

NILE



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**TUTANKHAMUN'S
GUARDIAN STATUES**

SETI I'S TEMPLE

ALABASTER
Into the mind of the sculptor

Pharaoh's Arsenal
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FALLEN GLORY

Khadija Hammond
Elsayed Hegazy

The temple of the feline goddess Bastet—enlarged and renewed over thousands of years—now lies as a scattered jumble of blocks, half-buried in an overgrown field. But a new project has begun to raise the temple to its former glory.



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The blockbuster travelling Tutankhamun exhibition (currently paused, but opening soon in Boston) features one of the two “guardian statues” from the king’s tomb. **Jan Summers Duffy** presents a new theory about them.



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How did Egypt’s ancient temples look when they were brand new? **Floyd Chapman** recreates a scene from Seti I’s temple at Abydos to help us appreciate the ancient artistry and understand the symbols and hieroglyphs.



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Egypt’s ancient craftsmen made meaningful choices when carving fine alabaster vessels out of raw stone blocks. **David Ian Lightbody** explains how they exploited any natural variations in the stone for both decorative and symbolic effect.



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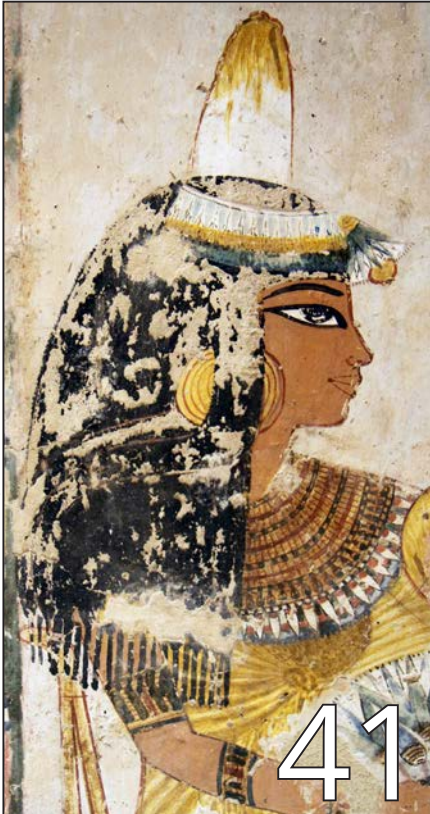
WARFARE AND EMPIRE

Brian Alm

A pharaoh’s primary obligation was the maintenance of universal order, and sometimes that had to be enforced on the battlefield. **Brian Alm** looks at the warfare, weapons and will that developed the Egyptian state into an empire.

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COVER STORY

HEAD CONES

Jeff Burzacott

Henuttaway (left) served as a “Chantress of Amun” at the Amun Temple precinct at Karnak. She also features prominently throughout the Theban tomb of her husband, Menna (TT 69). On her head, Henuttaway sports a magnificently tall cone. But what exactly IS it?

Revelers at funerary banquets are often shown wearing such cones. Are they lumps of fat, infused with aromatic oils, or are they more symbolic in nature? A remarkable discovery at Amarna may help provide the answer.

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MAY–JUNE 2020

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FROM THE EDITOR

OK, WHO FORGOT TO FEED SEKHMET? Wow—what a year (so far)! Apologies that this issue is coming to you so, so late. I’m blaming Sekhmet, the feline-headed, fiery agent of Ra’s fury (but also a powerful goddess of healing and protection). If Sekhmet wasn’t properly placated with the right tasty treats, then you could expect things to turn nasty pretty quickly. (2020 anyone?)

It’s therefore fairly appropriate that this issue features the ambitious plans to rebuild the temple of Bastet in the eastern Delta. Bastet was another feline goddess who was capable of wreaking terrible destruction and similarly required a constant flow of appropriate offerings. Let’s hope Bastet enjoys all the attention and helps turn this year around for the better.

We sometimes receive photos that readers have taken of themselves, enjoying their **NILE** time, and recently thought, “why not feature some in the magazine?” Turn to page 65 for the delightful first photo. If you would like yourself featured in your favourite Egyptology magazine,

Ramesses watching you complain about just one plague:

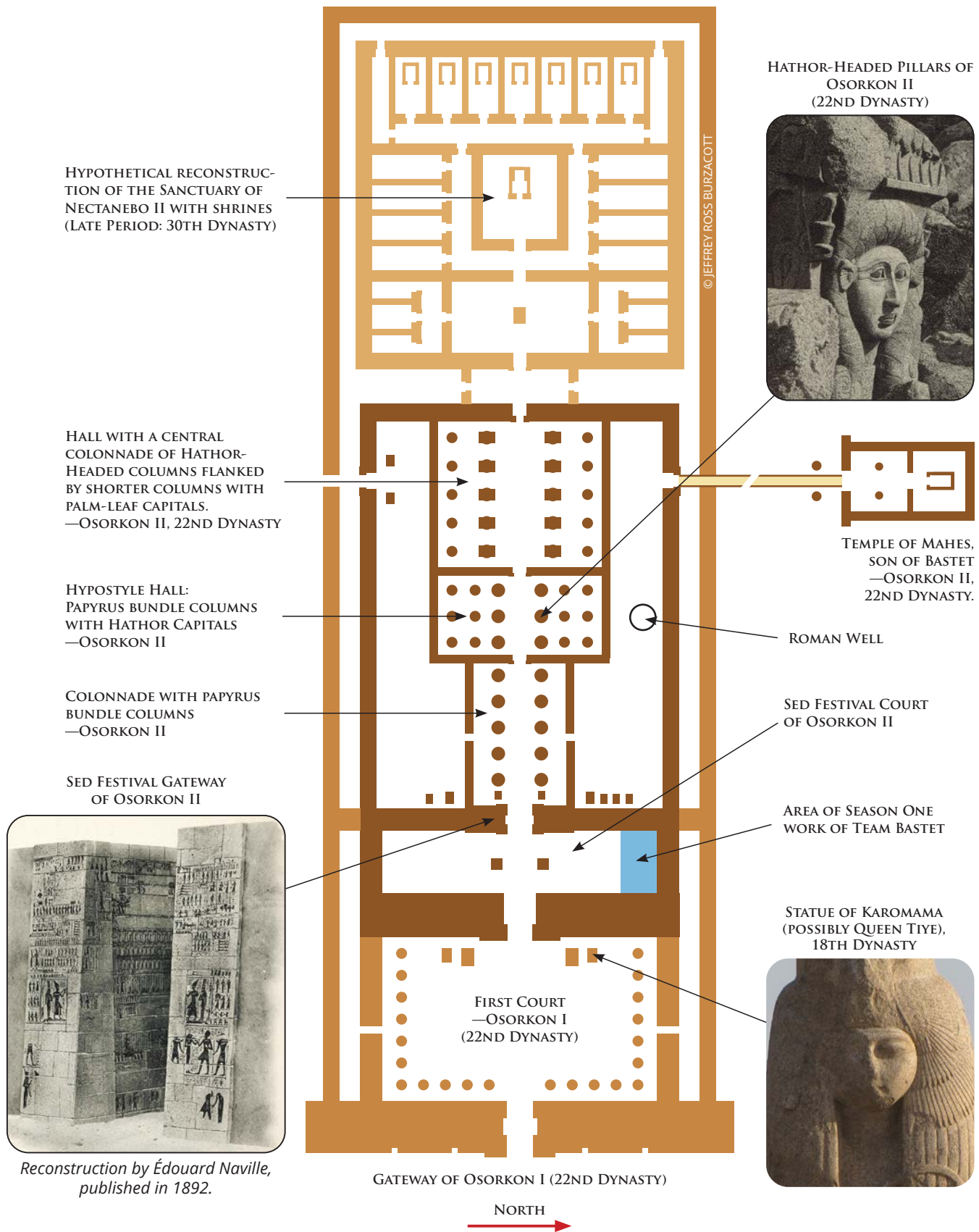


A meme from the NILE Magazine Facebook page. I love that face!

please send your photos to the email address below.

