḥ3 m 3pdw*
8. *ḥ3 m sntr ḥ3 m mn[ḥt]*

² J. H. Taylor, *A Priestly Family of the 25th Dynasty*, CdÉ LIX (1984), 52; one of the early occurrences is the coffin of *Tjesraperet* (Florence 2159).

³ Taylor 1984, 52.

⁴ Ears appear to be regularly represented on female coffins from the second half of the 8th century BC; the painted representation of piercings in the earlobes, however, can be observed from only as late as the second half of the 7th century BC, see Taylor 1984, 52.

⁵ J.H. Taylor, *Theban Coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: dating and synthesis of development*, In: N Strudwick – J.H. Taylor, (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis – Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, 115.

9. *h3 m htpw nb(w) h3 m df3w nb(w)*
10. *h3 m hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) w^cb(wt) hwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir*
11. *nb(t) pr T3-hnmt m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr*
12. *hr ntr 3 nb pt hry ntrw nbw n^hw (im=f)*

'(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris, (2) Wenennefer, the great god, Lord of heaven (3) The One upon all gods, (4) Ra-Harakhty, the great god, (5) Lord of heaven so that they may grant prt-hrw consisting of one thousand (6) loaves of bread, one thousand jugs of beer; (7) one thousand oxen, one thousand fowls, (8) one thousand of incense, one thousand of clo[thing], (9) one thousand of every htpw-offering and one thousand of every df3w-offering, (10) one thousand of everything good and pure and everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, (11) lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration (12) by the great god, Lord of Heaven, The One upon all gods who live (through him).'

Under the left wing:

1. *htp-di-nsw n Wsir hnty imntyw ntr 3 nb 3b-*
2. *-dw di.f htpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) irp*
3. *irtt hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) w^cb(wt) hwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3*
4. *n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-hnmt*
5. *m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr ntr 3*
6. *nb pt hry ntrw nbw*
7. *s3t B3k-n-rn=i*
8. *m3^c-hrw nb im3h*
9. *hr ntr 3 nb pt hry*
10. *ntrw nbw n^hw*
11. *im= f n k3 n*

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Aby(2)dos so that he may grant every htpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine, (3) milk, everything good and pure, everything sweet (4) for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, (5) justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, (6) Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods, (7) daughter of Bakenreni, (8) justified, possessor of veneration (9) by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon (10) all gods who live (11) through him, for the ka of'

The Nut-representation is followed by another single text line placed between two block-friezes:

htp-di-nsw Gb iry-p^ct ntrw di.f htpw nbw df3w nbw irp irtt hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) w^cb(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-hnmt m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr

'An offering which the king gives to Geb, Hereditary prince of the gods so that he may grant every htpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine, milk,

*everything good and pure for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by ...*⁶

Scene panel 3

The *hṯp-di-nsw* formula succeeded by a horizontal figural zone, which – typically on this type of coffins – represents a version of the scene⁶ depicting the Judgement in the Netherworld and – as a logical consequence of the favourable outcome of the events – the presentation of the transformed and glorified deceased to the gods, i.e. her introduction into the divine society. On the right the line of illustrations starts with the representation of the weighing of the heart accompanied by the figure of the Soul-devourer. The monster shares the scene field under the balance with a West-symbol indicating the otherworldly territory of the events. In front of the balance the deceased herself is escorted by the personification of *Maat*⁷ and led by the ibis-headed *Thoth* who holds the papyrus recording the result of the judgement, both being divine mediators (*psychopompoi*) in this context. She moves forward in their company to the presence of (1) the hawk-headed and mummy-shaped sun god wearing sun disc and uraeus on the head and holding an *w3s* sceptre, and (2) *Osiris* wearing a long, green cloak with red stripes and the *atef* crown. Both aspects of the „great god” alluded to many times in the accompanying texts are presented an offering table with a lotus flower on the top. The former is embraced by *Isis*, the latter is escorted by both divine sisters, *Isis* and *Nephthys* with pieces of linen hanging from their left arms, while *Nephthys* holding an additional small piece of linen in her right hand.⁸

The line is closed by five mummy-shaped figures: dwellers of the Underworld, one after the other with a head of an ibis (probably alluding iconographically to the figure of *Thot* appearing on the other side of the composition), a man, a baboon, a jackal and a hawk constituting the group of the four sons

⁶ Typ D1 according to the typology of Ch. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35), München 1976, 44–48. For similar (or almost the same) arrangement and composition of the same scene, see: Abb.19 (Genf D 60, coffin of *Tjesmutperet*). The scene of the representation of the Judgment in the Underworld with *Osiris* and the sun god does not appear on the coffins of the *Besenmut*-family at all, but occurs on the inner coffin of *Ta-aa*, a member of the *Hor A*-family (Taylor 1984, 54). Variations for the composition of the scene: J.P. Elias, *Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation* (Diss. Univ. Chicago, 1993), 457 (Table 35).

⁷ Seeber 1976, 143–144 + Abb. 23 and 24.

⁸ See the same motif on, e.g. CG 41018 (A. Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*, CGC Nos 41042–41072, Le Caire 1913, p. 192 and figs. 23–24).

of *Horus*. With the exception of the bearded human-headed figure they hold pieces of red and green striped linen on their arms and *maat* feathers in their hands.⁹

This line of illustrations is flanked by a pair of single text columns.

On the left: *Bḥdty ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw nbw*

'The Behdety, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods'

On the right: *di.f ḥtpw nbw dḥw nbw*

'May he grant every ḥtpw-offering and every dḥw-offering.'

Following this, another text line is surrounded by two block-friezes:

ḥtp-di-nsw R-ḥr-3ḥty ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw di.f prt-ḥrw k3w 3pdw sntr mnḥt ḥtpw nb(w) dḥw nb(w) dḥw nb(w) irp ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt)

'An offering which the king gives to Ra-Harakhty, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon the gods so that he may grant prt-ḥrw: oxen, fowls, incense and clothes; every ḥtpw-offering and every dḥw-offering, wine, everything good and pure.'

Scene panel 4

The next unit focuses on the mummified deceased lying on the lion-shaped bier in the purification tent with the *ba* bird hovering above him (= vignette of BD 89).¹⁰ Under the bier four vessels (canopic jars without top) and – as far as it can be determined – most probably a stylised bag containing *idmy* textile are placed.¹¹

This scene is bordered by a single text column on both sides.

On the left: *dd-mdw n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt*

'Words spoken by Osiris Takhenemet, lady of the house.'

On the right: *dd-mdw n Wsir Skr ḥry-ib Štyt*

'Words spoken by Osiris-Sokaris, residing in Štyt.'

⁹ Red linen for the wrapping of the corpse connotes mythologically to *Osiris* in red shroud / garment; with a network of beads arranged in rhomboidal pattern (a tradition originating with the 12th Dynasty mummy images / anthropoid coffins. For the sons of *Horus* and the offering of linen / cloth, see B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten (GOF IV/7)*, Wiesbaden 1975, 151 and CT VI 359 d-e.

¹⁰ Elias 1993, 458.

¹¹ G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, Le Caire 1921, 32; H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 70), Leuven, 1996), 65-66; and for the same object on the same spot, see: G. Lise, *La civica raccolta Egizia*, Milano 1974, fig. 9 (Inv. no. 1016); Taylor 2003, pl. 64 (BM EA 22814); A. Gasse, *Les sarcophages de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire du Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, Città del Vaticano 1996, pl. XLVII, 2 (Inv. no. 25005.2.1). C.f. the pieces of linen held by different deities represented in the scenes of the lid, and the linen as a standard item of the offering formulae inscribed on the surfaces of the Kraków coffin.

These are followed by three other columns after a vertical block-frieze on both sides.

Text columns on the left:

1. *Bḥdty ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw*
2. *nbw ʿnh(w) ntr ʿ3 nb*
3. *pt di.f ḥtpw nb(w) dḥw*

'The Behdety, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live, the great god, Lord of heaven so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and dḥw-offering.'

Texts columns on the right:

1. *Bḥdty ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw*
2. *di.f ḥtpw nbw dḥw*
3. *nbw irp irtt ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt)*

'The Behdety, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon the gods: May he grant every ḥtpw-offering and every dḥw-offering, wine, milk and everything good.'

In the same scene panel, on both edges of the lid a hawk (obviously the divine aspect *Behdety* invoked in the texts) can be seen with outstretched wings and sun disc with uraeus upon the head, presenting *wedjat* eyes.¹²

On the left side another text column attaches to this:

di.f ḥtpw nb(w) dḥw nb(w)

'May he grant every ḥtpw-offering and dḥw-offering.'

The next two horizontal friezes surround a further separating text band.

dd-mdw n Wsir ḥnty imntyw ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw di.f ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pt T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw

'Words spoken by Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon the gods. May he grant everything good and pure, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified.'

Scene panel 5

Now – almost uniquely in the case of the decoration of this type of coffins known by me – the scene of the mummified deceased is succeeded by another long horizontal scene panel, with the sun bark in the centre of the composition.¹³ Although this scheme with the scenes of the Judgement of the Dead and

¹² For the motif, see A. Niwiński, In: S. Bickel, *In ägyptischer Gesellschaft. Aegyptiaca der Sammlungen BIBEL + ORIENT an der Universität Freiburg Schweiz*, Freiburg 2004, 119-121 and Abb. 38d.

¹³ For one rare parallel of the arrangement, see E. Schiaparelli, *Esplorazione della „Valle delle Regine“ nella necropoli di Tebe. Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto (Anni 1903-1920)*, Torino 1923, 193, fig. 151.

that of the sun bark *as consecutives* has some rare parallels where they are followed and not separated by the scene with the funerary bier.¹⁴

In front of and behind the bark there are a pair of adoring baboons, accompanied with the figure of the deceased on the left side. The hawk-headed sun god hides in his *k3r* of the bark. In front of the chapel *Hathor* and *Maat* with an unnamed member of the crew, the hawk-headed *Horus* with a gaff which allows him to hold *Apophis* down,¹⁵ and a goddess (*Siaret*) are standing on the prow.¹⁶ The prow of the barque is decorated with the squatting figure of the rejuvenated sun-child. Behind the chapel the sign Gardiner T 18¹⁷ and the steersman can be seen.

The scene with the solar boat is framed by a text column on each side.

On the left: *dd-mdw n nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt*

'Words spoken by Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet.'

On the right: *di.f ḥtpw nbw df3w nbw irp*

'May he grant every *ḥtpw*-offering, every *df3w*-offering and wine.'

The line of the hip, i. e. the border zone between the upper and lower part of the body with characteristically different composition schemes is strongly marked by two bands consisting of four lines, each of them containing red, blue and green sections alternately. The pattern of the separating bands is completed by a single line of hieroglyphic inscription inserted between them:

¹⁴ Gasse 1996, pl. XLII (Inv. no. 25001.2.1). Other examples with the sunboat scene: V. Schmidt, *Sarkofager, Mumiekister, og Mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten, Typologisk Atlas*, København, 1919, fig. 1121 (= the coffin of Gautseshen, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, AEIN 1522; M. Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt III. Coffins, Mummy Adornments and Mummies from the Third Intermediate, Late, Ptolemaic and Roman periods*, Copenhagen 2001, 7.1, 204-205) and fig. 1130.

¹⁵ For the figure, i. e. the rabbit-headed Geb of the New Kingdom versions who seems to have been replaced by the hawk-headed god only later, cf. the representation in the tomb of Osorkon II, see M. Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage* (OBO 236), Fribourg – Göttingen 2008, 88 and n. 424; for the motif in the context of the *Apophis*vernichtung, see Müller-Roth 2008, 78-79, 471-481. The same motif frequently occurs on *krsw*-type coffins, e.g. CGC 41001 (B': hawk-headed god), 41002 (B': human-headed god), 41009 (B: hawk-headed god), 41014 (B': human-headed god), 41018 (B: *Horus* with a red spear), 41020 (the deceased), 41021 (the deceased) (A. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte, Nos. 40001-40041*, Le Caire 1913, 3, 40-41, 118, 160, 189, 200, 211-212).

¹⁶ W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mrt*, Leiden 1991, 184-187; Ch. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen VI* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 115), Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA, 2002, 193; G. Roulin, *Le livre de la Nuit* (OBO 147/1), Fribourg – Göttingen 1996, 65; Müller-Roth 2008, 86-87.

¹⁷ For the sign T 18 manifesting an instrument used for the execution of criminals, see K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten I*, Hamburg 1962, 194-196 (Pyr. 230c); J. Capart, *ZAS* 36 (1898), 125-126; Roulin 1996, 77; Müller-Roth 2008, 57-58.

ḥtp-di-nsu n Wsir Skr ḥry-ib Štyt di.f ḥtpw dḥw nb(w) irp irtt ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt)

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris-Sokaris, residing in Štyt so that he may grant ḥtpw-offering, dḥw-offering and wine, everything good and pure, and everything.'

Scene panel 6

In the place of the text column used as axial division which usually divides the lower part of the body (approx. the zone of the legs) into two vertically symmetrical halves, in this case we can find the large-sized representation of *Osiris*¹⁸ standing in his shrine ornamented with *hkr*-frieze on the top. The figure of *Osiris* (labelled by the short title *Wsir ḥnty imntyw*) has exactly the same features and wears the same garment as the deity represented in the vignette of BD 125 above.

The standing god is flanked by two mummy-shaped, bearded and human-headed protective gods from the circle of the sons of *Horus* in funerary chapels in both lateral zones. Their chapels are bordered by block-friezes in both sides and below the panel. Each of them holds pieces of linen and *maat* feathers in the hand similarly to their images in the Judgement scene above. The pattern of the linen held by them is in accordance with that of the garment of the central figure. The divine figures arranged around *Osiris* can only be identified by the accompanying texts surrounding them that invoke *Geb*, *Duamutef* and *Imsety*. In the third lateral scene panel below them *wedjat* eyes are placed in a similar way.

Upper left figure, front:

dd-mdw n Gb iry-pʿt ntrw di.f

'Words spoken by Geb, Hereditary prince of the gods. May he grant

Upper left figure, back:

1. *pṛt-ḥrw k3w 3pdw snṛ mnḥt*

2. *ḥtpw nb(w) dḥw nb(w) irp irtt*

3. *ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt)*

pṛt-ḥrw: oxen, fowls, incense and clothing;

¹⁸ Similar arrangement & iconography: Schmidt 1919, fig. 1118 (Copenhagen, NM AAa78); Torino, Museo Egizio, Inv. no. Suppl. 5248 = Schiapparelli 1923, 199 and fig. 165 (= A.M. Donadoni-Roveri, *Passato e futuro del Museo Egizio di Torino*, Torino 1988, 69-70 (No. 13); *Egyptian Civilization. Religious Beliefs*, Torino 1988, 222); see also Elias 1993, 172 and n. 170. C.f. a funerary stela from the 30th Dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period (BM EA 8462) where *Osiris* wears a similar garment: S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, London 1992, fig. 14; and Brussels E. 8396: L. Limme, L'accroissement de la collection, In: B. van de Walle – L. Limme – H. de Meulenaere, *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. La collection égyptienne. Les étapes marquantes de son développement*, Bruxelles 1980, 45-46, fig. 10.

every *ḥtpw*-offering, every *df̣w*-offering, wine, milk,
everything good and pure, everything good and pure.’

Upper right figure, front:

dd-mdw n Dw3-mwt=f di.f ḥtpw nb(w)

‘Words spoken by Duamutef. May he grant every *ḥtpw*-offering.’

Upper right figure, back:

1. *dd-mdw n Gb iry-p̄t n̄rw di.f*

2. *ḥtpw nb(w) df̣w nb(w)*

‘Words spoken by Geb, Hereditary prince of the gods. May he grant every *ḥtpw*-offering and every *df̣w*-offering.’

The lateral panels with the protective gods are separated from one another by a single horizontal text line flanked by two block-friezes.

Left bordering line: *ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir Skr ḥry n̄rw di.f*

‘An offering which the king gives to Osiris-Sokaris, The One upon the gods so that he may grant...’

Right bordering line: *ḥtp-di-nsw R̄-ḥr-3ḥty n̄r ʕ3*

‘An offering which the king gives to Ra-Harakhty, the great god.’

Lower left figure, front: *dd-mdw n Imsty jnk s3=*

Lower left figure, back:

1. *=k Hrw mr(y)=k wnn[=i] m s3=k*

2. *r̄ nb nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3̄-ḥrw*

‘Words spoken by Imsety: I am your son, Horus, whom you love. I exist as your protection every day, lady of the house, Ta-khenemet, justified.’¹⁹

Lower right figure, front: *dd-mdw n Gb[iry-p̄t n̄rw di.f]*

‘Words spoken by Geb, [Hereditary prince of the gods. May he grant]

Lower right figure, back: *df̣w nb(w) irp ir̄t*

‘every *df̣w*-offering, wine and milk.’

The last lateral scene panels with the *wedjat* eyes are separated from the second panel of standing deities by one band consisting of four lines, each of them containing red, blue and green sections alternately.

Wedjat on the left, back: *di.f ḥtpw* ‘May he grant *ḥtpw*-offerings.’

Wedjat on the left, back: *di.f ḥtpw nb(w)* ‘May he grant every *ḥtpw*-offerings.’

The previous large decoration field with the figure of *Osiris* in the centre is divided from the next zone on the feet by a single text line framed by two friezes in the customary way.

*ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir ḥnty imntyw n̄r ʕ3 nb 3bdw di.f[ḥtp(w) nbw df̣w nb(w)]
df̣w nb(w) irp ir̄t*

¹⁹ For the excerpts from BD 151 called „Canopic Utterances” inscribed on the lower part of Saite coffin lids, see ELIAS 1993, 650, 708, and 776.

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos so that he may grant [every *ḥtpw*-offering and every *df̣w*-offering], every *df̣w*-offering, wine and milk.'

Scene panel 7

On the zone of the feet the central motif is a large figure of Isis with four-partite wings, bending one knee on a *nwb* sign, wearing bead-net patterned garment like the *Nut*-figure on the breast-zone. The face and the arms of the goddess are painted in green. She holds *maat* feathers in both hands. Below and above her wings text columns can be read running from the right to the left as follows:

Under her left wing, on the right:

(1) *dd-mdw n ʾtst* (2) *di.s prt-ḥrw k3w 3pdw sn̄r* (3) *mn̄t ḥtpw* (4) *nb(w) df̣w nbw* (5) *irp ir̄t* (6) *ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) nb(wt)* (7) *ḥtpw*

'Words spoken by Isis. May she grant *prt-ḥrw*: oxen, fowl, incense, clothing; every *ḥtpw*-offering and every *df̣w*-offering, wine and milk, everything good, everything, *ḥtpw*-offering'

Above her left wing, on the right:

(8) *df̣w* (9) *di.s prt-ḥrw k3w* (10) *3pdw ḥtpw nb(w) df̣w*

'and *df̣w*-offering. May she grant *prt-ḥrw*: oxen, fowls; every *ḥtpw*-offering and every *df̣w*.'

Above her left arm:

(11) *nb(w) irp ir̄t*

'-offering, wine and milk,'

Above her right arm:

(12) *ḥwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir* (13) *nb(t) pr T3-ḥn* (14) *mt*

'everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet,'

Under her right wing, on the left:

(15) *s3t B3k-(16)-n-rn=i m3̄-ḥrw* (17) *nb im3̄ ḥr n̄r ʿ3 nb pt ḥry* (18) *n̄rw nbw nb df̣w nb irp* (19) *di.f prt-ḥrw k3w 3pdw sn̄r* (20) *mn̄t*

'daughter of Bakenreni, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods, Lord of *df̣w*-offering, Lord of wine. May he grant *prt-ḥrw*: oxen, fowls, incense and clothing.'

The coffin is placed on a pedestal, on the sides of which a pattern of *ankh*-symbols standing between a pair of *w3s* scepters on *nb* signs runs along.²⁰

Scene panel 8

On the surface of the footboard appears the well-known representation of the *Apis* bull²¹ with ureus and sun disc between the horns. His task is to carry

²⁰ Taylor 2003, 118.

²¹ Taylor 2003, 107; J. Quaegebeur, *Apis et le Menat*, BSFE 98 (1983), 27-29; E. Winter, *Der*

the mummy of the deceased, whose lying body partly covered by a bead-net patterned shroud, to the entrance of the tomb depicted on the left.²² The lower part of the surface is decorated with blue and red strips.

Sides

On both sides of the lid a long text line runs along framed by two friezes. The upper frieze bordering the lid decoration is a block-frieze, the lower bordering zone, on the other hand, consists of dark blue, light green and red bands, while the edge of the lid is marked by the bead net-pattern on red background which continues on the edge of the case as well, in order to imitate as if the whole body of the coffin (symbolising a divine image) was an unseparated unit.²³

Text along the right side of the body:

*ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir ḥnty imntyw ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw di.f ḥtpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) irp
irtt ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr
T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʿ3 ḥry ntrw nbw ʿnhw im=f*

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine and milk, everything good and pure, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, The One upon all gods who live through him.'

Text along the left side of the body:

*ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir ḥnty imntyw ntr ʿ3 nbt (sic !) 3bdw di.f prt-ḥrw k3w 3pdw
sntr mnḥt ḥtpw nbw df3w nbw irp irtt ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt
nb(wt) nfr(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 (sic !) n k3 Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ
ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw*

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos so that he may grant prt-ḥrw: oxen, fowl, incense, clothing; every ḥtpw-offering, every df3w-offering, wine and milk, everything good, good and pure, everything good and sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon gods.'

Apiskult im Alten Ägypten, Mainz 1978, 6-11 and fig.3.; R.A. Fazzini, *Egypt, Dynasty XXII-XXV* (Iconography of Religions XVI, 10), Leiden 1988, 26 and pl. XLII.

²² For the typology, see A. Niwiński, In: Bickel 2004, 117-118, Abb. 37e (25th Dyn.) and Abb. 37f (26th Dyn.).

²³ The pattern is intended to refer to the shroud covering the mummified body of *Osiris*, see above n. 9. For the use of red painting at the joints of the case and lid of coffins as magical protection against evil threat, see J.H. Taylor, *Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins from the New Kingdom to the 26th Dynasty*, In: W. V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, 176.

The exterior of the case

On both sides of the case, similarly to those of the lid, a long text band runs along framed by two friezes (identical to the bordering friezes on the lid, see above).

Text on the right side of the body:

ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir ḥnty imntyw ntr ʿ3 nbt (sic !) 3bdw Gb iry-pʿt ntrw di.f ḥtpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) irp irtt irtt (sic !) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nbt pt T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr [ntr ʿ3 nb pt] ḥry ntrw nbw ʿnhw

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos, Geb, Hereditary prince of the gods so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and df3w-offering, wine and milk, everything good and pure, everything good, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by [the great god, Lord of heaven], The One upon all gods who live through him.'

Text on the left side of the body:

ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir Wnn-nfr ntr ʿ3 ḥk3 dt di.f ḥtpw nbw df3w nbw [irp irtt] ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw nbw ʿnh(w) im=f nb s3d m itn=f

*'An offering which the king gives to Osiris Wenennefer, the great god, Ruler of eternity so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and every df3w-offering, [wine and milk], everything good and pure, everything good and pure, everything good and sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live through him, Lord of the s3d band²⁴ who is inside his disc.'*²⁵

The outer side of the case under the wig is overlaid by vertical and horizontal text bands from beginning to end. There is no figural decoration here.

The central zone is covered along the whole length of the body with five text columns (from right to left):

1. *ḥtp-di-nsw Pth-Skr-Wsir ḥry-ib Štyt di.f ḥtpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) irp ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) [ndm(wt)] n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry [ntrw nbw]*

²⁴ Roulin 1997, 64-65; Ch. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen III* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 112), Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA, 2002, 742; É. Liptay, *Bandeau sur la tête – Aspects religieux d'un motif iconographique de la 21e dynastie*, BMHBA 96 (2002), 7-30. Here I would like to thank Katalin Anna Köthay for her help with the interpretation of the passage.

²⁵ J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* (MÄS 19), Berlin 1969, 39-40; É. Liptay, *Between heaven and earth II. The iconography of a 21st Dynasty Funerary papyrus. Second part*, BMHBA 105 (2006), 19-23.

2. *htp-di-nsw R^c-hr-3hty ntr^c 3 s3b šwt pr m 3ht di.f hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) w^cb(wt) hwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-hnmt m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr ntr^c 3 nb pt hry ntrw nbw nh(w) im=f*
3. *htp-di-nsw Tm nb t3wy Twnw di.f b3=t m pt h3t=t m dw3t t m ht=t mw m hh b3w n nh(w) r fnd=t mhyt pr m Tm n k3 n Wsir*
4. *htp-di-nsw n Gb iry-p^ct ntrw di.f krst nfr(t) m hrt-ntr m R3-st3w imnty W3st n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-hnmt m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr ntr^c 3 nb pt hry ntrw*
5. *htp-di-nsw n R^c-hr-3hty ntr^c 3 nb pt hry ntrw nbw di.f htpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) [nfrw] hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) w^cb(wt) hwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-hnmt m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr ntr^c 3 nb pt hry ntrw*

'An offering which the king gives to Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, residing in Štyt so that he may grant every htpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine and milk, everything good and pure, everything [sweet] for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon [all gods].

An offering which the king gives to Ra-Harakhty, the great god, Multi-coloured of plumage who goes forth from the horizon so that he may grant everything good and pure, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live through him.

An offering which the king gives to Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Helio-politan so that he may give your ba to the sky, your body to the Netherworld, bread to your belly, water to (your) throat, the air of life to your nose; the north wind which goes forth from Atum for the ka of Osiris.

An offering which the king gives to Geb, Hereditary prince of the gods so that he may grant perfect burial in the necropolis in Rosetau, in Western Thebes for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon the gods.

An offering which the king gives to Ra-Harakhty, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods so that he may grant every htpw-offering and every [good] df3w-offering, everything good and pure, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon the gods.'

The invocations are intended to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (1), Ra-Harakhty, Multi-coloured of plumage (2), Atum (3), Geb (4), and Ra-Harakhty, Lord of heaven. The content of the third column, however, can be strongly distinguished from the other ones which simply seem to repeat the stereotype formulas occurring on the exterior surface of the coffin. In the text of the third column, however, the ordinary offering invocation contains liturgical parts of the BD 169 (*b3=t*

*m pt h3t=t m dw3t t m ht=t mw m h3h 3w n ʿnh(w) r fnd=t*²⁶ and BD 151b (*3w n ʿnh(w) r fnd=t mhyt pr m Tm*).²⁷

On both sides of the bottom of the case horizontal text lines are placed one under the other.

The 33 text lines of the right side:

(1) *htp-di-(2)-nsw n Wsir-(3)-Skr hry-ib Štyt* (4) *Rʿ-hr-3hty ntr* (5) *ʿ3 nb pt hry ntrw* (6) *nbw Wsir hnty imntyw* (7) *ntr [ʿ3 nb pt] nb 3bdw* (8) *Pth-Skr-Wsir hry-ib Štyt* (9) *Wsir Wnn-nfr ntr ʿ3* (10) *hk3 dt di.sn prt-hrw h3 m* (11) *t h3 m hnt h3 m* (12) *k3w 3pdw h3 m sntr* (13) *h3 m mnht* (14) *h3 m htpw* (15) *h3 m htpw nbw* (16) *h3 m htpw* (17) *nbw h3 m htpw nb(w)* (18) *h3 m df3w* (19) *nb(w) irp h3 m* (20) *irtt h3 m hwt nb(wt)* (21) *nfr(wt) wʿb(wt)* (22) *h3 m hwt nb(wt) ndm(wt)* (23) *n k3 n Wsir* (24) *nb(t) pr T3-hnmt* (25) *m3ʿ-hrw nb im3h* (26) *hr ntr ʿ3 nb pt* (27) *hry ntrw nbw ʿnh(w)* (28) *nbw ʿnhw imyw=* (29) *=f n k3 n Wsir* (30) *nb(t) pr T3-(31)-hnmt* (32) *[m3ʿ-hrw nb im3h* (33) *hr ntr ʿ3 nb pt]*

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris-Sokaris, residing in Štyt, Ra-Harakhty, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great [god, Lord of heaven], Lord of Abydos, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, residing in Štyt, Osiris Wenennefer, the great god, Ruler of eternity so that they may grant prt-hrw: one thousand loaves of bread, one thousand jugs of beer, one thousand of oxen and fowls, one thousand of incense, one thousand of clothing; one thousand of htpw-offering, one thousand of every htpw-offering, one thousand of every htpw-offering, one thousand of every htpw-offering, one thousand of df3w-offering, one thousand (jugs) of wine, one thousand (jugs) of milk, one thousand of everything good and pure, one thousand of everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven.'

The 31 text lines of the left side:

(1) *htp-di-nsw* (2) *Rʿ-hr-3hty ntr* (3) *ʿ3 nb pt hry ntrw* (4) *nbw di.f htpw nb(w)* (5) *df3w nb(w) irp* (6) *irtt hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt)* (7) *wʿb(wt) hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt)* (8) *wʿb(wt) hwt nb(wt) [ndm(wt)] n k3* (9) *n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-hnmt* (10) *m3ʿ-hrw* (11) *nb im3h hr ntr* (12) *ʿ3 nb pt hry ntrw* (13) *nbw ʿnhw* (14) *im=f s3t* (15) *B3k-rn=i* (16) *m3ʿ-hrw* (17) *nb im3h hr ntr ʿ3* (18) *nb pt hry ntrw* (19) *nbw ʿnhw* (20) *im=f n k3* (21) *n Wsir nb(t) pr* (22) *T3-hnmt* (23) *m3ʿ-hrw* (24) *nb im3h hr ntr ʿ3* (25) *nb pt hry ntrw* (26) *hry ntrw* (27) *nbw ʿnhw* (28) *ʿnhw* (29) *n k3 n Wsir* (30) *nb(t) pr* (31) *T3-hnmt*

²⁶ For BD 169 on the exterior surface of the case (as „dorsal pillar”) on contemporary coffins, see: ELIAS 1993, 776 (CGC 41058 = Tabedjet II, wife of Besenmut II).

²⁷ Elias 1993, 579-580, 591-592.

'An offering which the king gives to Ra-Harakhty, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine and milk, everything good and pure, everything good and pure, everything [sweet] for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live through him, daughter of Bakenreni, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live through him for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live, for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet.'

The interior of the lid and the case

The inner surface of the lid and the case once were overlaid by inscriptions, but currently the text itself is visible only in some places, for the most part illegibly damaged. According to the contemporary analogies they must be experts of different BD spells or offering formulas. The legible parts on the sides, for example, suggest the latter possibility.

II. THE SYMBOLIC CONNOTATIONS OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC LAYOUT OF THE LID

By thorough observation of the overall scheme of the decoration covering the lid one can immediately establish the principles of arrangement. The decoration field of the lid is obviously divided into two halves; i.e. an upper and a lower decoration fields which can be easily distinguished as they display markedly different iconographical schemes. Furthermore, the two parts are prominently separated from each other by a pictorially expressed demarcation line. The difference resulted in a sharp visual contrast between the typically horizontal arrangement on the upper half and the lateral arrangement of the lower part.

II. 1. *Upper part*

The scene with the image of the mummy lying on the funerary bier which usually occupies the place at the top of the central panel (i.e. the apron texts) of contemporary anthropoid coffin lids is obviously meant to form the upper end of the lower lateral decoration zone.²⁸ The true significance of the rather unusual arrangement of the Krakow coffin lid reveals at the moment when one compares it to this usually applied scheme. By the rearrangement of the iconographic layout the compositor achieved that the scene with the mummified deceased fulfils a central role in the composition of *the upper part*. This way the unit becomes structurally separated from its regular place, i.e. the lower iconographic layout.

²⁸ Taylor 2003, 114; for analogies, see e.g. Schmidt 1919, fig. 1124 (Inv. no. BM 6671), 1127; Gasse 1996, pl. XLII (Inv. no. 25001.2.1) and XLVII, 2 (Inv. no. 25005.2.1); Lise 1974, fig. 9 (Inv. no. 1016).

The scene of the funerary bier (i.e. the deceased) is flanked by two hawks presenting *wedjat* eyes²⁹ between their outstretched wings. From above and below the scene with the funerary bier is bordered by two long horizontal text lines as dividers and two scene bands. The upper scene (weighing of the heart and introducing the deceased into the divine society) deals with events belonging to the *Osirian* netherworld, with the participation of the mummy-shaped and hawk-headed nocturnal aspect of the sun god. The obvious reason behind positioning the scene band regularly on the breast must be its direct contact with the heart of the deceased which as witness played a crucial role in the events.³⁰

The lower scene band, on the other hand, presents the solar aspect of the otherworldly journey where the hawk-headed sun god, one of the protagonists of the judgment scene recurs as the passenger of the bark. The divine child (the morning sun in its „child phase”³¹) sitting on the prow indicates that the change of the sun god / sun disc from boat to boat – i. e. the sunrise at dawn – has not yet taken place.

The three scenes appearing on the upper part of the lid represent parallel events happening to the deceased in different contexts. All of them refer to the *following* moment when entering the divine society / travelling and being reborn with the rising sun / awakening from the funerary bier become possible for *Takhenemet* eventually. On the other hand, the central role of the deceased, *Osiris* and the hawk-headed sun god which they play in the three succeeding compositions creates a strong, iconographically expressed connection among them conveying the basic conceptual background of afterlife beliefs.

Assuring the unbroken relation between the two components of human being, i.e. the cyclical returning of the *ba* (travelling on the sun bark) in order to rejoin its corpse residing in the realm of the dead (BD 89) seems to be the most important purpose in this context.

II. 2. Lower part

Inserting the scene with the funerary bier between the two long horizontal scene bands is not only an exiting iconographic solution, but places the deceased lying on the funerary bier in the exact centre of the upper part which occupies the central scene panel directly under the image of the winged *Nut* on the breast, and above the standing figure of *Osiris* and the

²⁹ See also e. g. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 1522 (see above, n. 14); K.A. Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, Warminster 1988, II, p. 140 (Inv. 529 = No. 59); Gasse 1996, pl. XXXVIII (Inv. no. 25013.2.1); Taylor 2003, pl. 61 and 65 (BM EA 25256 and 6691).

³⁰ Seeber 1976, 25.

³¹ E. Feucht, *Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt*, SAK 11 (1984), 411.

winged *Isis* on the lower zone, thus providing a vertical axis going along the whole length of the coffin lid that is to emphasise the key figures of the decoration.

The lower part – although entirely separated – rhymes with the upper decoration field in many other respects, too. Firstly, the central figure of the lower part is *Osiris* standing in his chapel who wears exactly the same garment with the *atef* crown as in the judgment scene, so linking thematically the upper and lower zones to each other. Furthermore, he is surrounded by two pairs of human-headed protective gods holding / presenting coloured pieces of linen and *maat* feathers in the same way as they do in the judgement scene. Moreover, as we have mentioned above, the colours of the linen held by the deities recall the colour pattern of the special cloak worn by *Osiris*. The *hkr*-frieze of his sanctuary also refers to the Judgement Hall and the vignette of the BD 125 on the upper zone; i.e. the mythical / ritual events took place there.³² The reappearing figures, colours and iconographic motifs unambiguously are used in order to create semantic and symbolic cohesion between the figures of the different scenes of the lid.

II.3. Texts

As for the offering invocations inscribed on the coffin and their cohesion with the figures in the scenes, it is worth mentioning that *Anubis*, one of the standard figures of the coffin decoration / inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom is somewhat surprisingly quite absent from the texts as well as from the scenes. *Geb*, on the other hand, seems to play a relatively important role on the coffin: he is represented once among the gods surrounding the figure of the standing *Osiris*, and invoked four times on the lid and once in the inscriptions appearing on the bottom of the case. It may be attributable to the fact that after the New Kingdom – together with *Nut* as parents of *Osiris* – he gradually gained more significance.³³

The other invoked gods, especially as for the single horizontal text lines to separate the different scene panels from each other, are different aspects of the great god and members of the circle protecting the body of *Osiris*, i.e. *Geb* and the sons of *Horus*.

³² The *hkr*-frieze as symbolic reference to the Judgement Hall: Taylor 2003, 111, n. 155.

³³ S. Grallert, *SAK* 23 (1996), 164. See also the triad of Re – Geb – Osiris in the often used formula: „Ach im Himmel bei Re / mächtig auf Erden bei Geb / gerechtfertigt in der *hrt-ntr* bei Osiris“ (J. Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien I: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*, Heidelberg 2002, 147-148. According to its texts and scenes, the same triad obviously attached great importance to the Krakow coffin, too.

III. THE COFFIN AS SACRED ENVIRONMENT: THE CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND OF THE ICONOGRAPHICAL ARRANGEMENT

The new type of innermost coffins carefully sculpted in order to reproduce the body-contours was made of wood and consisted of two parts fitting together hermetically like a shell ('bivalve type').³⁴ The main purpose of the design was to express the divine qualities of the deceased which were gained through participating in the *Osirian* rebirth and the solar cycle simultaneously. As for the decoration surfaces provided by the new coffin type, the design of the frontal body-field seems to become the main vehicle carrying the greatest concentration of symbolic imagery.³⁵

The other typical feature was applying the coffin with pedestal and dorsal pillar to give it an explicitly sculptural form.³⁶ This technical / iconographic solution emphasises the symbolism of the coffin as *divine image*. The lid of the *standing* anthropoid coffin alludes to the ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth performed at the funeral, while *djed* pillars depicted on the bottom of the case recall the festive ritual of the Raising of the *Djed*, i.e. two *rites de passage* of primary importance for the transformation of the deceased. The standing position of the coffins and other pictorial allusions to important religious ceremonies organised by temples on the coffin³⁷ together were believed to give full guarantee for the eternal participation in them.

The standing position of the coffin also gives full meaning of the *Apis* bull regularly appearing on the footboard, obviously referring to the chthonic locale of the events; i. e. the Underworld under the earth.

One of the iconographic features characterising anthropoid coffins of the previous period, i. e. the (micro)cosmic circle bordered by the top of the head (scarab beetle / sky) and the footboard (*Apis* / underworld) disappeared as the figure of *Nephthys* became the typical motif of the former place. Furthermore, this is the reason why the winged figure of *Isis* whose logical iconographic position would be opposite that of *Nephthys* on the crown of the head has been placed on the feet.³⁸

A careful investigation of the coffin decoration can reveal several horizontal and vertical composition structures involving richly varied cosmic and mythical connotations.

³⁴ Taylor 2003, 112.

³⁵ Taylor 2003, 114.

³⁶ Taylor 2003, 112.

³⁷ See also the representation of the ritual of Raising of the *Djed* itself on a *krsw*-type rectangular coffin: CG 41001 *bis* (Moret 1913, fig. 14, pl. IV where *Horus* and *Thot* erect the *djed*-pillar).

³⁸ Taylor 2003, 116.

III.1. *Magical protection around the mummified deceased lying inside the coffin created by winged gods and goddesses*

On the chest-zone of the lid, under the collar *Nut* spreads out her wings in order to take the deceased under her protection, replacing the Lybian tradition of depicting the winged nocturnal aspect of the „great god” on the breast. The winged figures of kneeling *Nut* and *Isis* on the Karkow coffin are exact iconographical counterparts in every respect, this way emphasising the symbolical protection provided at the ends of the vertical axis. The circle of magical protection is completed or supplemented from both sides by the figures of the hawks with *wedjat* eyes that seem to follow the usual pattern according to which the lateral compartments bordering the central scene on lids of anthropoid coffins are traditionally used for representing winged protective gods or goddesses.

III.2. *The composition of scenes on the upper part of the lid*

As we mentioned above (II.2.), the vignette of the chapter 89 of the BD with the *ba* returning to the mummified body is flanked by two long scene bands. The three scenes this way seem to form a cycle, the conceptual backgrounds of which are mutually connected with and referring to each other. The central scene is evidently placed to ensure the free movement of the *ba*-aspect and the cyclical reintegration of all parts, components and aspects of the deceased. The free movement itself is represented in the lower scene band where the sun god and the *ba* of the deceased appear in the same sphere. It guarantees for the deceased that she would participate in the cyclical renewal. The vignette of the BD 125 also refers to eternal life in the afterworld, since the representation of the *following* events, i.e. her introduction to the divine society proves that she as deified being would gain a venerable status and sustenance among gods.

