Book Reviews

Susanne Deicher and Erik Maroko, eds. *Die Liste: Ordnungen von Dingen und Menschen in Ägypten*. Ancient Egyptian Design, Contemporary Design History and Anthropology of Design vol. 1 (Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2015). ISBN: 9783865992284. Pp. 384 + 168 illustrations.

In dieser Rezension dient eine Aufsatzsammlung über die ägyptische Liste als Thema, deren Ursprung auf eine 2013 in Wismar veranstaltete Tagung zurückgeht. Der Inhalt der Publikation lässt sich folgendermaßen umreißen:

G. Dreyer zeichnet die bildliche und schriftliche Klassifizierung von Personen und Dingen in der ägyptischen Frühzeit nach. Der historische Prozess setzt in der ägyptischen Kunst mit dem frühen 4. Jtsd. v. Chr. ein (30). Die listenartigen Tierreihen auf dekorierten Messergriffen der Naqada IId-Kultur werden mit Chaos und Unordnung in Zusammenhang gebracht (32). In Naqada IId sind die ersten Darstellungen von klar erkennbaren Gottheiten und Königen mit Machtattributen zu finden (35). In dieser Zeit ist die Etablierung von größeren Herrschaftsbereichen und Ausweitung des Handels zu beobachten, was zur Einrichtung fester Verwaltungsstrukturen und schließlich Erfindung der Schrift führte (35). In der 0./1. Dynastie kommt die Klassifizierung von Menschen durch die Vergabe von Amtstiteln auf (38). Die Entwicklung von Verfahren zur Datierung von Warenlieferungen durch Jahresnamen wird pointiert angesprochen (40). Der Höhepunkt der Listenführung wurde durch die Annalistik markiert (45).

J. Fr. Quack dringt zur Welt der ägyptischen Liste im schulischen und öffentlichen Raum vor. Die Abfolge von Spezialvokabular in den "Late Egyptian Miscellanies" wird an mehreren Beispielen demonstriert (52–56). Die Anordnung von Wörtern nach Sachgruppen in der Onomastik wird zur Sprache gebracht (56). Die Ausbreitung der stichischen Anordnung von administrativen Listen auf literarische Genera wie Gedichte und Weisheitstexte wird für möglich gehalten (60). Die spätägyptische Alphabetsequenz wird als zeitlich jüngeres Beispiel aus dem Schulkontext betrachtet (62–64). Der Gebrauch von Vogelnamen als Merkworte beim Auswendiglernen des Alphabetes wird speziell hervorgehoben (65–66). Die Steuerliste im Grab des Rechmire aus der Zeit Thutmosis III.-Amenophis II. mit konkreten Zahlen aus der ägyptischen Verwaltung wird diskutiert (67–71).

Fr. Hoffmann unternimmt einen epocheübergreifenden Streifzug durch die Geschichte des ägyptischen Listenwesens. Die Praxis der Trennung von Wörtern an der Stelle zwischen Lautkörper und Determinativ wird in die Debatte eingeführt (93). Die Gliederung von Tabellen durch Linien wird ins Gedächtnis gerufen (95). Die Aufmerksamkeit wird auf die im Alten Reich besonders populäre Methode der gespaltenen Kolumne gelenkt (105). Die Eigenschaft der Ritualszenen der Tempel als tabellenartiges Formular wird für denkbar erachtet (119).

T. Pommerening bietet Überlegungen zu Bäumen, Sträuchern und Früchten in altägyptischen Listen an. Die Liste als solche wird in Typ 1 aus Aufzählungen von Elementen und Typ 2 mit einer an der Handlung mit den Elementen orientierten inneren Ordnung unterteilt (132). Das Charakteristische an Typ 1 wird in der Einleitung durch Frage-/Aufgabenstellungen wie "Kennen von…" gesehen (133–134). Die Hinzufügung von Subelementen wie z. B. Mengenangaben wird als wichtiges Kennzeichen der Listen verstanden (135). Die Existenz bzw. Nichtexistenz einer Rangordnung der aufgeführten Elemente wird als weiteres entscheidendes Merkmal bestimmt (141). Die Wichtigkeit der Clusterbildung von gedanklich zusammenhängenden Elementen wird akzentuiert (145). Die Interpretation der Nebeneinandernennung bestimmter Fruchtsorten als Hinweis auf die lokale Nähe des Ernteortes (150) könnte zu weit führen. Die Deutung von *iḫ.t nb.t*, "alle Dinge" als Marker für das Speiseritual (152) leuchtet irgendwie nicht richtig ein.

129: zum *kšb.t*-Baum vgl. O. Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes*, 48; D. Meeks, Rezension: "Rainer Hannig. Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I. Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit)", *LingAeg* 13 (2005), S. 258.

130: Der angebliche etymologische Zusammenhang zwischen "*išd*" "Wüstendattel" und "*šdi*" "retten" muss als höchst fragwürdig eingestuft werden.

140: zu "*ꜥš*" "Konifere" vgl. H. Altenmüller, *Zwei Annalenfragmente aus dem frühen Mittleren Reich*, 92.

154: zur "*šnf.t*"-Substanz vgl. H. von Deines und H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, 498–499; H. Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an die Göttin Hathor und*

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das Ritual "Hathor das Trankopfer Darbringen" nach den Tempeltexten der griechisch-römischen Zeit, unter Mitarbeit von Frank Kammerzell, 49 av).

158: zum "*inś.t*"-Gewächs vgl. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, Text*, vol. I, 21; Chr. Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, 77 n. 254; R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Reader's Commentary*, 35.

160: zum "*śśnḏm*"-Holz vgl. L. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and His Capital*, 37f; J. C. Darnell, "Hathor Returns to Medamûd," *SAK* 22 (1995), S. 82b.

U. Kaplony-Heckel wertet demotische Erment-Ostraka auf den Begriff "*ḳ*" "Brot, Ration" aus. Die Ostraka werden auf paläographischer Basis in die späte Ptolemäerzeit gelegt (168). Die lexikalischen Besonderheiten wie der Präpositionalgebrauch in bestimmten formelhaften Wendungen werden dargelegt (169). Der Lokalbezug zu Erment wird aus den Namen der Buchisstiere abgeleitet (172). Die Erment-Tagebücher werden als wichtige Informationsquelle für den staatlichen Zuschuss zugunsten der oberägyptischen Tempel aufgefasst (174). Die Ausstellung der thebanischen Syntaxis-Quittungen für die Getreidelieferungen der Tempelwirtschaft wird genauer erwähnt (175).

A. Weber setzt sich anhand der Gräber des Neuen Reiches aus der thebanischen Nekropole mit Opferliste und Opfertischszene auseinander. Die Autorin tritt im privaten Grabkontext für den Austausch der Barta'schen Begriffe "Ritualopferliste" und "Inventaropferliste" gegen "Liste der täglichen Versorgung des Verstorbenen" und "Liste der einmaligen Versorgung des Verstorbenen" ein (205). Die erste Variante stellt eine Abfolge von diversen Nahrungsmitteln dar, während die zweite Variante sakralisierte Objekte wie Geräte, Speisen, Salben, Gefäße und Kleidung als Grabbeigaben präsentiert (207). Der Vergleich zwischen Gaben der Liste und Darstellungen auf dem Opfertisch der Festszene im Grab des *Ỉmn-m-ḥ3.t* (TT 82) läuft bei den Nahrungsmitteln auf eine 90-prozentige Übereinstimmung hinaus (215). Die angebliche Trennung des Verstorbenen im Grab des *Mn-n3* (TT 69) von den Gaben auf dem Opfertisch durch den Stab in der Hand (222) muss wohl eher bezweifelt werden.

M. El-noubi Mansour handelt die bekannte Königsliste von Abydos ab. Die Liste ist in einem Korridor des von Sethos I. begründeten und Ramses II. vollendeten Tempels angebracht (239). In den Reliefs wird das Opfer vor 76 Vorfahren der beiden Könige gezeigt.

A. Echterhölter arbeitet Aspekte zum Listenverständnis des Oxforder Anthropologen Jack Goody heraus. Das Spektrum der Liste soll nach dessen Einschätzung aus dem lexikalischen, chronologischen und administrativem Typ bestehen (248). Die lexikalische Wortliste wird als Proto-Enzyklopädie definiert (249). Die chronologische Liste soll einen Beitrag zur Festschreibung des kollektiven Gedächtnisses leisten (250). Die administrative Liste soll direkte Beziehungen zum Aktionsraum gewährleisten (250). Der Bezug der Ausführungen zur Liste in Ägypten als eigentlichem Oberthema des Bandes ist—bei aller Wertschätzung für Interdisziplinarität—nicht immer klar zu erkennen.

S. Mainberger steckt den Rahmen zwischen Liste und Zeit ab. Die Visualität, Räumlichkeit, Zeichenbrechung und Asyntaktik werden als Determinanten für den statischen Charakter von Listen interpretiert (267). Der größte Teil der Ausführungen gehört objektiv betrachtet ebenfalls nicht zum gewählten Schwerpunkt des Bandes, wie sich u. a. an der Einbeziehung von Robinson Crusoe (269) oder Benjamin Franklin (270–273) zeigt.

E. Maroko trägt Material zur Wiederverwendung von antiken Spolien im Stadtbild des mittelalterlichen Kairo zusammen. Die Entwicklung setzt in nennenswertem Umfang in der Mamelukenzeit ein. Die staatliche Aufsicht über die Organisation und Kontrolle von Steindepots wird kurz kommentiert (290). Der P. London III 755 vom Anfang des 4. Jhdt. n. Chr. wird als antikes Beispiel für eine Liste mit Baugliedern genannt (310–311).

S. Deicher fragt nach Hinweisen auf Listen in der thebanischen Arbeitersiedlung von Deir el-Medinah. Der Unterschied zwischen den Leuten mit und ohne Schuhe (328) wird über Gebühr strapaziert. Die Assoziation der Brüche im Größenmaßstab bei den Personen auf den Wandmalereien mit neuen Zeilen in einer imaginären Liste (339) geht an der wahren Sache vorbei. Die Malereien werden als Aufstellung von Listen der Bewohner der Gräber als jenseitigen Häusern apostrophiert, welche Interpretation wohl eher über das Ziel hinausschießt.

Die Gesamtbewertung des Rez. stellt sich wie folgt dar: Das Buch hat nicht in allen Belangen überzeugt. In mehreren Beiträgen muss es bei viel zu subjektiven Meinungen der Autoren bleiben. In einigen Fällen werden eher themenfremde Aspekte in die Betrachtung einbezogen. Die Lektüre kann daher nur zögernd empfohlen werden.

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Nadine Grässler. *Konzepte des Auges im alten Ägypten*. Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte 20 (Hamburg: Buske, 2017). ISBN 9783875488418. Pp. vii–xii + 413, 16 plates.

Die Rezension unterzieht die Doktorarbeit der Autorin einer kritischen Betrachtung, deren Thema die altägyptischen Konzepte des Auges bilden. Die Untersuchung greift auf Quellen vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der Spätzeit zurück. In dem Band sind folgende Kapitel zu finden:

Das Kap. 1 wird durch die Einleitung in Anspruch genommen. Die Forschungsgeschichte wird kurz rekapituliert

(3–14). Die spätere Diskussion wird durch theoretische Erörterungen vorbereitet. Die Mitglieder einer Kategorie können auf einer übergeordneten Ebene, Basisebene und untergeordneten Ebene angesiedelt werden (18).

