

## Book Reviews

Mary Ann Eaverly. *Tan Men/Pale Women. Color and Gender in Archaic Greece and Egypt, a Comparative Approach* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013). ISBN 978-0-11911-0. Pp x + 181.

The title of the book is doubtless based on a Eurocentric visual perception of ancient Egyptian works of art and images on Attic black figure vase painting, in which color employed for the skin of men is perceptibly darker than that used for women (surprisingly, neither G. Robins, "The Image of the Queen" nor L. Troy, "The Religious Role of the Queens," in C. Ziegler, ed., *Queens of Egypt from Hetepheres to Cleopatra* [Paris, 2008], 116-33 and 152-73, respectively, address this issue). As such the author examines the validity of the statement that this bipolar color differentiation of gender is based on the generally held platitude that the skin of men is painted darker as a reflection of their traditional outdoor spheres of activity whereas that of women, because they were putatively sequestered within the home (W. Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom. The Archaeology of Female Burials* [Philadelphia, 2014], 2, for a succinct synopsis of the status of Egyptian women) is pale and wan.

In presenting her case, the author first deals with Egypt and finds validity in the generalization that the gender of human and divine images in ancient Egyptian art is differentiated by color. In an attempt to determine the significance of this practice, the author then focuses her attention on the self-representation of Hatshepsut and images created under the reign of Akhenaten. She concludes that during the reign of the former, "color differentiation is closely connected to religious ideology" whereas in the reign of the latter, the "switch to reddish brown for both males and females is but one of the many changes used to support the new ideology" (82).

Accepting the suggestion that this Egyptian dark/light polychromatic differentiation of gender was embraced by the Greeks, she then traces the development of Greek vase painting in the first millennium BC and states that the practice of gender differentiation on the basis of color is particular to the painters of Attic black figure vases. She concludes, "Color expressed underly-

ing polarization of male and female that was a key organizing principle of ancient Athenian society" (156).

One now needs to examine her evidence in greater detail, and I will do so by concentrating primarily on the Egyptian evidence because of the focus of this journal. Whereas it is true that the visual depiction of skin tones of men is generally darker than that of women in ancient Egyptian art, the use of reds and yellows can not be "considered opposites" (9). The Egyptian lexicon contains four color-words. Among these is *dšr*, which I will employ instead of "red" in this review, encompassing all of the ranges of hue and value represented by the red-orange-yellow bands of the Western color spectrum. There is no identifiable Egyptian word for either orange or yellow (J. Baines, *Visual & Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* [Oxford, 2007], 248), both of which are incorporated into the connotations of *dšr*. As color theorists have pointed out, there is no unique color red (C. Hardin, *Color for Philosophers. Unweaving the Rainbow* [Indianapolis/Cambridge, 1986], 39 and 162), and that observation has been confirmed by studies about the hues and values exhibited by images painted *dšr* in ancient Egyptian art (inter alia, Baines [2007], 250). Can one, therefore, be absolutely confident that the color one perceives on any given object is actually red, and not a color approaching orange or yellow? The issue is exemplified by attempting to describe the color of the skin of Djoser on his enthroned statue in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 49158: J.-P. Corteggiani, *The Egypt of the Pharaohs at the Cairo Museum* [trans. A. Roberts] [Paris, 1987], 32-33. no. 10, "the ochre colouring has practically vanished.").

Furthermore, one cannot accept the author's statement, "Male dark-brown coloring is the 'default setting' for hieroglyphs that indicate parts of the human body" (22). Such a position completely disregards the observation that the two most quintessential hieroglyphs for representing parts of a human being are the human head, either depicted in profile as *tp* (Gardiner Sign List D1) or in full-face as *hr* (Gardiner Sign List D2). Both hieroglyphs are male, as the presence of the beard on the chin of each demonstrates. In accordance with ancient Egyptian artistic conventions *tp* (D 1) is habitually painted yellow, *hr* (D 2) red (Y. Volokhine, in

G. Andreu-Lanoe, ed., *L'art du contour. Le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne* [Paris, 2013], 60–61). This epigraphic evidence alone seriously erodes the author's argument.

Because the color *dšr* is imbued with so many different, and at times mutually contradictory symbolic connotations—fire, blood, evil, death, the sun, gold, the desert, ad nauseam, one has difficulty in supporting the author's fixation and insistence upon the exclusively male-dominated associations of images painted *dšr* in Egyptian art. Such a position completely ignores the fundamental polyvalence inherent in all ancient Egyptian images and their associated colors (inter alia, the remarks of both B. Mathieu, "Les couleurs dans les Textes des Pyramides: approche des systèmes chromatiques," *ENiM* 2 [2009], 25–52; and O. Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor. Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs* [Fribourg/Göttingen, 1995], 69–70).

The author's discussion about the purpose of *dšr* employed for images of Hatshepsut requires scrutiny. In discussing that monarch's statuary, she detects a progression from yellow-colored images to reddish-brown colored images, the objective of which, she asserts, was to define that monarch's pharaonic ideology. "The fact that she [=Hatshepsut] felt it necessary to change her image to one that was completely male suggests that her biological gender did cause a problem for the Egyptians" (67). A. Roth ("Models of Authority. Hatshepsut's Predecessors in Power," in C. Roehrig, ed., *Hatshepsut from Queen to Monarch* [New York/New Haven/London, 2005], 9), sees things very differently indeed: "It was thus important for images of Hatshepsut to identify her correctly. Her femininity was an essential part of her identity, and images that showed a fictional, nonexistent male named Hatshepsut would not be effective." Consequently a significant objective of Hatshepsut's public self-portrayal was to establish her legitimacy (S. Schoske, "The King: The Case of Hatshepsut," in C. Ziegler, ed., *Queens of Egypt from Hetepheres to Cleopatra* [Paris, 2013], 194–98), and that process was quickened by an archaizing interest in the monuments of Middle Kingdom, a period of time in which the color of the skin of some royal women was in fact *dšr* (Geneva 4766: J.-L. Chappaz, "69. Fragmentary statuette of a Queen," in Ziegler, *Queens of Egypt*, 266, where he very misleadingly and erroneously states, "The dark complexion ... violates one of the rules of Egyptian art, according to which women are always represented with light-colored skin;" and Munich ÄS 1621: S. Schoske, in Ziegler, *Queens of Egypt*, 289, no. 194, where she observes that in her images Kemsit is, "Depicted with dark skin," although it is questionable whether this particular colorization is a racial index).

