Book Reviews

Leo Roeten. *Chronological Developments in the Old Kingdom Tombs in the Necropoleis of Giza, Saqqara and Abusir: Toward an Economic Decline during the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom*. Archaeopress Egyptology 15 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2016). ISBN (paperback) 9781784914608. Pp. xiv + 144.

As stated in the title of this work, Leo Roeten sets out to establish a relationship between mastaba development and economic decline over the course of Dynasties 1–6. Though the title does not make it clear, Giza provides his primary dataset; the necropoleis of Saqqara and Abusir are used as secondary lines of argumentation due to limitations within the published data (Saqqara) or the sample size (Abusir). Limited data on Abu Rowash are also considered.

The text is divided into four parts: I: Various chronological developments of dimensional aspects of the tombs in the necropolis of Giza (chapters 1–7); II: The necropoleis of Abusir and Saqqara. A verification of the chronological tendencies of Giza (chapters 8–10); III: Additional methods for controlling the proposed dating of a tomb (chapters 11–12); IV: Catalogues and tables (tables 01–04.2, X.1).

Roeten begins by laying out some basic considerations in Chapter one, including a short history of the development of the mastaba during the Old Kingdom and a presentation of the chronological groupings that he will employ. Also in this chapter is a brief overview of climate change in the third millennium BC that presents the period as being dominated by a drying trend (15–17). Most of the research for this short section dates to the 1990s and before; it is taken for granted that increased aridity directly equated to decreased economic power without any consideration of population size, distribution, or land use, treating the Egyptians as passive actors who could not adapt their society to a slowly changing environment (for the opposite approach, see N. Moeller, "The First Intermediate Period: A Time of Famine and Climate Change?" *Ägypten und Levante* 15 [2005]: 153–67). These three pages form the basis for the 'economic decline' portion of the title and essentialize the narrative of the Old Kingdom to one of a state weakened by the single variable of ongoing desertification. He ignores any possible cultural and socio-political factors for the weakening state; such reductionism and monocausality is characteristic of the volume and one of its central flaws.

Part one, chapter two introduces the Giza necropolis; the overview is swift and light on data, not discussing elements, like tomb distribution within the cemeteries, that will become necessary to his later analyses. Chapter three introduces chronological change in the number of false doors (1 or 2) found in a Giza tomb chapel, finding that during the reign of Khufu the number of false doors was restricted, with the use of two false doors becoming more common at the end of his reign only to decrease again starting in the late fifth dynasty, perhaps due to a "deterioration of the financial situation" of the officials (38). Chapter six reprises this analysis, looking at false door presence in "richer" and "poorer" tombs (see below). The data are presented through line graphs and scatter charts; he discusses not only number of false doors, but the relationship of false door placement to the surface of the tomb. Other elements of the false door outside of number—for example, inscription, form, or decoration—are not discussed here, presumably appearing in Roeten's earlier monograph, *The Decoration of the Cult Chapel Walls of the Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza. A New Approach to their Interaction* (Leiden, 2014).

Chapters four and five present diachronic change in the dimensions of Giza tombs. These two chapters lay out the fundamental approach of the study: to measure and chart "the surface of the tomb and the chapel, the length of the western wall, the width of the chapel and the values derived thereof…" (40). He does not work through his methodology in any great detail, so it is unclear how his figures are derived or why one should link these variables. Through the use of scatter plots (problematically called "cloud diagrams" throughout the text), Roeten strives to demonstrate the presence of two, if not three, categories of tomb, ranging from "richer" to "poorer." In chapter five he charts the differences between tomb surface and chapel surface in his "richer" and "poorer" categories, noting at the end of the chapter that there is no relationship between them (61). Chapter six relates the diachronic change in number of false doors to the sample as a whole, as well as the "richer" and "poorer" categories, finding that there is no relationship with the surface of the chapel and the number of false doors found in a tomb, but that two false doors becomes generally less

Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt 53 (2017), 331–351
doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5913/jarce.53.2017.r016

common after the early Fifth Dynasty (64). Chapter seven concludes the Giza section, working through size differences in "richer" and "poorer" tombs and the development of the Giza necropolis; the relationship of chronological change to climate change; and "the designation of chapels with a ground-plan that leads to a divergent ratio surface/tomb surface chapel and/or a divergent ratio width chapel/length of western wall." This chapter includes an assertion that the number of false doors was perhaps "not and never had been particularly important" (72, though see contradiction on 75, 122). He links smaller tomb sizes to a declining economy that, due to climate change, resulted in a generally decreased standard of living (69). However, he also links them to a decrease of available space at Giza (71), and the movement of the royal necropolis from Giza to Saqqara (76). A plan of Giza featuring the chronological distribution of individual mastabas would have supported this point and aided the reader.

Part II generally employs the methodology laid out in Part I, using new data sets as a check or comparison against the Giza information. Less time and detail is spent on these new samples and the analyses and presentation are not very different; therefore, Part II can read as repetitive or exhausting to readers who are not interested in the specifics of individual tomb sizes in Saqqara or Abusir (but potentially very useful for those who are interested in mining the specifics of dimensions). Often, the data from the newly introduced cemeteries was included on Giza charts appearing in previous pages, lending confusion to the charts especially while reading the Giza sections.

The volume's conclusion (122–27), tucked into Part III (dating methods), asserts that there was a three-part division in social strata, a distinction not solely based on economic power, apparent through tomb size and decreasing over time (123–24); that Khufu enacted a standard tomb size across all (studied) Memphite necropoleis, from which standard tomb size would decrease over time at all three necropoleis (125); that the declining size in tombs from Dynasty 1 to Dynasty 6 was the result of an economic decline due to climate change (127).

Throughout the volume, the data is presented through charts highlighting trend lines and clustering of the variables listed above: area of tomb, area of chapel, length of western wall, width of chapel. The variables themselves, however, are not well defined and the mathematical terminology often incorrect. For example, the present reviewer was puzzled by the phrase "the surface of the tomb." It was only in Table 03 in Part IV, where the dimensions of Early Dynastic mastabas at Saqqara are presented, that it became clear that "surface of the tomb" was meant to mean the *(surface) area* of the mastaba. Incorrect and/or awkward phrasing such as this obfuscates Roeten's meaning throughout, clouding if not obliterating his points and reducing confidence in his handling of numeric data. Analysis of the data sets are notably missing standard deviation data, sample size information (within the text and charts, not simply if one counts the tombs listed in his Part IV tables), or discussions of statistical significance which would have leant more authority and complexity to his argument. The absence of statistics despite his constant employment of numbers undermines his analyses. Further, one of his central findings, that there is a constant bipartite, even tripartite, division in tomb size that is indicative of socio-economic groups, is based on the inexact method of clustering. Determining clustering requires that one use one of several algorithms and define the variables which will themselves determine the clusters (my thanks to Dr. David Taylor, Roanoke College Math Department, for discussion regarding this concept). This method is not employed. Instead, the author seems to be judging his clusters based on personal perspective; to the current reviewer, clustering was not evident in many of the charts.

Roeten's charts presenting visualizations of tomb size by period do have the potential to be useful to dating, which he works through explicitly in Part III, Chapter 11. Readers will undoubtedly be drawn to this text for the potential to use his size ranges as one more dating criterion to help refine a tomb or cemetery's chronology. A new text on Old Kingdom dating always has a use. However, the text falls far short of working with climate change and offers no real social analysis, giving it limited utility.

For readers who approach this text due to interest in issues of economic decline, the author falls short of establishing an argument linking tomb sizes to economy and, indeed, spends a very small number of pages and very little research on the complexities behind climate change or economy, instead treating them as simple categories easily reified. Work by Mark Lehner on basin irrigation and Juan Carlos Morena García on economy would have enhanced the text. The terms "richer" and "poorer" lend an economic feel to his discussion but without correlation to titles, decoration, and tomb goods these terms are never problematized or socially defined (though see 124). The relationship of climate change to a declining (state) economy is only asserted, never argued or truly substantiated, by Roeten; it is the *deux ex machina* which he employs to explain all changing size variables. He does not create complex correlations to wall decorations, titles, or personal choice; ultimately, his sample and his data are too small to support huge conclusions about economy or climate.

A final note: the Archaeopress Egyptology series does not seem to have provided the editing or copyediting that would have helped make this a more successful, or at least more accessible, volume. Editing can provide clarity, especially when the author is not a native speaker of the language in which they publish; the editors should have worked more with this text. As is, the prose can be difficult and confusing. Copyediting appears to have been haphazard, with

names appearing multiple ways (Bárta, Bàrta), captions located within the text rather than under the image (30); font size fluctuating (32); mismanaged headers (70); poor image quality (75, 81). There is no differentiation between charts and images in his captions or lists (both are labeled 'figure'), making specific curves and graphs harder for the reader to locate. On the whole, the volume promises much but leaves much wanting.

Leslie Anne Warden
Roanoke College

Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert and Richard B. Parkinson, eds., *Studies on the Middle Kingdom: In Memory of Detlef Franke*, Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 41 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013). ISBN 9783447063968. Pp. 268 + 8 plates.

Die vorliegende Publikation hält die Erinnerung an Detlef Franke wach, der 2007 im Alter von nur 54 Jahren verstorben ist. Die Beiträge gehen in der Hauptsache auf verschiedene Aspekte zum ägyptischen Mittleren Reich ein. Der Inhalt fächert sich wie folgt auf: H. Altenmüller widmet sich der Identität des Horus-Schen in den "Osirismysterien" des Mittleren Reiches und versucht die Bedeutung dessen Beiwortes *šniw* zu lösen. Der Schlaf des Horus-Schen wird in die Nähe des Schlafes des Sem-Priesters im Mundöffnungsritual/Szene 9–10 gerückt (11). Die Bekleidung des Sem-Priesters durch ein horizontal gestreiftes Gewand wird mit Mumienbinden oder Kleinkindwicklungen assoziiert (14). Der Sem-Priester wird als Verkörperung des Horus nach dessen Vereinigung mit dem in Binden gehüllten Osiris begriffen (14). Der Schlaf des Sem-Priesters im MÖR zielt auf die Belebung der mit Osiris gleichgesetzten Statue ab (15). Die Aufgabe des Schlafes des Horus-Schen wird in der Vereinigung mit dem getöteten Osiris erkannt (15). Die Repräsentation des Horus-Schen durch einen in Binden gehüllten Priester wird deutlich gemacht (15). Die alte Erklärung von *Ḥr-šniw* als "streitbarer Horus" wird zugunsten von "umwickelter Horus" aufgegeben (15). Der Name des *ḥ3kr*-Festes wird nicht ganz unrealistisch durch die Rufe der Träger der Prozessionsbarke erklärt, mit denen der auferstandene Gott zum Einstieg in das Gefährt eingeladen wird (19).

E. Blumenthal setzt sich mit dem Nachleben verstorbener Könige im kulturellen Gedächtnis der Einwohner der Arbeitersiedlung von Deir el-Medineh auseinander. Die Verzeichnisse sparen Hatschepsut und die Amarnakönige konsequent aus (39). Die Bedeutung Haremhabs in den Denkmälern wird wohl zu recht auf dessen Rolle als Totengräber der Amarnazeit und Gründungsheros des ramessidischen Königtums zurückgeführt (39). Die Zusammenstellungen der Könige werden von keinen historischen, sondern religiösen Interessen dominiert (40–41).

J. Darnell/C. Manassa legen vier beschriftete Objekte vom "Stelae Ridge" im Steinbruch in Gebel el-Asr vor, die der Siegler Sabastet im Jahr 4/6 von Amenemhet III. hinterlassen hat. Die Hauptgötter des Steinbruchs stellen "Hathor, Herrin des *ḫnm.t*-Steines" und der König als Teilmanifestation des Horus dar (57). Das Material des *ḫnm.t*-Steines wird als Karneol, Jaspis oder andere Kalzedonart bestimmt (60–61). Die Stele JE 59499 macht besondere Angaben zur Dauer der Minenexpedition von 3–4 Monaten, was ansonsten eher selten ist (85). Die Texte weisen in Grammatik und Syntax Parallelen zu anderen Mineninschriften auf, was sich u. a. am Anruf an die Lebenden zeigt (86). Der narrative Infinitiv wird als Kennzeichen für Tagebuchstil gedeutet (86). Im Falle eines Expeditionsmitgliedes kommt der ansonsten nicht belegte Titel *sḫ3w wʿr.t Nḫn* "Schreiber des Bezirks von *Nḫn*" vor (88). Die Sakralarchitektur von Gebel el-Asr besteht aus pyramidalen Schreinen, als deren ägyptischer Name das Wort *ih3ii* postuliert wird (90–91).

A. Demidchik zeichnet historische Gesichtspunkte der Königsdomäne der Herakleopolitenzeit nach. Die Existenz administrativer Strukturen der Bezirke nördlich von Hebenu im Alten Reich muss im Dunkeln bleiben (97). Die Einrichtung des königlichen Grundbesitzes unter den Herakleopoliten fiel mit dem Verschwinden des Vezirats zusammen (97).