So, welcome (finally) to issue #25. As always, I hope you love your **NILE** time!

Jeff Burzacott ☰
editor@nilemagazine.com.au



Reconstruction by Édouard Naville, published in 1892.

THE TEMPLE OF BASTET—FACT FILE:

DATE: Visible ruins are mostly Third Intermediate Period, 22nd Dynasty (ca. 945–715 B.C.) and Late Period, 30th Dynasty (ca. 380–343 B.C.).

LOCATION: Modern Zagazig, 80 km northeast of Cairo.

REGION: Southeast Nile Delta, Lower Egypt.

DEDICATION: The lioness (and later cat) goddess Bastet.

MATERIAL: Limestone (mostly missing) and granite.

LENGTH: Around 200 metres.

FIRST EXCAVATION: Édouard Naville for the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society), 1887–89.

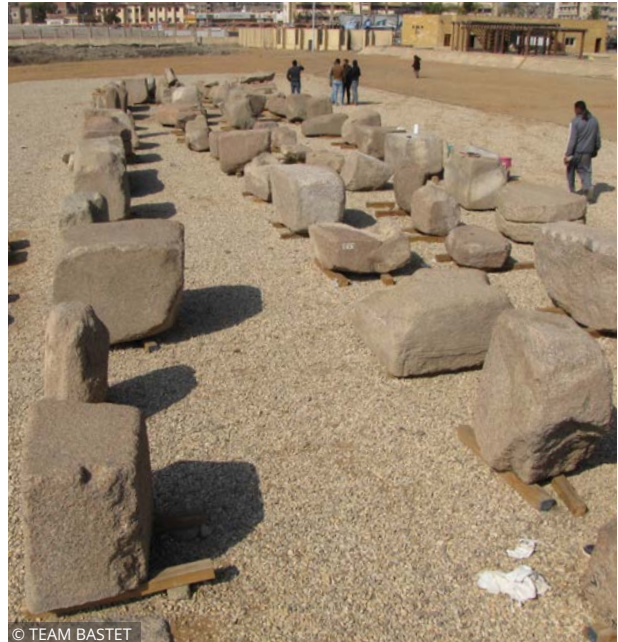
RECENT DISCOVERIES: In 2004—a duplicate of the Canopus Decree of Ptolemy III (ca. 238 B.C.), demonstrating that the temple was still important in the 3rd century B.C.

CURRENT CONDITION: Scattered ruins of granite blocks.



© TEAM BASTET

Looking across the block field that represents the tumbled remains of Osorkon II's once-grand Festival Hall. Here, members of Team Bastet attach the straps of a harness to a block for it to be hauled out of the soil and taken to a nearby working area (right) for documentation, cleaning and conservation.



© TEAM BASTET

The first stage in the restoration of the Temple of Bastet involves the relocation of the blocks to a work area where they are kept off the ground and away from the corrosive effects of ground moisture and salt.

In the background, you can see the modern city of Zagazig, which surrounds the archaeological site.

This will help us to work out where each block fits when we are ready to reconstruct the scenes. When Édouard Naville excavated the temple in the 19th century, he turned over and copied the reliefs on every block he could. Naville's published records will enable us to compare our blocks against his drawings, and determine how much of our material is being documented for the first time.

CONSERVATION

Salt is the enemy for delicate reliefs, and 15 conservation specialists are working to save the retrieved blocks from damage caused by salt crystals. This involves applying a solution of alcohol and water to loosen the salt crystals so they can be carefully pried away.

NEXT SEASON

In season two we hope to complete the removal of the stones from the Festival Hall. Then, it will be time to excavate the area which we have cleared. This earth beneath these blocks has not been touched in thousands of years. Who knows what lies beneath?

RECONSTRUCTION

Of course, this is a task of mammoth proportions. Édouard Naville attempted a reconstruction (on paper) of the Festival Gate of Osorkon II and determined that "not much more than one-third has been preserved." Hopefully, further excavation will bring to light more pieces of the puzzle.

In 1845, the German Egyptologist Karl Lepsius described the following depressing scene that he witnessed in Luxor: "There is a bare white spot in the middle of the fertile plain: on this, two limekilns are erected, in which, as often as they are wanted, the very best blocks of the ancient

temples and rock-grottoes, with their images and inscriptions, are pounded and burnt into lime, that they may again cement together other blocks... for some cattle-stall or other government purposes."

It was, no doubt, a similar story of destruction in Bubastis. Much of the Temple of Bastet was built using limestone which has since been stripped away for use as lime, leaving the scattered granite elements behind. It is going to be a huge undertaking to not only reconstruct what is left but also to fill in the blanks. To learn more about the project, and find out how you can be involved, visit teambastet.com.



KHADIJA HAMMOND is a scholar of ancient Egypt. She writes historical fiction and has several books available on Amazon.com. She is co-director of the team restoring the Great Temple of Bastet in Zagazig (teambastet.com). She also runs a cat sanctuary in Luxor called the Sanctuary of Bastet, where she resides with her husband, Dr. Elsayed Hegazy.



DR. ELSAYED HEGAZY is Director of the project to restore the Great Temple of Bastet. He is former Director of Karnak and Luxor Temples, and the Valley of the Kings and Queens, and retired as Director of the Eastern Delta. He worked with Dr. Mohammed Sohier in the discovery and restoration of the Luxor Cashette at Luxor Temple.

BUBASTIS: ITS LONG HISTORY IN STONE

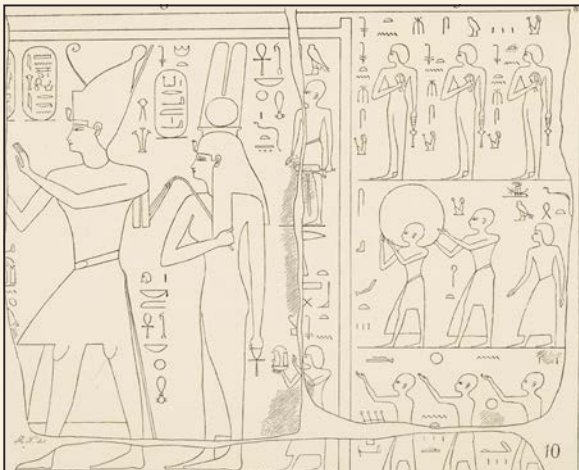


© TEAM BASTET

THE KING'S RENEWAL

This granite block comes from Osorkon II's gateway that led to his Sed Festival Hall at the Temple of Bastet. Osorkon II commissioned the gateway to celebrate one of the most important royal festivals in ancient Egypt: The Sed Festival. This ritual served to renew the physical and divine powers of the ruler and to confirm his rank as a king of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The top register on this block shows three royal princesses, while below, a musician beats a drum that is held aloft by another. Édouard Naville did an amazing job at bringing blocks together to complete scenes, and here we see that the above block forms part of a processional scene that follows the king and his wife, Karomama. The first block is now in the British Museum (EA 1077).



© TEAM BASTET

NEFERTARI OR TIYE?

The Delta's largest statue so far discovered was unearthed in 2001 by an Egyptian/German (University of Potsdam) mission within Osorkon II's peristyle court in the Temple of Bastet. This colossal queenly figure (above), carved from red granite, stands over nine metres tall.

The statue had split in two when it tumbled to the ground, possibly during the earthquake that devastated the temple in the 1st century B.C., and has now been re-erected in the vicinity of the temple.

This queen wears a heavy wig, adorned with the vulture headdress of queens and goddesses. Her left hand holds a lily, which falls in an arc across her chest. Next to her right leg is the figure of a daughter, 1.6 metres tall. Unfortunately, the bottom fragment of the sculpture suffered most from the effects of groundwater, and the details of this smaller figure are lost.

The back pillar identifies the statue as Karomama, wife of Osorkon II, however, the inscriptions had been tampered with, and so her true identity comes down to two notable queens: Nefertari, the first wife of the 19th Dynasty's Ramesses II, or Tiye, principal wife of Amenhotep III, who ruled 70 years earlier in the 18th Dynasty.