In Kap. 2 wird über die Benennung des Auges und seiner Bestandteile gehandelt. Die Formulierung, dass "das Schriftzeichen des Auges ursprünglich die semitische Wurzel ʿain enthielt" (39), ist unglücklich gewählt. Die angebliche spätzeitliche Bedeutungsverschiebung des Wortes "*ir.t*" von "Auge" zu "Blick, Sehfähigkeit" (38) ist wohl kaum durch harte Fakten zu stützen. Die Verbindung der asiatischen Toponyme "*ʿiin*…" "Quelle von…" mit "*ʿinw*" "Kalkstein" (41) ist ganz sicher abzulehnen. Die laut Autorin bestehende Gleichung zwischen "Quelle" und "Steinbruch" (42) wird dadurch ebenfalls zu Fall gebracht. Das Wort "*ir.t*" "Auge" wird etymologisch auf afrikanische Wurzeln zurückgeführt (43), was durchaus Beachtung verdient. Die Determinierung von "*ir.t*" "Auge" mit dem Fleischstück in medico-magischen Texten und Schulübungen wird zwar besonders herausgestellt, aber klar überbewertet (45). Die angebliche Erklärung des fehlenden Klassifikators von "*irỉ*" "tun, machen" durch die Vielzahl der Bedeutungsebenen des Wortes (51) ist wohl zurückzuweisen. Der von Ward vorgeschlagene etymologische Zusammenhang von "*bȝȝ*" "Augapfel" mit der Wurzel "*bȝi*" "feucht sein" wird skeptisch betrachtet (53), worin der Autorin unbedingt zuzustimmen ist. Das Wort "*dfd*" "Iris" wird mit dem Ursprungsort der Tränen assoziiert (69), was sich so weder verifizieren noch falsifizieren lässt. Die Bemerkungen zu "*id*" "Gebärmutter" und Schwangerschaft (70) schweifen zu sehr vom eigentlichen Gegenstand der Arbeit ab. Der Kommentar zum Zusammenhang zwischen Auge und Gebärmutter (85) führt eindeutig am Ziel vorbei. Die hauptsächlich auf Basis des "*nȝii.t*"-Gebüsches und "*tp*" "ausspucken" konstruierte Verbindung zwischen der "*tḫn*"-Krankheit und Schlangen (90) mutet reichlich dubios an. Die Ausdrucksweise "syllabische Schreibung" in Bezug auf "*inḥ*" "Augenbraue" (134) weist terminologische Unschärfen auf. Die angebliche semantische Nähe zwischen "*śmd.t*" "Rand" und "*inḥ*" "einfassen" (139) ist wohl eher als zufällige Koinzidenz zu sehen. Die einseitige Beleglage bestimmter Augenbezeichnungen geht wohl eher auf den Überlieferungszufall als eine kausale Absicht (146) zurück. Der angebliche Zusammenhang zwischen "*dbn*" "Locke" und "*dbn*" "Kreis" (164) hält wohl nicht der Überprüfung stand. Die Verbindung zwischen "*tpṯ.t*" "Teil des Horusauges" und "*tp.t*" "Vorderes (des Auges)" (167) ist in jedem Fall ersatzlos zu streichen. Die gleichzeitige Verwendung der Worte "*gȝb.ti*" und "*šni*" für "Wimper" erhält einen eigenen Hinweis (170), der aber mehr oder weniger irrelevant ist. Die ohnehin nicht sehr plausiblen Ausführungen zum Gebrauch von Augenbestandteilen in heilkundlichen Texten (183) fallen obendrein durch unnötige Längen auf. Die Deutung von "*mw*" im Neferti als durch Lichtreize veranlasste Träne (183) spiegelt wohl nur die subjektive Meinung der Autorin wieder.

In Kap. 3 kommt es zur Auswertung der Augenzeichen in der Schrift und den Kategorien des Auges. Die Klassifikatoren des Auges werden auf wenig inspirierende Weise aufgelistet (191–193). Die Ausführungen machen nicht vor Trivialitäten Halt, wie sich am Kommentar zu der im Vergleich zu früher nicht geänderten heutigen Funktion des Auges und der Sehaufgabe des Auges zeigt (196). Die Erklärung des gehäuften Vorkommens von "*wbȝ*" "offener Tempelhof" mit der Einrichtung der Erscheinungsfenster in den thebanischen Millionenjahrhäuser (197) läuft wohl definitiv ins Leere.

In Kap. 4 wird dem Aufbau des Auges Raum gewidmet. Die angebliche Verwendung und Bedeutung der Präpositionen "*r*" und "*m*" als Zeichen der Verabreichung der Arznei in das Gesamtauge (211) entbehrt wohl jeder Grundlage. Die Interpretation von "*rdi r ir.ti*" als Abkürzung für "*rdi r sȝ n ir.ti*" (211) dürfte kaum den Tatsachen entsprechen. Die farbliche Unterscheidung zwischen Iris und Pupille bei der Wiedergabe der Augen in Malerei und Plastik wird eigens betont (218), wobei sich Särge des Mittleren Reiches durch ein besonders naturalistisches Schema auszeichnen (220). Der postulierte Zusammenhang zwischen der Rotfärbung der Augenwinkel und dem Wort "*ȝhd*" "Schwäche" (223) stellt vorläufig eine durch nichts bewiesene Annahme dar.

In Kap. 5 wird das Auge als Träger des Sehens porträtiert. Das regenerative Potential der Wiederherstellung der Sehkraft wird entsprechend hervorgehoben (232). Die angebliche Wurzelverwandtschaft von "*śti*" "schießen" und "*śti*" "brennen" (247) dürfte nur auf der Einbildungskraft der Autorin beruhen. Das Blenden des Auges kommt in Ägypten im Gegensatz zu den vorderorientalischen Nachbarkulturen nicht als Strafform vor (268).

In Kap. 6 wird zum Auge als Träger des Schlafes Stellung genommen. Die explizite Erwähnung des Verschließens der Augen während des Schlafes (279–281) ruft einen banalen Eindruck hervor.

In Kap. 7 wird der Akzent auf das Auge als Träger von Gefühlen gesetzt. Das Auge soll Gefühle wie Trauer, Wut, Angst, Schrecken, Furcht und Vorfreude zum Ausdruck bringen.

In Kap. 8 werden einige Sätze zum Auge als Bezeichnung der Person gesagt. Die Verwendung von Auge und Gesicht sowie Personalpronomen 1. Ps. Sg. bei Verben des Sehens (289) ist trivial, was ebenso für das menschliche Sehen durch die Augen aus dem Körper (289) und Zuwenden von Gesicht und Augen zur Signalisierung von Interesse (290) gilt.

In Kap. 9 wird der Schwerpunkt auf das Auge als kosmogonisches Element verlagert. Die Aussagen zur Erschaffung des Menschen aus dem Auge des Sonnengottes sind seit den Sargtexten belegt (294). Die betreffende Vorstellung

findet sich ab dem Neuen Reich in Hymnen und Gebeten wieder (299).

Das Kap. 10 setzt sich mit der Deutung des Auges als Gestirn auseinander. Die Identifikation des Auges mit Abend- und Morgenbarke wurde seit den Pyramidentexten vollzogen (305). In den Sargtexten taucht die Assoziation des Horusauges mit dem Mond auf (308).

In Kap. 11 wird das Auge als Opfergabe und Kultgerät in den Vordergrund gerückt. Die Gleichsetzung des Horusauges mit der Opfergabe lässt sich seit den Pyramidentexten beobachten (315).

In Kap. 12 wird dem Bösen Blick Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Die Erscheinung ist vor der Spätzeit in funerärem und magischem Kontext attestiert (320).

In Kap. 14 wird ein Schlussfazit gezogen. Die Dinge werden z. T. zu lang und zu breit ausgetreten, wie u. a. die an und für sich klare Verbindung des Auges mit dem Sehen erkennen lässt (330–331). Die Klassifikation des Auges mit dem "Fleischstück" wird als möglicher Hinweis auf dessen Vorstellung als Person gedeutet (331), welcher Sichtweise sich Rez. nicht anschließen kann. Die Orthographien zu "*ir.t*" "Auge" in den Pyramidentexten (335–338), Sargtexten (339–343) und sonstigen Quellen (344–345) werden zusammengestellt, wobei der effektive Nutzen eher in Frage steht.

Das Kap. 15 wird für Indices zu den zitierten Quellen (347–367), ägyptischen Wörtern (368–369) genutzt.

In der Bibliographie (373–412) wird die verwendete Literatur registriert.

Der Tafelteil (1–16) wird am Ende des Buches platziert.

Die folgenden Bemerkungen helfen vielleicht manch ein Detail besser zu verstehen:

77: Die Übersetzung "der sich sehen lässt in seinem Glanzauge" von "*śdgꜣ.y św m ꜣḫw=f*" ist in "der sich verbirgt (!) in seinem Glanzauge" abzuändern.

126: zur "*ꜥrš*"-Krankheit vgl. J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Anmerkungen und Indices*, 518; zur Wurzel "*ꜥrš*" "übel" vgl. Vl. E. Orel/O. V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary, Materials for a Reconstruction*, 454.

133: zu "*ꜥnḥ*" "Augenbraue" vgl. J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Anmerkungen und Indices*, 538.

162: "*nḫm*" sollte statt mit "rauben" durch "retten" übersetzt werden!

164: Die Wurzel "*dbn*" "Locke" ist wohl lexikalisch von "*dbn*" "Kreis" zu trennen!

166: zu "*ṯḫni*" "funkelndes Auge" vgl. W. Wolf: "Der Berliner Ptah-Hymnus (P. 3048, II–XII)," *ZÄS* 64 (1967/Neudruck der Ausgabe 1929), S. 29.

234: Die Transkription "*wn.n=I*" ist in "*wn n=I*" zu korrigieren!

241: Die Übersetzung von "*śnhp*" sollte statt "in Bewegung setzen" besser "früh aufsein (von der Sonne)" lauten!

242: Das angebliche Lexem "*inw*" "Hautfarbe" ist wohl zu "*iwn*" "Wesen" zu stellen, zu dieser Bedeutung vgl. z. B. P. F. O'Rourke, *A Royal Book of Protection of the Saite Period. pBrooklyn 47.218.49*, 106.

245: Die Behauptung, dass "*pḏ ir.t*" "Auge ausspannen" nur in den Sargtexten vorkommt, ist einfach nicht wahr, vgl. A. Pries, *Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult, Eine Studie zur Tradition und späten Rezeption von Ritualen im Alten Ägypten, Teil 1: Text und Kommentar*, 282; Y. Koenig, *Le Papyrus Boulaq 6, Transcription, Traduction et Commentaire*, 86; das Bogendeterminativ von "*pḏ*" ist wohl nur der Homonymie mit "*pḏ*" "Bogen" geschuldet.

247: Das Wort "*sti*" in der Verbindung "*śti m gmḥ*" hat wohl absolut gar nichts mit "*śti*" "schießen" zu tun, sondern dürfte zu "*śti*" "sein Gesicht wenden nach, erblicken" (*Wb* IV, 332, 4/5) gehören.

287: zum Spucken als Zeichen der Verachtung vgl. K. Zibelius: "Zu 'Speien' und 'Speichel' in Ägypten," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens, Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, Band 1: Sprache, 1984, S. 405–406.

Das abschließende Urteil des Rezensenten stellt sich nicht allzu euphorisch dar. Die Einzelergebnisse der Arbeit fallen bei näherer Betrachtung oftmals relativ bescheiden aus. In vielen Fällen lässt sich den Interpretationen der Autorin nur mühsam folgen. Der Rez. kann denn auch kein sonderlich großes Verständnis für die häufigen Hinweise auf die Verwendung bestimmter Wörter in direkten/indirekten Genitivverbindungen aufbringen. Die zu geringe Berücksichtigung der Augensagen und Augenheilkunde ist kritisch anzumerken. Die Lektüre kann daher nicht uneingeschränkt weiterempfohlen werden.

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Lara Weiss, ed. *The Coffins of the Priests of Amun: Egyptian Coffins from the 21st Dynasty in the Collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.* Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities 17 (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018). ISBN 9789088904929. Pp. 100, 53 figs., 7 tables.

This volume is an output from the wider Vatican Coffin Project, of which Leiden's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO) is a partner, and publishes a series of papers relating to the coffins in Leiden that derive from the Bab el-Gasus at Deir el-Bahari. As such, it is part of a network of publications that, beginning a few years ago, have attempted to elucidate the various issues surrounding this find, and the distribution of the material deriving from it.

The first paper, by Alessia Amenta, Christian Greco, Ulderico Santamaria, and Lara Weiss, describes the Vatican Coffin Project, which embraces the museums of not only

the Vatican and Leiden, but also the Louvre in Paris and Museo Egizio in Turin, together with conservatorial institutions. It has sponsored coffin-conferences (at the Vatican) and also led to the exhibition of the Leiden Bab el-Gasus coffins in 2013 of which the present volume is an outgrowth.

