

PRIVATE TOMB RELIEFS OF THE LATE PERIOD
FROM LOWER EGYPT

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VOLUME I - ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

This study considers the relief decoration of private tombs in Lower Egypt in the period 664-332 BC. The basis for analysis is a chronologically arranged descriptive catalogue, which includes both isolated blocks in museum collections and tombs whose location is known. The present condition of the relief and its content are described in detail there. Texts are considered where they provide information on provenance and dating, and hand-copies are provided. Each piece is illustrated in the plate volume.

Enough of the material can be dated by textual evidence to provide a solid framework for stylistic ordering of the remainder. The resulting chronology has important implications, dividing the period into two major phases, covering the seventh and sixth centuries, and the fourth century, separated by a hiatus in production of tomb reliefs. The chronology proposed eliminates the possibility that either Greeks or Persians exercised any significant influence on Egyptian art before the very end of the period. Instead, native tradition emerges as the primary inspiration for Late Period artists. Two sources stand out. The first is the Old-Middle Kingdom tomb repertory (archaism), the second is the New Kingdom tradition carried on in the minor arts, a source largely-ignored hitherto. These were not slavishly copied, but adapted and "modernized" to suit the taste of the time. The independence and creativity of Late Period artists is emphasized. A discussion of stylistic development in light of the dating system is given, and several themes are analyzed in detail as illustrations of the larger issues raised.

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CONVENTIONS

Individual pieces are referred to by Catalogue number in bold type. Figures within scenes are numbered and underlined.

All dates are BC unless otherwise specified or obviously modern. Regnal dates are those given by Lloyd in Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 281.

References are by short title, usually based on the initial words. Tombs and sites are referred to by the owner's/place name, without "Tomb", "Mastaba", etc. Other abbreviations not conforming to this are given in "Abbreviations" (p. 309), as are non-standard journals. For journals and series, I have followed the abbreviations in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* where applicable.

Each major subdivision in chapter 7 and 8 has its own footnote numbering system, to avoid clumsily long numbers.

I have included at the end of Volume I as Appendices I-V published or in press articles by me concerning these pieces. Each has its own pagination.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION: ASSEMBLING THE CORPUS

Growing interest in first millennium Egypt makes the analysis of large bodies of contemporary material desirable. As Egypt became increasingly drawn into the affairs of the Mediterranean world, the shift toward the Delta as the country's most important region and as the primary point of contact with foreigners is clear. Studies which assemble and evaluate material from that region and investigate the extent to which native culture was influenced or modified by these contacts, how far the Egyptians sought to maintain or assert their own cultural identity and how they went about it, are important for understanding the period.

This study considers the private tomb reliefs of Lower Egypt as a measure of such questions. Although the reliefs are scattered, they are more numerous than stelae, and more informative than statuary from the same area. My approach is primarily artistic, and accompanying texts are considered only in so far as they help to elucidate identity, provenance and date.

Although some Late Period Theban tombs are now fully published, little attention has recently been paid to their counterparts in the north. Maspero first identified Lower Egyptian reliefs as a "type" in 1907,¹ when he published eleven pieces in Cairo and Alexandria known or reputed to come from the Memphite area and the Delta. His study remains the largest illustrated assembly of this material, and is still regularly consulted and cited. In 1911 von Bissing reiterated and expanded Maspero's list with the addition of six more pieces, not all illustrated.² Subsequent works have mainly concentrated on the publication of additional pieces and have drawn heavily on Maspero's corpus for a visual basis.³ This has been useful for stylistic links, and thematic and detail parallels, but less so for dating, as Maspero lacked an objective, broad base for assigning dates (see p. 29).

In establishing this corpus, I assembled these publications, with photographs, as only by creating a large, accessible, visual body of material can a coherent attempt at defining a particular "style" be made. This material also served as the core against which to test potential additions. I have seen the original blocks myself where this was possible and relied on photographs where it was not. Some inaccessible pieces are

published only in line drawings which are quite inadequate for stylistic study; in such cases, my observations are necessarily more cautious and dating more general. I have treated dates assigned in publications with caution, as the criteria on which they have been based are often unspecified or questionable. I have also been wary about accepting unsupported assignments of provenance (see below). When the corpus of published pieces had been established, a series of preliminary stylistic criteria (see below and ch. 4) emerged. These were not entirely consistent, which was not surprising in view of the long period and wide area covered. I tried to avoid labelling these differences as temporal or regional at an early stage, but, as the reliefs were examined with reference to known provenance and to texts, not purely artistically, it became clear that differences over time were greater and more apparent than regional ones.

This preliminary corpus (roughly 50% of the final total) was examined for internal inconsistencies, and the individual blocks scrutinized and evaluated for their place within it. None of the pieces published as of this group was considered to be misplaced (e.g. 15, which Maspero thought possibly New Kingdom,⁴ was retained), while a few others (e.g. 68; 69; 71), well-known but not always specifically included with the group, proved to fit well within it. A rough chronological sequence, based largely on style, emerged, although the beginning and end of the sequence were only approximately fixed. I left open the question of a break in development in the Persian period, although I was initially swayed by studies in favour of continuity (see pp. 51-2). It was also clear that certain types of blocks, notably lintels and, to a lesser extent, door-jambs (pp. 14-16), figured prominently.

While the corpus was being assembled and evaluated, it was also being expanded. I planned from the beginning to include material still *in situ* and fragments from known tombs which had previously been viewed mainly in an archaeological context, without wider reference. Earlier studies have tended to regard the isolated blocks as "art objects", rather than as part of an architectural whole with specific funerary application, and I hoped that more complete tombs would provide a physical context for these reliefs, and expand the base of well-dated material. These tombs have proved of more limited value than anticipated. Only eleven examples with

figured relief decoration have been located,⁵ all in the Memphite area, at Saqqara (3; 22; 31; 47; 82) and Giza (4; 5; 6; 25; 27; 63) (see further below). They pose problems of their own and are difficult to evaluate, since it is unclear how representative they are of Lower Egyptian tomb architecture as a whole (pp. 17-22). A comparatively large number can be dated with reasonable accuracy (e.g. 3; 4; 22; 31; 82; less so 47) and they constitute a high percentage of such pieces (see ch.2), but damage and poor publication - only 6 is almost fully published and even that is predominantly in line drawing - as well as differences in the nature of the decoration, such as numerous religious scenes with the deceased before deities, rather than the more "secular" decoration of the isolated blocks, make direct comparison difficult. The dated tombs fall mainly in the first half of Dynasty 26 (3; 4; 5; 6; 22; 31). Some (5; 6; 25; 27; 63), must be dated stylistically, using the same criteria as for the isolated blocks.

It was also necessary to enlarge the corpus to include other less well-known fragments. Some are published in less accessible works. Others were located through the records of the Topographical Bibliography in the Griffith Institute and the *Cairo Journal d'Entrée*; in the latter case, there may be pieces there which I was unable to recognize from the *Journal* description.⁶ Some were identified visually, from the Brooklyn Museum transparency collection (e.g. 17), by visiting museum collections and examining their records, or were called to my attention by helpful curators and others. The one important source I was not able to consult was the files of the Corpus of Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period in Brooklyn. A small number of pieces, from sales or catalogue descriptions (84; 86; 87) or other sources (83; 85; 89) have been included on the basis of their descriptions.

Most of these additions are also without known provenance, having appeared on the art market, been purchased from dealers (who may provide information of questionable reliability as to findspot), or been given to museums. It has therefore been necessary to devise criteria for separating Lower Egyptian blocks from other unassigned ones. This can be done with some confidence where names and titles are preserved. Theophorous names can show northern cult affinities; others can show characteristically northern spellings (e.g. *šb* for *šp*, see 2 a)). Titles are more diagnostic because they are often closely associated with one particular site. My

partial survey of Late Period stelae, statuary, Theban tombs and pieces in this corpus whose provenance is known or reasonably certain shows that Late Period priestly titles tend to divide into Upper and Lower Egyptian, and that southern and northern benefices are rarely mixed. This is extremely useful for the broad regional distinction necessary to assemble the corpus, but less valuable for internal divisions (see further below).