Any discussion about the use of *dšr* for the color of skin of both men and women during the Amarna period

must be sited within the development of wall painting during the course of Dynasty 18 in general. Whereas there may be scholarly debate about the date of any given tomb located in Western Thebes within that period, there is, nevertheless, a documentable development which results in the use of *dšr* for depictions of the skin of certain women prior to the Amarna period (R. Bianchi, "On the Nature of Egyptian Painting" and "An Assessment of the Wall Paintings," in The J. Paul Getty Museum and The Getty Conservation Institute, *In the Tomb of Nefertari. Conservation of the Wall Paintings* [Santa Monica, 1992], 56–65 and 66–71, respectively). The color of the skin of the female musicians from Neferhotop's Theban Tomb A 22 (Paris N 3319 [=D 60]: L. Manniche, "Provenance of Louvre D 60," *GM* 29 [1978], 85–88; and C. Ziegler, in Ziegler, *Queens of Egypt*, 274, no. 83 and 277], datable to the middle of the dynasty, combines various values of *dšr* in one and the same female figure. The skin of some, but not all, of the women depicted in the Tomb of Nakht (Theban Tomb 52) (N. Davies, *Nakht*, 57–58; S. Hodel-Hoernes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt. Scenes from Private Tombs in New Kingdom Thebes* [trans. D. Warburton] [Ithaca/London, 1991], 28, datable to the reign of Thutmose IV or the early part of that of Amenhotep III) is painted in values of *dšr* (D. Wildung, *Ägyptische Malerei. Das Grab des Nacht* [Munich/Zurich, 1978], 54–55, "Die beiden Mädchen ... Flächig sind die Farben nebeneinander gesetzt, ... das Hellrot der Haut...") which must, of course, be distinguished from the famous trio of female musicians from that same tomb (for which see the comments by V. Angenot, "Copy and Reinterpretation in the Tomb of Nakht: Ancient Egyptian Hermeneutics," in K. Muhlestein and J. Gee, eds., *Evolving Egypt: Innovation, Appropriation, and Reinterpretation in Ancient Egypt* [Oxford, 2012], 53, "most likely inspired by a painting in the tomb of Djeserkaraseneb...") whose bodies were subsequently coated with a layer of varnish (E. Delange, "Couleur vraie," in S. Colinart and M. Menu, eds., *La couleur dans la peinture et l'émaillage de l'Égypte ancienne* [Bari, 1998], 25–29). By the time the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuki (Theban Tomb 181) was decorated in the latter part of Dynasty XVIII, *dšr* had become established as a canonical color for the skin of certain women (Bianchi, in *In the Tomb of Nefertari*, 63, fig. 33). This polychromatic convention cannot, therefore, be attributed to any policy enacted by Akhenaten, but must be regarded as part of a developing polychromatic interest on the part of ancient Egyptian ateliers which culminated in the use of nuanced values of *dšr* in some of the facial images of Nofertari in her tomb (VQ 66) in the Valley of the Queens (Bianchi, in *In the Tomb of Nefertari*, 66–71).

I leave it to others to make specific comments about the author's particular arguments in her chapters on

Greek vase painting, but will observe that she, following others, posits an Egyptian influence on Greek art with regard to the bipolar differentiation of gender which, she claims, is characteristic of the production of Attic black figure ceramics. This line of reasoning is based in part on the oeuvre of the Nessos Painter who stands out as one of the first “personalities” among the Pioneers, a designation applied to any group of anonymous Athenian vase painters responsible for the codification of the conventions of black figure in the closing decades of the seventh century BC (J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* [New York, 1974], 14–16). It has often been suggested that the Nessos Painter employed “the ‘male = red, female = white’ conventions of Egyptian art” (Boardman, 26). Such a suggestion must be evaluated against Egyptian monuments contemporary with the production of Attic black figure vase painting because the tombs of Dynasty 26, the Saite period (664–525 BC), at Thebes in the Asasif provide an ample corpus of Egyptian art contemporary with that Attic ceramic production. The oeuvre of the Nessos Painter (about 635–600 BC) is roughly contemporary with the career of Aba, who is attested to having been exercising his office in Regnal Year 26 (=639 BC) of pharaoh Psametik I (K. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, “Vorbericht über die Aufnahmearbeiten im Grab des *Jbj* (Theban Nr. 36),” *MDAIK* 28 [1972], 201–11). The Egyptologists who have published this tomb of Aba have stated that images of the women are there represented either in a smaller or a larger scale. Those in the smaller scale are painted “gelb,” those in the larger “rosa,” whereas the men are painted “rotbraun, gelegentlich hellrot” (K. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun* [Mainz am Rhein, 1983], 21). The purposeful use of varying values of *dšr* in the representations of skin of human figures, both male and female, in this tomb is clearly not an example of the Egyptian use of color for a bipolar differentiation of gender. Here, as in other cases dealing with the material culture of Egypt and its impact on the critical gestation period of what was to become the Greek miracle (R. Bianchi, “Der archaische griechische Kouros und der ägyptische kanonische Bildnistypus der streitenden männlichen Figur,” in *Das Städel, Ägypten Griechenland Rom—Abwehr und Berührung. Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie 26. November 2005–26. Februar 2006* [Frankfurt 2006], 65–73), generalizations about Egyptian artistic conventions are a risky business at best. Might this Egyptian polychromatic polyvalence be extended as well to discussions of figures on Attic black figure pottery, particularly on which the use of bipolar differentiation of color as an index of gender may not be the sole reason for its presence (inter alia, D. Paleothodoros, “Light and Darkness in Dio-

nysiac Rituals as Illustrated on Attic Vase Paintings of the 5th Century,” and N. Marinatos, “Light and Darkness and Archaic Greek Cosmography,” in C. Menelaos, E. Karakantza, and O. Levaniouk, eds., *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion* [Lanham, Md., 2010], 237–60 and 193–200, respectively)?

I could not agree more with the author when she states, “More work remains to be done” (158).

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Battiscombe Gunn, edited by R. Simpson. *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, second edition, including previously unpublished chapters (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2012). ISBN 978-0-900416-91-0. Pp. 305, with six tables of concordance and two Appendices.

The present volume collects, in unaltered facsimile, Gunn’s original *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, which has remained out of print since the first edition of 1924. In addition, the editor has collected from the Griffith Institute archives a further five chapters and two extended “Notes,” all of which are published here for the first time. Content from the original *Studies* accounts for the first two-thirds of the volume, including the author’s Preface, Notes, and Corrections (vii–xxvii), followed by twenty-seven chapters, arranged in three parts (“Prospective Forms,” 1–44; “Miscellaneous Articles,” 45–82; and “The Syntactic Use of the Negative Words *n* and *nn* in Middle Egyptian,” 83–202). The facsimile is crisp and clean, reproducing the original fonts, including transliteration, hieroglyphs, and hieratic, with no noticeable degradation in print quality.