The second, by Gerard Broekman, looks at the historical context of the coffins, that of the Theban priestly families of the Twenty-first Dynasty. In this, Broekman very much follows the views of Karl Jansen-Winkeln, and although some other authors' works are mentioned in footnotes, the fact that there are significant differences between them and Jansen-Winkeln should, perhaps, have been made clearer. The author then considers the roles played by the key families, in particular as evidenced by texts from Karnak, before moving on to the history of the Bab el-Gasus cache. In this, he notes the differences of opinion between past scholars over the dating of the inception of this deposit, although generally following the view of David Aston that its use began following the interment of the family of Tjanefer A (who was active during pontificates of Menkheperre and Panedjem II) in the end-most room. They were then followed by junior members of the high priestly family, with further interments taking place down through the pontificate(s) of Pasebkhanut III/IV.

To place the Bab el-Gasus in context, a brief note is provided on other collective burials of the period, in particular the TT320 "Royal Cache," noting the seemingly-"official" stripping of the gold from the coffins in this deposit. The paper says nothing about the origins of TT320, and presumably went to press before the appearance of Aston's arguments for the sepulchre's original ownership by Ahmes-Nefertiry (Aston, "TT 320 and the *ḫ3y* of Queen Inhapi—A Reconsideration Based on Ceramic Evidence," *GM* 236: 7–20; "TT 358, TT 320 AND KV 39. Three early Eighteenth Dynasty queen's tombs in the vicinity of Deir el-Bahari" in Szafrański, *Deir el-Bahari Studies* (Warsaw, 2015), 20–42). Broekman's paper concludes with a discussion of the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty, highlighting the debates over the identities of the king and the high priest(s) Pasebkhanut—one, two or three separate individuals?

The third paper, by Rogério Sousa, discusses the actual discovery of the Bab el-Gasus (more correctly "Gaswasa"), noting both the site's original identification by Mohammed Ahmed Abd el-Rassul, and the elaborate sealing system adopted to close and conceal the entrance. The author summarises Georges Daressy's original account of the contents of the tomb and their preservation, and notes the fact that gilded elements of inner coffins had generally been removed to salvage the gold.

The published accounts of the removal of the coffins and mummies from the tomb (over a period of only nine days) are then summarised, as is the official total of each kind of object removed. In noting the coffins' accession in the Cairo *Journal d'Entrée*, Senhor Sousa footnotes that "once in the Museum, the objects would receive … *Catalogue Géneral* numbers," implying that this was universal and immediate—although later footnoting exceptions. In fact, the *Catalogue Géneral* was actually only instituted in 1899, by which time many of the coffins had left the Museum. Only CG 6001–6082 have actually been published (by Chassinat in 1909, and Niwinski in 1996–99), although numbers up to 6294 were reserved (Bothmer, "Numbering Systems of the Cairo Museum," *Textes et Languages de l'Égypte Pharaonique: cent cinquante années de recherches—Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, Bibliothèque d'Étude LXIV/3 (Cairo, 1974), 120).

Focus is now shifted to the unwrappings of the mummies, carried out from 1891 onwards, extracting a large number of items listed by Daressy in 1907, with principal elements summarised by the author. However, little anatomical detail was provided from the earlier examinations, although it is noted that those carried out by Grafton Elliot Smith from 1903 resulted in significantly more data; on the other hand, the 1907 report indicates that only 93 of the 153 coffin sets seem to have been formally examined.

The gifting of a substantial part of the find to 17 foreign countries is then covered, highlighting the degree to which some of the lots were divided between institutions on arrival, and how some allocated to the same now-defunct polity have ended up in different modern nations. The author also notes that some material from the Bab el-Gasus may have been sold-off by Cairo subsequently, citing the mummy and coffin of Ankhefenmut in Albany NY as a likely example [see the review of Lacovara and D'Auria in this volume]. This all provides an excellent backdrop to the next paper, by Liliane Mann, Christian Greco, and Lara Weiss, which covers Lot XI from the dispersal, that which went to the Netherlands, and now rests in Leiden.

This paper begins with an account of the way in which the Netherlands became involved in the dispersal, and the actual acquisition, seen through the prism of the correspondence of the RMO's then-curator, Willem Pleyte. This is followed by an overview of Leiden's holdings from the Bab el-Gasus, including some of the documentary issues surrounding the alleged and actual identifications of items with the inventories taken at the time of the discovery. One misses, however, any description of the coffins' physical form or iconography—i.e., basic catalogue entries. There are excellent color photographs (except for F 93/10.4, which is illustrated by a single monochrome image only), but they are not comprehensive (most coffin-troughs lack a side-view, and there are no head/foot views), and nowhere can one find even most basic dimensions.

Other kinds of detail are, however, provided by the final two papers in the book. In the first, Esbeth Geldhof studies the painting techniques to be seen on the Leiden Bab el-Gasus coffins, following an account of the history of their modern restoration and conservation, illustrated with a range of excellent images. In the second, Kara Cooney

looks at the signs of reuse evident in the overall Leiden collection of "Yellow" coffins, in the context of her ongoing studies into the whole question of the reemployment of older and contemporary funerary material during the Twenty-First Dynasty, which implies that at least a third, if not half, of all coffins used during that period were reused at least once. Of Leiden's Bab el-Gasus pieces, Dr. Cooney finds evidence of reuse in seven of them, at least one within each of the sets F 93/10.1–3. Curiously, she makes no comment on the fourth set, F 93/10.4, which is also not mentioned in the preceding chapter on techniques, nor illustrated in colour; no comment is made regarding these oddities.

Overall, this is a fine and attractive publication, providing a wide coverage of an important group of objects. However, the lack of a proper catalogue of the coffins involved seems a missed opportunity; indeed it would have been good to have also had something on the rest of Lot XI, the shabtis and other material. This does detract from the volume's overall value—as do a number of annoying misprints. Nevertheless, it is an important contribution to the field of coffin-studies, and highlights the way in which the long-neglected Bab el-Gasus group are now finally receiving the attention they deserve.

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Pål Steiner, Alexandros Tsakos, and Eivind Heldaas Seland, eds. *From the Fjords to the Nile: Essays in Honour of Richard Holton Pierce on His 80th Birthday.* Archaeopress Archaeology (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018). ISBN: 9781784917760 (paperback); 9781784917777 (E-book). Pp. iv + 118 pages, black and white illustrations throughout + 7 color plates.

The essays collected and presented here are in honor of the eightieth birthday on 24 October 2015, of the highly accomplished ancient historian, Emeritus Professor Richard Holton Pierce. Professor Pierce has been an esteemed member of the staff at the University of Bergen, Norway, for many years, encouraging and inspiring his students in an astonishing number of academic areas related to Egyptology and archaeology. He has written extensively, on such diverse topics including (but not limited to) Nubian studies, such as epigraphy and the translation of texts regarding Nubia (Eide, Hägg, Pierce, and Török, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*. Volumes I–IV. Bergen, 1994–2000), Coptic studies, Demotic studies, philosophical theories of art, and ecology of the Sahara.

Essentially, this volume embodies the proceedings of the conference "From River to Sea through Desert and Text," held at the University of Bergen in celebration of Professor Pierce's milestone birthday (online: https://www.uib.no/sites/w3.uib.no/files/attachments/fs-pierce-final-program.pdf). This volume was edited by some of his students and his colleagues at the University of Bergen: Pål Steiner, Eivind Heldaas Seland, and Alexandros Tsakos. The eleven papers collected by these editors and published in this volume reflect Professor Pierce's multidisciplinary research, representing a vast array of topics, from Nubiological studies to concepts regarding textual fluidity. Many of these were presented by Professor Pierce's own students and build admirably upon his prior work.

Appropriately, Professor Pierce's long-time collaborator and colleague, the eminent Hungarian Nubiologist, László Török, provides the first paper in this volume, entitled "Nubians move from the margins to the centre of their history." Being a student of Nubian studies myself, Török's paper was of particular interest to me. His article does not truly introduce any new information to the field at this time. However, his eloquent summation of the current state of Nubian studies across the world and the work done by previous generations of scholars in this field does a commendable job of situating modern scholarship, including that of Professor Pierce, firmly within today's research milieu and within this volume. Török's comprehensive list of references at the end of his article is an excellent starting point for anyone wishing to familiarize themselves with further reading in Nubiological studies.

Else Johansen Kleppe's paper "Potsherds on the grave" is a thought-provoking insight into the burial traditions in the Renk region of the South Sudan. Kleppe includes ample discussions regarding archaeological data uncovered by some of her numerous excavation activities in the South Sudan. This data reveals the potential for some fascinating ethnographic conclusions, indicating that certain modern burial activities in the Renk region that were recorded as being practiced by the local Shilluk peoples, may have been in place for over three thousand years.

Professor Saphinaz-Amal Naguib's article, "Bridging Gaps: Archaeological sources and resources in museums," in particular, resonated with me and with my research interests. It raises some important and provocative issues regarding museum items, especially those that originated from Egypt and Africa, and their inclusion and "ownership" by modern Western European museums. These issues, especially the challenges surrounding rightful ownership and possible repatriation, are concerns that are of utmost significance nowadays. These are pressing problems that require resolving, and this article introduces opportunities for future research, for contemporary investigations, for possible solutions, and for scholarly discussion. Professor Naguib's paper is a timely contribution that I am pleased to see published here.

Jørgen Bakke's engaging paper entitled "Liquid Images and the Poetics of vision in ancient Greece" introduces a

new and fascinating way of examining physical human eyes, the gaze, and their significance in ancient Greek myth, Aristotelian philosophy, and ancient Greek art.

Two of the papers included in this volume, while well-written, strike me as being out of place. The first of these is Alexandros Tsakos' work "Reconstructing a codex with the Coptic Encomia on Apa Victor." Since Tsakos has been a student of Professor Pierce's, it is understandable that he would wish to contribute this modest paper to the publication. He does make some good points about the importance of studying the research archives of earlier researchers. However, the paper itself does not appear to provide any new information to the field of Coptic studies.

The second article is by Daniel Apollon, "Fluidité et fixité dans les néotextes numériques." This work feels slightly discordant for one primary reason (the fact that it is the only paper in the volume not written in English is immaterial). The topic, while interesting, does not seem to gel with the archaeologically/Egyptologically/ethnologically themed papers of the rest of the volume. The concepts discussed may well have bearing on the ways in which we study ancient texts in the future. However, while this paper undoubtedly contributes to its field of knowledge, perhaps it would have been better suited for inclusion in a volume with a different theme.

The papers in this volume do not appear to follow a logical sequence, whether thematically, chronologically, or otherwise, which leaves one somewhat surprised to discover the topic when turning to each new chapter. This is not necessarily a drawback, however, and seems very much in keeping with the spirit of Professor Pierce, allowing the reader to continuously discover something new and unexpected.

Aimed at academic audiences, this book succeeds in its objective of providing a lasting testament to Professor Pierce's outstanding lifetime contributions to the fields of archaeology and Egyptology. It also stands as a monument to his roles as teacher and mentor at the University of Bergen and will serve admirably as a point of reference for many researchers.

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Bram Calcoen, in collaboration with Christiane Müller-Hazenbos. *TT 176: The Tomb Chapel of Userhat*. GHP Egyptology 16 (London: Golden House Publications 2012). ISBN 9781906137274. Pp. 34 + 23 plates.

TT 176: The Tomb Chapel of Userhat is a compact reference and a quick read. The author, Bram Calcoen, lays out her ideas for the discussion and documentation of her study of the tomb chapel in nine chapters, although "sections" might be a better label, as they are fairly short (sometimes less than a page in length).

The exceptionally brief chapter one rolls out the background discussion of previous research and the techniques utilized by Calcoen and Müller-Hazenbos. Calcoen very briefly discusses the previous work of Siegfried Schott, who photographed the tomb at some point between 1920 and 1940 (1), and then notes that additional photography was done in the spring of 1994, as well as utilizing records of paintings and inscriptions. The inkings and drawings for this publication were made by Müller-Hazenbos. Calcoen notes the damage that occurred to the tomb between the time of the original photographs and the 1994 pictures.