Dr. Elsayed Hegazy, Director of the Team Bastet Project, believes that this is Queen Tiye. Amenhotep III was active at Bubastis—he built a chapel west of the Temple of Bastet—and the round-faced statue bears a strong similarity to portraits of Amenhotep's queen.

Writing in *Amenhotep III: Egypt's Radiant Pharaoh*, Arielle Kozloff suggests that the statue "was carved late in the (Amenhotep III's) reign, judging from her middle-aged figure and fashions—a trailing gown and enormous wig nearly enveloping her small, round face."



REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE GRIFFITH INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Just like many of the statues of both the king and deities in Tutankhamun's tomb, the two guardian figures were wrapped in linen when first discovered. This photo shows the statue on the eastern side of the Antechamber, wearing the pharaonic nemes headdress (JE 60707).

These linen coverings were very significant—even the king's two inner coffins were shrouded in fabric. Fine linen

used in this way was related to secrecy, seclusion, silence and concealment—all being important expressions of the hidden nature of the divine. In addition, there was a correlation between the act of covering an object and the magic such a wrapping provided. Wrapping the two guardian statues in linen not only formed a protective layer of concealment but served as the power to transform.

esteem. The notion that one's afterlife manifestation must receive a pair of sandals to wear to travel the "roads of the West" was initiated in the Pyramid Texts:



*"He (Horus) was journeying through the land
in his two white sandals,*



and set out to see his father, Osiris."

(Pyramid Texts, Utterance 519, §1215a,b.

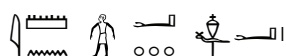
From the Pyramid of King Pepi I, 6th Dynasty, ca. 2300 B.C.)

CURSES

It cannot be denied that seeing two life size statues upon entering a dark tomb in ancient times or now could be daunting to the intruder. Tomb robbery and reuse was rampant throughout Egyptian history, thwarting the desire of all living persons to safeguard their corpse and possessions in perpetuity. This desire was often complicated by a competing wish for a fabulously-decorated, attention-seeking offering chapel that spoke of the deceased's wealth.

Many tombs endured for thousands of years, even though their contents often disappeared swiftly after burial. Execration texts, which threaten violence or death to those with less than honourable intentions, were written on the exterior of tombs to discourage thieves and instill a fear of haunting, but were ineffective. Although the punishment for tomb defilement was severe, no deterrent was strong enough for an intruder lusting for valuable burial goods.

Following the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922, the idea of a "Curse of the Pharaohs" was fuelled in part by an inscription scratched on a clay brick found by Carter in front of the magnificent Anubis Shrine, just inside the tomb's Treasury. Jackal-headed Anubis was the god of embalming (crucial for the protection of the body and the daily rebirth of the soul), and acted as guardian of the necropolis. The magical text on the brick, which acted as the base for a reed torch, refers to Anubis' role in watching protectively over the burial chamber:



"It is I who repels the sand from the secret chamber,



and who repels him with a desert flame.



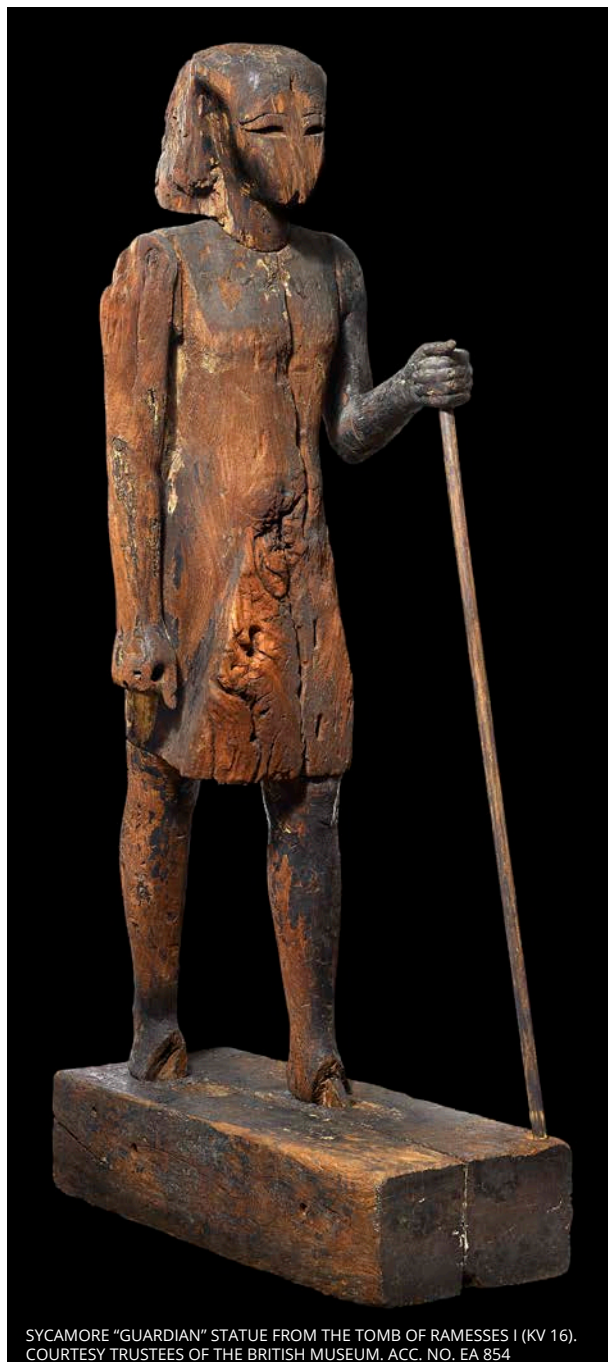
I have set alight the desert,



and confused the way,



*I am for the protection of the Osiris king,
Nebkheperura (Tutankhamun), Lord forever and ever."*



SYCAMORE "GUARDIAN" STATUE FROM THE TOMB OF RAMESSES I (KV 16).
COURTESY TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. ACC. NO. EA 854

Whether the ka statues in Tutankhamun's tomb also represented guardians, flanking the walled-off burial chamber to deter tomb robbers through spiritually-instilled fear, is unclear, although niches in the corridors of some royal tombs are labelled in Egyptian texts as the "two doorkeepers' rooms". These niches were empty when first discovered, however, the name suggests that guardian statues were placed in these positions to block illicit access past that point.

Statues similar to Tutankhamun's have also been found in other tombs. Two six-foot figures, for example, were discovered in the tomb of the 19th-Dynasty pharaoh Ramesses I (KV 16) by Giovanni Belzoni in October 1817. One of these two statues (British Museum, EA 854) is shown above. The missing eyes and eyebrows were originally inlaid, as Tutankhamun's are, and the front of the kilt has been lost, but the overall resemblance to Tutankhamun's nemes-wearing statue is striking. Even the head coverings of the Ramesses I pair matched those of Tutankhamun: one wearing the nemes headdress and the other a khat bag style.

Friday, the 16th of February, 1923: Howard Carter (left) and Lord Carnarvon stand either side of the partially-cleared doorway between the Antechamber and the Burial Chamber of Tutankhamun's tomb. Hidden behind protective wooden cladding are Tutankhamun's guardian statues.

The formal opening of the doorway was conducted before a group of colleagues and invited dignitaries. Recalling the occasion, Carter wrote, "In the Antechamber everything was prepared and ready, and to those who had not visited it since the original opening of the tomb it must have presented a strange sight. We had screened the statues with boarding to protect them from possible damage, and between them we had erected a small platform, just high enough to enable us to reach the upper part of the doorway...." (The Tomb of Tutankhamun: Volume I, 1923.)

We may never know why Carter felt it was so important to board up the statues for the opening of the Burial Chamber rather than remove them safely out of the way. One thing, however, is clear: the wooden platform built for Carter and Carnarvon to stand on did an effective job of hiding the hole they had earlier opened into the Burial Chamber. Perhaps the screening around the statues simply provided a good distraction from the box.



REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE GRIFFITH INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

also appeared to have a similar feature beneath the kilt, each sealed by a piece of stone plastered in position and then gilded.