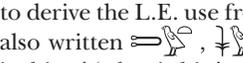
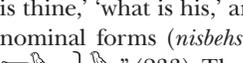
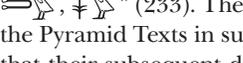
The remainder of the book includes additions by the editor and newly collected material, transcribed and retyped from Gunn’s original notes. A “Note on References and Abbreviations” (207–10) assembles a supplemental bibliography of works that were not included in Gunn’s original *Studies*, allowing the reader to easily locate modern editions of texts cited in the newly published chapters. Following this, Simpson provides a concordance of Coffin Texts (211–17), arranged by source and cross-referenced to the standard edition of De Buck. The editor’s “Preface to the Second Edition” (219–28) provides a historical background to the original publication, the state of the manuscripts consulted for the second edition, justifications for their inclusion or omission from the present volume, an account of the editorial principles employed, and the editor’s thoughts on the relevance of Gunn’s work to

modern scholarship. The five newly published chapters include “A Use of the Plural Demonstratives *ip.n*, *ipt.n* in Middle Egyptian” (229–32); “On the Etymology of the Late Egyptian Possessives *t-w*, *s-w*” (233–37); “A Man to Be Confided In” (238–41); “An Old Word for ‘Likewise,’ ‘Also’” (242–49); and “The Word *ih* as Adverb in Old and Middle Egyptian” (250–71). Two appendices round out the volume (273–305), consisting of numerous, preparatory notes on the negative words *tm* and (*j*)*m*. The editor cites (222) the influence of this last material on Gardiner’s compendious *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1994, reprint of third edition, xiii–ix) as the principle rationale for inclusion of the appendices alongside the more polished chapters.

The content and significance of the twenty-seven chapters that comprise the original *Studies* are well known to Egyptologists and require little additional comment. Suffice to say, Gunn’s contributions to our modern understanding of the ancient Egyptian language extend far beyond “Gunn’s Rule” (e.g., A. Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction* [Cambridge, 1995], 209–10, §7.8.1) of past and present tense negation (93–126; for the designation—obviously not coined by the author himself—see comments by Gardiner, excerpted at 220). Of course, it is inevitable that some of Gunn’s conclusions have been re-examined or challenged in the ninety years since the *Studies* first appeared, as noted already in the Preface to the second edition of Gardiner’s *Grammar* (compare, e.g., H. J. Polotsky, “Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 6 [1976], §4.1, 44–46; R. Hannig, “Die neue Gunnsche Regel,” in F. Junge, ed., *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* [Göttingen, 1984], 63–70; P. Vernus, “‘Ritual’ *sdm.n.f* and Some Values of the ‘Accompli’ in the Bible and in the Koran,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity* [Jerusalem, 1985], 307–16). Nevertheless, the enduring influence of this landmark work, characterized above all by its meticulous and exhaustive collection of examples and counter-examples, stands as a testament to the brilliance of its author and serves also as the “gold standard” for subsequent philological research (cf. comments by the author, at viii, and editor, at 226–27).

For readers acquainted already with the first edition, the most interesting aspect of this updated volume will undoubtedly lie in the newly published chapters and appendices. Of course, many of the issues that Gunn examined have been investigated since by other scholars, without recourse to this previously unpublished material. It seems advisable, therefore, to address these chapters in more detail, with select reference to subsequent scholarship. The first of the new chapters (Ch. 28, 229–32) concerns the archaic demonstrative *jp(t)*

*n*, *m*./(*f*) pl., “these,” which Gunn shows to have survived as a productive, if not particularly common, construction in the Middle Kingdom, with archaizing use attested as late as the New Kingdom (contra an earlier position of Erman). An account of this rare M.E. usage, including some of the examples that Gunn cited, appears in M. Malaise and J. Winand, *Grammaire raisonnée de l’égyptien classique* (Liège, 1999), §§177–179. Given that Gunn’s earlier investigation collects the most comprehensive list of post-Old Kingdom attestations, it should now be recognized as the standard account of this construction in Middle Egyptian (for Old Egyptian use, see A. Edel, *Allägyptische Grammatik* [Rome, 1955], vol. 1, §§182–84; and J. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Language* [Cambridge, 2013], 65 and n. 17; on the prehistoric origins of the construction, see also H.-J. Sasse, “Notes on the prefixation of \*ʔa- in Afroasiatic,” in Menden, Daniela, and Ulrike, eds., *Ägypten im Afro-Orientalischen Kontext* [Cologne, 1991], 271–77; and W. Schenkel, “Zum hamitosemitischen ʔa-Präfix im Ägypten,” *Lingua Aegyptia* 3 [1993], 153–54).

Chapter 29 offers a new etymology for the Late Egyptian second and third person masculine, possessive independent pronouns *tw(t)* and *sw(t)*; (for usage, see J. Černý and S. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, third edition [Rome, 1993], §2.2.) Against earlier suggestions by Gardiner, who traced the forms back to dependent *tw* and *sw*, and Sethe, who favored the Old Egyptian independent forms *twt* and *swt*, Gunn sought to derive the L.E. use from “the words , also written , which seem to mean ‘what is thine,’ ‘what is his,’ and which are perhaps feminine nominal forms (*nisbehs?*) derived from the pronouns ” (233). The author cites six examples from the Pyramid Texts in support of his claim and suggests that their subsequent disappearance and proposed re-appearance in the guise of L.E. syllabic orthography probably reflect the transmission of a spoken idiom. Gunn then tests his hypothesis against several additional examples of the L.E. construction, which were not included in Gardiner’s earlier article. It is noteworthy that Gunn alludes briefly to his (then unpublished) discussion of the word *swjt* in a short article (B. Gunn, “‘Finger-numbering’ in the Pyramid Texts,” *ZÄS* 57 [1922], 72, n. 1), to which Edel later referred in his *Allägyptische Grammatik* (vol. 1, §375). Against Gunn’s interpretation, Edel proposed that third person *swjt* might instead represent an adjective from *swj*, “(to be) bad; sick.” The second person *twjt*, “that which is yours” (PT 648b = Gunn’s example 2), Edel recognized as an apparently new usage, although he rejected the possibility that its construction might be the same as that of *swjt*. Given the expanded discussion and additional examples that Gunn treats in his newly

published chapter, and given the intriguing connection he proposes to the L.E. possessive pronouns, it would appear that Edel's stance on *twjt* and *swjt* might now require reassessment.

Chapter 30, "A Man to be Confided in," concerns the construction NOUN + *nj* + INFINITIVE + OBJECT, with the sense of "a person for whose benefit something ought to be done." As Gunn notes (238), his discussion serves as an addendum to an earlier account by Sethe (*Verbum*, §554), amplified here with sixteen additional examples, illustrating a wider semantic range for the basic construction (more recently, compare J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* [Cambridge, 2010, second edition], §14.10; Malaise and Winand, *Grammaire raisonnée*, §704).

Chapter 31, divided into two parts, addresses "an old adverb related to  $\overline{w}j$  / 'like,' and meaning 'likewise,' 'similarly,' 'accordingly,' 'also'... variously written *mrii* or *mry* (Pyr.), *mr* (Pyr.), *mii* or *my*, and *mi*" (242). In part I, Gunn enumerates thirteen examples of this adverb, drawn exclusively from "old or archaizing documents" (242), including Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, various Books of the Dead, and the Ebers papyrus; following these examples, the author provides a short table outlining the word's orthographic variation in different periods (245–46). Part II concerns the relation of the old adverb to its apparent successors, *m mjt*, "likewise," and *r mjt*, "also." The use, with select examples, of the old adverb *m(r)j(j)* has now found its way into some of the standard Egyptian grammars, e.g., Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 2, §751d; Malaise and Winand, *Grammaire raisonnée*, §296. However, Gunn's account remains very useful, both for its comprehensive, diachronic exposition, and for the author's careful attention to semantic nuances of the adverb and its successor constructions.