Many of the pieces are uninscribed or bear only uninformative captions. Other criteria have had to be devised to set these apart from other Late Period reliefs. Hard stone architectural relief seems reserved for temples and royal building, with private tomb reliefs executed only in limestone. Limestone could also be used for royal buildings, but private and royal limestone relief can easily be distinguished, chiefly by subject. Representations of the king are unknown in Late Period private tombs. Nor are lines of gods receiving offerings a regular part of the private tomb repertory (54 is unusual, but shown to belong in the corpus by the representations of the non-royal owner), although they are present in funerary vignettes (e.g. 3; 31), receiving the deceased (e.g. 5; 6; 64 [raised]; 65 [raised]) and in other appropriate mortuary contexts (e.g. 6; 63), with Osiris the most regularly featured. The suckling Isis with kneeling donor at her feet in 4 is extremely unusual, but the possible votive nature of that building (pp. 27-8) may explain its peculiarities. Divine figures are more difficult to date and to differentiate as Lower Egyptian, as the softer modelling and idiosyncratic facial and body shapes found on humans are eschewed in favour of a firmer, more traditional ideal. I have therefore excluded figures of deities unless there is good reason to believe they come from Lower Egyptian tombs.

It was necessary from the start to distinguish Lower Egyptian private tomb relief from such reliefs from other parts of the country. This was initially daunting because of the wide range of possible styles and processes involved in the creation of a relief, but, in fact, the only substantial body of comparable material comes from the Theban necropolis. Other sites, like Herakleopolis,⁷ possibly the Fayyum,⁸ Abydos,⁹ and Akhmim,¹⁰ have produced a few pieces, but not enough to suggest major tomb relief schools or to provide an impression of a regional character. The principal differentiation is therefore between Theban and northern reliefs.

This must ultimately be visual, as many of the smaller fragments are

uninscribed, and no scientific tests have been done to determine limestone sources. The limestone itself can nonetheless be differentiated. Theban limestone is described as generally creamy-white in hue.¹¹ Cooney noted¹² that the limestone of the Asasif, where most Late Period tombs are located, is hard and compact, with concentrations of iron oxides, producing patches with a ruddy hue. While a pink tint is not present on all Theban fragments, it can serve to distinguish them from Lower Egyptian material, as none of the pieces known to come from the north has this colouration (but cf. the dubious 93), nor is it present in the Giza-Saqqara cemeteries or on stone from Tura. The limestone of the Lower Egyptian blocks is consistently whitish or very slightly yellow (52 is unusually yellowish and grainy), and frequently contains very fine grey veins of a harder quartz-like material, resembling faint pencil lines; there are never more than a few on any block and they are visible only with close scrutiny. The soft, yellowish, nummulitic limestone of Giza seems to have been avoided for relief carving.¹³ Fracture patterns also differ. Theban fragments seem to be harder and more brittle,¹⁴ and tend to break with sharp, clean-cut points and surfaces. The softer northern limestone has a duller, less angular fracture style, and more crumbling and wear softens the break lines. Even the best-quality limestone, which allows crisp relief cutting and has its broken edges unmarred by chipping, does not fracture in points like the Theban stone.

Some of the differences between northern and southern reliefs are typological. A large proportion of the Lower Egyptian blocks are from doorways, either lintels or jambs bearing figured decoration (pp. 14-16). Doorways in Theban tombs are not normally adorned with relief, but are surrounded by bands of texts alone, and are often not surmounted by the torus moulding and cavetto cornices which are regular features in the north.

The reliefs themselves show stylistic differences, some of which must be temporal. While Late Period tombs at Thebes continue into the sixth century, most date to late Dynasty 25 and the reign of Psammetichus I. They therefore overlap primarily with, and are mainly liable to be confused with, the beginning of the Lower Egyptian relief sequence. Consequently, works showing the softer, plumper body forms (pp. 64-5) and fashionable Late Period clothing and wigs (Ch. 8) not otherwise attested in preserved

Theban tombs, are more likely to belong to the longer-lasting Lower Egyptian series. Distinctions between seventh century reliefs, however, have to be made on more closely-defined stylistic grounds. The crisp cutting in the Theban tombs reflects the compact character of the stone. Bas-relief stands out sharply from the background; its outlines and facial features are more severe than in the north.¹⁶ There is a greater accent on such incised detail as flower petals, basketry, clothing ridges and folds, and major figures in particular seem fussier than their counterparts in, for instance, 3 or 6. Plastic eyebrows and incised indications of eyelid rims are more common at Thebes. The head is often flatter on top and almost rectangular, and chin lines are firm. Body forms are thicker, especially across the shoulder, forearms and legs.

There are differences in costume: Theban men are more likely to wear tiered hairstyles based on those of the New Kingdom,¹⁶ short beards, sandals (p. 251) and multi-layered kilts; the mid-calf length kilt is common at Thebes, often in combination with others but is not especially popular in Lower Egypt. Amulets on cords, often in addition to the broad collar, are more frequent at Thebes (p. 250). Subsidiary male figures are also more likely to wear shoulder-length wigs, which in the north are almost confined to the owner (p. 246). Theban ladies may wear long, heavy wigs and the *haik*-costume,¹⁷ which are not found on the northern reliefs.

There are also compositional differences. Wall fragments showing register composition do exist from Lower Egypt (pp. 16-17), although this traditional style of figured decoration was not common; tombs where it appears (6 E, perhaps F; 27; perhaps 22) seem to date to Dynasty 26. At Thebes, large scale register composition was regularly used in the underground areas of the tomb, so there is a greater chance of pieces with multiple registers deriving from there. Representations of the tomb owner at a much larger scale are more common at Thebes than in the north (only in 3; 6; 27; 90). Overlapping of identical figures, common at Thebes, is almost completely avoided in the north (p. 82), where there is a preference for free-standing figures in a line. There is also some variation in the scenes preferred, with music (pp. 145-78) and marsh scenes being more common in the north, while funerals, the owner receiving offerings on loaded tables, and agricultural and related activities like apiculture are more frequent in the south.

None of these features of Late Period Theban tombs is absolutely diagnostic, and there are variations at Thebes, but they give a stylistic profile which can usually be distinguished from that of Lower Egypt. Attributing a provenance is more difficult when figures are fragmentary, and the occasional Theban piece (such as 90 ?), may have slipped into this corpus, or a northern one of the seventh century may have been excluded.

Except for the occasional Theban tomb (e.g. Ankhhor), there is almost no comparative tomb relief from elsewhere in Egypt for the sixth-fourth centuries,¹⁸ except for the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel at the end of the series. While the non-Hellenizing portions provide points of comparison with Dynasty 30 Lower Egyptian pieces, the fanciful elaboration of detail and the carrying of tendencies and features one step further shows that this tomb is somewhat later than the corpus, perhaps about 330-300.¹⁹

Several bodies of material which might technically qualify for inclusion among private Late Period tomb reliefs from Lower Egypt have been omitted. One group is what might be termed "Greek-style" reliefs.²⁰ These are excluded because features of dress and pose show that they are more strongly linked with the Greek artistic sphere, where parallels and affinities should be sought, rather than with Egyptian tradition, where the roots of the corpus lie. These may tentatively be dated to the end of the fourth century or later, which probably puts them later than the Egyptian-style pieces, providing an additional argument for exclusion. Although their provenance is unclear, it is likely to be Lower Egypt, as the centre of Greek impact - the tomb of Petosiris is exceptional - but whether they are tomb reliefs or from some other context is unknown.