To investigate the possibility that religious texts on papyrus might also be concealed within Tutankhamun's statues, a team from Japan's Waseda University Team consisting of Sakuji Yoshimura, Jiro Kondo, and Nicholas Reeves x-rayed the figures in April and May 1993. Unfortunately, the statues appear to be solid. As Nicholas Reeves writes in *The Complete Tutankhamun*, "Tutankhamun's papyrus rolls, if they ever existed, remain to be found."

BACK IN THE SUNLIGHT

One year after the discovery of KV 62, Howard Carter and his colleague, Arthur Callender, began to carefully wrap the last of the tomb artefacts, including the guardian statues, and removed them to the laboratory set up in the 19th Dynasty tomb of Seti II, KV 15. After standing for many years in Cairo's Egyptian Museum, both statues are now being moved to the new Grand Egyptian Museum, set to open in 2021.

IN SUMMARY

The term "guardians" was coined by Howard Carter and is a most accurate description of the two statues. Under flick-

ering lamplight, the two *ka* statues must have stood as threatening figures as they voicelessly warned of dire consequences for the desecration of the burial of Tutankhamun.

Nowadays, the idea that opening a pharaoh's tomb could lead to certain death is popular in public imagination, however, most deterrent spells or tomb "curses" were instead written to instill good behavior to protect the tomb and its tenants. (Behaviour which tomb robbers, of course, were happy to completely disregard.)

Standing as guardians in a tomb to protect the deceased and the tomb treasures, or striding forth as manifestations of the deceased to nourish the young king forever, the two *ka*-statue guardians discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamun served the pharaoh well for over 3,300 years.



JAN SUMMERS DUFFY is an Egyptologist with the College of Idaho, as well as curator at the OJS Natural History Museum. She has excavated at several sites throughout Egypt, including Mendes in the Nile Delta and in tombs in Luxor. Jan's ongoing research includes quarry sites, New Kingdom lithics, stone tools and funerary artefacts from KV 62.

EGYPTIAN ART *Reconstructed*

With Floyd Chapman



© FLOYD R. CHAPMAN

Seti I Sanctified as Osiris: A Temple Reconstruction Original

THE TEMPLE OF SETI I AT ABYDOS is truly an architectural gem, and contains some of the finest painted raised relief you will see in Egypt. Because of this, I have long wanted to do some full-colour reconstructions of the masterpieces carved upon its walls.

The subject of this first reconstruction is a depiction of Seti I portrayed as Osiris, Lord of the Underworld—the most elaborate and magnificent depiction of Osiris I have ever seen. The title of this article states that this is “a temple reconstruction original”. Here I have merged two temple

wall scenes into one, making a new composition, which I believe is an even more magnificent picture than that of the original.

Seti I is one of my favorite pharaohs. This is not based upon the character of the king but the quality of his surviving monuments, specifically his memorial temple at Abydos and his constructions at Karnak. It is my hope that with this reconstruction, I am inaugurating a new series of reconstructions based upon the magnificent painted relief carvings throughout Seti’s beautiful memorial temple.



PHOTO: AKIMOV KONSTANTIN / SHUTTERSTOCK.COM

Seti I didn't live long enough to see his Abydos temple finished, and the portico between the Second Court and the First Hypostyle Hall (above) was built and decorated by his son, the great Ramesses II.

Today, the portico provides an imposing entrance to the

temple, although it was originally the second such feature (see plan on page 28). Once abandoned, the temple became a convenient quarry for fine, ready-cut limestone, and over time, the first two entrance pylons and first portico have almost completely disappeared.

Who was Seti I?

Seti I was a soldier's son, born into a noble military family who seem to have called the eastern Nile Delta home—particularly the region around the old Hyksos capital, Avaris.

Seti was perhaps 20 years old when his father, Paramessu assumed the throne as King Ramesses I on the death of the 18th Dynasty's last pharaoh, Horemheb. As a fortress commander and vizier, Paramessu had been a star player in Horemheb's administration. When it became apparent that Horemheb wasn't going to have any children of his own, Paramessu now became the king's chosen successor.

Horemheb himself was from a noble, but non-royal background, and the fact that Paramessu already had an adult son may well have been a big influence on the decision. In the wake of the turbulent dying throes of Akhenaten's Amarna period, a smooth succession plan would have been high on Horemheb's priorities.

Ramesses I founded a new dynasty—the 19th—and as his eldest son, Seti became Heir Apparent and inherited his father's role of vizier. He also stepped up on the battlefield, leading action against some nomadic tribes close to Egypt's borders. Seti's time as Prince Regent wasn't to last long, however, as his father came to the throne as an elderly man and died after less than two years in office.

Seti pursued an aggressive foreign policy from the very start of his reign, leading military campaigns into the usual trouble spots: the Levant, Libya and Nubia, and was similarly energetic at home. It almost seems as if Seti I knew that his time was limited, because he acted like a man in a hurry. Seti reigned for perhaps no more than a dozen years, but in that time, Egypt experienced a building program

that hadn't been seen since the glorious heights of the 18th Dynasty, under Thutmose III and Amenhotep III.

Today, visitors marvel at the forest of colossal columns of Karnak Temple's Great Hypostyle Hall, which was entirely constructed by Seti I, as well as a second memorial temple on Luxor's west bank. Seti I also founded a royal palace at Qantir in the eastern Delta, close to the Temple of Seth at Avaris, where he had officiated as a priest as a youth. The town that grew around Seti I's palace was later expanded by his son, Ramesses II, who named it after himself: Pi-Ramesses ("House of Ramesses").

When Seti I was laid to rest, his tomb (KV 17) would be one of the largest and most beautifully decorated tombs in the Valley of the Kings, while the king's magnificent alabaster sarcophagus still wows visitors to Sir John Soane's Museum in London. But perhaps Seti I's crowning achievement was the temple that he began at Abydos, the traditional home of Osiris. The detailed decorations inside are considered some of Egypt's finest.

The Return to Abydos

Seti I was coronated just over 40 years after the death of King Akhenaten and his Aten-centric religion of light, and Egypt was still recovering. Under Akhenaten's reign, Egypt's panoply of gods were discarded in favour of a singular creation theory centred around the life-giving luminescence of the Aten—the disc of the sun. The sun's nightly journey through the underworld was now gone (there *was* no underworld under this philosophy), and so too was the deceased's opportunity to share in the sun's union with Osiris and receive the power to be reborn at sunrise.



PHOTO: AKIMOV KONSTANTIN / SHUTTERSTOCK.COM

The carved reliefs of Seti I's reign are famous for their intricate details. Here, in the Chapel of Ra-Horakhty (see plan opposite), Seti adores the seated god, who was an

amalgamation of the two great solar deities, Ra and Horus. The name translates as "Ra (who is the) Horus of the Horizon", and symbolised the rising sun of renewal.

With Akhenaten's death, his reformist agenda also faded away, and his immediate successors wasted no time in reestablishing the age-old orthodoxy. Amun was back. So too was Osiris, and with him came his sisters and brother: Isis, Nephthys and Seth.

By Seti I's time, Abydos in Upper Egypt had been an important religious centre for over 1,800 years: it was both a royal centre and burial ground for the 1st Dynasty kings of Egypt (ca. 3100 B.C.), and even when Memphis became the new royal home in Dynasty 2, Abydos remained hallowed ground. In the Middle Kingdom, the neglected tomb of the 1st Dynasty's King Djer (ca. 3000 B.C.) was cleared of sand and celebrated as the burial place of Osiris himself.

After the hiatus caused by Akhenaten's religious fervour, the building of Seti I's Abydos temple helped re-establish the cult of Osiris at Abydos. Each year, the story of Osiris' death and resurrection was celebrated in a colourful procession that headed out into the desert to the site of his "tomb".

Seti I's Memorial Temple at Abydos

The temple that Seti I commissioned at Abydos is typical for a New Kingdom temple, with some distinct differences. For the most part, it is laid out in the rectangular fashion but has a wing that sits at the back on the south side of the temple, giving it a unique "L" shape.