III.3. *The Stundenwache and BD 151*

Another divine circle appears around the body of *Osiris* (1) lying on the funerary bier in the purification tent which alludes to the mythical event of the nightly vigil evoked in the ritual context of *Stundenwache* in order to protect the mythical protagonist / the deceased against evil forces (see the liturgy of BD 169 inscribed on the bottom of the case). The divine circle surrounding the mummy covered by the lid refers, on the other hand, (2) to the situation represented on the vignette of the BD 151 where the members of the divine circle guarding the mummified body in the *funerary chapel* are enumerated.³⁹ By the head and the feet *Nephthys* and *Isis* mourn for him, at the same time protecting the deceased who has been identified with the god of the Underworld. The

³⁹ Assmann 2002, 164.

safety of the mummy rising from the death is guaranteed by apotropaic deities (in this case: *Imsety*, *Geb*, *Duamutef*, supplemented by an excerpt from the text of the same chapter)⁴⁰ and a pair of *wedjat* eyes on both sides. The circle of magical protection is completed on the back by the gods invoked in the funerary texts inscribed on the bottom of the case.

III.4. *The scene with the sun bark*

The scene with the solar bark seems to be derived from New Kingdom royal versions of the Book of the Night where the prow with the sun child is a common motif.⁴¹ On the other hand, the aspect of the hawk-headed sun god and the crew of the bark much rather allude to the boats appearing in the New Kingdom versions of the Book of the Day.⁴²

The motif of the two solar barks frequently appears on the two sides of the vaulted lid of *krsw*-coffins of the given period.⁴³ The parallel scenes with the simultaneous representation of the nightly and daily journey of the sun god conveying the meaning of the eternal continuity of solar cycle. Although the motif of the divine child sitting on the prow originally (in the New Kingdom) tends to feature the night bark, *krsw*-coffins apparently use the iconographic motif rather inconsequently.⁴⁴

While *krsw*-type coffins refer to the body of *Nut* as a whole, in the case of anthropoid coffins their lid for itself has the same connotation since it was identified with the nocturnal body of the sky goddess. Thus the depiction of *the pair of barks* is apt to condense complex cosmic implications, i.e. the symbolism of uninterrupted continuity of solar cycle. In the case of the Krakow anthropoid coffin, however, due to lack of space only one bark is represented

⁴⁰ Elias 1993, 708-711; M.K.W. von Falck, *Textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Götterreden und verwandten Texten auf ägyptischen Särgen und Sarkophagen von der 3. Zwischenzeit bis zur Ptolemäerzeit*. (Diss. Münster 2001) II, 149-155; Assmann 2002, 132.

⁴¹ A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (BS XL.1), New York 1954, pl. 192-196; K. Goebis, *GM* 165 (1998), 57-66; Roulin 1996, 75-76, with further references; Feucht 1984, 411 and n. 43; for broader connotations of the motif, see: W. Waitkus, *Die Geburt des Harsomtut aus der Blüte. Zur Bedeutung und Funktion einiger Kultgegenstände des Tempels von Dendera*, *SAK* 30 (2002), 380-382.

⁴² See e. g. Piankoff 1954, pl. 188-191; the hawk-headed god in the night bark appears to be an iconographic solution apparently influenced by representations and accompanying texts occurring on 21st Dynasty Theban funerary papyri: Roulin 1996, 80.

⁴³ E. Thomas, *JEA* 42 (1956), 65-79, esp. 69 where the author enumerates the representations of solar boats making circuit on arched lids of *krsw*-type coffins (e.g. Cairo 41001-2, 9, 14, 18, 22, 28, 31, 40, Leiden M 20; Florence 2126) and c.f. a modell *krsw* coffin with the same motifs (S. D'Auria – P. Lacovara – C.H. Roehrig, *Mummies and magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, Boston 1992 (repr.), 175-176).

⁴⁴ Roulin 1996, 80.

on the lid,⁴⁵ attributed with the divine child on the prow and flanked by adoring baboons (and the deceased) on both side.⁴⁶ The complexity of the motif consists in the fact – as it has been mentioned above – that the solar child traditionally appears to be the characteristic feature of the night bark,⁴⁷ while the composition of the crew strongly evokes another pattern, i.e. that of the solar boat of the Book of the Day. The solar child on the prow consequently appears to refer to the approaching moment of transferring the sun disc from one bark to another, and if so, the identification of the bark itself is not of primary importance, since it has no effect on the actual meaning: *the essence of the concept is the fact of the change* which is about to take place. The scene of the Krakow coffin depicts the last moments *before* the change of the barks,⁴⁸ presumably before dawn.

Through applying the scene with the solar bark, the Krakow coffin gets one more level of interpretation as *cosmogram*⁴⁹ as it becomes the reference to the

⁴⁵ See, on the other hand, the anthropoid coffin lid with the representation of *both* barks: Gasse 1996, pl. XXXII, 2 (In.no. D. 2067.5.1).

⁴⁶ For the *Sonnenaffen* adoring the rising sun / divine rebirth, see J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I (MÄS 19)*, Berlin 1969, 208-10, 344-345; J. Assmann, *ZÄS 110* (1983), 95; Feucht 1984, 411; S. Voß, *Ein liturgisch-kosmographischer Zyklus im Re-Bezirk des Totentempels Ramses' III. in Medinet Habu*, SAK 23 (1996), 391; J.C. Darnell, *Hathor returns to Medamûd*, SAK 22 (1995), 84. However, the motif sometimes seems to accompany the nocturnal aspect of the sun god, e.g. F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, Le Caire 1907, pl. LXXXVIII. C.f. the sunrise from an *otherworldly* point of view, according to which the roles of the eastern and western cardinal points are interchangeable, i.e. the place of sunset is the East, and that of sunrise is the West: Assmann 1969, 39, with reference to one of the inscriptions captioning the *Schlussszene*-composition in A. Piankoff – N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, New York 1957, No. 24; J.F. Borghouts, JEA 59 (1973), 114-115; J. F. Borghouts, *CdÉ 56/112* (1981), 273; J. van Dijk, *OMRO 66* (1986), 14 & n. 52.

⁴⁷ See above n. 41; nevertheless see the motif of the sunchild on the prow of both barks (the nightly and daily ones as well) appearing in the 21st Dynasty vignette of BD 168A (BM 10010, *Muthetepti*); A. Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, Freiburg – Göttingen 1989, fig. 4; A. Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari (Sarcophages)* (CG 6029-6068), Le Caire 1996, fig. 53. See also E. Thomas, JEA 45 (1959), fig. 3; and c.f. the scene on a 21st Dynasty papyrus with Seth standing on the prow and defeating *Apophis* (Piankoff – Rambova 1957, fig. 54, Pap. *Heruben B*) which refers, on one hand, to the representation of the Book of the Day, but, on the other hand, it can be an allusion to the subject of the chapter 108 of the B. For the content of this chapter, see L. Kákósy, *Une version abrégée du chapitre 108 du Livre des morts*, In: *Studia Aegyptiaca VII*, Budapest 1982, 19-25; Borghouts 1973, 114-115, and Müller-Roth 2008, 56.

⁴⁸ Thomas 1956, 71, fig. of scheme D; another proof for this statement is the iconographic context of a 21st Dynasty version of the scene, see Piankoff – Rambova 1957, No. 11.

⁴⁹ Taylor 2003, 112.

eternally continuing celestial journey of the sun god across the sky (and through the netherworld) personified by the arched body of *Nut*, i.e. the coffin lid.

III.5. Sanctuary function and the figure of *Osiris*

As we have seen (II.2), the central figure of the lower part of the lid is the funerary god (*Osiris*) standing inside his chapel, flanked by the laterally arranged scene and text panels representing apotropaic gods in their own chapels on both sides. This arrangement strongly evokes the role of coffin as sanctuary, i.e. a typical function of the *krsw*-type sarcophagi. The representation of *Osiris* in his shrine on the lower zone of the lid surrounded by apotropaic deities recalls, on the other hand, the traditional coffin layout used in the second half of the 21st dynasty which was to emphasise the role of the anthropoid coffin as funerary / divine sanctuary.⁵⁰

The special context, on the other hand, in which the god appears also has references to his role fulfilled in the scene and on the coffin. The special garment he wears seems to become an iconographical *topos* in funerary art as late as the Graeco-Roman Period.⁵¹

In our context the colourful pieces of linen offered by the sons of Horus seem to play a significant role not only here, but also in the scene of judgment and introduction into the divine society. Therefore one can inevitably associate them with the special garment worn by *Osiris* in both representations. Linen offering is to provide on one hand the bandages used for envelopping the body during the process of mummification, but some funerary texts make it obvious that the same symbolises the garment to be worn by the deceased after having transformed into a glorified and divine spirit. In consequence the linen clothes offered and received as funerary offering must have been meant to provide magical protection, rejuvenation and victory over enemies, i.e. identification with the fate of the divine ruler of the netherworld, *Osiris*, for its owner.⁵²

III.6. Texts

The long inscription bands running along both edges of the lid and case are evidently also intended to provide a strong magical protection for the deceased on these otherwise defenseless points where the two halves are fitted to each other.⁵³ Similar function must be attributed to the motif of the red bead-net pat-

⁵⁰ R. Van Walsem, *The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Leiden 1997, 358 (the tripartition of the legs); pl. 34-35.

⁵¹ D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris. Ein Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 6), Mainz am Rhein 1990, 48-50.

⁵² Kurth 1990, 52-57.

⁵³ Cf. other pieces where the *Mehen* snake encircles the coffin around the edges (i.e. the mummy inside it), e.g. Firenze, inv. no. 2160 (*Tjesraperet*); Taylor 2003, 119.

tern applied on the same place which is widely used in the funerary context of the given period.⁵⁴

The five text columns – themselves are flanked by short horizontal lines from the head to the toes – on the back also seem to play an important part in the symbolism of the coffin. The monotonous repeating of stereotype offering formulas is markedly broken by the *hṭp-di-nsw* formula of *Atum*, that actually contains short liturgical fragments from the chapters 169 and 151b of the BD referring to the ritual texts cited during the nightly vigil (*Stundenwache*) which express the ultimate goal of the deceased (*b3 r pt / h3t r dw3t*) that can be attained, on the other hand, only after the process of mummification, through rites performed during the funeral.⁵⁵ The words of invocation to *Atum*⁵⁶ (and so his figure) this way symbolically have been placed in the centre of the outer surface of the bottom. The liturgical fragments quoted from BD 169 and 151b inscribed there, on the other hand, appear to have strong iconographical (and ritual) connotations with some representations of the lid. It is worth mentioning first of all the figure of *Imsety* accompanied by the short „Canopic Utterance“, and the special garment worn by both figures of *Osiris* which can recall the same context, i.e. a sequence of events happening during the ritual when the deceased can finally gain power over his enemies after having received some selected types of clothes and weapons as markers of his distinguished status.⁵⁷

III.7. *Protective divine circles around the deceased*

According to the above, the protection surrounding the deceased has been multiplied, since it works

- a. around the deceased *actually* lying in the coffin (by divinities represented in scenes and invoked in texts);
- b. around the archetypal deceased lying on the funerary bier on the upper part of the lid, i.e. the central figure of the upper zone; and
- c. around the standing figure of *Osiris*; i.e. the central figure of the lower zone depicted inside his chapel.

Furthermore, one can draw the important conclusion that according to all indications the Krakow anthropoid coffin seems to take over some of the symbolic functions of *krsw*-type coffins, especially regarding (1) its sanctuary func-

⁵⁴ Taylor 2001, 167, 175 and 176.

⁵⁵ Elias 1993, 708-776; Assmann 2002, § 27 (p. 125), § 28 (126-127), 155-164.

⁵⁶ For the expression *mhy pr m Tm* referring to the cosmic creative activity of the invoked god: J. Zandee, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), B. Altenmüller 1975, 30-31; Elias 1993, 474, 579-580.

⁵⁷ The cloak can perhaps be identified with the *d3iw*-type mentioned in the chapter 169 of the BD: „Nimmt dir *sdb*-Kleid, deine Sandalen, deinen Stab und dein *d3iw*-Gewand, alle deine Waffen, daß du die Köpfe abschlägt und die Rebellen, die deinen Tod herbeigeführt haben.“ (See Assmann 2002, 140-141).

tion and (2) the role it plays as medium manifesting or embodying the spheres of the celestial route of the sun. Consequently, it is questionable whether she originally did own any *krsw*-coffin or not.

IV. THE COFFIN AS A PICTORIAL REFLECTION / ICONIC REPRESENTATION OF THE ERA

IV.1. *Inner coffins of the period; general features*

Used as part of a coffin set consisting of three parts, the type in discussion is always the inner piece of it, while the outer, largest coffin usually belongs to the *krsw*-type.

As the most characteristic iconographical features of the upper part of the lid type in question one can stress the reappearance of the goddess *Nut* with outstretched wings on the breast, the horizontal figural zone below the goddess with the vignette of the BD 125 and the scene of the mummy on the bier with the *ba* bird hovering above it.

Approximately from the line of the waist on both sides text-blocks show up in the company of laterally arranged scene panels holding vignettes of mummy-shaped protective deities; an arrangement which produces a spectacular axial symmetry in the zone. Following the New Kingdom pattern there are texts on the top of the head and on the feet with the figures of *Nephthys* and *Isis*.

The bottom of the coffin case is usually decorated with a large-sized *dd*-pillar or vertical text columns, mostly excerpts cited from the BD.⁵⁸ Inside of both parts of the coffin further representations of the goddess (*Nut* or the goddess of the West) or texts inscribed in white on black-coloured base can be found.

IV.2. *Dating criteria*

Undertaking the typologization and relative dating of wooden sarcophagi of the 25th-26th Dynasties, M. RAVEN⁵⁹ examined the *Besenmut*-material. He divided the available coffins into four groups on the base of their chronological order. By the first generation still we can occasionally find cartonnages instead of the inner coffins made of wood.⁶⁰ This time the vignettes are more frequent than later and predominate over the surrounding texts.⁶¹ The second generation is, however, witness to a slow process of changing. At the time of the third and fourth generations it seems to be possible to separate two different types from each other: one is densely inscribed with texts, equipped with

⁵⁸ Elias 1993, 708.

⁵⁹ M. Raven, *On some coffins of the Besenmut family*, OMRO 62 (1981), 7-21.

⁶⁰ For example Boston 95.1407 b

⁶¹ See the former note.

only a few figural representations – it reflects the innovations of the Saite era. The other is illustrated with scenes more freely and abundantly – this raises the spirit of the Kushite period.

A significant addition to the above mentioned features is an orthographical problem, which must be accepted as decisive dating factor.⁶²

J.H. Taylor⁶³ (observing stylistic features in particular) and J.P. Elias⁶⁴ (studying first of all textual characteristics), examining the criteria at length, undertook the determination of the date of this type of coffins mainly on the evidence of the coffin-equipments belonging to the members of the *Besenmut*, *Montemhat* and *Hor A* families. This type of wooden inner coffins probably existed up to the time of the 6th century BC. In the following we will try to enumerate the most important iconographical features of the wooden inner coffin of *Takhenemet* which can be considered as dating factors, according to the criteria devised by Taylor.⁶⁵

From the beginning of the 7th century BC the winged scarab is replaced by the kneeling, crouching or standing *Nephthys* on the top of the head which after the early 7th century became the standard motif⁶⁶.

Sometime at the turn of the 8th and 7th centuries the colour of the female mask changed from yellow to rose.

The consequent representation of the ears can be observed from the second half of the 8th century BC, i.e. in the end of the 23rd Dynasty. The earrings or the pierce serving to fit the earring joined this from the second half of the 7th century BC (26th Dyn.).

On the breasts the figure of the goddess *Nut* came into general use on the account of the winged ram, which was customary in the previous period. The division of the wings of *Nut* became from three-partite to four-partite in the first half of the 7th cent. BC (25th-26th Dyn.). The head of *Nut* with the sun disc regularly overlapped the lower edge of the collar until the last quarter of the 7th century BC.⁶⁷

⁶² According to the results of A. Leahy (*SAK* 7 (1979), 141-153) who studied on the writing-method of the name Osiris, the *nfr*-sign (R 8) was introduced instead of the seated god-determinative (A 40) in the Libyan period and the usage of it became more and more frequent in the course of the 25th Dynasty. The progress of changing is comprehensible from about 740-730 B.C., one generation after *Takeloth III* and *Rudamon*. In the Saite period, however, this rule tends to change and the previous writing-method comes into prominence again.

⁶³ Taylor 1984, 27-57; Taylor 2001, 174-176; Taylor 2003, 111-119.

⁶⁴ Elias 1993, esp. 630-844.

⁶⁵ Taylor 1984, 2001, 2003.

⁶⁶ Taylor 1984, 51; Taylor 2003, 115-116.

⁶⁷ Taylor 2003, 115.

The increased number of horizontal registers on the upper body (c.f. the two long scene bands displayed on the coffin of *Takhenemet*)⁶⁸ is a later development, but sometimes occurred in earlier pieces.

The alternating coloured undercoat of the text bands on the lid became a characteristic feature from 700 BC (during the 25th Dyn.).⁶⁹

On the basis of the above, the coffin of *Takhenemet* could have been completed around the middle of the 7th century BC, or in the first third of the Saite era (cca. 675-630 BC).

IV.3. Peculiarities

It is important to emphasise, however, that a perfect parallel of the Krakow coffin has not been found among the roughly contemporary coffins of Theban *Monthu*-priests. On the other hand, undoubtedly there are some stylistic features which the examined piece shares with this coffin material: (1) the long text bands covering the bottom on the back; (2) the vignette of the chapter 89 of the BD appearing in prominent place, i.e. on the breast; (3) the kneeling winged figure of *Nut* on the breast with the sun disc including her name on the head.

As for the iconographical arrangement and selection of motifs applied on the coffin lid of *Takhenemet*, however, it can not be considered as a typical one at all. The arrangement and the number of the scenes displayed on the upper zone of the lid are uncommon, as well as the figure of the standing *Osiris* as central figure of the lower zone.

The physical appearance and typical features of the coffin of *Takhenemet*, on the other hand, do strongly remind us to a piece belonging to another coffin-group in some respects. The burials in question were found by E. SCHIAPPARELLI in the Valley of the Queens in the first years of the 20th century and the findings have been deposited in the Museo Egizio in Turin.⁷⁰ One group of the funerary ensembles consists of the coffins of the five children of an *Amon*-priest called *Paifu*, a family of 'lotus givers' cultivating ritual plants for use in temple ceremonies, among which some remains of wooden inner anthropoid sarcophagi⁷¹ - in their elaboration - unambiguously evoke the Krakow coffin. Particularly considerable is the

⁶⁸ A relatively close analogy may be Gasse 1996, pl. XLII (Inv.no. 25001.2.1), but the scene with the mummy lying on the bier is not flanked by the two long scene panels there.

⁶⁹ Taylor 1984, 55; Taylor 2001, 174.

⁷⁰ PM I, 2, 771; Schiapparelli 1923, 185-206; *Egyptian Civilization. Religious Beliefs*, 222; Donadoni-Roveri 1988, 69-70; Elias 1993, 145-172. See also the coffin of *Panes*, member of the Theban necropolis administration (Copenhagen NM AAa78, see n. 18 above).

⁷¹ S. 5241, S. 5247 and S. 5248.

lid belonging to *Takhaenbastet*⁷² because of its out-of-the-common decoration, the dark blue background⁷³ and the way of arrangement of the scenes. Similarly to the coffin of *Takhenemet*, the zone of the legs is divided here into three parts by a pictorial representation instead of the usual vertical text columns ('apron-text'): a large-sized scene of the standing *Osiris* in his shrine⁷⁴ flanked by *Isis* and *Nephthys*, as a rare parallel of that one which is represented on the coffin of the lady *Takhenemet*. E. SCHIAPPARELLI considered the findings as a creation of a „transitional period”, which bears the characteristic features not only of the Theban, but of the Saite period as well („*un periodo di transizione che per una parte offre i caratteri del periodo tebano e per l'altra quelli del periodo saítico*”).⁷⁵ According to recent results, however, the closest parallel to our piece, i.e. the coffin of *Takhaenbastet* was dated back to the middle or second half of the 26th Dynasty.⁷⁶

IV.4. *Archaism*

Many parts of the decoration of the lid suggest a deliberate attempt to reviving patterns of older coffin types, composition schemes and iconographical motifs. In other words, the iconography and the arrangement of the applied motifs reveal a strong archaism in some respects which fits well into the general archaising tendency characterising the period of the 25th-26th Dynasties.

The archaism which can be observed on the iconographic layout of the lid must be a result of a careful selection among past traditions of the Middle and New Kingdoms as well as those of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties and reflects the continuous efforts of the historical milieu to find the ideal arrangements of motifs and perfect iconographic solutions in the available older sources and well-known traditions which were considered to be apt to represent the multi-level conceptual background of contemporary Egyptian afterlife beliefs.

The experimental mind of the period reveals, on the other hand, a strong intellectual hesitation and spiritual insecurity. The process of selection can be interpreted as transgression of the original rules of usages (a kind of „crossing of boundaries” or „overstepping of limits” in anthropological sense), since the selected components emerge from their original systems or structures where

⁷² S. 4248.

⁷³ Elias 1993, 172, n. 170; Taylor 2001, 174-175.

⁷⁴ Donadoni-Roveri 1988, 69, No. 13. For a third parallel displaying the same motif, see the coffin of *Panes* (n. 18 and n. 70; Schmidt 1919, fig. 1118).

⁷⁵ Schiapparelli 1923, 197 and PM I, 2, 649.

⁷⁶ Elias 1993, 171-172; Taylor 2001, 174-175.

they played their special parts.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the transgression of original rules and avoiding original systems is the very circumstance that allows at the same time the components to fulfil divergent or even unconventional roles and interplay in the new structure / composition with each other.

The selection itself is able to characterise the intentions and ideas of the all-time compilers, revealing their opinions about and attitudes towards the world around them, which are determining factors during creation of reinterpretations.

Middle and New Kingdom traditions

The (re)appearance of the kneeling figures of *Isis* on the feet and *Nephthys* on the top of the head is a typical feature which links the coffins of the period with those used in the Middle and New Kingdoms. The same can be said of the breast zone where the kneeling figure of *Nut* succeeded the winged ram-headed nightly aspect of the sun god, i. e. the traditional layout of the previous period.⁷⁸ The four sons of *Horus* and the *wedjat* eyes were originally placed on the outer sides of the coffin case. The same tradition seems to be continued on outer coffins used by the Theban high priests and members of their families during the 21st Dynasty.⁷⁹

21st Dynasty traditions

The vulture head-dress is a frequent attribute appearing on female anthropoid coffins as early as the 21st Dynasty⁸⁰ which sometimes alternates with the simpler striped wig in later times.⁸¹ The uniform iconography of the winged *Isis* and *Nut* is also a legacy inherited from the New Kingdom / 21st Dynasty.

As we mentioned above, the iconographical arrangement of the upper and the lower zones of the lid considerably differ from each other. The upper half of the decoration field (approx. between the lines of breast and waist) has a markedly and typically horizontal arrangement. On the other hand, the lower zone (on the legs) seemingly shows a vertically arranged composition. These features undoubtedly recall the composition structure of the coffins produced in the second half of the 21st dynasty.⁸² The sanctuary-like character, furthermore, also brings up or revives the artistic tradition of the same period.⁸³

⁷⁷ W. Iser, *The Fictive and the Imaginary*, Baltimore and London 1993, 6-7.

⁷⁸ Taylor 2003, 114.

⁷⁹ G. Daressy, *Cercueils des Cachettes Royales*, Le Caire 1909, CG 61027, 61028, 61029, 61032. See also Gasse 1996, pl. XXXVII (Inv.no. XIII.2.2); Jørgensen 2001, 1:13 (Inv.no. AEIN 62).

⁸⁰ Van Walsem 1997, 113.

⁸¹ See for example the second coffin of *Nesmutaatneru* (MMA 95. 1407b-c: D'Auria – Lacovara – Roehrig 1992, No. 125), and the inner coffin of *Tabakenkhonsu* (MMA 96.4.3).

⁸² Van Walsem 1997, pl. 34-35 (See n. 41).

⁸³ Van Walsem 1997, 358-361.

The legacy of the Libyan period (22nd Dynasty)

The entire surface of the lid is varnished and the scenes have a dark blue background (presumably in order to imitate the colour of *lapis lazuli*) with yellowish figures (imitating gold) on it. The choice of this colour scheme is rather special, but represents a coffin type of the 22nd Dynasty.⁸⁴

Another innovation of the Libyan period is the introduction of the motif of the *Apis* bull (with or without mummy on its back) on the footboard of anthropoid inner coffins. It is also in the same period when *Osirian* motifs dominated along the vertical axis of the lower part of the coffin lid. The rare occurrence of the figure of *Osiris* standing in his shrine⁸⁵ in the Saite epoch proves that the tradition had not disappeared without any trace.

Additionally the proportion of the texts and scenes on the lid is worth mentioning which is much more characteristic of the Kushite period than the Saite era.

V. SEARCHING FOR *TAKHENEMET*

It turned out from the inscriptions of the coffin of *Takhenemet*⁸⁶ that her father's name was *Bakenreni* and her mother was called *Tabak(en)khonsu*. However, the owner of the coffin does not seem to be identifiable with anybody known from the previous studies. According to that she cannot be „*Takhenemti I*“, the wife of *Djedbastetefankh* and the mother of „*Neseramun V*“, who lived about the end of the reign of *Osorkon III*, since her father's name is *Hor*, and her grandfather was named *Pakhal*.⁸⁷ Of course she is not equal with „*Takhenemti II*“ as well, whose name appeared at the time of *Takeloth II* and *Osorkon III*: she is the daughter of „*Harsiese C*“ and „*Isetweret I*“ and the sister of „*Djedmutesankh VI*“ and „*Djedkhonsuefankh C*“.⁸⁸ Likewise, the parents

⁸⁴ Taylor 2001, 172-173 and 174-175.

⁸⁵ The *Osirian* motifs on the same place, e.g. the Abydos fetish are more frequent, see for example Copenhagen, Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg AEIN 1522 (see n. 14); BM EA 25256 (Taylor 2003, pl. 65); BM EA 6691 (Taylor 2003, pl. 61); Gasse 1996, pl. XXXVIII,1 (Inv.no. 25013.2.1).

⁸⁶ Her personal name reflects an important aspect of the intellectual character of the period when high-ranking priestesses strongly linked to cults of different child-gods playing the ritual role of the „divine mother“ or „nurse“ (*hnmt*) of them (FAZZINI 1988, 8-14; J. TAYLOR, In: I. SHAW (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 2000, 361-362. *Takhenemet* seems to be a popular female name mainly in the second half of the Third Intermediate Period and became less frequently used in the 25th-26th Dynasty. I wish to thank Peter Gaboda for his help with the interpretation of the name.

⁸⁷ M.L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1330-664 BC)*, Warminster 1975, Chart XV; K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)*, Warminster 1972, § 166.

⁸⁸ Bierbrier 1975, Chart XVII; Kitchen 1972, § 184.

of three other *Takhenemeti* are known to us from this period.⁸⁹ No one of them seem to be that person we are looking for. It is worth mentioning furthermore a certain *Takhenemet* whose funerary stela is dated back to the 25th Dynasty.⁹⁰

On the basis of the high-quality elaboration of the Krakow coffin lid, one would easily ascribe to its owner a noble origin. It is really tempting to assume that *Tabak(en)khonsu* whose coffin set⁹¹ was discovered by E. NAVILLE at a *Hathor*-chapel in Deir el-Bahri,⁹² i.e. the well-known burial place of *Djedthotefankh*⁹³ and his mother, *Nesmutaatneru*⁹⁴ (members of the *Hor A* family), might have been the mother of our coffin owner. *Tabak(en)khonsu* was probably the niece of *Djedthotefankh*, and according to some scholars actually his wife.⁹⁵ *Djedthotefankh* died young, without offspring.⁹⁶ If the coffin set of *Tabak(en)khonsu* is one generation later than that of *Nesmutaatneru* in fact, it can be dated back to the years between 675-650 BC, i.e. at the turn of the 25th and 26th Dynasties, which date is confirmed by the examination of her funerary stele.⁹⁷ One can suppose a second marriage of *Tabak(en)khonsu*, this time to the man named *Bakenren(i)* and at least a single daughter (*Takhenemet*) of them.

There is another possibility at the same time, which must also be taken into account. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the wooden coffin of lady *Takhenemet* is a richly decorated piece of a fine quality, with some really extraordinary and rarely occurring iconographic motifs, although the inscriptions (mostly monotonously repeated offering formulas) are undoubtedly chosen with much less caution. Since two further contemporaneous coffin lids (those of *Takhaenbastet* in Turin and *Panes* in Copenhagen mentioned above in IV.3) are known which do not only seem to display the same rarely occurring iconographic patterns (mainly as for the colour schemes and scene repertoires), but show the same discrepancy between a surprisingly high-quality iconographical repertoire and

⁸⁹ O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Recueil des inscr. hiéroglyphiques de la Glyptothèque NY Carlsberg*, Bruxelles 1936, Inscr. 972 and J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1892 (repr. Hildesheim – New York 1979), No. 2457; 2. P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, Den Haag 1916-1920, VII, Tf. 14; 3; G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit (Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 1)*, Wien 1978, 6.8.

⁹⁰ Brooklyn Museum 08.480.201: J.F. Romano, *The Armand de Potter Collection of Ancient Egyptian Art*, In: *Studies in Honor of W.K. Simpson, II*, Boston 1996, 710 and fig. 6.

⁹¹ New York MMA 96.4.1-4; ELIAS 1993, 654-655, 663 (table 5), and 669.

⁹² PM I, 2, 649.

⁹³ Coffin set: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Inv. no 1895, 153 and 155-156.

⁹⁴ Boston MFA 95. 1407a-d.

⁹⁵ Taylor 1984, 46; *Mummies and Magic* 1992, 173; Elias 1993, 283-284.

⁹⁶ Taylor 1984, 46 and n.1.

⁹⁷ P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, Glückstadt 1973, 188; Taylor 1984, 34.

a rather modest quality of texts, one can agree with J.P. ELIAS who supposed that the owners of the coffins displaying such extraordinary designs might have been associated somehow with the Theban artisans involved in coffin production.⁹⁸ According to the above the inner coffin of *Takhenemet* in Krakow must have been produced *at the same workshop* where those of *Takhaenbastet* and *Panes* were made, and this fact raises the question whether the owner of the Krakow coffin could have had certain family ties with the community of 'lotus givers' buried at Deir el-Bahri or Theban artisans who appear to have created their own, highly individualised Saite coffin lid style.

The two possibilities having been sketched above are only hypotheses. Without determining her identity, however, only on the basis of her wooden inner coffin of the highest quality, one can suppose that *Takhenemet*, the owner of the wooden anthropoid coffin in Krakow must presumably have had a privilege of a rich and magnificent funeral, perhaps equipped originally with a coffin set consisting of more than one part, of which nowadays only the inner coffin is available. The latter *in itself*, however, is a prominent piece among the similar relics manufactured around the second half of the 7th century BC.

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[All photographs courtesy of the Czartoryski Museum]

⁹⁸ Elias 1993, 172, n. 170.



Fig. 1, 2. Fragments of the coffin of Takhenemet,
Czartoryski Museum, Inv. No. MNK XI – 481.



Fig. 3, 4. Fragments of the coffin of Takhenemet, Czartoryski Museum, Inv. No. MNK XI – 481.



Fig. 5. Lid of the coffin of Takhenemet, Czartoryski Museum, Inv. No. MNK XI - 481.

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THE PTAH-SOKAR-OSIRIS STATUETTES
IN THE CRACOW COLLECTIONS*

Among objects related to funeral customs of ancient Egypt, plentifully represented in collections and museum of the world, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues deserve for special interest. The idea and role of these objects are strictly connected with popular, private funeral ritual of Egypt of the end of New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, Late Period to Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. A comparatively large amount of statues, exhibited in almost every egyptological collection show, that they were considerably common, though the level of understanding of particular aspects connected with the function of statues is not still satisfying¹.

* I am grateful to The Brzezie Lanckoronski Foundation for possibility of stay in London, which contributed to complete this article. I would like to express my gratitude to The Princes Czartoryski Foundation and Archaeological Museum in Cracow for consent to publish objects from their collections. Acknowledgements are also due the authors of photographs: Ms. M. Wesołowska and Mr. R. Łapanowski.

There have been used following abbreviations for often cited bibliography in the text: M. J. Raven, *Papyrus - Sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues*, OMRO LIX-LX /1978-1979/, pp. 251-296 (further Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*), D. A. Aston, *Two Osiris Figures of the Third Intermediate Period*, JEA 77, 1991, pp. 95-107, pl. V-VIII (further Aston, *Two Osiris Figures*), E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy*, 1893 (further Budge, *Mummy*). The transcription of names is according to H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I-III, Glückstadt 1935 (further PN). Any not expressed abbreviations commonly used – according to: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. I, Wiesbaden 1975, p. X (further LÄ).

¹ About Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues and related to them Osiris statues (including typology) – cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, pp. 251-296, here further bibliography; cf. also Aston, *Two Osiris Figures*, pp. 95-107, pl. V-VIII, M. J. Raven, *Corn-Mummies*, OMRO LXIII (1982), pp. 7-34, and idem, *Symbols of Resurrection. Three Studies in Ancient Egyptian Iconography*, Leiden 1984, passim. Cf. also K. Bosse-Griffiths, *Problems with Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Figures*

There are some Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures in Polish collections, which represent various iconographical, quality, chronological and technical variants². Careful analyzing them may bring significant results to the studies, conducted over funeral rituals, especially those related to local traditions and cults, in Egypt in late periods.

Wooden statuettes, often polychromed or varnished were put into tombs along with the deceased - one object for one burial - and placed near the mummy of the owner of the tomb. Basing of some of the indications it might be assumed, that these statuettes were the only tomb fittings and therefore they were supplementing all funeral equipment. The statuettes, being a product of Egyptian religious ideas, were funeral cult elements, which represented religious beliefs, such as eschatology and the belief for resurrection³.

(abstract), [in:] S. Schoske (ed.), *4th International Congress of Egyptology*, Munich 1985, p. 26.

² The statues are in National Museum in Warsaw, collections of The Princes Czartoryski Foundation at National Museum in Cracow, Archaeological Museum in Cracow and in private collections. The specimens from Warsaw were subject of only study of these group of objects – cf. J. Lipińska-Boldok, *Some Problems of the Funerary Figures of Egyptian God Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie 2, 1961, no. 3, pp. 75-84 and eadem, *An unusual wooden statuette of Osiris* [in:] S. H. D'Auria (ed.), *Servant of Mut. Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, Leiden – Boston 2008, pp. 166-169 (untypical statuette of Osiris in National Museum in Warsaw, deposit from Louvre). In the Archaeological Museum in Poznań is exhibited the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue (type III according to the M. J. Raven's typology) from Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection in Berlin (inv. no. 918, exhibition „The Death and Life in Ancient Egypt”) – cf. A. Ćwiek, *Śmierć i życie w Starożytnym Egipcie*, Poznań 2005, p. 85, fig. 106. Furthermore, it is worth to mention, that from Polish excavations in Ptolemaic necropolis of Saqqara comes an interesting statue (type IV) with a longitudinal cavity in the body - cf. T. I. Rzeuska [in:] *Seventy Years of Polish Archaeology in Egypt*, Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology University of Warsaw 2007, pp. 134-135 – fig. 55, from the grave no. 483.

³ The genesis of the statuettes is often connected with the figures, which started to appear in Old Kingdom in a shape of mummified figure with beard and without shaped limbs. These items were located in tombs, most often of wealthy people, and probably were a physical depiction of the idea (i.e. mummy) – cf. E. A. E. Reymond, *The Eternal Image*, ZAS 98 (1972), pp. 132-140. Other elements of funeral equipment, such as *shabtis* or statues placed in grave niches have probably similar genesis. For statuettes of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris the key feature is connecting them with the Osiris idea, which was mainly influenced by the period of Middle Kingdom along with the development of the Osiris cult and democratization of religious beliefs. During the 18 and 19 Dynasties wooden statuettes in shape of mummies posted on simple bases appeared in tombs; these objects may be directly connected with the genesis of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues – cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, pp. 255-257; about the development line of *shabti* statues and the similarities to Osiris statues – cf. H. Schlögl, *Egipskie figurki grobowe. Katalog zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu / Die ägyptischen Totenfiguren. Katalog aus den Sammlungen des National Museums in Poznań*, 2006, pp. 14-21 (type 2 – naked human figure and type

The exceptional function of the statues can be identified by determining the contents of the different cavities (located in the bases or bodies of the statues) and by analyzing the inscriptions and iconography of these objects. Unfortunately, most of the specimens, including the Cracow statues, do not already contain the original content of the cavities. By analyzing some rather skimpy archaeological sources we may suppose that there were two major groups of things, which were stored in cavities. The first group of these objects were funeral papyruses, most often with fragments of the Book of the Dead – these are the most characteristic for the statues of Osiris from the end of New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period⁴. The second group consists of miniature fragments of corn mummies, which were put into the cavities in the bases of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues, which come from the Late Period and Ptolemaic Period⁵. Some facts may suggest, that the cavities might also include other items such as – mummified pieces of human body or little animals and wooden statues⁶.

3 – mummy like figure without hands), and idem, *Corpus der Ägyptischen Totenfiguren der öffentlichen Sammlungen Krakaus*, Kraków 2000, pp. 14-24, and H. Schlögl, A. Brodbeck, *Ägyptische Totenfiguren aus öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen der Schweiz*, 1990, pp. 29-31. Cf. also F. Abitz, *Statuetten in Schreinen als Grabbeigaben in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18 und 19 Dynastie*, ÄA 35, Wiesbaden 1979, pp. 120-125, and F. Pumpenmeier, *Zur Funktion und Konnotation mumienförmiger Abbilder*, [in:] M. Fitzenreiter, Ch. E. Loeben, *Die ägyptische Mumie – ein Phänomen der Kulturgeschichte*, Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie (IBAES) vol. I, Berlin 1998, pp. 77-78.

⁴ Cf. E. Hermesen, *Die Zwei Wege des Jenseits*, OBO 112, Freiburg 1991, pp. 1-55, A. J. Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt*, New York 1982, p. 149, and E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day*, London 1898, pp. LXXVI-LXXVIII; idem, *Book of Dead. Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet*, London 1899, pp. 1-32, Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 286.

⁵ This actually relates to miniature corn pseudo-mummies placed in cavities of the statues (as opposed to formed in mummy-like shape and placed into tiny wooden sarcophagus) - cf. Ch. Strauss, *Kornosiris*, [in:] LÄ III 744-746; M. J. Raven, *Corn-Mummies* ..., pp. 7-38, idem, *Four Corn-Mummies in the Archaeological Museum at Cracow*, *Materiały Archeologiczne* vol. XXX, Kraków 1997, pp. 5-12. Interpretation directions – cf. H. Beinlich, *Die Osirisreliquien. Zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion*, ÄA 42 Wiesbaden 1984, pp. 272-289. It must be also emphasized, that corn mummies were related to so-called Osiris ceremonies known from Dendera – cf. A. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, Paris 1923, pp. 31, 41, and M. J. Raven, *Corn-Mummies* ..., pp. 27-29. Cf. also T. Hopfner, *Plutarch - Über Isis und Osiris*, Prag 1941, vol. I, pp. 159-160, vol. II pp. 253-254 - Plutarch describes the statue making process here *Chenti-Imentu*. See also so-called Osiris bricks related to these ceremonies - A. M. J. Tooley, *Osiris-Bricks*, JEA 82 (1996), pp. 167-179, fig. XIII-XV.

⁶ Cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, pp. 253, 287. Here it refers to parts of human body such as penis, intestines, heart, bones and also human foetus (in this case the statue is a kind of tiny coffin – cf. M. Gabolde, *Antiquités Égyptiennes Musée Joseph Déchelette*, Roanne 1990, p. 66). As it comes to penis this custom may coexist with another mummifying custom of castrating of deceased and placing their genitalia in a box near their mummy – cf. L. Störk,

The preserved inscriptions (including the ones on the three statues from the Cracow collections) represent typical funeral texts⁷. The distinctive feature of these statues among the other funeral objects is the hymn (which also appears on one of the Cracow statues), which relates to ancient Egyptian religious texts about world and human kind genesis and creation of life⁸. In terms of iconography the described group of objects holds a characteristic rich and interesting set of iconographical motives yielded both to the ideas based in the general ideas of Osiris cult and to the mutual patterns for all Egyptian funeral cult objects. These two basic sources of every element of the statues decoration might usually be clearly distinguished, however as we analyze numerous motives such a differentiation is impossible. The unification of eschatological symbols with the attributes of Osiris cult, as a result of the same meaning – the same message, has been so advanced that currently the origin of these elements is very difficult to identify⁹.