H.-W. Fischer-Elfert präsentiert ein hieratisches Ostrakon mit einem Ausschnitt aus der "Lehre des Amenemhet," das bei Arbeiten von Steindorff im Totentempel des Chephren geborgen wurde. Die ramessidische Handschrift füllt der Beginn der 9. Strophe aus (108).

W. Guglielmi beleuchtet künstlerische und religiöse Aspekte zur Feldgöttin *śḫ.t* im Zusammenhang mit Assiut. Die Göttin wird im neu entdeckten Grab N13.1 erstmals einem nichtköniglichen Grabherrn gegenüber in gleicher Kopfhöhe gezeigt (118). Die Gegend von Assiut hat die bislang einzige Rundplastik der Göttin in Gestalt einer Holzstatuette erbracht, welche den Typ der Gabenbringer/Diener aufgreift (120). Die Stadt hatte sich offenbar zu einem Zentrum für die Verehrung der Feldgöttin entwickelt (121). Im Grab des Djefaihapi aus Assiut ist ein möglicher Vorläufer für den Stab/Stabstrauß der *śḫ.t* zu finden (123).

S. 124: das Wort *ḳn* ist vielleicht besser durch "fette (Gänse)" wiederzugeben, vgl. zuletzt H. Kockelmann-E. Winter, *Philae III, Die Zweite Ostkolonnade des Tempels der Isis in Philae (CO II und CO II K), Mit einem Beitrag von Shafia Bedier* (Vienna, 2016), 313.

S. Kubisch und D. Franke machen das Stelenfragment Berlin ÄS 32/66 (=31228) publik. Der Textinhalt wartet durch den Bericht über einen Speicherbau mit einem besonderen Highlight auf (150). Die Stele teilt Informationen zu den Verbindungen des Titels *imi-r3 gś pr* mit Magazinen und Getreideversorgung mit (157). Die Datierung wird

mangels exakter Hinweise grob in die 13. oder frühe 17. Dynastie vorgenommen (157). Die Phraseologie des privaten Stelenbesitzers greift die königliche Terminologie in Bezug auf die enge Nähe zu Göttern auf (159).

E.-S. Mahfouz veröffentlicht zehn Stelen des Mittleren Reiches aus Assiut, die heute in der Tiggart Bibliothek der El-Salaam Schule der Stadt aufbewahrt werden. Die Diktion, Grammatik und Orthographie der Objekte legen einen Ansatz in die späte 12–frühe 13. Dynastie nahe. Die Denkmäler halten mehrere Beispiele für den Gebrauch von Männernamen bei Frauen bereit.

S. Seidlmayer betrachtet die Felsinschrift des Vorstehers von Unterägypten Dedusobek aus Assuan, die in die Frontfläche des mittleren Blocks der zentralen Gesteinsformation im Ferjâl-Garten eingemeißelt ist. Das *didi*-Mineral wird mit dem Hämatit aus dem Wadi Abu Aggag gleichgesetzt (206). Die Bezeichnung *ꜣbw* wird auf das ganze Gebiet um Elephantine inklusive der Steinbrüche auf dem Ostufer ausgeweitet (206). Die Verbindung *rdi mꜣꜥ* "rechte Fahrt geben" wird auf den diesseitigen Steintransport per Schiff bezogen (208–209).

L. Störk steuert chinesische und byzantinische Entsprechungen für die ägyptische Vergabe von Schandnamen (211–13) sowie neuzeitliche Parallelen für ägyptische Reisedaten in Nubien (215–16) bei.

P. Usick informiert kurz über das Detlef Franke Archiv im British Museum, das ab 1970 verfasste Schriften des Autors zu Mittlerem Reich und Erster/Zweiter Zwischenzeit umfasst (219–20).

U. Verhoeven handelt Reliefs des ehemaligen Eingangsbereiches des Felsgrab M10. 1 in Assiut ab. Die Inschrift Nr. 1 fällt durch die Schreibung des Wortes *nḥḥ* "Ewigkeit" durch das Nilpferd auf, die durchaus stichhaltig unter Hinweis auf das Wort *nḥḥ* "*nḥḥ*-Nilpferd" erklärt wird. Die Textkolumnen haben direkte Parallelen in den Biographien der Gräber Siut III/IV, die als Indiz für eine eigene siutische Lokaltradition gewertet werden (228). Die Datierung von M10.1 wird in die 11. oder frühe 12. Dynastie gewählt (228). S. 224: zur Verbindung aus *nḥḥ* "Ewigkeit" und Nilpferden vgl. Sethe, *Übers. II*, um 1934, 402. S. 226: zu *ꜣtii.t* "Beamte sind Amme" vgl. ähnlich B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh, Part 1, The Tomb of Anhurmose—the Outer Room* (Sydney, 1988), 38.

S. 226: zu *nḳm.t* "Plage" vgl. A. Allon, "Seth is Baal—Evidence from the Egyptian Script," *Ä&L* 17 (2007), 16; S. Donnat: "Le rite comme seul rétérent dans les lettres aux morts, Nouvelle interprétation du début du Cairo Text on Linen," *BIFAO* 109 (2009), 87; H.-W. Fischer-Elfert: *Magika Hieratika in Berlin, Hannover, Heidelberg und München, Mit einem Beitrag von Myriam Krutsch* (Berlin, 2015), 238; J. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden, 1971), 100.

S. 226: zu *pgꜣ ḏr.t* "freigiebig o. ä." vgl. J. Heise, *Erinnern und Gedenken, Aspekte der biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Fribourg-Göttingen, 2007), 183, 250; W. Spiegelberg, "Das Grab eines Großen und seines Zwerges aus der Zeit des Nektanebês," *ZÄS* 64 (1929), 80.

P. Vernus arbeitet zwei bildliche Ausdrucksweisen heraus. Im ersten Fall wird eine Verbindung zwischen den "Klagen des Ipuwer" und der ramessidischen Biographie des Anhurmose hinsichtlich der Redensart *mśnḥ nhp* "Töpferscheibe dreht sich" gezogen. Die bei "Ipuwer" negativ für das Chaos gebrauchte Metapher wird bei Anhurmose positiv hinsichtlich seiner mannigfachen Aktivitäten verwendet (234). Das gemeinsame Textstück wird nicht im Sinne eines Zitates, sondern einer Adaption interpretiert (234). Im zweiten Fall steht eine Kapelleninschrift aus dem Mutbezirk von Karnak im Zentrum, die vom Ende 25./Anfang 26. Dynastie stammt und eine jener bekannten *historiolae* um Isis und Horus überliefert. Der verbesserte Lesungsvorschlag der Präposition *ḫr* statt *ḥ.t* "Leib" hilft sonst notwendige Emendationen zu vermeiden. Die Spitze des metaphorischen Vergleiches der Brüste der Isis mit einem überquellenden (*ttf*) Brunnen (*ḫnm.t*) kommt dadurch besser zum Tragen (238). Die Reminiszenzen an die medizinische Fachsprache werden hervorgehoben (238–240). S. 239: zu *npꜣpꜣ* "palpiter" vgl. W. Ward, "Observations on the Egyptian Biconsonantal Root *pꜣ**," in: H. Hoffner, ed., *Orient and Occident, Essays presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Kevelaer, 1973), 212.

H. Willems wertet den sozialen Hintergrund der Verfügung des *N.y-kꜣ-ꜥnḫ* in dessen Grab bei Ṭihna al-Gabal aus. Die Reihenfolge der Grabherren in der dortigen Nekropole wird folgendermaßen rekonstruiert: 1. *Mr.y* (Fraser Tomb 11 ?), 2. *Ḫnw-kꜣ=i* (Fraser Tomb 14), 3. *Kꜣ-ḥp* (Fraser Tomb 12), 4. *N.y-Kꜣ-ꜥnḫ* ("Grab II" und Fraser Tomb 13 [= "Grab I"]) (244). Die Anfänge des Begräbnisplatzes werden bis zur Mitte der 4. Dynastie zurückdatiert (249). Die Gräber werden zu den frühesten auf Basis eines festen Kanons dekorierten Provinzgräbern gerechnet (249). Die Kernthemen der Verfügung zum Grabkult in "Grab II" des *N.y-kꜣ-ꜥnḫ* werden in den Rechten und Pflichten der Kinder einerseits und dem Verhältnis zwischen den Totenpriester und dem ältesten Sohn andererseits identifiziert (252). Die Ersetzung der herkömmlichen Bedeutung "Erbe" von *iwꜥw* durch "Nachfolger" (252) könnte den Anschein der Hyperkorrektheit erwecken. In "Grab I" kommt dem ältesten Sohn *Ḥm-ḥw.t-ḥr* gegenüber den anderen Kindern offenbar ein Exklusivrecht zu (256). Das "Umlaufopfer" wird als Zuwendung schon dargebotener Opfer an zweite Kultempfänger, in der Regel Verstorbene, charakterisiert (260). Die Einbindung der Vorfahren in den Kult wird zur Sprache gebracht (260). Die Diffusität der Grenze zwischen Privatbesitz und Tempelbesitz wird zu Protokoll gegeben (262).

Das abschließende Urteil des Rez. stellt sich positiv dar. Die vorgetragenen Interpretationen lassen sich gut begründbar vertreten. Die einzelnen Details werden dem Leser anschaulich näher gebracht. Die z. T. etwas blumige

Sprache hängt wohl vom persönlichen Geschmack ab. Die Lektüre hat sich durchaus rentiert.

Stefan Bojowald
Bonn

Jacquelyn Williamson. *Nefertiti's Sun Temple: A New Cult Complex at Tell El-Amarna*. 2 Volumes. Harvard Egyptological Studies 2 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016). ISBN 9789004325524 (E-ISBN 9789004325555). Pp. v.1 x + 224; v.2 vi + 212.

For well over a century, the site of Tell el-Amarna has been subject to archaeological investigation, and numerous books, articles, and museum exhibitions around the world have focused on the Amarna Period. While popularizing books about the ancient city's founder the "heretic king Akhenaten" may give the impression to the uninitiated that there certainly remains something to be said about the Amarna Period, the specialist is well aware that considerable excavated material still awaits publication—thousands of *talatat* blocks from Karnak and finds from the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft excavations at Tell el-Amarna, now in Cairo and Berlin, to mention only two important groups. Over the past few decades several volumes have been published with the results of excavations resumed at Amarna, starting in 1977, under Barry J. Kemp's direction (initially under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society, London; now sponsored by the Amarna Trust, established in 2005, and The Amarna Research Foundation: http://amarnaanniversary.worldpress.com). The book by Jacquelyn Williamson under review adds significantly to the corpus of Amarna material brought to light by this fieldwork; specialists have eagerly awaited its appearance ever since she made a preliminary account of her work available nearly 10 years ago (*Egyptian Archaeology* 33 [2008], 5–7).

Williamson deals primarily with relief fragments excavated at Kom el-Nana in two volumes, the first for the text, *per se*, and the second comprising a catalogue of the material. The four chapters of volume 1 provide an introduction to Kom el-Nana and Sunshades of Ra at Tell el-Amarna, followed by a second chapter with the author's reconstructions, both of reliefs and architecture; chapter 3 deals with the hieroglyphic inscriptions and suggests the implications for Nefertiti's role, and the final chapter presents conclusions that can be drawn from the study. A bibliography and a comprehensive index complete volume 1. Volume 2 is an extensive, detailed catalogue of the relief fragments found at the site of Kom el-Nana, arranged according to the grid squares where they were unearthed. A color image (with scale), excavation number, measurements, and information on material are provided for every fragment. Williamson's reconstructions of the reliefs account for twenty-one pages of volume 2, one page for each. Finally, ten plates show additional images of selected fragments.

In the introductory chapter, Williamson provides readers with orientation to the site of Kom el-Nana and its relationship to the Sunshade of Ra temples at Amarna, especially those features shared with the Maru-Aten complex, the only other excavated sunshade at the site (which since its clearance by the EES team in the early 1920s has been completely obliterated). Both sites have some architectural features in common—in particular, the presence of two large courtyards within separate enclosures (but cf. B. Kemp, *City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and its People* [2013], 120; see also the note below on artificial gardens). Support for the idea that these complexes are Sunshades is forthcoming from inscriptions found at both sites. While the Maru-Aten initially belonged to Kiya, Akhenaten's "greatly beloved wife," and was later usurped in favor of the king's eldest daughter Meritaten, the situation at Kom el-Nana is less clear.

Fragment s-2570, found in square Y39 at the North Shrine of Kom el-Nana, preserves parts of two columns of a vertical inscription above the minimally preserved head of a figure, with uraeus, facing left (274). Williamson convincingly reconstructs the text in the second column to read "… sunshade of Ra in …" thus identifying the complex at Kom el-Nana as a Sunshade of Ra (12–14, fig. 1.6).

However, her identification of the royal head as Queen Nefertiti is not entirely convincing, casting some doubt on the attribution of the site to Akhenaten's Great Royal Wife. The detailing of the wig on the very small portion of the head remaining on the fragment suggests the so-called Nubian wig, closely associated with Kiya. But the presence of a single uraeus—which is original, not added—at the forehead of the figure eliminates her, as well as a princess, from consideration. Nefertiti is certainly possible, but so is the king who may also wear this wig.