A second group omitted are slab-like pieces.²¹ These are excluded because, with their raised frame-like borders,²² they seem to be independent compositions, more in the stela tradition than that of tomb reliefs, which are primarily architectural. Like stelae, they may have been set into funerary structures (p. 24), or erected separately, but their original context is uncertain. In some cases, like the lying-in-state on Berlin 23721 (n. 21), funeral associations are clear; this particular piece, which is extremely unusual in showing a dead Mede with attendant mourners, is more closely linked with Carian stelae than with the present corpus. The grounds for excluding this more nebulous category of material

are less specific than for the "Greek-style" group, but they seem satisfactory.

The region under discussion, styled "Lower Egypt" for convenience, includes both the Delta and the Memphite region cemeteries, Saqqara-Giza-Heliopolis. These three sites have produced the majority of the pieces in the corpus whose provenance is known or can be deduced with some certainty. Giza, newly popular as a necropolis after long disuse,²³ and Saqqara formed the main branches of the Memphis burial area.²⁴ On the opposite side of the river, the cemeteries of Heliopolis-Kheraha at Old Cairo,²⁵ expanding from Dynasty 26 onward, have also yielded a number of relief fragments. For historical and environmental reasons, the Delta is less productive. Scattered sites have provided a few pieces each, and local differences are hard to identify. With the Memphite area blocks, they form a distinctive, relatively homogeneous group whose internal similarities are much greater than the differences, and which stands as a unity against reliefs from elsewhere in Egypt.

I have been circumspect about assigning provenance too precisely where the evidence is textual, as erroneous attributions can have a misleading effect on the study of regional artistic schools (pp. 69-74), where such small numbers are involved. Dealers' statements about provenance are especially untrustworthy. Sometimes titles point specifically to one site; more often an individual held titles from several sites, and it may not be clear on internal grounds at which of them, if any, he was buried. Titles clustered round a region - for instance, the Sais-Xois-Buto series of 33 and 34 - may point to the major sphere of a man's activity but court connections may mean that he was buried at Memphis/Sais.

Even when a block has a site provenance, few have been excavated in their original settings; the majority have been found during *sebak* digging or were reused in antiquity. In some cases (e.g. 53; 59; 60; 64), they were probably only moved from the nearest cemetery to the current habitation site. Sometimes, however, they may have travelled some distance and been mixed with material from other nearby areas. The large-scale use of stone from Heliopolis to build the Roda Nilometer is well-known.²⁶ The removal to the Nile bank of the sarcophagus of *Hn3t* (London BM 86 - see Catalogue to 55) has prompted the suggestion that his tomb lay at Heliopolis,²⁷ despite the discovery of a tomb lintel (56) at Mit Rahina;

this illustrates both the wide dispersal of pieces of the same tomb and the confusion such relocations can cause. The builders of Alexandria, the reputed findspot of 32 (see further Catalogue), are well known to have employed stone taken from elsewhere in the Delta and similar removal and reuse doubtless occurred at other sites.

At the beginning of this study, "Late Period" was selected as a sufficiently broad time designation for the final phase of native Egyptian tomb relief before the Ptolemaic style prevailed. There is no necessity to devise criteria to separate it from Third Intermediate Period material, since the group begins abruptly, probably around the time of Psammetichus I's rise to power in 664. The end is slightly more difficult to date with precision, although it too seems to have been sudden, with no clear evidence of overlap with the full-blown Ptolemaic style. The sequence certainly spans Dynasties 26-30, but may have continued a little after the reign of Nectanebo II (p. 49), into the second Persian period or even the Macedonian. However, the owner of 82, one of the latest, has firm links with Nectanebo II, and there are very few pieces which appear stylistically as late, and none as late as Petosiris. 325 or slightly earlier therefore provides the lowest likely terminus. In practice, I have not dated any later than 340, since the turmoil of the following years will not have been conducive to the production of tomb reliefs.

As an essential to this study I have provided a descriptive catalogue, including accounts of present condition, tool marks, paint remains which may eventually disappear, and a full bibliography. As many photographs as possible have been presented; the descriptions supplement features unclear or not visible. Precise dating (ch. 3) for each piece is a necessary preliminary to stylistic evaluation and assessment of development (ch. 4), and it will be seen how a re-dating of pieces alters traditional views about foreign influences in Late Period art (ch. 5). An evaluation of these reliefs in relation to earlier Egyptian art is made, with special regard to the archaism often connected with the Late Period. Finally, their distinctive contribution to Egyptian artistic tradition is assessed (ch. 6). A series of thematic studies (ch. 7) and an investigation of garment and wig types (ch. 8) provide more detailed illustrations of the features discussed in ch. 6.

CHAPTER 2 ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

The majority of reliefs in this corpus have appeared in museums, on the art market, been confiscated, or found reused, entirely separated from their original settings, of which little or nothing is known. This attempt to reconstruct their architectural context is based on two complementary types of evidence. Firstly, there are inferences drawn from the reliefs themselves, particularly from borderlines, traces of adjacent decoration - or their absence - around the extremities of the reliefs, and the shaping and finishing of the block edges, including those not intended to be seen. Secondly, there is the archaeological information on the architecture and decoration of Late Period tombs, including more complete decorated Lower Egyptian structures in the corpus, as well as other tomb types where relief plays little or no part. Prior studies have not fully utilized either of these. When the original context has been considered, only that of the particular piece(s) under examination has usually been studied. Earlier reconstructions were based on only a small sample of the extant museum pieces and paid scant attention to wider archaeological evidence. More recent studies have inclined either to accept earlier suggestions uncritically,¹ or to compare closely similar monument types, without considering the broader context of both buildings and dissociated blocks.²

Review of previous theories

Maspero³ was the first to recognize that the reliefs which Mariette had discovered reused in a house at Mit Rahina (53; 59; 60) were not domestic decoration, but had been removed from nearby tombs. The thinness of these and other fragments known to him led him to postulate (his pp. 75-6) that they were used as cladding against brick walls, imitating "certain mastabas memphites", but it is not clear whether he meant that the Late Period tombs themselves were similar to these mastabas or whether the similarity lay solely in the physical deployment of relief.⁴

Von Bissing suggested⁵ that 76 was a false-door, on the basis of the torus moulding and enclosing bands; although he mentioned the tops of jamb texts and the downward continuation of the borders which are clear on that piece, he did not press them as evidence to support his theory. He offered no comment on the tomb type.

A lintel or doorway context for the blocks has been recognized,⁶ although whether they are from functional doorways, false-doors or niche surrounds has not been discussed. A variety of other contexts has been suggested over the years, ranging from grave structures related to Old Kingdom mastabas in which the role of the reliefs is ignored⁷ to small chambers decorated with narrow friezes or large pedestals with relief.⁸ Scharff⁹ attempted to synthesize Maspero's and von Bissing's hypotheses, attributing to Maspero his own idea of small, low, brick mastabas, the walls of whose cult chambers were decorated with stone false-doors and one or two low bands of relief "in Erinnerung an die Mastabas des AR".

The theory which has received widespread support and remains influential,¹⁰ despite criticism (n. 14 below), is that propounded by Kuentz.¹¹ He was unable to imagine a tomb with only the doorways in stone and therefore dismissed the lintel hypothesis (his pp. 38-9). However, his sample was too small^{and} did not include door-jambs, and his conclusions were consequently erroneous. He proposed that the blocks formed a continuous frieze, surmounted by a torus moulding and cavetto cornice, around the top of otherwise plain exterior walls of a small, rectangular stone structure, in a decorative conception which he thought more Greek than Egyptian (his pp. 39-40; Fig. 1 here). He supported his reconstruction with a single example at Athribis, in which the sarcophagus was housed above ground in a masonry core, fusing superstructure and subterranean elements.¹² The crucial tops of the walls were missing,¹³ but this did not hinder his reconstruction of a tomb type not otherwise known to exist in Egyptian architecture.

