Book Reviews

N. St. Braun, *Pharao und Priester: Sakrale Affirmation von Herrschaft durch Kultvollzug. Das tägliche Kultbildritual im Neuen Reich und der Dritten Zwischenzeit*, Philippika 23 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013). ISBN 9783447057509. Pp. viii + 367 and 26 plates.

Die Rezension richtet sich auf die ergänzte und erweiterte Fassung der Doktorarbeit der Autorin, die 2005 in Leipzig eingereicht wurde. Das Thema stellt die sakrale Legitimation im ägyptischen Königsdogma dar, die auf Basis des Täglichen Kultbildrituals aus Neuem Reich und Dritter Zwischenzeit behandelt wird. Der Inhalt wird aus den folgenden Teilen gebildet:

Im Mittelpunkt des I. Kap. steht der sakrale Aspekt des Königtums, dessen spezifisch ägyptische Konturen durch interkulturelle Vergleiche schärfer umrandet werden. Die betreffenden Vorstellungen zu diesem Konzept klaffen über Raum und Zeit hinweg z. T. beträchtlich auseinander (7). Die gleichzeitig bestehenden Parallelen werden aber als hinreichende Grundlage für eine Gesamtdefinition empfunden (7). Die Vergöttlichung des Herrschers findet demnach häufig erst nach dessen Tod statt (8). Das Odem des Sakralen haftet weniger der Person des Herrschers als vielmehr der Institution als solcher an (8). Die religiöse Legitimation des ägyptischen Herrschers wird u. a. durch Geburtsmythen erreicht (15). Die sakrale Ausformung des ägyptischen Herrschertums wird in der Rolle des Königs als oberstem Priester erkannt (26). Die Ausführungen gehen aus Sicht des Rez. z. T. zu sehr an der eigentlichen Sache vorbei (z. B. zur Atomkraft, S. 35ff).

Das II. Kap. wendet sich den Hintergründen des täglichen Kultes für die Götterbilder zu. Das Kultbildritual ist ab dem Neuen Reich wohl drei Mal am Tag vollzogen worden, dessen historische Wurzeln jedoch bis ins Alte Reich zurückgeführt werden (41). Der ursprüngliche „Sitz im Leben" wird im Sonnenkult von Heliopolis gesehen (41). Die Ausführungen fallen z. T. recht phantasievoll aus (z. B. zum Nachtgewand der Götterstatue, S. 46), bewegen sich aber im Bereich der Spekulation, was die Autorin auch selbst einräumt. Die wichtigsten erhaltenen Text- und Bildquellen werden in einem Überblick vorgestellt, deren Reihe sich vom Neuen Reich bis in die Spätzeit erstreckt (52ff.). Die Bezeichnung von Amenophis III. als „Sonnenkönig" (68) ist – auch mit Anführungszeichen – nicht besonders glücklich gewählt. In II 4 wird die Übersetzung und Kommentierung der 66 Sprüche des Amun–Rituals nach Pap. Berlin P. 3055 unternommen (96–187). Der philologische Kommentar gibt sich zu oft mit Nebensächlichkeiten zufrieden. In II 5 werden Sprüche ohne Parallele im Berliner Papyrus nach der Fassung im Abydos-Tempel von Sethos I. angefügt (188–221). Die Ausführungen beruhen z. T. auf unbewiesenen Annahmen (z. B. zum Umherwandeln des Priesters mit dem Räucherarm in der Hand, S. 193). Die Autorin spricht sich völlig zu Recht für die Existenz von Musterbüchern aus (206–9). Die mögliche Reihenfolge der Einzelszenen des Amun- und Abydos-Rituals wird rekonstruiert und visuell veranschaulicht (211–14).

Das Kap. III setzt sich mit Fragen um Ritual und Mythos auseinander. Das Tägliche Kultbildritual wird als Übergangsritual aus drei Schritten (Herauslösung des Ritualisten aus der profanen Welt – Kontaktaufnahme mit dem Göttlichen – Rückkehr in die profane Welt) klassifiziert, dessen Zweck in der Wiederherstellung der göttlichen Kräfte sowie der Legitimation des Königs liegen soll (236–37). Der Gesamtablauf wird in mehrere Einzelriten untergliedert, die z. B. apotropäische oder eliminatorische Aufgaben zu erfüllen hatten (237). Der Mythos und das Ritual stehen sich laut Verf. komplementär gegenüber (261). Das Tägliche Kultbildritual nimmt nach Meinung der Autorin häufiger auf den Mythos von Horus und Seth Bezug, der jedoch nach keinem narrativen Schema integriert wird. (264–66). Die Affirmation des Herrschers spielt sich im Täglichen Kultbildritual auf der Ebene des Mythos von der Wiederbelebung des Osiris und dessen Nachfolge durch Horus ab (269).

In Kap. IV schließen sich Aussagen zu Priestertum und Tempel im Neuen Reich und in der Spätzeit an. In der Argumentation tauchen zu viele Quisqillien (z. B. zum Speiseplan des Königs, S. 286), Allgemeinplätze und Redundanzen (z. B. die Delegierung der königlichen Priesterfunktionen an das Tempelpersonal) auf.

In Kap. V werden Gedanken zur sakralen Affirma-

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tion des Kultvollzuges geäußert. Im Verhältnis zwischen König und Gott wird das do-ut-des – Prinzip als bleibende Konstante hervorgehoben (305ff.). Der Text fällt generell durch Längen und häufige Wiederholungen auf.

Der Abschluss wird von Literatur-/Quellenverzeichnis (333–67) und Tafelteil (I–XXVI) gebildet.

Die folgenden Anmerkungen mögen als ergänzende Hinweise verstanden werden:

62: Die Bedeutung von *wrḥ* ist von "ausgießen" in "salben" zu korrigieren!

97: Zur Verbindung aus *śdgꜣ* "verbergen lassen" und *śḫm* "Macht (des Seth)" vgl. Daniella Luft, *Das Anzünden der Fackel, Untersuchungen zu Spruch 137 des Totenbuches*, SAT 15 (Wiesbaden, 2009), 177.

101: Die Übersetzung scheint nicht ganz zu stimmen, streiche "herrschen" und beziehe *śꜣb-šw.t* "buntgefiedert" auf Re-Harachte!

107: Zu *ḏbꜥ* "Öse" vgl. auch Peter Kaplony, "Das Papyrusarchiv von Abusir (Fortsetzung)," *Orientalia* 41 (1972), 180–244, hier 204.

108: Zu *mt* "Sehne des Osiris" vgl. Nikolaus Tacke, *Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches, Band II, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, OLA 222 (Leuven-Paris-Walpole, 2013), 28d.

118: Zu *iꜣd.t* "Tau = Duft" vgl. Jan Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik, I*, MÄS 19 (Berlin, 1969), 249; zum Verhältnis *iꜣd.t-id.t* vgl. Basma Koura, *Die "7-Heiligen Öle" und andere Öl- und Fettnamen. Eine lexikographische Untersuchung zu den Bezeichnungen von Ölen, Fetten und Salben bei den Alten Ägyptern von der Frühzeit bis zum Anfang der Ptolemäerzeit (von 3000 v. Chr.–ca. 305 v. Chr.)*, Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia 2 (Aachen 1999), 145–46; zu *iꜣd.t* "Schweiß = Räucherwerk" vgl. Dieter Kurth, *Edfou VII, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Abteilung I, Übersetzungen, Band 2* (Wiesbaden, 2004), 483–84.

118: Zu *fd.t* "Schweiß" = "Weihrauch" vgl. Dieter Kurth, *Edfou VII, Abt.I,* 309, 472, 507; idem, *Edfou VIII, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Abteilung I, Übersetzungen, Band 1* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 253.

119: Die Phrase *nn ḥwrw n dwꜣ nb=f* ist zumindest wörtlicher durch "Es gibt keine Not für den, der seinen Herrn anbetet" wiederzugeben.

120: Zur Bedeutungserweiterung bei *iwn* von "Farbe" zu "Wesen" vgl. Hans Goedicke, *The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut and Related Discussions* (Oakville, 2004), 147d.

126: Die Bedeutung von *ḏꜥm* "Weißgold der Götter" als Epitheton für numinöse Wesen ist nicht erkannt worden, vgl. z. B. Junker-Winter, *Philae II*, 45/167/313/361; Gilles Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit, Une composition égyptienne de l'au-delà, Ire partie: Traduction et Commentaire*, OBO 147 (Fribourg-Göttingen,1996), 311; Urk. VIII, 7, 5.

127: Die Farben *ḥḏ* "weiß" und *km* "schwarz" geben wohl Honigqualitäten an, zu *ḥḏ* "weißer Honig" vgl. Dieter Kurth, *Edfou VII, Abt. I,* 306.

135: Die Interpretation von *mꜣꜣ itn* "Sonne sehen" als Hinweis auf eine Sonnenfinsternis ist wohl eher abzulehnen; zum Sethtier als Determinativ nach Gewitterbezeichnungen vgl. Niv Allon, "Seth is Baal: Evidence from the Egyptian Script," *Ägypten und Levante* 17 (2007), 15–22.