Another unique feature is that whereas most temples have a central chapel for the god to whom it is dedicated, Seti's temple has nine in all—each assigned to a different deity. Seven of these chapels are located at the centre of the temple, while two others, for the Memphite gods Nefertum and Ptah-Sokar, are located in the temple's southern wing.

The temple is also famous for its King List, which contains the names of 76 of Seti I's revered predecessors. Those rulers that were deemed as illegitimate (Hatshepsut) or disgraced (the Amarna pharaohs) were left off.

The Seti I as Osiris Scene Analyzed

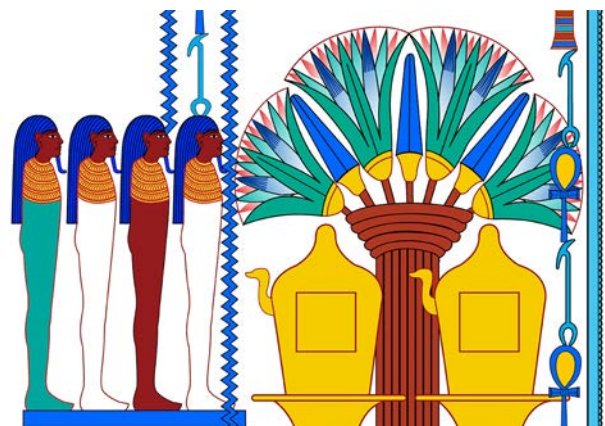
As mentioned, this scene combines the highlights of two separate reliefs, from the east and west walls of the Osiris

Chapel in the Osiris Complex at the back of the temple.

The ancient Egyptians were masters at packing vast amounts of symbolism into scenes. Yet, far from ending up with a riot of clutter and confusion, such scenes maintain a sense of balance and harmony.

Here we see Seti I as deified after his death. He has been assimilated with Osiris, and is being purified by Osiris' son, Horus, who pours holy water over him from three libation vessels. The stream of water cascading over the king's head is bordered by wavy lines representing water, with the body of the stream composed of hieroglyphic signs for *ankh* (life) and *was* (dominion).

A smaller stream of water pours over four small mummified figures of the king (below) next to a bouquet of lotus flowers and two jars of fragrant oils. Egyptologist Amy Calvert explained to NILE Magazine that the way the four small figures are placed "is particularly reminiscent of the way the four Sons of Horus often appear before Osiris in Judgement scenes—as four mummiform figures atop the blue lotus (which, in turn, refers to the reborn sun god emerging from the primeval lotus)." In this case, instead of a lotus, they are standing on an altar that represents Seti I's temple, which, as Calvert notes, "is an interesting statement about the vehicle of rebirth. It's a fascinating and very unusual scene in a symbolically-dense space."



EGYPTIAN ALABASTER

New light on the alabaster vessels of ancient Egypt



*"A masterpiece does not unfurl its wings immediately.
It takes time. It will fly when it is ready."
—Adrienne D. Posey, author.*

*This Early Dynastic Period, 2nd Dynasty, travertine bowl was discovered in Mastaba
2322 within the elite cemetery at Saqqara North, dated to around 2700 B.C.*

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, ROGERS FUND, 1912. ACC. NO. 12.181.27. HEIGHT 18 cm; DIAMETER 26.8 cm.

DAVID IAN LIGHTBODY

Alabaster was one of the most prestigious materials employed by the ancient Egyptian artisans. It was used to make a variety of decorative items and sometimes natural variations in the stone's appearance were utilised to enhance the finished products. In this article, three notable vessels from the Old Kingdom are revisited, revealing the meaningful choices made by the artisans when carving fine alabaster vessels out of raw stone blocks.



Egyptology student and Egypt Center volunteer Sam Powell studying the banding and varied translucency in bowl W307.

IMAGE USED WITH PERMISSION AND COURTESY OF THE EGYPT CENTRE AND SAM POWELL

the jar. A square panel between the wings on one side includes the cartouche and serekh of the pharaoh and a formulaic dedicatory inscription that emphasizes the pharaoh's Horus Name Wadj-Tawy $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$, the "flourishing of the two lands". The two falcons encircling the bowl also echo this duality and the pharaoh's dominion over Upper and Lower Egypt.

A unique feature of this jar is a single shen-ring depicted in isolation between the wingtips of the paired falcons, on the opposite side from the square titulary panel.

This ring emphasizes the principal theme of encirclement and protection.

Another notable aspect of the Chicago bowl is that both the falcons face to the right from the viewer's perspective, invoking a counterclockwise orientation in the iconography when viewed from above, and this proved to be the rule for all such similar Old Kingdom vessels.

Several of these aspects of the Chicago jar intrigued the author so much that a special visit was made to the Oriental Institute to study it in detail. As well as the inclusion of

The moment of discovery! A bright, amber-coloured band appears around this 5th-Dynasty jar when a light is shone inside it by the author. This is the first time this had been observed in the modern era.

Both researchers present agreed that this aspect was deliberately incorporated into the arrangement of the elements making up the motif.

The amber band encircles the bowl through the incised motif of two encircling falcons, with a shen-ring symbol between their wing tips on one side of the bowl. The band also runs through a panel with the names of the pharaoh Unas on the opposite side.



IMAGE COURTESY OF BRIAN ALM, WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

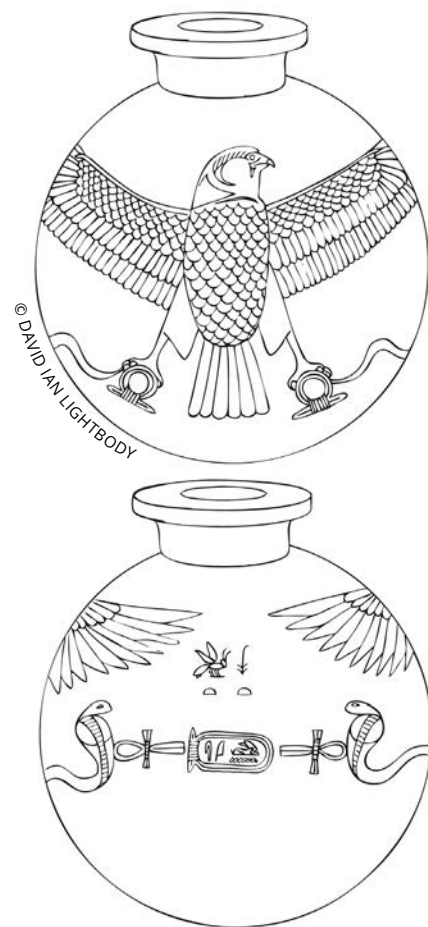
VESSEL 3

The last vessel studied here is a finely-decorated alabaster jar in the Louvre Museum in Paris (right). Similar to the Chicago jar it also dates to the reign of Unas and also carries an encircling decorative arrangement depicting the falcon Horus holding shen-rings in its claws.

The symbolic encircling protection of the shen-rings is carried around to the reverse of the jar by a pair of uraeus snakes that extend out from the rings and run around the vessel in either direction. On the opposite side of the jar the heads of the snakes hold *ankh* symbols of life on either side of the cartouche containing the throne name of the pharaoh. The whole arrangement essentially emphasizes the underlying meaning of the cartouche as a device for protecting the life and name of the king.

A thread of continuity running from the predynastic period can be seen in the design of this vessel. Ostrich eggs with ritual functions were sometimes found in Predynastic burials including at Hierakonpolis. The white material chosen and the avian themes suggest that it imitates the ostrich egg shell vessels used in earlier periods.

This jar too has naturally occurring bands of lighter stone in the form of two opaque white circles surrounding the main motifs on either side of the vessel. Furthermore, looking again at the front face of the vessel, it can be seen that the circular band incorporates a central dot, so that the final form resembles the solar sign for the sun god Re. The ring on the front is positioned around and symmetrically over the central motif of Horus, or perhaps more accurately, Re-Horakhty (a merging of the two gods). On the reverse side, a similar band, without a central dot,



Line drawings of the designs on the 5th-Dynasty globular jar in the Louvre.