Furthermore the inscription directly above the head is oriented rightwards, unlike the figure, suggesting that the epithets and titles refer rather to the Aten, which must have been depicted to the left of the royal figure, as the single preserved sunbeam radiating towards it from the disc indicates. (In general, inscriptions identifying royal figures at Amarna are oriented in the same direction as the figure they accompany.)

In Williamson's reconstruction number 2, the figure of Nefertiti is depicted at some distance from the radiant disk, behind a larger figure of Akhenaten (407). But inscriptions belonging to the Aten are placed close to the disk; in my view, fragment s-2570 should originally have been not too far away from the disk, giving the names and epithets of the Aten. The head of the human figure is directly below the inscription; this person should be the largest in the scene, leaving no space for another larger individual in front of

it. If the figure were Nefertiti, she would have been shown without the king as the sole officiant, a motif attested to date with certainty only at Karnak in the reliefs on the so called "Nefertiti pillars." For the reviewer, the fragment therefore more plausibly depicts Akhenaten as the main figure, the sunbeam behind his head ending either in a hand that touches his neck or extending towards a smaller figure of Nefertiti behind him. Probably the fragment belonged to an offering scene with the Aten disc right above the offering table.

In chapter two, Williamson presents her reconstructions, discussing in detail the methodology she employed and its application. She assumes that the fragments of relief were found not far from their original location. For the scale of the figures, Williamson uses the grid system and canon of proportions as established for the Amarna Period by Gay Robins. The body cartouches of Akhenaten and Nefertiti are given their due, since they provide information on the orientation of a royal figure and are sometimes indicative of a specific gesture as well. Williamson's painstaking approach to reconstruction is comparable to Fran Weatherhead's work on painted plaster fragments from the palaces at Amarna (F. Weatherhead, *Amarna Palace Paintings* [2007]), and, like it, demonstrates the importance of meticulous examination of any and every iconographic, stylistic, and technical detail.

Only a few of the twenty-one reconstructions proposed have not totally convinced the reviewer. (The problem posed by reconstruction 2 [407–8], which includes block s-2570 has been discussed above.) Reconstruction 1 proposes an antithetical scene showing the royal couple with three of their daughters below the Aten disc. Antithetical scenes are attested in Amarna on stelae and architraves, but to date, not in large-scale wall decoration (Williamson's reconstruction would measure 6.5 m wide and 4.5 m tall). Of course, it cannot be categorically excluded that this motif existed in the (potential) corpus of wall decoration in temples at Amarna (cf. the speculative reconstruction of antithetical wall scenes by R. Hanke, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* [1978], 244–45, figs. 32–33), especially since Amarna in many cases proves the exception to the rule and frequently surprises with highly unusual compositions on temple walls, even including large-scale figures of non-royal individuals (see 140 with fig. 2.108 of a bowing figure). However, reconstruction 1 seems unlikely to the reviewer.

Another problematic reconstruction is Williamson's number 3 (409) showing the King and Queen offering to the Aten. Initially, at Karnak, a strict rule is observable for the position of the Aten in offering scenes; the sun disc is always placed directly above the altar or offering table. In other contexts, the disc is placed above the king or, much less frequently, above the queen. The course of the sunbeams on block s-4047 suggests that the disc stood directly above the king; thus, the block should not belong to an offering scene as suggested by Williamson's reconstruction.

In reconstruction number 14 with a chariot, Williamson supposes that fragment s-77 belongs to the depiction of charioteers grasping folded reins with arms held close to their chins (104, fig. 2.80A). For the reviewer, what Williamson would identify on the photograph as folded reins resembles rather a lotus blossom. Whether block s-X37B depicts a pair of hands holding reins is dubious, even if the reviewer cannot propose a convincing alternative explanation. No other fragments from excavation square X37 bear discernable traces of horses or a chariot, despite s-17 and s-18, which might belong to reins running above a horse's back (329, s-18, to be rotated 90° counter clockwise). Williamson's other reconstructions are sometimes very tentative, but in general quite plausible, showing courtiers (reconstruction numbers 4 and 15), architecture (reconstruction numbers 5, 6, and 7), and offering scenes (reconstruction numberss 13, 15, 16 and 17; reconstruction number 19 shows an offering scene in a figural panel on a column).

Limestone is not the material of each and every fragment of relief from Kom el-Nana; some are sandstone. Williamson convincingly incorporates these latter fragments into the reconstruction of a gateway approximately 3 m in depth. The gateway reliefs at the reveals probably showed the royal couple offering to the Aten (employing fragment s-3307 [92, fig. 2.69]; see reconstruction number 8 [413] on each reveal, once on a large scale and twice in a double register scene). Additional elements of the gateway are monumental cartouches of the Aten, as shown in reconstruction number 12.

At the end of chapter 2, Williamson discusses architectural and archaeological evidence on which to base a reconstruction of the building program at Kom el-Nana. Although many details continue to be unclear, the site certainly included artificial gardens with ponds, monumental gateways, and larger structures with columns (cf. Kemp's characterization of Kom el Nana [*The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 2012, 120] as differing from Maru-Aten since the former had "…much open space but so far [i.e., before 2012?] the evidence for garden cultivation covers only a very small part of it"). Whether an antithetical scene of the royal couple below the Aten disk was the focal point of the North Shrine is uncertain.

Chapter 3 deals with the hieroglyphic inscriptions, identifying the site of Kom el-Nana as "the Sunshade of Ra in the *rwd ʿnḫw itn*" (156). The precise meaning of *rwd ʿnḫw itn* continues to defy clarification; possibly the term describes the northern and southern enclosures (cf. Williamson, in *JARCE* 49 [2013], 143–52), while the term "Sunshade of Ra" which is documented only in the northern enclosure might have been restricted to this building complex. Using additional textual evidence from Amarna, Williamson discusses the roles of Akhenaten and Nefertiti in the sunshade

and the *rwd ʿnḫw itn*, concluding that the entire site of Kom el-Nana may have been ultimately dedicated to the proper maintenance of Maat by the royal couple (173).

The role of Queen Nefertiti in this connection is further elaborated in chapter 4. Williamson considers it plausible that the construction of Kom el-Nana began early, after the founding of Tell el-Amarna (the Sunshade of the queen is mentioned in the text of the boundary stelae), and continued until around year 11 when the name of the Aten was changed. To account for variations in style and quality observable in the reliefs, Williamson proposes that different workshops or crews were involved in the work, just as Donald Redford explained the same phenomenon among the Karnak talatat (in R. Smith and D. Redford, eds., *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, vol. 1. *Initial Discoveries* [1976], 76: "… as many as six master draftsmen, if not substantially more"). Most scenes depict the royal couple offering to the Aten—indeed, variations on this theme are the most common subjects in the art of Akhenaten's reign. The other prevalent motifs at Amarna are scenes of the royal family's "daily life" which were also represented at Kom el-Nana as documented by fragments of relief depicting courtiers, a palace with a pool and gardens, and other elements of daily life. Most relief reconstructions at Kom el-Nana are paralleled in the decoration of non-royal tombs at Amarna. For Williamson, this congruence may have resulted from the function of the temples as the source of funerary offerings for the dead at Amarna (190), their spirits coming daily to the temples for sustenance (this was the subject of a paper Williamson presented at the International Congress of Egyptologists in Florence, on 29 August, 2015). Based on the idea put forward by some Egyptologists that Akhenaten and Nefertiti embody the creator gods Shu and Tefnut, and were thus a source of renewal and rejuvenation at Amarna, Williamson proposes that the reliefs of the North Shrine at Kom el-Nana emphasized the royal family as the primary, semi-divine participants in the Aten cult.

In her final interpretation of Nefertiti's role at Kom el-Nana, Williamson must deal with the puzzling circumstance that no evidence is forthcoming yet for Nefertiti as the sole officiant in the cult of the Aten at Amarna (as on the 'Nefertiti pillars' at Karnak), and that she is normally depicted on a much smaller scale than her husband. Williamson argues that if Nefertiti had been shown worshipping the Aten alone at her sunshade, her status vis-á-vis the Aten would have been undermined, not elevated; by standing with the king and being taller than all others except him, her status was emphasized and her participation in the cult stressed (199). But this is true, in general, for *all* representations of the royal couple throughout Egypt and not specific to Kom el-Nana. If Kom el-Nana indeed was the sunshade of Nefertiti, the reconstruction of the decoration Williamson proposes surprisingly conforms to preserved reliefs from other temples and tombs at Amarna. Of course, it must be borne in mind that most reliefs are not preserved and the reconstructions were made only with tiny fragments.

Williamson's publication demonstrates the potential of painstaking examination of even the tiniest relief fragments while providing a thorough study of Amarna motifs, iconography, style, and technique. The high quality of the images in the book and the thorough documentation of the reliefs found at the North Shrine of Kom el-Nana make Williamson's work a lasting contribution to the field of Amarna studies that points the way for further studies.

Christian J. Bayer
Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim

Konstantin C. Lakomy. *„Der Löwe auf dem Schlachtfeld." Das Grab KV 36 und die Bestattung des Maiherperi im Tal der Könige* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2016). ISBN 9783954901104. Pp. 528.

This monograph by Konstantin C. Lakomy is certainly the most thorough and contextual treatment of Maiherperi that Egyptology has yet seen, and it has been a long time coming. Lakomy starts with the unusual and special location of Maiherperi's semi-intact tomb. In Chapter I, Lakomy contextualizes Maiherperi's Valley of the King's shaft tomb, comparing it to every other King's Valley tomb from the early Thutmoside period, thus allowing a more precise dating of the KV 36 architecture into the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. In Chapter II, Lakomy provides a precise description of the architecture of KV 36, including location, the discovery by Victor Loret, and the excavation history. This section is an archival triumph; Lakomy has tracked down the excavation notes of Victor Loret in an attempt to correct Daressy's problematic publication and to add even more context to a tomb that Egyptology has neglected.

Lakomy even discusses what was *not* found at Maiherperi's tomb, including magical bricks, foundation depositions, and superstructure, examining comperanda from the proper time periods, and socioeconomic levels to determine if we might be missing or misidentifying anything. Then Lakomy moves to the tomb plan, tomb contents, and the layout of those contents. Lakomy even creates a chart of hypothetical prices for the coffins in Maiherperi's tomb, based on Janssen's *Commodity Prices* and Cooney's *Cost of Death*, with a total for the coffins, mask, canopic shrine and jars at an astounding ca. 1,108 copper *dbn*. Lakomy concludes that the tomb of Maiherperi was one of the least disturbed of those graves given to a loyal official in the Valley of the Kings and filled with objects from the royal workshops.

Chapter III focuses on the person of Maiherperi himself, including his possible place of origin, the variants and

meaning of his name, his titles and offices, and his comparison to other officials with similar titles, the latter used mostly as a (re-)dating tool rather than as a means of social analysis. Maiherperi's obvious dark skin on his mummy and in his Book of the Dead depictions have brought up a number of questions about race, status, and Egyptianization amongst Egyptologists. Lakomy questions all the previously raised hypotheses about Maiherperi's identity, including the notion that he could have been the offspring of Thutmose III with a Nubian harem consort or another idea that Maiherperi was brought to Egypt after invading forces forced defeated Nubian elites to send their sons with the Egyptian overlords. Lakomy finds more evidence for the latter hypothesis, preferring to see Maiherperi as the product of Egyptian imperialism in Nubia in some fashion, using circumstantial evidence like his young age at death and the lack of Nubian material culture in his grave, to suggest that Maiherperi was not only acculturated, but at a young age, strongly suggesting that he was indeed taken by Egyptian forces to be raised at court, maybe even with the hope of sending him back to his homeland later as an ally. The alternative that Maiherperi's family came to Egypt willingly as Medjay mercenaries is also entertained, and the short, curly wig, bow and arrow, and throw sticks fit this option well. This latter possibility that Maiherperi is descended from people of Medjay profession and ethnicity is by no means mutually exclusive with Maiherperi having been taken as a child after an Egyptian invasion of Nubia.

Maiherperi's name is then probed; it is unique, occurring only one time, as far as we know. The meaning of "Lion on the Battlefield" is not only highlighted in the title of Lakomy's book, but in his analysis of Maiherperi as a person, as this unusual name could very well find its origins in Medjay East deserts and Lower Nubia. The title Child of the Kap is also examined, the real meaning of which remains vague for Lakomy but indicates close association with the court and the king for non-royal children. Maiherperi also bore the title of Fan Bearer on the King's Right, of course, his second most common title, and Lakomy concludes that he was one of at least three fanbearers who served in the reign of Thutmose III, all of whom probably served on the battlefield with their lord in addition to serving as bodyguard off the battlefield. Lakomy identifies just such a fanbearer in a scene from TT131 of Vizier Useramen who served years 22 to 28 of Thutmose III, and while said fanbearer is not labeled, or that label is destroyed, Lakomy hints that the depiction is uncannily similar to the way Maiherperi depicts himself in his own Book of the Dead, down to his sleeveless shirt and short, curled wig. Maiherperi's other titles are also discussed. Most useful for further social analysis is Lakomy's list of more than 120 men, documented from Theban Tombs or inscribed objects with similar status, titles, and time period. One of Lakomy's goals in this endeavor is to prove that the titles Fanbearer on the Right and Child of the Kap were not unique to Maiherperi and do indeed occur earlier than previously thought by many Egyptologists, but his list of similar men is also a huge contribution to Egyptological social studies in enabling a categorization of a growing group of powerful and court-connected men of similar military-bodyguard specialization.