It shall be emphasized that the described statues are characterized by a vast diversity of quality, which might be shown basing on the example of even the

Kastration, [in:] LÄ III 354-356; G. Maspero, *Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille*, Paris 1889, p. 54 and A. P. Leca, *Les Momies*, 1971, p. 66. Remains of little animals – cf. W. Seipel, M. Grewenig, *Götter Menschen Pharaonen. 3500 Jahre ägyptischer Kultur*, Wien 1993, p. 276, and M. Seidel [in:] *Suche nach Unsterblichkeit. Totenkult und Jenseitsglaube im Alten Ägypten*, Roemer und Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim 1990, p. 83. Any sources related to remainings of fabrics (clothes), papyrus fibers and similar substances may prove that there was a tradition of placing corn mummies into cavities. It shall be indicated, that as there was a large diversity of shape and place of locating cavities than probably there also was a constant development of their content, probably not only depending on time (chronological) but also geographical and maybe more significant symbolical and religious factors.

⁷ The inscriptions describing dead owner of statue can be useful starting point to genealogical studies – cf. e.g. E. Varga, *Recherche généalogique*, [in:] L. Limme, J. Strybol (ed.), *Aegyptus Museis Rediviva. Miscellanea in honorem Hermann De Meulenaere*, Bruxelles 1993, pp. 185-196.

⁸ Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, pp. 276-281, Budge, *Mummy*, p. 384; cf. also Liebieghaus - *Museum Alter Plastik. Ägyptische Bildwerke, Band II - Statuetten, Gefässe und Geräte*, Frankfurt am Main 1991, p. 222 and M. Gabolde, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁹ About the iconography of Ptah and his relationship with other gods – cf. M. Sandman – Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, Lund 1946, *passim*; about Sokar – cf. E. Bresciani, *Sokar* [in:] LÄ V 1055-1074; about Osiris – cf. J. G. Griffiths, *Osiris* [in:] LÄ IV 623-633; about their role in the funeral cult – cf. H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*, Berlin 1980, pp. 132-159. It is worth to indicate that, the problem of identifying and translating of a syncretism god's name Ptah-Sokar-Osiris depending on the grammatical number is still discussed. Most often it is described as singular, however there is a considerable amount of text using plural form – about this problem and generally about syncretism of Egyptian triads – cf. H. Te Velde, *Some Remarks on the Structure of Egyptian Divine Triads*, JEA 57 (1971), pp. 80-86, J. G. Griffiths, *Triune Conceptions of Deity in Ancient Egypt*, ZÄS 100 (1973), pp. 28-32, and *idem*, *Triads and Trinity*, Cardiff 1996, pp. 11-116, 351.

Cracow collections which consist of both statues with rich decoration dominated with wide palette of colours and numerous iconographic elements and simple austere decorated statues sometimes even with schematic design of patterns and motives. This diversity is not contrary to functions of these statues and the timeline of development of the statues has no direct influence on quality or decoration. The diversity might be rather a result of workshop details differences (different kind of statues according to local traditions, influences etc.) and probably also social and economical factors (different statue users and their position in society). These issues may indicate further development of studies over this group of Egyptian funeral objects.

CATALOGUE

1. THE OSIRIS STATUETTE (FIG. 1)

Archaeological Museum in Cracow, Inv. No. MAK/AS/2329.

The statue was bought in Cairo during the II World War by Polish Army soldiers being stationed there, after the War the statue was handed over to the museum collection. It is assumed that the statue comes from Tuna el-Gebel¹⁰.

Height: 49 cm¹¹.

Wood, metal elements (crown and beard model), incrustated eyes (white and black paste), gesso, remains of linen visible on bottom part of the statue. Traces of polychrome (gold on face and parts of crown), attempts of body modeling. The hands and palms of the statue can be easily distinguished from the rest of the body: the elbows protrude out of the body line – the forearm and the arm make acute angle. The closed palms do not touch each other – they are on the same level together with forearms. The massive shank (along with remains of two pegs) was used for fitting the body in the not preserved base.

Comment:

The presented statue is the only one among the Cracow collection, which definitely comes from the period before domination of statues Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. Its oddity bases on metal parts used for decoration, which in these types of objects is very rare¹². The statue is definitely of Osiris characteristics clearly visible in the crown model together with probably uraeus and unpreserved scepters – whip and stick (painted). The palms position may be helpful indicator for identifying the date and workshop. They do not touch each other and are placed on one level which causes protruding of the elbows, these characteristics are typical for Middle Egyptian workshop Osiris statues made of bronze¹³.

¹⁰ K. Babraj, H. Szymańska, *Bogowie starożytnego Egiptu*, Muzeum Archeologiczne w Krakowie 2000, cat. 30; about Field Museum and museum items collected by soldiers and J. Sagan, the conservator of the collection – cf. H. Szymańska, K. Babraj, *The Polish Army Military Museum in the Near East*, *Materiały Archeologiczne* XXVII, 2 (1994), pp. 5-7, and J. Śliwa, *Archeologiczna pasja Jarosława Sagana*, *Meander* 51 (1996), pp. 309-315.

¹¹ Other sizes: horns span 15 cm, elbows span 14 cm, plinth height 3,8 cm.

¹² Only some of statues (mainly Osiris) have certain details decorated with precious stones or metals. Sometimes eyes have been incrustated, statues have been covered with golden or silver thin sheet; one item depicts a statue holding whip model made of bronze and carnelian – cf. Budge, *Mummy*, p. 382 – statue from the British Museum collection (no. EA 9861) belonging to Hunefer, and C. A. Hope, *A Head of Nefertiti and a Figure of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris in the National Gallery of Victoria*, *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, Melbourne 24 (1983), pp. 47, 53 – fig. N.G.V.D 96.1982 – golden and silver sheet.

¹³ G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, Berlin 1956, pl. 1c, 3d-g; most often wooden Osiris statues have Upper Egyptian hand position (crossed). The Middle Egyptian position can be seen at Anhai statue in British Museum (no. EA 20868) and statue no. 64 from Zagreb – cf.

Type: II (the development-period of 19th–22nd Dynasties)¹⁴. Workshop: Middle Egypt¹⁵.

2. THE PTAH-SOKAR-OSIRIS STATUETTE (FIG. 2)

Archaeological Museum in Cracow, Inv. No. MAK/AS/1500.

The statue probably comes from Tadeusz Smoleński's excavations in el-Gamhud in 1907. However it is not exactly certified that this and the following statue are the ones mentioned by T. Smoleński and A. Kamal in their reports¹⁶. Some facts related to creating the collection in the present Archaeological Museum may suggest the necropolis in el-Hibeh placed on the opposite bank of the river Nile¹⁷.

Height: 55 cm¹⁸.

Budge, *Mummy*, p. 383, and J. Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, Paris 1970, p. 62. The described statue is supposed to come from Tuna el-Gebel (Hermopolis Magna) which would confirm that this interpretation is right. However it should be indicated that bronze statues had another destination, which may influence on differences in decoration and manufacture of some important details.

¹⁴ Cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, pp. 260–263, Aston, *Two Osiris Figures*, pp. 102, 106–107. The described statue may come from the period of the end of New Kingdom or the beginning of Third Intermediate Period – cf. similar Osiris statues – wooden with analogical hand position. Cf. also *Ägyptische Kunst. Auktion 46, 28 April 1972*, Münzen und Medailien A. G. Basel, p. 23 – no. 93.

¹⁵ G. Roeder, *op. cit.*, pos. 219, p. 172, and idem, *Die Arme der Osiris – Mumie*, [in:] O. Firchow, *Ägyptologische Studien*, Berlin 1955, pp. 248–286.

¹⁶ K. Babraj. H. Szymańska, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–11, cat. 29; and J. Pilecki, *Działalność naukowo-badawcza Tadeusza Smoleńskiego w dziedzinie archeologii egipskiej*, *Archeologia X* (1958), p. 234, T. Smoleński, *Austro-węgierskie wykopaliska w Górnym Egipcie 1907 roku*, *Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie XII* (1907) no. 6. p. 20, A. Kamal, *Fouilles à Gamhoud*, *ASAE* 9 (1908), pp. 8–30; one shall pay attention to the fact that the item is significantly different in style than the statue, which currently is in Budapest, coming also from T. Smoleński's excavations in el-Gamhud – cf. E. Varga, *Statues funéraires en bois dans la Collection Égyptienne de Budapest*, *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux – Arts* 83, 1995, p. 19.

¹⁷ As we relate to workshop in el-Hibeh, where probably this and the following (no. 3) statues from Archaeological Museum were made, we shall also mention that during his excavations in Egypt T. Smoleński visited el-Hibeh in 1908 – cf. J. Śliwa, *Tadeusz Smoleński und die österreichisch-ungarischen Ausgrabungen in Sharuna und Gamhud (1907–1908)*, *Studia Aegyptiaca XVII*, Budapest 2002, pp. 435–442. Moreover, in 1912 Herman Junker managed also excavations in el-Hibeh. Some of the findings were given to Cracow Academy of Sciences (Akademia Umiejętności) – cf. K. Stachowska, *Wkład Akademii Umiejętności w początki polskich badań wykopaliskowych w Egipcie w latach 1906–1914*, *Rocznik Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie* vol. 18, 1972, p. 121 and B. Muhs, *Text and objects from el-Hibeh* – <http://neareastern.berkeley.edu/hibeh/references.htm>.

¹⁸ Other sizes: rounded plinth – width 6,8 cm, length 6,3 cm, height 1,5 cm, base – width 7,2

Wood, remaining of some humble polychrome (dark red face and disc in crown model, striped crown feathers, black wig and beard, red and black schematic depiction of a necklace, probably remaining of golden paint on the crown). Lime ground. The base slightly damaged.

Comment:

The statues from el-Hibeh are the most complete group with red or pink coloured face and stripped feathers in the crown model. The statues are dated for Saite Period according to different features (decoration, inscription, proportion). On the other hand some statues with the same face colouring are dated for the Ptolemaic Period, according to definitely Ptolemaic details (illegible and negligent inscriptions, sarcophagus model, similarity of face features to cartonage Roman-Greek masks). Other features of the described statue such as: intended rough decoration, simple body shape and base do not deliver more information about the time and place the statue may come from; many Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues had such characteristic. Some of them are not exactly dated and do not have defined provenance. However, by analyzing their appearance and comparing them to other richly decorated, inscribed and shaped statues, allows assuming that these items were produced by workshops for poorer society groups. The broader studies over the statues of the same type may confirm the thesis about mass production of the statues and in the same way lower quality of their workmanship and rough decoration.

Type: "Miscellaneous", Saite or Presaite Period (25th–26th Dynasties)¹⁹. Workshop: el-Hibeh²⁰.

-8,2 cm (front – back), length 25 cm, height 4,5 cm.

¹⁹ Cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, pp. 271–273.

²⁰ Ibid p. 271–272; see similar statues with pink faces coming from el-Hibeh – G. Botti, *Le casse di mumie e i sarcofagi da el Hibeh nel Museo Egizio di Firenze*, ATS 9 (1958), nos. 194–195, 198–199, 207–208, 210–211; K. Babraj and H. Szymańska post them as type III – cf. K. Babraj, H. Szymańska, *op. cit.*, cat. 29. However, disregarding assignment to any type the significant fact is correlation with workshop in el-Hibeh and the Saite Period. The type "Miscellaneous" consists of statues of different colours and attributes which were made probably in relation to local traditions and customs, produced in defined places not in the whole Egypt from Presaite Period to the late Ptolemaic times. Among classified to this group of statues by M. J. Raven there are numerous elements, which are stylistically (especially in shape and proportions) settled in the art of Saite Period and in the same way similar to the type III – cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 271–273. About difficulties with typology of statuettes, especially III-type cf. Ch. Müller-Hazenbos, *Eine Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statuette* [in:] C. B. Arnst, I. Hafemann, A. Lohwasser, *Begegnungen Antike Kulturen in Niltal. Festgabe für E. Endesfelder*; K. H. Priese, W. F. Reineke, S. Wenig, Leipzig 2001, pp. 365–372.

3. THE PTAH-SOKAR-OSIRIS STATUETTE (FIG. 3)

Archaeological Museum in Cracow Inv. No. MAK/AS/1501.

The statue probably, as the previous one, comes from the T. Smoleński's excavations in el-Gamhud in 1907, however it is also not sure if the T. Smoleński's and A. Kamal's reports refer to exactly this item²¹. As in the previous case some facts may indicate that it comes from the necropolis in el-Hibeh²².

Height: 58 cm²³.

Wood, remaining of some humble polychrome (dark red face, crown model with stripped feather, red disc with black bordure, black horns and a wig, black and red schematic depiction of a necklace, below remaining of more polychrome). Lime ground. Attempts of body modeling (knee notch, tibia bump, feet notch). A pillar in the back, the base unpreserved.

Comment:

As it was previously mentioned, the statues from el-Hibeh are characterized mainly by red (pink) coloured faces, stripped crown model and are dated for the Saite Period²⁴. The statue has a slightly protruding back pillar, modeled body, plinth merged with feet and face with large eyes surrounded with a wig. One shall pay special attention to intended, rough, humble, only double-coloured (black and red) polychrome and schematic decorations (wide and simple pattern for the necklace). The statue was probably previously settled on a high base. All these features may indicate that the statue was a lower quality product with very rough decorations and simplified patterns and was probably dedicated for poorer deceased²⁵.

Type: "Miscellaneous", Saite Period or later²⁶. Workshop: el-Hibeh²⁷.

²¹ See statuette no. 2.

²² See statuette no. 2.

²³ Other sizes: horns span 12,2 cm, back pillar height 25,5 cm, plinth (merged with feet) width 6,3 cm, irregular shank (for fitting in unpreserved base) height 5,2 – 4,5 cm (back – front).

²⁴ Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 272.

²⁵ It shall be indicated that statues, which come probably from the same place often differ in the quality even though they have mutual source – compare further with the list in Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, pp. 291-292.

²⁶ The face expression and features as well as protruding back pillar indicated that the item was rather made in the end of the Saite Period or even in later times. The attempts of calf modeling in the back are typical for sarcophagus from the Saite Period – cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 265.

²⁷ See statuette no. 2.

4. THE PTAH-SOKAR-OSIRIS STATUETTE FROM THE PRIVATE COLLECTION (FIG. 4)

Antiquarian purchase, unpublished.

Height: 34 cm²⁸.

Wood, no polychrome. A protruding plinth and shank for body fitting in unpreserved base. Crown unpreserved (a hole in the head for fitting). The distinctive face features with clearly noticeable details such as beard and a wig. The front made in detail, the back - schematically. Attempts of shaping the back body proportions and marking anatomic details (narrowing of thighs and over feet).

Comment:

The only objects indicating similar features, of course only in terms of shape and proportions, are the statues from Museum of Fine Arts and Archeology in Besançon and Museum in Zagreb, both of these statues are classified to the type IV, according to the remained polychrome²⁹. The French statue has very similar shapes and proportion, however shows more detailed workshop. The Croatian item has similar characteristics, however its proportions are more slender and better depicted (calf bulge, narrowing near the knee area). The Cracow statue, in comparison to the other two shows some similarities, but during further analysis of the shape and anatomical details some considerable differences are visible. The described statue has rather significantly transformed anthropoid features of sarcophagus from the Saite Period such as wide proportions, stern face expression, massive wig, highly and protruding buttocks (here – cuts), wide legs with protruding calves and a plinth. Definitely, all these features are not clearly represented here, however their influence is clearly visible.

Type: III, Late Period (Saite Period)³⁰.

²⁸ Other sizes: maximum armspan 8,5 cm, plinth height 1,4 cm, sides (rounded) about 5,5 – 5,9 cm, shank height about 3,2 cm, head hole for crown depth 1,8 cm.

²⁹ *Loin du Sable. Collection égyptiennes du Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'archéologie de Besançon*, 1990, no. 66 – the cavity in the body; J. Monnet Saleh, *op. cit.*, p. 60 – item 52.

³⁰ Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, pp. 263-266, Aston, *Two Osiris Figures*, pp. 102-103, 106-107. The lack of back pillar, the presence of the plinth and the detailed front, suggests that the statue was made under influence of the statues of the III type, mainly those which come from the period before the direct influences of the Saite sculpture. Unfortunately, little can be said about the place where the item was made.

5. THE PTAH-SOKAR-OSIRIS STATUETTE FOR HAPIMEN (FIG. 5)

The Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Inv. No. XI-484.

The statuette probably comes from the excavations at the Akhmim necropolis bought in Egypt, 1884³¹.

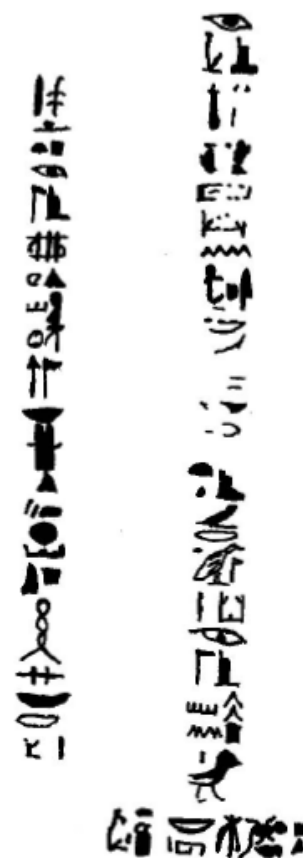
Height: 70 cm³².

Wood, preserved polychromy together with decoration (golden face, a blue, massive wig and crown, well developed colourful necklace garlanded with hawks' heads of the type *wsh n bik*, body colour – dark brown). Slightly modeled rear part of the body. Preserved base with dominant red colour, cavity without a plate. The inscription covers one front column of the body, one column on the back pillar and ends on the rear side of the plinth.

Comment:

The hieroglyphic signs, comprising simple offering formula are “blurred” as they were written with broad “pen”. Moreover, often in the formula the feminine inflectional endings were omitted which is characteristic for the late periods of Egyptian script, especially in the most popular texts.

The owner of the statue had a very popular name in the Ptolemaic Period – Hapimen (*Hp-mnw*), which might be translated as “Apis lasts” (or “Apis is the lasting one”)³³. The inscription does not mention anything about the profession, function or the origins of the deceased. The inscription of the father's name is however unsure, as opposed to the mother's name – *Hnm.t* – who had also a popular Egyptian name, known since the Middle Kingdom³⁴.



³¹ K. Moczulska, J. Śliwa, *Identyfikacja zabytków egipskich ze zbiorów Czartoryskich z wykazami zakupów z lat 1884-1885*, ZNUJ Prace Archeologiczne, CCLXXXII issue 14, 1972, p. 88 – apart from price and a short description of the item the place of its origin was also given – Chemmis; cf. H. Szymańska, *Gromadzenie zabytków egipskich dla zbiorów krakowskich*, ibid, pp. 109-110.

³² Other sizes: horns (broken) 20 cm, armspan (maximum) 10,5 cm, base: length 37 cm, width 13,5 cm, height 6,7 cm, cavity sizes around 6 x 10 cm, depth 5,5 cm.

³³ PN I 237,13.

³⁴ Mother's name - cf. PN I 276,17, father's name (?) – cf. similar variant - PN I 103,14.

It is difficult to establish the content of the cavity in the base; their sizes and placement indicate that it was used as a store for fragments of corn mummy or similar substance.

Type: IVC, Ptolemaic Period³⁵. Workshop: Akhmim³⁶.

6. THE PTAH-SOKAR-OSIRIS STATUETTE FOR PRIEST MEREF THE SON OF PRIEST NESMIN (FIG. 6)

The Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Inv. No. XI-485.

The statue like the previous one comes from Akhmim and was bought in 1884³⁷.

Height: 60 cm³⁸.

Wood, preserved polychrome with rich decorations (golden face, dark blue horns, remains of crown model, beard and wig, developed colourful necklace of type *wsh n bik*, dark brown body). Polychromed and decorated base with frieze on side (signs *nh*, *w3s*, *nb*). Sarcophagus model decorated (frieze with symbols *dd* and *ti.t*, figurative scene – depiction of a ram in a boat with protruding anatomical details and a scarab in a boat against a sun background). Sarcophagus model headed with a model of a small worshiping hawk with a disc. In the corners of sarcophagus 4 small holes – remaining of fittings for decorative elements. In the base probably small cavity (underneath the sarcophagus model), the second cavity in the body, at the rear part of the wig. The inscription covers one front column, one rear (pillar), all 4 sides of plinth and is written in hieroglyphic cursive.

Comment:

By comparing some of the statues with the sarcophagus model we may reconstruct the complete picture of the Cracow statue³⁹. It may be assumed that in the corners of the sarcophagus there used to be small models of hawks with miniature discs or birds with human heads – symbols of the soul “ba”. Such icono-

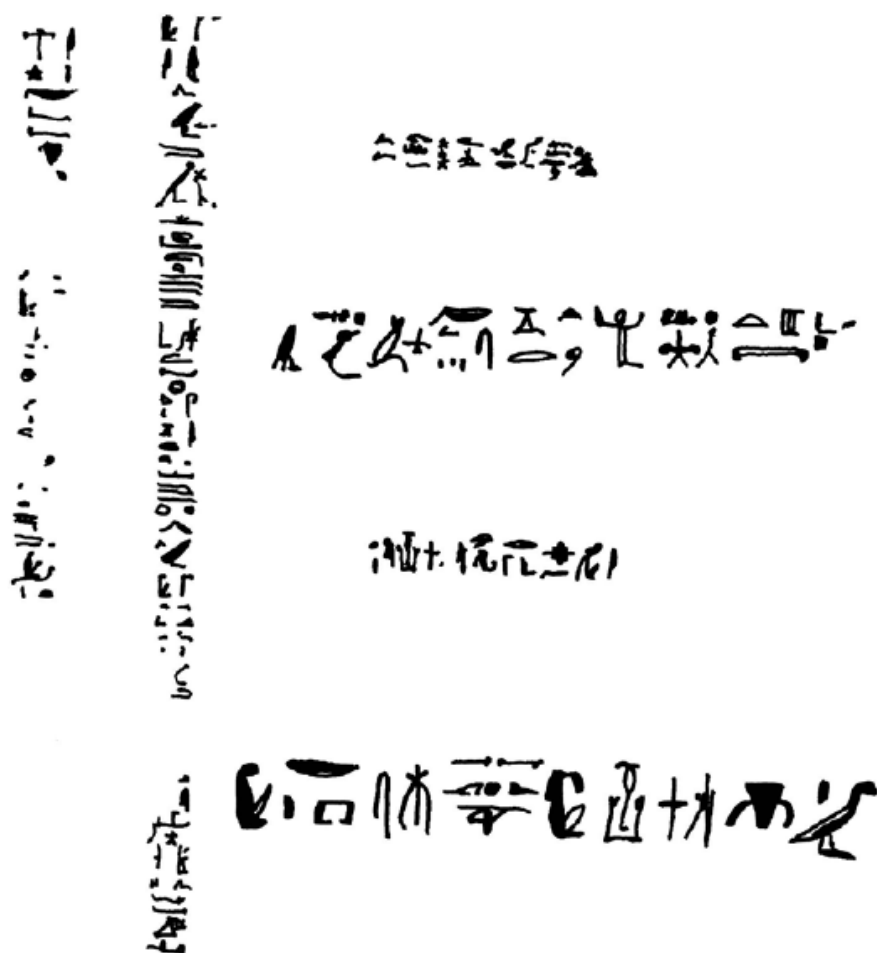
³⁵ Cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 267.

³⁶ The dark red colouring of the body and its slenderness are according to E. Wallis Budge features of items coming from Akhmim, and the place and history of purchase of the item can only confirm its provenance – cf. Budge, *Mummy*, p. 384. Moreover it shall be indicated that the massive wig of the statue remains of wigs of sarcophagus from the Ptolemaic Period.

³⁷ K. Moczulska, J. Śliwa, *op. cit.*, p. 88, apart from price there is also a short item description and place of origin – Chemmis – cf. H. Szymańska, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

³⁸ Other sizes: horns span 24,5 cm, plinth height 3,7 cm, base: length 42,5 cm, width 13 cm, height 3,5 cm; sarcophagus model: length 16,8 cm, width 8 cm, height 8 cm; cavity in the rear of the wig: length 12 cm, width 3 cm.

³⁹ Ch. Ziegler, *Der Louvre. Die Ägyptische Sammlung*, Paris 1992, p. 81; Budge, *Mummy*, il. XXVI – fig. no. EA18162, probably misdated for XXVI Dynasty.



graphical solutions may be confirmed also by the depiction of the rectangular sarcophagi, characteristic for tombs from the times of 22nd/23rd Dynasties⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ A. Niwiński, *Sarg NR - SpZt* [in:] LÄ V 449-450, pic. 14 – so-called “pillar sarcophagus” – ; cf. G. Wenzel, [in:] Ch. Tietze, *Die Pyramide. Geschichte - Entdeckung - Faszination*, Weimar - Berlin 1990, p. 178 fig. IV 20 – the statue with a simple sarcophagus model being definitely different in iconography of this type of statues is dated for the Late Period. The interesting iconographic issue of the Cracow statue is depiction of a ram in a green boat with protruding anatomical details – horns, penis and tail together with a depiction of a black scarab in a circle also in a green boat on the sarcophagus model. This motif depicts the permeating of the popular from the end of the New Kingdom idea of solar eschatology – equating each deceased with wandering, immortal sun. Definitely the artist was inspired by papyrus with the texts of the Books of the Underworld and depicted it on the statue, closely related to the Osiris eschatology. We cannot forget that some of the statues had papyrus with the texts of the Books of the Underworld hidden in their cavities, cf. e.g. J. F. Quack, *Ein Unterweltbuch der solar-osirianischen Einheit?*, *Die Welt des Orients* 35, 2006, pp. 22-47.

An important item – more technical rather than iconographical is a cavity in the rear part of the wig – with longitude shape, covered with a probably unpreserved missing panel⁴¹. This kind of cavity, with still unclear destination is characterized by a little amount of statues with different iconographical details⁴². The main part of the inscription is the hymn, often connected with this kind of statues⁴³. The whole text presenting the owner did not fit on the designated surface therefore the writer had to resign from the “grand scale” and the elegance of the signs and had to write the ending with the mother’s name squeezed on the border of the rear side of the plinth. Also the negligent localization of, probably the name of the deceased, written as if additionally, which becomes more apparent when comparing to carefully written signs of the priest title is very protruding. Unfortunately, the translation of the names both the owner of the statue and his mother are unsure⁴⁴. The most substantial feature of this statue is connection of family of deceased with priesthood. This connection is evident in the father’s name of the deceased – Nesmin (*Ns-Mnw*), which may be translated as “he belongs to Min”⁴⁵. This name was especially popular in the Ptolemaic Period and numerous important nobles had the name⁴⁶. Among them some had relationships with priest offices⁴⁷.

⁴¹ There are known rare items of statues with two cavities, which may suggest the different content of the cavities – cf. E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Dead...*, p. LXXVI - LXXVIII and I. E. S. Edwards, *A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collection in the British Museum*, London 1971, pp. 157-158.

⁴² Connecting this type of cavity to one workshop is rather problematic; more reasonable solution could be searching for the reasons of this custom in the sphere of symbols and function of the statues – cf. e.g. M. Gabolde, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63 pos. 033.

⁴³ Cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 277. In the discussed text, comparing it with M. J. Raven’s translation, there is omitted the beginning with the introduction, the middle with the epithet “The Lord of the Thinite nome” and the ending, reaching straightly to presenting the deceased. In some of the fragments there appear words, which rarely are used in this context on the examined statues, among them the most important epithet “emerging from the waters of Elephantine”.

⁴⁴ Owner’s name *Mr(f)* might be a name or a part of the name of the function of the deceased – cf. PN I 155,11-14, 158,3 and Wb II 94. Mother’s name – *Nskw* – unsure translation – cf. PN I 174,11 and I 82,7-19.

⁴⁵ PN I 176,12 and II 356; there is also possible translation of *Dhwty-Mnw* (Thoth-Min – cf. PN I 407) consisting of the name of two gods worshiped especially in Akhmim. About the names consisting of two gods names – cf. PN II, pp. 247-248. Finally it can be assumed that the name is simple „Min” (*Mnw*) – cf. PN I 151-152 or the name has cryptographical character of a writing – cf. J. J. Clère, *Le Papyrus de Nesmin*, 1987, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Cf. M. T. Derchain-Urtel, *Thot a Akhmim* [in:] *Hommages à François Daumas*, Montpellier 1986, p. 176, or Nesmin’s papyrus – cf. J. J. Clère, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-5 and E. A. W. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1910, *passim*.

⁴⁷ Cf. J. J. Clère, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-5 – the owner of the Nesmin’s papyrus from British Museum, coming from the excavations of Akhmim in 1881 – 1885, (similar provenance, cryptographi-

The owner of the statue also inherited the priest title related closely to Akhmim and Min and Thoth cult after his father⁴⁸. This title consists of three priest functions. The first function *sm3(w)tj* was related to maintenance of the god's statues, participating in magical rituals and ceremonies, funerals and funeral cult⁴⁹. C. A. Hope connects this title especially with Min cult, which was strongly worshiped in Akhmim and area⁵⁰. The second function – *imi-is* is probably the office related to funerals only⁵¹. Similar tasks resulted mainly because of the third function – *hsk3*, related to the Osiris cult and to Akhmim⁵². The whole title which the shared both the statue owner and his father is characteristic for priests from Akhmim from the Ptolemaic Period and shows close relationship to the Min cult⁵³.

Type: IVC, Ptolemaic Period⁵⁴. Workshop: Akhmim⁵⁵.

cal character of name writing and similar priest functions). The name of Nesmin appears also on the papyrus with the Book of the Dead of Djed-Hor from Akhmim – now in Pelizaeus-Museum (Inv. No. 5248) – cf. E. Lüddeckens (ed.), *Ägyptische Handschriften*, Teil 4 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 19), Stuttgart 1994, cat.-no. 306; cf. also the mummy of Nesmin, son of Ankh-hap, from Akhmim – P.H.K. Gray and Dorothy Slow; *Egyptian Mummies in the City of Liverpool Museums*, 1968.

⁴⁸ H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im Ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*, Leiden-Köln 1953, pp. 278, 305, 306, 308, and M. T. Derchain-Urtel, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-176.

⁴⁹ *sm3(w)tj* – (stolist) – priest of statue cult responsible for their clothing and maintenance – cf. G. Vittmann, *Stolist*, [in:] LÄ VI 63-65; related to the kings cult, clothing and official responsibilities suggests etymological analysis – cf. Wb III 447-452; also cf. W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Leipzig und Berlin 1905, I p. 83 and S. Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte*, Paris 1962, p. 61; transcription *sm3tj* – cf. S. Hodjash, O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow 1982*, nos 136-140 and Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 269.

⁵⁰ C. A. Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 60 footnote 10; cf. also H. Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, IFAO, Cairo 1931, pp. 39-51.

⁵¹ cf. Wb I 73 – literally “the one in the grave”; C. A. Hope claims that the priests with this title were related to the cult of Shu and Tefnut – cf. C. A. Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 60 - footnote 10.

⁵² cf. Wb III 159, 164 – literally “the one that praises ka”; the priest of Osiris, in the Late Period additional title for priests from Akhmim, earlier confirmed the relationship with Abydos.

⁵³ M. T. Derchain-Urtel, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁵⁴ Cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 267.

⁵⁵ This provenance is indicated also by iconographical features and the inscription related to the owner, his family and priest functions. The slender shape and dark red colour of the body as well as placing the cavity in the rear of the wig are these features, which according to E. Wallis Budge are characteristic for the statues from Akhmim – cf. Budge, *Mummy*, p. 384. This is also confirmed by the priest functions held by the owner and his father. All the parts of the priest title, especially functions and are related to Akhmim; and the whole title was characteristic for the place and actually limited to people connected with worshiped there Min, Thot and Osiris – cf. M. T. Derchain-Urtel, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-180. The sarcophagus model may confirm the dating of the item for the Ptolemaic Period, because according to M. J. Raven this kind of covering for the cavity was actually limited to the statues which definitely are dated

7. THE PTAH-SOKAR-OSIRIS STATUETTE FOR TASHERITMIN (FIG. 7)

The Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Inv. No. XI-991.

The statue was purchased during one of the prince W. Czartoryski's stay in Egypt in 1890 from a middleman (on a bazaar?) near Luxor or Cairo or in Alexandria⁵⁶. Unpublished.

Height: 65 cm⁵⁷.

Wood, preserved polychrome with decoration (dark blue crown model with broken horns, the body covered with net mummy pattern, colorful necklace of type *wsh n bik*). In the rear and on the side visible delicate modeling of protruding buttocks and knees. In the base a small cavity closed with a panel with a model of a hawk (*hm*). The model of the bird is covered with net mummy pattern and a necklace with counterweight "menat" and a model of crown in a shape of ostrich feathers and disc. On the side frieze of symbols *nb*, *nh*, *w3s*, *wd3t* and *nfr*. The inscription covers the front column, one rear (pillar) and continues on five columns on the top of the base; written in careful, clear hieroglyphic signs.

Comment:

The statue stands out mainly because of the net pattern covering all the body and the hawk model⁵⁸. Among the similar items we shall mention the statue from the Swiss private collection with a precise pearl net pattern, in which elements resemble of drops in shape⁵⁹. This statue is dated according to

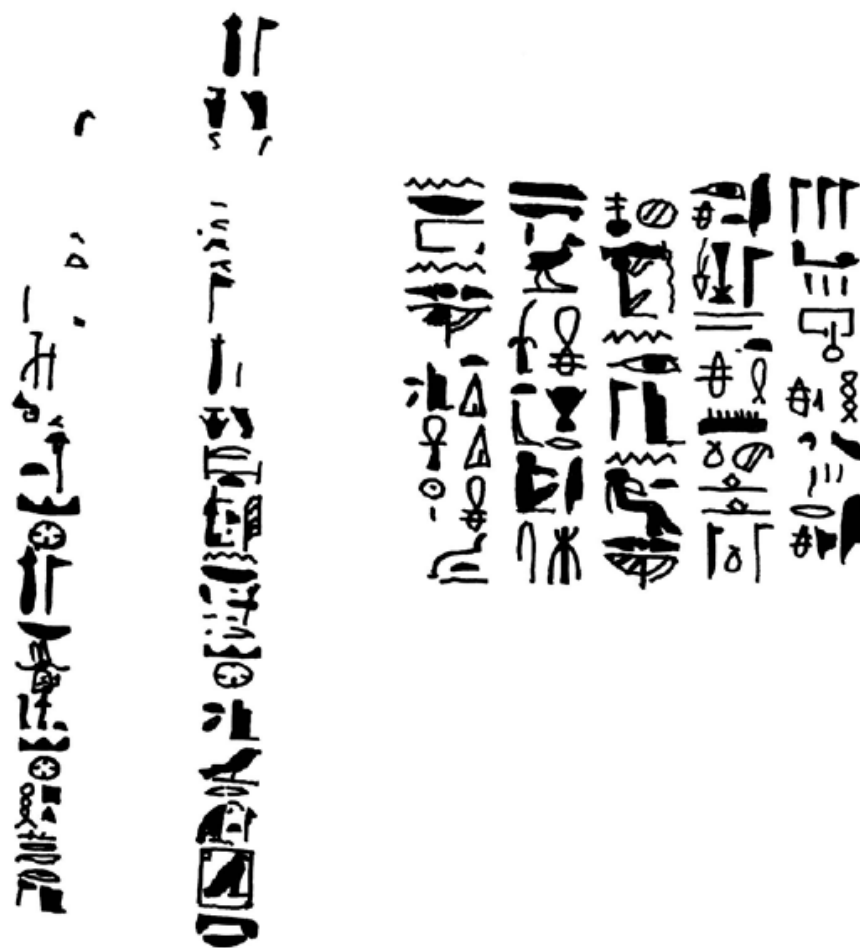
for this period – cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 270, footnote 147. Similarly the presence of the text of the hymn and the kind of the signs of hieroglyphic cursive may also confirm the chronology.

⁵⁶ The further source of information about the purchase might be prince Władysław Czartoryski's letters.

⁵⁷ Other sizes: maximum armspan 9 cm, crown span (broken horns) 17 cm, plinth height 1,5 cm, base: height 7,7 cm, length 35,5 cm, width 13,4 cm; hawk model height 11,7 cm, plate length 12 cm, cavity depth 3,4 – 3,7 cm.

⁵⁸ This motif was popular in cartonage iconography and sarcophagus of the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period; definitely was as depiction of the real mummy net made of delicate fabrics and decorated with amulets, precious stones, often also with "pearls" made of Egyptian faience – cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 285, H. Sternberg, *Mumie. Mumienhülle - binden - netz*, [in:] LÄ IV 213-216, C. B. Arnst, *Vernetzung zur Symbolik des Mumiennetzes*, [in:] M. Fitzenreiter, Ch. E. Loeben, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-93.

⁵⁹ V. Hübner, *Eine Osiris-Statuette aus Schweizer Privatbesitz*, GM 74 (1984), pp. 32, 37. Other examples of the statues with mummy net – cf. Ch. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 81, A. M. Donadoni Roveri, *Museo Egizio Torino*, 1990, p. 35, N. Landa, I. Lapis, *Egyptian antiquities in the Hermitage*, Leningrad 1974, no. 139, S. Donadoni, S. Curto, A. M. Donadoni Roveri, *Egypt from Myth to Egyptology*, 1990, p. 209, A. Schweitzer, C. Traunecker, *Strasbourg. Musée archéologique. Antiquités égyptiennes de la collection G. Schlumberger*, 1998, pp. 24-25, pic. 13, *Loin du Sable ...*, p. 70, pic. 68.



the pattern from the period after 26th Dynasty to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period (most probably IV century BC).

The inscription consists of the offering formula together with gods' callings from the Osiris circle and presenting the owner along with his family. The owner is a woman called – *T3-šri.t(n.t)-mn.w* (Tasheritmin), which may be translated as “Min’s daughter”⁶⁰. Unfortunately, the father’s name is difficult to reconstruct⁶¹. But the translation of the mother’s name is more probable – the

⁶⁰ PN I 369,3. As popular name in the Ptolemaic Period it represents a later version of the previous forms like *T3-s3.t-mnw* etc. Words like *šri* (son)/*šri.t* (daughter) are synonyms with the same meaning popular especially in the names of the New Kingdom – cf. PN II, pp. 243–244.

⁶¹ Cf. PN II 312,14.

function relates to Min and the name to Isis. The name is *T3-di(t)-3st* (Ta-di-aset) and might be translated as “The one gifted by the Isis”⁶². Calling for Isis was very popular among feminine names and examples of such complete forms come also from the Late Period. Some attention shall be also paid to Min’s role in the family – he is mentioned in the name of the owner of the statue and probably her mother was also functionally related to the Min’s cult (the title *n nb(.t) pr n Mnw* – the Lady in the Min’s house). In this direction further studies may be developed which can describe for example the localization and the function of the owner and in the same way the origins of the statue⁶³. In the end we may assume that the cavity regarding its sizes contained fragments of corn mummy or a substance of similar organic content.

Type: IVC, Ptolemaic Period⁶⁴.

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⁶² PNI 372,13 also 14 *T3-di(t)-3st-nh* this version cannot be excluded; in the inscription there is lacking the pointing pronoun „this” — *t3*.

⁶³ This may refer to the Min’s temple – cult circle which may be indicated by the centres: Coptos (Qift), Akhmim or Thebes (cult of Amun-Min; the celebration of Min of agricultural and royal character). The last of the mentioned centres should be the most probable and considered one.

⁶⁴ The net pattern connects the item with other similar objects listed as a sub-group of a sub-type IVC – cf. Raven, *Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*, p. 267.