HAS THE
MYSTERY
OF THE PERFUME CONE
BEEN **SOLVED?**

JEFF BURZACOTT



NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIS, *THE TOMB OF TWO SCULPTORS AT THEBES* (1925). © METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

The sculptor Nebamun served the 18th-Dynasty pharaoh Amenhotep III, and potentially his maverick son, Akhenaten, as well. In his Theban tomb (TT 181) Nebamun is shown seated alongside his mother Tepu, with the smaller figure of his sister, Mutneferet, in front of them. Offering Nebamun a refreshing drink from a golden cup is Henutneferet, thought to be his cousin.

The head of each person sports a cone, long thought to be made of wax or fat and soaked with aromatic oils. The cones in this particular scene are drawn with wavy lines, which could suggest a scent emanating from them. What do the cones mean? There are no shortage of theories, but each has been hard to prove, particularly since no such cones had ever been discovered —until now.

In the Theban Tomb of Userhat (TT 51) tall scented cones are perched atop the long wigs of the two main women in his life. On the left is Userhat's mother Tausert and wife Hatshepsut (not THE Hatshepsut) on the right. They are seated with the deceased (out of frame, to the right), with Tausert receiving a cool stream of water from Nut, the goddess of the sycamore tree; the leaves of her tree form the backdrop to this scene. Presumably, Hatshepsut is next.

To impress upon the viewer that they are wearing expensive wigs, traces of their natural hair can be seen peeking out.

We don't know whether the cones depict perfumed solid masses, designed to messily melt over the head and body, or symbolise the wearing of such fragrances, although the discovery of two examples at Amarna prove that they physically existed in some form.

Above the figures are a pair of human-headed falcons—the ba birds of Tausert and Hatshepsut. The ba can be thought of as the mobile part of the soul, able to leave the tomb, feel the sun on its face and also receive sustenance for the benefit of the deceased. Ba birds are sometimes shown with fragrant cones on their heads as well.

While perfume cones are thought to have a purifying role in the presence of the gods (and semi-divine tomb owner), they may also represent the bas of the deceased and their family, able to receive offerings and participate together in funerary rituals.

Userhat was a high priest in the Theban cult temple of Thutmose I during the reigns of Horemheb (last ruler of the 18th Dynasty), Ramesses I and Seti I (the first two kings of Dynasty 19). Thutmose I (Queen Hatshepsut's father) had died some two centuries earlier.

This copy of the scene from Userhat's tomb was made by an unknown artist for the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, ROGERS FUND, 1930. ACC. NO. 30.4.162

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(From page 42.) And it wasn't just the invited guests who wore the cones; the hired help, such as musicians, servants and dancers could also sport them. One wonders how securely they could have been affixed to the wigs of the dancers who are also shown leaping about in scenes.

Until recently, there was no direct evidence that these cones really existed; no one had ever found one. A less messy theory is that the cones were simply a symbol of perfumed fragrance, and indicated that the wearer was exquisitely anointed in the aroma of the gods.

Just as painted offerings in tomb scenes were infused with magical properties so that they could sustain the deceased's hungry spirit through eternity, a perfume cone placed on their head meant that the tomb owner could forever move about in a cloud of perfumed allure—without having to deal with greasy oils ruining their clothes.

Since purity was essential for entering a sacred space such as a tomb chapel, guests were shown with cones on their heads to demonstrate that they also were perfumed and fit to be in the presence of the deceased in his/her



This pyramid-shaped funerary stela was discovered at the Amarna South Tombs Cemetery in 2010, where it probably marked a grave. The cemetery occupies a wadi (dry valley) that cuts through the row of cliffs that is home to the rock-cut tombs of Amarna's officials.

Six "common" cemeteries have been found so far, and appear to have been used by the men, women and children who helped realise Akhenaten's vision for his city of light, devoted (by the royal family at least) to the worship of one solar deity: the Aten. There are estimated to be 6,000 burials in the South Tombs Cemetery alone, and around 15 stelae have been discovered at the site, most with a pointed shape like this one.

This stela ensemble consists of a smaller round-topped stela set into a larger limestone setting with a pointed top, a shape that Berry Kemp (Director of the Amarna Project) points out, "was not infrequently used in the later New Kingdom. Its triangular space, that evoked a pyramid outline, was often used for solar symbolism."

The artwork on the inner stela is a blend of both traditional and distinctively Amarna characteristics. A seated couple, dressed in sheer linen, receive offerings from a smaller, standing figure on the right. The leisurely pose of the two seated figures strongly recalls the relaxed and affectionate images of Akhenaten and his wife, Nefertiti.

Both seated figures are shown with cones on their heads, which—real or otherwise—appear to be representative of the fertile scent of the gods. It suggests that one or both members of the couple have been reborn and ascended to a divine state.

STELA 39938 © AMARNA PROJECT. PHOTO: GWIL OWEN



© AMARNA PROJECT. RECONSTRUCTION: FRAN WEATHERHEAD

The ancient Egypt that we are less familiar with. This reconstruction of the South Tombs Cemetery pictures a burial taking place. The positions of the graves in the foreground is based upon excavated burials, and the location of the stone stelae are also drawn from excavation data. A few of the

stelae are pyramid-shaped, similar in form to the fine example shown on page 44.

Amarna's South Tombs Cemetery is around three kilometres from the city at the river's edge; it would have been a long, sad procession for the family of the deceased.

worn in life, they were never intended to melt and release an aromatic substance. Beeswax requires a temperature of around 60° Celsius (140° Fahrenheit) for it to melt naturally and flow over the hair and body. Yes, Egypt can get hot, but not that hot.

It is conceivable, however, that the two cones could be “model” versions of those worn in life. The Amarna Project points out that cones worn by the living could have been made differently. After these two individuals died, the hollow, waxy models may have been constructed to eter-

nally provide them with the same benefits they enjoyed in life. (See the image of oils being applied on page 48.)