Lakomy relentlessly queries all assumptions about Maiherperi including the notion that an undecorated tomb in the Valley of the Kings would have been a great honor for the recipient, as every such recipient would have had to give up a decorated tomb chapel. Lakomy questions whether the holy location of the tomb in the King's Valley would have been enough to make up for active cult activity, and the answer is decidedly no. Lakomy thus ends this chapter with the open query of where the cult chapel of Maiherperi, and people like him, could have been located, since friends and family obviously could not have visited the secret and inaccessible Valley of the Kings to offer to his spirit. Lakomy suggests some unproven alternatives for the cult of the deceased, including a hypothetical Meretseger cult place near the Gurn, or before statues or stela placed at Abydos or some other temple location, or perhaps even a statue cult located in the Temple of Millions of Years of the associated king.

Chapter IV is the object catalogue, a treasure trove of information about objects of all kinds, including 200 plus objects groups from the tomb, a massive undertaking because each entry includes contextualization and numerous comperanda from museum collections and archaeological site reports. Lakomy scoured the Egyptian Museum in Cairo for every Maiherperi object that he could find plus every item of available comperanda. Lakomy insists on a full contextual study of each object type, and so he stretches himself to examine all the different categories contextually, including tomb architecture, coffins, the polychrome Book of the Dead papyrus, linens, masks, canopics, scarabs, shabtis, jewelry, wooden boxes, senet games, pottery, even analyzing contexts like pistacia resin, all the while, reevaluating everything—date, purpose, identify, name, social place. Every object is contextualized, described, drawn, including detail drawings, photographed, with all associated texts transliterated and translated. Lakomy is fearless and quite thorough, turning up every stone that he can. This does not mean he had full access to each and every object. Indeed, it is clear in the publication when he was stymied by museum rules and restrictions, having found a comparison piece that he was not allowed to photograph outside of the case, and yet what he did achieve is nonetheless extraordinary. The object catalogue alone makes this a wonderful research volume.

The (re-)dating of Maiherperi's tomb—from the oft accepted date in the reign of Amenhotep III to an earlier date in the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III—haunts the entire volume, and this redating is absolutely convincing. There is even a smoking gun for those who might still be

unconvinced—a linen bandage with the cartouche is Maatkare herself. This is also a book full of useful excursuses as Lakomy delves into a variety of side interests that are the life's work for many of us—including coffin studies (this was indeed the first time the coffins were carefully examined, photographed and analyzed), ceramic studies (especially of the base ring ware from the Levant), glass studies (imported glass vessels from Mesopotamia), Book of the Dead studies (this was the first time the 11 m long Book of the Dead has been described, transcribed, translated, and analyzed), and even identity studies. There is something for everyone in this excellent volume.

Kathlyn Cooney
University of California Los Angeles

François Neveu. *The Language of Ramesses: Late Egyptian Grammar*. Translated from the French by Maria Cannata. (Oxford-Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2015). ISBN 978782978688. Pp. xx + 268.

The Language of Ramesses is the first English language edition of François Neveu's grammar of Late Egyptian, *La langue des Ramsès* (1996). The book was "designed for people with a good knowledge of Middle Egyptian who wish to read texts written in Late Egyptian, the language in use during the New Kingdom" (xv). As such, the author assumes a working familiarity with the Egyptological conventions of transliteration, grammatical terminology, and reading knowledge of the Hieroglyphic script. Of course, Neveu does provide explanations for each point of the grammar but these are generally quite concise and focused on the practical information needed to make sense of the example sentences in each section, with no additional essays or lengthy discussions of theory, diachronics, etc. The volume is organized and presented as a reference grammar, with a detailed system of numbered sections and sub-sections, suitable for quick citation, and including only translated example sentences, while excluding untranslated, practice exercises. Neveu presents the material in three broad sections: "Morphology" (1–30, §§1–11), which introduces the parts of speech; "Syntax" (31–214, §§12–42), concerning initiality, the various verbal and non-verbal predicate constructions, and clause types; and two "Appendices," dealing with interrogative constructions (218–36, §43) and syllabic writing (240–42, §44). Following the main text, the book includes an index of grammatical terms in English (245–47), an index of Late Egyptian words and constructions in transliteration (248–50), a brief index of Coptic words (250), an index of texts cited (252–66), and a list of figures (267). The figures interspersed throughout the volume include facsimiles of a few of the Hieratic ostraca and papyri, from which the Hieroglyphic transcriptions for select exercises derive. The final, un-numbered and un-indexed page of the volume includes a facsimile scene from Abu Simbel depicting the caning of Hittite scouts, with a brief Hieroglyphic caption, transliteration, and translation.

As Neveu notes, a comprehensive grammar of Late Egyptian has yet to to be written, while *The Language of Ramesses* aims only to be a pedagogical tool, permitting "its readers to study and understand 90–95% of texts" (xv). Of course, numerous scholars have published specialized monographs on specific features of Late Egyptian (verbs of motion, non-verbal sentences, the verbal system, negations, et al.). However, very few general references in English have appeared thus far. These include, above all, the compendious *Late Egyptian Grammar* of J. Černý and S. Groll (1993, 4th ed.), which focuses exclusively on non-literary texts; and the more pedagogically oriented, teaching grammar of F. Junge (*Late Egyptian Grammar*, 2005, 2nd ed., translated from the German by David Warburton), which includes both literary and non-literary sources. The English-language publication of Neveu's *Language of Ramesses* constitutes a very welcome addition to this small group. The volume's greatest strength lies in its inclusion of both non-literary and literary constructions and examples, in contrast to the reference grammar of Černý and Groll. Given that early literary texts, like the "Doomed Prince," constitute a logical point of departure, due to their admixture of Middle and Late Egyptian constructions, students beginning with such "transitional" material will certainly appreciate its inclusion in an easily searchable, reference format. Of course, one cannot learn Late Egyptian without actually translating Late Egyptian texts, so Neveu's grammar cannot serve as a stand-alone introduction—students must retain access to hieroglyphic reading books, such as A. Gardiner's *Late Egyptian Stories* (1932) and *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (1937) or, if possible, Hieratic facsimiles, e.g., G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, vols. 2–3 (1910). For students interested in a single-volume teaching grammar, including practice exercises, Junge's *Late Egyptian Grammar* remains the preferred choice, particularly for self-study (i.e., outside a formal classroom setting).

The Language of Ramesses mostly employs terminology "traditionally used in grammars of Egyptian," which is to say, aligning relatively closely to Černý and Groll and the so-called "Standard Theory" of Polotsky, including terms derived from Coptic studies (Second Tenses; First Present; Third Future; etc.). Issues of grammatical theory do not constitute a significant focus of the text, which is almost purely descriptive. However, the author does allude occasionally to theoretical issues, which the reader might investigate further or ignore, at their discretion (thus, e.g., 33, n. 62, concerning the role of the interlocutor in the speech act). In some cases, the citations appear rather too sparing to do justice to a thorny theoretical issue. Thus, for example,

in his discussion of the so-called "Second Tenses," Neveu mentions Polotsky's syntactic analysis of the emphatic verb as nominal subject to a following adverbial predicate, with the note that "Nowadays there is a tendency to reject the 'nominalization' [of the Standard Theory]" (92). However, the citation for this latter point (n. 189) refers only to a comparable phenomenon in French, with no reference to any post-Standard Theory, Egyptological studies. Of course, given the stated aims of the volume as a pedagogical tool aimed at acquiring practical reading knowledge, any such omissions constitute a largely academic quibble.

With regard to the English translation itself, Cannata has done an admirable job of navigating the fine line between the spirit and letter of Neveu's original French. The English adheres closely to the economy of words in the original text, which results generally in a very concise and understandable English prose. However, as the translator notes, in some cases, a preference for more literal rendering of the French has come at the expense of "good English style" (xvii). Such peculiarities are infrequent and do not materially affect the understanding of the text; genuine errors in the translation are uncommon (e.g., 91: "prosthetic yod," rather than "prothetic yod"; cf. *Langue des Ramsès*, 111: "yod prothétique"). Readers familiar already with the French edition of Neveu's work should know that the new, English translation follows the organization and content of the original volume very closely, including virtually identical chapters, sections, and sub-sections, all numbering systems, appendices, figures, and example sentences. Only three additions and/or changes from the French may be cited: the addition of a translator's note (vii); a reversal of §33.2.1.3 and §33.2.1.4, including a revision of the former sub-heading from a simple "Remarque" to "The protasis incorporates a Third Future (very rare examples)" (143); finally, one entirely new section has been added to the grammar itself (§33.2.3, "The protasis incorporates the ambiguous syntagma *ỉw.f* (?) *sḏm*"). Other purely cosmetic, but very welcome, alterations include the new volume's more compact size and the switch to a darker—and therefore much more legible—hieroglyphic font.

Within the traditional setting of the graduate-level seminar—where most students are likely to begin serious engagement with Late Egyptian—Neveu's grammar will surely take its place as one of the standard English-language resources for teaching and reference. As such, *The Language of Ramesses* belongs on the bookshelf of anyone offering instruction in or learning Late Egyptian.

Joshua A. Roberson
University of Memphis

Stephen Quirke. *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Chechester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015). ISBN 9781444332001. Pp. viii + 271.

Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt represents Stephen Quirke's third introductory survey of Egyptian religion, following *The Cult of Ra* (2001) and *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (1992). In terms of the author's philosophy and approach to the subject generally, the present volume aligns closely with its predecessors through its careful delineation of modern preconceptions from ancient evidence. With regard to specific content, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* attempts to break new ground through the application of non-Egyptological methodologies and theoretical frameworks, primacy given to evidence from non-royal and non-elite spheres, occasional ethnographic parallels, and a de-emphasis on traditional introductory topics. As a result, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* is rather less "introductory" than its predecessors and might best be viewed as a theory- and interpretation-focused sequel to Quirke's *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, rather than a starting point for the neophyte.

A preface (vi–viii) establishes the author's theoretical agenda, above all, through recognition of the "weight of the baggage we bring from the Twenty-First century" (vii). Chapter 1, "Belief without a Book" (1–37), opens with caveats on the use of the term "religion," followed by a lengthy critique of Egyptology itself, which the author chides for "separation of disciplines" and non-holistic methodologies (3–4), Eurocentrism (4–5), overemphasis on writing (5–7), and the "unreflective use of generalized concepts and categories such as society, economy, and religion" (7–8). The author then considers Jan Assmann's definition of Egyptian religion and concludes that it is hampered by a separation of ethics and cult, as well as over emphasis on the royal sphere. In addition, he suggests that the "European" focus on mono- vs polytheism should be abandoned by shifting focus from the word "god(s)" to "cult practice." A section on landscape (12–16) introduces the familiar binary oppositions "Red" vs. "Black" land, etc., and suggests that Egyptian religion should be understood in more diverse terms of eight, somewhat arbitrarily defined (16), "ecological units," as factors shaping a heterogeneous, as opposed to monolithic, Egyptian religion. Following several sections of background material (divisions of Egyptian history, mortuary versus settlement sites, etc.), Quirke discusses "modern prejudice in distinguishing elite and popular religion" and the need to suspend assumptions with regard to these and other categories (25–27). After these preliminary discussions, the chapter segues into a discussion of iconography as an expression of the inexpressible—the nature of divinity—through "visual form as a metaphor to decode" (33). Quirke then takes up the problematic existence (or lack thereof) of Egyptian narrative mythology (35–36), before closing the chapter with a short list of common English terms like

"king" and "temple," which he brackets as containing significant modern baggage, to be viewed with caution in relation to ancient Egypt.

Chapter 2, "Finding the Sacred in Space and Time" (38–79), begins with a discussion of the sacred and its variability in different cultures; the remainder of the chapter unfolds thematically from internal experience of the sacred (e.g., self vs. other) to external, as expressed in town, temple, and shrine. Quirke introduces the anthropological/philosophical theories of Viveros de Castro as a framework for approaching Egypt's view of self and other, especially with regard to human vs. animal (40–45, including an interesting discussion of pets, at 42–44). He includes a summary of the three ontological classes of beings, namely gods, kings, and humans, noting that the last group radiates outward in concentric circles of proximity from the king, as "sunfolk," "elite," and "commoners." Quirke observes also that animals and plants are absent from this (text-based) scheme, although their prominence in the iconography of deities "warns us against assuming the separation of human from animal" (43). A longer section follows, concerning the sacred vis-à-vis the body (44–60). Of particular interest here is a discussion of bodily integrity and the desire to preserve it after death, as a whole (44–47). Quirke considers individuals with degenerative ailments like polio or leprosy—attested only rarely in the archaeological record—who might have been excluded from priestly service, driven to exile, or even excluded from mortuary rituals and therefore the afterlife. As an exceptional instance from the royal sphere, he considers Ramesses V, whose mummy exhibits characteristic lesions associated with smallpox. The author concludes that the king's status as a "different species" (47) might have provided sufficient motivation to overcome the taboo against such afflictions. Other topics include idealized depictions of the human (48–49); body alteration (49–51); the beginning and end of life (51–54); personhood and naming practices (54–57); and rites of passage, including puberty rituals for girls and boys (57–61). The remainder of the chapter is devoted to religious landscapes and "sacredness around the human" (61), illustrated through case studies from Badari (62–65), Elephantine (65–70), and Lahun, with select comparison to Akhetaten (70–79).