147: Zu den Bedeutungen des Namens *Ỉmn* "Amun" vgl. Gerhard Fecht, "Zum Text der Votivstatue für Amun," *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 334–37; idem, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 7–11, hier 9.

160: Zu *sš ꜥn.t* "Kralle spreizen(!)" vgl. Bettina Ventker, *Der Starke auf dem Dach, Funktion und Bedeutung der löwengestaltigen Wasserspeier im alten Ägypten*, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 6 (Wiesbaden, 2012), 143 and158; Christian Leitz, *Geographisch-osirianische Prozessionen aus Philae, Dendara und Athribis, Soubassementstudien II*, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 8 (Wiesbaden, 2012), 289.

178: Zu *ḥwn.t* "Pupille" vgl. Andreas Pries, *Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult, Eine Studie zur Tradition und späten Rezeption von Ritualen im Alten Ägypten*, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 2 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 344 and 356; Dieter Kurth, *Edfou VIII, Abt. I*, 135 and 248.

204: Das Wort *ṯmḥ.t* "Libyerin" steht im Singular und ist eher als Bezeichnung der Hathor aufzufassen, vgl. dazu Alexa Rickert, *Gottheit und Gabe: Eine ökonomische Prozession im Soubassement des Opettempels von Karnak und ihre Parallele in Kôm Ombo*, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 4 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 205; Christian Leitz, *Die Gaumonographien in Edfu und ihre Papyrusvarianten, Ein überregionaler Kanon kultischen Wissens im spätzeitlichen Ägypten*, Soubassementstudien III, Teil 1: Text, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 9 (Wiesbaden, 2014), 209.

207: Zu Musterbüchern vgl. jetzt auch Joachim Quack, "Die theoretische Normierung der Soubassement-Dekoration. Erste Ergebnisse der Arbeit an der karbonisierten Handschrift von Tanis," in Alexa Rickert and Bettina Ventker, eds., *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien, Die Soubassements in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Soubassementstudien I, Band 1, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 7 (Wiesbaden, 2014), 20–21.

Das abschließende Urteil des Rez. fällt etwas getrübt aus. Die Übersetzungen werden bis auf einzelne Ausnahmen korrekt vorgenommen. Die Interpretationen zu bestimmten Details beruhen jedoch zu oft auf der bloßen Imagination der Autorin (s. o.), was letztlich auch für die angeblichen Analogien zum Christentum gilt. Die vielen unnötigen Wiederholungen rufen zudem einen teilweise ermüdenden Eindruck hervor. Die Lektüre des Buches kann daher nur bedingt empfohlen werden.

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Alexa Rickert, *Gottheit und Gabe: Eine ökonomische Prozession im Soubassement des Opettempels von Karnak und ihre Parallele in Kôm Ombo*, SSR 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011). ISBN 9783447065559. Pp. xii + 328, and illustrations.

Die Rezension gilt der überarbeiteten Fassung der Magisterarbeit der Autorin aus 2011, die sich dem Studium der zweiteiligen Prozession von Gabenträgern im Soubassement der östlichen Außenwand des Opettempel von Karnak (Opet I, 199–207 und 220–27) und der Götterreihe auf der Außenwand des sog. Pylons zu Kôm Ombo (KO 62–69) widmet. Der Inhalt des Buches setzt sich aus folgenden Segmenten zusammen.

Das erste Kapitel A stellt eine Einführung in allgemeine Fragen rund um dieses Thema dar. In Anlehnung an das Schema von Yoyotte wird eine Kurzcharakteristik der vier Prozessionstypen in griechisch-römischen Tempeln entworfen (geographisch, hydrologisch, Mischform, ökonomisch) (2). Die ökonomischen Prozessionen werden nach Vorkommen, Zeitstellung und Wandposition tabellarisch geordnet (3–5). Der König ist in den beiden untersuchten Tempeln an die Spitze der Gabenträger gesetzt (6). Die dortigen ökonomischen Prozessionen spalten sich in eine oberägyptische und unterägyptische (in Kôm Ombo zerstört!) Hälfte auf (6). Die strukturellen Elemente der Beischriften zu den Gottheiten werden analysiert und in Schaubildern plastisch hervorgehoben (8–12). Das Material kann in drei Hauptmuster getrennt werden. Die Dekorationen im Opettempel lassen sich mit Hilfe der Kartuschen in augusteische Zeit datieren (8). Das gleiche Kriterium weist in Kôm Ombo auf die Zeit des Domitian hin (8). Die Abbildungen in Kôm Ombo zeichnen sich durch größere Detailgenauigkeit als in Karnak aus (13).

Das zweite Kapitel B dient der Präsentation der Texte und Darstellungen, die in Umzeichnung, Transkription, Übersetzung und Kommentar benutzerfreundlich aufbereitet werden. Die oberägyptische Hälfte wird im ersten Abschnitt behandelt (19–142). Im zweiten Abschnitt schließt sich die Behandlung der unterägyptischen Hälfte an (143–250). Die Gottheiten aus KO 62–69 ohne direktes Gegenstück im Opettempel werden separat angefügt (251–69).

Im dritten Kapitel C wird die Auswertung der Texte in Angriff genommen. Die Ressorts sind in Kôm Ombo und Karnak annähernd ähnlich gruppiert (272). Die einzelnen Toponyme der beiden Fassungen werden verglichen und auf ihre geographische Lage (Unterägypten, Oberägypten, Ausland) befragt (273–74). Die Reihenfolge der Opfergaben ist offenbar in griechisch-römischer Zeit standardisiert, wobei kein direkter regionaler Bezug mehr zu bemerken ist (274). Die Autorin kommt zum Ergebnis, dass die Übergänge zwischen den Prozessionstypen (s. o.) z. T. gleitend waren (276). Die Berührungspunkte zu funerären Texten werden durchdiskutiert, wobei besonderer Wert auf die Ressortgötter gelegt wird. Der bis dato älteste Beleg für eine fast identische Auflistung taucht im Grab des Petosiris aus Tuna el-Gebel auf (277). Die Gaben (Wasser, Getreide, Brot, Bier, Milch, Stoff) werden dort ähnlich wie in den Prozessionen hintereinander gestaffelt (277). In pBM 10209 I, 34–37 (ca. 300 v. Chr.) treten ebenfalls Ressortgötter auf, deren Gaben nach dem gleichen Prinzip wie in den späteren Prozessionen aus Kôm Ombo und dem Opettempel geordnet sind (277). Die größten Gemeinsamkeiten deuten sich in pWien 3865, 7–18 an, der eine Truppe von 18 Ressortgöttern aufmarschieren lässt, deren Gaben in der gleichen Reihenfolge wie in Kôm Ombo sortiert sind (278). Die ökonomischen Prozessionen lassen gewisse Bezüge zu Opferszenen der Tempel aus griechisch-römischer Zeit erkennen, unter denen die Darbringung des *ꜥ3b.t* – Opfers als besonders prominentes Beispiel hervorragt (279). Die Opfer werden dort z. T. von den gleichen Ressortgöttern wie in den Prozessionen herbeigetragen.

Die Handhabung des Buches wird durch Literaturverzeichnis (285–311), Indices (313–20) und Sachregister (321–28) erleichtert.

Die folgenden Anmerkungen mögen als ergänzende Hinweise verstanden werden:

21: Die Erklärung von *inḳ m* über *ḳni m* ist zu kompliziert gedacht und daher unnötig, der Objektanschluß mit *m* ist gut bekannt, vgl. Jaroslav Černý und Sarah Israelit Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, 4th ed., Studia Pohl: Series Maior 4 (Rome, 1993), 94; David Silverman, "An emphasized direct object of a nominal verb in Middle Egyptian, " *Or* 49 (1980), 199–203; Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, ÄAT 8/1 (Wiesbaden, 1985), 146, 265.

39: Zu *śbk3* "Scheunen/Speicher schwängern = füllen" vgl. Urk. IV, 1888, 16.

62: Zu *bnr mrw.t* "süß an Liebe" als Epitheton von Kindgöttern vgl. jüngst David Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun, Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes*, MRE 15 (Turnhout, 2012), 110, 114.

75: Zum *ḫww* "Getränk" vgl. Gardiner, *AEO* II, 233–34.

76: Zum *sḫp.t* "Getränk" vgl. Wolfhart Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 1. Band, HdO, Erste Abteilung, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, Band 36 (Leiden-Boston-Köln, 1999), 506.

119: Zu *mnpḥ* "Götterkleid" vgl. Jürgen Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I*, Text, The Carlsberg Papyri 2, CNI 17 (Copenhagen, 1998), 249e.

138: Der "Flügel" (Gardiner Sign-list H5) könnte eine spielerische Schreibung für *ḥwi* "schlagen" sein; die Mittlerstellung nehmen dann die Worter *ḥwiwi* "errant en trebuchant" bei Jean-Claude Goyon, *Le Papyrus d'Imouthes, Fils de Psintaes, Au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York (Papyrus MMA 35.9.21)* (New York, 1999), 42, n. 80, and *ḥwii* "to waft" bei Christian Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, HPBM 8 (London, 1999), 19 (VII, 2) ein.