Chapter two is the discussion of the location and the setting of the tomb, which is located on Elwet el Khôkha, and was built along the path between the Ramesseum and Deir el Bahari. The tomb's decoration was unfinished at the time of the owner's internment. The author gives a basic description of the current status of the tomb and its history during post-pharaonic times. The tomb was fairly well preserved due to its duty as a storage unit rather than a living space for humans or livestock.

Chapter three provides the reader with the history of the discovery of the tomb and the initial excavation. This chapter gives some basic background on the initial research of the tomb. Nina and Norman de Garis Davies created two drawings of scenes in the tomb (pls. 18, 19); and Siegfried Schott supplemented that information with a series of photographs taken from the 1920s through 1940s, which are housed at the Griffith Institute at Oxford. The author indicates that it is not clear if the tomb was ever properly excavated. The Egyptian Antiquities Organization (the Supreme Council of Antiquities/Ministry of Antiquities) completed a restoration in the 1960s. However, Calcoen does not expand on that statement, and it is not clear why she does not. Later, in 1972, Lise Manniche visited the tomb; and, most recently, in 1993–1994, the author worked in the tomb.

Calcoen states that Ramesside pottery and a broken offering table were discovered while the SCA was removing debris from the entranceway, but these pieces were not photographed or recorded. However, it would have been useful for other scholars if he at least noted where they are stored, if known.

Perhaps the first three chapters should have been merged to create a less choppy introduction to the tomb and previous research by earlier scholars. Some of the information provided in chapter three was already referred to in chapter one, and a reorganization of the information would have prevented repetition of basic introductory information.

After this very brief discussion of previous studies of the site, chapter four looks at the tomb chapel scenes. This chapter is divided into smaller subsections: "The Entrance," "The Tomb Chapel," "The North Wall," "The North East

Wall," "The West Wall," "The South Wall," "The South East Wall," "The Shrine," "The Niche," and "The Ceiling."

The author addresses each scene (often using Porter and Moss' tags as indicators), identifies the wall and the register, and provides a brief description. If there is an inscription, then he provides a transliteration and a translation. She only provides a copy of the hieroglyphic inscription for two statements (12). It is unclear why she chose only those two examples (12, 18). Calcoen references Porter and Moss, Schott, and the Davies throughout the text, but due to the overall nature of her work, it is often quite brief. The descriptions are solid, objective descriptions.

Calcoen systematically works through the walls in the Tomb Chapel; she breaks down the decoration theme by the individual registers on each wall. Some scenes have deteriorated or are damaged so badly that she is only able to give a passing note. She pulls in the former studies by Schott or Davies to help flesh out missing scenes or parts of scenes; more rarely she refers to Porter and Moss beyond their labeling system.

The author suggests alternative actions happening in the scenes, such as a "harvest scene" rather than a "rowing scene" in the "Tomb Chapel, wall 2, Register I" and "Wall 2, Register II" (pls. 2, 10 [bottom]) Yet, there is no immediate discussion in conjunction with her reidentification of the scenes due to the fact that this portion of the monograph is almost purely objective description. She has consistent references within her texts to the accompanying photos and drawings in the plates.

While there are a number of depictions of the tomb owner, there are no confirmed images of the tomb owner's wife in TT 176. The images of females in the tomb are assumed to be of the owner's wife and daughter, although Calcoen seems to doubt that identification. First, she indicates that the couple depicted in the tomb is Userhat and his wife, but then she suggests that the couple and the young woman are Userhat's parents and a sister, as Userhat is shown alone elsewhere in the tomb (17). Unfortunately, the inscription related to this scene is incomplete, and provides no insight into the identification of the couple or the girl.

Calcoen's chapter five tackles the paintings of the tomb as a whole. He addresses the plastering and painting techniques, the use of colors, and the quality of the paintings. This section is one of the rare moments when the author indulges in a spot of speculation during her discussion on the skill level of the artists. Here she speculates that the depiction of the higher-ranking individuals may have been the responsibility of the more experienced artists.

Calcoen acknowledges Shedid's attempt to discern "hands" of the different ancient painters who worked in Theban Tomb 10 (25). But where the reader expects the author to then discuss this in relation to TT 176, the author instead states, "Ultimately only a profound and detailed on-site analysis in TT176 could possibly identify different artists" (26). This is a bit baffling, as this monograph seems to be the perfect place to address the suggestion, especially since she acknowledges the high quality of the paintings in comparison to Userhat's contemporaries (26).

Chapter six is the summary of the tomb decoration, and the brevity of the discussion leads one to wonder why this discussion was not folded into chapter four, or combined with the equally concise chapter nine, "The Dating of TT176."

The author briefly touches on the decorative scheme of the tomb, by stating that the "modest yet noteworthy tomb of Userhat shows a typical decorative program of the 18th Dynasty tomb in Thebes, albeit in a rather condensed form"(26). In regards to the depictions of individuals, Calcoen indicates that it is unclear if Userhat had a spouse, although there are representations of a female in the tomb. She is unsure what her familial relationship with Userhat is. There are individuals represented in the tomb that belong to Userhat's larger family group, but their exact relationship is unclear. The tomb chapel also displays some of the typical scenes: the pilgrimage to Abydos, a harvest scene, offering rituals, banquets, and a Tree Goddess offering figs (26). In addition to the photos and drawings, a reconstruction would help the reader imagine how the tomb paintings may have looked in their original setting when new, especially as the tomb paintings have been damaged.

Calcoen states that the back wall of the central hall is the first area seen by visitors to the tomb chapel. She reviews the wall scene and discusses how important this particular scene is in relation to the themes on the neighboring walls. She suggests that this section is the meeting of the secular and sacred worlds. The door is both the symbolic bridge to the sacred world, and the practical entrance leading into the niche that holds the shrine. This interpretation would indicate that this set of scenes, which are separated by a door leading into the interior tomb chamber, are the most important paintings of the tomb (26). The scenes to the left of the door depict priests and an offering bringer in front of the tomb owner, while the scenes to the right of the door depict the deceased receiving figs from the Tree Goddess.

In chapter seven, the author discusses the identity of the tomb owner. Lisa Manniche identified his name and titles: Userhat, servant of Amun (*sḏm ꜥš n Ỉmn*), servant clean of hands (*sḏm ꜥš wꜣb ꜥwy*), and excellent servant (*sḏm ꜥš iḳr*). Although the name is given, it is unclear who he actually is, and there are no other family names or affiliations included in the inscriptions. The rank "servant of Amun" is the lowest rank of title that would allow an individual to have an individual tomb, with a private chapel, such as Userhat's (27). This chapter could have been easily combined with chapter eight, which discusses the possible identity of the tomb owner.

Chapter eight (28) reviews the possible attestations of

Userhat outside of TT 176. She states that there are four references to individuals named Userhat: three stelae and one stelophor statue. Calcoen gives a very brief discussion of Stela 1 (CG 34045), Stela 2 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg 1093), Stela 3 (National Museum, Stockholm 42), and Stelophor (BM 346); all of which date to the mid-18th Dynasty. The author states, "They belong presumably to two different people" (28), as Stela 1, 2, and 3 belong to an Userhat with a father named Ked-Amun (*Ḳd-Imn*), and a wife named Nefret-Iry (*Nfrt-Iry*). The stelophor statue Userhat has a different father, and no wife is named. Based on the fact that the Userhat of stelae 1–3 has a different father from the Userhat of the stelophor, Calcoen associated the Userhat of the stelophor statue with Userhat of TT 176 (28). Also, Calcoen looks at the titles on the Hermitage stela (stela 2), and suggests that since the titles on the object have titles that are higher in status than those in the tomb, and none of these titles are associated with TT 176's inscriptions, that the Userhats from the three stelae are different people (or the same single person mentioned in three different stelae) from TT 176's Userhat. There is only one photo of the objects, and that is of the stelophor statue (pl. 23). Ideally there would have been photos of the stelae so that readers could see the accompanying texts. Her discussion regarding the identity of Userhat and the objects is quite brief and rather perfunctory, yet she seems confident of her identification of the owner of TT 176.

Chapter nine discusses the dating of Theban Tomb 176. Calcoen indicates that there are no helpful texts that can assist in the dating of the tomb; as a result, she uses stylistic criteria to place the tomb in the chronology of Theban Tombs. She states there is "little doubt" that TT 176 should be dated to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, due mostly to the erasure of the writings of the name of Amun in the tomb. She also notes that Porter and Moss dated the tomb from Amenhotep II through Thutmose IV (28). She very neatly sets out her reasoning in dating the tomb to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, and more specifically to the reign of Thutmose IV (31): (1) The color combination of black, ochre, and red ochre decoration on the plinth is similar in private tombs dating from Amenhotep II through Thutmose IV; (2) The ceiling decoration is similar in private tombs dating from Hatshepsut/Thutmose III through Amenhotep III/Thutmose IV; (3) The clothing styles represented in the tomb are similar to those in tombs dating from Amenhotep II through Thutmose IV; (4) The earliest attestation of the representation of the Tree Goddess dates to Amenhotep II, and then became popular in the Nineteenth Dynasty. Calcoen suggests that TT 176 is one of the earliest examples of the Tree Goddess (30); (5) The painted details in the depictions of the offering table and the lotus flowers suggest late Eighteenth Dynasty/early Nineteenth Dynasty; (6) The tomb was constructed in el Khôka, which contains tombs built during the reign of Thutmose IV.

The text ends rather abruptly on page 31. The one and a half page bibliography, and the 23 plates, both black and white and color, complete the publication.

Overall, Calcoen's style is very straightforward, and she provides a solid description of the interior of the tomb and its painted decoration. While she has some reproductions of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, she is not consistent, although there are transliterations and translations of the inscriptions. It is unclear if this was a result of the repetitiveness of some of the inscriptions, or if there was another reason why she chose not to publish the hieroglyphic texts.

There was some assumption of the reader's knowledge about the tomb and larger studies that have been done in relation to the tomb typology and decorations. The author references previous studies, such as Kampp's work on tomb types, but she provides no explanation aside from her one-sentence comment (9) and a passing explanation in the footnotes (n. 4). This light touch on external information and references results in a reader having to hunt down a publication in order to figure out the importance of a passing comment.

There is a fairly comprehensive collection of both drawings and photographs of the interior of the tomb and its decoration, and all of those illustrations are contained in the plates at the end of the publication. It would have been more useful to the reader to have some of the illustrations within the text for immediate reference rather than having to flip through the plates at the back, and perhaps side-by-side photos and drawings for comparisons would also be of use to the reader.

Also, although she does have a layout of the tomb decoration in the illustrations (pl. 22), it is not at the beginning of the plates for easy reference. The illustrated floor plan of the tomb has reproductions of the paintings placed in their position in the tomb, which was an excellent idea. Unfortunately, this renders the scenes so small they are almost unusable. The tomb plan also lacks a scale so the reader has no immediate reference as to how large or small the space is. Porter and Moss's basic tomb plan with corresponding numbers allows the reader to easily identify the placement of the decorative scenes (Porter and Moss, "TT 176," 281–283). Calcoen's concordance (25) between the Porter and Moss numbering system and her system is very useful, however, she does not include the plate numbers of the volume's photos and drawings.

The author very carefully notates each wall and the various registers of decoration and text, which is very helpful, and her objective cataloging of the scenes means that the reader can concentrate on the scenes themselves. She brings in her more subjective discussions concerning her theories and interpretations of scenes towards the end of the monograph, which allows the reader to concentrate on the description of the paintings. However, it is the later chapters that are the most interesting, as Calcoen draws together the

various threads regarding the identification of the tomb scenes' narratives and the individuals depicted in the tomb.

The monograph is quite useful, clearly written, and a good reference for those who study the early New Kingdom Theban Tombs of the Nobles. Although her brevity is appreciated, at times, it may be too concise in regard to certain discussions. For those of us, who do not have immediate access to the publications mentioned, it was a little frustrating to read the start of a tantalizing discussion, only for it to be cut short. As a side note, while it was an unfortunate fluke, my copy of the publication literally came apart at the seams while I was reading through it the first time.