Anthes¹⁴ rejected Kuentz's theory on the grounds that the corners and side edges of 55 did not suit the hypothetical tomb type: the horizontal torus moulding continued well-shaped for only about 40 mm before stopping on the left (damaged) and meeting rough-hewn, laterally-projecting stone on the right. These features are found on numerous other blocks (see below). Other objections to Kuentz's reconstruction can be made. Definite jambs and wall fragments exist (see below), proving that at least some of the blocks come from other types of tombs. If these are excluded and only the "frieze-like" blocks considered, it still seems unlikely that Kuentz's postulated tomb existed even as one type among others. The Athribis structure lacks all trace of the frieze central to Kuentz's theory,

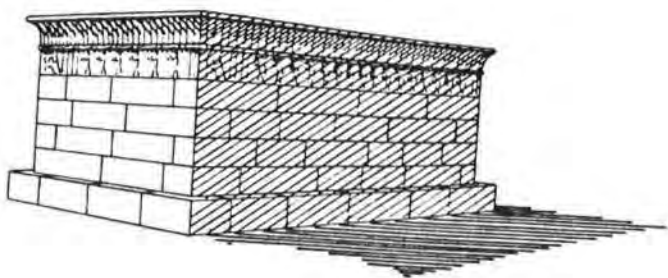


Figure 1

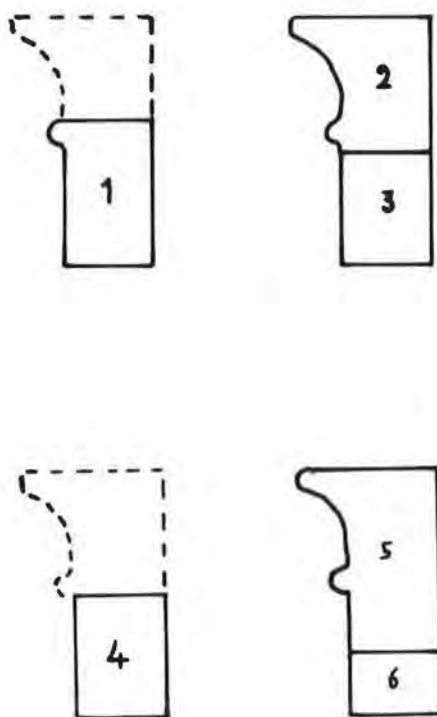


Figure 2

although a portion of the cavetto cornice was found. The excavators noted that only one long face, the north, was well finished and that this was probably the façade, while the other three sides were left rough;¹⁵ yet Kuentz wanted his frieze to extend completely around the building. It is possible that the Athribis monument was incomplete when utilized, and that the north face was the only one to receive nearly final treatment. However, an identifiable façade is incompatible with Kuentz's idea, in which all sides receive equal treatment and none is a focal point. Anthes¹⁶ noted the absence from the loose blocks of the vertical torus edging seen on the extant tomb corners. Similar traces are now known (see below), but they are rare and are positioned differently from those on the Athribis tomb (i.e. along flat surfaces, not angled around corners). Size provides another objection. While the complete "frieze-like" scenes fall within a range not inconsistent with the 1.204-1.282 m for the short sides of the Athribis monument¹⁷ (see below), there is none approaching the 2.56-2.574 m of the longer sides (see 55 remarks below), although these ought to exist in equal numbers to the shorter ones; to explain this by suggesting that they have all been broken seems inadequate.¹⁸ Furthermore, while four "frieze-like" pieces would be required for each tomb, no more than two are known for any individual, with the exception of 82, where the blocks were certainly placed above doorways. Finally, relief traces around the main scene (see below) frequently show the "frieze-like" blocks to have been related to other wall decoration, not to have stood alone. None of these arguments is decisive in itself, or as damning to Kuentz's case as Anthes' observation on the block edges, but together they provide sufficient evidence to discount Kuentz's reconstructed tomb type as even one option among several.

Information from the blocks

Evidence of the architectural context of the isolated blocks occurs on both the compositional surfaces and the adjacent edges. The latter, where not fractured, bear cutting or finishing markings which may be original or date from periods of ancient extraction and reuse, or from more modern reshaping for transport and/or display (see Catalogue entries for details).

Differentiation is important in evaluating whether the marks can provide clues to the original setting and completeness of a particular scene.

Examination of the lateral edges of blocks which borders and edging lines on the composition suggest are complete shows a characteristic pattern of original markings. These consist on block sides of long, nearly vertical cutting grooves a few millimetres deep, made by a chisel about 5 mm wide. In a few cases these grooves run horizontally across visible surfaces of door-jambs (e.g. 64; 73). They lie roughly parallel, with variable but often close spacing. They are genuine tooling grooves, and are not pre-planned, the length, angle, spacing, etc. varying on a single piece, although they are generally consistent; few grooves run the entire height of the block. The chisel was usually held with its broad surface parallel to the stone, producing grooves of uniform depth, but in a few cases (e.g. 8 bottom; 34 left; 35 bottom) it was used at an angle, producing grooves that are deeper on one side and with a more ridged pattern between them. Original top and bottom block edges bear similar grooves, which tend to run back-to-front or diagonally, less frequently lengthwise; sometimes the lower edges of lintels (see below) are well smoothed. 20 unusually shows these cutting marks on its back. Similar grooving, apparently done with the same tool, occurs on scene surfaces as a decorative background texturing (pp. 50-1) or was used functionally, with wider spacing, as a key for gesso (e.g. 64; 65).

A second type of original treatment, found on backs and the back portions of side edges not intended to be visible, is rough-hewing, in which the surface is shallowly roughened with small, irregular concavities, without obvious tool marks. This rough-hewing is indistinguishable from that found at earlier periods.

While it is necessary to distinguish between primary and secondary cutting, it is not vital to understanding the architectural context to differentiate ancient and modern recutting. Sometimes reworking is clear from the whiteness of the limestone compared with the relief surface, but often recut areas have acquired a similar patina. Ancient retouching can be difficult to tell from original cutting when the same type of 5 mm chisel was used, as in the secondary trimming at the bottom of 60 (cf. also 34; 35). Two common patterns of tooling marks seem not to be original (perhaps ancient on 96?). One consists of fine, close-set, serrated cuts, presumably made with a fine-toothed saw, which often appear especially on the backs of blocks which have probably been trimmed for transport. The

other, also frequent on refinished backs, is a series of short, squarish flattenings from a 5 mm (e.g. 17 B) or 10-12.5 mm chisel (e.g. 71), producing a more distinct "worked" patterning than the rough-hewn treatment.

Scratch-like cutting marks (e.g. 2; 24; 52) are probably seldom original, although on 42 they may be; when in a criss-cross pattern (e.g. 41; 71; 91) they are certainly secondary. The sides and back of 78 are scored with shallow, irregular, vertical grooves apparently made with a claw-chisel, which paler interiors suggest are not original, although the dado of 65 [sunk] bears very shallow claw-chisel striations which show that this tool was used by Dynasty 30. Drilled holes and other geometrical indentations in backs and sides are all modern; there are no ancient depressions for clamps between adjoining blocks. Because of the difficulties in distinguishing original and secondary cuttings, I have been guided in determining the date of edges by a combination of tooling marks and compositional features such as framing lines, symmetry, ^{and} position of figures and texts, which indicate the likelihood of the Egyptian artist abandoning or continuing the scene.