145: Zu *šmsi* in der Bedeutung "führen" vgl. Günter Vittmann, *Altägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 83, Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 15 (Vienna, 1999), 44; zu *ꜣms* "Szepter aus Gold" vgl. Victoria Altmann, *Die Kultfrevel des Seth, Die Gefährdung der göttlichen Ordnung in zwei Vernichtungsritualen der ägyptischen Spätzeit (Urk. VI)*, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 1 (Wiesbaden, 2010), 151.

149: Zu *sḫr* "empfangen" vgl. Caminos, *Osorkon*, 104 o; zur Schreibung *sḫr* für *sgr* vgl. Christian Leitz, *Tagewählerei, Das Buch ḥꜣ.t nḥḥ pḥ.wy ḏ.t und verwandte Texte*, Textband, ÄA 55 (Wiesbaden, 1994), 409.

185: Zum generellen Austausch von Vogelhieroglyphen vgl. John Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*, OBO 198 (Fribourg-Göttingen, 2004), 42, 597.

198: Zum *bꜣḳ* "Öl" vgl. zuletzt, Jacobus Jansen, "Three Mysteries Ostraca," in Mark Collier und Steven Snape, eds., *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen* (Bolton, 2011), 252.

217: Zu *thm m ḳbḥw* "aus Sumpfgebiet emporkommen" vgl. Walraud Guglielmi, "Zur Symbolik des ‚Darbringens des Straußes der Sḫ.t',“ *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 101–12, hier 109; zu *thm m ḳbḥw* "im Sumpfgebiet jagen" vgl. jetzt Waltraud Guglielmi, "Neues aus den Gräbern von Assiut: Sechet, die Personifikation (Tyche) des Fangglücks im Mittleren Reich," in Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert und Richard Parkinson, eds., *Studies on the Middle Kingdom, in Memory of Detlef Franke*, Philippika, Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 41 (Wiesbaden, 2013), 124.

223: Der Verweis auf den angeblich intransitiven Gebrauch von *pḫꜣ* "ausstatten" ist in sich widersprüchlich, da das Wort im Text darüber – sicher zu Recht – transitiv übersetzt wird, zu *pḫꜣ* "ausstatten" vgl. Günter Burkard, *Spätzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien im Corpus der Asasif-Papyri, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Formale und inhaltliche Analyse*, ÄAT 31 (Wiesbaden, 1995), 211, n. 43.

229: Zu *mnḫ.t* "Gewand der Neith" vgl. Jens Heise, *Erinnern und Gedenken, Aspekte der biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, OBO 226 (Fribourg-Göttingen, 2007), 281.

248: Zu *nni* "sich senkrecht von oben nach unten bewegen o. ä." vgl. Jan Zandee, "Sargtexte, Spruch 80 (Coffin Texts II 27d–43)," *ZÄS* 101 (1974), 63–79, hier 71; Dino Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten*, ADAIK, Ägyptologische Reihe 9 (Glückstadt, 1976), 51.

252: Zu *šnꜥ* "Weinmagazin" vgl. Jens Heise, *Erinnern und Gedenken, Aspekte der biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, OBO 226 (Fribourg-Göttingen, 2007), 195.

256: Zu *ꜥḫm ib.t* "Durst löschen" vgl. Urk. IV, 482, 12.

268: Zu *bhd sntr* "Weihrauch atmen" vgl. Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo, Teil 1: Übersetzung und Kommentare*, ÄAT 45 (Wiesbaden, 2001), 79 12, 80 5.

Das Buch hat auf den Rezensenten einen durchaus gelungenen Eindruck gemacht. Die Autorin hat für die Beschäftigung mit dem von der Forschung lange vernachlässigten Stoff Dank verdient.

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Melinda K. Hartwig, ed. *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art.* Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World Series (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015). ISBN 9781444333503. Pp. vi + 573, 10 color plates.

A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art, an edited volume by Melinda Hartwig, presents twenty-seven essays by various scholars that explore much of the less-familiar terrain of ancient Egyptian art history. While covering topics that are the foundations of the field, such as sculpture, painting, narrative, relief, etc., the volume also pushes the boundaries into much needed topics, particularly in the area of methodical approaches (Part I). I find this to be one of the strongest aspects of the book, making it a much-needed addition to the existing literature in ancient Egyptian art history.

The main text is divided into six parts: Methodological Approaches, Materials and Mediums, Concepts in

Art, Interconnections with the Larger World, Reception of Ancient Egyptian Art in the Modern World, and Technology and Interpretation. Hartwig states, "The discipline has diversified to the extent that it now incorporates subjects ranging from gender theory, hermeneutics, and hybridity to 'X-ray fluorescence' and '3-D recording'" (xv). While the topic range for this work is broad and daunting, the volume successfully accomplishes what it sets out to do by incorporating the work of many internationally renowned scholars.

The introductory essay, "What Is Art?" by John Baines, sets the tone for the volume by addressing the nature of "art" and the role of the aesthetic in examining visual phenomena. The essays in Part I ("Methodological Approaches") tackle the topics of "Historiography of Ancient Egyptian Art," "Style," "Connoisseurship," "Iconography and Symbolism," "Semiotics and Hermeneutics," "Gender and Sexuality," "Reception and Perception," "Representing the Other: Non-Egyptians in Pharaonic Iconography," and "Interpreting Ancient Egyptian Material Culture." This is the largest, and in my opinion, most valuable section of the volume. This synthesis of a large body of research on methodological practices concerning subjects such as semiotics, hermeneutics, and cognitive studies, much of which has often been published in French and German, is now accessible to English-speaking students and scholars alike. The field of Egyptian art history has been quite late in coming to the table of art historical theory and methodology and this section does much to bring these ideas to the forefront, allowing both scholars and students to apply them to their own research.

Part II is entitled "Materials and Mediums" and includes five essays, "Sculpture," "Relief," "Painting," "Coffins, Cartonnage, and Sarcophagi," and "Luxury Arts." In a number of these essays, the combined thematic/chronological approach appears as an organizational tool which would allow them to pair nicely alongside assigned readings for upper level and graduate college courses (as do many other essays in this volume). Often overshadowed and subsumed into the topics of painting and sculpture, relief and luxury arts have their own dedicated essays. However, by concluding with stylistic and methodological analysis in many of these essays, there is overlap in material with some portions of Part I.

Part III focuses on "Concepts in Art" and has five essays, "Ideology and Propaganda," "Religion and Ritual," "Narrative," "The Ordering of the Figure," and "Portraiture." This section expands upon the concept of aesthetics discussed by Baines in the first chapter. Aesthetics is not just limited to the subjects most commonly identified as art (painting, sculpture, architecture) but also includes anything constructed with the aesthetic in mind, such as religious rituals and performances. This section also reiterates the idea (see Baines, "What Is Art?") that Egyptian art was not "primitive" because of its two-dimensionality, an assumption that was made by modern Western scholars that favored linear perspective and the illusion of depth.

Part IV, "Interconnections with the Larger World," focuses on three geographic areas, "Greece and Rome," "Ancient Near East," and "The Art and Architecture of Kushite Nubia." I am encouraged to see not only connections to the cultures of the Mediterranean but also the Near East and other parts of Africa. I would have liked to have seen more on the visual connections between Egypt and Rome, but Greece and Nubia are covered quite well. Part V, "Reception of Ancient Egyptian Art in the Modern World" only has one essay on Egyptomania. I can see why the editor has placed this in a separate section as it bridges the gap between the ancient material and the modern technologies and methods highlighted in Part VI, but it does feel a bit removed from the other essays. The final section brings together three chapters under the heading of "Technology and Interpretation." These chapters are "Interpretation," "Technology," and "Conservation," and they address topics such as epigraphy, publication, photography, technology of materials, and the conservation of said materials.

The book contains ten color plates and 120 black and white images. While this may seem a small number for an art publication, I found that when I needed an image to reference, it was usually provided. The work presents itself as a reference work and, much like the format of the Oxford Encyclopedia of Egyptology, its lack of images does not detract from its significance. The format is also in keeping with the style of other volumes in the Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World series.

Edited volumes can vary in consistency and relevance but *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* is strong in these areas. Each essay ends with a "Guide to Further Reading," as well as a reference bibliography for the preceding topic. This work certainly fulfills a need in the current literature of ancient Egyptian art history and I am very glad to have it on my shelf, both for myself and for my students. (I am currently using this volume extensively in an upper-level undergraduate Egyptian art course.) I have to concur with David O'Connor, as he writes in the foreword to the volume, "this *Companion* will surely be a great attraction to scholars of art in general, and in all fields as much as the ancient, for it has no rival as an up-to-date treatment of Egyptian art of great intellectual distinction" (xiv).