CONES AND LOTUSES

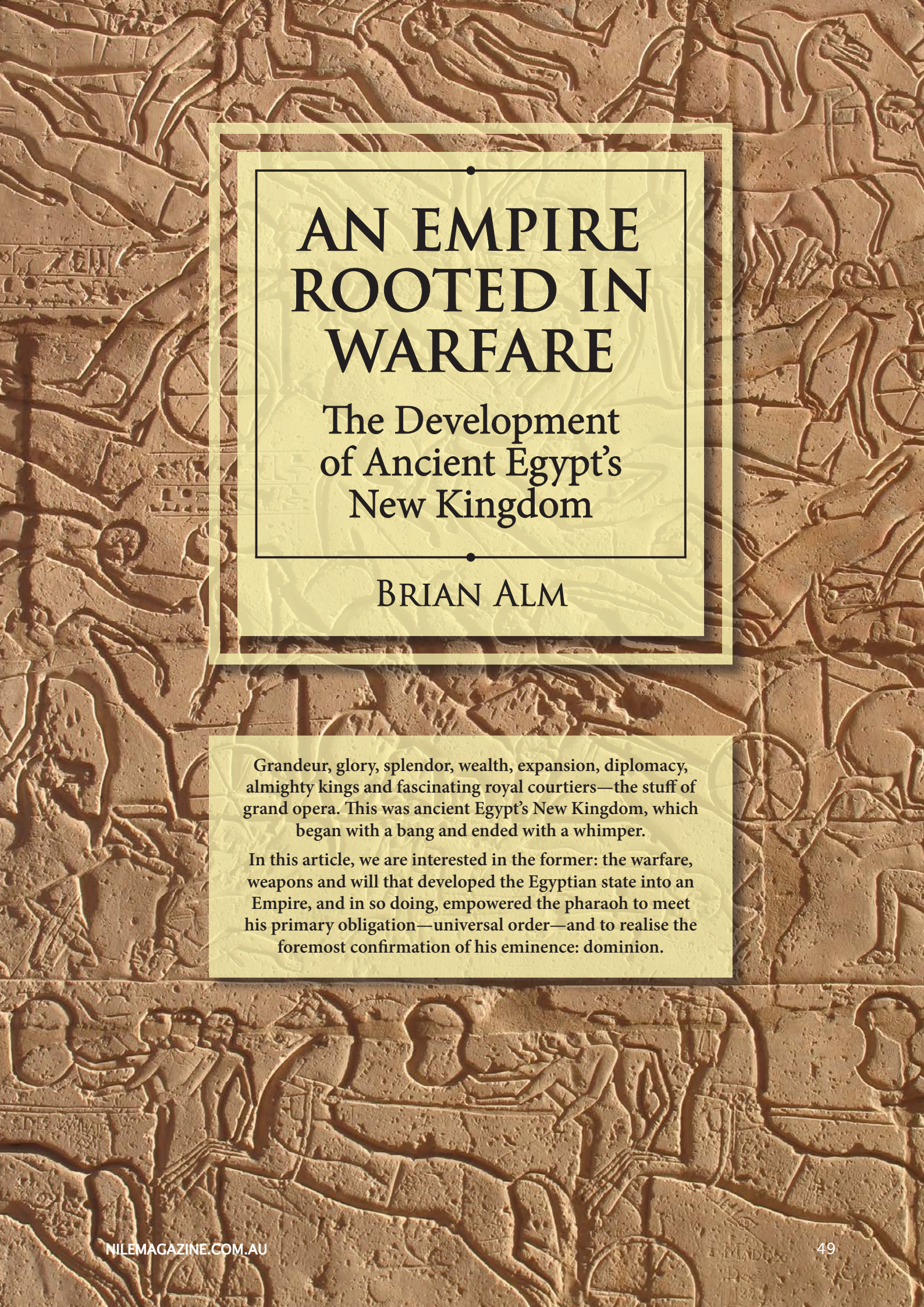
As the Amarna Project team points out in their *Antiquity* paper, such cones might have been worn by the living as a physical indicator of someone who has been anointed with fragrant oils and ritually purified: the physical equivalent of the images we see with other media, such as in tomb chapels or on coffins.



© AMARNA PROJECT

This woman is designated “Individual 150”. We’ll never know her name, but she was somewhere between 20 and 29 when she died, more than 3,300 years ago. Over 80% of graves at the South Tombs Cemetery have been robbed, although

“150’s” burial appears to have been untouched. Sometimes small amulets and items of jewellery are found with the burials, but “150” was buried without any accessories—apart from one precious item: a wax cone on her head.



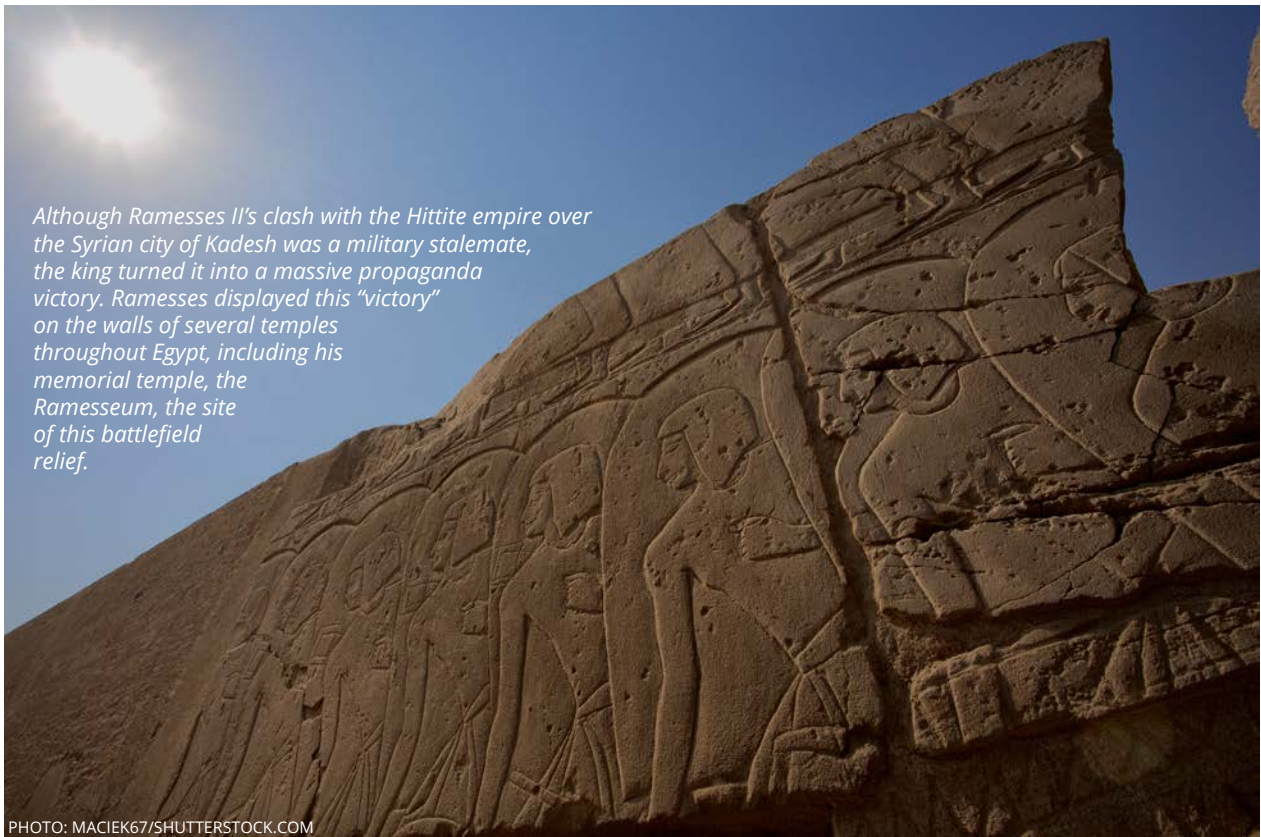
AN EMPIRE ROOTED IN WARFARE

The Development
of Ancient Egypt's
New Kingdom

BRIAN ALM

Grandeur, glory, splendor, wealth, expansion, diplomacy, almighty kings and fascinating royal courtiers—the stuff of grand opera. This was ancient Egypt's New Kingdom, which began with a bang and ended with a whimper.

In this article, we are interested in the former: the warfare, weapons and will that developed the Egyptian state into an Empire, and in so doing, empowered the pharaoh to meet his primary obligation—universal order—and to realise the foremost confirmation of his eminence: dominion.



Although Ramesses II's clash with the Hittite empire over the Syrian city of Kadesh was a military stalemate, the king turned it into a massive propaganda victory. Ramesses displayed this "victory" on the walls of several temples throughout Egypt, including his memorial temple, the Ramessesum, the site of this battlefield relief.

PHOTO: MACIEK67/SHUTTERSTOCK.COM

were to seize plunder and captives, institute an expectation of continuing tribute from conquered rulers, and, perhaps most importantly, provide an occasion for the king to demonstrate his dominion.

At one time or another, Egypt depended a lot on mercenaries, too, to protect the border and serve as cemetery police. Most of these mercenaries were Nubians. Nubia was frequently either a potential or pressing problem, but the Nubians had a reputation for being excellent soldiers—strong, fierce, and the best archers in the known world—so the practical Egyptians employed them when it was prudent to do so.

But an ad hoc, on-again, off-again army was not suited to the demands of empire. And in all of its enterprises—military, diplomatic or economic—the New Kingdom was about empire. That meant a professional, standing army had to be in place, trained and equipped for effectiveness, and—most importantly, as it would turn out—it entailed the development of a career officer corps.

"The New Kingdom was the age of the soldier. . . a full-time army was created for the first time in Egyptian history," says Egyptologist Toby Wilkinson in his book, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt*.

It also meant permanent garrisons on the frontiers, stationed in strategically positioned fortresses. Forts occupied high positions, perched on ridges and linked

together for surveillance, reinforcement as needed, and communication—messages could be passed from fort to fort using signal fires and runners.