The isolated pieces fall into three distinct architectural categories. The majority¹⁹ are lintels from doorways, false-doors or niche surrounds, made as separate units (Fig. 2),²⁰ comprising mainly those blocks Kuentz believed to be "frieze-like" - long rectangular pieces usually with a single decorative register enclosed by a framing line or block-border (or with block-borders on three sides and a simple baseline). Occasionally the scene is divided for part of its length into two sections or sub-registers (21; 43; 51; 52 [if a lintel]), but a figure of the owner at full lintel height at one end preserves the single register context (assumed for 43; not on 21). The figured scenes regularly measure 0.23-0.36 m in height (excluding torus moulding and cavetto cornice), and 1.10-1.27 m in width; 20, of ordinary height, is unusually long, while 54, when the kiosk tops were added on the surmounting block, must have been unusually high. A few are larger in both directions²¹ - 51 and 56 measure about 0.425-0.475 x 1.40-1.44 m, while 56's companion, 55, was exceptional at about 0.55 (excluding torus) x 1.98 m, approaching the length required for Kuentz's tomb type.

The scenes are frequently surmounted by a torus moulding in various

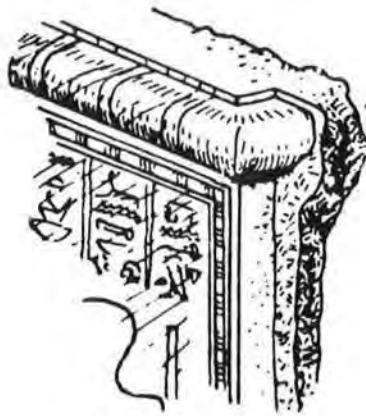


Figure 3

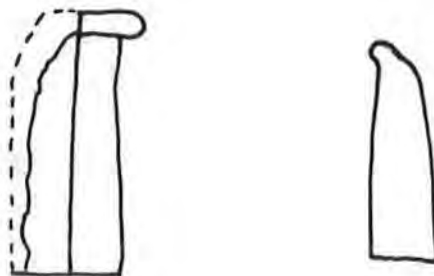


Figure 4

stages of completion, made as one with the scene, and which would have been topped by a separately made cavetto cornice. Others which consist simply of a rectangular scene would almost certainly have been surmounted by a block with torus moulding and cavetto cornice.²² 53 and 75 support this reconstruction, coming from lintels made in two halves laid one above the other, part of the figured scene being on the piece with the torus and cavetto cornice, while 48 consists of the cavetto cornice, torus, and an elaborate relief border to be placed over a figured composition. No block consists of the cavetto cornice, torus, and complete scene, so that all these doorways or niches were topped with at least two horizontal blocks. The doorways with 53 and 75 must have been structurally weak, with a comparatively low block immediately above the opening.

Although many blocks show a torus moulding above or markings below the scene, relating them to other decoration on the doorway, none has any trace of another scene or texts at the sides; where original ends remain, there is a narrow blank strip beyond the scene-framing line. Sometimes the vertical border or line at the side of the scene runs unbroken onto the jamb (20; 21; 33; 76 [also an inner border]; 77; 78); on 21, 36, 48 and 75, the lateral torus moulding or raised strip may have done the same. Beneath the baseline of many scenes are the tops of edging and dividing lines for two columns of text on the door-jamb. These mark their original juncture with jambs, and may have assisted in aligning architectural elements if doorways were carved elsewhere (see p. 70), but also identify the long blocks beyond doubt as lintels. 12, 29, 33, 76 and 80 also have the tops of hieroglyphs which continued onto the jambs; these are less easily explained as functional in assembly, but show rather that the doorways were carved as a unit, *in situ* or elsewhere.

In a number of cases (Fig. 3) the torus moulding continues, well-rounded, around the corners and onto the side edges for about 35-65 mm (e.g. 53; 55; 56); 20 unusually continues 0.162 m on the left. Sometimes it merges with a rougher rectangular projection on the line of the torus (16; 77; 80 [with more projecting stone below]), sometimes it abuts a projecting surface parallel to the scene (53; 55;²³ 56; probably 60). This shows that the lintels, and by extension, the jambs below, protruded slightly from the wall;²⁴ numerous instances *in situ* in 3, on both doorway and niche surrounds, and 5 C confirm this positioning. Usually a better-

flattened strip about 50-80 mm wide, with long, vertical cutting grooves, runs along the edge adjacent to the scene, but this never has the fine finish of the block front; toward the back it becomes rougher. This corroborates the idea that the doorway protruded slightly from its setting.

Many of these lintels are very thin (about 5 mm), and dorsal tooling marks suggest that they have been sheared off, probably for ease in transport.²⁶ This undermines but does not disprove Maspero's theory of their use as cladding blocks. 56 and 78 (59 broken similarly) have a distinctive profile, with the top shortened and an angled plane linking it to the back (Fig. 4). This would have made it difficult to fit a cavetto cornice of any thickness above them (see below).

The second distinct block type is the door-jamb, belonging to doorways of the type represented by the lintels (19; 45; 46; 62; 64; 65; 73; 81). These can be framed on the outer side by a vertical torus moulding, presumably continuing from the lintel (64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]), but they are more normally edged by a relief line (19; 46; 62; 81) or lines (45); 73 is unusually isolated in a framed space. Lintels, such as 20, 21 and 76 show that some must have decorative block-borders, but none has been discovered. They are invariably decorated with a standing figure of the deceased, placed above a deep, plain dado, and surmounted by vertical columns of text. Markings at the bottoms of preserved lintels all indicate two columns of inscription, but on 62 there are three, and 64 and 65 have four [sunk sides] or five [raised sides], showing that the number could vary. 46, 81 and possibly 73 come from jambs made of several courses of masonry.

Since there should be two jambs for every lintel, their rarity is striking. There are several possible explanations for the imbalance. Some may survive unrecognized, perhaps because they are broken or were made in sections (see below), or because they are decorated entirely with texts, making them less readily associated with relief blocks which bear little or no text.²⁶ The length or thickness of others may have recommended them for reuse (cf. 64) and some may still exist in later structures. It is also conceivable that lintels were exposed first in searches for blocks, and that the accompanying jambs still stand or lie underground in or near their original positions.

The third block type is the isolated wall fragment. They include: 8;

9; 17; 23; 26 (?); 35; 37; 39 [identifiable from Maspero's early publication but overlooked]; 40; 41; 61; 72; 88 (?); 90; 91; 92). There is also an uncertain group which may come from either walls or lintels (1; 30; 50; 52; 58; 67; 79; 83; 84; 85; 86; 87; 89; 93; 94; 95; 96). Wall blocks show both single register compositions (7) and multi-register scenes (e.g. 72 has evidence of three registers). The registers and figures in them are not significantly different in size from those on the lintels. Many contain comparatively long portions of adjacent text.

Architectural context of the isolated blocks

Besides showing that they come from slightly projecting doorways or formed wall decoration, the dissociated blocks provide little direct evidence of their original setting. Later trimming, particularly to reduce thickness, has destroyed potentially useful construction information. However, it is possible that some blocks were originally cladding, either in brick structures, as Maspero suggested, or lining poorer-quality limestone chambers. This latter technique was used extensively in 3, where facing blocks varied in thickness from 80-300 mm and were held in position with mortar. If some of the loose pieces once lined other rock-cut chambers, probably in the Giza-Saqqara area, they could have been deployed similarly.²⁷ I do not include here blocks extracted from tombs whose locations are known, which are discussed with the tombs themselves.