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Sean W. Anthony, ed. and trans., *Maʿmar ibn Rāshid: The Expeditions, an Early Biography of Muḥammad* (New York: New York University Press, 2014). ISBN 9780814769638. Pp. xlv + 372.

Early biographical material about the Prophet Muḥammad is famously (some might say notoriously) difficult to come by. One is lucky to find such a source that is confirmable to within two centuries of the Prophet's death. That is why Sean Anthony's translation of Maʿmar ibn Rāshid's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (which Anthony has rendered, aptly if imprecisely, as "The Expeditions") is a welcome addition to the sparse English-language treatment of early Prophetic biography. Typeset with the original Arabic on the even pages facing Anthony's English translation on the odd pages, *The Expeditions* provides a glimpse into the life of the Prophet as it was understood by Muslims of the eighth century.

While there are a few mistranslations scattered in the text, barely worthy of mention, for the nonspecialist the volume's value lies in its clear prose. The translation itself successfully walks the fine line between excessive faithfulness to the original Arabic (which would be unreadable in English) and overuse of colloquial idioms (which would efface the Arabic original source). For those seeking a reliably early biography of the Prophet to stand alongside Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra*, therefore, *The Expeditions* provides a colorized picture of one of the most legendary figures and generations in world history.

For the specialist, however, what the project possesses in literary value is somewhat offset by the generally unambitious nature of the scholarship. Anthony's statement in the forward that he intends to "table [the] contentious debate" surrounding the potential or inability of "early" biographical material (still, after all, two centuries after the fact) to present a *wie es eigentlich gewesen* depiction of the Prophet, and with a sense of "great relief" to present a straightforward translation of this type leaves readers of Arabic (who do not require the translation) with some question as to the overall point (xvi). The work appears to be a translation for translation's sake. Furthermore, *Maghāzī* literature (basically collections of descriptions of conflicts and battles fought by the Prophet, with biographical elements thrown in), because of its early provenance, survives almost exclusively in the form of citations in later sources (and this piece is no exception: Maʿ mar ibn Rāshid's work translated by Anthony survives in the recension of one of Maʿmar's students). However, these citations are usually scattered in multiple later works. While it is clear that Anthony took the appropriate time to consult some alternate versions or other venues where Maʿmar ibn Rāshid's work appears, his annotations do not provide a usable trail of crumbs to demonstrate how and why this version of Maʿmar's text came to be considered authentic. The nature of this type of literature, in other words, means that we are forced to reverse-engineer the texts from later sources (a challenge compounded by the fact that the reconstituted texts are themselves nothing but intermediate forms of a tradition in the process of transition from oral to written), and Anthony's collection gives no real sense of the genealogy of the work he presents relatively uncritically as Maʿmar's complete original. With no opinion offered on the capability of such early sources to present a real picture of the Prophet, and with no real attempt to map or explain the process by which he recovered his version of Maʿmar ibn Rāshid's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (which are the two general lines of inquiry one would naturally pursue when engaging with a project of this sort), *the Expeditions* falls short as a work of scholarship.

In fairness, though, Anthony's intent was explicitly never to settle the debate on the historical reliability of such literature (a Sisyphean task if there ever was one) nor to undertake the kind of needle-and-comb process of diagramming the lineage of a text. His purpose was "to sidestep the fraught questions surrounding the man behind the tradition [e.g., the Prophet Muḥammad] and permit a broader audience to encounter the early tradition on its own terms" (xvi). In that regard, *The Expeditions* is a beautifully bound and rendered volume (as are all volumes in the *Library of Arabic Literature*) containing an impressive, interesting, and intelligible rendering of (at least a plausible version of) an important early source.

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James G. Keenan, J. G. Manning, and Uri-Yiftach-Firanko, eds., *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest: A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation, with Introductions and Commentary* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014). ISBN 978-0-521-87452-6. Pp. xxx + 598.

Documentary papyri from Egypt provide a rich source of evidence for understanding law as a social institution in the Greco-Roman world. This material includes numerous contracts and petitions, as well as a smaller corpus of court proceedings. To consider petitions, in his recent book *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (2011), Benjamin Kelly analyzes their role in shaping the relationship between the Roman administration and the broad population of the province. Similarly, in *Violence in Roman Egypt: A Study in Legal Interpretation* (2013), Uri Bryen investigates how people in Roman Egypt used a particular type of petition, ones concerning acts of violence, to assert their own rights and to negotiate their relationships with one another and with the Roman administration. The approach of these authors, focusing on the law in practice, complements the valuable contributions made by scholars analyzing the development of the law itself in Greco-Roman Egypt, as reconstructed from papyrological documents. Moreover, papyri can be a very valuable source of comparative evidence for scholars researching questions in Roman law or in other ancient legal traditions, since they provide evidence for how legal principles worked themselves out in the real world. But a major problem for legal scholars and historians of Greek and Roman society is that the papyrological evidence can be very daunting for the non-specialist. Although it is now possible to access the texts of papyri online, the most important commentaries are published in specialized collections not always available in university libraries.

The present volume represents a monumental undertaking on the part of the editors to make the rich legal material preserved on papyri available to a wider scholarly public. The volume offers a vast anthology of legal documents, drawn from a period that lasted more than a millennium, including Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine Egypt. The documents themselves were originally written in Demotic Egyptian, Greek, and Coptic, with a small number of Arabic papyri from the late period mixed in. The three editors are all experts in different aspects of the law of ancient Egypt. J. G. Manning is a scholar of law under the Ptolemies and also of the political economy of the Ptolemaic monarchy. Uri Yiftach is a specialist on private law in Egypt, particularly on marriage law and property law in the Ptolemaic and early Roman period. James Keenan is also an expert on the law in Roman Egypt, with a particular focus on the Byzantine period. In addition, the three main editors invited contributions by wide range of the major specialists in the various areas of the law covered in the volume. The result is a rich introduction to many aspects of law in Egypt. It is not a comprehensive account of the major legal systems functioning in Egypt in the long period considered, including native Egyptian as transmitted in the Demotic papyri, and the Greco-Egyptian law of much of the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods. Rather, the purpose of the volume is to present legal documents connected with various types of legal activities, so as to provide the reader with the opportunity to understand continuities and changes in the way in which the population of Egypt organized their (legal) lives.

The volume is divided into ten substantial chapters, all with multiple authors. The first chapter (1–30) provides an introduction to the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods in Egypt, with a focus on the workings of the legal systems of the various periods. The second chapter (31–94) covers various types of documents by which legal transactions were enacted, including the Ptolemaic double documents, in which a summary of a transaction was written on the outside of a sealed contract, the less formal *cheirographon*, various types of sales and loan documents, types of leases, including the *hypomnema*, and the systems that the Romans used to register and archive documents. This chapter lays the groundwork for a major theme of the volume, that the actual practice of the law was to a large extent engineered by the scribes and other local experts who prepared documents. This is a significant stance on the part of the editors, since it asserts that the development of the law can be seen as a broad process in which people fashioned documents to achieve particular goals, such as to enter into a contract for a sale, lease, or loan, and have their interests protected as well as possible. Certainly the scribes who prepared contracts and other types of documents were aware of the broader legal policies enacted by their rulers, whether the Ptolemaic monarchy or the Roman administration, but they played the key role in making the law usable for Egypt's population. Thus, in the editors' view, the precise form in which an agreement was formulated is crucial for a full understanding of the way that the law functioned. The editors have made a conscious decision to omit certain documents that establish legal principles, such as the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, which established rules for the disposition of property belonging to various categories of people (3–4), or Hadrian's enactment according enhanced succession rights to the children of soldiers, to mention two examples. The focus is on the practice of the law, rather than its articulation. The third chapter (96–144) considers the languages in which documents were written, including Demotic, Greek, and Coptic. The choice of language is historically significant, especially with Demotic, since there were many people in the Ptolemaic period who had legal identities within the Greek community, but also within the broader Egyptian community, and Demotic persisted as a language of contracts into the first century CE. So the choice of language indicates not only how a given person sought to structure an agreement, but also what that individual saw as the best way to protect his or her interests.

The next chapters deal with the substantive aspects of the law. Chapter four (145–255) focuses on the family, with discussion of marriage contracts, divorce, adoption, fatherless children, and wills. The chapter includes a discussion of the Roman influences on family law. Chapter five (226–75) deals with loans, as well as with the use of property as security. A particular form of credit arrangement documented in Egypt is the antichretic lease, in which the lessor is a debtor who allows the creditor to use farmland or other property as a way to commute an obligation. Another type of arrangement considered is the *paramonê* contract, in which a debtor agrees to remain with the creditor for a set period of time to work off an obligation. Sale is the topic of chapter six (276–338). In this chapter, a major focus is on the sale of land, as one would expect given the importance of agriculture to the ancient economy. The most important issues surrounding the sale of land concern the types of land that could be transferred from one owner to another, and what rights the new owner of land would actually acquire through purchase. Many of the Ptolemaic sales of land involved transfers of land connected with particular temples, and the parties to the transactions were often themselves persons with some connection to a temple. Land sales are also an important phenomenon in the Roman period, since the Roman administration fostered the private ownership of land. The chapter also includes discussion of movable property, such as livestock. The registration of property when it was sold was an important theme in both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods.