1. Cat. No. 1



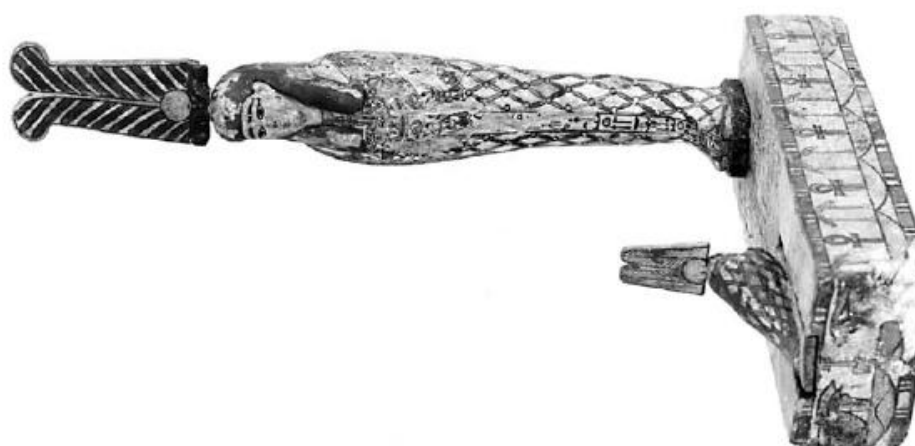
2. Cat. No. 2



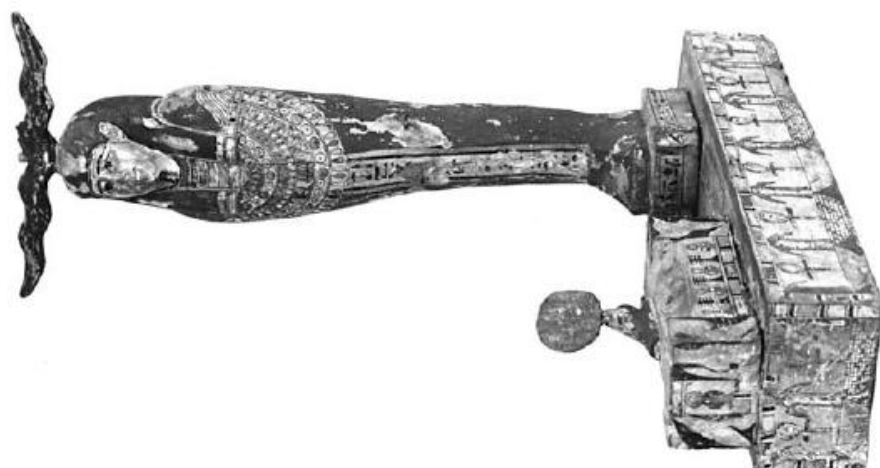
3. Cat. No. 3



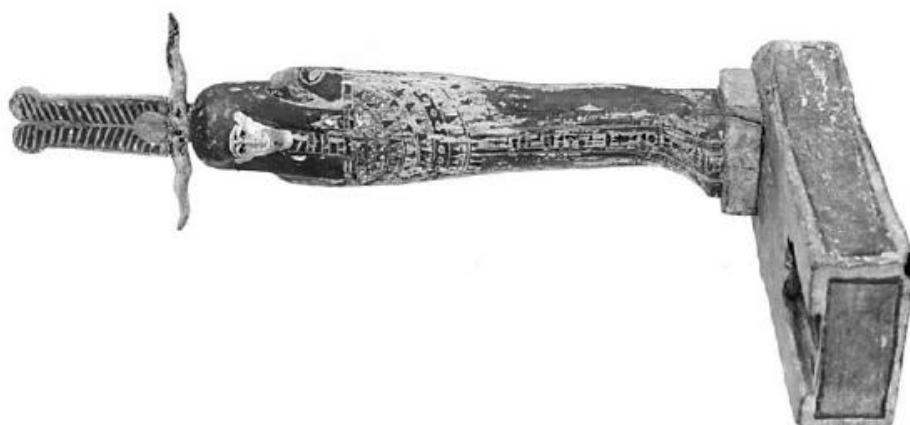
4. Cat. No. 4



7. Cat. No. 7



6. Cat. No. 6



5. Cat. No. 5

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AKHENATEN'S MONOTHEISM
IN THE LIGHT OF DISCOVERIES FROM
THE AMARNA WORKMEN'S VILLAGE

Over the course of many years of Amarna research the fundamental idea of Akhenaten's religious revolution has been a subject of much scholar debate. The question laying at the very foundation of these studies was whether the cult of Aten during that relatively short period of time was monotheistic, or whether it was in fact henotheistic, that is based on worshipping a single god while accepting the existence (or possible existence) of other deities. This subject often causes emotional and exaggerated reactions among many scholars, chiefly due to the fact that if Akhenaten's monotheism could be proved, it would make him one of the earliest propagators of this conception in the world, a predecessor of both Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Supporting this thesis, Herman Schlögl calls the pharaoh "a creator of the first monotheism in the history of mankind"¹. Although the idea seems very appealing, some researchers believe that there simply never was enough evidence to ultimately prove this thesis, with too many undermining questions pointing in fact to henotheism. Some new finds from the excavations and works of the Egypt Exploration Society in the Amarna Workmen's Village² are yet another contribution to the henotheism thesis and will be further discussed hereafter.

Except from the short period of Akhenaten's reign, Aten was never a chief member of the Egyptian pantheon and had it not been for the „heretic” pharaoh he would certainly be considered a secondary deity today. It is however untrue that the god was nonexistent among the Egyptians before this time and

¹ Schlögl H., *Das Alte Ägypten: Geschichte und Kultur von der Frühzeit bis zu Kleopatra*, München 2006, p. 225-240.

² Kemp B., Weatherhead F., *The Main Chapel at the Amarna Workmen's Village and its wall paintings*, EES Excavation Memoir 85, London 2007.

although he certainly obtained exceptional status in Amarna, his cult had also flourished quite independently before Amenhotep IV ruled from his desert city. Many scholars have proved that the term Aten first appeared as early as the Middle Kingdom, at that time signifying the sun disc, as E. A. Wallis Budge pointed out quite early in the history of Amarna studies³. Further connotations to this word appeared in the New Kingdom, especially in the 18th dynasty, when the term Aten was used to describe a „place” or „throne” of the sun disc, and – as Jan Assmana noticed on the basis of his studies of 18th dynasty texts – the word was written with the hieroglyphic sign for „god”, since the Egyptians would often personify some expressions. As a result the word Aten became directly associated with the concept of god, which led to becoming an immediate manifestation of the sun⁴. Sayed Tawfik also pointed out that the term Aten had four meanings: a disc; the sun as a heavenly body; a place where solar gods manifest; and finally the name of a deity, the final meaning appearing during the 18th dynasty and later. Along numerous examples of objects inscribed with the name of Aten we should mention the stela of King Ahmose where the King is regarded “as Aten [when he] shines” and the Horus name of Thutmose I, namely „who emerges from Aten”⁵. Another examples were given by Cyril Aldred, who noticed that during the reign of Thutmose IV Aten was considered a god of battles⁶, as well as Donald B. Redford, who writes that during the 18th Dynasty the word Aten was sometimes a synonym for Ra or Amun-Ra⁷.

Having established that Aten was a member of the Egyptian pantheon before the reign of Akhenaten, we must conclude that he had a cult of his own and furthermore, that it was very unlikely, if not impossible, that at the

³ Wallis Budge E.A., *Tutankhamen: Amenism, Atenism and Egyptian Monotheism*, London, 1923, p. 79.

⁴ Assmann J., *Aton* [in:] *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden, 1975, vol. 1:526-540. Assman has also written numerous works on Amarna religion, tracing the monotheism of Moses back to that of king Akhenaten. Cf. *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, Cambridge, 1997, and *Of God and Gods: Egypt, Israel, and the Rise of Monotheism* (George L. Mosse Series In Modern European Cultural & Intellectual History), Madison, 2008.

⁵ Tawfik S., *Aton Studies I: Aton Before the Reign of Akhenaton*, MDAIK XXIX (1973) p. 77. This work also cites contradictory theories and is a good source on opposition to Aten being a pre-18th dynasty god.

⁶ Aldred C., *Akhenaten: Pharaoh of Egypt – a New Study*, London, 1968, p.166. Aten is mentioned as a god of battles on a scarab of Thutmose IV, with an inscription saying “the King fought with the Aton before him...in order to serve the Aton forever” (Tawfik S., *Aton Studies I...*, p. 78-9).

⁷ Redford D., *The Sun-disc in Akhenaten's Program: Its Worship and Antecedents I*, JARCE vol. XIII (1976), p. 50.

time that cult had monotheistic foundations. A fine example of Aten's original place among Egyptian gods is the well known sun hymn of the brothers Suti and Hor, which praises Amun in many forms, as Ra, Kheperi, Harakhte, Khnum and Aten – it neither denies the existence of other sun gods, nor is Aten the most important among them⁸. Another clear proof of Aten's cult comes from the reign of Amenhotep III, Akhenaten's father, in the name of an official called Penbuy with the title of "scribe of the treasury of the temple of the Aten". According to Alan Gardiner, "it is difficult to interpret this otherwise than as implying that the Aten already received a cult at Thebes"⁹. Albeit we know that Aten has been worshiped prior to the Amarna period as one of the many manifestations of the sun, at the same time we must remember that there has long been an universalist tendency in Egyptian religion fueled by an expansion of the Egyptian empire that took place shortly before Akhenaten's reign. Both Assman with the idea of „New Sun Theology“ and Gardiner proclaiming Egypt's „urge towards monotheism“ claim that Akhenaten's revolution was only to be anticipated as a reflection of a general tendency during the 18th Dynasty¹⁰. The true question, however, is not what the beginnings of Atonism were, but what was the character of its most developer form, as introduced by Amenhotep IV in his capital city. Was it in fact a monotheistic religion relentlessly persecuting other beliefs or was it rather henotheistic, allowing some space for the existence (and perhaps marginal cults) of other deities?

From the beginning of Amenhotep's reign (1382 – 1365 B.C.) it was clear that Aten was a particularly favored god, at the beginning as a manifestation of Re-Harakhty – only later the hawk-headed depiction was abandoned in favor of showing a solar disc (which would finally become one of the most recognizable symbols of Atenism – a disc emitting sun rays ending with human hands, giving the *ankh* sign signifying „life“ to his worshipers). The gods formal name also evolved – at the beginning it was enclosed within two cartouches and translated as "The Living Horus of the two horizons, exalted in the Eastern Horizon in his

⁸ The term used on the famous stela of Suti and Hor containing two sun hymns (inv. no. 826 in the British Museum) is *Jtn n hrw*, which can be translated as „celestial disc of the day“, with *Jtn* also translated as Aten. Some linguists argue that the word *Jtn* occurs here as a metonymy, but all agree that both content and expression closely resemble Akhenaten's famous psalm. Assmann J., *Zwei Sonnenhymnen der späteren XVIII. Dynastie in thebanischen Gräbern der Saitenzeit*, MDAIK XXVII (1971), p. 33.

⁹ Gardiner A., *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction*, Oxford 1961, p.217.

¹⁰ Assman J., *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*, London, 1995, p.16, Gardiner A., *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 216.

name of Shu-who-is-in-the-Disk" by E. A. Wallis Budge¹¹, and as "Re-Harakhty who rejoices in the horizon in his name Shu, who is Aten" by Eric Hornung¹². This trinity of Re-Harakhty, Shu and Aten could also include the pharaoh himself, who's name, Akhenaten, can be translated as „illuminated manifestation of Aten" and who referred to himself as a child of god in one of the most famous pieces of ancient Egyptian literature, the Sun Hymn of Akhenaten:

*Since you founded the world, you rouse them
for your son, who emerged from your body,
the king of the two Egypts, who lives on Maat,
Neferkheperure Waenre,
the son of Re, who lives on Maat,
the lord of diadems, Akhenaten, great in his lifetime [...]*¹³

The same hymn also places the king in the most privileged position – only he is the one that knows the god, only he knows the demands of Aten and only he is a link between his subordinates and the god:

*[...] there is no one else who knows you
except for your son, Neferkheperure Waenre,
whom you have taught your nature and your might [...]*

The pharaoh had the privilege of knowing how to please his god and how to make him listen, which was not available for other worshipers except maybe members of the royal family, that is queen Nefretete and their six daughters, often portrayed with Akhenaten during religious ceremonies (those depictions always feature the king and his family in the central, most prominently visible place, with the god above them). The king was therefore Aten's chief priest, but at the same time he was a subject of worship of his subordinates as a direct link to god, perhaps a manifestation of the god or his aspect. While Aten was often called the „Heavenly Pharaoh", Akhenaten could have been the „earthly god", and – as Donald Redford suggests – a part of Aten's titlature could have referred to the Pharaoh¹⁴. In this way the idea of earthly kingship was trans-

¹¹ Wallis Budge E.A., *Tutankamen: Amenism*, p. 79.

¹² Hornung E., *Akhenaten and the Religion of Light*, New York, 1999, p.34. At the same time Herman Schlögl claims that the new deity was not perceived as the sun disc, but rather as sunlight that radiates from the disc, and therefore the correct pronunciation of the god's name should be „Yati(n)" (Schlögl H., *Aten* [in:] *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2001, vol. 1, p. 157).

¹³ This and the following excerpts from the Sun Hymn of Akhenaten were translated by Erik Hornung (Hornung E., *Akhenaten and the Religion*, p. 83). Akhenaten considers himself a son of both Aten and Re and his throne name, Neferkheperure translates as "Perfect are the manifestations of Re" (translation by Schlögl H., *Das Alte Ägypten*, p. 225-240)

¹⁴ Redford D., *The Sun-disc*, p. 54.

ferred to the religious cult sphere, as the pharaoh became the only 'source' of god's will.

As Akhenaten's beliefs evolved and Aten ascended to the top of the Egyptian pantheon, so did the god's titlature. By year 9 of the Pharaoh's reign he removed the names of Shu and Harakhty from the god's cartouches, where only Aten and Re remained. The new name now read „Live Re, the ruler of the horizon, who rejoices in the horizon in his name Re the father (?), who returns as Aten”¹⁵. Although at first other gods, while diminished by Aten, remained on their former positions, during the later years of Akhenaten's reign persecutions begun against them, which for some researchers are the most convincing argument for the king's monotheism. It is a certain fact that persecutions and acts against the other gods took place, but were they really a sign, as Hornung writes, that „for the first time in history [...] henotheism has been transformed into monotheism”¹⁶? If we look at the Pharaoh's persecutions closely, a visible inconsistency of his actions will strike us as strange in a declared monotheist that some researchers see in him.

The first gods to vanish from Egyptian cults were the ones connected to death and afterlife, namely Osiris and Sokar, with their dark world of the dead banished by the rays of Aten. However it was not the „dark” gods that faced the worst persecution, but another member of the solar pantheon, the god Amun. His name was not only removed from the Pharaoh's titlature, but also erased from his father's on various monuments and inscriptions – sometimes even as far as Nubia. Even the plural „gods” was sometimes avoided and changed to „god”, while „god” was at times changed to „Aten”¹⁷, as if to indicate that the word god was synonymous with Aten and no other. While some researchers believe Akhenaten evolved from henotheism to monotheism and others think he was monotheist from the beginning of the reign, it is certain that for a long time he tolerated or ignored the worship of other gods. H. Schlögl thinks that cult changes introduced by the pharaoh took place in phases, where the first phase was establishing Aten as the highest god of the Egyptian pantheon and the next phase was a step by step elimination of other gods, thus eliminat-

¹⁵ Hornung E., *Akhenaten and the Religion...*, p. 76. Other translations include „Reo ruler of the horizon in his manifestation of Reo, the father, who returns as the Aton” (Tawfik S., *Aton Studies IV: Was Aton – The God of Akhenaten – Only a Manifestation of the God Reo?*, MDAIK XXXII (1976), p. 220) and „the Living One, Sun, Ruler of the Horizon, who rejoices on the horizon in his name, which is Sunlight which comes from the disk” (Schlögl H., *Aten...*, p. 158).

¹⁶ Hornung E., *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt. The One and the Many*, Ithaca, New York 1982, p. 246.

¹⁷ Breasted H., *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, London 1912.

ing henotheism and evolving towards Akhenaten's ultimate goal – monotheism¹⁸. Regardless what the ultimate goal of the pharaoh really was, plenty of evidence also exists that would suggest Akhenaten's persecutive actions to be mainly retaliatory. Since there was much opposition to his reforms from the priesthood of the old gods – and especially Amun – chiefly because he decided to take over a large portion of the temple income, the easiest way to suppress this opposition was to take strict actions against the god himself, which would also deal a sharp blow to the priesthood. This could suggest that his main goal was not wage a war against gods, but to crush his political enemies on earth.

Having dealt a successful blow to the cult of Amun, why didn't he act to swiftly replace it with the cult of Aten? It would seem obvious that he should do all in his power to promote the only true god – especially that he had all the means to do so being king of the country – instead he focused on destroying monuments, but not entire temples or cult centers. The destruction of monuments also does not seem a zealous, uncalculated act, with many omissions and the names of some gods left entirely untouched¹⁹. According to Norman de Garis Davies, the above fact is one of the chief premises to consider Atenism a henotheistic system, something that would arise from the clash of monotheistic beliefs in a polytheistic world²⁰. An interesting archaeological find that may be a contribution to the henotheism thesis is the Main Chapel in the Amarna Workmen's Village, and more specifically its wall decorations, which both in style and topic prove that even directly in Amarna, near the city itself, persecution of the old gods and traditions was not as harsh as it would seem and as many authors argue. A very interesting reconstruction of the chapel itself and its decorations, as presented in a new publication of the Egypt Exploration Society, should be thoroughly analyzed in this respect.

The workmen's village was built on the Amarna plain in a small valley facing south, with a view of the southern cliff, but not the city itself. On the east side of this location a slope rises towards another valley, and that slope was the construction site for many chapels serving the inhabitants of the village, with the Main Chapel situated closest to the settlement. A path leads from the entrance in the walls of the village to the front steps of the chapel. As Weatherhead and Kemp think, „its preferential position points to its status and to the likelihood that the location was early on selected, although this does

¹⁸ Schlögl H., *Das Alte Ägypten*, p. 225-240.

¹⁹ For instance Thot's name was not destroyed and even the Pharaoh's former name, Amenhotep IV, was sometimes left on monuments that were created before he changed his name.

²⁰ Davies N. de G., *Akhenaten at Thebes*, JEA IX (1923), p. 150.

not preclude the possibility that the chapel was rebuilt during its relatively short life"²¹. The fact that the chapel survived in a relatively good condition, despite various attempts of robbers who dug into most of the site, is a lucky coincidence. Most of the site was discovered by Thomas Peet in 1921, during the first season of the Society's excavations in Amarna. He had started his digs up the slope and dumped the excavation spoil just below, on grounds that have not yet been investigated, and only later it luckily turned out that Peet's pile of rubble lay directly atop the Main Chapel, thus protecting it from any intrusions, even from the excavations of his successor, Leonard Wooley. It was not until excavation years 1979-86 that the pile had finally been removed and the Main Chapel had been excavated²².

The Chapel itself stands on a series of shallow terraces, cut to deeper levels as the slope around the building rises towards the east. As works progressed, members of the EES excavation team uncovered a structure larger than the surrounding chapels, consisting of numerous rooms courts. The entire structure was made of mud bricks joined by mud mortar, with some of the walls made of local stones in the lower part and completed with bricks. The main entrance led to the temple through a front court, from which the outer hall could be accessed (a side entrance was also available, leading to the hall through a side court). The outer hall, in a manner typical for traditional Egyptian chapel design, was the only way to enter the inner hall, from where the sanctuary with three alcoves could be reached. A smaller, side chapel could also be accessed from the inner hall. Smaller walled areas surrounded the halls and the sanctuary from both sides (more of them to the right side of the sanctuary than to the left) and from the rear, where a rear corridor had been built. The main structure was symmetrically located around an axis running through both halls and the sanctuary, but the adjoining areas and side structures showed no strict symmetry.

It was not the construction of the chapel, however, that made this discovery so unique, but a series of painted wall decorations uncovered within the struc-

²¹ All the following information regarding the excavations and reconstructions made by the Society in the Workman's Village comes from a recent publication regarding the Chapel (Kemp B., Weatherhead F., *The Main Chapel...*).

²² The excavation number of the object in question, for convenience named the Main Chapel, is Chapel 561 with Annexe 450. The decorated part of the chapel was excavated over seasons 1984-5, while the other, undecorated parts – in 1979 and 1986. For detailed information regarding the works, see Peet T.E., *Excavations at Tell el-'Amarna: a preliminary report*, JEA 7 (1921), p. 179-182; Woolley C.L., *Excavations at Tell el-'Amarna*, JEA 8 (1922), p. 48-60; Kemp B., *The Amarna Workmen's Village in retrospect*, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 73 (1987), p. 21-50, as well as Kemp's preliminary reports on subsequent years of excavations published in „Journal of Egyptian Archaeology“ Nos. 64, 66, 67 and 69.

ture. Before having been painted the walls had been covered with alluvial mud or plaster, and on such foundations either a gypsum white coating or colored designs were applied. In some cases it was not absolutely certain whether a given room had been painted or just whitewashed, since some of the plaster had fallen from the walls and into other rooms. However, due to a painstaking and meticulous effort of the EES team, it was possible to match the pieces of the paintings together. In the course of their research they established that the painted rooms were certainly the Sanctuary corridor, the Inner Hall, most probably also the shrine room in the Side Chapel and the Outer Hall, the latter however is not certain. As a result of the research all the plaster coming from the Main Chapel was recorded and five decorative panels were reconstructed²³.

The most interesting and largest reconstruction comes from the east wall of the Sanctuary, which originally faced the entrance. The entire surface was separated by three sets of doors leading to the shrines, which automatically divided the space available for decoration between three panels above the doorways and two panels separating them. The panels above the side doors feature vultures, while above the central doorway a winged sun disc was depicted – all of them horizontal motifs. Both panels separating the doors on the other hand were decorated with vertical motifs of flowers and plants arranged into what we may call ‘bouquets’ or simply bunches. As a matter of fact, floral designs were prominently employed by the artists of the main Chapel and were often encountered in the entire structure. Each of the east wall panels was separated from the others by a triple line of black, red and white checked pattern of squares running from the bottom of the wall to the cavetto decoration painted above the vultures and sun disc. The lower part of the wall was decorated with a wainscot painted in black, white and red rectangular vertical geometric pattern, indicating a false door design. As mentioned previously, a cavetto cornice with a torus as well as a pattern imitating a ‘frieze’ and lotus petals were painted above the main decoration.

²³ Kemp B., Weatherhead F., *The Main Chapel*, p. 73. As described by the authors, the process of recreating the decorations required a great deal of work and patience – all the excavated pigmented fragments were placed in numbered trays and then carried by the local workforce to the EES camp, where they were stored. As mentioned above, many of the fragments had fallen into adjacent room lay among unpainted rubble, therefore it was impossible to determine which room they originally belonged to, making the job a great puzzle. They were later given find-spot numbers and matched based on color patterns and similarity. Firstly the largest and most distinguishable pieces were laid out, and later the other fragments were matched to form entire decorative panels. The works took place between seasons 1984 – 1993. A report on the decorations was first published by Kemp B. (ed.), *Painted Plaster from the Main chapel [in:] Amarna Reports II, Occasional Papers 2*, London 1985, p. 18-28.

We should now take a closer look at the main iconographic motifs of the scene, that is the sun disc flanked by two vultures and separated by flowers, as reconstructed by the EES team²⁴. The body of the vulture is red with a black outline. The wings are painted on a white background, in the outer part the feathers are black, while in the inner part – red. Both vultures have blue feet, clutching in their claws green *shen* signs, and a feather fan or feather standard is put into each of the *shen* loops (in fact it was the two left claws holding *shen* signs that survived and convinced the researchers that they were in fact dealing with two twin vultures instead of just one bird, which was their first assumption). The sun disc was painted red, with blue wing ribs emerging on each side and a white space marked with small red dots separating them from the actual feathers. The sun disc is encircled by the yellow coils of uraei, their heads and rearing bodies depicted on either side of the disc. Finally, the two large flower 'bouquets' separating the doorways comprise of three papyrus flowers. The central papyrus is light blue, flanked by two small blue cornflowers, while each of the side papyri is of a deeper blue hue, with small red and black poppy flowers on the sides. Below the main flowers smaller rows of floral motifs were depicted, all ending with a representation of bound flower stems.

The second scene that draws our attention comes from the north side of the Inner Hall and depicts a male and a female offering flowers. Only parts of the faces and flower offerings survived, so we know little about their clothing and arm arrangement, however all the remaining fragments are surprisingly quite traditional for the conventional New Kingdom art and are far from what is called the Amarna style, with no "distortions" characteristic for this period. Kemp and Weatherhead both agree that "from the surviving profile of the heads, particularly the consort's, it is clear that the facial proportions are those of conventional Theban art, not the eponymous 'Amarna' style"²⁵. Both figures are facing right, with the woman portrayed in a classic manner behind

²⁴ This and all the below descriptions of the decoration of the Main Chapel are based on the reconstructions published by the EES. Cf. Kemp B., Weatherhead F., *The Main Chapel*. A very interesting method of reconstruction was employed by Kemp (Kemp B., Weatherhead F., *Ibidem*, p. 165). He first decided on the general outline of the vulture based on larger decoration fragments that survived. Then he used a model of vulture taken from the tomb of Ramses VI at Thebes and projected it to a screen, against which various small decoration fragments from the Amarna excavations were fitted. Finally the missing parts were drawn on the basis of the Ramesside vulture, but taking into consideration the design of the Amarna fragments. The reconstruction of the winged sun disc was a bit more problematic, since the preserved fragments came mainly from the center of the depiction and from the tips of the wings, leaving the rest open to interpretation. The surviving fragments were measured to establish proper proportions, a comparison to a similar winged sun disc from the shrine of Tutankhamen also proved helpful.

²⁵ Kemp B., Weatherhead F., *Ibidem*, p. 410.

the man. She wears a long wig decorated with a blue and white headband and two dark blue lotus flowers are placed on her head along with an white incense cone outlined in red. Her dress (what little survived of it) was white, decorated with a broad collar consisting of rows of white, red and blue stylized flowers, petals, beads and chequer patterns. The man's body, traditionally of a darker hue than the woman's, was most probably naked and also decorated with a collar, although it is just an assumption made by the reconstructing team. What we know for certain is that he also wore a wig, much shorter than his companion, with a large incense cone resting on top of his head. Both figures held flowers and were most probably members of a larger offering scene²⁶.

Complex and large reconstructions based on relatively few surviving original fragments are always encumbered with a margin of doubt. Especially the parts reconstructed on the basis of similar post-Amarna motifs, where no original decoration pieces remained, could be subject to some debate. For the purpose of this publication, however, it is not all that important whether the amount of feathers in each vulture wing or the uraei head color was correctly reconstructed, but what the entire iconography of this decoration implies – and it certainly is not representative for the Amarna style. Another important factor that can not be determined with absolute certainty is when during the reign of Akhenaten were those buildings constructed and painted? Since it was not possible to determine this exactly on the basis of stratigraphy, the first researchers found it tempting to date it after the death of Akhenaten – due to inscriptions discovered in the chapels by Peet and Woolley praising Amun and Shed as well as Aten²⁷. The gods mentioned on those inscriptions were later joined by Amun-Ra, whose name was discovered on a painted plaster fragment during later excavations and it is even possible it featured in the Main Chapel itself. Kemp and Weatherhead strongly disagree and, basing on the layout of buildings and roads on the entire site, argue that it would be against logic to leave the spot occupied by the Main Chapel empty until after the death of the pharaoh, especially that it is clear that other, smaller chapels were later built around it. They are therefore certain that the Chapel along with its traditional

²⁶ Although very little fragments of the larger composition survived, the EES members believe the entire scene to have consisted of the described couple (the deceased) sitting on chairs, with the female holding the male's arm, and with 3 other standing figures, perhaps a priest and two females (one of them holding a sistrum). A suggested version of this reconstruction, also based on similar scenes from the New Kingdom period, has been published in the Main Chapel study (Kemp B., Weatherhead F., *Ibidem*, 165), however it shall not be discussed further hereafter, since too little evidence remains to assess it with regard to stylistic principles.

²⁷ Peet T., Eric C. Leonard Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten, Part 1: Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at El-'Amarneh*, London 1923, p. 95.

decoration and inscriptions mentioning gods other than Aten belongs to the reign of the heretic pharaoh²⁸.

This brings us to yet another question – since the cult of Aten was supervised by the royal court and was practiced in roofless temples, where sun rays reached the pious, what was the purpose of the Main Chapel and other, smaller chapels in the Workmen Village? Surely they were built for religious purposes, but what was the object of worship? Since the buildings were rather dark inside and lack traditional depictions of Aten (sun disc and sun rays with hands), they must have been dedicated to other sanctities. Domestic cults and altars as well as many examples of private piety are widely known from Amarna, despite the above mentioned fact that the official cult of Aten seems to have been monopolized by the king and the royal family. Both Deir el-Medina and Amarna provided us with remains of public and private chapels and household shrines containing a small statue or stela, in Deir el-Medina dedicated to the cult of popular gods or the deceased members of the family, in Amarna usually depicting the King and his family worshipping the sun²⁹. The Main Chapel and the smaller chapels surrounding it were such places of private piety, this is a rather certain fact. What is interesting, however, is that apparently during Akhenaten's reign religious censorship was not as strict as it may seem. Not only were the workmen allowed to practice their private cults right next to the city of Aten, but also to decorate chapels in their own traditional way. After long years of Amarna research we are still unable to unambiguously state whether the reign of Akhenaten was a time of monotheism or rather henotheism in the kingdom of the Nile. The Main Chapel in the Workmen Village is yet another interesting find pointing to the conclusion that the times of Akhenaten were not as religiously zealous as it first seemed.

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²⁸ Kemp B., Weatherhead F., *The Main Chapel*, 410-411.

²⁹ Thompson S., *Cults*, [in:] *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, New York 2001, p. 329.

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TUTANKHAMUN'S FALCON CORSELET
AGAINST ICONOGRAPHICAL
AND TEXTUAL BACKGROUND

The feathered corselet from the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62) is one of the attire items discovered there, accentuating the pharaoh's identity with the falcon, a sacred bird of Horus, the sky and sun god and the patron of the royalty at the same time. This association is at least as ancient as the Egyptian state in its classical form and, constituting the foundation of the royal power on earth, is reflected in many domains of Egyptology. Any treatise concerning the Egyptian religion has to locate Horus in the foremost place and, similarly, the works on the kingship must take into account various links of the ruler with this god, being mirrored in sacred texts and influencing their mutual spatial relationship in the iconography. Among these writings, mainly the Pyramid Texts are to be mentioned here, alongside with the Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead and several other netherworld books, further the historical and glorification texts. The archaeological and iconographical sources (principally reliefs, paintings, statuary sculpture, amulets and jewellery) can be regarded as a visual resultant of the written word, having respectively complementary character¹.

The problem of the primeval origin of Horus is a truly obscure and complicated matter. Did this god come from the Delta, Upper Egypt or was possibly imported from the east? The most eminent protagonists of his Delta provenance are H. Junker, K. Sethe and A. Gardiner, whereas H. Kees i W. Freiherr von Bissing are in favour of Upper Egypt. On the other hand, the foreign origin

¹ Cf. the present author's earlier works: *Royal Plume Dress of XVIII Dynasty*, MDAIK 40, 1984, p. 103–121; *The Plume Dress of Ramses III from the Tomb of Amenherkhepshef*, *Folia Orientalia* XXIV, 1987, p. 15–21; *Some Remarks on the Evolution of Royal Triumphal Dress*, SAAC 2, 1992, p. 27–34.; *The Horus Dress as Represented in the Temple of Amenhotep III in Luxor*, SAAC 4, 1992, p. 27–31.

of Horus cannot be excluded in the opinion of S. Mercer and W. F. Petrie². In spite of all the controversy shrouding these views, it is certain that as early as in the times immediately preceding the unification of the Two Lands, Horus the Falcon enjoyed veneration in both capitals: Pe (Buto) in the Delta and Nechen (Hierakonpolis, *i.e.* the Town of the Sacred Falcon) in Upper Egypt. In the historical period, falcon cults flourished in the vast space from the Delta to Nubia in abundant local varieties. In Lower Egypt, the following locations can be listed: Letopolis in the 2nd nome (Haroeris), the 3rd nome (Libyan Horus), Athribis in the 10th nome (Horus Khentekhtay) or Heliopolis in the 13th nome (Harakhte, or Horus of the Horizon). In Upper Egypt, Horus was a chief deity in the 1st nome at Kom Ombo, in the 2nd one in Edfu (Horus Behdety), in the 3rd nome at Nechen, in the 10th one at Antaeopolis as a pair of falcons (Antwy, or *the Two Clawed Ones*), in the 12th nome at Hierakon (Anty, or *the Clawed One*) and in the 18th nome as Dwnawy (*the One with His Wings Spread*). The local forms of Horus were also worshipped in Nubia (Horus of Miam, Buhen and Abu Simbel). It seems plausible that plenty of local falcon deities existed in Egypt, which in the course of time were assimilated by Horus.

A highly absorbing problem is posed by the question of the identification of the falcon of Horus appearing in the iconography with a concrete bird thriving in nature in Egypt. To hear Col.R. Meinertzhagen and S. Mercer properly say that there is no evidence that the Egyptians exactly distinguished the falcons of alike appearance³. The falcon, as a bird, was generally termed as *bik*. Personally, I am inclined to put forward the opinion that the magnificent peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus*), appearing frequently from the Delta over Fayum, Assiut and Luxor to the *antemurale* of Nubia at Aswan, stands closest to the actual depictions in art, yet it must be borne in mind that a special stylistic and colours convention was obligatory in the mural painting and polychrome reliefs.

In order to comprehend profoundly the significance of the falcon elements in the royal iconography, the mythic perspective should be concisely considered of the king-Horus relationship and its reflection in the religious texts. The pharaoh constituted the focal point of the earthly statehood overlapping with the cosmic

² Cf. H. Junker, *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut*, Berlin 1911; K. Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Leipzig 1930; A. Gardiner, *Horus the Behdetite*, JEA 30, 1944, p. 23–60; H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, Berlin 1977; W. von Bissing, H. Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, Band II. *Die kleine Festdarstellung*, Leipzig 1923; S.A.B. Mercer, *Horus, Royal God of Egypt*, Grafton 1942; W.M.F. Petrie, *Making of Egypt*, London 1939.

³ R. Meinertzhagen, *Nicholl's Birds of Egypt I*, London 1930, table IV, 7; Mercer, *op. cit.*, p.96.

sphere of the gods⁴, and the power of the primeval mythical divine dynasties was endowed upon their earthly embodiment in the person of the king. The Turin Papyrus 1874 states that the two dynasties of gods ruled before the historical kings. The preserved list begins with the earth god Geb, further enumerating Osiris, the god of the desert Seth, Horus, the patron of wisdom Thoth, the goddess of order and truth Maat and another form of Horus. The second dynasty of gods is implicitly defined as *the Spirits, Followers of Horus*. The kingship dogma is founded, on the one hand, on the Horus myths cycle (the living king ruling on earth), and on the other hand on the Osiris cycle (the deceased king ruling in the netherworld). Each and every ascension to the throne by a new king as Horus was the repeated enactment of the time-honoured, archaic event, the mythical *sp tpy*-the first time⁵. As the emanation of divinity, in the perspective of the state and legal function, the pharaoh was determined as *nsw*.

Not a single being from the divine sphere can be comprehended by human mind without the intermediary role of a symbol, be it verbal or literary (hymns, prayers, spells or myths) or visual (material objects or iconographical depictions). Any symbol is true and genuine insofar it renders a divine being comprehensible in the human categories of reasoning and is at the same time accepted by human faith. Through symbols, *the world becomes transparent and is able to reveal the transcendent being*⁶.

The first expression of such perspective in the Egyptian literature are the Pyramid Texts, constituting a collection of rituals descriptions, incantations, magical spells and utterances, invocations and hymns, describing the pharaoh's transition to the netherworld and his various transformations, many a time into Horus. As early as the 1st Dynasty, the king of Egypt was identified with this god by the so-called Horus name. In the Pyramid Texts 1258 a-b the deceased king is compared to Horus of the East (*Hr i3bty*), Horus of the Netherworld (*Hr D3ty*) and to Horus, Lord of Two Lands (*Hr nb t3wy*). Curiously enough, Horus appears in these Texts also as Sirius (*Hr imy Spdt*, PT 632d) and the late pharaoh is indirectly related to him⁷.

It seems right and proper now to examine some iconographical phenomena, which had been preceding, from the early historical period, the appearance of peculiar falcon motifs in the tomb of Tutankhamun. Of course the most eminent example here is the famous Narmer Palette, where the falcon patronizes the king slaying his enemies, but in due course the review of these facts will focus

⁴ H. Goedicke, *Die Stellung des Königs im alten Reich*, Wiesbaden 1960.

⁵ L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Uppsala 1986.

⁶ M. Eliade, *Cosmos and History. The Myth of the Eternal Return*, New York 1959, p. 130.

⁷ R. Anthes, *Horus als Sirius in den Pyramidentexten*, ZÄS 102, 1975, p. 1–10.

upon the moments where the divine bird physically protects the king. This is particularly emphasized in the statuary sculpture of the 4th Dynasty, as in the case of the renowned diorite statue of Khephren from the Cairo Museum. The falcon dramatically clings to the king's neck, which coincides with the epithet *Horus is behind as Protector* (*Hr ḥ3 s3*). Suchlike arrangement of the falcon appears on the pink limestone statuette of Neferefre, coming from the funerary temple of this king. Apart from these, from the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadim (Sinai) comes the fragment of the falcon's body, provided with the inscription *The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Snofru* (British Museum inv. nr 41745), thus representing this king as a pure embodiment of Horus.

In the domain of the statuary of the 6th Dynasty, a greatly interesting object is the alabaster statue of Pepi I (Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund nr 39120), showing this king enthroned in a ceremonial attire of the jubilee Sed festival and white crown of Upper Egypt. The falcon reposing behind the king is clearly separated from his head, contrary to the above mentioned earlier instances, which was acknowledged by S. Morenz as a stage in the process resulting in the phenomenon defined by him as *Heraufkunft des transzendenten Gottes*. It needs to be stressed, however, that the falcon here crowns the royal Horus name at the back of the throne and the overall composition is governed by this fact. In stark contrast to these Old Kingdom statues stands the enormous statuary group of grey granite (height 2.31 m) from the Cairo Museum, discovered by P. Montet at Tanis in the Delta (but originating from Memphis or Bubastis), depicting Ramzes II as Harpocrates, protected by a giant falcon. Here, we have reached the immensely remote point, not only in the perspective of time, from the statue of Khephren, since the proportions are completely reversed. The king appears here as a helpless infant, completely confiding in his divine protector. Could it have been the dramatic experiences and his spells of despondency in the battle of Kadesh which influenced such rendering of Ramses II in this group?

From the New Kingdom, still one more variation of the falcon's location with regard to the king is known. This is testified to by the scene of Amenhotep III being protected by this bird from the rear at the waist, coming from the tomb of Kheruef (nr 192 in Khokha necropolis in Thebes West). In spite of considerable degree of natural deterioration, this is one of the most beautiful limestone reliefs known to me in the entire Egyptian art, of immensely noble proportions and exquisite workmanship, displaying great affinity in style to the acclaimed representations of vizier Ramose in his nearby tomb in the necropolis of Sheikh Abd el- Gurna

In the times of the 18th Dynasty, numerous plume motifs commence to appear in the pharaonic ceremonial attire. These perform specific magical

and symbolical functions, intended to ensure the conveyance of the divine bird's powerful properties on the king, both by means of the form and colouring scheme. One of suchlike elements is a peculiar feathered vest, designed by L. Borchardt as *Falkenjacke*⁸, in vogue from the Middle Kingdom onwards, as testified by the 11th Dynasty temple relief from Tod, featuring king Mentuhotep- Sankhkare, additionally wearing the *šwtj* crown of two falcon feathers. Fine examples of the *Falkenjacke* from the New Kingdom come from the temples of Deir el- Bahari⁹ and Abydos.

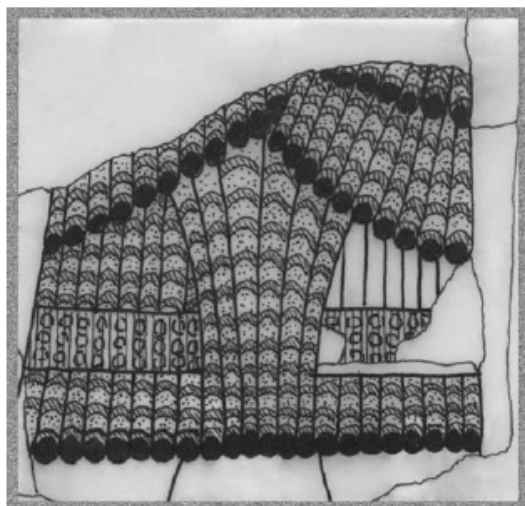


Fig. 1. Lower part of Horus dress of king Thotmes III from his temple at Deir el-Bahari, block F 8033. Painted limestone relief.