Calcoen notes that it is unclear if the tomb was ever professionally excavated, and if it has been, thus far no notes or other information have been found. As an archaeologist, this lack is felt while I was reading the monograph. However, this lack is not the fault of the author, but simply reflects the unknown in the archeological record. Calcoen's discussions of the decoration of the tomb and the identification of the possible owner make me want to know more about Userhat and his family in a more fully rounded way. Perhaps someday this Userhat and his tomb goods may be reunited with the tomb.

Beth Ann Judas

P. Der Manuelian and Th. Schneider (eds.). *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom*. Harvard Egyptological Studies 1 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015). ISBN 9789004301887. Pp. viii+529.

The initial book of Harvard Egyptological Studies represents an eloquent volume regarding the ethos of this new series, its theoretical, methodological, and conceptual aspirations. The book consists of thirteen chapters, in which the editors have gathered a group of distinguished experts on the history and archaeology of the Pyramid Age. With the clear objective of encouraging and stimulating the historiographical method on interpreting ancient Egyptian history, Peter Der Manuelian and Thomas Schneider organized an international symposium held at Harvard University in April 2012, entitled "Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid Age." As a celebration for the fifth year of the Journal of Egyptian History and a promotion of its historiographical, historical, and chronological approach, such a volume represents a magnificent outcome for Egyptological discourse on pharaonic *histoire événementielle*. An introduction by the series editor, Peter Der Manuelian (vii), and a preface by Thomas Schneider (viii) precede chapters one through thirteen (1–495) and the concluding general index (497–529) of the volume.

In the first chapter (1–17), Miroslav Bárta deals with the specific dynamics that illustrate the historical developments of the Old Kingdom, punctuated by several events through which major changes took place in society. In this way, Bárta criticizes and dismantles the positions that favored the understanding of "ancient Egyptian history as a more or less continuous and perhaps uneventful parade of reigns marked by isolated royal monuments that is interrupted from time to time by unique events" (2). By "punctuated" development, Bárta means a historical long period (i.e., Old Kingdom) interrupted by brief periods during which major changes took place and modified the nature and character of the society, following the "multiplier effect" developed by the British prehistorian Colin Renfrew in the 1970s. Following this argument, the author presents five "multiplier effect period" cases (hence, MEPs): i) Netjerikhet's period, with building modifications and the appearance of the first full grammatical sentences attested in Egyptian script; ii) Sneferu's reign, with its active building program, the tendency to detailed record keeping, and the regularization of cemeteries and mastabas (mainly at Dahshur); iii) the transition between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, when the Palermo Stone registers pious donations by the rulers to divine temples and royal mortuary complexes, and we observed the incorporation of nonroyal high officials into the state administration; iv) Niuserra's reign, a period in which the cult of Osiris entered the scene, the office of the Overseer of Upper Egypt emerged, and high official posts became hereditary; and v) the period of Djedkare's reforms, with critical changes in administration and economy that initiated the collapse occurring at the end of the Sixth Dynasty.

The second chapter (18–59) takes us to the reign of Menkaure and the function of the king's triads, whose main theme is the *Heb-Sed* and the provisioning for that festival, according to Florence Friedman. The main hypothesis is that Menkaure patronized the temple cults of Hathor in the nomes in a *quid pro quo* relationship in which he built cultic complexes for her and the goddess provided offerings from these temple estates for his *Sed* festival. This system of royal provisions implies significant implications about the functioning of the *ḥwt* temple estates and the economic dynamics of the country in the Fourth Dynasty. Friedman defines *ḥwt* as "an income-producing property that yielded agricultural and other goods for kings and gods" (25), and notes that in the reign of Menkaure there was an increased measure of reality in terms of offering distribution (in opposition to the previous reigns of the early Fourth Dynasty, where symbolic representations do not represent real distribution). The author emphasizes that the offerings for his *Heb-Sed* were understood to be not from his estates but really—or symbolically—from those of his mother, Hathor. Finally, she combines the functioning of the *mrt*-temple of Hathor, the *rꜣ-š* provisioning institution, and the *ḥwt* in an

organized ideological and economic structure for the benefit of the king and his mortuary complex.

In the third chapter (60–75), John Gee aims at reexamining our perception of the First Intermediate Period, criticizing the heavily colored view of the period by the Middle Kingdom propagandistic apparatus. Gee reassesses the causes of the so-called First Intermediate Period collapse, suggesting that no second thought has been given to its meaning. Invasion, immigration, unrest, climate change, governmental problems, political weakness, economic decline—these are only a few speculative explanations for a period of Egyptian history where, according to the author, actual wealth increase and social development have been proved. In order to explain whether there was a real collapse at the end of the Old Kingdom, Gee poses that our readings of *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, *The Instruction of Merikare*, and *The Prophecy of Neferty* have misinformed our view of the period. His suggestion is to read beyond propagandistic texts, evaluate the signs for wealth increase in the First Intermediate Period, and "talk about the collapse of the old cliché" (73). In addition to the materials presented by the author, for a recent attempt to reorganize the Herakleopolitan lists of kings, one may add A. Demidchik, "The Sixth Heracleopolitan King Merikare Khety," *Journal of Egyptian History* 9/2 (2016), 97–120. For a related analysis on the use of "precious objects" and wealth increase in the period, see the very recent C. Mazé, "Precious things? The social construction of value in Egyptian society, from production of objects to their use (mid 3rd–mid 2nd millennium BC)," in G. Miniaci and J. C. Moreno García (eds.), *The arts of making in ancient Egypt* (Leiden: Sidestone, 2018), 117–138. Regarding the climatic events in the period, a phenomenon not dealt with in much depth in Gee's discussion, one may notice that in his recent "What is the Past but a Once Material Existence Now Silenced? The First Intermediate Period from an Epistemological Perspective" (in F. Höflmayer [ed.], *The Late Third Millennium in the Ancient Near East. Chronology, C14, and Climate Change*, OIS 11 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2017), 311–22), Thomas Schneider concludes that "[t]he evidence is far too sketchy and too ambiguous to be assembled onto a reliable historiographical canvas" (319).

The lengthy chapter four (76–199) presents a reevaluation of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, one of the most important sources for ancient Egyptian chronology, and the information on kings' names and lengths of reign for the Third and Fourth Dynasties. In this chapter, Roman Gundacker distinguishes two different historiographical accounts for Dynasties Three and Four, which Manetho might have used in his composition of Egyptian history. In a very thorough study, Gundacker not only presents information on the various transmissions of the sections in the Epitome of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* for the Third and Fourth Dynasties (Sextus Julius Africanus, George Sincellus, Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea), but also evaluates the Old Kingdom contemporary data (such as the Old Kingdom annals, *Heb-Sed* reliefs, masons' graffiti, administrative notes, etc.) that help to define the functioning of the census-cycles, "which were originally biennial [but] must have become more and more irregular" (94). The author revises the names of the kings in the Third and Fourth Dynasties, and then proceeds to calculate the lengths of their reigns, comparing his findings with the accounts from the Royal Canon of Turin, and the Abydos and Saqqara King-lists, concluding that *Aegyptiaca* is an indispensable source of information on ancient Egyptian chronology.

In chapter five (200–226), the late Harold Hays expands on earlier criticisms (see H. Hays, "The Death of the Democratization of the Afterlife," in N. and H. Strudwick (eds.), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2011), 115–130) and comments on the flaws of the so-called "democratization of the afterlife," emphasizing the dynamics of entextualization experienced by the Pyramid Texts and the vivid use and interest for these religious compositions during the Old Kingdom. As he defends that "the democratization theory is rightly regarded as obsolete," he reveals a new problem: how do we explain access to religious compositions during the Old Kingdom if all our previous hypotheses argued for a firm restriction and exclusivity in the use of texts? He proceeds to underline the presence of Pyramid Texts since earlier times and discusses the transposing of the texts from one domain to another. In this area, one could add the latest A. Morales, "From Voice to Papyrus to Wall: Verschriftung and Verschriftlichung in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts," in M. Hilgert (ed.), *Understanding Material Text Cultures: A Multisdiciplinary View* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 69–130; and "Iteration, Innovation und Dekorum in Opferlisten des Alten Reichs: zur Vorgeschichte der Pyramidentexte," *ZÄS* 142/1 (2015), 55–69, where the author expands on problems discussed with Harold Hays; and M. Smith, "Democratizing the Afterlife?," in his *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 166–270. An important conclusion by Hays is that "in short, the elite discourse shifted its focus from action to knowledge as the crucial component in soteriology" (221), a statement that does not conform to Smith's inference: "If ordinary Egyptians had the same aspirations for the afterlife as their rulers in the Old Kingdom, then why are the spells that would ensure fulfillment of these aspirations absent from their tombs?" (172).

In the sixth chapter (227–314), Mark Lehner initiates a discussion on the nature of the Menkaure valley temple in relation to the Khentkawes Town, where a group of settlement structures might have formed one pyramid town. However, the comprehensive analysis of the structures in this southeastern base of the Giza Plateau shows a particular cluster of constructions—"a complex network of affilia-

tions of pyramid towns and temples" (306)—that might be marking claims of high officials in the period, whose estates would receive shares from the temple offerings. After presenting the history of excavation in the area and the decrees issued for the Menkaure pyramid and its town (first by Shepseskaf), Lehner proceeds to explain the major occupation phases in the Menkaure valley temple, distinguishing three major occupation phases that completed by the end of the Sixth Dynasty. The author takes his hypothesis even farther and discusses the similar mud-brick networks in the Raneferef pyramid temple and the pyramid of Wedjebten, a queen of Pepi II.

Following the historiographical-based motivation in the series, in chapter seven (314–336) Peter Der Manuelian gives a synopsis of the major works and achievements by the Giza Archives Project (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) over the period 2000–2011, exposing some of the pitfalls for researchers arising from the expedition records. The author discusses the recent developments of the Giza Project at Harvard, including the efforts by an international Giza consortium, the design of new modes of presenting Giza materials in 3D (necropolis, tombs, objects), and a plea for data sharing, a matter to be seriously taken into consideration by every curator and museum keeper (see 334, n. 29).

In the eighth chapter (337–365), John Nolan elaborates on a previous paper on the subject, mainly the cattle counts and civil dates in the Old Kingdom (see his Nolan, "Lunar Intercalations and 'Cattle Counts' during the Old Kingdom," in H. Vymazalová and M. Bárta (eds.), *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt* (Prague: Prague University, 2008), 44–60). On this occasion, Nolan focuses on the phyle rotations and how the system tallies with the lunar calendar and the cattle counts, which were mostly skipped every third year. The author makes use of the Abusir Papyri of Neferirkare and Raneferef in order to match the previous deductions on the calendar with the duty-periods of the phyles. In addition, he proposes a ten-month cycle of phyle service: "Given that the priests in each temple were organized into five phyles consisting on ten phyle-divisions, each of which serves for a single civil month, each phyle-division should therefore serve in a regular ten-month cycle of rotation, its month of service falling two months earlier each successive civil year" (344).

In chapter nine (366–392), Massimiliano Nuzzolo analyses the Sed Festival depiction in Niuserra's temple and its relationship with the architecture and space of the temple itself. Justifying that the Sed Festival was the crucial point in the construction and organization of Niuserra's depictions in his sun temple, Nuzzolo examines and interprets the scenes and texts in an attempt to contextualize the evolution of the royal ideology at this time. In the author's words, the solar temples "functioned as an architectural setting that enabled the meeting of the king with the gods during the oldest ritual performance known in Egyptian civilization […] with the ultimate purpose of reconfirming the pharaoh's kingship and, at the same time, associating him with the new, supreme, solar deity, the god Re" (386).

With a rigorous approach encouraging evaluation of the available historical sources and analysis of the relationships of the state with the Upper Egyptian high officials, Hratch Papazian discusses the political situation in the late Sixth Dynasty and how its conditions affected the configuration of the ensuing dynastic lines. In chapter ten (393–428), the author engages with the theoretical and methodological matters relating to the study of the dissolution of the unified state at the end of the Old Kingdom, noting that historical shifts require a period of growth. Such a position regarding the absence of major catastrophes and a profound collapse agrees with John Gee's paper in the same volume. Moreover, Papazian contrasts the principal sources of the period with the data from the Abydos King-list, including Eighth Dynasty kings' names absent from the Abydos list. In a summary section, he presents the various proposals regarding the transition to the First Intermediate Period, giving preference to "an alternative that promotes a gradual transformation of the political setting over several generations, in which traces of the earlier forms of kingship and government persist" (421), and highlighting that i) the unified character of the Egyptian state was maintained through most of the Eighth Dynasty; ii) perhaps the absence of a designated crown prince may have led to the disarray at the end of the Old Kingdom; and iii) the Eighth Dynasty, although it maintained a Memphite profile and resumed previous royal practices in administration, was distinct from the line of Pepi II.