Chapter seven on leases (339–400) is of particular interest for the economic historian, since the agrarian economy of Egypt depended to a large extent on the leasing out of land to tenants. There are many scholarly controversies connected with leasing in Roman Egypt, such as the extent it was used to cultivate large estates, like that of the Apions in the Oxyrhynchite nome in the sixth century, the economic status of tenants, and the relationship between landowners and tenants, whether they were simply laborers or also had resources of their own and enjoyed some degree of economic security. In addition, since, at least until the third century CE, there were numerous leases of state-owned land, the nature of leases and the conditions contained in them also provide evidence for the role of the state in the economy. Chapter eight (401–41), on labor, is closely related to chapter seven, since some the labor contracts examined involved paying wages to cultivate a plot of land; such an arrangement could, from an economic standpoint, be understood as a special form of tenancy in which the lessor bore all of the risk for the harvest and the market prices of the crops. Egyptian agriculture involved a great deal of wage labor, with workers hired on a daily basis, but such casual arrangements do not leave much trace in the legal documents; they are known primarily from estate accounts. Rather, the contracts in this chapter tend to be concerned with more specialized forms of labor, such as wet-nursing contracts, apprenticeship arrangements, and dependent labor in late-antique Egypt, when it was common for one person to guarantee another's performance of the labor contract. Chapter nine (442–69), on slavery, complements the chapter on labor. If the scholarly consensus (admittedly not universally shared) is that slaves did not play a significant role in agriculture, it is also clear that domestic slavery was widespread in Egypt. One important type of document is a sale of a slave; these documents can often provide information about the conditions under which a person became a slave, whether imported as a child from a region outside of Egypt, or raised as a foundling. There were also legal complications when slaves were needed to offer testimony in court cases. The prominent role that slavery seems to have played in Byzantine society, as recently argued by Kyle Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275–425* (Cambridge, 2011), justifies its emphasis in this chapter.

The tenth and final chapter (470–540) addresses the judicial system from a broad perspective. The chapter covers not only the administration of justice, i.e., records of court procedures, petitions, and access to legal institutions, but also how individual communities governed themselves. This is particularly important for the Ptolemaic period, when the monarchy allowed certain ethnic groups to conduct many of their own affairs in accordance with their own legal traditions. The most famous of these is the *politeuma* of Jews in Alexandria, but there were other such communities, such as the *politeuma* of Jews at Herakleopolis and the one of Idumaeans at Memphis. In addition to the civil authorities, under the Romans the military might play a role in administering the law. Much of the focus in court procedures is on the efforts of people to seek redress for acts of violence committed against themselves. In the Byzantine period, clerics and monks began to play a significant role, not simply in adjudicating cases, but as advocates, for example, to intercede on behalf of people imprisoned for debts.

This volume is a very useful resource for students of ancient law, both specialists and non-specialists alike. The fact that thirty-three contributors are involved in the project, with multiple contributors in individual chapters, means that there is some repetition of background information. This is not really a problem, however, since most readers will not go through the book from beginning to end, but will consult individual chapters for information about specific topics. The approach of emphasizing the document, as opposed to the legal concept, has the advantage of offering the reader a picture of the ordinary workings of the law. But it should also be recognized that there are important questions to which individual documents cannot offer answers. To take the case of farm tenancy, individual short-term leases do not provide much of a picture of one of the basic issues for understanding tenancy as a social institution, namely, the degree to which the tenant enjoyed security of tenure. Broader questions might concern the degree to which the tenant was subordinated economic and socially to the landowner. In other areas of the law, similar questions can be raised, since the individual documents have to be understood as the product of a society with particular structures. The introductions to the texts do provide relevant information about the social contexts, which is crucial for the non-specialist reader. In sum, the volume is an invaluable resource for scholars interested in what documentary papyri can tell us about so many facets of ancient law and life. An additional bonus is that this volume represents a great resource for teaching courses, with translations of so many interesting documents on so many subjects.

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Roger Forshaw, *The Role of the Lector in Ancient Egyptian Society*. Archaeopress Egyptology 5 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014). ISBN 9781784910327. Pp. viii+165.

This book, which is the publication of the author's doctoral thesis completed in 2013 at the University of Manchester, takes up as its subject the role of the lector in ancient Egypt. In the details drawn out from the sources, Forshaw's study represents a meticulous examination of the social and working environments in which the ancient Egyptian lector exercised his knowledge and skills. The principal sources used in the study are the relevant textual, iconographic, and archaeological materials selected within a wide chronological range, from the early stages of pharaonic history to the Greco-Roman period. Thus, the volume contains a splendidly extensive corpus of materials. In addition, new insights into the lector's non-priestly activities have also been achieved by examining his participation in royal commissions, mining expeditions, legal contends, trading, and healing practices. In his introduction, the author himself acknowledges that "the lector is conspicuous in a number of different working environments and a review of the relevant literature correlating to these separate areas needs to be considered" (1). However, his efforts to bring about a more detailed picture of the lector through the extensive evidence come at the expense of his analytical depth. The reader of Forshaw's work, therefore, shall find an engaging introduction to the role of the lector that unfortunately too often leaves out profound discussions, but as a result invites further study. Notwithstanding, the book contains much that is of interest.

The study is, no doubt, a mine of well-arranged sources that allows the author to discuss the role of the lector in multiple settings and to define his duties beyond the religious arena. Consequently, Forshaw contributes to our comprehension of the lector's secular activities and concurrently criticizes the distortion imposed on his figure in the Egyptological literature. Thus, through his book, the reader can discover that in ancient Egypt the lector could not only recite spells in ritual performances but also judge in court, act as witness, heal sick people, compose the royal titulary, make decisions about mining extraction, and recite songs to motivate a crew of workers. These less known duties of the lector are surveyed in Forshaw's study and help to acknowledge our entanglement on the subject of secular and religious professional duties in ancient Egypt.

The book consists of twelve chapters that vary in scope and depth, followed by a conclusive chapter in which the author summarizes the key issues relating to the study, a group of nine appendices, and bibliography. A list of figures (iii–iv) and tables (v), a section for abbreviations (vi), acknowledgements (vii), and an introductory chapter (1–6) precede chapters 1 through 12.

The introduction (1–6) develops several points. First, Forshaw stresses that in the Egyptological literature the title 'lector-priest' does not really fully define the role of this officiant. The author notes that the lector's activities were not restricted merely to the religious sphere in the temple and the tomb, and his functions outside those domains have been underestimated. Second, he sets the scene by introducing the reader to the various areas of action of the lector: magic, priesthood, funerary ceremonies, healing, temple and royal rituals, and other areas such as expeditions, legal processes, and contracts. Regarding his methodology, Forshaw states that "no single study has as yet exclusively examined the role of the lector but rather included elements of his various activities in the materials being reviewed. The present study aims to challenge this selective approach and explore his diverse functions in a wide ranging view of the pertinent evidence" (5).

Chapter one (7–17) examines the iconography and gestures of the lector in an attempt to understand his most common maneuvers. Forshaw stresses that the lector's image was coded in the ancient Egyptian culture, with a particular attire and recurrent gesticulation 'frozen' over time, such as the *hnw*-gesture. Furthermore, he provides the reader with an abridged survey of the representations, titles, and references attested for the lector from the early Old Kingdom—starting in the reign of Ninetjer (Second Dynasty)—to the Ptolemaic period. Interestingly, the title has never been attested for women at any period. Here he also includes a broad overview of the titles related to the lector (i.e., chief lector, greatest of the lectors, elder lector, lector in his year, lector of a king, ordinary lector), evidence that seems interesting for the general reader but does not allow for cogent observations regarding social and religious aspects of the lector's functions and status. For the sake of carefulness, in his analysis of the development of the lector's iconography the author should have alluded to the problem of iconographic transmission, a matter that in some cases determined the use of similar attire, gestures, and scenes two thousand years after the original attestations (see e.g., Peter der Manuelian, *Living in the Past. Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty* [New York, 1994]).

The second chapter (19–26) takes us to the world of magic, the performative role of the lector, and the spoken word. Here Forshaw draws our attention to the verbal efficacy of the rituals executed by the lector, and observes that scholars have not noticed the benefits obtained in the process: for instance, in the mastaba of Khentika, the deceased expresses that he will protect any lector who acts on his behalf (21). This argument connects with the idea that the king—exclusive officiant in ideological terms—received benefits from the gods for whom he practiced rituals. In the reviewer's view, chapter three (27–46) provides the most detailed analysis of the lector's professional duties examined in this book: here Forshaw not only explains the equipment that a ritualist or priest would utilize in the course of his professional activities, describing in detail the burial assemblage found in tomb no. 5 at the Ramesseum, but he also incorporates the idea that the tomb objects might have been used by the living (clappers, dolls, fertility figurines, a serpent wand, a mallet for papyrus, amulets, boxes, papyri), a question recently discussed by Alexandra von Lieven in her "Book of the Dead, Book of the Living," *JEA* 98 (2012), 249–67.