A single architectural context or tomb type should not be assumed for all the blocks. Although decorated doorways and walls exist, they need not have been in identical structures. Indeed, from the loose blocks assembled here, there is no direct evidence that a single tomb had both relief-decorated walls and doorways; only 5 among the extant remains (see below) certainly contains both. Lower Egyptian cemeteries²⁸ show a plethora of tomb types in both stone and brick, single- and multi-chambered and often serving as family vaults, whose architectural arrangements and those for protecting the coffin were influenced by local topographical conditions, such as the availability of stone suitable for building or for rock-cut structures, and the height of the water-table.

At any one site, too, there could have been more than one tomb type in concurrent use. This is most evident in the Memphite region. The known Late Period tombs at Saqqara range from the rock-cut, multi-chambered

sepulchres of *B3k-n-rn.f* (3) and *Hr-jr-c3* (31), through the free-standing tomb of *Ns-dhwtj* (22) with its pylons, court and inner chambers, and the late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27 shaft tombs (including *P3-dj-nt* [47]), to the tomb of *Wn-nfr* (82) possibly resembling the tomb of Petosiris. Giza shows a similar variation, with the huge cruciform chapel of *Trj* (6), the buildings of *Hr-bs* (4) and Chapel H (5) lining the sacred approach to the Isis temple like votive chapels, LG 81 (27) with its pillared porch tunnelled into the Chephren causeway, *Pth-jr(-dj.s)* (23) and *P3-dj-b3stt* (63) with their open courtyards before small rock-cut chambers, and the shaft-tomb-like LG 24.²⁹ Although less well known, Heliopolis also shows a range of tomb types including small, vaulted, subterranean chambers of limestone,³⁰ limestone structures, often for family burials, within large brick enclosures,³¹ rectangular underground brick chambers whose only stonework was the door surrounds,³² and single-chambered family vaults entered by a shaft.³³ As these blocks come from a wide range of Lower Egyptian sites, it is likely that they once adorned a variety of such tomb types. Nothing comparable to the systems of brick pylons, entrance-ways, deep open courts, and elaborately decorated underground complexes known from Dynasty 25-26 Thebes exists in the north,³⁴ so that they are likely to provide few direct parallels for decoration and scene distribution.

Kuentz pointed out³⁵ that the large number of "Saite" sarcophagi unearthed in the last century proves that many were not deeply buried. This observation applies equally to the isolated tomb reliefs. Both funerary equipment and reliefs may, of course, have been moved before they were "discovered", as the reuse of 53, 59, 60 and 64 shows, but the principle holds good that they must have been reasonably accessible for ancient builders to have extracted them. This view is supported both by the general topography of the Delta, which did not allow deep foundations without danger of waterlogging, and evidence from Saqqara and Giza, where the deepest, most inaccessible structures, the shaft tombs (Appendix V; see further *P3-dj-nt* below), have yielded almost no figured decoration. This suggests that the relief scenes were nearer the surface, either buried in less deep tombs such as those at Heliopolis (nn. 30-33) or above ground in rock-cut structures or free-standing chapels. Some must have been closely associated with the burial, as remains of both the building and its burial are known (e.g. *Hn3t* [55; 56]). Others could have stood on the surface

above shafts from which they are now dissociated. It is striking that the known late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27 shaft tombs have no accessible offering place for ongoing mortuary rites. This cannot be a security measure, as the shafts themselves with their sand fill were the most theft-proof tomb style ever devised by the Egyptians, and religious considerations had previously always outweighed strict security. Barsanti found evidence of Late Period officials pillaging earlier material to embellish the mouths of their shafts,³⁶ proving that there was surface marking with this tomb type. Some of these reliefs may therefore come from superstructures, perhaps quite modest, connected with such deep shaft graves,³⁷ which could have served as a cult focal point, as well as with more ordinary burial shafts.

Stylistic similarities among the blocks do not suggest that any large groups come from single structures or from huge, unknown tombs. The four blocks of 17 are numerically the largest group from one building; although they are all wall fragments with evidence of multi-register composition, they could be from the same scene and represent no more than the decoration on one wall of a modest structure. However, some pieces could be the scant remains of larger buildings as thoroughly destroyed as are 22 or 82 which, particularly if they had a high proportion of text to relief, now appear little different from those from smaller edifices. Two sets of wall blocks reveal positive information about the rooms in which they were placed. 10 shows a chamber with walls probably predominantly covered in inscriptions, and with a row of religious scenes sandwiched between text areas, extending onto the springing of a vault. The tomb could have consisted of a single vaulted stone or stone-lined brick chamber³⁸ or had several vaulted chambers (e.g. 3; 6). 7 has a single horizontal line of text running around probably three walls of a room, with two simple religious vignettes probably placed opposite each other on the lateral walls, perhaps near the doorway (see Appendix V). The exact dimensions of the room are unknown, nor is it entirely clear whether the line of text with vignettes formed the sole decoration,³⁹ or whether it was set well above vertical texts (?).

The context of the lintels and jambs is also problematic. Although called "doorways" here for convenience, they could have come from functional doorways or have been the surroundings for false-doors or the ubiquitous niches for statues, canopic jars, etc. which are so prevalent in

Late Period Lower Egyptian tombs. In 3 both doorways and niches were adorned with surrounds with cavetto cornices, identical except that the smaller niches have smaller surrounds. They seem often to have projected slightly from their wall setting, but 75, with its curious raised lateral strip, may have been set so that the lintel scene itself was flush with the wall surface, while its edges protruded slightly. 66 probably had its triple-banded lower border flush with the wall, while the figured scene, probably with a raised strip along the edges, projected slightly outward. Anthes observed⁴⁰ from the stone projection on the side of 55 that the slab was probably set into a wall made of more roughly-fashioned masonry. This does not tally precisely with his fig. 4 drawing, where the projection appears well smoothed, or with Egyptian architectural practice, where a finished visible wall at this height would be smoothed (could *Hn3t*'s wall have been unfinished?). Elsewhere (see above), the projecting sections are rough-hewn and sometimes very irregular, which does not accord well with stone building techniques but could be advantageous for secure insertion into a brick-built structure, where they could be bonded in place with mud plaster. The sloping upper edges of several blocks (see above) lend support to this, as they would be less stable in a stone construction but at no disadvantage if embedded in brick. 78, which slopes from directly behind the torus, suggests that the lintel and its cavetto cornice might have been embedded separately, with a wide fill of mud plaster between them at the back. Such structures are known to exist in the Late Period,⁴¹ although none so far has been found with this type of relief decoration on the surrounds.

Some of the doorways may therefore have adorned brick tombs, possibly with painted decoration on adjacent walls. If some were set into brick edifices, particularly if they were small, it is probable that the stone elements were carved elsewhere and bonded in during building; jamb lines marked on lintels (see above) would then have been of use in aligning the sections, rather than being a simple offshoot of cutting *in situ*. This raises the question of whether they were made locally or could have been transported some distance, with its possible implications for purely local schools of sculpture (pp. 69-74). The apparently ancient reshaping of the right edge of 80, perhaps in order to fit into a wall, might support initial carving elsewhere. Stone might also have been used for columns,

thresholds and niche surrounds.⁴² A limestone architrave apparently belonging with the isolated lintel 78⁴³ shows that more than one part of that tomb was stone.

Lintels where inner jamb borderline tops are marked show that the openings to these doorways are often 0.60-0.70 m wide, which is adequate for them to be functional. Height is not easy to assess reliably, as figured jambs, even if they have a dado at the bottom, may have been placed above plain stone courses. 64 and 65 are clearly from a functional doorway, but they are the only blocks in this corpus decorated on both sides. The sunk relief and torus moulding suit an exterior setting, with the raised relief on the inside of a room,⁴⁴ so that only a single chamber could be represented, although both 3 and 6 show abundant use of sunk relief inside, and two rooms are also possible. Some blocks decorated on one side may have surrounded niches. Others may have been placed back-to-back with other slabs in composite functional doorways,⁴⁵ perhaps undecorated or without relief, making association difficult. The inscribed doorway from Heliopolis Cairo JE 47120 (n. 41) provides an extreme example of the complexities of such a construction: less than 1 m high, it has addorsed lateral jambs of different widths and with different widths to the abutting slabs, which bear texts asymmetrically arranged; in addition, the quality of workmanship varies throughout. 46 and 81 represent jambs probably built up in sections, similar to the door and niche surrounds in 3.