Chapter 3, "Creating Sacred Space and Time: Temple Architecture and Festival" (80–109) opens with a warning that the well-preserved monumental temples and royal tombs provide an incomplete picture of Egyptian religious architecture. Quirke illustrates the diversity of evidence through eight architectural types, which he defines as: 1) mounds as platforms; 2) rounded mounds with enclosing chambers; 3) squared mounds enclosing chambers; 4) free-standing rectangular or square structures with principle chambers at the rear; 5) rectilinear buildings with extended axes; 6) rock cut structures; 7) terraced structures; and 8) structures with a crescent lake. The author then provides an overview of the daily offering rituals and the rotating "watches" of temple staff, followed by the role of the king and his priestly surrogates (91–96). He considers the role of the "bearer of the festival book" (i.e., the lector priest) as standing "at the center of of the history of sacred knowledge," and the related function of the House of Life (96–97). The second half of the chapter examines evidence for festivals and other sacred events (97–109), including, for example, kingship rituals from Lahun, festival calendars, and the reversion of offerings as a mechanism for the establishment of new sanctuaries.

Chapter 4, "Chaos and Life: Forces of Creation and Destruction" (110–49), examines "the way in which people across Egypt . . . expressed contending forces at play in their lives" (110). The discussion begins by revisiting the author's warning against philological bias and the problematic nature of Egyptian mythology. After a brief survey of different Egyptological approaches to myth (Assmann, Zeidler, Goebs), Quirke suggests that myths might have been learned through non-linguistic "information blocks," rooted in image and performance, which were only translated into words "when some gain offset the effort . . . [of transforming] fuzzy prototype concepts into rigorous concepts with checklists of features" (116). A longer section follows, concerning mythological "constellations outside writing" (116–35), with particular focus on non-royal iconography. Other elements of visual culture include images of Min and Amun (122–25); Seth (130–31); jackals (131–32); and images of "child – god – king" (133–34). Having established his "broader archaeological record" (116), Quirke devotes the remainder of the chapter to "Speaking and narrating the Divine" (135–49), including discussions of the return of the solar eye as the offering motif *par excellence*, "in stark contrast to the elusive narrative myth" (136); the so-called "Memphite theology" (141–42); and the literary tales of the "Contendings of Horus and Seth" and the "Tale of Two Brothers" (145–48).

Chapter 5, "Being Good" (150–176), concerns the Egyptian concept of Ma'at and ethical behavior. Quirke notes that our prioritization of sources depends on whether we are interested in how people actually treat one another versus "how they say they should" (152). In addition to the expected textual evidence (legal documents, instruction literature, etc.), the author includes also an interesting discussion of human remains as non-textual data for inequality in Egyptian society, as revealed through violence, trauma, or other physical suffering (malnutrition, disease, etc.) (153–55).

In Chapter 6, "Being Well," (177–200), Quirke begins with a discussion of "rural and urban health" (178–79), noting a general dearth of archaeological evidence; followed by "medicinal matter and the questions of shamanism" (179–80), including case studies of a possible "wise woman" from Deir el-Medina and a late Old Kingdom burial assemblage from Badari, which seems connected also to healing

practices. The author cautions that any interpretation of specialized objects, such as healing implements, should consider whether the tomb owner was a specialist, who utilized the objects as tools of the trade, or a patient and beneficiary of the practice itself. The remainder of the chapter discusses the function of amulets and their change over time (183–90), noting the often arbitrary distinction in modern publications between "amulets" and "jewelry"; other sorts of healing and protective objects, such as Horus stelae and clay cobras (190–91); titles associated with healing practice, noting in particular the problematic separation of titles with divine names (e.g., "Controller of Selqet") from supposedly "scientific" titles, like "doctor" (Egy. *swnw*) (191–94); medical papyri, and questions of their ownership (194–95); and finally, the consultation of oracles and other forms of divination and contact with the divine, including sleep and dreams (196–200).

The book concludes with Chapter 7, "Attaining Eternal Life: Sustenance and Transformation" (201–37). It opens with a recapitulation of the author's caveats on the types and limitations of source material, noting two overwhelming concerns that emerge from the ancient texts: sustenance of the body as a "physical anchor for human life" and transformation "into an eternal being, becoming *netjer*-like in immortality" (201). As a methodological counter to this text-based framework, Quirke suggests four guidelines to the interpretation of burial/tomb sites: 1) "burial demography," which is to say, the number, status, and timing of individuals buried together; 2) body position; 3) above- vs. below-ground mortuary structures as links between the living and dead; and 4) material goods placed with the dead (204–5). The author next offers a chronological summary of burial practices for non-royal individuals, from 3100–525 BCE (205–28). Following this impressively robust, if not exhaustive overview, Quirke includes a very brief summary of royal burial practices over the same time span (228–30). A concise discussion of mortuary literature and tomb decoration follows (230–34), consisting primarily of numbered lists highlighting major themes, including scenes of burial, the opening of the mouth ritual, a selection of four themes from the Pyramid Texts, four themes from the Coffin Texts, seven themes from the Book of the Dead, and a succinct enumeration of the twelve hours of the night, as attested in the Amduat and Book of Gates. The chapter concludes with discussion of the *akh* concept (235), further caveats on the perception of Egyptian religion as a monolith (235–36), and suggested avenues for further research (236–37). After the main text, the book concludes with a bibliography of sources cited by chapter (235–55) and a general index (256–71).

Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt functions primarily as a vehicle for its author's interpretations of primary and, in some cases, secondary literature. As such, the critical reader may agree with some of Quirke's views and disagree with others. Such differences of opinion and interpretation, if and when they arise, are the business of the individual and should not be dictated from the pulpit of the reviewer. In fact, it is precisely the challenges offered to traditional interpretations and theoretical frameworks that constitute one of the volume's great strengths. However, there are other issues that seem to muddy the waters that the author seeks ostensibly to clear, and which therefore merit further discussion. For example, the author's preference for pseudophonetic, faux Egyptian toponyms over their better known Greek or Arabic counterparts (e.g., "Waset" for Thebes; "Khemenu" for Ashmunein) holds potential for confusion (vii), in particular with regard to the index, which is sorted only by the former terminology. Above all, however, the reader confronts numerous dismissals and omissions of both individual scholars and broad swaths of scholarship, beginning with essentially *all* current university training in Egyptology, with the statement that "in university departments, Egyptologists generally train to read Egyptian writing, not to undertake archaeological fieldwork or study the visual arts, or even comparative or historical linguistics" (4). This bold indictment shows either a lack of awareness of, or lack of interest in, the breadth and variety of modern Egyptological programs, particularly in the United States, where interdisciplinary training is increasingly the norm, rather than the exception. Other curious dismissals may be cited. For instance, when discussing 525 BCE as the upper chronological limit of his study, Quirke concludes that, "as a unitary and integral social field, *ancient Egyptian religion* ends" with the Persian conquest and the introduction of a new administrative language (11, italics original). The implication that late Pharaonic religion was somehow un-Egyptian—or, perhaps, a diluted version of Egyptian—appears profoundly outdated in an otherwise "progressive" treatment of the subject. As Janet Johnson noted some twenty-five years ago, "One serious problem in the study of Egypt [after the Persian conquest] is that the Egyptian element in this multi-cultural society has been undervalued" (J. Johnson, "Preface," in J. Johnson, ed., *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society* [Chicago, 1992], xxiii). In sum, while it is perfectly reasonable to establish limits to a popular study for reasons of space, Quirke does a disservice to the beliefs of the ancient people with his suggestions that 525 BCE represents the end of ancient Egyptian religion, "unitary and integral" or otherwise (for continuity of Pharaonic religion into the Persian era and later, see, e.g., C. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld* (Wiesbaden, 2007); D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun* (Turnhout, 2012); more generally, see K. Myśliwiec, *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca-London, 2000); and D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (Princeton, 1999). With regard to the core subjects and time periods treated in the text, other elements also appear conspicuously abbreviated and/or outdated. Thus, when Quirke suggests that "the prominence of kingship can also be read as a study of

reception, with the gradual adoption across the society of certain models first developed for kingship" (116) or, later, "[Osirification] seem[s] to creep outward from the center, to achieve hegemonic or normative status across a wider part of society" (201), he places himself squarely within the early Twentieth Century view of the "democratization" of religion. This concept has been questioned by numerous scholars, whose contributions pass without mention in the present volume (for discussion and additional references, see M. Smith, "Democratization of the Afterlife," in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich, eds., *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 2009, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/70g428wj; and H. Hays, "The death of the Democratization of the Afterlife," in N. Strudwick and H. Strudwick, eds., *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives* [Oxford, 2011], 115–30). Other eyebrow-raising statements include Quirke's surmise that the (uniquely!) well preserved "burial of Tutankhamun indicates how kingship followed regular practice of the day" (229) and his casual dismissal of the entire history of Egyptian cosmology after Akhenaten with a single laconic statement that "new compositions proliferate in the tombs of the kings at [Thebes]," mentioning only the Book of Gates (232) (for detailed discussions and additional references, see J. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books* [Fribourg-Göttingen, 2004]; C. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld* [Wiesbaden, 2007]; A. von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne* [Copenhagen, 2007]; M. Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage* [Fribourg-Göttingen, 2008]; D. Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch* [Wiesbaden, 2011]; J. Roberson, *Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth* [Atlanta, 2012]; and J. Roberson, *Awakening of Osiris* [Fribourg-Göttingen, 2013]). Finally, Quirke states that "In Egyptology, the House of Life has come to be seen as a knowledge center equivalent to a European-style university. . . at the risk of misreading [its] specific cultural and social context" (96). This condemnation—made without citation or reference—appears rather striking, insofar as Sir Alan Gardiner had reached the same conclusion in his seminal study of the House of the Life nearly eighty years prior, stating unequivocally that "One of the main results of the present article will be to show that the conception of the [House of Life] as a training college, and still more the conception of it. . . as a University, is a grave mistake" (A. Gardiner, "The House of Life," *JEA* 24/2 [1938], 159).

The criticisms offered here underscore the importance of a cautious approach to this or any work concerned primarily with issues of theory and interpretation. However, such criticisms do not negate the book's real value as a fresh, even confrontational, presentation of the complexities of ancient Egyptian religion. Overall, the wide range of material is impressive, including textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence, which paints an admirable portrait of Egyptian religion as a complex series of processes, rather than a monolith unchanged through the ages. The task of writing a new, general book on Egyptian religion is formidable. *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* deserves all due credit for its attempt to approach the topic in a way that is novel, interesting, and challenging to both scholars and lay readers. Quirke accomplishes this goal by treating "standard" topics in ways that question our assumptions about what constitutes "standard" in the first place, why that standard has been applied previously, and how we might view gods, temples, the afterlife, etc., from a perspective that is more inclusive of the majority of Egyptian experience, which is to say non-royal and non-elite. Inevitably, allowing for new perspectives results in new connections and new interpretations, which might not have been apparent from a more traditional, top-down view of society. In this regard, Quirke's volume falls in line with recent trends in scholarship regarding social history, local economies, and other, less visible aspects of Pharaonic culture (see, e.g., J. Moreno Garcia, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Administration* [Leiden, 2013]; L. Warden, *Pottery and Economy in Old Kingdom Egypt* [Leiden, 2014]). Scholars working in the field of Egyptian religion will benefit from consideration of the challenges that Quirke poses throughout the volume and the new questions that might arise in their own work, as a result. Likewise, lay readers will certainly find a great deal of fascinating material within the pages of *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* that has rarely, if ever, been featured in popular treatments of the subject.

Joshua A. Roberson
University of Memphis

Barbara Lüscher. *Auf den Spuren von Edouard Naville. Beiträge und Materialien zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte des Totenbuches*. Totenbuchtexte Supplementa 1 (Basel: Orientverlag, 2014). ISBN 9783905719253. Pp. xvi + 134, 151 plates.