In the fourth chapter (47–50), Forshaw explores the remuneration of the lector by his participation in the system of redistribution and reciprocity maintained in temples and festivals. Thus, it is explained that the lector was paid for his services in commodities (rations), mainly foodstuffs and consumables. In addition, the lector could receive particular payments for his services in the mortuary cult, as it is evident in the third contract of Djefajhapy (48), or for his work in the temple, as the remunerations established by Senwosret II in Lahun demonstrate.

Chapter five (51–64) discusses the role of the lector in temple and festival rituals, defining the major requirements for his duty: possessing ritual knowledge, having speaking competence, being endowed with power, and being in a state of purity. Forshaw also examines the particular stages of the Daily Temple Ritual and the involvement of lectors and priests, as well as their engagement in other domains such as the foundation and consecration of temples, the house of books, sacred plays, and festival rituals (e.g., feast of Sokar).

Chapter six (65–81) deals with the association of the lector with the monarchy, mainly through the composition of the royal titulary and the performance of the *Sed*-festival. Considering the precision Forshaw demonstrates in analyzing the evolution of the lector's figure, it is surprising that he understands the depictions of the lectors without a papyrus roll in their hands at Abu Ghurob as evidence for the simplicity of the ritual performances (66). On the contrary, the depictions of performances show that rituals were variegated and complex and that the absence of the papyrus roll should be related to questions of coalition of orality and writing in the mid-Fifth dynasty.

In chapters seven to nine, Forshaw introduces the reader into the archetypical parts of the lector, mainly his religious role in the provisioning and funerary rituals for the dead (83–105), his participation in the Opening of the Mouth rites (107–14), and his involvement in healing practices (115–21). As the author notes, the lector has always been perceived as an important ritualist for mortuary and magical performances in academic and popular literature. Indeed, his knowledge on sacred texts, divine media, and arcana distinguished him as the main actor in the transfiguration of the deceased into a successful spirit in the afterlife (*akh*). In addition, he participated actively in one of the most important rites for ancient Egyptians, namely the Opening of the Mouth. There, Forshaw reconstructs the ritual represented in the tomb of Rekhmire as a case study. As for the lector's role as a healer, the author explains that this practice was not limited to a single class of individuals (physicians, *wab*-priests, priests of Sekhmet, controllers of Serket, magicians), although the lector seems to have achieved a respected position by using medical texts, amulets, and specialized instruments.

In the last section of the book, chapters ten through twelve (123–37), Forshaw concludes his analysis of the lector with a review of his major duties in the domains of trading and military expeditions, legal issues, and literature. Concerning the expeditions, the number of participating lectors is unknown. It is clear that there would be a need for medical care due to the conditions of the journeys and the presence of dangerous animals, and also that lectors would be requested to establish a significant cultic program in the temples outside Egypt (Sinai, Serabit el-Khadim, Timna). In the legal repertoire, the author succeeds in identifying sources that demonstrate the participation of lectors in local councils, at times even as a judge. Finally, Forshaw brings his study to an end with a survey of the most significant roles played by the lector in belle-lettres: as a magician with effective powers (Westcar), as a wise man who earned his position by merit (Neferty), as a healer from the netherworld (Meryra), or as a spirit guarding papyri (Setna). Eventually, the author concludes that "there is a certain degree of ambiguity in the office and rank of lector as demonstrated by the varying importance of the bearers of this title, which range from viziers to sons of the nomarch to 'scribes of the ship's watch'" (139).

The following are cases in which I disagree with the author or where some additional comments might be pertinent. In addition, I will refer to further bibliography for particular issues that the author has not included in his work and might be useful for the reader. i) In the discussion of Pap. Ramesseum E, add the recent works by M. Downing and R. Parkinson, "The tomb of the Ramesseum Papyri in the Newberry Papers, The Griffith Institute, Oxford," *BMSAES* 23 (2016), 35–45; and R. Díaz-Hernández, *Der Ramesseumspapyrus E: Ein Ritualbuch für Bestattungen aus dem Mittleren Reich*, GM Beihefte 15 (Göttingen, 2014); ii) two additions to the bibliography on magical wands: the recently published S. Quirke, *Birth Tusks: The Armoury of Health in Context–Egypt 1800 BC*, MKS 3 (London, 2016); and a paper with a fresh approach in the interpretation of magical wands and their relation to netherworld ideas, not cited by the author: J. Roberson, "The early history of 'New Kingdom' netherworld iconography: a late Middle Kingdom apotropaic wand reconsidered," in D. Silverman, W.K Simpson, and J. Wegner, eds., *Archaism and Innovation* (New Haven, 2009), 427–45; iii) the author should have included the latest study on the subject of royal titularies: R. Leprohon, *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary*, WAW 33 (Atlanta, 2013); iv) the author explains the absence of lower limbs and feet in the case of female fertility figurines (37) as evidence for the practice of mutilation similar to the one observed in hieroglyphic inscriptions; he should contemplate the possibility that these figurines might have been used to prepare defensive perimeters in the same manner as he proposes magical wands did; v) in his discussion on the earliest mention of the vigil hours and CT 49, the author should have also cited M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, BM Demotic Papyri 3 (London, 1987), 25; and add A. Pries, *Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult*, SsR 2 (Wiesbaden, 2011), esp. 12, n. 35 (on the related CT 554); vi) the predominance of the *wt*-priest (89) in the earlier representations of rituals, holding a papyrus roll (Metjen, Fourth Dynasty Old Kingdom) and the development of the role of the lector into the mortuary practices has been discussed in A. Morales, "El ritual funerario en el Reino Antiguo: los oficiates," *Aula Orientalis* 20 (2002), 123–46; vii) instead of Pyramid Text spell 1329, which does not exist (137), the author should use PT for the spell number, and Pyr. for the section within; viii) *contra* Forshaw (126), I believe that ancient Egyptians would have taken home the bodies of those fallen in military attacks and conflicts abroad to bury them within the borders of Egypt; ix) and finally, in his bibliography, the author should have been more attentive to the capitalization of nouns in the titles of German works (e.g., Bergmann 1887, Blumenthal 1977, Borchardt 1902–3, Möller 1913, and Quack 2006b).

As a step forward, fulfilling the *desiderata* of increased attention to particular figures in the religious and administrative realms, Roger Forshaw offers a remarkable study of the lector, contextualizing and discussing his multiple duties in the secular and religious domains. I mention two additional mere trifles that do not detract from the value of the book: the lack of a general index or at least an index of the sources cited, which hampers the overall usefulness of the study; and the author's redundancy in some sections of his study, mainly due to the self-contained nature of its chapters. All in all, readers interested in a broader study of the lector, with greater concern for the domains in which he functions, may wish to consult Forshaw's book. For the more serious reader, this study provides a glimpse of the various axes of social, religious, and professional intersection in the understanding of ancient Egyptian secular and religious agents.

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France Jamen, *Le cercueil de Padikhonsu au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (XXI^e dynastie)*. Studien zu altägyptischen Totentexten 20 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016). ISBN 9783447103725. Pp. xii +240.

As an in-depth study of the coffin set of the *wab*-priest, lector priest, and embalmer Padikhonsu, France Jamen's work provides a comprehensive analysis of this arguably unique inner coffin and mummy board. Jamen's main goals of the study are to attempt to reestablish a provenance, offer more secure dating, describe construction techniques, address the issue of reuse, and provide an analysis of both the textual and iconographic decoration of the coffin set. Taking at the outset the assemblage as a whole, the author addresses the issues of provenance and dating in the first chapter. In addition, Jamen also provides a discussion of the name and titles of the deceased, drawing upon a portion of her dissertation work, which focuses on the social hierarchy of titles in the Twenty-First Dynasty. (The publication of her dissertation is forthcoming and much anticipated by the author of this review.) Finally, the first chapter highlights the construction techniques, beginning with a wood analysis and ending with a discussion of the preparation layers beneath the polychrome decoration.

The coffin lid, the coffin case, and the mummy board are the respective topics of the remaining three chapters (chapters 2–4). Each of these chapters follows a pattern of discussing first exterior and then interior decoration. Within each of these sections, equal attention is paid to both the iconography and text, with full hieroglyphic transcription, transliteration, translation, and paleography (when appropriate) provided for all texts. It is in this area where the true value of the work lies. The translations of the texts, in particular the two liturgical formulas and chapter 1 of the Book of the Dead (located on the interior surface of the coffin lid) and the 10th and 11th hours of the Amduat (located on the interior surface of the mummy board), are of particular importance. They are unique in their location and format on a Twenty-First Dynasty coffin set. The author, despite the lack of comparative examples on coffins, offers a synoptic analysis by providing the reader with temporally related examples of these text, most of which are found on papyri.