A standing army is not always employed in warfare, but it must be in place pending that eventuality. So what do you do with the army on hand in peacetime? Security—guarding trade routes and national assets; construction—transporting stone for monuments, public works, sarcophagi and tombs; public administration—tax collecting and police work; even agriculture—helping with the harvest when necessary.

Like all armies, the Egyptian army generated job opportunities much broader than soldiering per se: cooks, bakers, standard bearers, chariot maintenance technicians, horse wranglers, musicians, water carriers and servants, and—very importantly—scribes to record the success of the army, account for the spoils of battle—body count*, plunder, slaves—and, above all, the glorification of the pharaoh via testimonials attesting to his bravery, wisdom and dominion.

*"Body" count may be something of a misnomer, since the actual metric used was an accounting of severed right hands, or sometimes, in the case of uncircumcised men, penises. Being uncircumcised marked them as lesser beings, i.e., non-Egyptians, so perhaps it was simply a matter of adding insult to injury.



"His (the king's) horses are like falcons when they see small birds, They roar like a lion, stirred up and enraged."

(Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, Great inscription of Year 5.)




PHOTO: RADIOKAFKA/SHUTTERSTOCK.COM

These soldiers, depicted on the wall of Hatshepsut's memorial temple at Deir el-Bahari, West Luxor, are armed with two of ancient Egypt's primary weapons for infantry: a hand axe and a throw stick. Both presented disadvantages for the soldiers: the axe could get stuck in tissue or leather

armour, and a throw stick that missed could be returned by the enemy. Those liabilities were negated by the composite bow and the khepesh scimitar sword. This portion of the 18th-Dynasty relief is now in the Neues Museum, Berlin.

THE HYKSOS FACTOR

How did the Egyptians get so good at war so quickly? To answer that question and to understand the New Kingdom and its rise to empire via warfare, we have to go back to the domination of Egypt by Canaanite warriors known as the Hyksos, from about 1650 to 1550 B.C.—the Second Intermediate Period.

Asiatics from Canaan (present-day Lebanon, southern Syria and Israel) had been settling in the Delta for 500 years, but in the mid-17th century there was a large influx of Asian immigrants, drawn by the promise of employment because of all the construction work going on, and food—about that time there was a famine in Canaan. Around 1650 B.C., a cadre of skilled warriors came into Egypt, gathered strength by assembling the Asians already there, and seized power in the north of the country. They are known as the Hyksos, a Greek rendering of the Egyptian term *hekau khasut* , “Rulers of Foreign Lands.”

“The rule of the Hyksos... constituted a gross affront to Egyptian ideology, since the Two Lands [Egypt] were supposed to be the focus and model of creation, intrinsically superior to all other countries. Hence, the motive for

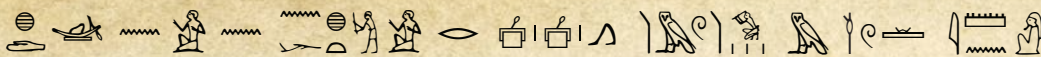
expelling the Hyksos was not merely national reunification but the re-establishment of created order” (Wilkinson, *Lives of the Ancient Egyptians*).

It was a bitter hundred years, which led to a protracted war between the Hyksos in the north and an Egyptian dynasty that controlled the south, the 17th Dynasty, led by Seqenenra Tao II and then his son Kamose, both killed in battle, and eventually settled by the younger son Ahmose—but early on he was too young to rule or fight, so his mother Ahhotep ruled as regent.

Ahhotep not only ran the government, she may have also taken an active role in battle, and was buried with a necklace of Golden Flies, which were awarded for valour on the battlefield. Why flies? In recognition of their perseverance. They believed you win battles by never letting up (see page 60).

When young Ahmose assumed full reign, he finished off the Hyksos and chased them back to Canaan, and that's the last serious threat from Asia we see for almost 300 years.

The century under Hyksos rule—the Second Intermediate Period—was extremely important as a prelude to the New Kingdom because of what the Egyptians learned



“I sailed (north) in my might to repel the Asiatics through the command of Amun.”

(From the “Carnarvon Tablet” [JE 41790]: an account of Kamose's battles against the Hyksos occupiers, 17th Dynasty, ca. 1550 B.C.)



The formation of an empire in the crucible of warfare may lead predictably to ongoing reliance on leadership drawn from the warrior class that inevitably emerges. Thus it was in the New Kingdom: at least ten kings came from the military. Of course, Egypt had had previous warring kings, but before the New Kingdom there was no standing army; war was an occasional and collateral necessity. Most of these ten kings were born to rule, as were their predecessors, but all were career soldiers also—not dandies dressed up for pomp and parades, but actual guarantors of the empire.

CAREER OFFICERS AND KINGS

There's one more very important point to be made about the military in the New Kingdom. First, to retrace our steps: Ahmose, the founder of the 18th Dynasty and the New Kingdom, rescued Egypt from the Hyksos. Then he and his son, Amenhotep I, secured the southern border and seized territory in Nubia—the Land of Kush, modern-day Sudan—which protected the important trade of gold, ivory, exotic animals, frankincense and myrrh, that had to go through northern Nubia en route to Egypt. Amenhotep I had no heir, so a commoner, Thutmose, was brought in to be pharaoh. The important thing to know about Thutmose is that he was a military man.

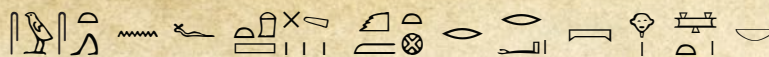
Once formed, the standing army quickly became very influential, and could be a career path to kingship. At least ten New Kingdom pharaohs (Ahmose, Thutmose I, Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Horemheb, Ramesses I, Seti I, Ramesses II, Merenptah, and Ramesses III) were senior military men—and they were active soldiers, too, not just figurehead generals who dressed up for parades. The Egyptian Empire was founded on—and for much of the

New Kingdom it was sustained by—military might.

But now here is an irony about military might and empire, and the assumption in the ancient world that both were the province of men. The 18th Dynasty's Thutmose I was the first king in three generations to take the throne as an adult. His predecessors were all minor children when they assumed the kingship, which meant that their mothers stood in for them, acting as regents. For most of 70 years, as the roots of Empire formed at the dawn of the New Kingdom, Egypt was governed by women.



BRIAN ALM, now retired from college teaching, offers mini-courses in Egyptology and writes on ancient Egyptian culture in general, but with a special focus on the New Kingdom. He did his graduate work in English at the University of Chicago, but is now engaged only in Egyptology. He lives in Rock Island, Illinois, U.S.A.



"He (Seti I) has expanded the boundaries of Egypt to the limit of the sky in every direction."

(From the Battle Reliefs of Seti I, north exterior wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak Temple, 19th Dynasty, ca. 1295 B.C.)

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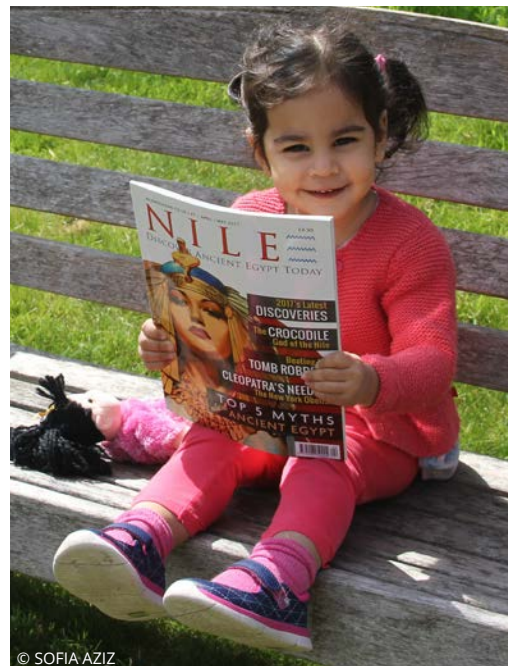
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