In chapter eleven (429–455), Thomas Schneider discusses the epistemological problems caused by the deficient evidence on Egypt's foreign policy in the Old Kingdom. Following Karl Jansen-Winkeln's call for a more suitable methodology, and the approach proposed by the Historian Aviezer Tucker, which is mainly concerned with the nature of the evidence and not the modern interpretations, Schneider presents two cases that evince our deficiencies on perception and interpretation: the recently published biographical inscription of Iny and letters from Ebla referring to a "kingdom of Dugurasu," probably Kerma in Sudan. In the case of Iny's inscription, he calls attention to the inadequate rendering of *ʿ-m-ꜣ-w* as Amurru in a previous publication, and suggests to take *ꜣ* as /r/ o /l/, and *ʿ* as a dental or dental-related sound, therefore understanding Sumur from the Eleutheros plain as the most likely option. Regarding the Ebla letters, the mention therein of a place called "kingdom of Dugurasu" has been taken by Roccati as a reference to Egypt (*rꜣw-ḥꜣwt*, "river mouths"), although Schneider comments on the phonological difficulties of this hypothesis. Instead, he proposes the name *Tukurasu* or *Tuqurasu* as a rendering of *tꜣ-kꜣš*, which ultimately could be

taken as Kerma and offer an unexpected feature in the Near Eastern relations in this period.

Chapter twelve (456–469) deals with the religious developments that took place at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, mainly i) the disappearance of the sun-temple activity and evidence, ii) the sudden advent of Osiris in the late Fifth Dynasty, and iii) the monumentalization of the Pyramid Texts into the underground crypts of Unas and the later kings of the Sixth Dynasty. With the goal of clarifying these three historical events, Racheli Shalomi-Hen focuses on the role of Heliopolis, the loss of power suffered by the *wr m3* and the sun-priests in Abusir, and the concentration of theological power on court priests "who had enough power and access to the king, and punished him in a very sophisticated way for preferring the concrete humanity of Osiris over the abstract distance of Re" (466). Indeed, the emergence of the Osirian beliefs might have supposed a decline of authority for the king in regard to the previous relationship with the gods (Re at the head), but it is still difficult to understand the simplistic theological analysis proposed by the author in her conclusions, especially if one considers diverging positions such as Bernard Mathieu's "Mais qui est donc Osiris? Ou la politique sous le linceul de la religion," *ENiM* 3 (2010), 77–107, where he understands the Osirian innovation as a creation by Heliopolitan priests acting for the state; and M. Smith, "Osiris as an instrument of state control?," in his Following Osiris (see above), who underlines the scholarly failure to demonstrate that the state imposed such a dogma by royal decree throughout the country (131).

In the last chapter (470–495), Leslie Warden reevaluates the actual role of taxation as an exceptional activity rather than a regular economic undertaking by the state applied to the whole country. The author uses evidence dealing with Old Kingdom taxation from two main phases, the early phase, with Dynasties 3–4, on the one hand, and the late phase, with Dynasties 5–6, on the other. For the earlier phase, the author notes the challenge that the large-scale process of accounting wealth from throughout the country would have been for the state, but she makes the point that the census was taken as a ritual activity which maintained the Egyptian calendar, easing the distance between the faulty structure of the state bureaucracy and its need to control wealth. For the later phase, the author comments on the continual change in all offices of the administration, which somehow must have affected the economic policies of the country. In her contribution, her analysis of the Palermo Stone and the Old Kingdom exemption decrees leads her to believe that "as long as the king had ritual power to support his authority, widespread regular taxation of goods would have been unnecessary for the vitality of the Old Kingdom crown" (490). Such a statement does no doubt agree with Hratch Papazian's assertion that "the central administration structure of the Old Kingdom should not be conceptualized as being a single hub […] nor should the state be assumed of micromanaging local affairs through the use of its complex bureaucratic system. The major impediment to the notion of state-wide centralization and redistribution of resources would first and foremost be geographical" (H. Papazian, "The Central Administration of the Resources in the Old Kingdom: Departments, Treasuries, Granaries, and Work Centers," in J. C. Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 47).

Overall, the first volume of Harvard Egyptological Studies has contributed to our appreciation for the historiographical concern of the editors and, even better, to our understanding of various aspects of the history of the Old Kingdom and its events, including a wide range of political, economic, and social factors that influenced the lives of ancient Egyptians in this period. Thus, Peter Der Manuelian and Thomas Schneider offer to the specialist and student a valuable set of contributions that reevaluate several well-known events, aspects, and topics that might receive a different treatment from now on.

One small thematic frustration is the lack of contributions dealing with the Third Dynasty, a period in Egyptian history when multiple changes, innovations, and disruptions occurred, contributing to giving particular shape to the mid-Old Kingdom society and its culture, beliefs, and practices. In any case, what seems to emerge from this book is that Egyptologists must continue to take care and be cautious about modern perceptions and misconceptions, striving—as Karl Jansen-Winkeln said—"to develop a methodology that suits the situation of our evidence" (see in Schneider's contribution, 430). All in all, the volume is a valuable acquisition for any reference shelf and for any scholar concerned with the history, archaeology, and inscriptional evidence of the Old Kingdom.

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Peter Lacovara and Sue H. D'Auria, eds. *The Mystery of the Albany Mummies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2018). ISBN 9781438469485. Pp. xv + 137.

In *The Mystery of the Albany Mummies*, Peter Lacovara and Sue D'Auria assembled a number of informative articles by a variety of authors, all revolving around a collection of Egyptian mummies and artifacts in The Albany Institute of History and Art (AIHA). Although published in 2018, the volume complements an exhibition of the same name that ran at the AIHA from 2013 to 2014. It includes numerous contributions that place the collection into its larger contexts, both ancient and modern.

Within the volume are ten unnumbered articles (and sub-articles) of various sizes. The first, by Tammis Groft, in-

troduces the 2013–2014 exhibition and the 2018 volume by providing an overview of the history of the collection—how and when interest in ancient Egypt started in Albany, to the purchase of "the Albany mummies," to the modern study of the mummies and associated artifacts. The centerpieces of the collection (the two mummies and their associated coffins) were purchased from the Cairo Museum in 1909 by Samuel W. Brown, who then gifted them to the AIHA. Many of the details in this chapter and the two that follow it—such as the 1909 quote from the Albany newspaper *The Argus* that states "universally the first question a visitor asks when visiting a museum, please show us a mummy"—will be relevant to those with an interest in modern collections and attitudes toward Egyptian remains and artifacts at the turn of the last century, as well as to those whose interests lie more in current research and exhibition practices.

The following two articles—"Egyptomania and the Empire State" by Peter Lacovara and "Egyptian Volumes at the Albany Institute" by Andrew Oliver—provide a number of lesser-known, Albany-related connections within the better-known, larger story of Egyptology and Egyptomania in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The next group of articles and sub-articles addresses the ancient context and modern study of the Institute's Twenty-First Dynasty mummy and coffin. In "Ankhefenmut and His World" by Lacovara and Joyce Haynes and "Genealogy of the 21st Dynasty" by Lacovara, the authors lay out in more detail the modern discovery of the Twenty-First Dynasty material (from the Bab el-Gesus cache; on this subject, see also the review of Weiss in this volume) and place Ankhefenmut in his ancient context with discussions of his name, his positions in the Temple of Mut at Karnak (*wab* and sculptor), and the more general political situation, daily life, and death and burial practices of the time in which he lived.

The first of these two articles is the largest of this section and also includes discussion and color photographs of Ankhefenmut's coffin and its inscriptions and scenes. While one appreciates the detailed photographs of the exterior sides of the coffin, additional images of the exterior's head and foot ends and of the interior of the coffin would have made this article more useful to those interested in coffin studies (curiously, in a later article in the volume, the opposite is true for the Ptolemaic coffin—a photo of the interior is included, but none of the exterior). The decision to not include photographs of these parts of the coffins is likely due to these areas having less (or less visible today) decoration, but images of them would still be of use to specialists. Interestingly, the mummy board and coffin lid of Ankhefenmut now belong to the British Museum and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, respectively (photographs of both are included in the present volume). The next two articles about the Twenty-First Dynasty materials—"Ankhefenmut's Tunic" by Lacovara and "The Conservation of the Coffin of Ankhefenmut" by Leslie Ransick Gat and Erin Toomey—discuss the discovery of a tunic underneath Ankhefenmut's mummy and the conservation of Ankhefenmut's coffin.

In "The Mummy of Ankhefenmut: A Scientific Investigation," Bob Brier, Phuong N. Vinh, Michael Schuster, Howard Mayforth, and Emily Johnson Chapin discuss the examination of Ankhefenmut's linen-wrapped remains and their study's findings. A primary objective of the CT scanning of Ankhefenmut's (supposed) mummy and that of the other mummy in the collection was to clear up a long-standing confusion about the sexes of the mummies and whether the two mummies had been switched (being placed in each other's coffins) during their initial travel to and installation at the museum in Albany. The team concluded that the completely wrapped mummy was, indeed, male and was most likely Ankhefenmut (and, thus, the coffin his remains came in belonged to him). Interestingly, degeneration in this man's right shoulder is consistent with the repetitive use of this joint (the same is not true of the left shoulder). This excessive wear in only his right shoulder suggests the possibility that Ankhefenmut's actions in his position as a sculptor in the Temple of Mut could be responsible for the degeneration since it was clearly not due solely to aging and normal use. Other skeletal evidence suggests that Ankhefenmut died when he was in or around his early 50s.

The final two articles in the volume concern the early Ptolemaic mummy and the associated coffin in the AIHA collection. Unfortunately, the coffin lid was damaged and discarded while still in Cairo and the coffin base does not include an inscription of the person's name. Thus, we do not know the identity of this individual. However, in "Albany's Ptolemaic Mummy and Late Period Funerary Arts" by Lacovara and "The Ptolemaic Mummy: A Scientific Investigation" by Brier, Vinh, Mayforth, and Johnson Chapin, the authors detail what we can learn about this individual from his remains and coffin. They determined that the mummy is most likely from the earliest part of the Ptolemaic Period, is male, and has joint wear and other features consistent with an age at death in his 40s. Lacovara also includes very brief discussions of some unrelated Ptolemaic and Late Period objects in the collection: a mummy tag, Osiris figure, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, partial Book of the Dead of Nespasef (other fragments of which are in the collections of the Cincinnati Art Museum), mummy linen with funerary inscription, stela for an ibis, and dog mummy (formerly believed to be a cat).

The volume concludes with a catalog of the seventy-two objects and human remains (with small images and basic details) in the Egyptian collection at the AIHA, which were acquired at a variety of times between 1900 and today, mostly through gifts (107–120); a brief catalog of items related to Egyptomania (121–125); a list of related books in the AIHA (126); a glossary (127–130); selected bibliography

(131); biographies of contributors (133–134); and an index (135–137).

The Mystery of the Albany Mummies provides an interesting and informative story of the collection, as well as some details of modern study and ancient context for some of the most prominent items. The volume is appropriate for a lay audience but does have some interesting tidbits for scholars interested in various areas, such as mummy studies, coffin studies, textile studies, conservation, American history, and the history of Egyptology, Egyptomania, and related collections, to name a few. However, many discussions in the volume are brief and scholars will likely be left wanting more in those areas. For example, this reviewer would have liked more information on the rest of the Egyptian collection at the AIHA and more details on the exhibition of the collection (both recent and older exhibitions). The lack of certain subjects and brevity of others are understandable since the volume's aim appears to be that of providing an overview of the collection and its history, with details focused on recent discoveries and the parts of the collection most interesting to the majority of visitors and readers: the mummies and their coffins. Overall, *The Mystery of the Albany Mummies* is a worthy read for anyone with an interest in recent trends in displays of Egyptian collections or in the abovementioned areas of study.