At twenty-one pages, Chapter 32, concerning the (non-interrogative) word *jh* in Old and Middle Egyptian is by far the longest new addition to Gunn's *Studies* (note that the author's classification of the nonenclitic particle as an adverb, the syntactic position of which he admits to being "abnormal" [252, n. 1], might strike some readers as peculiar). The author begins with a quick survey of scholarly consensus from his day, which tended toward the view that O.E. & M.E. *jh* was employed (as in L.E.) with optative sense: *jh sdm=f*, "O, let him hear!" (250). Over the following six sections, Gunn enumerates some sixty-eight examples, grouped according to the kind of sentences that precede the *jh*-fronted clause, in support of his central argument that *jh* in O.E. and M.E. functions as an indicator of sequential action, equivalent to English "therefore; wherefore; so; then," or the like (251–52). Of course, as the editor notes (221–22), Gardiner acknowledged his debt to Gunn with regard to this interpretation of

*jh* already in the first edition of his *Egyptian Grammar* (xiv). Subsequent scholarship has generally followed suit (compare thus, Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §16.6.3; Malaise and Winand, *Grammaire raisonnée*, §420). However, Depuydt has recently challenged the notion of *jh* as an indicator of contingency (i.e., "if ... then"), against a strongly worded position by Jansen-Winkel, and argues instead for a feature that Depuydt terms "sentence anaphora"—a sort of pause reflecting back upon the preceding sentence (L. Depuydt, "The Function of the Particle *jh* in Old and Middle Egyptian," in S. Thompson and P. Der Manuelian, eds., *Egypt and Beyond* (Providence, 2008), 92–93, n. 5ff). The relative merits of these two positions can now be measured against the extensive corpus of examples upon which Gunn originally established the particle's basic, sequential character in Old and Middle Egyptian.

In closing, it is fair to say that R. Simpson has presented an invaluable gift to students and scholars of the ancient Egyptian language, through the publication of this significantly expanded edition of Gunn's seminal *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*. It is a volume that has aged with remarkable grace over the past century and that will doubtless continue to influence current and future generations of Egyptologists for years to come.

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Nicola Harrington. *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books, 2013). ISBN 978-84217-493-7. Pp. 200, with four tables and 55 figures.

*Living with the Dead* offers a concise introduction to the iconography, terminology, and material culture that scholars group conventionally under the heading of "ancestor worship" in ancient Egypt. The study was based upon the author's 2010 doctoral thesis, completed at Oxford University. In the Introduction (ix–xi), Harrington provides a brief survey of prior literature and offers a rationale for her inclusion of numerous ethnographic parallels from a wide range of non-Egyptian sources. The author explains that the function of these parallels "is to show that the ancient Egyptians were not alone in their behavior in relation to events such as death and childbirth, and to offer insights from other cultures where relevant evidence is lacking" (ix).

The first chapter (1–27) of Harrington's study concerns the nature, form and function of the dead, as re-

flected in Egyptian iconography and texts. The author summarizes the constituent parts of the individual and the native terminology referring to its various physical and nonphysical elements (1–15). She then discusses the ways in which Egyptian artists distinguished the dead from the living, through the use of hieroglyphic emblems and epithets, including certain ambiguous cases (e.g., application of the “true-of-voice” epithet (*mꜣꜥ-hrw*) to apparently living individuals; 15, n. 132). Finally, Harrington addresses the status of the malevolent dead and their role as ghostly antagonists of the living (22–27). A short concluding section establishes the premise that informs the remainder of the volume, namely, “that the Egyptians viewed their dead as both powerful and vulnerable. This understanding formed the basis of the reciprocal relationship between the living and the dead” (27).

Chapter 2 (28–64) introduces the author’s distinction between mortuary ritual/cult and ancestor worship. Harrington defines mortuary cult as “ritual action in relation to the dead,” as expressed through offerings, festival meals, and the creation of certain types of monuments, exclusive of burials (28). By contrast, the category of ancestor worship is described primarily in terms of “rite-of-passage ceremonies,” as attested through burials. Short sections surveying evidence for the mortuary cult include Letters to the Dead (34–37), breaking the red pots and associated rituals (37–40), cult statues (49), ancestor busts (49–59), stelae (59–60), offering tables and libation basins (61–62), and banquet scenes (62). A concluding summary (63–64) closes with the observation that mortuary cults rarely continued beyond two generations—a theme to which the author returns in Chapter 5.

The third chapter (65–102) concerns places in which the living might interact with the dead. A majority of the chapter is devoted to evidence from the domestic sphere (65–86), including discussions of architecture, wall decoration, cult objects (stelae, statues, etc.), incense and burning practices, objects buried beneath houses, and objects with less-obvious mortuary associations (e.g. divine statues). Shorter sections follow on tombs, tomb chapels, and courtyards (86–97), chapels or shrines associated with houses (97–99), and temples (99–101). A concluding section (101–102) establishes a hierarchy of declining accessibility to the divine, based on evidence from Deir el-Medina. According to this model, the home represents the zenith of personal and local religion, focused upon ancestors and domestic gods; by contrast, the tomb and shrine, respectively, reveal increasing emphasis on local and state gods; the temple appears at the opposite pole, wherein state religion and access to national gods were mediated by priests or other officials.

The fourth chapter focuses upon funerals (103–12), festivals, and banquets (113–22) as specific times during which the living actively sought interaction with the dead. The author’s analysis proceeds from the well-known genre of banquet scenes attested in numerous Theban tombs of the New Kingdom. Harrington concludes that “both the lack of inhibition and cynicism” reflected in the banquet scenes and associated texts “appear to mock the purpose of mortuary preparation” as “another facet of the ambivalence that the Egyptians felt towards death” (123).

Chapter 5 (124–45) explores seemingly “ambivalent” attitudes toward the dead in greater detail. The author begins with a discussion of selective remembrance via mortuary cult, versus the relatively short span of time—usually no more than two generations—in which individual cults typically persisted. Harrington equates this cycle of remembrance and forgetting, marked by cessation of the cult, with the practical limits of living memory. Instances in which mortuary cults might persist for significantly longer periods (citing five and even thirteen generations, 125, nn. 15–17) are explained as “a form of ancestor worship ... [but also] as an indicator of social position and background.” The following section (127–31) surveys instances of deliberate aggression against the dead, including the destruction of corpses and erasure of names and images. In addition, the author addresses the fear of vengeance against the living by the dead, as implied, e.g., in appeals for mortuary offerings, or as stated explicitly in threat formulae or curses directed against thieves and usurpers of monuments. The remainder of the chapter touches upon other behaviors that the author regards as evidence for ambivalent attitudes toward the deceased, including the reuse of mortuary structures and equipment (133–37), graffiti (137–39), and infant burial practices (139–44).