Author's drawing from original

Apart from the *Falkenjacke*, in the 18th Dynasty, a unique falcon garment became widespread evidently equalling the king with this holy bird. As far as I know, this Horus dress appears for the first time in the alabaster sanctuary of Amun-Min in Karnak, where it is donned by Thotmes I. Its convincing identification with the colours of the falcon in the painting of the period proved possible owing to the superbly preserved polychrome reliefs from the temple of Thotmes III at Deir el-Bahari, rendering all the details of the colours palette both in the royal attire iconography and in the sacred animals. A squatting falcon on the block nr 6639 from this temple has, according to the epithet *s3b šwt*, *He of the Dappled Plumage*, the bichrome wings with blue speckles against the greenish background. Moreover, the tips of the short wing feathers and tail feathers are red. The feathers of the Horus dress on the block fragment nr F 8033 have identical colours.

Of course this combination of colours had special magical meaning, which will be discussed below.

To the best of my knowledge, 34 instances of the Horus dress in the 18th Dynasty were found until 1984, which is obviously a small fraction of all what

⁸ King Mentuhotep – Sankhkare in *Falkenjacke*. Limestone relief from temple at Tod, 11th Dynasty, c. 2010. Cairo Museum J 66333.

⁹ A. Ćwiek, *Fate of Seth in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, *Études et Travaux XXII*, 2008, Figs 1, 3–7.

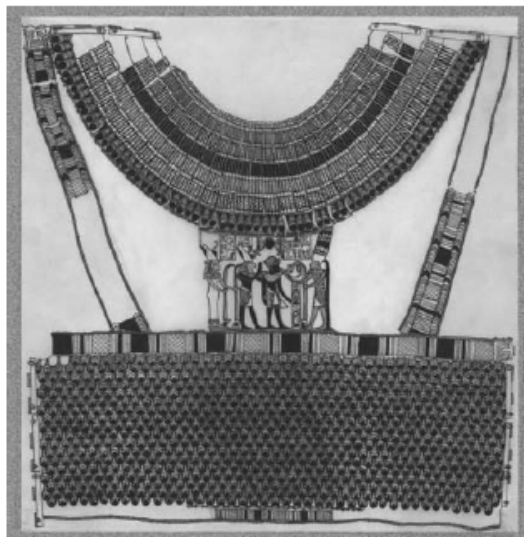


Fig. 2. Front part of Tutankhamun's falcon corselet. Carnelian, turquoise, lapis-lazuli, ivory, gold, coloured glass, 18th Dynasty, c. 1323. Cairo Museum JE 62627.

Author's drawing after Saleh, Sourouzian, *Katalog*, 191

must have existed. The two main ceremonies in which this dress was employed were the *bs n nsw* (conducting the king by the god) and *hwt bhsu* (driving the four calves by the king in the presence of a god). The first of these rites belongs to the coronation cycle, where the king appears as a *newly risen Horus*, whereas the other, known from the Old Kingdom temples of Wenis and Sahure of the 5th Dynasty, has the agricultural background. It resembles threshing, being meant to ensure prosperous crops and domestic animals fertility in a magical way¹⁰.

It ensues from the above, much too concise review, that the feathered corselet from the tomb of Tu-

tankhamun had behind it a sacred and time-honoured tradition. It is, anyway, the sole known material equivalent of the Horus dress depicted in painting and reliefs, although executed in artificial feathers. Their materials are carnelian, glass paste, ivory and gold¹¹. The corselet consists of two rectangular pieces, of which the front one is shown here. Stylized feathers are arranged alternatively in rows of glass, coloured lapis-lazuli and turquoise, and are adorned with tiny golden arrowheads, whereas their tips are red. The feathers are strung on a golden wire and fixed by tiny hinges. The uppermost row consists of the feathers mounted in golden cells, connected by means of loops with the upper bordering of the corselet. The said bordering is composed of the platelets coloured lapis-lazuli and turquoise, mounted in rectangular elements of gold and glass lapis-lazuli and red in colour. In the upper part of the bordering there are tiny pearls. A similar bordering is to be found at the bottom of the corselet, but the elements are smaller here compared with its upper counterpart.

The corselet has two shoulder straps and a necklace, also consisting of the front and rear part, containing five rows of rectangular golden cells, inlaid with

¹⁰ A. M. Blackman, *Significance of the Ceremony hwt bhsu in the Temple of Horus at Edfu*, JEA 36, 1950, p. 76 ff.

¹¹ M. Saleh, H. Sourouzian, *Das Ägyptische Museum Kairo. Offizieller Katalog*, Mainz 1986, 191.

multi-coloured glass. It is limited by two rows of minor beads from above and from below by floral beads, executed in the technique of inlaid cells. With the feathered part of the corselet, the necklace is connected on the front by means of a pectoral, which represents the king conducted by Atum of Heliopolis, to be received by Amun of Karnak. The scene is assisted by goddess Iwsaas, who presents Tutankhamun with the sticks of the millions of years.

As a counterpoise, in the rear part of the necklace a kind of medallion is mounted, in the form of a trapezoid framework in which a solar scarab appears with the falcon's wings and tail. On both sides it is flanked by the royal cobras in the crowns of the North and the South. Chains made of tiny multi-coloured beads hang from this medallion, ending with pendants in the shape of papyrus whorls of turquoise, poppies of carnelian and blue lilies of lapis-lazuli.

In due course, the colour scheme of this feathered corselet should be considered in comparison with the convention of the falcon's depictions in painted reliefs. The combination of colours is somewhat different here, but this is due to the materials used and the technique of their mounting. The rows of feathers are alternately turquoise or lapis-lazuli (the former can be the equivalent to the green colour in painted reliefs), so in the case of the corselet no combination of blue and green in a single feather is to be observed, there are however the golden arrowheads, absent in the case of the Horus dress. On the other hand, red feather tips appear in both cases. It is worth mentioning that identical palette of colours as the corselet has the magnificent falcon pectoral¹², also found in the tomb of Tutankhamun.

The selection of the colours was definitely deliberate since, non-existent in any falcon species in the wild, they had magical meaning, thus enhancing the properties of the plumed attire¹³.



Fig. 3. Medallion in rear part of necklace of Tutankhamun's feathered corselet. Materials as above. Cairo Museum. Author's drawing after Saleh, Sourouzian, *Katalog*, 191

¹² H. Carter, A. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amon I, II, III* (London 1923, 1927, 1933), Cat. Nr 267 M/1.

¹³ P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik, I. Ägypten*, Stockholm 1958, p. 23 ff.;

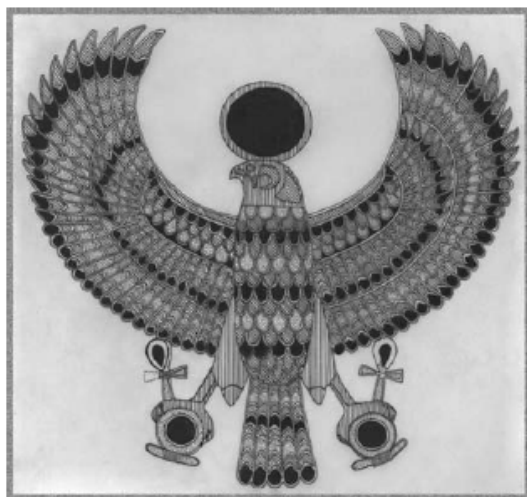


Fig. 4. Tutankhamun's falcon pectoral.
Materials as above. Cairo Museum. Author's
drawing after M. Vilimkova, M.H. Abdul –
Rahman, *Altägyptische Goldschmiedekunst*,
Prague 1969, table 50

Horus had the same colour. Many green amulets had healing and protective properties, and green could also acquire the shade of malachite *šsmt* i turquoise *mḥk3t*.

The colour red in its beneficent aspect denoted life (blood) and also the rising and setting sun. In the shade of ochre it was used for the king's body in painting. However, red was also the malevolent colour of the hostile desert and its god Seth, and also of the enraged Eye of Horus.

The colour of gold belonged to the sun rays of god Re and to the goddesses Hathor and Isis. Among the royal titulary was the name of *the Golden Horus*, testifying to the divine descent of the king.

All these colours endowed the plume dress with significant symbolical values, and other elements magnifying this effect were a leopard skin band and bull's tail, which combination is fully reflected in the component of the royal titulary of Thotmes III: *Hr k3 nḥt*, i.e. *Horus, the Mighty Bull*.

It can be mentioned here that from the tomb of Tutankhamun comes also a long glove adorned with the motif of feathers, which are short and scale-shaped here¹⁵. Suchlike motifs are to be also encountered among the regalia such as sceptres, ceremonial weaponry, model boats and chariots.

Blue or lapis-lazuli was particularly connected with Amun as the sky god and with the Nile deities. Of great importance was green, as the colour of vegetation and life, associated with the primeval ocean Nun and Osiris. As early as the Pyramid Texts (628), it is designated as *the Great Green*, and also Horus is linked with this colour, being named *the One Who Emerged from the Nile* (PT 2047c), which can project on the symolical colouring of the falcon, blending green with blue. The Pyramid Texts overtly determine Horus as *the Green Falcon* (457c)¹⁴, and the sound Eye of

H. Kees, *Farbensymbolik in altägyptischen religiösen Texten*, NAWG, 1943.

¹⁴ T. G. Allen, *Horus in the Pyramid Texts*, Chicago 1915.

¹⁵ R. Hall, *Egyptian Textiles*, Princes Risborough, 1986, Fig.33.

The Horus dress, which appeared, to the author's present knowledge, exclusively in the temples, vanished from the royal attire repertoire with the decline of the 18th Dynasty and other types of plume apparel came into vogue. And so in the tomb of Amenherkhepshef in the Valley of the Queens (QV 55) we find a very solemn and rich feathered garment, worn by his father Ramses III in the scene of his being received by Isis. It consists in its upper part of the *Falkenjacke*, put on a short-sleeved shirt, whereas in its lower part of a kilt made of the feathers coloured blue, green and red. It is rather striking that Ramses III should wear such a dress here, since nothing alike appears in his own tomb in the Valley of the Kings.

The Pyramid Texts (877) cite Horus of the Netherworld (*Dw3at*)¹⁶, who in another place (1207a) as the morning star belongs to the fixed stars and rules over the underworld Fields of the Reed (*I3rw*). He is also mentioned by the Spell 74 of the Coffin Texts, when descending into the Netherworld to revive Osiris: *...How fair are you that rise today! Like Horus of the Underworld rising today, emerging from the great flood...*¹⁷ Furthermore, the Spell 312 of these Texts describes the journey undertaken by the divine falcon to the *Dw3t*, the falcon being determined by the text as *the Dweller in the Beams of Light*. Maybe the above described dress of Ramses III is intended to emphasize the king's appearance in the form of the Horus of the Netherworld, being complementary to the aspect of the living Horus, ruling the world in the pharaoh's capacity.

Among numerous religious concepts of ancient Egypt, the connection of the royalty with Horus the falcon had been existing practically over the entire history of the Land on the Nile, so as long as almost three millennia. It found a



Fig. 5. Ramses III in plume attire received by Isis. Painted relief, 19th Dynasty, c. 1170. Tomb of Amenherkhepshef (QV 55). Phot. by the author

¹⁶ E. Hornung, *Horus der Dat*, LÄ III, 1980, col. 33.


¹⁷ A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I. Texts of Spells 1-75*, Chicago 1935, Spell 74. Chronology after J. Baines, J. Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 1985.

multi-faceted reflection in the iconography, expressed by means of sublime and semantically rich symbolics. Even as insignificant and prematurely deceased pharaoh as Tutankhamun, buried in great haste, was provided with artistically superb magnificent attributes of royal power, identifying him with Horus. How, then, must have been equipped for their road to eternity such weighty and powerful pharaohs as Thotmes III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Sethos I or Ramses II? It only remains to be regretted that we will rather never know.

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GODS OF
THE WESTERN DESERT

Western Desert remains one of the most under-explored areas of Egypt, while at the same time, one with a huge archaeological potential. Though our knowledge on the subject is now immensely better than it was some 20 years ago, due to the combined efforts of many people and institutions, there are yet whole towns to be excavated there. The region with its five large oases both intrigued and scared the ancients. In writing, a tree-hill sign  *h3st* symbolizing the foreign, the alien, that which lies at the edge of chaos and order, was used for both deserts and the lands outside of Egypt.¹ Fear of the unknown, however, did not stop the Egyptians from infiltrating and spreading control over the oases (apart from Siwa) already during the Old Kingdom, bringing with them their culture and their gods. As the majority of material unearthed in the region dates to the Late or Roman Periods, the subject of local cults and the introduction of the Egyptian ones is a particularly difficult one. New arrivals probably replaced indigenous deities they encountered.

The chief deity of the Western oases was Amon-Re, venerated alongside the other members of the Theban Triad. Introduction of his cult there could probably be linked with the re-establishment of Egyptian control over the region in the early New Kingdom. There are two special forms of Amon-Re to be found in the oases – a composite god Amon-Horus and Amon-Nakht². The former appears in Bahariya, Deir el-Hagar and Hibis, the latter in Ain Birbi-

¹ Gardiner 1957, p.488, N25; cf. D.B. O'Connor, S. Quirke, *Mysterious Lands (Encounters with Ancient Egypt)*, London 2003, p. 10-13.

² Kaper O., *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh: Studies in the Indigenous Cults of an Egyptian Oasis*, PhD thesis Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, privately published, 1997, chapter 3.

yeh. Further to the north, a ram-headed deity called Ammon by the Greeks was worshipped in Siwa³. The older of Bahariya temples is dated to the reign of Apries, XXVIth Dynasty, the younger one to the time of Alexander the Great.⁴ Here Amon and Horus are both receiving offerings but are depicted separately. In the Roman temple of Deir el-Hagar an even more complex form of the god appears, incorporating aspects of both Horus and Min of Akhmim – a similar depiction is to be found on the sanctuary wall in el-Ghueida, where Amon of Perwesekh was venerated⁵. Generally though he is presented in a human or criocephalic form.

Between Tineida and Bashindi villages in Eastern Dakhla lies a Roman temple of Amon-Nakht⁶. This interesting deity seems to be partially modelled after Horus, with Hathor as his consort, but has also additional features. He is depicted similarly to the falcon-headed Seth at Hibis and Mut el-Kharab – outstretched wings and a spear giving him a more aggressive, warlike character. Amon-Nakht was therefore a protector against the dangers to be found in the desert, a „Mighty One” as the name suggests⁷. Despite similarities he is actually an enemy of Seth, in fact it seems plausible, the introduction of an alternative protector played a role in the priestly attempt to replace lord of Mut in the oases. In Hibis Amon resided as a local god Amenebis or Amon of Hibis⁸, a small Roman temple dedicated to him lies nearby at Qasr el- Zaiyan, while another one stood in Ain al-Tarakwa⁹. His depictions appear frequently at the local necropoli in the tombs of Bahariya governors or in Dakhla's Muzawwaqa cemetery.

Amon was the true lord of the oases but this title is commonly given to another god – Seth. The longevity of Seth's cult in the West is puzzling, con-

³ Cf. K.P.Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion, Archäologie, Geschichte und Kultpraxis des Orakels von Siwa*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 75, Mainz 1988.

⁴ A.Fakhry, *A Temple of Alexander the Great at Bahria Oasis*, pp. 823-828, ASAE 40, Cairo 1940; Z.Hawass, *Valley of the Golden Mummies*, p. 195-201, Cairo 2000.

⁵ On Qasr el-Ghueida see: PM VII, pp. 291-293, 286; E.Cruz-Urbe, *The Persian Presence at Qasr el-Ghueida, Egypt* at www.cais-soas.com.

⁶ Kaper, o.c., chapter 3; A.J.Mills, A.Zieliński, *The temple of Amun-Nakht at 'Ain Birbiyeh* in: *Dakhleh Oasis Project 2003-2004 Season Final Report*, p.47-48; A.J.Mills, *The 'Ain Birbiyeh Temple Project, 2008 report*.

⁷ J.Osing, *Beiträge zu den Oasen in: Egyptian Religion The Last Thousand Years: Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, OLA 84-85, Leuven 1998, p. 1443.

⁸ N.Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el-Khargah Oasis. III: The Decoration*, PMMA 17, New York, 1953; D.Klotz, *Adoration of the ram: Five hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple*. Yale Egyptological Studies 6. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 2006.

⁹ S.Ikram, C.Rossi, *North Kharga Oasis Survey 2004. Preliminary Report: Ain Tarakwa and Ain el-Dabashiya*, MDAIK 63, 2006.

sidering the demonization he underwent in the Nile Valley in the Late Period. Both archaeological and textual sources confirm his presence in the southern oases¹⁰, he is also depicted as receiving offerings in Umm Ubayda temple at Siwa. Seth's main cult centre of the region was Dakhla, material found there and also at the nearby watch posts, suggest he may have already been worshipped in the oasis during the early Old Kingdom. His temple stood at Mut el-Kharab and it is possible it functioned continuously from Dynasty XVIII onwards¹¹. Veneration of Seth at this site is most vividly illustrated during the IIIrd Intermediate Period by the older of so-called Dakhla stele, ascribed to Shoshenq I or III and objects from the reign of Dynasty XXI. With Mut being the main administrative centre of the oasis, the temple flourished, added to and redecored by the consecutive rulers of the Late Period up till the Ptolemaic Dynasty. A small number of finds confirms the existence of Roman time structures at the site from the first three centuries AD, though there's a possibility that the cult of Toth, who replaced Seth in the Nile Valley sanctuaries after his demonization, was also celebrated there. Seth appeared in the oases in a variety of forms – that of his sacred animal, a man with this creature's head or, similarly to Amon-Nakht, with a falcon head, tripartite wig, collar, kilt and wings. This last form is known especially from the famous relief at the Hibis temple, where Seth spears the serpent – he is depicted as Apophis slayer also at Deir el-Hagar and in Shrine I at Kellis.¹² Not only had his cult continued into the Roman Period, he was also given predominance in Dakhla as the „Lord of the oasis” and presented in his most positive aspect – the protector of Re. The reason for such veneration seems to be simply a fact that the desert, lying at the edge of chaos, populated by dangerous creatures, was the place where Seth's powers were strongest. It was therefore logical and profitable to worship him in his domain. Still, the introduction of Amon-Nakht may imply an attempt of supplanting the god's position in the oases at some point in time.

Apart from Amon and Seth, another major deity venerated in the West, was Thoth, considered to be of secondary importance there only to Amon-Re¹³. He had a temple in the ancient city of Trimithis (Amheida) in Dakhla, where he

¹⁰ H. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*, Leiden 1967, p. 115-116.

¹¹ On Mut el-Kharab see: Dakhleh Oasis Project annual reports 2000-2007 at <http://arts.monash.edu.au/archaeology/excavations/dakhleh/index.php#reports>, assorted Dakhla bibliography at: http://www.amheida.org/inc/pdf/amheida_bibliography.pdf.

¹² Davies, *The temple of Hibis*, vol. III, pls. 42-43, 77b. Seth at Dakhla cf. Kaper, o.c., chapter 3.

¹³ O. Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu. A Study of the Sphinx-God and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments*, OLA 119, Leuven 2003, p. 125-127.

resided as Thoth of *št-w3h*¹⁴ and lord of Hermopolis. Though the monument is now almost completely destroyed, a partially preserved cartouche allows for dating its last, Roman phase to the reign of Domitian. Reused stone blocks from the time of Dynasty XXVI, bearing names of Necho II, Psamtek II and Amasis II found at the site, together with sensational material from Dynasty XXIII, confirm that a temple existed here already in the IIIrd Intermediate Period¹⁵. Present also at Hibis, Deir el-Hagar and Ain el-Muftella, as well as, the local necropoli, Thoth is depicted in the usual manner – as an ibis-headed man or a baboon. It is plausible his presence in the oases was meant to overshadow Seth, whom he replaced in the Nile Valley temples of the Late Period.

Of all the „desert gods” proposed by Aufrère¹⁶, the one still relatively unknown is Igai. He appears in the Egyptian sources as early as Dynasty III but short, punning references in Pyramid Texts and, together with Ha, in Coffin Texts do not provide much information.¹⁷ Igai’s association with Western Desert or, more precisely, its oases, can be partly deduced from the aforementioned mortuary texts, the title „lord of the oasis” occurs later on the base of Sesostris III statue.¹⁸ His domain, however, seems to be of a more general nature – not a singular locality but a vast geographical area. There are only precious few occurrences of the god’s name there, most of them discovered in the last ten years¹⁹. Sensational findings at „Djedefre’s water-mountain” confirm the longevity of his cult in the desert, while the newly discovered stele of governor Sa-Igai, proves this god’s temple existed in Dakhla²⁰. He appeared in a human form, with two *w3s*-sceptres, spelling his name, on the head.

Igai’s close associate, the aforementioned god Ha, was known since the Ist

¹⁴ O.Kaper, R.J. Demarée, *A Donation Stela in the Name of Takeloth III from Amheida, Dakhleh Oasis*, *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 39 (2006), pp. 19-37.

¹⁵ R.S.Bagnall, P.Davoli, O.Kaper, H.Whitehouse, *Roman Amheida: Excavating A Town in Egypt’s Dakhleh Oasis*, *MINERVA: The International Review of Ancient Art & Archaeology* 17/6 (November/December 2006), pp. 26-29; O.Kaper, P.Davoli, *A New Temple for Thoth in the Dakhleh Oasis*, *Egyptian Archaeology* 29 (2006), pp. 12-14; Dakhla Oasis Project Reports to the Supreme Council of Antiquities from years 2004-2008.

¹⁶ S.Aufrère, *Dieux du désert égyptien, Ha et la défense mythique des déserts de l’ouest in: L’archéologue 11*, *Archéologie nouvelle*, May 1995, p.35-40.

¹⁷ Pyr. 662b, CT VI, 384-386. His cult is confirmed in the titulary of the late III dynasty priest and several examples of the name *Ig3i-htp*.

¹⁸ H.G.Fischer, *A god and a general of the oasis on a stela of the Late Middle Kingdom*, *JNES*, vol. XVI, no. 4, October 1957, p. 223-235.

¹⁹ A.Fakhry, *The Rock Inscriptions of Gabal el-Teir at Kharga Oasis*, *ASAE* 51 (1951), p. 401-434; JdE 52478, cf. M.Elebaut, *Stele JdE 52478 aus der Oase Dachla* (forthcoming).

²⁰ K.P.Kuhlmann, *Der „Wasserberg des Djedefre” (Chufu oi/i). Ein Lagerplatz mit Expeditionsinschriften der 4. Dynastie im Raum der Oase Dachla*, *MDAIK* 61, 2005, pp. 243-289; C.Hope, *Report to the Supreme Council of Antiquities. The excavations at Mut el-Kharab, Dakhleh Oasis in 2008*, p. 8-9, 11-14.

Intermediate Period as the „Lord of the West”²¹ and, later, also „Lord of Libians”. Armed with a knife or a bow, he protected Egypt’s boundaries and ruled the desert. During the Late Period, Ha became the personification of the West, as well as, the main deity of the Upper Egyptian VIIth nome. His image – a man with the common hieroglyph sign for the foreign lands on his head– can be found at Hibis, in the first chapel of Ain el-Muftella temple of Bahariya, dated to the reign of Amasis and the local tomb of Bannentiu where he guards the entrance.²² Ha probably played some role in the cult of the dead.

Unlike Ha and Igai, both obscure deities of lesser importance, god Bes, also mentioned by Aufrere, was a well-known and highly popular member of the Egyptian pantheon. His presence in the oases – small figurines found in the houses and tombs, graffito in Shrine IV of Ismant el-Kharab or a painting in the Ain el-Labakha fort shouldn’t surprise if not for the fact he had an actual temple there. Discovered accidentally in Bahariya in 1988, it is unique as no other Bes temple has been unearthed in Egypt so far.²³ Dating from the Ptolemaic Period and in use till the IVth AD, it served the god in his joyous aspect – as patron of grapes and vine making. A well-preserved statue of Bes from the site, shows him in the usual manner. Interestingly, one of the chapels of the XXVI Dynasty Ain el-Muftella temple was apparently also dedicated exclusively to this deity, confirming the popularity of his cult in the oasis. Protective nature of Bes, frequently depicted in the Late and Greco Roman Periods as a menacing, usually winged or armed creature could be a reason for such popularity, a trait shared with another god – Tutu, who resided in Dakhla.

His main cult centre was at Ismant el-Kharab where a Roman temple, which oldest parts dated to the reign of Nero, functioned till the VIth AD. He is accompanied there by his mother Neith and consort – local deity Tapsais²⁴. Depicted in the human form or as a sphinx²⁵, always powerful and victorious, Tutu was called the „master of demons” over which he had absolute control. Especially curious is his association with Amon-Re, iconography from the Ptolemaic Period onwards seem to suggest Tutu was considered a manifestation of the Theban god’s dangerous and royal aspects. His aggressive but also defensive nature, strenghtened by an arsenal of weaponry and occasionally demon features, made Tutu a perfect protective deity to the city of Kellis. He is

²¹ CT V, 125; CT VI, 386; D.Wildung, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1(1972), p.157-159.

²² Cf. Kaper 2003, p. 126.

²³ Hawass 2000, p.69-73.

²⁴ K.A.Worp, O.Kaper, *A Bronze Representing Tapsais of Kellis*, *Revue d’Egyptologie* 46, Paris 1995, p.107 - 118, pl. IX.

²⁵ Tutu’s complex iconography and numerous aspects are comprehensively discussed in Kaper’s monography of the god.

present in the local cemetery of el-Muawwaqa and in Deir el-Hagar as well.

As for the other members of Egyptian pantheon, two temples in Kharga, at Manawir and Kysis belonged to Osiris, who naturally frequents local necropoli.²⁶ Numerous figurines of the god were discovered in the region. The very name of the Farafra Oasis suggests the existence of goddess Hathor cult, however archaeological evidence has yet to be found. In fact, there are numerous sites in the oases still to be examined, that could provide new insight into the subject of local religion, while some remain a mystery – like an unknown deities of Nadura or Umm el-Dabadib.²⁷

Generally, the nature of the gods venerated in the oases did not differ in a significant manner from what can be seen in their temples elsewhere. One can easily spot though the preference for protective or even warlike deities. They are curiously predominately male, armed and in control of demons or even of demonic nature themselves as the title *ʿ3 phty* suggests. As the Egyptians considered the desert to be home for mysterious, dangerous creatures, the local gods could take the appearance of a lion, while both Seth and Amon-Nakht were shown in Dakhla being followed by one.²⁸ Together with Tutu they are a particularly menacing group, often pictured triumphant over their enemies. Aufrère went as far as to distinguish a whole class of the „desert gods”, including Igai, Ha, Bes, Montu and Tutu.²⁹ However, only the first pair seem to have an exclusive relation with the region while the rest, as well as the others also found there, show traits of being a „desert god” only sporadically, in specific epithets, forms or iconography. The true master of the West was Amon-Re, whose cult in time overshadowed that of his main rival to the title – god Seth, though the latter’s veneration continued far into the Roman period.

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²⁶ M. Wuttmann, B. Bousquet, M. Chauveau, P. Dils, S. Marchand, A. Schweitzer, L. Volay, *Premier rapport préliminaire des travaux sur le site de 'Ayn Manaewir (Oasis de Kharga)*, BIFAO 96, pp. 121 - 181 and plate 3.

²⁷ On Nadura cf. PM, vol. 7, p. XXX; D. Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 1998, p. 267; Umm el-Dabadib cf. C. Rossi, *Umm el-Dabadib, Roman settlement in the Kharga Oasis: description of the visible remains: With a note on 'Ayn Amur*, MDAIK 56, 2000, p. 335-352.

²⁸ S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, BdE 105, Cairo 1991, p. 142.

²⁹ S. Aufrère, *Dieux du désert égyptien, Ha et la défense mythique des déserts de l'ouest in: L'archéologie 11*, Archéologie nouvelle, May 1995, p. 35-40.

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THE NILOTIC MOSAIC
IN SAINT STEPHEN'S CHURCH OF GAZA
IN CHORICIUS' DESCRIPTION*

Some time after the dedication of St.Sergius' Church in Gaza, when Choricus delivered his first oration in honour of the founder Bishop Marcianos (before AD 536), the rhetorician was commissioned a second oration for the inauguration ceremonies, this time of St.Stephen the Martyr's Church also in Gaza. His dedicatory oration which also contained a prolonged *ecphrasis* of the church became yet another panegyric speech in honour of the same man, Bishop Marcianos, its founder¹. It is impossible to determine an exact date for the oration. All we know is that the speech was delivered in public in all likelihood between 536 and 548, that is a decade or two after his previous dedicatory speech (*LM I*)². St.Stephen the Martyr's was raised in the open country outside the city walls, on a hill surrounded by a garden (*LM II*, 28). The church's out-of-town positioning is also symptomatic of the location of other martyria in Syria and the Holy Land, as pointed to repeatedly by I.Peña in his book on the churches of Syria (1997), for example the Bizzos Church in Ruweiha dated in the 6th century.

* *The compilation of this article was made possible thanks to a generous scholarship from the Andrew Mellon Foundation at the W. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem 2006/2007.*

¹ Marcianos also restored the Church of the Apostles in Gaza, and another small church outside the town, Glucker C., *The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Oxford 1987, p. 55; *Laud.Marc.II* 17-18; *Ibid* 19-20; K. Stark, *Gaza und die Philistäische Küste*, Jena 1852, p. 625. Marcianos' building activities encompassed stoas along the streets of Gaza, a new bath-house, and a repair of the city walls, Glucker C., *The City of Gaza...*, p.55.

² Kirsten C., *Questiones Choricanae*, Breslau 1894, pp. 7-24; Glucker C., *The City of Gaza...*, p.71, n.204; Abel F.-M., *Gaza au VI^e siècle d'après le rhéteur Chorikios*, *Revue Biblique* 40, p. 23.



Fig. 1. The Nilotic mosaic in the Church of Multiplication of Loaves and Fish, Tabgha, 5th century.

The church was a timber-roofed, triple-nave basilica supplied with upper galleries (γυναικωνίτις) and provided with a spacious square atrium (προτεμένισμα)³, which consisted of four columned porticos (τέτρασι στοαῖς ἀβρυνόμενον), and a façade strengthened with two towers (πύργοι). Choricus did not forget to add that the columns of the atrium gleamed 'whiter than snow' (Il. 20, 437) (LM II, 31). Let us note a couple of other architectural details. A high staircase led pilgrims up from the road to the western portico of the atrium (πλήθος βαθμῶν) (LM II, 29). Twin towers like the ones which once

flanked the main western entrance to the Church of St. Stephen are still preserved in a number of Syrian churches from the same period, and have always been regarded as characteristic of the Syrian Christian architecture⁴. Peña in his recent valuable study *Lieux de pèlerinage en Syrie* (2005) enumerated to a number of such towered basilicas, as for example the church in Qalb Lozeh, Ruweiha (6th century) or Turmanin. The architectural complex of St. Stephen's in Gaza also contained a sacristy (οἶκος ὑπηρεταῖς ἱερουργίας) with an entrance leading from its southern portico. It also encompassed the bishop's reception hall, and an *auditorium* (χώρος εἰς πρόσρσιν) lo-

³ Abel F.-M., *Gaza au VI^e siècle*, p. 26; Mango C., *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453. Sources and Documents*, Toronto.2004, p. 55.

⁴ Mango C., *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p.68, n.72 bibl.; Butler H., *Early churches in Syria*, Princeton 1929, p.210ff.; Lassus J., *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris.1947, 235ff.; Abel F.-M., *Gaza au VI^e siècle*, p. 26 apparently interpreted the text as if it were pointing to the towers flanking the propylon, the opening propylon which led to the atrium. Consequently he had in mind the west wall of the atrium that crowned the staircase. The grammar of the passage does not preclude such a reading. The usual interpretation which refers to a towered basilica of the ordinary Syro-Palestinian type seems to be a natural solution to the locus under discussion. Abel F.-M., *Gaza au VI^e siècle*..., p. 23, n.3, was aware of this construction element, Diehl C., *Manuel d'art byzantin*, Paris 1925, vol. I, 31; Downey G., *Gaza in the early sixth century*, Norman University Oklahoma 1963, p. 134.

cated among the trees of the garden (*LM* II, 33). In the church interior Choricus' attention was attracted by four porphyry columns (χρῶμασιν ἐσθῆτος βασιλικῆς, *LM* II, 36), which separated the chancel from the central nave. The central nave was closed off by a semicircular apse covered with a semi-dome (*LM* II, 37)⁵. Choricus' description of the side walls in the central nave is particularly impressive and rich in technical terminology: 'Lofty columns (κίονες ὑψηλοί), an architrave (σύνδεσμος) connecting their capitals (τὰς κορυφάς); above it, a wall riveted with marble (μαρμάρους); a second range of columns; another stretch of masonry decorated with animal figures (θηρίων πεποικιλμένη μορφαίς); arched windows (θυρίδες ἐν ἀψίδων γενόμεναι σχήματι) – these added together make up the height (of the church)' (*LM* II, 48, trans.C.Mango). The walls of the basilica were crowned with a coffer ceiling (ξύλα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πολυτελῆ καλαθίσκοις κεκαλυμμένα) (*LM* II, 53) ('here are costly timbers covered with coffering' trans.C.Mango)⁶.

Choricus devoted a large part of his *ecphrasis* on the Church of St.Sergius to the description of its rich figural decoration. Although his *ecphrasis* of St.Stephen's offers material interesting in many respects for studies of the Christian art of painting, its content is substantially limited. As a result we are unable to determine whether the church interior was actually only modestly decorated with mosaics and paintings, or whether - more likely - Choricus deliberately relegated the figural decoration, making it a secondary subject of his *ecphrasis*, and focusing on the architecture and its wooden and marble revetment.

Following Choricus' order, the pictures in the chancel are as follows:

The picture of 'everything the sea brings forth and all the tribute of the earth' (trans.C.Mango: ὅσα μὲν θάλαττα φέρειν, ὅσα δὲ γῆ πέφυκε συντελεῖν - *LM* II, 34). It seems that this was a floor mosaic located along the east wall of the atrium (ὁ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τοῖχος), perhaps in the narthex, which is otherwise not specified in the description.

A mosaic composition of Christ flanked by two holy men, of whom one was St. John the Baptist. The mosaic covered the concave wall of the apse (*LM* II, 38, Ibid45).

A Nilotic landscape with its wild life, which adorned the walls behind the columned porticoes, that is the walls in the side naves (ταύτην ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τὴν εὐφορσύνην αἱ στοά σοι διδόασιν) (*LM* II, 51) (the porticoes would give you this pleasure of looking at their walls, where ... etc. [the nilotic landscape is located]). Choricus adds that the aisles were well lit thanks to numerous and spacious windows.

⁵ Downey G., *Gaza*, p. 136.

⁶ Abel F.-M., *Gaza au VI^e siècle*, p. 27.

In this paper I would like to focus exclusively on St. Stephen's nilotic mosaic.

As if only incidentally ('I had nearly forgotten ...'), Choricus introduces the most interesting and detailed passage, which refers to the figural arts in his second oration in honour of Bishop Marcianos – a mosaic with a Nilotic landscape. ὁ Νεῖλος, αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς οὐδαμοῦ γεγραμμένος, ὃν τρόπον ζωγράφοι γράφουσι ποταμούς, ρεύμασι δὲ καὶ συμβόλοις τοῖς οἰκείοις ὑποφαινόμενος λειμῶσί τε παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας αὐτοῦ. καὶ γένη παντοίων ὀρνέων ὅσα τοῖς ἐκείνου πολλάκις λουόμενα ρεύμασιν τοῖς λειμῶσιν ἐνδιαίτῳται (LM II, 50) (the Nile, the river itself is nowhere portrayed in the way painters portray rivers, but is suggested by means of distinctive currents and symbols, as well as by the meadows along its banks. Various kinds of birds, that often wash in that river's streams dwell in the meadows, trans. C.Mango).

Nilotic mosaics were popular in Italy in the Hellenistic period, and in Roman Africa during Early Imperial times. From the 4th century on they had also become popular in the eastern provinces, in particular in the 5th - 6th century. Balty emphasises their wide territorial dispersion and longevity in Roman art⁷. In Jordan Nilotic landscapes appear on the floor mosaics from the 6th to the 8th century. The mosaics uncovered in Palestine are dated in general somewhat earlier, in the 5th – 6th century⁸. Thanks to the publications of Balty (1976, 1984) and Hachlili (1998) we have a fairly good idea of the Nilotic mosaic in the aisles of St. Stephen's in Gaza. What did it look like? Choricus observed that 'the river itself is nowhere portrayed in the way the painters portray rivers'. In other words, the mosaicists of St. Stephen's did not present a personification of the River Nile. As shown by Hachlili, the personified figure of the Nile may be regarded as characteristic of the Nilotic landscapes in Palestine (Bet Shean, Sepphoris), but not of Syrian and Jordanian Nilotic *paysages*, where there is generally no personification (with the exception of Umm-el-Manebi)⁹. Choricus mentioned 'all the various types of birds' swimming or taking a dip in the water, or resting on the meadows along the river.' His 'birds' may be interpreted by numerous analogies as 'cranes, herons, ducks' with a duck resting in a lotus cup as a favourite motif¹⁰. The latter appears on many Nilotic mosaics in Palestine (Sepphoris, Tabgha, Bet

⁷ Balty J., *Thèmes nilotiques dans la mosaïque tardive du Proche-Orient*, in: *Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient. Chronologie, iconographie, interprétation*, Paris 1995, p.245.

⁸ Hachlili R., *Iconographic Elements of Nilotic Scenes on Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel*, PEQ 113, p.111.

⁹ Hachlili R., *Iconographic Elements*, table 1, p.108

¹⁰ Hachlili R., *Iconographic Elements*, p. 107.



Fig. 2. The birds in the Nilotic mosaic. The Church of Sts. Lot and Procopius in Khirbet el-Mukhayyet, AD 557.

Guvrin). 'The meadows' are suggestive of different plants as lotus flowers, nenuphars, or papyri. 'Lotus, papyrus and oleander plants fill the space in a similar manner in all the pavements and represent and distinguish the Nilotic landscape'¹¹. I had the good fortune of seeing the Nilotic mosaic of Tabgha *in situ* (5th century) (Pl.I). This mosaic is conspicuous for the wide range of species it presents. It belongs to a class of Nilotic mosaics which call to mind pages of illuminated codices with atlases of birds. In Tabgha we can recognise a cormorant, a dove, ducks, a goose, herons, a swan and a flamingo killing a snake. The Nilotic landscape in the Church of S.John the Baptist also included herons and ibises¹². The birds in the Nilotic mosaics are frequently depicted with the use of splendid, fresh colours for their plumage to cheer the eyes of the viewers (Sts. Lot and Procopius in Khirbet el-Mukhayyet (Pl. II-III), Casa del Fauno in Pompeii, Tabgha).

We have already mentioned a duck resting in a lotus flower as a favourite subject. It returns time and again in the Nilotic landscapes. The ichneumon pictured in combat with a cobra may be regarded as yet another figural component of mosaic decoration¹³. This motif appears on a largely destroyed Ktisis mosaic in Antioch¹⁴, in the churches of Qabr Hiram (St.Christopher's) and Zahrani, on the Orpheus mosaic from Jerusalem kept in the Archaeological Museum

¹¹ Hachlili R., *Iconographic Elements*, p.116.

¹² Balty J., *Thèmes nilotiques*, p.247.

¹³ Balty J., *Le cobra et la mangouste dans les mosaïques tardives du Proche-Orient*, in: Balty 1995, pp. 217-226 = *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 25, 1976, p. 217, n.1; Aymard J., *La querelle du cobra et de la mangouste dans l'Antiquité*, *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, Antiquité* 71, pp.227-262.

¹⁴ Balty J., *Le cobra et la mangouste...*, p.218, n.6 bibl.

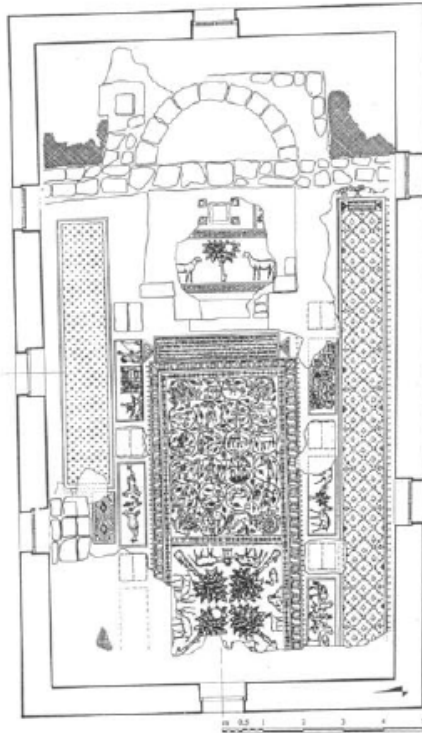


Fig. 3. Hunting games entwined in stylised palm and vine branches, the Four Trees of the Paradise and the Nilotic mosaic in the Church of Sts. Lot and Procopius in Khirbet el-Mukhayyet, AD 557.