In addition to the introduction and three analytical chapters, Jamen included nineteen color image plates, two appendices, two large-scale, loose-leaf diagrams of the interior decoration of the coffin lid and mummy board, and a CD-ROM of high-resolution images. These additional inclusions add immensely to the comprehensive study. The two appendices feature the full wood analysis by Dr. María Victoria Asensi Amóros and an explanation of the restoration processes undertaken in 2008, 2010, and 2012. These appendices provide much more information and detail than the main body of the text would allow, and are an appreciated supplement to the book. The CD-ROM also added an extra dimension to the work, as it featured high quality images of the individual elements of the coffin set both before and after restoration. The book and all of its constituent emblements is a comprehensive guide to the coffin set of Padikhonsu that features, with equal weight, each of the lenses of analysis it ventured to objectively analyze.

Studies that center on a single object, however, always run the risk of falling short of providing a holistic study—connecting the piece to the larger corpus of related objects, providing the historical backdrop that makes the object significant, studying the object as part of a larger assemblage, and relating the piece in a social way to the people who created and used the object and objects like it. This work by Jamen generally fell into this trap. While at times the author did attempt to connect the coffin set of Padikhonsu to the larger religious, economic, and social milieu, there were several missed opportunities that would have created a truly interconnected work. The following two points illustrate these overlooked topics, which would have established this connection to the larger Twenty-First Dynasty context of this piece, without expanding the overall scope of the work.

First, the examination of construction techniques was superbly investigated with regard to the study of the wood, but did not continue with this same level of detail into the topics of pigments and polychrome decoration application. The wood analysis was incredibly exhaustive, and the construction methods were well informed and described. These particular construction choices were imbedded in a larger discussion of Twenty-First Dynasty coffins, and in particular the *stola* coffin group. After introducing the application of preparation layers for the decoration, however, little attention was given to the application technique of the polychrome pigments. The study lacked a chemical analysis of the pigments, which would have complimented the wood analysis and provided answers to this next major step in the construction of the coffin set. With the knowledge that such analysis can be expensive and possibly invasive to the coffin set, it is understandable that this type of analysis was unattainable within the scope of the project. Instead, the focus shifted from how the coffin was painted to what the coffin was decorated with, which broke the construction narrative that was so finely developed with the examination of the wood.

Of course, the discussion of the choice of funerary iconography and text is an integral element of the study. This discussion centered largely on a thick description of the images and the previously mentioned analysis of the text. While the religious significance of these funerary motifs were highlighted, the social element of why these particular motifs were chosen was underdeveloped, and left the reader questioning why such unique decoration would have been incorporated into this coffin set. In addition, much organizational emphasis was placed on where a text or image appeared in relationship to the body. There was, however, little analysis as to why this might be the case, and if there is significance to the placement of, for example, the vignettes of Book of the Dead chapter 17 around the interior of the coffin lid in relationship to the text of Book of the Dead chapter 1 and/or the body of the deceased.

Second, the issue of reuse, while addressed in the introductory chapter, was not considered fully, and led to ambiguity regarding the author's dating. In the introduction, Jamen references the possibility that the coffin set of Padikhonsu could have had a previous owner. She does not, however, provide a dedicated and detailed treatment of reuse, despite the fact that the work of Dr. Kathlyn Cooney has illustrated that elements such as overpainted collars mismatched ledges of lids and cases (both of which this coffin set possesses) are typical signs of reuse ("Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification," *JARCE* 47 (2011), 3–44). In fact, Cooney's research into reuse and the widespread discussion of institutionalized Twenty-First Dynasty reuse, which has become a major topic in coffin studies in recent years, did not feature at all in this work.

Instead, the issue of reuse is mentioned only in connection to the problem of dating the coffin set within the confines of the Twenty-First Dynasty. For example, Jamen identifies the inner coffin lid of Padikhonsu as being of Andrzej Niwiński's type IV-a, a group of coffin lids that Niwiński states archaizes to the end of the Ramesside period, yet was introduced in the later part Twenty-First Dynasty. While Jamen does date the coffin set of Padikhonsu to the reign of the High Priest of Amun Pinedjem II (largely based on criteria established by René van Walsem), she offers Niwiński's typology as another line of evidence, but then suggests that the entirety of his type IV-a *are* Ramesside coffin lids reused throughout the Twenty-First Dynasty. This is a probable conclusion that negates the argumentation for his typology and its use value in coffin studies of this nature.

The study of a discrete assemblage like the coffin set of Padikhonsu can provide valuable information regarding use of materials, construction of funerary objects, and choice of decoration. Being a comprehensive analysis, a significant amount of information was compiled and presented to the reader in order to provide a highly detailed level of observation in well-structured manner. Several questions regarding the comparison between this coffin set and others from the Twenty-First Dynasty remain, as do additional conclusions pertaining to the reuse of the coffin set, the social status of the deceased Padikhonsu, and the economic backdrop of the Twenty-First Dynasty. With the inclusion of such elements in a more thorough manner, a link could be made between this singular coffin set and the larger corpus, drawing out the uniqueness of the objects that were the focus of this study. The strengths of this work are the meticulousness of the information presented and the cogent format in which this information was disseminated. A work that can diligently combine an art historical and textual approach and additionally connect to technological analyses of wood and construction techniques is very rare and a valuable contribution to the field of coffin studies. Jamen convincingly illustrates the merit of such in-depth research by presenting results that can be used to enlighten the larger social atmosphere of the Twenty-First Dynasty Theban priesthood.

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Roger H. Guichard, Jr., *Niebuhr in Egypt: European Science in a Biblical World* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 2014). ISBN 9780718893354. Pp. xv + 344.

The Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia, 1761–1767, was one of the great ventures of eighteenth-century exploration. It was charged with the exploration of southern Arabia, or Arabia Felix as it was known, an area that accords in general with present-day Yemen where an especially pure Arabic was thought to persist. Recording it would not only open a new dimension in orientalist studies but also provide insights into biblical Hebrew though Semitic similarities. That was all in the spirit of the religious Enlightenment in Europe, but the objectives mandated by the sponsors of the expedition went much further. Its members were charged with providing answers to dozens of specific questions of historical, social, geographical, and linguistic nature, even verifying the existence of "sirens" in the Red Sea.

The expedition's tragic, sordid, and heroic course has been told in several accounts of Arabian travel such as Kathryn Tidrick's *Heart Beguiling Araby* (1981) and Richard Trench's *Arabian Travels* (1987). Thorkild Hansen wrote a historical novel about it. Scholarly interest has increased. Just one year before the appearance of Guichard's book, Lawrence J. Baack published his *Undying Curiosity: Carsten Niebuhr and the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia* (2014). It is regrettable that Guichard was not able to benefit by that major work before completing his account of Niebuhr in Egypt.

The carefully selected members of the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia possessed a wide assortment of skills, talents, and personalities. A key member was the philologist Frederik Christian von Haven, initially the most prominent of the group. Christian Carl Kramer, the expedition's medical doctor, was expected to lend assistance in the area of natural history. The artist was Georg Wilhelm Baurenfeind, an accomplished copper engraver. Lars Berggren, a former soldier in the Swedish army, served as the expedition's orderly. The intellectual star of the expedition was Peter Forsskål (not 'Forsskal,' as Guichard writes), a genuine child prodigy who became a devoted student, or "apostle," of the great botanist Carl Linnaeus. Before accepting a place, Forsskål made a demand: "I am requesting from the outset that all members of the party be viewed as equals and friends and that no one will be subordinated to another." Egalitarian though he was, Forsskål also drove a very hard financial bargain, exacting promises of lucrative and prestigious awards that were to be his when he returned.

And then there was Carsten Niebuhr, selected as the expedition's cartographer and surveyor, as well as its mathematician and astronomer, but he turned out to be much more. At the time of his acceptance Niebuhr was considered one of the less promising members of the expedition, but that was a gross underestimate of his skill and energy, as well as his unrelenting determination that had enabled him to overcome serious personal and financial obstacles to gain the education that qualified him for a place on the expedition. Niebuhr also recognized opportunity when he encountered it. According to family tradition, when he was asked, "Would you perhaps like to make a trip to Arabia?" he promptly replied, "You bet! If someone is going to cover the costs" (Baack, *Undying Curiosity*, 47).

Niebuhr is by far the best remembered member of the expedition, in part because he was the only one who lived to tell the tale. In doing so, and in writing his classic *Travels in Arabia*, he became the precursor of a long line of distinguished Arabian explorers and travelers. Sir Richard Francis Burton (to whom Guichard is rather unkind [vii–viii]) studied Niebuhr's work carefully before making his famous pilgrimage to al-Medina and Mecca. Sir Gifford Palgrave, an Arabian explorer of notable endurance, stubbornness, and renown, dedicated his *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* to Niebuhr, "in honour [not 'honor,' as Guichard writes] of that intelligence and courage which first opened Arabia to Europe." In the twentieth century the Arabian sojourner Harry St. John Philby described Niebuhr as "the father of Arabian exploration."