Several people are known to have had two lintels (*P3-tnfj* [20; 21]; *P3-jr-k3p* [33; 34]; *Hn3t* [55; 56]; *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* [59; 60]; *T3-nfr* [76; 77]; perhaps *P3-dj-3st* [14; 15] and *nh.f-n-shmt* [50 (maybe not a lintel); 51], but in no case are the dimensions identical, so that if they were addorsed in composite doorways, they would have created different doorway surrounds on the two sides. It seems unlikely that this lack of uniformity was universal, while size differences between some lintels, such as those of *P3-tnfj* and *Hn3t*, are such that they would be difficult to incorporate together. These pairs of lintels probably surmounted separate openings - a doorway and a niche, niches of slightly different widths on opposite sides of a room, or some other combination. 82 has three chapel rooms in a row at the back of the building with their entries surmounted by separate areas of lintel-like decoration, with the central one higher and wider than those

on the sides (also with minor differences). This might provide an explanation for the peculiarly large 51 and 55, if they topped a larger central door. Some isolated lintels could have come from a similar arrangement, with any additional lintels in the group lost. The five rooms in a line at the back of 22 show that a different number of chambers could have been so decorated, but no identifiable doorway elements remain from this tomb.

The dissociated block shapes and sizes and the architectural elements represented do not seem to show any chronological variations. This does not mean that tomb types did not change throughout the period, merely that changes cannot be deduced from the decorated blocks away from their original context.

The extant tombs

Decorated Lower Egyptian tombs vary enough architecturally to merit consideration singly.

1. Rock-cut tombs : B3k-n-rn.f (3) - Records suggest that decoration is confined to the multi-chambered superstructure, which provides the only certain example of limestone blocks as cladding, here against a rock-hewn surface. The plan is symmetrical, both in the positioning of doors, niches, and pillars within individual rooms and in the arrangements of side-chambers, which may vary slightly in dimensions but not in layout. Incomplete publication and destruction of the north and east sides make it unclear how symmetrically decoration and texts were disposed within chambers and in antithetical rooms, but my reconstruction of Room D suggests a high degree of balance (see Catalogue).

Doorways and niches are prominent architectural elements, but although they are given salience by their slight forward projection and set off by borders and cavetto cornices, they remain primarily architectural and a vehicle for texts, without figured decoration.

The forecourt and east end of the tomb are destroyed but earlier accounts do not suggest that there was a division in the decoration between secular and religious motifs in the outer areas and religious scenes of the afterlife further in (cf. 6; 22).⁴⁶ Several unconventional decorative usages, including the vaulted ceiling (A), are discussed on pp. 115-17.

Pth-jr(-dj.s) (25) - This tomb has been so thoroughly pillaged that it will never be known whether there was a division between secular and religious scenes of this world outside and religious scenes connected with the afterlife inside, whether the entire superstructure was decorated/completed, or, less likely, whether there was any subterranean relief.

Nothing is known of the doorway decoration and niches are not a feature. LG 81 (27) - The columns are unfinished and other portions of the tomb, including the decoration, may also have been; it is unclear whether an open court was added before the façade. Only the scenes on the west side of the first room are recorded. Neither B nor C, which most likely run from the doorways to corners of the room, shows traces of separately decorated or emphasized door surrounds; the orientation of the figures on C in the inside of the tomb, with their backs to the door, does not highlight the opening. There are no niches in either chamber. The heavy decorative borders emphasize each wall as a separate unit. The scenes seem to be secular and occupy the entire wall space in traditional registers, rather than being broken into small units by large blocks of text (e.g. 3; 31; 82). This tomb also provides the only clear example of a figure of the owner occupying the height of the wall, with an emphatic size difference between him and the minor figures (but cf. 6 E, F; 82 A; 90). The archaizing features of the scene (pp. 121-2), the Old Kingdom-type tomb plan, including the wide columned portico, the visual focus, the proportion of scene to text, and possibly its placement here, and the absence of religious scenes and texts could be modelled on nearby tombs. LG 81 may be, like 22, an architectural as well as artistic archaism - a tomb created in the style of the Old Kingdom.

P3-dj-b3stt (63) - This tomb shows that rock-cut chapels continued into Dynasty 30, and has the only preserved example of Late Period figured façade decoration, possibly on cladding blocks, which could have adorned other Late Period rock-cut tombs. It may have had an open forecourt, as in other tombs.⁴⁷ The facing depictions of the tomb owner, with accompanying text, on either side of the opening are traditional in composition but contemporary in style, while the representations above including Osiris do not seem to have formed part of the decoration of private tomb exteriors before the Late Period (see also 6). The resemblance to door "jambs" is emphasized by the figures with text above which closely resemble the

isolated jamb blocks, but there is no lintel, torus or cavetto cornice over the opening, although the two back-to-back scenes which run across the entire upper width produce an effect not unlike an elongated version of bisected New Kingdom lintels (see p. 121; cf. 54; 82 B). The disposition of large amounts of text punctuated by small relief spaces containing single figures resembles that found on the interior of other Late Period Lower Egyptian tombs (e.g. 3; 31; 47; 82), and produces a piecemeal, fragmented effect. Again, symmetry prevails everywhere, although the outward focus of the scenes above and the inward focus of those below distract from the doorway opening, rather than emphasizing it.

2. Shaft tombs : *P3-dj-nt* (47) - This is unique among discovered late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27 shaft tombs in having relief decoration in the subterranean vaulted chamber; elsewhere decoration is confined entirely to texts, occasionally punctuated with friezes of offerings.⁴⁸ Even here, in the limited space available, priority is given to texts; the representations are simply single- or two-figure groups. The architecturally symmetrical niches are highlighted by symmetrical Anubis figures with canopic jars, which allude to the actual jars below; they provided both a symbolic safeguard and a visual conceit.

In scene of *P3-dj-nt* with Osiris (A) also emphasizes the niche beneath, but is unconnected with its use. Positioned so deep underground, it could not have been the focus of the cult, so it must be purely symbolic, perhaps recalling representations of Osiris as the culmination of the main axis in other tombs (e.g. 5, 6). The uncertainty as to whether it is an inset plaque or carved on the wall (see Catalogue) has wider implications. If it is a separately-made plaque, perhaps with a frame around the edge, it might provide a parallel for the slab-stelae and other plaque-like reliefs which have been excluded from this study (pp. 7-8) on the grounds of their resemblance to stelae and their uncertain setting. Its use as isolated decoration does not provide a satisfactory alternative setting to lintels for the "frieze-like" blocks, with their markings for additional architectural elements (jambs and cornices).

Whatever superstructure accompanied this and other shaft tombs (see above) may have altered the balance between texts and scenes in the underground section.

3. Free-standing limestone tombs : Trj (6) - The size and prominent position of this chapel give the exterior reliefs high visibility. The fact that the south walls of both side chambers were decorated, as well as the more usual façade, shows that the overall view as the tomb was approached was considered. The ornamentation only of the portions seen from the south is a labour-saving alternative to complete decoration. In their repetitive tableaux of Trj confronting Osiris, with subsidiary female figures, the scenes resemble those of the king honouring the gods on the outer walls of temples, but here they have been adapted to a private and a funerary focus. The ubiquitous presence of Osiris recalls the interior decoration of 3; he is also the focal point on the end wall of the main axis (BB). The loss of the east end with its doorway makes it unclear whether the Osiris representations continued onto the façade in anticipation of 63.