The nilometer occurs exclusively on Palestinian mosaics, while the crocodile may be seen also in North African mosaic painting. It is interesting to observe that the crocodile is missing in the Syrian and Jordanian mosaic decoration¹⁹. Choricus' 'appropriate symbols' must have also referred to the usual representations of towns in the mosaics of Palestine and Jordan, as for example of a representation of Alexandria (Bet Shean, Sepphoris), of Alexandria and Mem-

of Istanbul, and also in Shahba, El-Mukhayyat, Ma'in, in the Michaelion of Huarte and in the Casa del Fauno in Pompeii. In Tabgha the cobra fights with a pelican¹⁵. I am going to return to this point in the discussion of decorative qualities and a possible religious symbolism of the Nilotic mosaics.

Sometimes we may be justified in suspecting a reflection of the Orientalist painters. This seems to be the case in a detail showing a cow attacked by a crocodile on a river bank. Such a motif was identified by E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum on a mosaic from Kyrene¹⁶. In all likelihood the image was inspired by a painting by Nealces mentioned in Pliny the Elder's History of Art (*HN* 35,138). The old master painted a donkey and a crocodile waiting in ambush¹⁷.

What does 'with appropriate symbols' (συμβολαῖς τοῖς οἰκείοις - *LM* II, 50) mean? These words clearly refer to some usual components of the Nilotic mosaic landscape, like the nilometer, crocodile or a sailing boat¹⁸.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 218.

¹⁶ Balty J., *Le cobra et la mangouste*, p.246, n.8.

¹⁷ Hachlili R., *Iconographic Elements*, p.115; E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, J.Ward-Perkins, *Justinianic Mosaic Pavements in Cyrenaican Churches*, 1980 p.46; P. Mayboom, *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina*, 1995, pp. 100, 371-372, nn.18-19.

¹⁸ Hachlili R., *Iconographic Elements*, p.107.

¹⁹ Ibid., table 1.

phis (Gerasa, Khirbet as-Samra)²⁰. Hachlili's description of Sepphoris' Nile as 'one central stream consisting of ... wavy lines which divide the pavement and another thinner stream flowing down on the right side of the mosaic'²¹ probably illustrates Choricus' expression: 'depicted with streams'.

Nilotic landscapes sometimes make up a highly complex and unified compositions. This is the case with St. Stephen's decoration, as well as with the Tabgha, Gerasa and Scythopolis mosaic decorations. Sometimes they resemble narrow and elongated carpets (el-Haditha, Kafr Kama, the House of the Earth and Seasons in Antioch, Tell Hauwash, Halawa, Ummir el-Qubliye). Nilotic subjects may also appear as small, decorative images (*petits tableaux*) applied in the intercolumnia of church interiors (Sts. Loth and Procopius' in Khirbet el-Mukhayyat) or simply as *motifs de remplissage*²². They were also frequently employed as additional decorative motifs in different kinds of mosaic adornments. In all those classes, whether of carpet mosaics, or decorative frames or small images we find both simple conglomerations of motifs collected together on a surface (Tell Hauwash, Halawa) as well as truly artistic creations (Tabgha, Khirbet el-Mukhayyat) (Pl. I-III)²³.

The question remains whether Choricus' description refers to a painting or a mosaic decoration. St. Stephen's Nilotic mosaics were located on the walls of the naves: ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων αἱ στοαί (LM II, 51). In his *ecphrasis* Choricus described the space of the aisles as well-lit by many spacious windows. To me the word φωτός (of light) suggests mosaics and their luminous effect.

Balty in her invaluable paper on the Nilotic mosaics (1995) raised the question of their interpretation. She asked if they carried an allegorical meaning. Basing on the archaeological material, she argued that the Nilotic mosaics had a purely decorative character, and that it was exactly this quality which brought them such a widespread and long lasting popularity. She emphasised that Nilotic mosaics have been found in pagan sanctuaries, private houses, synagogues and Christian churches²⁴. To illustrate her thesis, she drew attention to the mosaic from Collemancio in Italy (2nd century AD) remarkable for its purely decorative character, namely its symmetrical arrangement which consists of two hippopotami and two crocodiles set against one another around a square central field²⁵. Balty further argued that it was exactly the mosaics'

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 111 ff.

²¹ Ibid., p. 110.

²² Balty J., *Thèmes nilotiques*, p. 250.

²³ Ibid., p. 251.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 249, 251, 252, 253.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 251, Pl. 36, 2, n. 30, p. 249; S. Aurigemma, *Les Thermes de Diocletien et le Musée National Romain*, 1955, pp. 30-31, pl. X-XI.

non-religious character which proved decisive for their popularity in the period when Christians were looking for decorative patterns suitable for their churches, while hitherto popular mythological subjects were out of the question²⁶. Consequently Balty was not inclined to believe in their Christian symbolism²⁷. This latter argument of hers may well be illustrated by a charming story of a young mosaicist (μουσωτής) who 'was removing the old mosaic from the wall representing the story of Aphrodite' (ἱστορίαν ἔχοντος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης) (*Vita S.Eutychii* 53) in a private villa in Amaseia, because the owner of the house was going to convert it into a chapel of the Archangel Michael and the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. When the mosaicist 'had cut out the picture of the unclean Aphrodite (τὸ θέμα τῆς ἀκαθάρτου Ἀφροδίτης), the demon that resided in it struck his hand which became inflamed and swollen.' The story continues that the young artist was healed by St.Eutychius, whose icon he painted and hung on the wall of the new sanctuary in Amaseia²⁸. We can legitimately suspect that it was a mosaic image of St.Eutychius which adorned the sanctuary's interior. The pagan mosaics were erased.

Hachlili in her industrious and helpful overview of the Nilotic mosaics which have been uncovered in Israel, in general followed Balty's line of interpretation. Hachlili emphasised that the 5th-6th century Nilotic mosaics inherited from the Hellenistic period lost their original pagan religious meaning (the worship of the Nile divinity) and acquired various new meanings in the changed cultural milieu. She stressed the fact that the Nilotica created 'a general phenomenon of mosaic pavement art in Israel' and that they were found 'in different kinds of buildings, pagan, Jewish and Christian'²⁹. Hachlili also adduced some alternative opinions, which differ from her own and Balty's views. They seem to be more important for the Nilotica in St.Stephen's of Gaza, that is the literary description, while Hachlili and Balty were preoccupied exclusively with the archaeological material. It was Maguire who emphasised the allegorical meaning of the images of the Nile, 'the river which brings fertility' and which was also a symbol of creation. He also regarded the story of the Flight into Egypt as crucial to the interpretation of the Nilotica in the Christian churches³⁰. In particular Maguire was

²⁶ Balty J., *Thèmes nilotiques*, p. 252.

²⁷ Ibid., p.253.

²⁸ PG 86 II, 2333-2336, *Vita S.Eutychii*, Patriarchae Constantinopolitani ab Eustathio Presbytero; Eng.trans. Mango C., *The Art of the Byzantine Empire...*, p.133ff.; Eustathius lived in exile in Amaseia in the years 565-77.

²⁹ Hachlili R., *Iconographic Elements*, p.118.

³⁰ Hachlili R., *Iconographic Elements*, p. 118; Maguire H., *Earth and Ocean. The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art*, London 1987, pp. 43-44; 50-55.

inclined to interpret along these lines a pavement in the East Church of Qasr el-Lebia. Hermann also pointed to a substance of the *interpretatio Christiana* when he recalled that the Nile was believed to be one of the Four Rivers of Paradise³¹. However, in her paper *Le cobra et la mangouste dans les mosaïques tardives du Proche-Orient* (1976) Balty herself adduced the motif of combat between ichneumon and cobra pictured on the pavement of the church in Karlik, Cilicia. The motif was employed as illustrative of the Messianic ideal of the Peace of Christ which will fill the animal kingdom with the coming of Messiah according to the vision of Isaiah (65,25). *φιλία τῶν ζῴων* can be also illustrated by the mosaic decoration in the churches of El-Mukhayyet and Ma'in. In the latter the landscape was explained by the related biblical inscription³². Balty also recalled ichneumon chapter in the *Physiologus Graecus*. The anonymous author of the *Physiologus* wrote that the ichneumon rolls about in the mud before a fight with cobra, which should be interpreted as a figure of the incarnated Christ and His confrontation with Satan. *The Physiologus* was very popular from the 2nd century AD on. In the church of Zahrani a section which contains an ichneumon and cobra was located in the central part of the mosaic pavement³³. The mosaic pavement in the nave of the church in Huarte near Apamea is illustrative of the efforts undertaken by the donors and priests to assimilate pagan floral and animal 'atlases' to the realm of Christian art. The image of Adam at the centre of the nave just before the altar and at the end of the profane space transformed the atlas of animals and birds into the



Fig. 4. The Orpheus-Christ mosaic from Jerusalem, 5th-7th century, The Archaeological Museum of Istanbul.

³¹ Hermann A., *Der Nil und die Christen*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 2, 1959, p. 64-67; Hachlili R., *Iconographic Elements*, p. 118.

³² Balty J., *Le cobra et la mangouste*, p. 220.

³³ Ibid., p. 224.

Christian Paradise from the Book of Genesis³⁴. The Orpheus-like Christ is a variation on the subject. He plays on a lyre among peaceful animals entranced by his voice and music on the large mosaic uncovered in Jerusalem and now kept at the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, an unforgettable experience of artistic perfection for the visitor to the Museum (Pl. IV)³⁵. It is interesting to observe that the central *emblema* with Orpheus has been frequently published without its original setting, which endows the image with a strikingly pagan appearance. And only in its full ideological context, with the two female figures in a nimbus, named Georgia nad Theodosia, represented below Orpheus, and dressed in *palliae* and *dalmaticae*, which can be read as allusive of their Byzantine court milieu, allows the viewer to identify the person of Christ in the otherwise very pagan looking image of Orpheus. A similar mosaic with Orpheus was also found in Shahba (Philippopolis) and still remains *in situ*³⁶.

There is evidence that those seemingly 'neutral' and 'purely decorative' mosaics were nonetheless carefully observed. The human figures which made up a usual component of the mosaic decoration in many churches of Palestine and Jordan (e.g. in Scythopolis, Beit Jibrin, Khirbet el-Mukhayyat) were intentionally avoided in the region of Apamea, as corroborated by the empty boats on the River Nile (Umnir)³⁷. The literary sources may sometimes throw an interesting sidelight on this phenomenon, which reveals a clearly religious background. The corpus of documents collected for the needs of the Seventh Nicean Council (787) preserved the *Letter ad Olympiodorum Eparchum* (Ep. 61 in PG 79, cc. 577-580), a document which originated in the early 5th century, and in all likelihood was compiled by Abbot Neilos of Sinai (or, as more recently preferred, from Ancyra)³⁸. However, the *Letter to Olympiodorus* which is known from the *Documents of the Council* (787) is missing from the voluminous corpus of Neilos' letters (PG 79, 81-581). Neilos expressed his decisively hostile attitude towards the fishing, hunting and other types of genere scenes in church

³⁴ Canivet P. et M., *I complessi Cristiani di Huarte*, Rivista di archeologia Cristiana 56, 1980, fig. 9, 11.

³⁵ Avi-Yonah M. 1981, *Art in Ancient Palestine. Selected Studies*, Jerusalem 1981, no. 133, pp. 319f. Pl. 50, 51.

³⁶ Balty J., *Le cobra et la mangouste*, p. 222.

³⁷ Balty J., *Thèmes nilotiques*, p. 252.

³⁸ Thümmel H., *Neilos von Ankyra über die Bilder*, Byzantinische Zeitschrift 71, 1978, p. 11; cf. a complicated issue of the letter's authenticity discussed by Thümmel 1978: Nicephorus quoted Neilos' letter to Olympiodorus in his writings, adv. iconomachos 14; antirrhesis 425; elenchos Paris gr. 1250, Alexander P., *The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and Its Definition (Horos)*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 7, 1953, Hennephof H., *Textus byzantini ad iconomachiam pertinentes*, Leiden 1969.

decoration. We can deduce that his ban must have also encompassed Nilotic landscapes. The discussion which absorbed Thümmel's attention mainly regarded the letter's integrity and authenticity and consequently does not seem to be central to us. There cannot be any doubt about that Neilos was strongly against such decoration in Christian churches. The question remains whether the abbot from Sinai had such decorations whitewashed as argued by Thümmel, or simply preferred the imagery inspired by the Old and New Testament stories, as documented by the extant version of Neilos' letter. Thümmel argued that this version was forged by the iconodule-oriented Nicean Fathers (787).

However, the passage of the letter we are interested in looks integral and original. It goes as follows: εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἱερατείῳ καὶ θήρας ζώων παντοίας τοὺς τοίχους πληῖσαι ... ὥστε βλέπεσθαι κατὰ μὲν τὴν χέρσον ἐκτεινόμενα λίνα, καὶ λαγωοὺς, καὶ δορκάδας, καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς φεύγοντα ζῶα, τοὺς δὲ θηρᾶσαι σπεύδοντας, σὺν τοῖς κυνιδίοις ἐκθύμως διώκοντας; κατὰ δὲ τὴν θάλατταν χαλῶμενα δίκτυα, καὶ πᾶν γένος ἰχθύων ἐλιευόμενα, καὶ εἰς τὴν ξηρὰν ἐξαγόμενα χερσὶν ἀλιευτικάις (to fill the walls ... with all kinds of animal hunts so that one might see snares being stretched on the ground, fleeing animals, such as hares, gazelles, and others, while the hunters, eager to capture them, pursue them with their dogs; and also nets being lowered into the sea, and every kind of fish being caught and carried on shore by the hands of the fishermen, trans.C.Mango - PG 71, c.577 C). This passage offers us one more literary comment on the above discussed mosaic decoration in the *narthex* of St. Stephen's of Gaza.

Let us read one more passage from the same letter, which speaks of 'the pictures of different birds and beasts, reptiles and plants' (PG 71, 577 D). This passage clearly reflects the class of mosaics which encompassed Nilotic landscapes. The opinion of a venerable ecclesiast on the decoration project of a newly founded church was decisively negative. However, the growing number of mosaic pavements adorning the floors of the numerous churches in the Christian Orient, which have been uncovered for recent decades in Israel, Jordan and Syria, strongly contrasts with Neilos' attitude and clearly speaks of a prevailing vogue for figural decoration in Christian buildings. Neilos was not isolated in his opinion among his contemporaries. His attitude was shared by Epiphanius of Salamis and Theodotus of Ancyra, who were later referred to by the iconoclasts as authorities in the theological discussions on the cult of icons. An interesting testimony from the early 9th century is remarkable for the same spirit of rejection and dislike for floral and animal decoration in the Christian churches and can be regarded as representative of Neilos' attitude. Its author, Stephen the Deacon, was actually an iconodule and adversary of the icono-

clasts. The passage runs as follows: 'He (Constantine V) converted the church (of Saint Mary of Blachernae) into a storehouse of fruit and an aviary, for he covered it with mosaics of trees and all kinds of birds and beasts, and certain swirls of ivy-leaves enclosing cranes, crows and peacocks' (trans.C.Mango)³⁹. We can be sure that some Christians in the 5th/6th century expressed the same scornful opinions on the presence of the decoration in the Church of St.Stephen of Gaza, authorised by Bishop Marcianos, in the church founded by the Prefect Olympiodorus, in the Church of Multiplication of Loaves and Fish in Tabgha (Pl.I), or in the minor church of Khan Khalde. They must have ironically asked themselves or their companions: is this a church or an aviary? Certainly this attitude represents only a special current within a larger stream. In the Early Church we also find those who accepted Christian art in general, and what is more even admired and encouraged Christian artistic creativity. Asterios of Amaseia, Gregory of Nyssa, Paulinus of Nola or Marcianos of Gaza may be mentioned in this context. Bishops like Gregory of Nyssa or Marcianos of Gaza were men of authority wielding a certain degree of executive power. Thus we have a spectrum of contemporary opinions on church decoration in the history of the Early Church.

The *interpretatio Christiana* of the Nilotic landscapes must have certainly played its role in the discussion on church decoartion. However, the aesthetic component was of great importance. The sacred geography of Paradise and the Holy Family in Egypt integrated with the purely decorative qualities of the mosaic carpets or wall paintings in the churches of the Christian Orient. They blended together in a way proper to the *beaux arts*. A visitor to the Church of Multiplication of Loaves and Fish in Tabgha realised how impressive they were. They opened up to the viewer a paradise of exotic birds, rendered with love of colour and shape, and the opulence of floral forms delineated with care and sensitivity to their natural beauty. In this mysterious garden of art forms the viewer can forget about their possible religious meaning, enchanted by their shapes, colours and composition. In the same way St.Augustine in his *Confessions* complained about the beauty of voices and music of the Psalms, which distracted the attention of believers during church ceremonies.

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³⁹ Vita S.Stephani iunioris, c.1120.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE EGYPTIAN
MONASTIC DRESS IN THE CONTEXT
OF LITERARY SOURCES
AND FUNERARY FINDS

Information on the subject of Egyptian monastic dress do frequent all kinds of literary sources. On one hand we come across abbots' lectures (Pachomius, Shenoute of Atripa) regulating the clothing issue for monks, on the other – various remarks in monasteries related literature (e.g. apophthegmata, *Historia Lausiaca* by Palladius, *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*). Due to the wide diversity of names brought by our sources, sometimes more than one used to describe a single piece of clothing, all attempts at reconstruction must be made carefully.

As many before have conducted an in-depth analysis of the existing texts for clues on that subject¹, it is unproductive to mention more than a few crucial statements here. The aim of this essay is to further stress the value of the material coming from Coptic cemeteries, enabling us to draw a distinction between the grave of a monk and that of a layman. Archaeological data from Christian nekropoleis in Egypt seem to suggest that the burial's very location was of no importance. Monastic cemeteries were used universally by the members of local communities, men and women alike². Granted that a large

¹ See e.g.: R. Draguet, *Le chapitre de l'Histoire Lausiaque sur les Tabennésiotes dérive-t-il d'une source copte?*, *Muséon* 57 (1944), p. 53-145; P. van Moorsel, *Les peintures du Monastère de Saint-Antoine près de la mer Rouge*, t. 1, MIFAO 112, IFAO, Le Caire 1995, p. 50-72; V. Desprez, *Cenobitizm pachomiański* [in:] *Pachomiana Latina*, tr. A. Bober, W. Miliszkiewicz, M. Starowieyski, ed. M. Starowieyski, *Źródła Monastyczne* 11, Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów Tyniec, Kraków 1996, p. 40-41; V. Desprez, *Początki monastycyzmu: dzieje monastycyzmu chrześcijańskiego do soboru efeskiego (431)*, tr. A. Dembska, *Źródła Monastyczne* 21, Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów Tyniec 21, Kraków 1999, p. 309-310.

² We find examples of such secular burials e.g. in cemetery C near the Naqlun monastery. See: W. Godlewski, *Naqlun (Nekluni). Season 2004*, PAM XVI (Reports 2004), p. 185.

number of inscribed funerary stelae, clearly belonging to monks³ have been discovered, they were only very rarely still *in situ*⁴ – removed and reused in nearby buildings. Poverty or even total lack of equipment – a feature shared by those early Christian burials, makes any attempt to deduce if the person laid inside belonged to the convent futile. As has been indicated, most data can be therefore derived from the clothing itself.

Needless to say, the trait recognised at first glance is the amount and quality of the fabric. A layman would be usually dressed in a variety of colourful, embroidered clothes – made mostly of linen but sometimes also silk – as in the case of the necropolis of the city Antinoe or cemetery located upon ruined St. Jeremiah monastery at Saqqara⁵. One should not expect such finery in monk's grave – they were buried in what clothes they possessed, the usual fabric being linen⁶. Indeed, some texts describe not only the way the cenobites dressed everyday but also what was considered suitable for them in death – a case in point being Letter 30 of Shenoute of Atripa, mentioning *three pairs of clothes and two scarfs*⁷. These numbers illustrate the rules drawn by Pachomius on the monastic dress code⁸.

The number of graves, belonging doubtlessly to monks isn't large, fine examples being: burials from Deir el-Medinah site⁹, from Epiphanius monastery in Western Thebes and St. Mark monastery in Gurnet Marei.

³ As can be observed e.g. on a stele from Asuan (St. Simeon monastery): H. Munier, *Les stèles coptes du Monastère de Saint-Siméon à Assouan*, *Aegyptus* 11 (1930-31), p. 264, 266, 268, 269.

⁴ Interesting examples being the burials of monks (e.g. Apa Kafka, Apa Herakleides), located in the perimeter of a church belonging to Abu Fana monastery. Votive plates situated above the graves as parts of the floor were decorated (crosses, peacocks) and inscribed with names of deceased. See: H. Buschhausen et al., *Ausgrabungen von Dair Abu Fana in Ägypten im Jahr 1990 (=Dair Abu Fana II)*, *Ä&L* 4 (1994), p. 104-106.

⁵ There are two Coptic cemeteries at Saqqara – one located upon the ruins of the monastery mentioned (south of the ramp once leading to the pyramid of Unis), the other in the northern part of the site, near the ancient necropolis for sacred animals.

⁶ Draguet, *op.cit.*, p. 109 together with footnote 143.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 144.

⁸ It seems plausible that the correct number of clothes prescribed by Pachomius was three rather than two as occasionally mentioned in the monastic literature (See: Desprez, *Cenobitism...*, p. 40-41). Praecepta 81, which listed the items a monk could own, says: *two lebitonaria and one worn down by use* – that gives us three tunics, the last one used for work and sleep. St. Jerome in his Preface to Rules by Pachomius mentions *two lebitonaria (which is a garment of Egyptian sort, sleeveless) and one already worn out, to work and sleep*. Similarly *Book of Horsiesius* (chapter 22): *two lebitonaria and another in use*.

⁹ At the site of Hathor temple was a monastery and church of St. Isidore.

In 1973 one of the mummies found in Gurnet Marei – a man around 45 years old – has been examined more closely with a detailed register of clothes being created. The monk wore a sleeveless tunic, reaching his ankles and made from a single, rectangular piece of linen (2,26 x 1,3 m), sewn at the sides¹⁰, with the orifices for head and arms additionally strengthened. A sort of a shirt, hips-length completed the outfit¹¹. It is worth mentioning that the clothes were definitely an everyday use item, not one created especially for the deceased¹². The mummy's head was covered with a cap made of a rectangular, good quality linen (73 x 45 cm)¹³. When folded in half, one of the longer sides was sewn together, with strings attached to the free corners. Two crosses decorated its back.

Interestingly, the man's dress included a (ram's or goat's) leather apron, covering his chest and thighs¹⁴. Two stripes fixed to the upper corners (36 and 44 cm long, 3 cm wide¹⁵) enabled the owner to hang it around his neck. Another piece of leather (ca. 73 x 3,6 cm¹⁶) circled the waist to be fastened at the back. Embossed with geometric patterns (e.g. concentric circles), it also had a small pocket on the right side, breast-high¹⁷. The upper part of the apron broadened, the lower one narrowed – protecting the legs, it was cut into three stripes, the middle one with additional cuts¹⁸. It's worth mentioning that this last item wasn't placed immediately on the body but upon ten shrouds protecting it, under the cover of narrow ribbons¹⁹.

Clothing found in two graves near St. Epiphanius monastery show close similarity to those just described. Here, the leather apron and stripes were also placed atop the layer of shrouds and ribbons²⁰, the only exception being grave number 9, where it covered the body. Examples of this kind are known from Deir el-Medinah as well²¹, – a similar item served as an outer cover for the mummified, linen-wrapped body.

¹⁰ G. Castel, *Étude d'une momie copte* [in:] J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommages à S. Sauneron*, vol. 2: *Égypte post-pharaonique*, IFAO, Le Caire 1979, p. 137.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 137-138, 141.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 121.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 136.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 125.

¹⁵ As above.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 127.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 125.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 140.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 121, 125 and p. 140-141.

²⁰ H. E. Winlock, W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, vol. 1, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1926, p. 49.

²¹ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940)*, FIFAO 30, Le Caire 1952, p. 19-20.

One may reasonably suppose that the garment described above is to be identified with a *melota*, known from literary sources²². According to those, it was made from the goat's leather²³ and covered one side²⁴. In some instances (during meditation or prayer) the lower part of *melota* could be folded and used for sitting down, protecting the tunic lying underneath²⁵; other times it served as a bag for carrying bread or water. H. Leclercq and a large number of scholars consider the *melota* to be a kind of cape²⁶. Indeed, our sources differ in their description of it, suggesting that a "leather coat" covered the shoulders or hung from them, uncovering one side²⁷. Some facts, however need considering here. Firstly, the only leather item found in the graves of Gurnet Marei, Deir el-Medinah or St. Epiphanius monastery is the very apron mentioned above. Secondly, our sources use a variety of names for certain parts of clothing. A coat, covering neck and shoulders called *sabanum* or *palliolum* in Pachomian texts was actually made of linen, not leather²⁸. Nevertheless, one can suppose a *melota* could be used as a coat or apron. A well known fresco from the Faras cathedral (VII-IX AD)²⁹ – St. Ammonios of Tuna – shades more light on the matter. The ascetic wears a apron fastened round the waist, narrowing downwards and resting on his right side, which partly corresponds with its description above. The upper part with the pocket and stripes, clearly absent here, seems to be of lesser importance. Our written sources emphasise the use of the lower part – for carrying things and protecting the tunic while sitting down. It is therefore valid to speculate that the design of a *melota* could differ from one to the other – the piece with a pocket added for convenience. Similarly, the cuts visible were there for practical reasons – once tied to the belt at the waist, they formed a sack, used for transport. Otherwise, the end of the strap would have to be supported by hand all the time.

²² Castel, op.cit., p. 140-141.

²³ Desprez, *Cenobityzm...*, p. 41.

²⁴ Praecepta 81. All references to Pachomian texts after: *Pachomiana Latina*, tr. A. Bober, W. Miliszkiewicz, M. Starowieyski, Źródła Monastyczne 11, Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów Tyniec, Kraków 1996.

²⁵ Draguet, op.cit., p. 99.

²⁶ H. Leclercq, *Mélote* [in:] F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq (ed.), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 11, part 1, Letouzey et Ané, Paris 1933, col. 280-281; See: P. Ladeuze, *Étude sur le cénobitisme pachomien pendant le IV^e siècle et la première moitié du V^e*, A. Fontemoing, Louvain 1898, p. 275.

²⁷ Praecepta 2; Praecepta 99.

²⁸ Pref. 4; Praecepta 81; Praecepta 102; Book of Horsiese 22.

²⁹ K. Michałowski, *Faras: Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand*, Benziger, Zürich-Köln 1967, p. 113, Tf. 31.

Linen tunic, mentioned in the case of the monk from Gurnet Marei, formed a basis of monastic outfits, both in Pachomian congregation and that of Shenoute, though the design could differ slightly. According to Pachomian texts, so called *lebiton* was a long, sleeveless cloth made of linen³⁰. There are however reasons to believe that the Shenoutian garment had sleeves³¹. Therefore the monk from Gurnet Marei represented a group following Pachomian rules – another characteristic feature being the belt³².

As for his head cover, one is tempted to identify it with *kukulla* worn by both congregations – the word “scarf” used in Shenoutian texts seems to represent a *kukulle* as well³³. Each monk owned two kinds of caps³⁴, marked accordingly and used in the monastery or house he lived in³⁵. Their shape was modelled after children’s caps³⁶, numerous examples of which are to be found in the cemeteries e.g. those from Antinoe, sometimes adorned with a cross³⁷. In one of his essays, R. Draguet contemplates the possibility of wearing a *kukulla* only with other specific items e.g. a short coat, covering the shoulders (*palliolum*, *sabanum*, *amictus*, *maforium*) but he almost simultaneously provides arguments against this idea. The cap from Gurnet Marei seems to indicate, it could be worn independently, with stripes fastened below the chin. The two crosses mark also corresponds with what we can learn from the texts, though



Fig. 1. Fresco from the Faras cathedral – St. Ammonios (Amone). National Museum, Warsaw

³⁰ Prefatio Hieronymi 4; Praecepta 2; Praecepta 81.

³¹ Texts mention rolling up the sleeves. See: R. Szmurło, *Życie monastyczne w pismach Shenutego z Atripe*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Warszawa 2001, p. 115.

³² See: Praecepta 81.

³³ V. Desprez, *Cenobityzm pachomiański* [in:] *Pachomiana Latina*, tr. A. Bober, W. Miliszkiewicz, M. Starowieyski, Źródła Monastyczne 11, Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów Tyniec, Kraków 1996, p. 41; Szmurło, *op.cyt.*, p. 115 together with footnote 172.

³⁴ Praecepta 81.

³⁵ Praecepta 99.

³⁶ Moorsel, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

³⁷ F. Calament, *La révélation d'Antinoé par Albert Gayet*, vol. 1, BEC 18, IFAO, Le Caire 2005, p. 291-292

it is worth mentioning that an additional sign, indicating the monk's congregation, was also placed on the *kukulla*³⁸. *Historia Lausiaca* offers more insight into this problem, recording, apart from crosses, also letters of the Greek alphabet³⁹. Still, one cannot be certain that the markings were placed exclusively on head covers - Palladius does state that the monks were divided into groups distinguishable only by the signs but he does not specify their exact location on clothing. The Gurnet Marei cap is devoid of any markings, though according to some Coptic versions of the text, an ornament was to be placed at the belt⁴⁰. As for the Faras fresco, a cross sign is adorning the upper part of St. Ammonius cape⁴¹. Nothing therefore impedes the notion that an additional sign could not be placed somewhere else than the *kukulla*, still in the case of Gurnet Marei mummy, no such ornament was found.

From the above data we can conclude that any interpretation of the Egyptian monastic dress, based on texts and archaeological sources is seldom clear or unambiguous. In connection with this whole problem, it is worth remembering that close to nothing is known about the types of clothes nuns wore, although the tunic design was probably similar to the one described above. Still, the simplicity of those outfits and their specific elements like *melota* or *kukulle*, let us immediately recognise the grave as that of a monk.

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³⁸ See: Praecepta 99.

³⁹ HL XXXII, 4-5. After: Palladius, *Opowiadania dla Lausosa (Historia Lausiaca)*, tr. S. Kalinkowski, ed. M. Starowieyski, Źródła Monastyczne 12, Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów Tyniec, Kraków 1996, p. 155.

⁴⁰ A. Boon (ed.), *Pachomiana latina: Regle et epîtres de s. Pachome, Epître de s. Theodore et "Liber" de s. Orsiesius. Texte latin de s. Jerome: Appendice: La Regle de s. Pachome. Fragments coptes et Excerpta greca*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique 7, Bureaux de la Revue, Louvain 1932, p. 164; Draguet, *dz.cyt.*, p. 110, footnote 146.

⁴¹ M. Martens-Czarnecka, *Faras VII: Les éléments décoratifs sur les peintures de la Cathédrale de Faras*, PWN, Warszawa 1982, p.18 and pic.21.

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MARCIN PO CZOBUT-ODLANICKI
AND HIS DISSERTATION ON
THE DATING OF THE DENDERA ZODIAC

Early astronomy is a favourite subject of many scholars – both those dealing with sciences and those who represent humanities. Admittedly, astronomy was born in times of the first civilizations and it is among their remains, where one should look for the answer to contemporary questions about time and universe.

An outstanding Polish astronomer, chancellor of the Vilnius Academy¹, Marcin Poczubut-Odlanicki, too found that concept appealing. He was one of the first scholars in the world to use astronomical method in dating the archaeology artifacts. Poczubut was born in Słomianka, Grodno district², on October 30th, 1728. In the year 1740 he began his education in the Jesuit college and later joined the convent in Vilnius at the age of 17³. It was under the influence of priest Tomasz Żebrowski, then the head of the Vilnius Academy observatory⁴, that Poczubut took up astronomy. In 1754 he was sent to Prague to study math and Greek. Upon finishing his studies, thanks to the financial support of the Czartoryski family, Odlanicki was able to continue education

¹ The Academy was founded by king Stefan Batory in 1579, to be given the rank of the Commonwealth University by pope Gregory XIII. See.: Piechnik L., Puchowski K., *Z dziejów Almae Matris Vilnensis. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci 400-lecia założenia i 75-lecia wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu. Wileńskiego*, Kraków 1996.

² Grodno was one of the more prominent towns in the XVIII-century Poland; currently in Belarus.

³ Rabowicz E., *Poczubut Marcin* [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXVII, 1983, p. 52.

⁴ Rybka E., Rybka P., *Historia astronomii w Polsce*, vol. II, Wrocław-Warszawa 1983, p. 38.



Fig.1. Marcin Odlanicki-Poczobut (1728-1810), in: Rybka E., Rybka P., *Historia astronomii w Polsce*, vol II, 1983

abroad – in Italy and France⁵. Majority of his time was spent on observations, with the southern climate especially favorable for it. In Naples he was introduced to English astronomical instruments, considered the most accurate⁶. At the end of the year 1764, Poczobut returned to Vilnius, to receive his M.A. degree in philosophy and liberal arts, shortly after. For a couple of years he gave lectures on maths and astronomy at the Vilnius Academy. Poczobut was also named the head of the local astronomical observatory⁷ to which he became completely devoted⁸. Soon after, he managed to establish its exact latitude⁹. He dedicated his achievements to the king Stanisław August, gaining the title of the royal astronomer¹⁰. Having obtained the Doctor of Theology title¹¹, Poczobut began in 1768 a journey of

various European astronomical institutions, in order to supply his post with the best of instruments. Equipped with English and French tools, the Vilnius observatory could easily compete with the renowned scientific institutions of the continent¹², while the scholar himself was made in 1770 a member of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge¹³. He became famous for his observations of the planet Mercury locations, especially hard to conduct due to the closeness of the Sun¹⁴. Results of his work were published in 1777 as the first serious astronomy dissertation printed in Poland since Hevelius. Poczobut sent a series of measurements to Joseph Lalande in Paris,

⁵ Rabowicz E., *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁶ Śniadecki J., *Żywoty uczonych Polaków*, Kraków 1861, p. 82.

⁷ Vilnius observatory was built in 1753 by the aforementioned Tomasz Żebrowski, with the financial help from the duchess Elżbieta Puzynina of Ogiński family, as a two-storey superstructure to the Academy building.

⁸ Rabowicz E., *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁹ With 2 seconds accuracy.

¹⁰ Rybka E., *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹¹ Rabowicz E., *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹² Rybka E., *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

¹³ Rabowicz E., *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁴ In 1786 Poczobut conducted 60 observations of the planet (compared to only 4 done in Paris) and around 120 in the following year.

which allowed the French scholar to calculate a more precise orbit of the planet¹⁵. During this time many European institutions were keen on collaboration with Polish astronomer¹⁶. In 1778, thanks to the numerous publications, he was given a place among the Paris Academy of Sciences correspondents¹⁷. To show his gratitude to the ever supportive king Poniatowski, Poczubut named a group of 16 stars (nine of which he himself discovered) between the constellations of *Aquila* (Eagle) and *Ophiuchus* (Snake-holder) as a new set – *Taurus Poniatovii*. Newly christened constellation featured on numerous sky maps of the turn of the XVIII and XIX centuries. In 1780, Poczubut was appointed chancellor of the Vilnius Academy¹⁸. He remained in this post till 1799, when he resigned to concentrate on planet and planetoid observations. It was at this time, that he became interested in the history of astronomy¹⁹. In 1805, Poczubut health began deteriorating. Unable to fulfill his duties as the head of the observatory, he induced his close friend Śniadecki, a well-known astronomer from Kraków, to come to Vilnius and take his post. Poczubut died on February 8th (20th), 1810 in Daugavpils, aged 82. Famous in the field of astronomy, he was also very popular for his dissertation on dating of the Dendera Zodiac²⁰.

Dendera, the ancient capital of the 6th Nome of the Upper Egypt, lies on the Nile western bank nearby the modern town of Qina, about 60 km north of Luxor and 600 km south of Cairo. Egyptian name for the city was Iunet, its Greek equivalent – Tentyris. Dendera was the main cult center of the goddess Hathor, worshipped here as early as the Old Kingdom²¹.

The local Hathor temple is one of the best preserved examples of Egyptian architecture. It was probably during the reign of Ptolemy XII Auletes, that the work began, presumably replacing the earlier building of Pepy I²², only to be finished in the times of Nero – from II BC to II AD. The temple was constructed in two stages – the older, sacral part is dated to the Ptolemaic period, while the younger, outer part (pronaos) was completed with all probability by the Roman emperor Tiberius.

Though the building's style is that of a classic Egyptian temple, it lacks such characteristic parts as pylons, portico and a typical courtyard. Surrounded by

¹⁵ Rybka E., *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁶ Opalek K., *Epoka Oświecenia – Historia Nauki Polskiej*, vol. II, 1970.

¹⁷ Rabowicz E., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁸ Rybka E., *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁰ Rabowicz E., *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

²¹ For more information and literature on Dendera see: Arnold D., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*, Zürich 1994, pp. 64-66.

²² As indicated by one of the temple inscriptions.



Fig. 2. The so-called round Zodiac from the Hathor temple of Dendera, in: *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. IV, pl. 21, with changes

the underground part of the building, linked by a network of corridors. Two inner staircases led to the upper-extension, where the ceremony of joining between goddess Hathor and the sun disk was held. A shrine, dedicated to Osiris was constructed nearby on the roof. Another important ritual – that of New Year, took place in the western part of the temple²⁶.

Europe rediscovered Dendera in the year 1799, during one of the excursions of Napoleon's expedition to Upper Egypt. Partially buried in the sand, the temple enchanted French scholars. Inside, apart from, then unknown and mysterious Egyptian symbols, they encountered familiar representations of the Zodiac signs. As early as 1802 drawings of the Zodiac were published in the work of Dominique Vivant Denon *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte* and they were later more thoroughly redrawn in *Description de l'Égypte*²⁷.

Unfortunately, very little was known at that time about both the Dendera and the zodiac's history, leading to large discrepancies in suggested dating. Beautiful copies were inaccurate (Fig. 4). The scholars were set to prove, that the sensational find was thousands of years old – referring to the Bible, the

only partly finished high enclosure wall, it faces north²³. Such an atypical solution results from the city location – at the point where the Nile bends and flows temporarily from the east to the west²⁴. In this special case, the sacral role of the east was given to the north.

A prominent pronaos, more than 17 metres high, consisted of four rows of six columns with hathoric capitals. Front row is linked by screen walls²⁵. Inner part of the temple housed a small Hypostyle Hall with 6 columns, Offering Hall and a sanctuary, surrounded by the outer wall hiding 11 crypts within. Such hidden rooms can also be found in

²³ Baines J., Málek J., *Wielkie Kultury Świata. Egipt*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 112-113.

²⁴ Egyptian temples are, for the most part, build in the W-E line, so that their facade could face the Nile.

²⁵ Lipińska J., *Sztuka starożytnego Egiptu*, Warszawa 2008, p. 275.

²⁶ Rachet G., *Słownik cywilizacji egipskiej*, Katowice 1994, pp. 81-82.

²⁷ Unfortunately after Pocobut's death.

very appearance of the signs or their own ideas. Public interest grew after 1820, when the Zodiac was presented in the Louvre for the first time. However, year 1828 brought quite a revelation – Jean François Champollion announced, while exploring the temple, that several inscriptions concern the reign of Roman emperors. Therefore, the temple and its decoration was obviously much younger than originally thought.

Egyptian zodiac history is a short one, the very first example comes from the Ptolemaic period²⁸, while the concept itself was borrowed from Mesopotamia. A zodiac could be depicted alone or together with pictures of planets, decans and constellations. Only about a dozen such objects have survived, usually decorating the ceilings of temples, as well as, tombs and coffin lids of the nobles. Of this small group, two famous examples come from Hathor temple at Dendera. One of them – so-called round Zodiac (Fig. 2) used to decorate the ceiling of the Osiris shrine²⁹, another, rectangular one (Fig. 3a, b), still graces the ceiling of the outer Hypostyle Hall – a pronaos. The former is dated to the year 30 BC, the latter to the first half of the I AD. Both include all 12 signs we know today, as well as, decans, planets and a large number of constellations. It's this diversity that makes them unique among the astronomy themed artifacts. Apart from the Mesopotamian elements and those familiar to us, also other, indigenous ones, are present. Dendera Zodiacs enabled the scholars, in a fashion similar to the Rosetta Stone, to understand the nature of the symbols depicted and, as a result, to estimate the relative position of some of the Egyptian constellations³⁰.