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Wael Sherbiny. *Through Hermopolitan Lenses: Studies on the So-Called Book of Two Ways in Ancient Egypt.* Probleme der Ägyptologie 33 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2017). ISBN 9789004336711. Pp. xxv + 696.

The Book of Two Ways (hereafter Bo2W) occurs as one or more distinct composition(s) within the corpus of Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts (CT 1029–1130), attested primarily on the floorboards of some twenty-six coffins from Deir el-Bersha, with a few, scattered parallels of varying length occurring elsewhere. As an integrated textual and pictorial composition, the Bo2W serves as an important formal—if not necessarily functional—precursor to the corpus of illustrated cosmological books (i.e., Books of the Underworld and Sky), attested from the New Kingdom and later. Since its identification and publication as a discrete composition by Schack-Schackenburg in 1903, the Bo2W has been the subject of monographs by Lesko (1972), Hermsen (1991), and Backes (2005), as well as numerous translations (e.g., Piankoff 1974, Faulkner 1976, Carrier 2009) and a great many shorter, more specialized scholarly articles. The volume under consideration here is a revised version of Sherbiny's 2008 PhD dissertation from Leuven University (Belgium), which includes complete translations, iconographical analysis, and philological commentary on the Bo2W, which incorporates nearly all of the published and unpublished sources from Bersha. The volume itself is massive: At 9x12-inches and nearly 700 pages, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses* is by far the longest study published to date on this important exemplar of earlier Egyptian mortuary literature.

The volume begins with an introduction to the corpus (1–38), which includes the obligatory caveats regarding modern terminology; a general summary of early Coffin Texts scholarship, up through publication of De Buck's seven, original CT volumes; an outline of sources, for which Sherbiny differentiates the Bo2W as such (i.e., sources from Bersha coffins) from excerpts, parallels, and antecedents appearing at other sites and in other other contexts; prior scholarship on the Bo2W specifically; and an overview of the scope and limits of the present monograph, which focuses on material from the Bersha coffins as the first of a planned, two-volume set. The stated goals of Sherbiny's study (35) are "to work mainly on the basis of the original sources"; to "re-document the entire material that formed the basis of the CT project"; to understand the Bo2W "within the context of the other parts of the decoration program of the coffins on which it is attested"; and to take into account "the time frame and the themes expressed in contemporary religious texts," instead of comparisons to later works (Amduat, Book of the Dead, etc.). In this last regard, Sherbiny follows J. Quack in his rejection of the Bo2W as a cosmological work (31–32, n. 230).

Regarding terminology, Sherbiny is particularly critical of the designation of the ancient composition as the "Book of Two Ways" (2–3; 26–27). The author notes that there is a lack of textual support for this term, as the Bo2W itself refers only to the (plural) "ways of Rosetjau" (*w3.wt R-st3w*), never to "two ways" in the dual (**w3.tj*). Furthermore, he notes that the "ways" in question are mentioned before and after the characteristic "map" section, with its visually distinctive, paired pathways, but never in the actual "map" itself (2). Sherbiny is correct to note that prior attempts to justify the "Book of Two Ways" designation have been problematic and open to numerous criticisms of inconsistency and over-reach (29). On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that any modern designation for an ancient composition is a convention only, and no convention is perfect. So long as the artificiality of the designation is clarified up front, retains some connection to the content of the ancient work, and allows scholars to differentiate book "X" from book "Y," then the convention has done its job. The designation of the "Book of Two Ways" clearly fits those criteria. Furthermore, the grammatical objection regarding a lack of explicit, textual reference to **w3.tj*, "two ways," is hardly problematic. As is well known, Middle Egyptian had already more or less phased out the dual construction

in favor of the plural, except in the case of objects occurring in natural pairs (e.g., body parts). Consequently, the fact that the text does not mention "two" ways specifically need not exclude a connection between the (plural) "ways of Rosetau" mentioned in the text and the (adjacent!) image of paired/dual pathways, which are the book's hallmark. In fact, given that "ways" are not a naturally occurring pair, the plural construction *w3.wt* is precisely what we should expect, in this stage of the language. In any event, Sherbiny retains the designation "Book of Two Ways" for his study, despite the objections that he raises (38).

As with any updated publication of an ancient text, one of the most important contributions is the author's discussion of "new" sources, which have not featured in prior studies. To wit, the recently rediscovered Cairo leather roll (JdE 69292), which includes both textual and pictorial elements from the Bo2W, is mentioned several times (16, 22, and passim), although the author defers detailed treatment of this important document to his planned follow-up volume. In addition, Sherbiny indicates that two supposedly "new" exemplars of the Bo2W, identified as such in Backes 2005, 483, and Lapp 1986, have been misidentified, the material in question belonging instead to an unrelated group of ferryman spells and a sequence of Book of the Dead antecedents, respectively (17). A complete list of the Bersha coffins, consulted as primary source material for the present volume, appears at table 2 (19), including 19 exemplars published previously, as well as 7 previously unpublished coffins or coffin fragments.

Chapter two concerns the design of the composition and includes discussions of its layout, iconography, colors, and disposition of texts relative to images (39–96), preparatory to the integrated presentation of iconography and translations in chapter three. It is Sherbiny's treatment of the iconography as a primary component of the Bo2W, on equal footing with its texts, that most differentiates *Through Hermopolitan Lenses* from earlier treatments, especially De Buck (*Coffin Texts VII*), Piankoff (*Wandering of the Soul*), Faulkner (*Coffin Texts III*), Lesko (*Two Ways*), and Backes (*Zweiwegebuch*), which were concerned more or less exclusively with the composition's textual component (but cf. also integration of iconography and text in Hermsen, *Zwei Wege des Jenseits*). The chapter includes an interesting discussion of the color palettes employed in the various Bo2W sources, in which five colors are attested (black, blue, red, white, yellow), although only one source employs all five. Most importantly, Sherbiny notes diachronic variation in the choice of colors, especially as regards white, which is widely attested in earlier sources, and red, which seems to replace white in some of the later sources (46–50, with data at tables 6–7). The following discussion (51–78) concerns the two major variants of the schematic plans or "maps" that accompany, but also frame and shape, the textual elements. This discussion improves upon earlier treatments in several places, including corrections to De Buck's plan (61) and comparison to previously unpublished sources, such as the Cairo leather roll (65, 68, 75–76). The iconographic discussion concludes with some remarks on the increasing frequency of human and animal figures in the later MK sources, including a tantalizing but too-brief speculation on the possible status of the Cairo leather roll as a master document (76).

Sherbiny next discusses the placement and layout of the texts, relative to the iconographic elements (78–85). A synthesis of the author's presentation of diachronic change follows (85–90), in which Sherbiny relates his proposed, multi-stage development of the composition as a whole (i.e., iconographic-textual) to the textual divisions proposed by earlier scholars, namely, the sixteen or eighteen "chapters" of Schack-Schackenburg and Bonacker, respectively; the "groups" (I–II) of De Buck; the three "versions" (A, A–B, and B) of Lesko; the "texts" (I–II) of Barguet; and "units" (I–VII) of Rößler-Köhler. The author then offers his own typology of the composition (90–95), based upon both text and iconography, which builds upon De Buck's simplified division into two broad groups of sources. According to Sherbiny's typology, "Type I" (subtypes a–e) incorporates sources dating from the end of Dynasty 11, through the second half of Dynasty 12 (Senwosret II–III), while "Type II," includes sources dating only from the second half of Dynasty 12 (Senwosret II and III). The author also assigns a hybrid "Type I–II," attested only once, to the later phase of Dynasty 12 (Senwosret II–III) (94). A concordance of sources, divided by Sherbiny's "types," and their relationships to Lesko's "versions" concludes the chapter (95).

Chapter three, which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the volume (97–580), includes a complete translation of the texts, with integrated discussion of their associated iconography and extensive philological commentary. Sherbiny's translations are based on "all the texts in the early sources from the Hermopolitan cemetery" at Bersha (97), including texts and images from coffin B6C, published here for the first time. Absent from Sherbiny's translation are the later texts from his "Type II," which generally follow those of "Type I," albeit with certain "discrepancies" (90), which are not formally presented or discussed, as a group. Also omitted from the translation are the versions from the unpublished Cairo leather roll and the tomb chamber of Khesu the Elder at Kom el-Hisn (Silverman 1988), although the author does include "sporadic comparisons" with those two sources, while deferring more detailed discussion to his planned, second volume (97, n. 1). The chapter continues with a breakdown of the variation in first, second, and third person referents for the deceased, which paints an intriguing picture of deliberate textual variation (i.e., adaptation from an original first person to third) and scribal error, across the various sources (98–106). The translations that

follow adhere to the third person masculine, which Sherbiny intends to reflect the "adapted text in its (secondary) funerary use" (106).

One of the most useful innovations of Sherbiny's new translation is his isolation of individual and distinct textual groups, for which the author employs the term "utterances," from the larger units of CT "spells." Insofar as De Buck's CT numbering frequently included multiple "real spells" within a single CT spell number (see thus, A. De Buck, *Coffin Texts* VII, xvi), Sherbiny's isolation of these smaller units facilitates their study in conjunction with the accompanying pictorial elements, as a unified whole. Sherbiny divides the Bo2W itself into 20 distinct "parts," each of which contains one or more CT spell numbers, including one or more individual "utterances." The author's individual utterance numbers appear within the translations in square brackets, while the corresponding position of the utterance within De Buck's CT spell sequence has been indicated by means of superscripted numbers in parentheses. Philological notes, of which there are a great many, have been marked with lowercase Roman letters, in italic superscript. After the philological commentary for each part of the composition, Sherbiny includes a discussion of the themes and motifs employed in each of his individual utterances. It is not possible, in a review of this length, to delve into the vast majority of Sherbiny's translations and commentary. Suffice to say, the translations themselves are generally sound, the commentary provides extensive citations of primary and secondary sources, and the ancient texts offer a vast wealth of interesting mythological, philological, et al., tidbits, which might be of value to any number of specialized studies. Of particular interest to this reviewer were Sherbiny's lengthy excursus on the so-called "map" section, from which the Bo2W derives its modern title (233–285), and his discussion of the enigmatic/cryptographic text of CT 1116 (493–499). Notably, the author does not attempt a translation of this latter text, although he does discuss prior scholars' readings and interpretations at some length. That discussion, however, fails conspicuously to incorporate or even cite any of the numerous studies on New Kingdom cryptography that have appeared in the past 15 years, and which might have provided additional parallels, alternate sign values, and methodologies for decipherment (see thus, numerous books and articles by, e.g., Darnell, Klotz, Manassa, Roberson, and Werning, among others).

Chapter four presents concluding remarks on the Bo2W (581–608), including thoughts on possible long vs. short versions of the composition, questions regarding primacy of one version over another, the book's origin and meaning, as well as a brief summary of some of the important mythological motifs in the text. Ultimately, Sherbiny concludes that the notion of a "long" and "short" version of a single Bo2W is a phantom, the two "versions" being in fact two different compositions, in which the "so-called short version has benefited from the material of the 'long' version, but this common material was used in a new form and in a new composition" (583). The author next considers the idea of a "best" version, or ur-text, of a single Bo2W, which he rejects outright (583–584). This view, which contrasts sharply with those of Lesko, Hermsen, et al., appears to this reviewer as correct, given our current state of knowledge and the nature of the surviving evidence. Sherbiny's approach allows the ancient sources to speak for themselves, insofar as this is possible, rather than forcing them to conform to some hypothetical, modern model (see discussion of text criticism, below). Of course, the ancient scribes must have followed some model(s), or else we should not observe similarities in content and layout among the different sources. However, as Sherbiny notes (584), it is only through "study of the peculiarities of each source" that we can begin to uncover features of these model(s), not through the superposition of one supposedly "best" exemplar onto other sources.