One of the global centers of research on the Book of the Dead (BoD) is at the University of Basel where Barbara Lüscher and Günther Lapp initiated the project of a comprehensive new edition of the BoD corpus in 2004. To facilitate the project, a publication venue was created (Orientverlag) with three series (*Totenbuchtexte*, *Totenbuchtexte Supplementa*, and *Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten*) in which so far sixteen volumes on the BoD have appeared. The one presented here is the first of the supplement series and pursues two main goals (described previously in B. Lüscher: "In the footsteps of Edouard Naville (1844–1926)," *BMSAES* 15 [2010], 103–21; http://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Luescher.pdf):

(1) to reconstruct and reassess the early history of research on the BoD, with Édouard Naville's pioneer edition of 1886 as its culmination, on the basis of archival research (in particular the papers left by Naville himself); and

(2) to publish nineteenth-century hand copies of BoD

manuscripts for such Books of the Dead that have either not or not satisfactorily been published or that are today lost (as in the case of a fragment of the former "Kestner collection," which belongs to pFlorence 3660A).

Part 1 provides a detailed and beautifully illustrated history of the BoD research in the "time of the pioneers" (from the earliest known facsimile of a BoD in 1653 to Richard Lepsius, 3–35) and then focuses on Naville's edition (37–68, flagged as noteworthy is the significant contribution that Naville's wife Marguerite made), supplemented by remarks on the history of reproduction techniques and the typography of BoD editions (69–84, from woodcuts and engravings to the hieroglyphic text processor developed for the Basel project).

For the documents presented in part 2, Lüscher undertook the painstaking task of comparing the nineteenth-century hand copies with each other (where different copies are available, e.g., from Lepsius, Lepsius's draughtsmen Ernst and Max Weidenbach, Naville himself, and Ernesto Schiaparelli) and with photographs of the actual papyri; she provides on pp. 85–121 a succinct commentary of all observed copying mistakes. The hand copies are from the following source documents: Pap. Nakhtamun = pBerlin 3002 (pls. 1–77), Pap. Berlin 5509 (pls. 78–80), Pap. Nespaheran = pBerlin 3006 (pls. 81–86), Pap. Ramses-Siptah = pFlorence 3660B (pls. 87–89), Pap. Senemnetjer = pFlorence 3660A (pls. 90–93), Pap. Kestner (pls. 94–95), pFlorence 3661 (pls. 96–103), Pap. Ptahmose = pBusca, Milano (pls. 104–43), Pap. Pashed = pMilano 1025 (pls. 144–45), Ostracon Louvre E22394 (pl. 146), Ostracon Louvre N684 (pl. 147), Ostracon Louvre AF496 (pl. 148), Tomb KV2 (Ramses IV) (pl. 149), Tomb KV9 (Ramses VI) (pl. 150–51).

In a disciplinary perspective, one of the most important aspects (briefly alluded to on 55–57) is the position of Naville and his project among different national Egyptologies. Naville himself was a loyal student of Lepsius (as the present book reaffirms), and the Book of the Dead edition was financially supported by the Berlin Academy and the Prussian State. Lepsius accorded to the edition of the Book of the Dead, until the discovery of the Pyramid Texts in 1881 the largest religious text corpus of ancient Egypt, a paramount role in the study of the Egyptian language. After Lepsius died in 1884 and Naville was disregarded as successor to the Berlin chair, Naville turned his back on the new "École de Berlin" (a term coined by Naville, initially in a derogatory sense) under Adolf Erman and its dictionary project and turned to French and British Egyptology (see in detail: T. Gertzen, *École de Berlin und "Goldenes Zeitalter" (1882–1914) der Ägyptologie als Wissenschaft* [Berlin, 2013], 19–21; 32f., 91; 135f.; 161f.; 256; 360–78; and his fig. 2 on p. 21 with the academic relationships; H. Virenque, "A Swiss Egyptologist on Her Majesty's Service: Edouard Naville (1844–1926) in the Delta," in N. Cooke and V. Daubney, eds., *Every Traveller Needs a Compass* [Berlin, 2015], 189–96). At the same time, the newly available Book of the Dead influenced intellectual and religious debates in the 1880s and 1890s. As David Grange writes in regard to English translations of the BoD: "New knowledge of Egyptian religion shaped the extent to which British thinkers were able to develop reflexive approaches to their own cosmology"; and by harmonizing the BoD with Biblical and Christological ideas, "the positive revaluation of Egypt amongst orthodox writers actually began to alter orthodox categories" (D. Gange, *Dialogues with the Dead: Egyptology in British Culture and Religion, 1822–1922* [Oxford, 2013], 209f.).

In summary, this is an excellent monograph precisely because, by tracing Édouard Naville's work, it points to the importance to integrate different areas of research: the study of the BoD itself through their nineteenth-century manuscripts, and the study of the study of the BoD within the historical context of individuals, institutions, and intellectual traditions at a transformative moment of Egyptology.

Thomas Schneider
University of British Columbia

Frank Förster. *Der Abu Ballas-Weg. Eine pharaonische Karawannroute durch die Libysche Wüste.* Africa Praehistorica 28 (Cologne: Heinrich Barth Institute, 2015). ISBN 9783927688421. Pp. 620 + 376 color and b&w illustrations, 23 tables.

Egypt's Western Desert was little explored archaeologically until the late 1930s, when Ahmed Fakhry started his investigations into the desert and, most particularly, the oases. Thereafter, limited work was carried out in these regions until the 1970s, when activity picked up in Dakhla and Kharga, and subsequently in Siwa, Baharia, and more recently, in Farafra. However, the desert hinterland was largely the purview of desert explorers and geologists (and occasionally the military) until the initiative (ACACIA) headed by Rudolph Küper and his team in the 21st century. In addition to locating several sites, the team tracked desert routes that connected Egypt to the rest of Africa to the south and west, demonstrating a far wider network than had been previously assumed. Förster, a member of this team, played a key role in investigating the Abu Ballas trail, one of the main tracks that left Dakhla, going west. Förster's work is the culmination of almost a decade's worth of exploration of the Western Desert. It is an invaluable and detailed record of the trail and the sites along it. The book is divided into four main sections, followed by thorough summaries in German, English, French and Arabic.

The book starts with an introduction to the project, the history of research on the elusive (legendary?) oasis of Zarzura and the identification of the Abu Ballas (Father

of Ballas Jars) trail, eponymously named for a large depot of jars found semi-buried around a rocky outcrop in 1918. It continues with a summary of work carried out to trace the route associated with the deposit, and concludes with an overview of the discoveries made by the desert explorer Carlo Bergmann and the ACACIA team.

The second portion of the book provides an extremely detailed description of the sites found along the trail and its offshoots. Figural engravings, inscriptions, ceramics (organized chronologically), archaezoological and archaeobotanical finds, carbon dates associated with some of these, as well as a careful record of other artefacts (including a discussion on desert glass) discovered along the way are described and illustrated. The texts are of particular interest as they not only record trips made by the Egyptians over the millennia, but also mention encounters with oasis dwellers and fugitives (e.g., the inscription of Kay).

The book's third section deals with the organization and practical use of the route as it changed over time (third millennium BC through the Islamic period, with the emphasis being on the pre-Third Intermediate Period). It begins with an overview of the changing climate and what that involved in adjustments for travellers, particularly with regard to water supply. Förster makes full use of ethnography to elucidate the acquisition, transport, and storage of water over long distances in an arid environment, integrating it with textual and pictorial evidence from ancient Egypt, as well as a careful study of the jars and their capacities. The highlight of this section is the thorough and detailed study of the capabilities and role of donkeys as beasts of burden in ancient Egypt. Biology, ethnography, texts, and images are all used to explain the crucial role that these extraordinary animals played in long-distance travel, allowing the Egyptians to roam several hundreds of miles long before the advent of the camel (the date remains in dispute—possibly from the 7th century BC or slightly earlier), which made desert travel comparatively easy and economical.

The work then continues with an overview of the route at different periods, and a discussion about issues concerning the route's historical life. Förster addresses questions such as, what was the role of the route; did it change over time; why were so many resources devoted to its establishment; and how long was it used? Although no firm answer is available, Förster provides an overview of many possibilities, including the traditional ones, such as offering an alternative to the Nile, non-policed and non-taxed routes (as many desert routes are used today, most recently for human trafficking), and emphasizes the point that the Egyptians might have taken advantage of a route that already was in use by populations inhabiting the margins/deserts.

Förster is to be congratulated on masterfully presenting the hitherto unknown history of this part of Egypt, and for setting a standard for documenting desert routes. This work will long be a crucial source of information on trans-Saharan movement over time, and the history of the ancient Egyptians' interaction with the desert and lands far to the west and south.

Salima Ikram
American University in Cairo

Hélène Fragaki and Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets. *Un édifice inachevé du quartier royal à Alexandrie. Étude suivie de un fragment de corniche peinte hellénistique à Alexandrie.* Études Alexandrines 31 (Alexandria: Centre d' Études Alexandrines, 2013). ISBN 9782111298514. Pp. 149, 131 color and b&w figures.

This slender, yet information-packed volume, is divided into two parts, the larger devoted to a study of the so-called unfinished building within the Royal Quarter of Alexandria by H. Fragaki. She collaborates on the second, smaller study of a painted architectural cornice with A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets, who has often dealt with questions about Alexandrian painting (Guimier-Sorbets, Pelle, and Seif el-Din, eds., *Renaître avec Osiris et Perséphone* [2015], reviewed in *BiOr* 73 [2016], 111–17); and Guimier-Sorbets, "L'architecture et le décor peint des tombes d'Anfouchi à Alexandrie: nouvelles perspectives," in P. Ballet, ed., Grecs et Romains en Égypte [2012], 171–86).

H. Fragaki's objective is to make sense of forty-seven monumental worked blocks, some in the Doric order, others in the Ionic. These blocks were discovered over a period of time in different loci, but those loci are all within the confines of that area of Alexandria which is universally regarded as the site of the royal quarter. Most of those worked blocks were found in isolation without any quantifiable archaeological context. Some have not been previously published; others, now lost, are only known from earlier publications. Proceeding from a consensus that their general findspots, style, and dimensions suggest that they all belonged to the same architectural ensemble, H. Fragaki first presents each in her prefatory catalogue.

Those conversant with the methodology of Hellenistic architectural exegesis can well appreciate her command of the material as she effortlessly, but convincingly, finds parallels for the details of her corpus of orders within the architectural repertoire of the Hellenistic period which she dates to the end of the third century BC. Having established their date, she reviews earlier identifications of the structure to which these worked blocks are suggested to have belonged. One of the stumbling blocks for such an identification is that no member of her corpus exhibits any detail suggesting that it was actually built into a structure, as she emphatically emphasizes: "ces blocs *ébauchés* n'ont jamais *été* mis en place, comme le montre l'absence de toute trace de moyens

d'assemblage" (9). Later she observes "le quartier royal, expression tangible de la continuité dynastique garantie par les Lagides, *était* donc en perpétuelle construction" (48). Accordingly, should one now understand the designation of Alexandria as Racotis, the city which is continually in a state of construction (S. Caneva, *From Alexander to the Theoi Adelphoi* [2016], 210), in a new light? And is it not, then, somewhat ironic that to date there is no comparable corpus of monumental worked blocks from a *completed* structure which have been identified? This begs the question regarding the appearance of Hellenistic Alexandria. Did it habitually appear like a modern airport, the construction of which is proverbially never completed? That observation forces one to ask why these apparently never-used worked blocks, found in such abundance, were ignored and left lying around for centuries while those from the seemingly myriad number of finished structures have long since disappeared. The issue is further compounded by the apparent pristine state of all the members of her corpus, as they exhibit no signs of any later alterations which one would expect to find if these were repurposed at a later time as spolia. In grappling with that irony, H. Fragaki dismisses the attempt to identify her corpus with the Arsinoeion and argues against identifying it with the Posideion.

What follows is her careful analysis, based on both the literary testimonia and comparable, contemporary architectural complexes, from which she concludes that those worked blocks are to be associated with ἐνδοτέρω βασίλεια *(palais internes)* (37–53). Her discussion is thought-provoking because it places into sharper focus discussions about the spatial divisions of "royal palaces" with their segregation of publicly-accessible areas from those restricted to royals and their intimates, balancing "la tension entre le microcosme du palais et la macrocosme de la polis" (39). That spatial segregation relied, in part, upon a series of courts, peristyles, and colonnades which, she argues, are represented by her corpus. That argument enables one to better visualize the descriptions of the venue described by Polybius's (XV,24, 3–7) account of Agathocles and his appearance with the mortal remains of Ptolemy IV, and Theocritus's (*Idyll* 5, 173–175) portrayal of the celebration of Adonis witnessed by Praxinoa and Gorgo. These are the contexts in broad strokes in which the architectural ensemble to which her corpus of worked blocks belonged has to be understood (Fragaki, "L'architecture alexandrine du III^{e} s. a.C.: caractéristiques et tendances," in J. des Courtils, ed., *L'architecture monumentale grecque au III^{e} siècle a.C.* [2015], 283–304).

Although these unfinished worked blocks were never erected into a structure, some bear masons' marks which find parallels elsewhere in contemporary Hellenistic structures. Their interpretation is open to discussion, but some appear to refer to owners of slaves or perhaps to slaves themselves, while multiple marks on one and the same worked block may suggest the presence of three different entities involved in successive phases of life of that particular block, from its extraction in the quarry, to its transport to the construction site, to its working.