The sixth and final chapter (146–50) offers a brief summary of some of the book’s recurring themes, such as the dichotomy between the recently deceased and the collective dead, ambivalent attitudes and behaviors regarding death, and the reciprocal nature of the mortuary cult. The volume concludes with an extensive bibliography (151–95) and general index (197–200).

Some of the stylistic conventions, which Harrington employs, are potentially confusing. Citations in the footnotes do not differentiate between multiple authors with the same last name, forcing the reader to consult the bibliography repeatedly for clarification. The author also employs transliteration and vowel-enhanced transcriptions indiscriminately, without additional comment. For example, a discussion of “*akh iqer* stelae” on 19, includes the suggestion that a cloth, which the deceased holds, might be read as a hieroglyph in conjunction with the

figure itself, “as *s-3h* — transfigured, which would accord with the Egyptians use of rebuses and verbal puns.” However, unless one manages to intuit the connection between “*akh*” and its transliterated root *3h*, the author’s reference to punning will make little sense to the lay reader (the pun, in any event, being graphic/visual, as opposed to “verbal”).

Occasionally, Harrington glosses over the meaning of Egyptian terms in a manner that can be misleading. On page 1, for example, she mentions the “birthplace (*mshnt*),” as one of five personifications of individual destiny. However, the “birthplace” in question is not equivalent to the usual English sense of a town, region, etc., but refers specifically to the paired bricks upon which a mother squats or kneels when giving birth. This sense is evident also in the word’s use with reference to temples or the necropolis, where *mshnt* yields a sense of “resting place” (see *Wb.* II, 148.6–14). Furthermore, the article that Harrington cites at n. 6, in support of her translation, does not describe *mshnt* as a generic “birthplace,” but rather as “bricks of birth and destiny,” in accord with the conventional understanding of the term (Roth and Roehrig, “Magical bricks and Bricks of Birth,” *JEA* 88 [2002], 136–37).

This reviewer also found occasion to question the logic of several of Harrington’s arguments. For example, the author follows Zabkar’s well-known suggestion that the *ba* exists only after death (3, n. 20), adding: “In support of Zabkar’s hypothesis, it seems likely that the Dialogue Between a Man and His *Ba* represents an introspective philosophical debate between a man and his conscience.” Without additional explanation, the reader is left wondering why possession of a conscience implies that the *ba* exists only after death. Additionally, some sections of the narrative appear to contradict others. For example, the author’s statement (8) that “one of the most important features of the *akh* was its ability to communicate with the living—a feature seemingly not shared by the *ka*, *ba*, or shadow” directly contradicts a mortuary spell quoted at the top of the same page: “Go my *ba*, in order that that man may see you, as he passes his life ... (appear) in front of his sight ... in my form and in my true nature as a living *akh*.” Similarly, on 33, Harrington finds it “unlikely that bovinds were sacrificed for every funeral ... as implied by the decoration on tomb walls,” but states later (62) that “together with depictions in tombs, [archaeological evidence from TT 74] and museum material provide enough evidence to suggest that the banquets depicted in funerary/mortuary contexts signify actual or desired events.” The distinction here between “actual or desired” appears to this reviewer as a rather critical point. Unfortunately, subsequent discussion of festivals and banquets (113–22) does not resolve this ambiguity.

Occasionally, the author makes statements that are simply unsupported, for example, her assertion of Egyptian belief that “a corpse could not be reanimated” (27). In fact, numerous references from the Underworld Books describe, in text and image, the Egyptians’ belief that physical “corpses” (*h3wt*) of both humans and gods were active participants in the divine world, reanimated by the light of the passing sun, rising nightly from their burial mounds, and engaging in all manner of activities (see, e.g., E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* [Zurich and Munich, 1972], 38–40). Likewise, the Book of the Dead includes multiple references to the “flesh” (*jwf*), “bones” (*qs.w*), and “limbs” (*‘.wt*) of Osiris—the mummified corpse *par excellence*—reanimated upon the funeral bier (cf. BD 169–11). This reviewer also noted numerous instances of intriguing but nonetheless unproven speculation. For example: “The apparent sobriety [of figures in post-funeral meal scenes] may reflect the exhaustion and grief experienced by the family” (33); “It is possible that [Letters to the Dead] found *in situ* remained unfulfilled ... If, however, the petitioners received resolutions ... the letters might have been removed and destroyed” (35); “From the prominence of statues of the deceased [in the Old Kingdom], to statues of deities in 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs, there was a gradual decline in the salience of the individual” (49).

Ultimately, one wonders whom the author had in mind as the primary audience. The relative brevity of the core discussion (145 pages, excluding the concluding chapter), frequent use of normalized transcriptions (e.g., “*akh iqr* stelae”), inclusion of select or representative examples as opposed to more exhaustive citations, and the generalized character of the narrative itself are all consistent with a nonspecialist or popular treatment. However, the extensive use of footnotes, insertion of transliterated terms with minimal to no explanations for their use, the surprisingly robust bibliography (22% of the total page count), and the work’s origins as a doctoral thesis speak to an audience with more substantial Egyptological training.

As a popular work, *Living with the Dead* presents a serviceable introduction to the topics of ancestor worship and mortuary ritual. As a scholarly volume, it falls short of the depth one might expect from a monograph on these complex issues. Egyptologists will find little that is new, apart from the numerous ethnographic parallels. However, even these potentially interesting additions are cited with little to no explanation of their native contexts or other caveats, leading one to question to what extent such comparisons are truly apt.

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Melinda Hartwig, ed. *The Tomb Chapel of Menna (TT 69), The Art, Culture and Science of Painting in a Theban Tomb*. ARCE Conservation Series 5 (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2013). ISBN: 9789774165863. Pp. xvi + 210, with color illustrations.

The tomb of Menna at Sheikh Abdel Qurna in Thebes (TT69) is well-known to the regular traveler to Luxor. A well-preserved, small eighteenth-dynasty tomb, it bears highly colorful scenes on almost every surface. Yet, it has never been published, as with so many famous Theban tombs (PM I part 1 (second edition), 134–39). In 2002 Mahmoud Maher-Taha published *Le tombeau de Menna (TT. No. 69)*, a record of the work done in the tomb by the CEDAE.

Between 2007 and 2009 the work described in the present volume took place, supported by a major grant from USAID in 2004, administered via the ARCE Egyptian Antiquities Conservation Program. The aims were to document this remarkable tomb with “a combination of state-of-the-art, portable, interdisciplinary techniques that did not require physical contact with the wall” (2), to set new standards in the publication of a Theban tomb, and to document information previously beyond the reach of scholars and scientists.