The expedition sailed from Copenhagen aboard the *Grønland* in January 1761 but did not reach Istanbul until late July after repeated delays. By then, strong personal inclinations had rent it asunder. Baurenfeind took refuge in his art, with good result, and withdrew as much as possible. Kramer turned out to be lazy, doing little, and proving of little use as a physician, whether to his fellows or to himself. But none of the others could stand von Haven, who was trouble from the start. Early on they were demanding that he be removed from the expedition. When he purchased a large quantity of arsenic in Istanbul, they were convinced he intended to poison them all. After von Haven died in Yemen, Forsskål noted, "His death has made the expedition incomparably easier. He had a very difficult nature" (Trench, 43). Forsskål and Niebuhr come across as the most able and high-minded of the bunch—at least, that is the picture that emerges from Niebuhr's memoirs and Forsskål's surviving notes.

As the expedition traveled into Arabia and beyond they encountered harsh, even deadly conditions. Von Haven was the first to die. Then Forsskål perished on the road. Niebuhr thought Forsskål might have been the most learned man in Europe had he lived. Berggren and Baurenfeind succumbed on the voyage from Mokha to India and were buried at sea. Kramer died at Bombay in September 1763, leaving Niebuhr to carry on alone in India and through Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, and then through much of Europe as he made his way back to Denmark in what Lawrence Baack describes as "an incredible tale of personal courage and unrelenting intellectual curiosity" (Baack, 16). After such an adventurous seven years, Niebuhr passed the rest of his life in relative tranquility, working on his book and editing Forsskål's diaries and notes. He also preserved many of Baurenfeind's drawings. The result, as is known in translation, was *Travels in Arabia*. Meanwhile he devoted much time and energy to the education of his son, Barthold Georg Niebuhr, who achieved a level of fame in Roman studies as lofty as his father's in the annals of Arabian travel.

What is original about Guichard's book is its focus on Niebuhr's time in Egypt. Though Egypt was originally intended to be little more than a place on the way to Arabia Felix, the expedition lingered there for more than a year after their arrival in late September 1761. From the very beginning Niebuhr displayed the acute observational abilities that he maintained throughout his time in the East. His attention to his scientific duties was impeccable. The maps he made in Egypt, and indeed elsewhere, are superb for their time and bear comparison with later maps. Especially notable were his highly detailed map of the Delta and a remarkably accurate map of Cairo. He wrote, "I have indicated in my map only those things I saw myself or heard from those who knew the country. If all travelers did the same, one could appreciate the service that each would render to the betterment of modern geography" (170). He included latitude and wrestled with the issue of longitude, yet to be settled definitively.

But Niebuhr did much more than his assigned duties demanded. Members of the expedition were explicitly prohibited from "detours or side trips" and "making discoveries in other countries out of a general curiosity" (Baack, 85). Fortunately for scholarship, Niebuhr paid scant attention to those prohibitions. Among other things, he displayed a distinctive talent for enthography. His perceptive observations of many aspects of Egyptian society are worthy precursors of those made by Napoleon's savants in the monumental *Description de l'Égypte* and in Edward William Lane's authoritative *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. Guichard finds it remarkable that Lane did not cite Niebuhr in his work, but Lane resorted to few secondary sources, relying almost entirely on personal observation, as did Niebuhr. On one occasion Niebuhr was even granted the extraordinary opportunity of observing a female circumcision. His description of dancers in Cairo is strikingly similar to the one in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*:

> At first we did not find any particular pleasure in watching them, both because the instruments and the vocal music were very poor, and because the women assumed all kinds of highly indecent postures; and although to begin with we found them all equally ugly, with their yellow hands, blood-red nails, black and blue jewellery round their ears, ankles, necks and nostrils and vile-smelling hair; and although their voices were awful, we ended up thinking they were the finest singers and dancers in all of Europe" (Trench, 33).

Niebuhrs's observations ranged all across Egyptian society, from the games people played to serious matters of governmental organization. Years later he wrote, "I will report here what I saw of the exercises and diversions of the Orientals. However, I must confess that [I] have not delved deeply into the subject" (188). He was much too modest.

Niebuhr's time in Egypt is a rewarding topic of study, and it can make a good story as well, therefore it is regrettable that Guichard has so little to say about it. Many of the things mentioned in this review are left undeveloped or not mentioned at all in *Niebuhr in Egypt*. A highly disproportionate amount of this book is devoted to extensive background information, so much so that Guichard seems capable of forgetting for pages on end that he should be writing about Niebuhr, not about background generalities so profuse that Niebuhr almost disappears from the picture. Shifts of focus between overall background and Niebuhr's activities in Egypt do not always run smooth. It is highly informative to read about Johann David Michaelis and how his ideals conditioned the expedition and set its agenda, but Niebuhr and the journey are kept waiting for some 40 pages after what amounts to an essay about Michaelis, not Niebuhr. When Guichard mentions how Niebuhr encountered Bedouin life in the Egyptian deserts, he quotes an extensive passage from the Egyptian historian al-Jabarti but has little to say about Niebuhr's observations of the Bedouin. Other similar examples could be adduced. Background, narrative, and analysis could be more tightly woven together for a more effective presentation throughout.

Historians of Egyptology will probably be disappointed in Guichard's account of Niebuhr's explorations of Egyptian antiquity. These are covered in just twenty-six pages, most of which are devoted to background information, some of which lacks clear relevance, and can be had elsewhere. And some of that background is demonstrably incorrect. Guichard describes how Niebuhr examined the tall, solitary column in Alexandria known as Pompey's Pillar and correctly recognized that the monument was associated with the Emperor Diocletian, not the triumvir Gnaeus Pompeius, who was murdered more than three centuries earlier in Egypt during his war with Julius Caesar. That fact is well established, yet Guichard calls the monument "Pompeii's pillar" and clearly associates it with the Roman town that was buried in the volcanic eruption of AD 79.

Niebuhr accomplished so much in regard to Egyptian antiquity that he can justly be considered a proto-Egyptologist as he delved deeply into a study still enshrouded in mystery. He was limited in the ancient sites that he could examine in person, but he made the most of the opportunities afforded him. He surveyed the Pyramids of Giza. He even climbed the Second Pyramid nearly to its top where the remaining casing stones at the apex make the last few meters of the climb extremely perilous. His location of ancient Memphis, still a subject of uncertainty because few superficial remains were to be seen, proved correct. When the expedition went into the Sinai, he recorded the pharaonic site Serabit al-Khadim. Niebuhr was the first to describe its temple of Hathor and identify Serabit al-Khadim as a center for mining turquoise.

Neibuhr's most impressive accomplishments in the study of Egyptian antiquity lay in the area of language. At a moment when the decipherment of the hieroglyphs lay many decades in the future, he correctly perceived that Coptic was the key to the lost ancient language. He devoted much of his time to copying hieroglyphs, accumulating some twenty sheets of hieroglyphic characters with unprecedented abundance and accuracy. These signs, he soon realized, could be read from either right to left or left to right, depending on their orientation. Also, and unlike many previous and contemporary scholars, he realized the distinction between the hieroglyphs and the pictures that sometimes accompanied them. As Erik Iversen observed in his *Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (111), Niebuhr's "final conclusions were that instead of attempting to explain the mythological significance of the pictures, the Egyptological scholars should stick to the inscriptions, make complete lists of them, compare the sign-forms of the various monuments, and then see if the script could not be deciphered by means of Coptic."

Had subsequent scholars stuck closely to the path suggested by Niebuhr, they would have unlocked the secrets of the hieroglyphs much sooner than they did. Niebuhr understood that investigators of the ancient language needed a good supply of ancient inscriptions, as Champollion found when he set out to crack the ancient script and translate the lost language it represented. He showed the same attention to epigraphy and the remains of antiquity everywhere he traveled in the East, whether in Sinai, where he copied Nabataean inscriptions, in India, or Persia. The eminent Sumerologist Samuel Noah Kramer wrote in his *The Sumerians* (7) how Niebuhr, "besides copying at Persepolis the inscriptions which led to the decipherment of cuneiform, was the first to give his contemporaries a concrete idea of the ruins of Nineveh with the help of sketches and drawings." One wishes Guichard had delved more deeply into all that.

The last two chapters, "Afterward" and "The Results," may be the most rewarding part of *Niebuhr in Egypt*. Both read well and are highly informative. Of particular value is Guichard's presentation of Niebuhr's assiduous literary activity which guaranteed that some of the most valuable accomplishments of the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia were preserved. Despite inadequate support and encouragement for publication, he produced six substantial volumes before the money ran out, three of Forsskål's and three of his own. It is important to understand, as Guichard explains, that the book we know as *Travels in Arabia* represents only a portion of the original materials.

According to the promotional material for *Niebuhr in Egypt* from the Lutterworth Press, "This is not a scholarly work but would appeal to anyone with an interest in any of the areas mentioned or simply to anyone interested in this country's [Egypt's] past and present." Roger H. Guichard, Jr. has done well to call attention to this hitherto underappreciated aspect of Niebuhr's overall achievements. Much more remains to be said about the accomplishments of Carsten Niebuhr in Egypt.

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