Some of H. Fragaki's conclusions have wide-ranging implications. Consider for example her comments on metrology. Some of the measurements of the worked blocks in marble appear to be based on the Ptolemaic foot, itself derived from the Egyptian cubit, whereas the measurements of those in nummulitic limestone appear to employ the Attic foot. Is this difference to be explained by the privileging of marble, possibly a more "royal" material, over local limestone? And since she describes the appearance of that stone as "marbre gris aux veines blanches" (11), are we to assume it was imported from Asia Minor, given the preponderance of correspondences of the members of her corpus with monuments in that region, because in general those correspondences "se rattachent donc à la tradition créé par les grands chantiers classiques tardifs et hellénistiques des côtes micrasiatiques" (63)?

Despite the use of two different metrological systems, the details of the Doric and Ionic elements in both types of stone conform to a *koine* (63; see R. Étienne, "Architecture palatiale ptolémaïque au III^{e} siècle," in des Courtils, *L'architecture monumentale grecque*, 21–34; and see L. Coulon, "Quand Amon parle à Platon (la statue Caire JE 38033)," *RdÉ* 52 [2001], 85–125, who argues against regional styles for pharaonic sculpture during the Ptolemaic Period), suggesting adherence to an international architectural style. But adherence to that style tends to disappear shortly thereafter, suggesting that, during the Hellenistic Period, the broader spectrum of creations from architecture to the minor arts appears to exhibit a parallel periodicity from introduction to eclipse (R. Bianchi, "De rogato artium elegantiorum Alexandrinarum," *BSAA* 45 [1993], 35–44; C. Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian jewellery* [1990], 199; and M. Coenen, "On the demise of the *Book of the Dead* in Ptolemaic Thebes," *RdÉ* 52 [2001], 69–84).

Within the development of Alexandrian architecture, one should note that the earliest structures, identified on Nelson Island, are in the Doric order (P. Gallo, "Une colonie de la première période ptolémaïque près de Canope," in Ballet, *Grecs et Romains en Égypte*, 47–64). That order then shares in the architectural *koine* exhibited by this corpus of worked blocks, before it adheres to an increasing degree of rigidity (Fragaki, "L'architecture alexandrine du III^{e} s. a.C."). The evolution of that Alexandria Doric order is in stark contrast to the development of the Alexandrian Ionic and Corinthian orders, which seem to develop a predilection for an exuberant, freer interpretation resulting in a preference for hybrid forms (Fragaki, "L'architecture alexandrine du III^{e} s. a.C.").

The collaborative, shorter essay discusses a painted, worked block in limestone, discovered in 1996, which formed part of a Doric cornice. The authors suggest the

block should be dated to the period between the middle of the third to the beginning of the second century BC, but, without a more secure archaeological provenance, do not hazard a guess about the building to which it belonged. The remainder of the discussion is given over to an assessment about Alexandrian painting as exhibited by this colorful fragment (Fragaki, "L'architecture alexandrine du III^{e} s. a.C., 296).

Robert Steven Bianchi
Fondation Gandur pour l'Att, Genève

Yahia el-Masry, Hartwig Altenmüller, and Heinz–Josef Thissen. *Das Synodaldekret von Alexandria aus dem Jahre 243 v. Chr*. SAK Beiheft 11 (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag 2012). ISBN 9783875486223. Pp. viii + 269, 10 plates.

Das hier zu besprechende Buch stellt die monographische Abhandlung zu der Kalksteinstele mit dem Synodaldekret aus 243 v. Chr. dar, das im fünften Regierungsjahr von Ptolemaios III. Euergetes erlassen worden ist. Das Objekt ist 1999/2000 bei Grabungsaktivitäten des Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) in einem Provinztempel aus dem mittelägyptischen El-Khazindariya ans Tageslicht befördert worden. Der Inhalt der Publikation kann wie folgt wiedergegeben werden.

Im ersten Hauptkapitel (nach interner Zählung Kapitel 2!) führt der Ausgräber in das Thema ein. Die schriftliche Erwähnung des Ortes bei neuzeitlichen Ägyptenreisenden (3), dessen geographische Lage (4–5) und archäologische Relikte (5–13) werden geschildert. Das Fundmaterial hat einen Zeitraum vom Alten Reich bis ins islamische Mittelalter umspannt. Die Entdeckungsgeschichte der Stele wird in geraffter Form rekapituliert (10–12). Das Denkmal ist im heutigen Zustand in 11 Fragmente zerbrochen (12). Die letzten Seiten des Kapitels nimmt die Vorab-Präsentation des hieroglyphischen und transkribierten Teils der Stele sowie dessen Übersetzung ein (13–25).

In Kapitel 3 wird zu ausgewählten Aspekten der Stele Stellung genommen. Das neue Dekret aus El–Khazindariya kann mit dem im Kanopus-Dekret erwähnten πρότερον γραφεν ψηφισμα identifiziert werden (29). Der Umstand gestattet die Zuordnung schon länger bekannter Fragmente mit hieroglyphischem, demotischem und griechischem Text, die aus Elephantine, Assuan und Tod stammen und jetzt in Paris (Louvre), Uppsala (Victoria Museum) und Durham (Oriental Museum) aufbewahrt werden (29–30). Die äußeren Maße der Stele werden bekannt gegeben, deren Höhe 220 cm, Breite 120 cm und Dicke 21 cm beträgt (31). Das Bildfeld der Stele wird beschrieben (32–34), in dem oben eine geflügelte Sonnenscheibe schwebt, aus deren Zentrum zwei bekrönte Uräen herabhängen. Der untere Bereich zeigt eine Prozession aus vier Göttern (Osiris/Isis/Horus/Min) und den königlichen Ahnen (Eltern: Ptolemäus II. Philadelphos/Arsinoe II; Großeltern: Ptolemaios I/Berenike I, beide wohl zu ergänzen), die von rechts nach links auf eine einzeln stehende, nur in Vorzeichnung markierte Figur zustrebt. Die erkennbaren Spuren deuten vielleicht auf Thot als Schreibergott und Seschat (?) hin, die eventuell von Ptolemäus III. (und Berenike II.[?]) begleitet werden.

In Kapitel 4 wird dem Leser der hieroglyphische (35–49) und demotische (50–65) Abschnitt der Stele in Original und Transkription an die Hand gegeben. Die Zeilen werden dazu in kleinere Texteinheiten zerteilt, wobei auch die Parallelen notiert werden.

Im 5. Kapitel wird eine Synopse der hieroglyphischen, demotischen und – ergänzten – griechischen Fassung erstellt. Das Textvolumen baut sich aus 21 hieroglyphischen Zeilen und 18 demotischen Zeilen auf (67). Der Text ist durch die Autoren in 25 Sinnabschnitte gegliedert worden (67). Die Rekonstruktion der griechischen Version ist Fr. Kayser zu verdanken, der sich im Rahmen seiner Tätigkeit auf Fragmente aus Elephantine und die hiesige Stele stützen konnte (67). Die Textedition bezieht auch die hieroglyphischen/demotischen Parallelen (s. o.) mit ein. Die einzelnen Paragraphen werden mit einem Kommentar zu philologischen und anderen Fragen versehen.

In Kapitel 6 werden Fakten zu Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen des 3. Syrischen Krieges unter Ptolemäus III. gesammelt (151ff). In 6.1.2 werden die historischen Nachrichten zu diesem militärischen Ereignis gesichtet. Das Synodaldekret von Alexandria wird dafür als erste Quelle genannt (153). Das Monumentum Adulitanum (OGIS 54) wird als zweite Quelle erwähnt (153–55). Die Babylonische Chronik (BCHP 11) auf der Keilschrifttafel BM 34428 wird als dritte Quelle besprochen (155–59). Das Kanopus-Dekret wird als vierte Quelle zitiert (159). Die Überlieferung bei griechischen/lateinischen Autoren (Appian von Alexandria/ Polyainos/Catull/Porphyrios von Tyros/Justin) wird ebenso gewürdigt. In 6.1.5 werden die Ländernamen des Alexandriadekrets einer näheren Betrachtung unterzogen (161–163). Die Bezeichnung *ḫrk* ist hier offenbar zum ersten Mal belegt (161), die im Text davor überzeugend für "Kilikien" in Anspruch genommen worden war. Die Namen sind in der hieroglyphischen und demotischen Fassung unterschiedlich angeordnet, was bei der Abschrift auf die Verwendung einer alten Liste als Vorlage hindeuten könnte (162). In 6. 2 wird die Schilderung von der Rückführung der nach Persien verschleppten Götterbilder auf ihren Wahrheitsgehalt hin überprüft (164–67). Der Report wird als historisch durchaus verlässlich eingestuft (167).

In Kapitel 7 werden die wichtigsten Ergebnisse noch einmal zusammengefasst. Der König hat von der Priesterschaft die nötige Legitimation empfangen, der er im Gegenzug Autorität und Unabhängigkeit gewährt hat (170). Das

Dekret von Alexandria gehört zur Kategorie der ψηφισμα, das durch Zusätze wie die fünfteilige Königstitulatur ägyptisiert worden ist (172). Das Epitheton *iwʿw* "Erbe" (der Vorgänger) taucht ab Ptolemaios III. Euergetes regelmäßig in der Königstitulatur auf (173). In der Formel *mrii n* X "geliebt von" des *sꜣ Rʿ* – Namens wird Amun immer öfter durch Ptah ersetzt, was vermutlich die wachsende Bedeutung der memphitischen Priesterschaft wiederspiegelt (173). Die Anlässe für die Einberufung der Synoden werden ergründet, die stets im Königshaus zu suchen sind und vom Geburtstag des Herrschers über dessen Krönung bis hin zu siegreichen Schlachten gereicht haben (174). Die materiellen Wohltaten gegenüber Tempeln und Bevölkerung haben sich für den König in entsprechenden Ehrungen ausgezahlt (175). Die Mechanismen beim Statuenprogramm werden kurz skizziert (180). Die Motive für die Einrichtung von Festtagen in den Dekreten werden beleuchtet, die u. a. religiös erklärt und mit dem Herrscherkult in Verbindung gebracht werden (180–181).

Das 8. Kapitel setzt sich dezidiert mit den Sprachen des Dekretes auseinander (185–91). Die Autoren kommen zu dem Ergebnis, dass die ägyptischen Priester als Verfasser aller vorhandener Versionen zu gelten haben (185). Der hieroglyphische Text weist nicht selten eine altertümliche Sprachgestalt auf (185). Das Vokabular ist nach Möglichkeit gegenüber der demotischen Fassung variiert worden. Die betreffenden Unterschiede werden an repräsentativen Beispielen herausgearbeitet (187–89). Der Vergleich der Verbalformen bildet den Abschluss, wobei der Schwerpunkt u. a. auf das Verhältnis zwischen hieroglyphischem *śḏm.n=f* und demotischem *śḏm=f*/Umstandssatz gelegt wird (189ff).

Das 9. Kapitel widmet dem äußeren Aufbau der bisher bekannten Dekrete eine kurze Besprechung, der sich bei allen Exemplaren ungefähr ähnlich darstellt (193–97). Die Probe aufs Exempel erfolgt anhand der Dekrete von Alexandria (243 v. Chr.) und Memphis (Rosettana, 196 v. Chr./ Philensis I, 185 v. Chr.), deren inhaltliche Parallelen optisch hervorgehoben werden.

In Kapitel 10 wird die zusammenhängende Übersetzung der hieroglyphischen und demotischen Fassung des Dekrets bereitgestellt (199–215). Die Übersetzung der rekonstruierten griechischen Fassung schließt das Kapitel ab (216–19).

Im hinteren Teil des Buches sind Glossare (hieroglyphisch: 221–30; demotisch: 230–43), Literaturverzeichnis (244–61) und Verzeichnis der Quellentexte (263–66) zu finden.

Die folgenden Anmerkungen könnten einen gewissen Nutzen versprechen:

13: lies *ḥrw* "Horus" statt *r*!

17: lies *ḥꜣʿj.t* "Aufruhr o. ä." statt *ḥꜣj.t*!

22: lies *ḥꜣ.w-nb.w* "Nordländer o. ä." statt *ꜣw-nb.w*!

35: 3 lies *ḫr* statt *hr*, 5 lies *ꜣḫ.w* statt *ꜣh.w*!

37: lies *ḥtp.w* statt *htp.w* (ähnlich 86).

46: 89 lies *iw=ś* statt *w=ś*!

80: zu Sonderbedeutung *ḥmśi* "zur Beratung sitzen" vgl. H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die Satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I, Textzusammenstellung*, 2., erweiterte Auflage (Wiesbaden, 1992), 62 (mit Zusatz *wꜣwꜣ* "planen"); zu *ḥmśi* "im Tempel tagen" vgl. W. Erichsen, *Die Satzungen einer ägyptischen Kultgenossenschaft aus der Ptolemäerzeit, Nach einem demotischen Papyrus in Prag* (Copenhagen, 1959), 23.