The text is divided into an introduction plus seven chapters, grouped into sections on the chapel itself (Ch. 1–2), methods used (Ch. 3–6), and the tomb in context (Ch. 7). The first two chapters are most like the “traditional” tomb publication; the first examines the history of the tomb, previous work, architecture, Menna and his family, and the date of the tomb. The date, usually given as the reign of Thutmose IV, is revised, largely on stylistic criteria, to the later part of that of Amenhotep III. Chapter 2 covers a description of the decoration: each tomb wall is described and illustrated in color photographs and black and white line drawings; the texts are translated and (partially) transliterated. No excavation was undertaken; the results of Mond’s work here early in the twentieth century, such as they were, are summarized. Excavation does perhaps contradict the project’s aims of being noninvasive, but it would have answered a number of questions left unclear by Mond. Inevitably, the danger is that, with the tomb now checked-off in the literature as “published,” further investigation may never happen.

The second section is as much a report on methods used as in the presentation of results. Chapter 3 describes the instrumentation and methodology used for archaeometrical research in the tomb, including XRF, UV-vis-NIR and Raman spectroscopy, which required the use of scientific instruments rarely if ever used in the field in Egypt. Hartwig and her colleagues

are to be congratulated on obtaining the use of such sophisticated technology, which usually cannot be brought to Egypt because of either import restrictions or because they may fail in the tough environment of the Egyptian tomb; 94–95 detail the logistical issues, and in fact these items found their way to Egypt via the Belgian diplomatic bag, hardly a route most of us could wish for, and arguably an abuse of the diplomatic system! The results are presented under the headings of “Summary of Painting Materials,” “Pigments,” “Plasters,” “Mixtures,” and “Binding Agents and Coatings.” Samples of data and results are also given. Chapter 4 deals with Conservation, and the inclusion of such a report within this book is highly commendable. The photographic and digital epigraphic methods used for the documentation form the subject of Chapter 5. It is good to see how the color calibration and consistency of the images was achieved by the use of color samples, despite the variability of this as a method (126–27). Important observations are made to help future researchers about how such photographs can be adjusted to minimize distortion. The shortest section is in many ways the most interesting to this reviewer, namely how the digital facsimiles were produced, since I believe this is the first significant and large-scale use of such methods for painted decoration (the overwhelming bulk of such work, by, e.g., Manuelian and others, has been done on relief). It would have been fascinating to see more comments on the advantages and drawbacks of this technique. Chapter 6 will be the most useful part of this section for the Egyptologist, an analysis of the paintings; the first part presents the results of a subjective visual study and a second relates and expands on that with the quantifiable results obtained from the scientific research. This is a good overview of all that this project has learned about how the walls were composed, outlined and detailed.

Section 3 (Chapter 7) is a summary of the tomb decoration from the historical, religious and artistic perspectives, and all that this project has achieved.

Inevitably, every reviewer comes to a tomb publication with his/her own preferences and agendas. On receiving this book I was impressed by the use throughout of color photographs, and the eminently reasonable cost. Usually a tomb publication, due to its low print run and high demands on the printer and publisher, is much more expensive and has only a handful of color plates. This beautiful presentation at a relatively low cost can only be achieved with a higher than usual print run, and this brings us to the principal issue I have with the book: is it aimed at the Egyptologist or the Egyptophile? Usually tomb publications are unashamedly aimed at the scholar, since they form primarily research resources (and usually are very expen-

sive); sometimes a more popular account of a monument might be made, although not always by the same author—I think of the smaller colorful and useful books on the tomb of Nakht (TT52, originally published by Davies) and Sennedjem (TT1) and the burial chamber of Sennefer (TT96B), neither published yet to modern standards.

It seems to me that this book has been written and designed more with the wider nonscholarly audience in mind, and this compromises many things the Egyptologist will seek. The general Egyptology community will delight in this book and find it worthwhile, but how does it stand up as the formal publication of TT69? Where I feel it falls short is in the published documentation of the monument, both of the walls and in the quantitative analyses of the paintings.

A really comprehensive plan of the tomb is lacking; the plans on 10 and 14 are not produced to the level of detail that one has come to expect from, e.g., the work of various German Theban missions. There is no north orientation marked, nor a clear scale, although I think the effective scale is 1:200, far too small to be much more than a sketch plan. The elevations of the tomb on 13 are too small (I estimate 1:142) and surely deserve a page to themselves. It would appear that a 3D “point cloud” was created of the tomb, but the opportunity was not taken to produce an axonometric projection of this monument.

The photographs of the walls are undoubtedly superb, and have been very expertly taken and merged, as well as printed by AUC press (in China). But are there enough details available, given the wealth of minute detail in all Theban painting? Most walls are illustrated by a single photograph, but many scenes cry out for a series of individual details—as it stands, one can best turn to Maha Taher’s book for those, although the present publication does not give specific references to that volume. Details of some scenes will be found in the quantitative and visual analysis chapters, but there is no concordance of where they are located. To check the color balance of the printed photographs, color bars would also be desirable.

The issue of reproduction size also applies to the line drawings. The amount of work put into these is enormous, but they are reproduced at (mostly) too small a scale to facilitate study of the full detail of the original. Since they were created on the computer as vector art, they are infinitely scalable, and could easily be reproduced much larger. The drawings range in scale from approximately 1:22 (fig. 2.1b) to about 1:9 (fig. 2.10b)—and fig. 2.8b appears to have no scale. The larger ratios are acceptable for overviews, but not for the detail. Thus, Norman de Garis Davies published the tomb of Nakht (TT52) at scales mostly around 1:6,

and he used generally similar scales for the much larger tomb of Rekhmire, where the walls had to be divided over a large number of plates. The size and quality of the reproduction of these plates does not do justice to the colossal amount of work that went into them; for example, the drawing on 25 makes reading the hieroglyphs very difficult. The more popular format adopted means that folding plates are not possible, and the larger ones are laid across the page fold, making important details harder to see. An important tomb like TT69 warrants a set of folding plates.

The colors of the chapel are discussed in some depth, but data to attempt true visualization of them is not provided. So the values of “red” and “orange” are nowhere defined; reference is made on 102 to a “multitude of shades” without further specification. I am aware that my practice of including a list of sample color readings into a publication has not caught on, but I did expect to find more here with so much sophisticated technology evident. Similarly, conservators may miss complete documentation of the condition surveys of the walls; although we are told on 113 that they were made in 2008, only one sample is presented, on 114.

Some of these points about data could have been unnecessary were there a web site where the full data from the project are stored, or even by the option of acquiring a CD or DVD with larger images, full data, etc. One of the toughest parts of putting a publication together is what to leave out, and in the twenty-first century there are ways of having the best of both worlds, a true representative sample of material in the traditional book, with “new media” enabling access to the main body of data. The project no longer has a web site, and so it is unclear where the scholar who needs these details has to go. It may well be that the “final digital images are detailed enough to assist future generations of scholars with their examination...” (130), but how can they be accessed?

I must make a few other points. Egyptology is without doubt too text-obsessed, but the relative lack of comment on the texts and the inconsistent use of transliteration seem odd. Again, it may be the more popular approach of the book meant that transliteration was largely suppressed, but its existence is often of great help in understanding how the author understands a text. Because of the small scale of the drawings and the lack of transliteration, I had great difficulty equating the texts on 50 with fig. 2.8b. I think it would have made it easier to follow the complex layouts of the individual walls had Hartwig adopted the practice of dividing the description into numbered registers and scenes and subscenes, which, in conjunction with key plates, enable easier access to the different parts of each wall. Perhaps these were also a casualty of the more popular

approach. A comprehensive glossary of abbreviations would have been welcome.