In terms of the history of the composition itself, Sherbiny takes a conservative view, noting that one of the earliest exemplars—B6C, inscribed originally for a certain Ahanakht—includes the "entire" composition (with the usual caveats regarding ur-text), for which the last decades of the Eleventh Dynasty provide a terminus ante quem (584). However, he notes also that the recently rediscovered Cairo leather roll may date to the early Eleventh Dynasty or First Intermediate Period (585). If such a date could be confirmed through palaeographic, philological, or other criteria, the leather roll may yet emerge as the best contender for a "master book," from which the divergent Bo2W exemplars could have been adapted, in the earliest years of the Middle Kingdom. In addition, the author notes that some textual and contextual evidence points to an Old Kingdom origin (i.e., Pyramid Texts) for certain, isolated spells, which were later combined with new material to form the Bo2W as such (585–586).

Sherbiny next considers the value of text criticism, in particular the method of stemmatics, as a tool for reconstructing ur-texts in Egyptology. He indicates that Egyptological proponents of stemmatics have so far failed to consider the pointed criticisms of that methodology (587, and nn. 44–47, noting especially objections raised by Stephen Quirke). Unsurprisingly, given Sherbiny's disavowal of ur-text as an artificial construct, he rejects the application of text criticism to the Bo2W and raises numerous, cogent objections to the basic premises of that methodology and its use elsewhere in Egyptology (e.g., 588–593). Irrespective of one's personal stake, or lack thereof, in the validity of text criticism, this section of *Through Hermopolitan Lenses* offers many useful insights and constitutes one of the most compelling discussions in the volume.

The final, and longest, section of concluding remarks

delves into the always thorny issue of "meaning" and interpretation of the ancient text (593–608). After discussing briefly the problems inherent in such an endeavor, Sherbiny outlines his position that the Bo2W lacks the formal narrative structure of later cosmological works, such as the Amduat and Book of Gates, which were possessed of a distinct beginning, middle, and end. Furthermore, he rejects the frequent assumption that the Bo2W was concerned primarily with the journey of the deceased through the Hereafter (595). In his discussion of meaning, Sherbiny is careful to differentiate between the function of the work as an originally first person recitation, and its repurposing as a mortuary text spoken by an unidentified third person; as a matter of feasible investigation, the author focuses exclusively upon meaning in the latter context, as attested in the surviving sources (596). In this regard, the author notes that the individual themes and motifs present in the Bo2W are not unique in and of themselves, being well attested elsewhere in the CT corpus (et al.).

Two addenda follow (609–612), with additional comments on sources that became available to the author after principle work on his original dissertation had been completed, namely, two coffins excavated by the German Archaeological Institute at Dra Abu el-Naga and three coffins in the collection of the Yale University Art Gallery. The volume concludes with a list of abbreviations (613–614), Bibliography (617–652), an index of Egyptian terms in transliteration (652–658), a general index (659–662), and 32, full-color plates of all relevant coffin sections, newly photographed (665–696).

The only major criticism that this reviewer can level against Sherbiny's monograph concerns the author's decision to include only scattered selections from certain hieroglyphic texts, and likewise only occasional selections in transliteration. In the overwhelming majority of cases, Sherbiny supplies only translations and their commentary. Thus, despite the generally sound nature of those contributions, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses* cannot stand on its own as a single-volume reference for the Book of Two Ways but must be consulted instead in conjunction with the hieroglyphic edition of De Buck's *Coffin Texts VII*. Fortunately, this criticism is mediated by free access to the latter volume, through the website of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Of course, inclusion of complete transliterations and/or hieroglyphic transcriptions would have extended significantly an already massive volume. Nevertheless, this reviewer cannot help but view the omission of the primary, hieroglyphic data as a missed opportunity, which would have increase greatly the work's utility.

In the introduction to the volume, the author notes that principal work on his original dissertation was completed in 2007 and that additional bibliography since that time has been kept to a minimum (xxiii). That decision appears somewhat curious, if not ill-advised, given the passage of a full decade between the dissertation and published volume (e.g., see above, re. cryptography in chapter 3). At a minimum, the reader should add to the bibliography two works by the same author, published in the same year as the present monograph: W. Sherbiny, "The Earliest Source of the So-Called Book of Two Ways as a Coffin Floorboard Decoration from the Early Middle Kingdom," in Tomaden and Popielska-Gryzbowska, eds., *Egypt 2015: Perspectives of Research* (Oxford 2017), 87–96; and idem, "The So-Called Book of Two Ways on a Middle Kingdom Religious Leather Roll," in Rosati and Guidotti, eds., *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists* (Oxford, 2017), 594–596.

Other criticisms are relatively minor. Thus, for example, Sherbiny's differentiation between Bo2W "compositions" (16, italics original) as occurring exclusively on coffins from Bersha, versus "textual and pictorial variants of a section thereof" could have been explained and/or justified better. Likewise, to this reviewer, the preference shown to longer and more detailed variants as the only real "*compositions*" seems rather artificial and not particularly convincing, although it is possible that such concerns may be alleviated in Sherbiny's planned second volume. Other, scattered issues include certain line drawings that appear at low resolution, resulting in fuzzy and indistinct images (e.g., 26, fig 3), as well as select photographs that appear out of focus (e.g., 520, fig. 216; 670, pl. 6; 682, pl. 18) or are simply too dark or faded to provide any useful points of comparison (e.g., 62, fig. 41; 109, fig. 82; 673, pls. 9A–B). In addition, while Sherbiny's introductory chapter outlines clearly the various sources on which the Bo2W occurs, it does not formally define the corpus itself—i.e., the specific sequence of CT spell numbers—until the second chapter, some 98 pages into the volume.

To conclude, there is no doubt that prior scholarship on the Bo2W may be characterized broadly as eclectic, if not outright confusing, due to the lack of standardized terminology, significant differences of opinion with regard to the divisions of the text, and a general failure to integrate the texts with their associated iconography. Sherbiny's study addresses each of these points, correcting weaknesses in many, formerly standard works on the subject and synthesizing their most useful contributions with new insights derived through the author's holistic (i.e., text + image) approach to the material. As such, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses* will be indispensable to any future study of the Bo2W. Furthermore, it appears inarguable that his divisions of the various texts, and their treatment in conjunction with the corresponding pictorial elements, reflects much more closely the presumable conception and intent of the ancient authors than earlier, purely text-based approaches. As such, Sherbiny's organization of the Bo2W should be regarded as the new standard for citation of the ancient composition, in con-

junction with the standard CT spell numbers, devised by De Buck. In closing, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses* supersedes all prior, English language studies and translations of the Book of Two Ways (most notably, those of Piankoff, Faulkner, and Lesko) and belongs on the bookshelf of any scholar or layperson with an interest in ancient Egyptian religious texts and representations.

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Jean Li. *Women, Gender, and Identity in Third Intermediate Period Egypt* (London, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017). ISBN 9781138125421. Pp. 186.

Jean Li's volume utilizes the material culture of burials in order to discuss gender and the construction of identity during Egypt's Third Intermediate Period. The introduction (1–9) provides a concise summary of prior studies on women and gender in Egyptology. The author notes that scholars have not explored sufficiently questions relating to individual identity and, in particular, women's individual perceptions of their identities. The author then explains that Thebes was chosen as the main focus for her study based on the available evidence, particularly the published evidence concerning women (4–5). From there, Li discusses methodology, noting in particular her "feminist archaeological approach" (6) to the analysis of the burials and objects that comprise her corpus. The introduction concludes with the subject of female agency, and the author's open question as to whether studies like this one can redefine our understanding of it (7).

Within the first chapter (10–21), Li provides the reader with a basic introduction to the history and issues surrounding the Third Intermediate Period. This chapter serves to highlight the power struggle between Libyan, Kushite and Saite control of ancient Egypt at that time. The author also introduces the idea of women's prominence in "cultural production" (8), which she defines as the "prominence of women in cultural practices" (21). Li states that this is visible through the material culture and is expressed within this study through burial goods (21). Identity and status begin to be addressed within the second chapter (22–55) through elite women's titles of the Third Intermediate Period. The author discusses eight titles (28–40), including "Lady of the House," "Noble Woman," "Singer in the Residence of the temple of Amen," "Chantress of Amun," "Sistrum Player," "Nurse," "Scribe," and "Attendant." Li relies on the most current scholarship concerning these titles and therefore provides an in-depth historiography for each title. Based on this discussion, Li surmises that titles were an expression of identity (43). The author notes three patterns in the corpus of titles: Women might hold multiple titles but no more than four; women's titles emphasized their social status in comparison to other women, rather than their "gender status" as compared to men and men's titles; and there appears to have been a restriction on the number of titles nonroyal women might possess (51). Li then compares the findings from the Third Intermediate Period to data from the New Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and Old Kingdom.

The third chapter (56–112) discusses the mortuary landscape of Thebes, focusing on six key sites: Medinet Habu, the Ramesseum, the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri, the Valley of the Queens, the tomb of Kheruef (TT192) at el-Asasif, and the tomb of Djehuty (TT11) at Dra' Abu el-Naga. The author divides these locations into two categories: the reuse of temples as necropoli and the reuse of tombs. Each category contributes to the construction of female identity through texts—primarily female titles—and artifacts associated with these burials. Li utilizes this data to examine different identities that women possessed during the Third Intermediate Period, for example, Chantresses buried together within temple complexes, as an expression of group identity (108–109).

Chapter four (113–159) delves into the "symbolic economy of mortuary practices" (113). Li divides the corpus of burial goods into five main categories: coffins, ushabtis, stelae, canopic jars, funerary papyri, and miscellaneous, including, e.g., animal mummies and painted figurines. Following a lengthy discussion of each category and the economics of death and burial, Li quantifies her data further with a series of helpful charts, which illustrate her contention that titles do not always equate to status (115–114). The author discusses the fact that numerous women bearing only the relatively modest title "Lady of the House" possessed relatively affluent burials or grave goods. Thus, for example, in the case of coffin use, 43 out of 58 women from Li's corpus possessed coffins, but only a handful of coffin owners bore the relatively high-status titles of "Chantress" (seven exemplars) or "Singer" (three exemplars), versus eighteen holding the title "Lady of the House" and fifteen holding no title at all (130, 137, table 4.3a). Li concludes the volume (160–166) with a note that her study is in no way comprehensive, marking the work as an excellent starting point for future studies concerning gender and identity.

Li's arguments and analyses are shaped throughout by her utilization of feminism as a theoretical framework for understanding the phenomenon of tomb reuse. Li notes that women who bore what are considered to be higher status titles were not buried with their husbands. Instead, they were buried in family tombs with their fathers, who often held lower status titles than their daughters. This is not only indicative of agency but, as Li suggests, challenges the traditional idea that women derived their status from male relatives in life and in death. Unfortunately, the author does not expand upon this theory, which comes rather as a con-

cluding remark within Chapter three (85–86). One wonders if this pattern is limited to the Third Intermediate Period, or if similar phenomena might occur in other periods of Egypt's history. However, this would comprise a study in and of itself. Overall, Li's work demonstrates successfully how a feminist theoretical framework might be utilized in an object-oriented approach to gender and identity studies. This is evident particularly in her use of objects as a form of secondary agency (113–114), which she defines as an object's ability "to elicit certain modes of behaviors and actions" by "acting as an extension of a primary agent," the primary agent being the tomb owner (113). The author posits that the proximity of an object to the deceased, and the material the object is comprised of, could be an indicator of agency. Li explicates this concept partially in her discussion of coffin scenes and how these scenes constitute an expression of individuality (118). While this section was particularly interesting, this reviewer would like to have seen the concept of secondary agency discussed further in terms of other burial goods, such as canopic jars.

Li states her research goals clearly and the methods she utilizes to reach those goals are direct. The author is succinct in her writing and provides enough detail for the reader to follow her thought process and argumentation. Her work provides an excellent framework for future studies concerning women and identity and also breaks new ground with its discussion of women as individuals, rather than as a monolithic group. *Women, Gender and Identity in Third Intermediate Period Egypt* would be a great asset to upper level undergraduates and graduate students studying issues of identity and gender within an ancient Egyptian context; for the latter group, it offers an instructive model for students conducting research on these issues. The introduction, first, and second chapters are accessible for a lay person, however the work becomes increasingly technical by the third chapter, and it is for this reason the reviewer recommends the study primarily for students and scholars interested in the Third Intermediate Period or issues of women, gender, and identity.

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