85: zu kausativem *mnḫ* vgl. auch R. Jasnow: "The Greek Alexander Romance and Demotic Egyptian Literature," *JNES* 56 (1997), 100, n. 38; zu *mnḫ* "vortrefflich" vgl. W. Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 94; V. Orel and O. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary* (Leiden, 1995), 392.

90: Die Verbindung der Schreibung Gardiner Sign-list Aa1+ D 43 mit *ḫꜣʿ* "freilassen" dürfte wenig Plausibilität besitzen. Das Schriftbild sieht eher nach einer Schreibung für *ḫwi* "befreien" aus, zu dieser Bedeutung vgl. L. Borchardt, "Ein Königserlass aus Dahschur," *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 5.

9.2: zur Schreibung von *ḥꜣḳ* mit dem *ḥḳꜣ*-Szepter vgl. U. Verhoeven, *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasefy aus der Zeit Psammetichs I.* (Wiesbaden, 1999), 14m.

93: Das Wort *wtb* "deportieren" steht vielleicht mit *wtb* "ändern, sich verschieben o. ä." in Zusammenhang, zu diesem Wort vgl. W. Erichsen, *Die Satzungen einer ägyptischen Kultgenossenschaft aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, 29. Der kleinste gemeinsame Nenner ist dann im Ortswechsel von A nach B zu erwarten.

96: zum *kbn.t*-Schiff vgl. D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London, 1988), 148–49; N. Dürring, *Materialien zum Schiffbau im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1995), 144.

100: Die Schreibung *śḫ* für *śḫm* geht wohl auf den bekannten Ausfall von *m* zurück, vgl. dazu Westendorf, *Med. Gramm.*, 25–26.

102: zu *gmʿ* "schädigen" vgl. J. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I, Text* (Copenhagen, 1998), 74e; die Schreibung von *ḫꜣw.t* "Altar" ohne *t* schon bei Wb. III, 226, Belegschreibungen!

117: zur Schreibung *mꜣw* für *mꜣṯ* vgl. R. Jasnow and K.-Th. Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thot, A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, Volume 1. Text (Wiesbaden, 2005), 378.

122: zum transitiven *ḏśr* "kultisch verehren o.ä." vgl. K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, Teil 1: Übersetzung und Kommentar (Wiesbaden, 1985), 176 (9).

125: vor *gꜣi.t* "(tragbarer) Naos, Schrein" könnte auch *mśi* "bilden, herstellen" zu ergänzen sein.

136: zur Schreibung *nf* für *nfr* "gut" vgl. K*RI* IV, 235, 14; K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, Teil 1, Übersetzungen und Kommentare (Wiesbaden, 2001), 178, 196, und 206.

178: zum Umgang mit heiligen Tieren vgl. S. Lippert, *Ein demotisches juristisches Lehrbuch* (Wiesbaden, 2004), 47.

203: in (33) ist *ḫn(r)* statt *ḫnr(w)* zu umschreiben!

Das Ergebnis kann wie folgt formuliert werden. Das Buch hat auf ganzer Linie überzeugt. Die Fakten werden in gut lesbarer Form präzise dargestellt. Der Rezensent hat aus der Lektüre persönlichen Gewinn davongetragen.

Stefan Bojowald
Bonn

Michael Cooperson, ed. and trans. *Ibn al-Jawzī: Virtues of the Imam Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Vol. 2* (New York: New York University Press, 2015). ISBN 9780814738948. Pp. viii + 584.

The first volume of Michael Cooperson's translation of Ibn al-Jawzī's *The Virtues of the Imam Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* (2013) won praise from reviewers for its excellent translation, and this, the second volume of the same work, does not disappoint. Cooperson has a gift for translation which he modestly deflects in the introduction to the first volume: "Leaving aside the matter of length, this book was not particularly difficult to translate" (xvii). Translation is a tricky business, but Cooperson captures not only the meaning but also the panegyric tone of the Arabic prose in his colorful, readable, and engaging English. As with all publications of the Library of Arabic Literature, the volume is beautifully bound, with the original Arabic on the left page and the accompanying English translation on the right.

The compiler of the original work, Ibn al-Jawzī (1126–1200), was a native of Baghdad, and, patronized by the Abbasid Caliph, came to be one of the most important jurisprudential thinkers of the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, or school of law (although it should be noted that he is remembered as something of an expert in everything, from theology to history, and was famously prolific). His collection *Manāqib Abī ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal*, of which this volume is a translation, is a collection of *akhbār* (self-contained stories) about Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, the *madhhab*'s eponymous founder. He shared with Ibn Ḥanbal a strong distaste for what he considered "innovation" in the religion, and fought therefore against the dangers of rationalism, which he saw as eclipsed by revelation when the two were in conflict.

The *akhbār* are organized into thematic chapters, such as "His Love of Poverty and His Affection for the Poor," "His Accepting Invitations and His Withdrawal Upon Seeing Things He Disapproved Of," and "His Fear of God." The three chapters covering Ibn Ḥanbal's experience during the *miḥna*, or "the inquisition" (during which theological opponents of the Caliphs were put to questioning under threat of imprisonment or torture) are of particular interest, as they offer a very personal insight into the most extraordinary experience of Ibn Ḥanbal's life. While not unique to those specific chapters, the quality of Cooperson's writing is on display as he renders in evocative English the exigency of the discussion that is clear in Arabic. Anyone who has been engrossed by a novel will find the ordeal of Ibn Ḥanbal's imprisonment grim, or his spirited defense of his theological positions during his long debate with the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim stirring. The value of this volume lies not just in the way it gives an English-speaking readership access to one of one of Islam's most important juridical figures (as presented by one of Islam's most prolific scholars), but also in its gripping prose.

The volume also has a useful glossary of names and terms. If the volume falls short anywhere, it is that there is no introduction by the author to this second volume—a nitpick if ever there was one, since the first volume has an introduction that covers both. *The Virtues of the Imam Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, therefore, is highly recommended to anyone with an interest in *ḥadīth*, history, theology, and law, and to anyone who appreciates a good read.

Aaron M. Hagler
Troy University

Michèle Casanova. *Le lapis-lazuli dans l'Orient ancien. Production et circulation du Néolithique au IIe millénaire av. J.-C.* (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2013). ISBN 9782735507313. Pp. 281, 104 figures, 23 tables.

A dedicated monograph on the importance of the precious stone lapis-lazuli has been overdue since the completion of Georgina Herrmann's Ph.D. dissertation in the 1960s. Michèle Casanova's addition is a welcome expansion on her own doctoral research completed in 1998 at the Université de Paris—Sorbonne, entitled *Le lapis-lazuli dans l'Orient ancien: Gisements, production, circulations, des origines au début du second millénaire*. Aside from the early appearance of lapis-lazuli in the Near East at the site of Mehrgarh in Central Asia dating to the beginning of the seventh millennium BC (25), Casanova's book focuses on its development from the early Chalcolithic (ca. 5100 BC) down to the mid-second millennium BC (ca. 1600 BC) and elucidates the important role lapis-lazuli played within Mesopotamian society. While lapis-lazuli finds become abundant only within the later Early Dynastic period toward the end of the third millennium BC within Syria and Iraq, the author has documented in total ca. 40,142 objects from the periods under examination (table 7). The Royal Cemetery of Ur alone accounts for 30,874 (or 76.9% of the total number) finds from the Early Dynastic III (2600–2350 BC) alone (table 10), a fact similarly

noted by David Warburton ("The Theoretical Implications of Ancient Egyptian Color Vocabulary for Anthropological and Cognitive Theory," *LingAeg* 16 [2008], 213–59, n. 141). Overall, Casanova is not only concerned with a geographical distribution of the finds (her part I), but her work also explores methods of fabrication through an ethnological lens (part II) and considers both the commercial and symbolic value of the stone within Mesopotamian society (part III). Preceding each part is a brief discussion of her approaches. She includes more than 100 figures and illustrations and her photographs of many lapis-lazuli objects (especially in her typology chapter) are in color, so the reader can appreciate the wide variety of hues of the stone and its various degrees of quality.

The first part, "Sites de découverte du lapis-lazuli de l'orient ancien," is organized chronologically and for each site discussed the author presents a brief excavation history along with find spots of lapis-lazuli at the site (along with a list of other precious materials, when available). Sites are generally listed with their exact number of finds, though in some cases only a general grouping of objects for a site is known (e.g., fragments, chips). Contextual information for each find is not given in a catalog format, but instead, if information is available, the find is briefly described (mostly chronologically). In some cases, such as Ur or Susa, where larger concentrations of lapis-lazuli finds have been noted, more context (e.g., details on exact provenance) is considered.

With an overview of the available lapis-lazuli finds now as the basis, the second part, "Les objets en lapis-lazuli. Fabrication et typologie" surveys first the available evidence within sites for methods of production and manufacture. While, for example, a workshop with lapis-lazuli production has not yet been identified for the site of Ur, despite Ur's large quantity of lapis-lazuli finds (97–98), Casanova nevertheless sees the potential here for such a discovery. In looking at the two major sites of Tepe Hissar and Shahr i-Soktha in northern and eastern Iran respectively, the author discusses the larger number of production areas for lapis-lazuli objects at Tepe Hissar (109), while Shahr i-Soktha exhibits more standardized modes of production possibly indicating that it was regulated by a centralized authority (117). Her second chapter attempts to reconstruct the processes of production and here Casanova cursorily mentions Egyptian tomb scenes featuring bead workshops (e.g., tomb of Rekhmire (TT100) from the Eighteenth Dynasty) due to the dearth of textual sources on the subject from Mesopotamia and Syria (143). Nevertheless, her reconstruction of the processes follows the latest trends in experimental archaeology and she employs a thorough methodology as well as plenty of detailed illustrations to reconstruct these processes in a convincing manner. The final section of part II concerns a typology of the diverse types of lapis-lazuli objects, where 32,396 of the total 40,142 objects are beads (173; her percentage calculation appears as 74.2%, though it should read instead 80.7%). In distinguishing the many different types of beads, where simple shapes dominate, she follows the nomenclature established by Horace Beck ("Classification and Nomenclature of Beads and Pendants," *Archaeologia (2nd Series)* 51 [1928], 1–76). In comparing this situation to the Egyptian evidence, more than 75% of all lapis-lazuli finds known from the Predynastic Period are made-up of beads (see L. Bavay, "Matière première et commerce à long distance: le lapis-lazuli et l'Égypte prédynastique," *Archéo-Nil* 7 [1997], 79–100, especially 82—a reference curiously absent in her bibliography).

It is in the third part, "Échanges, valeur marchande et valeur symbolique du lapis-lazuli de l'orient ancient," where Casanova finally tackles the important question of the commercial value and symbolism of the stone. In the first chapter, the question of the geological sources of the stone is addressed and she puts forth the plausible conclusion that the major mountain range in Central Asia, which comprises the mines in the Chagai Hills in Pakistan, the Badakhshan region in northeastern Afghanistan, and the Pamir range in Tajikistan, should be regarded as the likeliest source (212). A particular highlight regards the Chagai Hills, where she acknowledges that this source is vehemently denied by geologists based on the lack of the required geological conditions for lapis-lazuli to form in this area (209). Nevertheless, she states that she personally examined lapis-lazuli samples labeled *Chagai*, which were given to her by M. Tosi and J.-F. Jarrige, and she found them to be lapis-lazuli! In her consequent discussion on the various trade routes between the sources and Mesopotamia and Syria, she concludes that "les tracés des cheminements du lapis-lazuli ne peuvent être localisés avec certitude" (217). The second chapter, in turn, investigates the market value of lapis-lazuli and looks at the manners of exchange between the city-states of the third millennium BC. Her final chapter deals with the symbolism that was ascribed to the stone in the Mesopotamian world and here Casanova draws from several well-known texts. The particular use of ornaments (Fr. *parures*) as being intimately associated with the supernatural and divine led Casanova to consider that every object has a meaning, which may go beyond perceptible content (235). Ornaments of lapis-lazuli are mentioned in the context of the story of "the descent of Isthar into the underworld," where Ishtar becomes vulnerable in the presence of her sister without her protective ornaments—pieces of lapis-lazuli are included here (244). Casanova notes the assimilation of Isthar with lapis-lazuli in the text and then draws from Egyptian sources, which associate the stone with the primeval ocean—a cosmic association. Next, these underlying notions of the divine as embodied in the material are also reflected in the color "blue." The blue color of the hair, eye brow, and beard of the god is, in fact, due to lapis-lazuli and emphasizes the object as possessing the divine life force.

Her list of references in her bibliography is extensive and the reader is referred to the many other articles published by Casanova on the significance of lapis-lazuli in the Near East. Minor quibbles include the lack of page numbers in her citations, especially when the author quotes directly from a work. Sometimes a page number is provided (236), though in other instances not so (206). Minor spelling mistakes seem to have been overlooked, such as on 203, when *Herrman* appears, followed a few lines later by the correct spelling *Herrmann*. In sum, Casanova's monograph is a welcome treatise on the lapis-lazuli material known from Mesopotamia and Syria and provides a starting point for further discussion, especially as far as other precious stones are concerned (e.g., carnelian).

Thomas H. Greiner
University of Toronto