This book has a somewhat split personality, as is inevitable when one is writing and designing to satisfy more than one audience. The author and her team deserve the highest praise for the hard work they undertook and the short time-scale in which they achieved it, but I think students of Theban tombs will find it lacking in some of the data they need. Fortunately, those data exist, unlike in the work of so many of our eminent predecessors, but they need to be available to enable scholars to appreciate this truly remarkable chapel more deeply.

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Marek Dospěl and Lenka Suková, eds. *Bahriya Oasis: Recent Research into the Past of an Egyptian Oasis* (Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts, 2013). Pp. xxiv + 295, 13 color plates. ISBN: 978-80-7308-457-8.

*Bahriya Oasis* details limited results of the archaeological work of the Czech (Charles University in Prague) and French (IFAO) teams in the Bahriya Oasis. While not exactly a conference proceedings volume, its form and eventual publication by Charles University derives in part from a December 2008 Bahariya Workshop in Prague. (Note the two different spellings of Bahariya. This is not a typo – the spelling of the oasis' name fluctuates across the publication, resulting in some confusion.) The volume is divided into three parts and contains a total of fourteen chapters by different authors, in English, French, and German. Most of the data are of course archaeological, though the volume does include limited philological discussion. This text should not be read as an archaeological monograph, but rather as an assembly of preliminary analyses similar to the Dakhleh Oasis Project's *Oasis Papers* volumes.

Part one, "Southern Bahriya," is dedicated to Czech archaeological work in el-Hayz Oasis which began in 2003. These eight chapters deal with the archaeology and finds resulting mostly from surveys. The data are interdisciplinary and written by specialists, presenting a relatively holistic view of this part of the oasis. The first chapter presents a general history of Czech work at the site and the types of research questions which result from the data; the remaining seven chapters tend to repeat some of this information in their individual introductions. Chapter 2 de-

tails some methodology as well as the archaeology of the oasis, including an overview of the periods of occupation found at the oasis: prehistory, limited Old Kingdom and Second Intermediate period, and abundant Roman. Chapter 5 goes into greater detail of the Roman remains, including the standing architecture at several sites within el-Hayz. Chapters 3, 4, and 6 analyze finds from across the oasis (prehistoric lithics, Roman ceramics, and a variety of inscribed materials, respectively). These corpora seem to represent a limited subset of data from the project rather than the totality of the finds. Chapter 7 focuses on paleoecology, relating vegetal mounds (*aghoul*) to environmental change. Chapter 8 consists of a bioanthropological analysis of approximately 31 early Roman individuals found buried in tombs at Bir Shawish.

Part two, "Northern Bahriya," presents French research in the area around Bawiti, the modern urban hub of the oasis, which began in 2002. It includes five chapters which, unlike the Czech work, detail findings from excavation. The first (Chapter 9) presents the history of research in this portion of the oasis together with a history of modern encroachment onto the archaeological sites. The outline of the modern dangers facing the sites in the northern oasis will be familiar to any archaeologist working in Egypt and thus runs the risk of being received as common knowledge. However, as the oases in general are so underworked and modern settlement here less intensive than throughout the Nile Valley, this section is a reminder that a site's removal from the Nile Valley does not equate to its safety. The remainder of part two does not strive for a complete view of the archaeology of the region, much of which is Roman. Instead, Chapters 10 through 12 focus on the archaeology, ceramics, and lithics of Tomb 10, a multichamber interment originally dating to the late Old Kingdom/early First Intermediate period and reused in the Third Intermediate period/Late period. Chapter 13, in contrast, deals with the epithets of gods related to the oasis, essentially presenting a catalogue of deities associated with the oasis. As a textual discussion and catalogue, it is a valuable reference but sits poorly in this otherwise archaeologically focused volume.

Part three, "Bahriya and the Other Oases," consists of only one chapter discussing *qanats* in Kharga, Bahriya, Farafra, and the Fezzan oases in Libya. Thematically, the third part is a poor fit with the rest of the volume. It is largely a literature review of *qanats* and theories of *qanat* distribution. At least in terms of North Kharga, the author presents incomplete or outdated information. With this article, the volume ends abruptly. The unity of the text as a whole could have been strengthened through the inclusion of either a

general introductory or concluding chapter presenting a broad synthesis and analysis of life in the oasis as seen through the archaeology. Without such a discussion, the volume is still valuable but is essentially fragmented, more a journal of independent articles than a monograph or integrated discussion.

By assembling the work of all archaeologists working in Bahriya into one volume, this book provides a helpful overview of the state of research in this underworked area of Egypt and creates a space for greater dialogue between data from different sites within the same regional area. The Czech and French authors reference the work of each other occasionally; incorporating these other data into their analyses provides a richer context for understanding settlement and use of the oasis over both space and time. A single, integrated bibliography of all work on Bahariya at the end of the volume would have been particularly useful, rather than chapter-by-chapter isolated references. Such a structure would have further integrated the two projects. The joint publication of different concessions in the same region is rare. This book could provide a helpful model for archaeological teams in other areas, especially when thinking about large-scale regional phenomena such as settlement patterns.

Because the volume covers so much in terms of space and time, its offerings can read disjointedly. The volume is difficult to consume as a whole and is probably easiest for the reader to treat the two separate parts as individual units. Again, an introduction and/or conclusion focused on integrating discussion would have helped alleviate the disconnect. Some chapters are well-connected (including cross-referencing between pertinent chapters), while other chapters exist almost as isolates. There were some organizational issues, the most frustrating of which being the location of the plates. They were not given page numbers and were placed, counter-intuitively, at the end of the first chapter of the second section (after 184) rather than at the end either of the volume or one of the parts. There is no way for the reader to find a plate referenced in Chapter 2 easily; instead, one actually has to flip through the volume page by page to find them.

This volume is an important contribution to the archaeology of the Egyptian oases, and will prove useful for archaeologists working in any of the Egyptian oases. There remains rich room for future analyses and integrated discussion of the archaeology of Bahriya Oasis.

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Nigel Strudwick and Helen Strudwick, eds. *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011). Pp. vii + 320, 14 color plates. ISBN: 978-1-84217-430-2.