Inhabitants of the Nile Valley used to link groups of significant stars into systems, though, mostly, they concentrated on single objects. Of special importance were the northern stars, never setting and therefore called „indestructible“. As the Egyptians had their own vision of the constellations, it is particularly difficult to estimate which star group they really represent. One can be quite certain about the Big Dipper, consisting of bright objects visible in the northern hemisphere all year round. It was depicted in the Egyptian art as a front leg of a bull and later also as the animal itself – called Mes(khetiu). Another northern constellation frequently occurring – Hippo – was a female or female hippopotamus, often with a crocodile on its back, holding Meskhetiu on a rope or a chain. Such composition could represent a larger part of the northern sky, associated with the Summer Triangle – stars Vega, Altair and

²⁸ The oldest zodiac, depicted on the ceiling of the Esna temple, is dated around 200 BC.

²⁹ Presently in Louvre. The Zodiac exhibited in the temple is a replica.

³⁰ Neugebauer O., Parker R.A., *Egyptian Astronomical Texts. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs*, London 1969, p. 81.

Deneb³¹. Those two constellations are usually accompanied by a god in the human form – An, referred to as a „Horus Fighting”³². While the Egyptians didn't know zodiac until very late in their history, they used a specific method of measuring time – one based on decans. A decan consisted of 36 bright stars, it is impossible to name them though. The ancients knew five planets of the Solar System, those visible with a naked eye. They were identified by a German – Heinrich Brugsch in 1856.

All the objects mentioned above were depicted on the rectangular Dendera Zodiac, which itself is a part of a larger composition created by six bands running from north to south between the rows of columns in the Hypostyle Hall. It is formed by two of them – western and eastern one (10,75x2,09 m), framed by the body of goddess Nut. Each band is divided into two registers, the upper one includes depictions of the night hours, planets and constellations, the lower one – representations of decans. Both bands and registers are surrounded by columns of text, though the majority of inscriptions does not concern astronomy. There are 6 zodiac constellations in each band, the eastern one includes signs from Aquarius to Cancer, the western one from Leo to Capricorn (Fig. 3a, b). They are grouped in the order of appearance in the sky, those rising earlier on the west and those rising later, on the east. It's worth mentioning that the actual north here is the east.

Such is the zodiak construction, that between the consecutive night hours, showed as deities with stars above their heads, constellations and planets are presented. The latter are put in order according to the length of their orbital period around the Sun. Therefore, as hours go by, the objects with shorter revolution period are shown – Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus and Mercury. They appear both in the western and eastern bands, depicted as hawks with various animal heads in the former and gods of a variety of heads and human bodies in the latter³³.

The arrangement of the eastern band is less clear than the other. Attention drawing is the position of Cancer³⁴ – more a beetle than a crab – at the very edge of the relief, near the goddess Nut legs. A rising Sun is shown just behind it³⁵. The scene is a clear reference to the myth of Nut swallowing the Sun in the evening and giving birth to it in the morning. In the same band one can also see Orion, here as the „soul of Osiris”, a god standing on

³¹ Gingerich O., *op. cit.*

³² Neugebauer O., Parker R.A., *op. cit.*, p. 200.

³³ *Ibid.*, pl. 42.

³⁴ Though called Cancer, this symbol is really a crab.

³⁵ Our daily star is represented in the second part of the Zodiac by a scarab, identified in Egypt with the rising Sun.

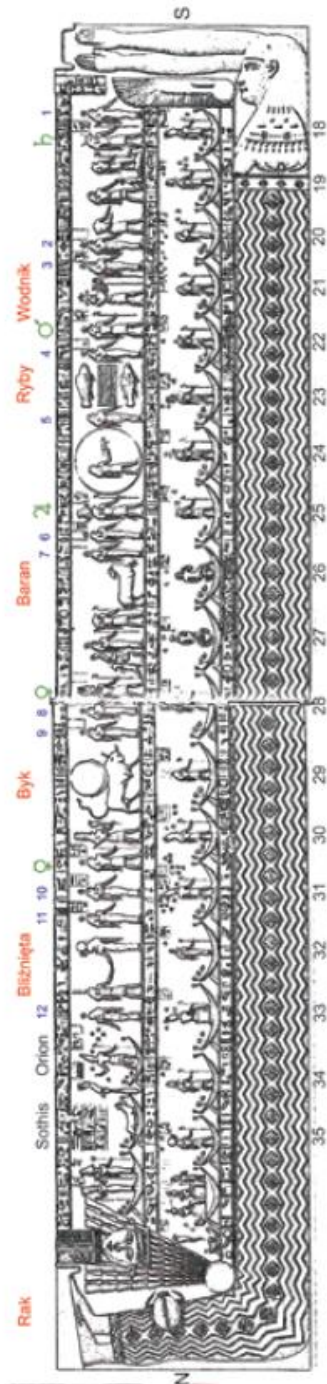


Fig. 3a. Eastern band of the rectangular Zodiac from the Hathor temple of Dendera, in: *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. IV, pl. 20, with changes

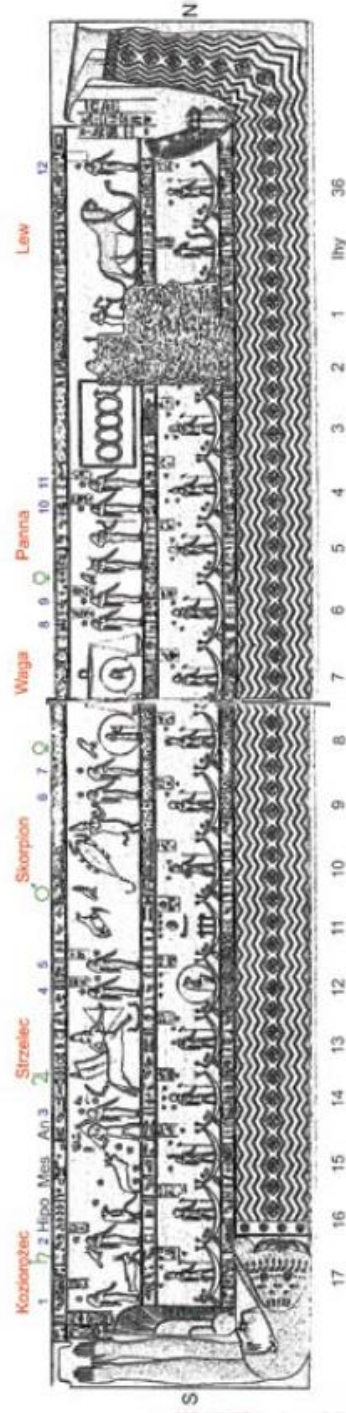


Fig. 3b. Western band of the rectangular Zodiac from the Hathor temple of Dendera, in: *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. IV, pl. 20, with changes

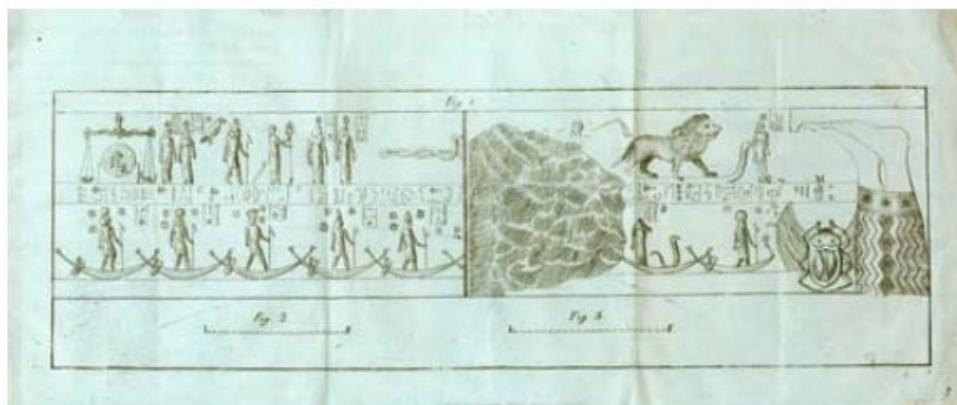


Fig. 4. Part of Denon's redrawing of the rectangular Zodiac used by Poczobut in:
O dawności zodyaka egipskiego w Denderah (Tinthyris), Wilno 1803

a barque in a characteristic pose, resembling the constellation shape. Next to him is Sothis in the form of a lying cow, with three lines of text concerning the goddess above. Planets are shown between the night hours, with Mars in Jupiter's place – probably due to the artist's mistake³⁶. The zodiac signs are moved in relation to planets and do not form analogical pairs, as can be seen in the western band.

Tab. 1. Position of planets and constellations between consecutive night hours from sunset to sunrise

Night hours	Western band	Eastern band
1-2	Capricorn and Saturn	Saturn
2-3	Hippo, Mes, An	–
3-4	Sagittarius and Jupiter	Aquarius and Mars
4-5	–	Pisces
5-6	Scorpio and Mars	Jupiter
6-7	–	–
7-8	Libra and Venus	Aries and Venus
8-9	–	–
9-10	Virgo and Mercury	Taurus and Mercury
10-11	–	–
11-12	Leo	Gemini
At sunrise		Cancer, Orion, Sothis

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

Decans present in the Dendera Zodiac are depicted as deities standing on the barques. First decan in the western band is decan 36., after which decan 1. (damaged part of the relief) is shown, separated from the 36. by the figure of Ihy. The eastern part of the Zodiac begins with decan 18. There are two barques presented after the last, 35. decan – Ihy, Horus and Isis sail in the first one, while the Sun occupies the second one³⁷.

Tab.2. Description of the Zodiac signs from the rectangular Zodiac of Dendera

Zodiac sign	Description
Aries	Ram with its head turned towards the Taurus, with front legs raised
Taurus	Bull with front leg digging in the ground
Gemini	Tefnut and Shu facing each other and holding hands
Cancer	Scarab with closed wings
Leo	Lion standing on a snake, his tail held by a woman figure with a flail in her hand
Virgo	Woman figure holding an ear of corn
Libra	Hanging scales with an image of young Horus between them
Scorpio	Scorpion with its sting
Sagittarius	Winged, half-animal, half-human, double-headed figure with the Atef crown
Capricorn	Goat-fish
Aquarius	Standing man with a crown of papyri, pouring water from twin containers
Pisces	Pair of fish facing in the same direction with a water reservoir

Use of astronomy in dating artefacts is nowadays a common occurrence, though only on condition, that the studied object can be linked to the actual astronomical event. It can be solar or lunar eclipse, the relative position of a planet in relation to stars or constellations, as well as, the rising of the Sun during solstice or equinox. The celestial bodies are ruled by the laws of physics, so there are simple methods for estimating their position, both in the past and the future. As the zodiac itself simultaneously functions as a chronometer and the point of reference, the calculations become even easier, providing it shows the correct positions of planets or at least one of the ecliptic cardinal points³⁸.

Poczubut, unlike those before him and also his successors, based his investigations on this, strictly scientific, method. He managed to obtain Denon's book from the well-stocked library of Joachim Chreptowicz and decided, after

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

³⁸ Summer and winter solstice, spring and autumnal equinox.

reading, to involve astronomy in his efforts to date the Zodiac – by examining the position of the cardinal point. One should keep in mind though, that at the time Poczobut conducted his research, Egyptian art was a subject virtually unknown, relief inscriptions had yet to be deciphered and nobody knew the zodiac contained depictions of planets, night hours or decans.

Poczobut published his studies in 1803 under the title *O dawności zodyaka egipskiego w Denderah (Tinthyris)*. He also gave lecture on this subject at the Vilnius University. Translated to French the same year and printed in a slightly altered form as *Essais sur l'époque de l'antiquité du zodiaque de Denderah (Tinthyris)*, the dissertation gained quite a recognition from the scholars. A year later it was reprinted in *Rocznik Towarzystwa Warszawskiego Przyjaciół Nauki*, while Johann Elert Bode's publication in the *Berliner Jahrbuch* popularized it in Europe. Year 1804 brought Russian translation in *Siewerny Wiestnik*. Finally, in 1805 it was published in a lavish form by Franz de Paula Triesnecker, the head of the Vienna University observatory, under the title *Recherches sur l'antiquité du zodiaque de Denderah (Tinthyris)*³⁹. This last edition Poczobut sent to the pope⁴⁰.

In his work he assumed, that the rectangular Zodiac of Dendera presents an actual view of the night sky with the marked position of the summer solstice point⁴¹. Poczobut proposed using the precession phenomenon to establish the period of time the solstice took place⁴². Clearly, calculations alone would't be sufficient, interpretation of the artifact itself was necessary. Therefore, following the redrawing available, Poczobut made a few premises.

He accepted the general consensus, that the Zodiac shows summer solstice in Cancer. It wasn't sufficient enough to estimate the age of the artifact, due to the precession of the Earth's orbit. Firstly, it's a serial event, taking place every 25700 years, secondly, it lasts for at least 2100 years⁴³. New assumptions had to be made.

First of them concerned the Zodiac representation. Poczobut was of a mind, that the constellations seen in the relief did not differ from the ones of his time. Unfortunately, the history of the zodiac is quite complicated – a fact the scholar

³⁹ Estreicher K., *Bibliografia Polska XIX stulecia*, vol. III, Kraków 1872.

⁴⁰ Rabowicz E., *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁴¹ Odlanicki-Poczobut M., *O dawności zodyaka egipskiego w Denderah (Tinthyris)*, Wilno 1803.

⁴² Due to the non-spheric nature of the Earth, its axis forms a cone in time. As a result, the location of the sunset (e.g. on the day of solstice) moves constantly back in relation to the „immobile” star background, at a pace of about 50,26 arcsecond a year (a second is a 1/3600 of a degree).

⁴³ Assuming that the Cancer constellation takes up 30 degrees of the sky.

couldn't know. Since Claudius Ptolemy, the zodiac used in Europe wasn't the same as before. Two important changes occurred and though the first one does not concern the Dendera Zodiac, it too should be mentioned. Ptolemy, as we do after him, used the tropical zodiac, strictly connected with the ecliptic cardinal points, unlike the original sidereal zodiac, which referred to single stars. The sidereal zodiac shows the actual location

of the Sun in relation to the constellations, while the tropical zodiac is „immune” to precession – the Sun on the day of the summer solstice is always connected to the Cancer constellation⁴⁴, though in reality it may rise in another. Astronomical interpretation of the exact solstice position is therefore possible only when the sidereal zodiac is used. It is difficult to establish the exact day and place, the tropical zodiac was first used. Undoubtedly, the Sun had to rise in Cancer during solstice at that time, as it does in the Dendera Zodiac. Another important change that took place in the course of the centuries, was the one concerning the span of the individual constellations and the shape of their boundaries. In the original zodiac, each had a span of 30 degrees. At present there are significant differences between the sizes of the constellations⁴⁵.

Poczubut's third premise was that the *Spica* star or α *Vir* is depicted in the relief as the ear of corn, held by a figure representing the Virgo (Fig. 4). Unfortunately, Dendera Zodiac constellations are purely symbolic, with no reference to the actual stars. Another premise that did not stand the test of time.

The astronomer's last assumption concerned the hand, marked by him with the letter „M”, that can be found at the end of Denon's copy (Fig. 4). Poczubut was of a mind that the Zodiac's creator used this image to indicate the summer

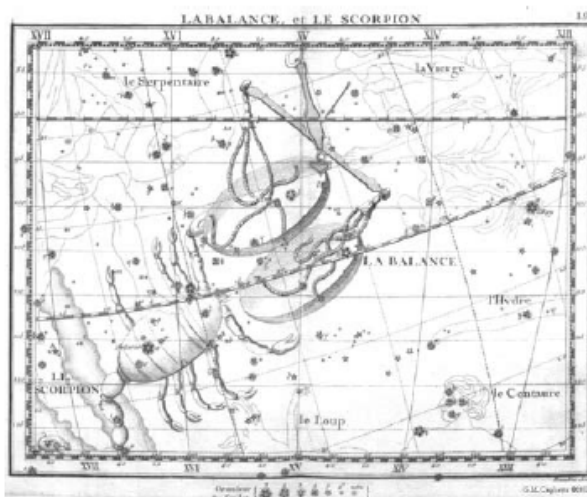


Fig. 5. The *Libra* constellation according to J. Flamsteed, *Atlas Coelestis*, London 1729

⁴⁴ Today, as it was at the time the Zodiac was made, summer solstice is said to occur in Cancer, which resulted in the tropic's name. In reality on such a day, the Sun rises in Gemini constellation.

⁴⁵ Since the times of Poczubut, the zodiac constellations boundaries underwent a slight change only, they will be referred to later in the article as the contemporary or modern.

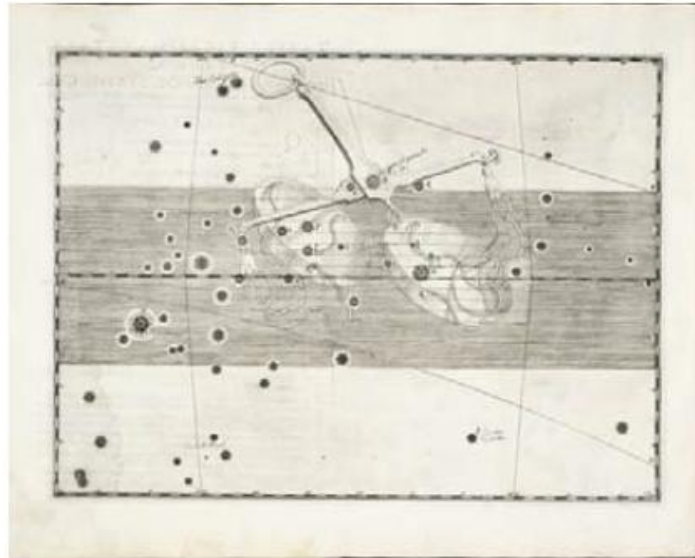


Fig. 6. The *Libra* constellation according to I. Bayer, *Uranometria*, Amsterdam 1603

solstice point. One immediately notices, that this symbol in Denon's redrawing is located slightly differently in relation to the original, where it is placed at the right side, under the figure representing hour 12 of the night. On top of that, it's a common hieroglyphic sign, without any special meaning, marked by Gardiner as D46 in his *Egyptian Grammar*.

With these premises, Poczobut concentrated on a fragment of a Zodiac – from *Libra* to the end of the western band only. After establishing the α *Vir* position, he searched for another star to scale. As the Egyptians didn't depict constellations together with the stars forming them, he stumbled upon a serious problem and was forced to use later images of the Zodiac. Unfortunately, these types of images change in time, causing new difficulties. Poczobut's attention was brought to a star in the *Libra* - α *Lib*, located in the Flamsteed atlas⁴⁶ near the right end of the right bowl (Fig. 5). Assuming similar position of the star in relief, he measured the distance between α *Lib* and α *Vir*. He then scaled the redrawing, comparing the result to the actual angle distance between those two objects in the sky. Poczobut then observed, that in the scale he used, the figure with a star on its head, positioned immediately behind the *Leo* symbol, corresponds to the δ *Cnc* star, one of the brighter in the *Cancer*. The modern constellation takes up less than 20 degrees in the ecliptic boundaries, while the aforementioned celestial body lies around 2 degrees before the constella-

⁴⁶ Flamsteed J., *Atlas Coelestis*, London 1729.

tion's center, looking from the Virgo side. Poczubut wasn't satisfied with result achieved, as he was more inclined to see the „M” point as not only the solstice indicator, but also as the Cancer's center, which his calculations placed 5,5 degrees closer. He, therefore, changed the scaling method by using a different Libra image – one from the Bayer atlas⁴⁷ (Fig. 6), where *α Lib* appeared on the left edge of the scale, instead of the right. The result has changed significantly, the Cancer's centre was now only about 1,5 degree behind the „M” point.

Knowing that in his times the solstice took place at the 24. degree of Gemini, that is 34 degrees from the Cancer's center, Poczubut calculated, the Sun rose in the very center in the year 633 BC⁴⁸, while in the case this place lied around 1,5 degree behind the „M” point – one hundred years later, in 533 BC⁴⁹. An average of these two results, gave Poczubut a final date: 583 BC.

One can see, from the calculations alone, how big a mistake can be made with incorrect scaling of the artifact. Egyptian astronomical images do not reflect the actual view of the sky, as plainly seen in the round Zodiac (Fig. 2) This artifact, in contrast to the rectangular one, actually points to the geographic north. In the center, there is the zenith with northern constellations circling it. The zodiac constellations do not lie symmetrically to the zenith – here the Zodiac creator was correct⁵⁰. Despite this careful and detailed attitude, one would be hard pressed to find in the proportions used, the correct sky positions of individual objects.

Numerous scholars accepted the results of Poczubut's observations. Some, like Jan Śniadecki brought attention to problems resulting from the interpretation taken too far⁵¹. In the year 1845, a French scholar Jean Antoine Letronne announced⁵² that the Egyptian zodiacs cannot be dated by means of astronomical methods as they do not present the actual sky view but only the artistic vision⁵³. Therefore, their age can only be estimated by the use of historical and archaeological methods. Still, one should keep in mind that the calculated age of the zodiac site does not have to be accurate for the zodiac itself, as it could be based on the earlier artefact. In this case, the procedure suggested by

⁴⁷ Bayer I., *Uranometria*, Amsterdam 1603. A work older than that of Flamsteed, based on older sky maps.

⁴⁸ Poczubut assumes that one degree of sky movement takes 71,65 years. Therefore, $34 \cdot 71,65 = 2436$, which gives: year 1803 - 2436 years = 633 BC.

⁴⁹ The values are cited after the original.

⁵⁰ Zodiac constellations projected on the celestial sphere are at an angle to the horizon.

⁵¹ Rabowicz E., *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁵² Letronne J.A., *Analyse critique des représentations zodiacales de Dendera et d'Esne*, Paris 1845.

⁵³ Letronne however does not make a reference to Poczubut's work in his monography.

Poczobut is the only alternative so far. Obviously, one cannot accept the results presented by the scholar, as he was prevented from reaching the right conclusions by the inaccuracy of the redrawings and insufficient knowledge of the ancient Egyptian culture. In case of Dendera, Letronne's statement seems to be true. The use of astronomical methods in dating Zodiacs from this site, with inclusion of planets, constellations and solstice, does not provide unambiguous results.

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COUNT STANISŁAW TARNOWSKI
IN EGYPT IN 1858 AND HIS ACCOUNT
OF THIS JOURNEY

Polish travels to the Near East, including to Egypt, have a tradition going back to the Middle Ages. They spawned a rich literature in many published accounts and reminiscences, as well as in scholarly studies.¹ Yet not all accounts and reminiscences, to say nothing of relevant correspondence, have appeared in print; many remain in manuscript awaiting interest from editors. Even those once published in book form or in magazines are by now difficult to obtain. Such important and interesting historical sources, often of considerable literary merit, could certainly add to our historical knowledge about styles of life and travel, and about past contacts of Europeans with Egypt's ancient heritage and with its inhabitants.

Among texts not so far published are the memoirs and correspondence of Stanisław Tarnowski written in connection with his journey to Spain and the Near East which he made between November 1857 and April 1858. He wrote his reminiscences soon after he returned, never, however, intending to see them published. Until the 1990's, his manuscripts were deposited in the PAU & PAN (respectively, Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and Polish Academy of Science) Library in Kraków and in the Jagiellonian Library. The writings have

¹ The state of research on the subject is presented in these published monographs: L. Zinkow, *Nad Wisłą, nad Nilem. Starożytny Egipt w piśmiennictwie polskim (do 1914 roku)* [On the Vistula, on the Nile. Ancient Egypt in Polish Writing (prior to 1914)] Kraków 2006; H. Kaczmarek, *Polacy w Egipcie do 1914 roku* [Poles in Egypt before 1914], Szczecin 2008. See also: P. Clayton, *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt. Artists and Travellers in the Nineteenth Century*, London 1982; *Travellers in Egypt*, P. Starkey and J. Starkey (eds.), London & New York 1998, 2nd ed., 2001. The last two, unfortunately, only marginally consider Central European literature.

since been included in a family archive being steadily reconstructed by the author's great grandson Adam Tarnowski. Prior to the present author's 2008 publication of a collection of texts concerning that journey², some correspondence (several letters) was displayed at a commemorative exhibition³, published⁴ and subsequently made the subject of an archaeological commentary by Joachim Śliwa⁵. The journey itself was mentioned in the writings of Ferdynand Hoesick⁶, Jan Stanisław Bystron⁷, and Hieronim Kaczmarek⁸. With Joachim Śliwa and Hieronim Kaczmarek, only the letters were made the subject of study.

Stanisław Tarnowski (1837-1917) was a notable personality in the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, a distinguished scholar, influential politician and publicist, professor of philology and literary critic⁹. He was born and spent his childhood in his family estate at Dzików (formerly a village just outside the county capital of Tarnobrzeg, now part of that city), which his family had held

² S. Tarnowski, *Z Dzikowa do Ziemi Świętej. Podróż do Hiszpanii, Egiptu, Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Konstantynopola z lat 1857-1858 (Wspomnienia oraz korespondencja z matką Gabrielą z Malachowskich Tarnowską i rodzeństwem)* [From Dzików to the Holy Land. Travels to Spain, Egypt, Holy Land, Syria, and Constantinople in 1857-1858 (Memoirs and Correspondence with Mother Gabriela Tarnowska, née Malachowska, and Siblings)], edited and with introduction by G. Nieć, Kraków 2008; G. Nieć, *Stanisława Tarnowskiego podróż na Bliski Wschód* [Stanisław Tarnowski's Journey to the Near East], *ibid.*, pp. IX-XXXIII.

³ *W służbie nauki. Stanisław Tarnowski 1837-1917. Wystawa w Oddziale Archiwum PAN w Krakowie (14 listopada 1997-28 lutego 1998)* [In Service to Learning. Stanisław Tarnowski, 1837-1917. Exhibition at PAN Archive, Kraków Chapter (Nov. 14, 1997 – Feb. 28, 1998)], *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*, vol. 5: 1999, pp. 228-234.

⁴ M. Platek, *Z listów Stanisława Tarnowskiego z podróży do Ziemi Świętej* [Selected Letters by Stanisław Tarnowski from His Journey to the Holy Land] [in:] R. Majkowska (ed.), *Stanisław Tarnowski 1837-1917. Materiały z Posiedzenia Naukowego PAU w dniu 14 listopada 1997*, [Stanisław Tarnowski, 1837-1917. Materials from PAU Session of Nov. 14, 1997], Kraków 1999, pp. 51-61.

⁵ J. Śliwa, *Stanisława Tarnowskiego wyprawy do Kairu (1858) i Wilna (1878). Komentarz archeologiczny* [Stanisław Tarnowski's Expeditions to Cairo (1858) and Wilno (1878). An Archaeological Commentary], *Rocznik Biblioteki PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, R.L (2005), pp. 181-185.

⁶ J.S. Bystron, *Polacy w Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egipcie 1147-1914* [Poles in the Holy Land, Syria, and Egypt, 1147-1914], Kraków 1930, pp. 215-216.

⁷ F. Hoesick, *Stanisław Tarnowski. Rys życia i prac* [Stanisław Tarnowski. An Outline of His Life and Work], vol. 1, Kraków 1906, pp. 120-121.

⁸ H. Kaczmarek, *Polacy w Egipcie...*, *passim*.

⁹ A bibliography of persons and subjects about Stanisław Tarnowski is in: *Dawni pisarze polscy od początków piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski: przewodnik biograficzny i bibliograficzny* [Old Polish Writers from the Earliest Literature to the Outset of 'Young Poland': A Biographical and Bibliographical Guide], vol. 4: *S-T*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 241-242. Also cf.: J. Krzyżanowski, *A history of Polish literature*, [transl. by Doris Ronowicz], Warszawa 1978, s. 443-444.



Fig. 1. Stanisław Tarnowski, Vienna 1860
(F. Hoesick, *Stanisław Tarnowski. Rys życia i prac*, vol. 1, p. 144)

since the 16th century. He was a scion of a prominent and accomplished family which produced many outstanding statesmen, military leaders, and men of culture¹⁰. His father was count Jan Bogdan Tarnowski (1805-1850), a man socially and politically active, his mother was Gabriela Tarnowska née Małachowska (1800-1862), an enlightened woman wholly devoted to their children's upbringing. An important place in the family home was held by a library built over generations (including books, old prints, manuscripts, documents) and a collection on national relics and works of art. The latter assemblage had been substantially expanded by grandparents: Jan Feliks (1777-1842) and Waleria née Stroynowska (1782-1849)¹¹. Stanisław Tarnowski attended school in Kraków and went on to read law and philosophy in Kraków and Vienna in 1854-1860. Granted his day's historical vicissitudes and his views, after the romantic years first of study, then underground involvement and participation in the 1863 national uprising, he was arrested and sentenced to 12 years in prison which he left under a pardon in 1865. Starting then, the young aristocrat proceeded to lead a mature life under a regime established by the partitioning Austrians in Galicia (such was the name given by them to the southern Polish territory incorporated into the Habsburg monarchy in the late 18th century)¹². He sat in a regional diet in Lwów and in Vienna¹³. Over time, he became a leading, active, and prominent politician, and an advocate of "positivist", peaceful instruments of struggle for national interests¹⁴. He pursued a brilliant academic career, obtaining a doctorate in 1870, followed soon after by a post-doctoral

¹⁰ See: W. Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego, wiek XIV-XV* [The Leliwa Tarnowskis. From the History of Little-Poland Magnates], Warszawa 1971; idem, *Hetman Jan Tarnowski. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego* [Hetman Jan Tarnowski. From the History of Little-Poland Magnates], Warszawa 1983; idem, *Leliwici Tarnowscy od schyłku XVI wieku do czasów współczesnych* [The Leliwa Tarnowskis from the Late 16th Century to the Present], Tarnobrzeg 1996 (publ. as MS.), and *ibid.*, M. Brzeziński, *Dalsze dzieje rodu Tarnowskich* [Further history of the Tarnowski Family].

¹¹ See: K. Grottowa, *Zbiory sztuki Jana Feliksa i Walerii Tarnowskich w Dzikowie (1803-1849)* [The Art Collection of Jan Feliks and Waleria Tarnowskis at Dzików (1803-1849)], Wrocław 1957; *Ex collectione dzikowiana. Zbiory Tarnowskich z Dzikowa. Katalog wystawy* [Ex Collectione Dzikoviana. The Tarnowskis' Collection in Dzików. Exhibition Catalog], J. Paulinek (ed.), Warszawa 2008.

¹² See: N. Davies, *God's Playground. A History of Poland*, vol. 2: *1795 to the present*, Oxford 1983, pp. 139-162; *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, bd. 6: *Die Habsburgermonarchie im System der internationalen Beziehungen*, Teilband 1, A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (eds), Wien 1989, pp. 425-435.

¹³ *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, bd. 7: *Verfassung und Parlamentarismus, Die regionalen Repräsentativkörperschaften*, Teilband 2, H. Rumpler and P. Urbanitsch (eds), Wien 2000, pp. 2157-2169.

¹⁴ See: R.F. Leslie et al. (eds.), *The History of Poland since 1863*, Cambridge 1980, pp. 8-26.

habilitation degree, occupying the Chair of History of Polish Literature at the Jagiellonian University from as early as 1871 until 1909. He was twice elected Rector of the University (in 1886/1887 and 1899/1900). Moreover, from 1873 he was an active member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences as Secretary of the Faculty of Philology (1878), Secretary General (1883-1890), and Chairman (1890-1917)¹⁵. He was a respected lecturer, an admired speaker, the author of many works on the history of 16th-to-19th-century Polish literature and culture.

The idea for the journey came to him in Summer 1857. Twenty-year-old Stanisław Tarnowski had just returned to Kraków from Vienna. A close acquaintance at the time was, three years his senior, a friend of his elder brother Jan Dzierżysław, Ludwik Wodzicki (1834-1894)¹⁶. In those days, the young count from Dzików “engaged in no little socializing in various salons, in travel, and in worldliness, from which pursuits he continually derived genuine pleasure”¹⁷. Tarnowski himself especially remembered “excursions [which] flourished in that year, such as to Ojców and Pieskowa Skala, but one cherished a wish to conclude the year in the Tatras. Zakopane still in its natural condition, a simple, untouched village, was then far nicer than it is now. We went everywhere everyone went”¹⁸. How the distant foreign journey came about and how it went was related in detail by the traveler himself in “Dzików Domestic Chronicle”:

[1857] There arrived in Dzików Wodzicki and Gorayski. Wodzicki had a year to spare before he would settle at Tyczyn and manage it; this year he wanted to use to travel to Spain and to the East. Speaking of those plans of his, he once remarked, “Madam, you might well send Stan with me.” He had not ever talked about it with me, nor did I ever dream about it, but this casually dropped remark caught on; my mother and Jan began to think about it. Although, natu-

¹⁵ See: S. Grodziski, *The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences 1872-1952-2002*, Cracow 2006, pp. 32-50.

¹⁶ For more on Ludwik Wodzicki, see: S. Koźmian, *Ludwik hrabia Wodzicki z Tyczyna* [Count Ludwik Wodzicki of Tyczyn] [in:] idem, *Pisma polityczne* [Political Writings], Kraków 1903, pp. 459-559. The lives of both aristocrat friends followed a similar pattern. Both were brought up in a Polish patriotic and insurrectionist spirit. Instructed and inspired from early on by former insurrectionists and conspirators, both later joined a conspiracy, and following a failed uprising went into politics. In 1880, Wodzicki became the emperor's governor of the Ländebank, greatly contributing to economic development of Galicia and Austro-Hungary.

¹⁷ F. Hoesick, *Stanisław Tarnowski. Rys życia i prac* [Stanisław Tarnowski. His Life and Work] vol. 1, Kraków 1906, p. 117.

¹⁸ “The youth of my father Stanisław Tarnowski according to excerpts from the ‘Dzików Chronicle’ written by him as a wedding gift to Zdzisław Tarnowski and Zofia Potocka in 1897, destroyed in a fire at Dzików in 1927.” a typescript by son Hieronim (1884-1945) preserved in the Tarnowski family archive, 1857.



Fig. 2. Fragment of the manuscript
(Archives of the Tarnowski family)

rally enough, I took to the idea, I must do myself justice in that I was never stubborn or insistent about it. The end result was, if Stan promised to return from the voyage to the University and to study, he was free to go. Stan promised; the departure was set at autumn.

The young sons of aristocracy and wealthy gentry peregrinating to faraway lands had had a long tradition in Polish culture. It was considered part of their upbringing program. This is confirmed by many examples in the history of the Tarnowskis, for whom foreign travel was an indispensable element of the education of each new generation. In their own day, travelers had included Grand Hetman Jan Tarnowski (1488-1561), who had gone abroad in 1517 to complete his education, additionally making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1518 and visiting Egypt. Importantly, he had written an account of his expedition, one of the first such reports in Polish writing and in the history of Polish travels to the East (for a time considered to be the very first)¹⁹. Stanisław Spytek Tarnowski (1514-1568) visited Macedonia, Greece, Arabia, Syria, and Egypt²⁰. Also Stanisław Tarnowski's immediate ancestors had done their share of traveling: his grandfather Jan Feliks Tarnowski and his wife Waleria née Stroynowska²¹, siblings who had visited Italy. Gabriela Tarnowska née

¹⁹ An account by Jan Amor Tarnowski, consisting of two parts, in Latin and in Polish: *Terminatio ex Itinerario Joannis Comitis in Tarnów, Castellani Cracoviensis, Supremi exercituum Regni Poloniae, Ducis, Venetiis ad terram Sanctam it proficisemtis* and *Opisanie tego, co w tamtych krajach i miejscach widzieć i łatwo pojąć pielgrzymowi* [A Description of What a Pilgrim May See and Conceive in Those Lands and Places] remained for more than four centuries in manuscript at the Czartoryski Library in Kraków ("Teki Naruszewicza", No. 33) and was published in part by Kazimierz Hartleb in 1930. (Idem, *Najstarszy dziennik podróży do Ziemi Świętej i Syrii Jana Tarnowskiego* [The Earliest Journal of Travel to the Holy Land and Syria by Jan Tarnowski], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 44 [1930], pp. 50-56).

²⁰ H. Kaczmarek, *Polacy w Egipcie...*, p. 107.

²¹ Their travels in Europe involved the couple's passion for collecting, with their purchases added to Dzików's collection. See: K. Grottowa, *Zbiory sztuki...*, passim. Waleria Tarnowska née Stroynowska left her diaries written in French titled *Mon journal*, of which only excerpts saw print. Her entire manuscript is kept in the Jagiellonian Library as a deposit of the Tarnowski Family (Przyb. 114/52). See: M. Braud, *Le voyage en France de la comtesse Tarnows-*

Malachowska attached especial importance to educating her children, including by travel, even despite their financial difficulty at the time of the serious economic crisis of 1857-1858. In an early letter she said, "I miss you, a yet I feel that, God willing, and with your abilities, this journey will benefit you greatly in broadening your thought and heart." In the same missive she encouraged her son to compose and send to Kraków's *Czas* daily a report, although he did not act on this advice (p. 376). She, too, on his return, ensured that he committed his experiences to paper. In another letter, she included a reflection about all her children as she wrote, "Happy, truly happy am I, as a Mother, that God in His goodness gave me kind, gracious, pious, and robust children. Happy me in that He allowed me to endow their entire lives with memories they gathered in lands which preoccupied their youthful imagination" (pp. 379-378).

Letters his mother and siblings sent to Stanisław Tarnowski as he traveled, with postscripts and greetings from other members of the household and friends, suggest that his adventures were attentively followed and commented on back home. One letter, the seventh, is available in a copy made by the mother, for they kept circulating among his nearest, read and reread. What is more, family members required separate accounts composed specifically for themselves (p. 383). Apart from letters from and to mother, the volume includes correspondence with siblings preserved in the home: Waleria (1830-1914), whose husband from 1855 was the Greater-Poland landowner Franciszek Mycielski (1832-1901), Karolina (1832-1888), who married Jan Józef Tarnowski (1826-1898) in 1853, her father's cousin, and brothers: Jan Dzierżysław (1835-1894) and the youngest Juliusz (1840-1863), who was killed a few years later in an insurrection. Those were letters and annotations. Besides, the family archive contains a letter by Władysław Jabłonowski, Stanisław's school-time friend. Letters written by Tarnowski's companion in the expedition are also extant²². The correspondence which was published jointly with the *Memoirs* makes for a meaningful complement, especially for the early stage in the journey, which was as interesting as its later stages. Many thoughts and events touched live upon in Stanisław Tarnowski's letters were not elaborated upon in the *Memoirs*. Making a written record as his mother wished, he began his narrative as the two travelers entered Spain from France, while he ignored not only their first stage in Kraków, but also further stopovers in Berlin and Paris.

ka [in:] A. Guyot & C. Massom, *Voyager en France au temps du romantisme. Textes réunis et présentés*, Grenoble 2003, pp. 169-180.

²² Portions of the letters were published in: S. Wnęk, *Ludwik Wodzicki – ziemianin z Tyczyna* [Ludwik Wodzicki, the Tyczyn Landowner] Tyczyn 1997, pp. 34-39. They are kept in the Rzeszów State Archive (Archiwum podworskie Mierów-Jędrzejowiczów ze Staromieścia, sygn. 292).

After three months spent in Spain, the two men made their way via Gibraltar and Malta to Egypt. They landed in Alexandria, which, Tarnowski related, appeared "quite ungainly" when he first saw it from the boat. His images of the East had been formed by his reading of the mythology and *Arabian Nights* stories, so he had half expected, as he humorously put it, to meet "swimming monsters and a bathing Cleopatra with her slave girls" (p. 137). Yet after he had disembarked, he experienced, as did many 19th-century tourists, a dazzlement, a shock²³. Although they were to some extent prepared to meet the Orient, whose foretaste they had experienced in Moorish Spain, they were still stunned by how different and rich-textured life there was: to them, "all seemed exquisite" (p. 141):

Finally our boat made landfall, the land being Africa. We could barely make our way through a crowd of turbaned and slippered Arabs, camels, donkeys, veiled women, but these obstacles were at first welcome, for any living form, be it human or four-legged, alien, outlandish, or original, attracted the eye and attention and brought home the alluring, enchanting thought that here I was in the East. The sight of those people, so unlike ourselves, of those ubiquitous camels scurrying every which way or else resting pack-laden, of the women and children - all this made us forget breakfast, bath, change of clothes. Luckily, there is no shortage of Arabs and camels in Egypt, otherwise I would have tarried at length around the port, just to watch them. And, strangely enough, to such figures a European will never grow accustomed, he will never tire of looking at them, and for the whole duration of his stay in the East always he gazes at them with interest and fond appreciation (p. 139).

The first monument the Poles were taken to see was Pompey's Pillar. Then they saw so-called Cleopatra's Needles, the ruins of Nicopolis or Juliopolis east of the Rosetta Gate, and a Ptolemaic necropolis on the shore of the bay, approximately 60m from the Great Catacombs, which had since the 18th century been called Cleopatra's Bath House. Most likely, Tarnowski and his friend also visited St. Mark's Coptic church (pp. 142-143). In all, however, he summed up the experience: "scant and meager are Alexandria's curiosities." Much like the early sight of Alexandrian *quartier franc*, he was unimpressed by the Ras At-Tin palace built by Muhammad Ali. To the Polish visitor, it seemed quintessential bad taste. He noted caustically: "Every visitor goes to this palace of

²³ The experience was described, among others in: M. Tracz, *Zejsście do piekieł – debarkacja w dziewiętnastowiecznej Aleksandrii jako europejskie doświadczenie szoku kulturowego* [‘Descent into Hell’: Disembarking in 19th-Century Alexandria as a European Experience of a Culture Shock], D. Qurini-Popławska (ed.) *Portolana. Studia Mediterranea*, vol. 1, Kraków 2004, pp. 207-231.

theirs, and then laughs at it and its masters" (p. 145). Returning four weeks later by the same route, he concluded: "Alexandria appeared to us as a shabby European city, with no color or originality to it" (p. 187).

"It is in Cairo that Egypt is to be sought" (p. 145) – such was Tarnowski's idea that led them both to the country's capital. Traveling on a train, he observed the changing landscape and noted: "We are in the Delta – now in true Egypt" (p. 146). The city made a strong impression on him, beginning with Ezbekieh, where he watched throngs passing by. He was convinced that he was "inhaling pure Eastern element, and all he could see before him he could consider honest and unsuspectingly authentic displays of the Eastern spirit, the sheerest Oriental authenticity (...), was looking at a magnificent, and, more to the point, a pure instance of an Arab city" (p. 147). Ecstatically, he exclaimed, "What a city, strange, and yet impressive!" (p. 148). He could admire its panorama from the Mokattam Hills citadel (p. 150). While in the city, they experienced the khamsin wind, visited Muhammad Ali's palace in Shubra, which, like that in Alexandria, he did not appreciate: "Harmony is non-existent, so is thought, when one thing gets in the way of another, one spoiling the next." They encouraged many traces left after the presence of Napoleon and his army. However, Tarnowski was one of those Poles who were left unaffected by the cult of the famous Corsican; instead, he preferred "to look at the lovely trees" (p. 157).

From their Cairo base, the young Polish aristocrats made some excursions to ancient Egypt's major attractions, but owing to limited time and their oft-emphasized reluctance to follow beaten tracks, they eventually gave up visiting many traditional tourist "musts" like Thebes; Philae, still then Nile island near the First Cataract, which would eventually be inundated following the construction of the Great Dam in the 1970's; Nile and Heliopolis Cataracts; or the now-forgotten attraction which was in the 19th century a Petrified Forest (Jebel Khasqab). Instead, they saw the cradle of Christian monasticism, Tebaid, and, implicitly, Cairo's Coptic St. Sergius' church (Abu Serga), allegedly built over the grotto (Deir-el-Nassara) where the Holy Family is reported to have rested for the night.

The highlights of their journey included visits to Giza, Saqqara, and Memphis. While in Giza, they scaled, as was then customary, the pyramid of Cheops, with the help of local Arabs, which Tarnowski described in vivid detail: "The pyramid is climbed just so it could be boasted later, 'I stood on the pyramid'" (p. 171). And indeed, in an extant letter to his sister, he reported with genuine enthusiasm: "I stood on the pyramid! The real, great pyramid, the pyramid of Cheops" (p. 343). Moreover, they engaged in a kind of sporting exercise which was to descend rapidly the pyramid and negotiate another, that of Che-

phren, taking them five minutes in all. "No fly can so confidently move on a flat wall as can they [Arabs] slide along this smooth, rain-slippery surface," he recalled (p. 171). They wandered inside, saw the corridors, the empty sarcophagi, whose contents, he observed, had been "dragged away all over the world" (p. 172). Our adventurers forwent venturing into the third, smallest pyramid of Menkaure, choosing instead to see the Sphinx, by then still half buried under deserts sands. Tarnowski was much impressed with Saqqara and its necropoleis. Several years before his visit, August Mariette had discovered Serapeum in 1851. The ruins, and above all the human bones scattered all around, could hardly fail to leave visitors unaffected. Our travelers had to crawl along half-collapsed, cramped underground corridors, every so often bumping into things. Thus they explored a burial ground of sacred ibises, one mastaba nearby (p. 174), and the Serapeum itself: an underground complex of burials of sacred Apis bulls (p. 175). Our explorers took with them several mummified ibises, one of which they dissected the following day:

At breakfast, the curious students of Egyptian antiquities that we are, we smashed a pot concealing an ibis and proceeded, with the agility of the best femme de chambre, to disrobe it from its funereal garb. It had been sewn in in thick cloth which, when removed, revealed to us a picture of deception: instead of an embalmed avian mummy, we only saw some some charred feathers and scorched minuscule bones (p. 178).

On the way back to Cairo, they stopped over in the village of Mit-Rahina, near which were found the remains of ancient Memphis. There they saw a statue of Ramses II, an alabaster sphinx, and some alabaster mummification tables. The overturned statue of the great pharaoh sent Tarnowski into raptures. As a next step in their adventure, they made a several-day-long hunting trip to Faiyum Oasis, during which they visited the ruins of Shedyet (Crocodilopolis).

Other than ancient monuments, Tarnowski and Wodzicki spent much time with the local people, taking a keen interest in the realities of their life. In his account, Tarnowski devoted much attention to local culture, ways of life and travel, an aspect he found interesting in its own right. He provided descriptions of conditions of maritime travel, disembarkation, and other crossings by water (e.g., in a *dahabiya* boat across the Nile); the Egyptian railways, which enjoyed an evil reputation among European visitors²⁴, and rides on donkeys, horses, and camels.

²⁴ "So – we chose to travel by train. Railroad workers forewarned us that Allah himself might know at what time we would reach Cairo. Otherwise a respectable religious attitude, it sounded ominous to me as railroad was concerned: it gave me the impression of a warning, a threat that we would never get there" (p. 145). Another Polish traveler, Count Michał Tyszkiewicz, had such recollection of Egyptian rail service: "Attendants at the locomotives and all rail officials were Arabs; it followed that no order was to be hoped for, all was done carelessly, negligently, and incredibly slowly." (*Egipt zapomniany czyli Michała hr. Tyszkiewicza Dziennik podróży*

The latter mode of transportation being so exotic, it made a particular impression on the European, thus his description is appropriately comprehensive (pp. 160-162). In Saqqara, they stayed in the home of a fellah, where they fell the victim of some obnoxious fleas. In Faiyum Oasis they spent a night in their *dahabiya* cabins, and in a village where – the memoirist stresses – they were “the Columbuses in that settlement” (p. 185). Precious experiences became their share in Cairo, as has been mentioned. Their attention was riveted to a succession of mosques, bazaars, and coffee houses. “There always was need,” Tarnowski remembered, “to stop to look, wonder, enjoy the East” (p. 164). By contrast, he had mixed feelings about watching dervish dances or the “ceremony of horse-trampling of people” (pp. 165-166). He also protested against fake Almee dances performed by young boys in coffee houses. Remembering such experiences, he wrote, “Aplenty are those that spoil the Oriental charms, when, satiate with the more general qualities and broader vistas, we unexpectedly stumbled into a particular that was in no way appealing” (p. 168). During his stay in Egypt, he engaged in some, unsuccessful, hunts for hyenas and birds, including pigeons. Shooting those, incidentally, caused some major commotion with the locals. It appeared that those birds were considered a source of income, their droppings being marketed as fertilizer (p. 178). The same was pointed out by another Polish traveler, Józef Kościelski²⁵.

Throughout, the young aristo looked for comparisons to familiar realities, to his own homeland or to previous travel experience. A “long, narrow, dirty street” reminded him of Jewish quarters in Galician towns; in recently visited Alhambra, he viewed the “few quasi-European streets” with distaste, comparing them to those of the then small-town Rzeszów, Poland (p. 139). During their exciting stay in the d’Orient hotel in Alexandria, the travelers enjoyed a bath, “attended by Arabs and Negroes,” and had breakfast which included bananas, of which Tarnowski remarked, “I do not know when I heard of them” (p. 140). The surroundings, the local folklore, as he often repeated in his story, were of much interest to him. He found exciting nearly all the goings-on and facilities which differed from what he knew in Europe, so he felt annoyed when his guides and ass-drivers would not let him leisurely enjoy what aroused his interest, but instead hurried him along to popular tourist destinations.

On the one hand, Tarnowski appreciated Egypt’s advances in civilization, but on the other he was critical of thoughtless imitation of European aesthetic

do Egiptu i Nubii (1861-1862) oraz 18 rycin z XIX wieku, [Forgotten Egypt, or Count Michał Tyszkiewicz’s Journal of Travel to Egypt and Nubia (1861-1862), with 18 illustrations from the 19th Century] edited and with introduction by A. Niwiński, Warszawa 1994, p. 113).

²⁵ J. Kościelski, *Szkice egipskie. Wrażenia z podróży. Studia i materiały* [Sketches from Egypt; Travel Impressions. Studies and Materials], edited by H. Kaczmarek, Poznań 2007, p. 91.

patterns and lifestyles. As has been said, he viewed with distaste the recently built palaces of Muhammad Ali in Alexandria and Cairo, as he did the spirit and appearance of European quarters. We wrote: "Mehmet Ali may have been a shrewd man, great politician, civilizing influence, supporter of progress, advocate of liberal and humanistic ideas in the East, as is evidenced by his slaughter of the Mamelukes, but Mehmet Ali had no taste" (p. 158). He tried to understand people of the East and through them to explore its beauty, a beauty stemming from its difference. It is worth quoting a characteristic passage:

"Take Cairo, for example. How obvious it is that this city is not yet an end, a center of national life, but a mere means; that it is still not far removed from that time when people congregated in cities to satisfy common needs or for common defense. Although since then it has grown and expanded immeasurably, it has not changed in quality. No one there feels any need to beautify it, to make it more comfortable, or distinct. Why should they, if popular imagination has not changed. Why should a street be lit, swept, suitable for ambulation, when an Arab will tell you that no one lives in the street, and whoever must walk along it has no business seeing it beautiful, and just for loiterers it is not worth improving. Why should he adorn his shop if he does not live in it and only stays there temporarily (temporarily meaning from morning till night, all his life)? Why display his fine products only to tempt a thief, a pasha, or a mameluke? Why sumptuously decorate a house on the outside, where only strangers can see it, when he and his friends are seated indoors? A house is like a man, an Arab says: never mind appearances, as long as the interior is pretty. Finally, why should they bother to alter anything in Cairo, when they believe that the world has seen no fairer city, when, such as it, they like it above all else and ever will? The immobile, primeval quality in objects and people, unchanged for centuries in external appearance, and the internal state of thought, imaginings, and enlightenment – this is the main, greatest charm of the Orient; it is the reason why Cairo is so beautiful. And so we will find that the Arabs are right to call it wonderful, absent though may be boulevards, Venetian palaces, and Gothic towers. Therefore, every insignificant detail, in itself perhaps unsightly, bears witness to this primeval nature, shows character, and to us is dramatically alien. But as a whole, Cairo presents itself as impressive, grandiose, and above all so fantastic as no other European capital."

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EGYPTIAN ORANGERY
OF ANNA AND STANISŁAW MAŁACHOWSKI
IN KOŃSKIE

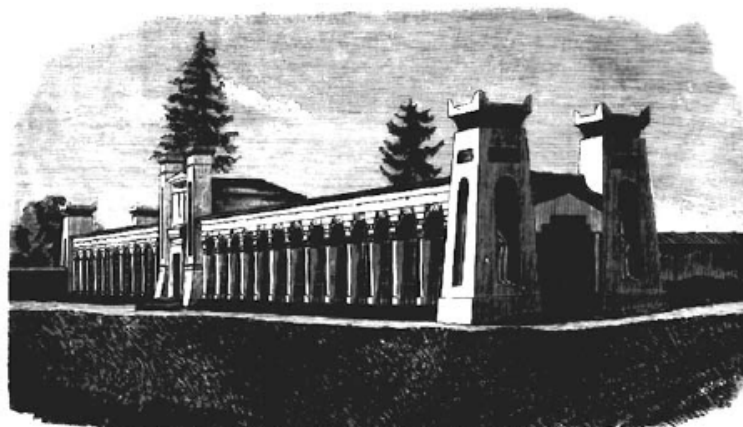
The Egyptianizing trend has influenced a number of original and very interesting works in the 19th century architecture¹. There are not many of such within the boundaries of the former Polish commonwealth and until now they have not aroused greater interest. Among them is an Egyptian temple in the Royal Baths Park „Łazienki” in Warsaw, attributed to Jakub Kubicki (ca. 1822) and an equally impressive object, however raised in a great distance from the capital, in Końskie near Opoczno².

This text is devoted to the latter building, a very important object in the European eclectic architecture trend, today however a little forgotten. Another important aspect is the preservation state of this structure, which demands basic conservatory care³. It is all the more important since during the last decades almost the entire surroundings of this object have been destroyed (by creating a residential area nearby and building various park „facilities”), and the building itself received an unfortunately designed, rectangular, style-less extension

¹ See: J. S. Curl, *Egyptomania. The Egyptian Revival: a Recurring Theme in the History of Taste*, Manchester-New York 1994 (mainly chapter VI: *The Egyptian Revival after the Napoleonic Campaigns in Egypt*, p. 118—147); F. Werner, *Ägyptenrezeption in der europäischen Architektur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Weimar 1994; J.-M. Humbert, C. Price (ed.), *Imhotep Today: Egyptianizing Architecture*, London 2003.

² Among others see: J. Lipińska, *W cieniu piramid*, Wrocław 2003, p. 224—225; see also: *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce, t. III, woj. kieleckie. Zeszyt 5, powiat konecki*, Warsaw 1958, p. 17-19.

³ Damaged rain pipes causing leak stains and dampness, broken windows, various types of mechanical damage (including the figures of Memnons) and layers of peeling paint are clearly visible. A spreading degradation of this important and very interesting building is conspicuous.



Ćwiepiarnia w parku końskim.

Fig. 1. Końskie, Świętokrzyskie province. Egyptian Orangery on the palace park of the Małachowski family. By S. Antoszewski, 1876 (after *Tygodnik Illustrowany* No. 18 of 29th April 1876, p. 278)

from the northern side⁴. A building that the city could have been proud of (as the entire park-palace complex of the Małachowski family) is unfortunately an obvious example of the lack of understanding and proper care for this world-class Egyptianizing masterpiece.

At the beginning of the 19th century Końskie Wielkie, a seat of the rich Małachowski family, bearing the Nałęcz coat of arms, was going through a period of prosperity. Beginning with the times of Jan Małachowski (1698-1762) the industry of iron ore exploitation and processing was started in the area (two great smelting furnaces were built in place of old bloomeries), a group of experienced craftsmen was also brought from Germany to help. Other fields of manufacture and specialised craftsmanship also flourished in Końskie and vicinity, among others manufactures producing carriages of great renown.

It was at that time that an idea of giving proper splendour to the family seat also arose. As one of modern researchers stated: „An ornament of the Małachowski family, as well as the city itself, was to be a magnate residence built in the half of the 18th century by Jan – the Grand Royal Chancellor. It was intended to be a palace-garden complex following the example of the residence of Augustus II in Pillnitz. The palace was to adjoin a French-style park. The intentions of the magnate were only partially fulfilled due to a premature death of the founder.

⁴ It was added in 1969 (designed by F. Dzierżanowski). A coffee house called “The Egyptian Girl” was located there at the time, now the place is occupied by the Municipality House of Culture with an exhibition gallery.



Fig. 2. Końskie, Egyptian Orangery. Main entrance of the southern elevation and a fragment of the colonnade. Phot. by J. Śliwa, 2006

Only the outhouses were built and a quarter circular palace square has been constructed after the chancellor's death, and it was finally completed in the beginning of the 19th century, when the previous park area was enlarged and a classical Greek temple was built there"⁵. Further changes took place at the time of the chancellor's grandson, Stanisław Malachowski (1770-1849)⁶, who after an active political life and taking part in wartime activities has settled in Końskie after 1815 and developed a passion for his estate.⁷ This is how he was described a quarter century after his death: „This Stanisław the duke Malachowski, and even more his wife Anna of the Stadnicki family⁸, a lady

⁵ J. Piwek, *Działalność gospodarcza Malachowskich w XVIII i XIX wieku*, Kielce 1999, p. 148—149.

⁶ He was a son of Mikołaj Malachowski (1730-1784), nephew to Stanisław Malachowski (1736-1809), the famous Speaker of the Great Sejm. See: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 19, 1974, p. 420—422 (E. Kozłowski, S. Przewalski). Stanisław Malachowski was among others the author of the following biographic material: *Żywot i pamiątniki Stanisława hr. Malachowskiego* [...], wydane przez L[ucjana] S[iemieńskiego], Kraków 1853; *Pamiątniki Stanisława hr. Nałęcz Malachowskiego* [...] objaśnił i z manuskryptu wydał Wincenty hr. Łoś, Poznań 1885. Unfortunately, there are no mentions of any circumstances connected with the construction of the orangery.

⁷ Stanisław Malachowski also took active part in the insurrection of 1831. “after his amnesty he returned to Końskie and, having completely abandoned political life, he undertook a mission of spreading education in the region, building a number of schools, offering money, land and buildings for this purpose” (*Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, see above.)

⁸ Anna, a daughter of Franciszek Stadnicki of Dukla, her marriage to Stanisław Malachowski



Fig. 3. Końskie, Egyptian Orangery. The eastern pylon. Phot. by J. Śliwa, 2006

famous in the vicinity for her virtues and cleverness, enlarged and decorated a vast garden by building a greenhouse [that is the Egyptian Orangery] and other constructions, so that this garden in the first decades of the current century, being one of the most beautiful in the country, competed with the Arcadia of Nieborów, with Puławy and Opole”.⁹

The creator of this park-palace complex was Francesco Maria Lanci (1799-1875), at that time a young Italian architect, who arrived in Końskie in 1825 following an invitation by the Malachowski family. „The first tasks were: to rebuild the existing church of St. Nicolas in the neo-Gothic style, later to build an orangery in the Egyptian style and a neo-Gothic park shrine. The most important work, however, which had never been completed due to unknown reasons, was to design a grand neo-Gothic palace”¹⁰. Lanci’s fate was from now on permanently connected to Poland, it was here that he build many neo-Gothic and neo-Renaissance works (among others the castles and palaces in Zagórzany, Zator, Krzeszowice), while also adapting and rebuilding existing structures (Cra-

took place in Kraków in 1791. Anna Małachowska died in 1852, three years after her husband.

⁹ [F. M. Sobieszczański], *Końskie*, Tygodnik Ilustrowany No. 18, vol. I, of the 29th of April 1876, p. 278.

¹⁰ A. Bartczakowa, *Franciszek Maria Lanci 1799—1875*, Warsaw 1954, p. 3—4.

cow, Poznań, Warsaw)¹¹. However his first task was a truly unique work, that is the project of an orangery/greenhouse in Egyptianizing style, built in Końskie during the years 1825—1830¹². Undoubtedly Lanci relied on his knowledge of Egyptian art obtained during his studies in the Roman St. Lucas Academy, basing on publications that resulted from Napoleon's expedition to Egypt¹³.

Before we proceed to a detailed description of the only "Egyptian" work of Lanci, we need to answer a basic question – who, with an intention of building a monumental orangery, employed a fashionable, however poorly known Egyptian art trend, and why? Most probably it was a wish of the owners of the Końskie estate, that is Stanisław and Anna Malachowski, which was to be fulfilled by an architect brought to Poland. Surely artistic matters were of greater importance to Anna Malachowska, who according to the preserved tradition "was interested in high arts, drawing to her estate artists and architects, Lanci among them [...]. At the same time a French painter Hélène de St. Claire also stayed in Końskie, where she painted family portraits of the Malachowskis"¹⁴.

A different track also exists, however, that may prove quite important in this case. Stanisław Malachowski, Anna's husband, had been connected to the freemason movement for years, which except from the Biblical tradition (Hiram, the builder of the Temple of Solomon) clearly referred to Egyptian symbols, particularly from the times of count Cagliostro (Giuseppe Balsamo, 1743—1795)¹⁵. Stanisław Malachowski in his youth set out in September 1789 to Istanbul as „a companion“ (no function), being part of Piotr Potocki's delegation¹⁶. His stay in Turkey lasted until 1791. It was in Istanbul that the 20 year old Malachowski was initiated into the „Grand Lodge of Scotland“¹⁷, he later became a member of the national lodges called „The

¹¹ See a biogram of Lanci in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 16, 1971, p. 435—437 (C. Bąk-Koczarska) as well as the monograph of A. Bartczakowa, cited above.

¹² Specialists were not able to specify the building time any further (see A. Bartczakowa, as above, p. 3—4).

¹³ Dominique Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte*, Paris, 1802 and Edme Francois Jomard (ed.), *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1809—1822. See also Y. Laissus, *L'Égypte, une aventure savante: Avec Bonaparte, Kleber, Menou (1798—1801)*, Paris 1998 and T. Rogacki, *Ekspedycja egipska 1798—1801*, Zabrze 2008; R. Solé, *Les savants de Bonaparte*, Paris 1998; P. Bret, *L'Égypte au temps de l'expédition de Bonaparte 1798-1801*, Paris 1998.

¹⁴ A. Bartczakowa, *Franciszek Maria Lanci...*, p. 3, footnote 6.

¹⁵ See. E. Hornung, *Das esoterische Ägypten. Das geheime Wissen der Ägypter und sein Einfluss auf das Abendland*, Monachium 1999, mainly p. 121—132.

¹⁶ See: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, b. 19, 1974, p. 420 and J. S. Łątka, *Słownik Polaków w Imperium Osmańskim i Republice Turcji*, Cracow 2005, p. 206.

¹⁷ See: L. Hass, *Sekta farmazonii warszawskiej*, Warsaw 1980, p. 280.

Temple of Wisdom", „Polish Brethren", „Kazimierz the Great", „The Temple of Themis" and „Slavonic Unity"¹⁸. He also held high functions in the Grand National Orient of Poland (among others as „sword-bearer", „French secretary", „speaker")¹⁹. It seems therefore that his connection to freemasonry could have played a certain role in choosing the style of the structure, admittedly of an utilitarian nature, yet not without a certain rank in the social life of his circle. The building was also definitely the strongest accent in the project of the park-palace complex.

The orangery in Końskie was built as an elongated rectangle with the longer side measuring 54,75 m and the shorter one measuring 7,25 m (the line of symmetry run parallel to the longer sides of the structure). Due to functional demands (sun exposure) one of the longer sides of the structure was directed to the south, while the other one was directed to the north out of necessity.

The corners of the orangery were strengthened with massive towers – pylons measuring 4,75 m, which were fitted with deep niches containing monumental statues of sitting pharaohs – Memnons²⁰. Cavities on the walls of the pylons from the north and south contain lines of pseudo-hieroglyphs²¹. The pylons were crowned with cavetto cornices, characteristic for Egyptian architecture²² and „toothed" corners above²³. Between the above described tower pylons on the eastern side a sort of a classic portico is situated with a triangular pediment (that portico shielded an additional, side entrance to the orangery).

¹⁸ L. Hass, above, *passim*.

¹⁹ W. Wilkoszewski, *Rys historyczno-chronologiczny Towarzystwa Wolnego Mularstwa w Polsce* (z rękopisu wydał Tadeusz Święcicki), London 1968, annexes XI–XIII.

²⁰ They were most probably influenced by the so called Colossi of Memnon, monumental statues of Amenophis III (1379–1340 B.C.) in the Western Thebes. They are the only preserved element of his funerary temple, built by the court architect of the pharaoh, Amenophis son of Hapu. See: *Description..., Antiquités*, vol. II, pl. 22. Lanci must have also known some depictions of other Egyptian statues (the clenched fists of his „Memnons" and their rich head-dresses).

²¹ They are quite different from their Egyptian counterparts. Only a few of them can be read, among others *ḥnḥ*, *ḥpr*, *dj*, *nb*, *j*, *d*, *r*, *sw*.

²² The so called cavetto cornice, with a torus (roll) is one of the original, well known forms used in Egyptian architecture. It originates from ancient times, when wood, crane and palm leaves were used in architecture. The concave surface of the cornice is marked with vertical, colourful elements (reminiscent of palm leaves); sometimes the surface of the cornice is decorated with a frieze of uraei (also used in our orangery). The surface of the cavetto cornice, especially above entrances, is also decorated with a winged sun disc (see below, footnote 25).

²³ Known among others from the so called High Gate in Medinet Habu, See: *Description..., Ant.*, vol. II, pl. 15.

Due to high sun exposure the most significant element of the building is the glass south elevation, creating gallery of some sort. The main entrance to the orangery is situated in the gallery's middle (however not in the central point). To the left (west) ten glass arcades were built, while to the right (east) – thirteen identical constructions. The sequence of arcades, only disturbed by the entry portico, creates a regular line, the "colonnade" is joined by both pylons, a reference to the solutions known from the monumental temples in Luxor or Karnak, which adds to the "Egyptian" character of the entire object.

The main (south) entrance to the orangery is flanked by square pillar-towers²⁴, placed on a massive risalit (those elements are separated by a narrow cornice). The towers are joined in the upper part by a triangular pediment, below a rectangular field of cavetto cornice is situated, filled with a meticulously painted solar disc²⁵. In the upper part of each tower characteristic toruses and cavetto cornices have been placed, which are closed from top by low tent-like coverings. On the front surfaces of both towers, in arched cavities a number of pseudo-hieroglyphs were situated, very distant from their ancient counterparts. The main entrance to the orangery, rectangular and slightly narrowing towards the top, is situated between the above mentioned risalites. The doorframe is crowned by a cornice considerably developed towards the top, consisting of toruses and a cavetto. A vertical „block" (covered with pseudo-hieroglyphs) placed on the axis of symmetry of the entry opening, above the cornice, was a connector with the pediment decorated with a winged sun disc.

The southern elevation of the orangery, as mentioned before, is divided into regularly placed window openings, reaching the floor. Large window



Fig. 4. Końskie, Egyptian Orangery.
The sculpture of pharaoh-Memnon
in one of the niches of the east pylon.
Phot. by J. Śliwa, 2006

²⁴ Such a solution, that is the presence of towers, similarly shaped and dominating over the facade, is also present in later designs by Lanci (e.g. in the Potocki Palace in Krzeszowice).

²⁵ According to the Egyptian tradition the winged solar disc was placed above the entrance, on the concave surface of the cavetto cornice. The colours are mostly similar to the elements depicted on a colourful plate in *Description..., Ant.*, vol. I, pl. 18 (the Ptolemaic temple on the Philae Island).



Fig. 5. Końskie, Egyptian Orangery.
Egyptianizing semi-pillars and
the entablature of the southern gallery.
Phot. by J. Śliwa, 2006

spans divide massive octagonal semi-pillars placed on high rectangular bases²⁶. In the lower parts of the semi-pillars, on their frontal surfaces, there were carvings of triangular leaves of papyrus or lotus with sharp endings, themselves a reminiscence of similar elements that encircled the lower parts of Egyptian pillars with an entire wreath²⁷. The described semi-pillars were crowned with plastically modelled capitals, consisting of three bell-shaped elements and two palmettos, referring to Egyptian composite capitals from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods²⁸. Above such a capital a flat abacus is situated, and even higher – an upturned step pyramid, consisting of three elements.

On such a construction the architrave beams are placed (the joints between blocks fall exactly on the axes of the pillars) crowned with a cavetto cornice with stylised uraei²⁹. The semi-pillars from the southern gallery are joined with a sort of arcade pseudo-arches (with sharp bends), and specifically shaped masks were used as keystones, originating from the form of Egyptian Hathoric capitals³⁰.

As a result we may state that Lanci took the basic models for his „Egyptian” building not from the works of Egyptian architecture from the so called pharaonic times, but rather from buildings typical for the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (332 B.C. – 3rd cent. A.D.). A specific role, and not for the first time, was played by the temple of Hathor in Dendera, raised during the rule of

²⁶ Polygonal pillars (sometimes called protodoric) have been known in Egypt since the Old Kingdom, they are not, however, among commonly used forms.

²⁷ See among others: *Description..., Ant.*, vol. I, pl. 18.

²⁸ They enjoyed a great popularity during that period. See: *Description..., Ant.*, vol. I, pl. 18 (Philae); vol. I, pl. 75 and 76 (Esna); vol. II, pl. 37 (Deir el-Medina).

²⁹ See footnote 22.

³⁰ At first glance seemingly incomprehensible, yet it is possible to clearly see a head of Hathor with a typical headdress tied with bands and excessively modelled ears of the goddess (see Hathoric pillars in the portico of the temple in Dendera: *Description..., Ant.*, vol. IV, pl. 29–31). Above, however, a headdress resembling an Osiriatic atef crown was depicted.

Ptolemy XII Auletes in 54 B.C., with a characteristic pronaos from the times of Tiberius (14—37 A.D.)³¹. As mentioned before, that building was familiar to Lanci most probably from the publications and drawings of D.V. Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte*, 1802, and tables published in *Description de l'Égypte*, 1809—1822³².

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³¹ See: *Description..., Ant.*, vol. IV, pl. 3—34. See also J.-M. Humbert, *La redécouverte de Dendera et son interprétation dans l'art du XIXe siècle*, in: *Hommage à Jean Leclant*, vol. 4, Cairo 1994, p. 137—146.

³² The colourful tables of that work also inspired Lanci for the basic colours of the orangery in Końskie.

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TWO GRAVE-SPHINXES
FROM THE RAKOWICKI CEMETERY
IN CRACOW

The Rakowicki Cemetery in Cracow used to be one of the first necropolis in Poland (founded in 1803), breaking the tradition of burying the dead on the central city's cemeteries such as graveyards, or churchyards, usually situated in the neighbourhood of hospitals. It has been used until the present, with the final administrative premises defined only in 1933, thus preventing from further expansion.

There have been various incentives influencing the shape of the tombs, beginning from existing law regulations (for instance the sanitary ones), through the prices and availability of materials, evolving aesthetic tastes (or simply current trends) to the characteristic in many cases, drive for symbolic reflection in terms of shape and details of a tomb. Finally the dead person's profession or a life passion was equally decisive. Undoubtedly, majority of the graves have gained it's principle form, due to pure acceptance of a "buried to be", meaning the founder, or the supervisor of the project, often original, nonetheless, sometimes being the modification of certain collection of "patterns", remaining in the gesture of the stonemasons, with a possibility of combining typical, though non-artistic elements.

The elements of Egyptian heritage implemented (copied, transformed) to modern art and architecture and culture, have been the case of high interest for years, those implementations are usually called *egyptianisms* deriving from Egyptian Revival style. In the European Art culture it is easy to point out (very much simplifying), a few stages of increasing interest in various aspects of Egyptian culture. Bearing in mind certain infusion into artistic circulation of particular egyptianisms, mostly due to derivation from Roman Antique tradition, it is commonly believed that, the climax point would be



Fig. 1. The sphinx from Talowski's tomb, present times, photo by the Author

Napoleon Bonaparte's great expedition (1798 -1801). Another significant stage was noticeable more or less, at the end of previous century, the Victorian trend for Egypt, caused by much more frequent travels to river Nile, but also fast growing in wealth of European museums and private collections in pharaonic antiques¹ taken away from Egypt. Despite the spectacular examples of using Egyptian elements in numerous architectural sites, private and public buildings, horticulture and occasional architecture, there is no doubt as to the fact that, there is a visible domination of sepulchral buildings, or of various eschatological origins. Those relations do not remain unjustified, the great

majority of remaining Egyptian constructions are tombs or temples, also perceived in terms of eternity².

Among the grave monuments on the Rakowicki Cemetery, we can easily find the same as in the southern European necropolis, also inspired to various degrees by transformed elements from ancient Egypt. Not mentioning, the pyramids and obelisks, the chief example is a monumental tomb (Section W-east) of the Talowski and Paszkowski families. The domineering element is a huge statue of a sphinx. In the iconographic sense, it is linked to both Greek and Egyptian sphinxes. It is depicted in the sedative position, with the left paw resting on a human skull wrapped around by a snake. (Fig. 1, 2). The

¹ J. S. Curl, *The Egyptian Revival* [in:] *Influences in Victorian Art and Architecture* (ed. by S. Macready, F. H. Thompson), London 1985.

² Contemporary architects have had relatively wide range of Egyptian architectonic symbols at the same time lacking the appropriate receptive skills, to put it bluntly, without recognition and comprehension of significant functions and meaning. The Egyptian details were selected and transformed carelessly, mainly on the basis of only one aesthetic criteria ideograms decorative scenario, freely and without comprehension playing with mixture of implementation of structure of different styles. The prospective Egyptian symbolism was used in the retrospective function (in extreme cases, purely ornamentative), close to visualizations of modern Europeans originated from Hellenic tradition. See also: J. S. Curl, *The Egyptian Revival. Ancient Egypt as the Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West*, London and New York 2005; Chapter VIII: *The Egyptian Revival in Funerary Architecture*, pp. 281-310.

head of the sphinx, distinctively of masculine type is ornamented with much stylized head cover – *nemes*, turning into a kind of a breastband and a necklace, suggesting the similarity to Egyptian ornaments *usekh*. The chin is placed on a volute, which is supposed to evoke the associations with the ceremonious pharaoh's beard. Above the forehead, in the place that we would expect to find king's *uræus*, we can see cross, slightly reminding the *Cross pattée* (*Tatzenkreuz*); it is not clear whether; it was a deliberate symbolic transformation or rather iconographic lack of perception of a sculptor.



Fig. 2. The sphinx from Talowski's tomb, present times, photo by the Author

The design by an architect Teodor Talowski (1857 -1910), a graduate of Universities in Lvov and Vienna, the lecturer of drawing at the State Industry School in Cracow and a professor at Polytechnic in Lvov. The pioneer of neo – romanticism in architecture, the inventor of his own, distinctive style, he was a project manager of residential buildings, technical architecture (viaducts) and also sacral buildings on the Galicia territory.

What makes the project even more intriguing is the original idea, fixed in the project (the State Archives, Cracow, ABM Cm.Rak.6; 1888) presumably the realization of the sphinx had been much more closer to the Egyptian canon, in the laying position with a human head in *nemes* (Figs. 3, 4) its iconography is definitely closer to the sphinxes from New Kingdom period and the later ones, than the usually used in such contexts Great Sphinx from Gizeh³. The details of the designed Sphinx (beard, *nemes*) very closely reflect the Egyptian canon (however the design includes this mentioned above non-Egyptian motif of the scull and the snake⁴), that it is possible to exclude

³ References to modern transformations of Sphinx: W. Rösche-von der Hyde, *Das Sphinx-Bild im Wandel der Zeiten. Vorkommen und Bedeutung*, I-II, Rahden 1999; W. G. Regier, *Book of the Sphinx*, Univ. of Nebraska Press 2004; see also H. Demisch, *Die Sphinx: Geschichte ihrer Darstellung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart 1977; *Sphinx*, LÄ vol. 5, cols. 1139–1147 (Ch. Zivie-Coche).

⁴ Implementing the allegorical objects under the front paw or paws of a sphinx was not an

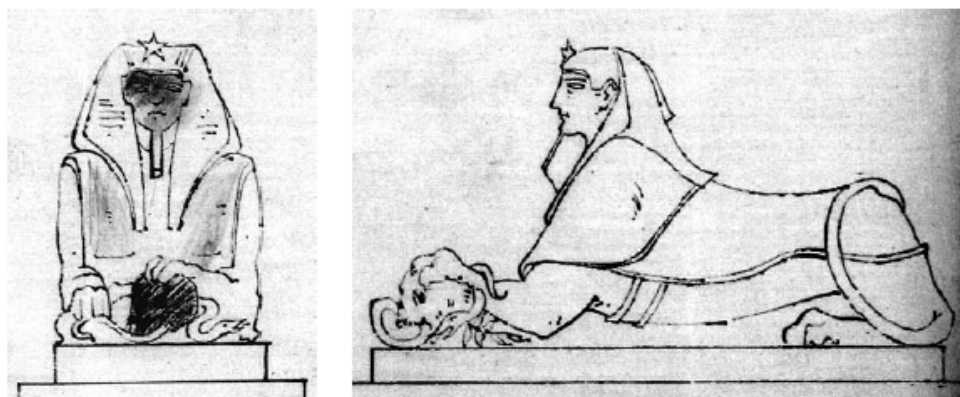


Fig. 3. Design of the sphinx from Talowski's tomb, State Archives, Cracow, ABM Cm. Rak. 6; 1888

that the transformation of the elements in the final version was as suggested earlier "egyptologic" lack of competence, but rather a deliberate artistic treatment. The only elements still causing confusion are: the mentioned above "ornament" of the sphinx's forehead; in the draft drawing it is clearly emphasized by the drawer, in the place of a mentioned above star and marked in the draft a kind of tinselled cloak covering the figure of a statue.

It is worth mentioning a very significant iconographic association, however distant, though of a highly hazardous character, namely, among the ancient motives on gnostic intaglios, we can find relatively popular motif of a lion with its front paw resting on a skull, however not human, but a bull's head (*bucranion*), surrounded by stars. The scientists are trying to prove certain kinsmen of similar portraying as well as with Mithraism but also with the symbol of victory over death. Those kinds of gems were also found in the nineteenth century collection from Cracow⁵.

A draft drawing of the remaining elements of multifigure postument, however differing from the final shape, does not bring any resemblance to the architectonical Egyptian elements. Talowski has not used any of the relatively popular Egyptian symbols, commonly used in decorative mode. For instance, a winged solar disc⁶, which he nevertheless used to ornament a portal of one of his most impressive buildings in Cracow at Karmelicka 35, the famous "Pod Pajakiem" (1889).

iconographic innovation, e.g. the sphinxes in front of Opera House in Budapest (around 1880) are resting on the theatrical masks. The classic symbol of vanitas on which the sphinx from Rakowice is resting, is then perfectly justified.

⁵ Cf J. Śliwa, *Egyptian Scarabs and Magical Gems from the Collection of Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński*, Kraków 1989, Cat. Nos. 132–134.

⁶ *Flügelsonne*, LÄ vol. 2, cols. 277–279 (D. Wildung).

Until the time when a similar composition “a tomb for Guyski” (Section XII, Northeast corner; ABM Cm. Rak. 10) by Karol Zaremba was introduced in 1895, the sphinx by Talowski was supposed to be the only monument of that kind on Rakowicki Cemetery.

Marek Marcelli Guyski (1830-1893) was a sculptor graduated from Warsaw and Rome Universities, since 1873 a lecturer of sculpture at Art Academy in Cracow.

The Sphinx crowning the tomb of Guyski, however, as a project it is just a rough draft, it has not got such an Egyptianizing character as the one by Talowski. The breast indicates female sex of a hybrid, the scarf on the head is far different from a shape of a *nemes*, and the overall shape of a figure resembles the rococo garden sphinxes, rather than orthodox modelled figure on ancient Egyptian canon. The design of a main board of a tomb and simultaneously the socle of a statue are in far better Egyptian style. There is a distinctive association with trapezoid *naos*, emphasized with a strong accent of torus and *cavetto* cornice⁷. Zaremba's design has never come to realization, instead a headstone realistic statue representing Zaremba himself, by his student Tadeusz Blotnicki was then, implemented, in such a form it has survived until the present times.



Fig. 5. Project of the sphinx from Guyski's tomb, State Archives, Cracow, ABM Cm. Rak. 10, 1895

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⁷ Cornice consisting of bulging moulding – a torus and a concave board (*cavetto*); was referring to the originally used for constructions moulding of tied up reed, covering the floor beams – those characteristic “ties” were also later engraved in stone toruses. In German literature they are used for those typical for ancient Egyptian building as well as modern motifs of Egyptianizing stylizations, descriptive terms: *Hohlkehle* (und) *Rundstab*; see D. Arnold, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*, München 1994, p. 108.