This volume is the proceedings of the 2009 Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology conference at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge University, UK. The 2009 conference was the fifth conference arranged around this theme; at the time of this review, the sixth Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology conference had just completed in Warsaw, Poland. The current volume includes twenty-six papers: twenty-five originally presented at the conference and one additional from an author who could not attend the conference. As twenty-seven papers had been presented in Cambridge, the proceedings volume is an excellent snapshot of the event. All contributions are written in English.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to summarize twenty-seven papers in a short review due to the breadth of material covered in the volume, and so specific articles will be highlighted below. The unifying theme of all the papers is of course chronological. For this reason it would have been helpful (if perhaps somewhat tiresome) for the editors to have explained how they defined the Old Kingdom, its dynasties, and its dates. A reading of the articles shows that the Third Dynasty is considered part of the period—a common but by no means undebated approach—while the latest dynasty under discussion is the Sixth. The problematic Seventh/Eighth Dynasty is not broached. The beginning date of 2750 BC, noted in the volume's title, is confusing as it does not accord with the standard chronology of *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2003; 482), nor with that presented by the editors of *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (Leiden, 2006; 490). Despite the confusion of the absolute dates, the general chronological parameters are common-sense enough for the reader to navigate the papers and contextualize the volume with little question.

The papers include archaeological site reports, archaeological analyses, and art historical studies. A few textual studies, such as J. Popielska-Grzybowska's discussion of *hpr*, are also included. The majority of the volume is archaeological, demonstrating that this conference continues the expansion from its original emphasis on Old Kingdom art begun in Prague in 2004 (see M. Bárta, ed. *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference*. Prague: Czech Institute of Archaeology, 2006). Many of the articles discuss topics further elaborated within other articles in the volume. More cross-referencing between the chapters would have been welcome and would have fostered more intellectual dialogue within the text.

As is common in Old Kingdom research, the archaeological data are largely from the Memphite region. The only non-Memphite archaeology discussed is el-Sheikh Said, near the settlement of el-Ashmunein. Though early work at the site focused on its Old Kingdom tombs (N. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* [London, 1901]), current work by Leuven University has located a nearby industrial site. S. Vereecken presents the pottery corpus from the site; it is dominated by bread moulds and trays (278–81). Vereecken shows that the best parallels for the pottery—particularly the bread moulds (278–81) and white slipped carinated bowls (285)—are found at Heit el-Ghurab. The similarity of pottery corpora between these two sites suggests that el-Sheikh Said, like Heit el-Ghurab, operated during the Fourth Dynasty under government control. This suggests an intriguing network of government worksites invested in monumental architecture, either through building or mining. Further, the el-Sheikh Said and Heit el-Ghurab corpora are highly suggestive of how workmen were provisioned while on the job. M. de Meyer uses titulary from the tombs of el-Sheikh Said to suggest that the site was a burial ground for those who lived not at el-Ashmunein, but from another settlement nearby, perhaps the industrial settlement (49). This analysis compliments Vereecken's analysis and perhaps furthers the comparison to Heit el-Ghurab with its workmen's tombs—though this comparison was not offered by the author.

The Memphite necropolis dominates the remainder of the volume. Abu Rowash's private tombs and their construction are analyzed by M. Baud and E. Guerrier; this contribution is important both as the tombs it discusses are poorly presented in the literature, and the construction of mastaba cores in general has been little investigated outside of the work of Reisner. The data are compellingly presented with very clear and useful figures. The Giza cemetery, both private and royal, is of course investigated (M. Farouk, L. Flentye). Current work at Giza under the auspices of the Ancient Egypt Research Associates (AERA) is the focus of three articles, including excavations both at Heit el-Ghurab (A. Tavares, A. Wodzińska) and the Khentkaues town (M. Lehner et al.); these are important discussions for those interested in Egyptian settlement archaeology. Lehner et al.'s contribution about the Khentkaues town is particularly important as excavations there had only begun in 2005 (144) and this project provides new and important context to their long standing excavations at nearby Heit el-Ghurab. It is also the lengthiest article in the collection and forms a long site report with a great amount of archaeological detail, particularly used to identify the multiple phases of the site. Fully half of the article relates the Khentkaues town to

the habitation of the Menkaure Valley Temple, which is also under AERA excavations. Comparison of archaeological phasing suggests that the two towns were inhabited concurrently (179), though the settlement in the Menkaure Valley Temple is composed of smaller buildings. The Menkaure Valley Temple also has more silos and bins than seen at the Khentkaues town, with its small number of large houses.

Archaeological work at Abusir is discussed in four articles. These articles are less site reports than analytical, interpretive analyses based on archaeological data. M. Bárta and J. Krejčí both place specific Abusir tombs into broader context. Bárta works with rock-cut tombs discovered at Abusir South; Krejčí discusses tombs Lepsius 25 and Lepsius 23 at Abusir proper. Both authors contextualize their tombs within the greater tomb building traditions found throughout the Memphite necropolis. Bárta's article particularly is interesting as any discussion of rock-cut tombs tends to focus on the provinces. It can be easy to overlook Memphite rock-cut tombs in favor of the far-more-common mastaba. Additional articles by H. Vymazalová and M. Verner/V. Brůna round out this contextualizing approach, seeking to employ archaeological data to answer greater questions of economic interactions and the founding of the Abusir cemetery (respectively). Current archaeological work at Saqqara is less well represented than that at either Giza or Abusir. Epigraphic data from Saqqara are discussed by A. el-Kerety, and the Djoser complex's dry moat reanalyzed (K. Kuraszkiewicz). However, new archaeological data from Saqqara excavations appears only within the article by T. Rzeuska, who employs Polish work at West Saqqara in her reassessment of Old Kingdom canopic recesses and pits as found throughout the Memphite necropolis. Her identification of these niches and pits as caches, similar to the ritual shafts found in mastabas (255) is an interesting challenge to our understandings of these features, though lacking corresponding investigation into the nature and symbols of early mummification—an important component of this issue.

Nine articles approach Old Kingdom art historical data. V. Callender's discussion of scribes/artists at Akhmim is the only one to employ provincial data. All of the articles interact with the social context and meaning of the art under discussion. Only two articles will be highlighted here. G. Pieke discusses artists and artistic production at Saqqara, in the tomb of Mereruka. Using older publications as well as recent observation of the reliefs, she shows that the tomb was decorated under the supervision of a master artist who was responsible for both the most important figures and correcting minor figures (223). She posits that the artists actually took the living viewer's perspective into ac-

count, focusing their work on scenes at the viewer's eye level and finishing scenes both below and above that level in a more rudimentary manner, giving figures in these areas larger eyes and heads in order to increase their 'readability' for the viewer (225, 227). Also of interest is an important discussion of the concept of democratization of the afterlife (H. Hays) which employs not just the textual data typical of this discussion (usually the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, but here also including the standard offering list and some private tomb texts) but also artistic data. Hays shows that these two data sets are complimentary, and that they depict both royal and private individuals as partaking of the same religious beliefs and practices (127-128). Thus, the afterlife was never "democratized" because in truth the private and royal afterlife was always the same, just expressed differently as a matter of decorum (118). Though Hays is at pains to point out that the democratization of the afterlife theory had long been discarded within certain circles (115, n. 1-4), his article further bolsters this point and brings it to a wider, nonphilological audience.

The volume is a valuable addition to our understanding of this first period of Egyptian state power. As a whole it is worthwhile reading, with articles of high caliber. These meetings have yielded fruitful scholarship since their inception; I look forward to the proceedings from Warsaw 2014.

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