Interior decoration is confined to the superstructure. The destruction of most of the south court, which bears the only unquestionably secular scene (E), obscures any distinction between "worldly" outer and religious inner decoration. Although the building is architecturally symmetrical, the reliefs show major differences between complementary rooms (p. 77). This is clearest in the East and the West Chambers, which are internally balanced (e.g. P, R on opposite walls), but which have in the former human figures receiving offerings with appropriate texts and, in the latter blocks of gate *genii* with religious formulae, in an east-west secular-religious arrangement. Doorways are occasionally emphasized by figures on either side facing towards them (e.g. I, K) or have the opening lined with a column of text, but they do not project or have separate surrounds. Nothing suggests relief figures on the vaults to parallel those of 3 A, or any other decoration (painted?). In contrast to 3, 6 is stressed as a family tomb, with relatives of several generations prominent everywhere and an unusual scene where Trj plays a subservient role to his father (P). Indeed, so prominent is the family, that Trj does not stand out, and can sometimes only be identified through texts. The ratio of texts to relief is also different from 3; decoration is prominent and more central on the walls, rather than relegated to their fringes.

Ns-dhwtj (22) - The arrangement of courtyard with papyriform colonnades and containing the burial shaft, with cult chapel amid side chambers at the

rear, is modelled on New Kingdom Memphite tombs, specifically the more elaborate ones with a second court and a pylon entrance; it deviates from its prototypes in being of solid limestone instead of brick with limestone facing (see n. 46). The archaizing hunt and, probably, marsh scenes are in keeping with the architectural style, suggesting that the tomb as a whole was created as a revival in the style of the New Kingdom. The distribution of the fragments with the hunt and marsh scenes in the outer court (A-D), and religious fragments from unknown areas or from the chapels, suggests that the secular outer, religious inner placement of decoration was observed. This would not only parallel the New Kingdom pattern, but seems to reflect the scene distribution in contemporary Theban tombs. Nothing can be identified as doorway decoration, and niches do not feature in the plan. It is unknown whether the exterior bore figured representations.

Wn-nfr (82) - The plan does not follow in the New Kingdom tradition,⁴⁹ as a separate, shallow, wider room between the entrance and what would be the "court" has no earlier parallels, and the distribution of the relatively wide columns suggests that they supported a roof, rather than porticos. The tomb may follow a contemporary design similar to that of Petosiris and Graeco-Roman temples (see Catalogue), although the decoration is not similar. Only the superstructure has relief. The exterior side walls seem to have been exclusively vehicles for texts (blank on Petosiris), while the façade is destroyed; on Petosiris' chapel, the front with its scenes of the deceased adoring gods has the only external decoration. The series of niches in the back exterior wall is architecturally striking, but it is not known whether they were decorated. There was probably an outer court.

Niches do not feature in the interior design. The chapel doorways bear decoration resembling that on the isolated blocks. The lateral walls of their façades have two or three columns of text. No figures appear below them on the squeezes, and their height in relation to the projected height of the walls⁵⁰ suggests no room for standing figures, merely a high dado or small decoration with dado. The larger opening of the central doorway has larger decoration, including three columns of side texts and a wider, higher wall area above, with similar design to the others. Their layout, with inward-facing figures of Wn-nfr with text between, is not paralleled in the corpus, but has forerunners.⁵¹ The composition reinforces the impression that text takes precedence over figured

constructive and witty criticism, and careful editing. This thesis owes much to him and his fiendish pencil. Most importantly, I must thank my husband Anthony, for support and encouragement over the years. My debt to him is more than I can acknowledge. Finally, I would like to thank Amenirdis for her unflagging company during the twelve hours of the night, when so much of this dissertation was written.

CONVENTIONS

Individual pieces are referred to by Catalogue number in bold type. Figures within scenes are numbered and underlined.

All dates are BC unless otherwise specified or obviously modern. Regnal dates are those given by Lloyd in Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 281.

References are by short title, usually based on the initial words. Tombs and sites are referred to by the owner's/place name, without "Tomb", "Mastaba", etc. Other abbreviations not conforming to this are given in "Abbreviations" (p. 309), as are non-standard journals. For journals and series, I have followed the abbreviations in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* where applicable.

Each major subdivision in chapter 7 and 8 has its own footnote numbering system, to avoid clumsily long numbers.

I have included at the end of Volume I as Appendices I-V published or in press articles by me concerning these pieces. Each has its own pagination.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION: ASSEMBLING THE CORPUS

Growing interest in first millennium Egypt makes the analysis of large bodies of contemporary material desirable. As Egypt became increasingly drawn into the affairs of the Mediterranean world, the shift toward the Delta as the country's most important region and as the primary point of contact with foreigners is clear. Studies which assemble and evaluate material from that region and investigate the extent to which native culture was influenced or modified by these contacts, how far the Egyptians sought to maintain or assert their own cultural identity and how they went about it, are important for understanding the period.

This study considers the private tomb reliefs of Lower Egypt as a measure of such questions. Although the reliefs are scattered, they are more numerous than stelae, and more informative than statuary from the same area. My approach is primarily artistic, and accompanying texts are considered only in so far as they help to elucidate identity, provenance and date.

Although some Late Period Theban tombs are now fully published, little attention has recently been paid to their counterparts in the north. Maspero first identified Lower Egyptian reliefs as a "type" in 1907,¹ when he published eleven pieces in Cairo and Alexandria known or reputed to come from the Memphite area and the Delta. His study remains the largest illustrated assembly of this material, and is still regularly consulted and cited. In 1911 von Bissing reiterated and expanded Maspero's list with the addition of six more pieces, not all illustrated.² Subsequent works have mainly concentrated on the publication of additional pieces and have drawn heavily on Maspero's corpus for a visual basis.³ This has been useful for stylistic links, and thematic and detail parallels, but less so for dating, as Maspero lacked an objective, broad base for assigning dates (see p. 29).

In establishing this corpus, I assembled these publications, with photographs, as only by creating a large, accessible, visual body of material can a coherent attempt at defining a particular "style" be made. This material also served as the core against which to test potential additions. I have seen the original blocks myself where this was possible and relied on photographs where it was not. Some inaccessible pieces are

published only in line drawings which are quite inadequate for stylistic study; in such cases, my observations are necessarily more cautious and dating more general. I have treated dates assigned in publications with caution, as the criteria on which they have been based are often unspecified or questionable. I have also been wary about accepting unsupported assignments of provenance (see below). When the corpus of published pieces had been established, a series of preliminary stylistic criteria (see below and ch. 4) emerged. These were not entirely consistent, which was not surprising in view of the long period and wide area covered. I tried to avoid labelling these differences as temporal or regional at an early stage, but, as the reliefs were examined with reference to known provenance and to texts, not purely artistically, it became clear that differences over time were greater and more apparent than regional ones.

This preliminary corpus (roughly 50% of the final total) was examined for internal inconsistencies, and the individual blocks scrutinized and evaluated for their place within it. None of the pieces published as of this group was considered to be misplaced (e.g. 15, which Maspero thought possibly New Kingdom,⁴ was retained), while a few others (e.g. 68; 69; 71), well-known but not always specifically included with the group, proved to fit well within it. A rough chronological sequence, based largely on style, emerged, although the beginning and end of the sequence were only approximately fixed. I left open the question of a break in development in the Persian period, although I was initially swayed by studies in favour of continuity (see pp. 51-2). It was also clear that certain types of blocks, notably lintels and, to a lesser extent, door-jambs (pp. 14-16), figured prominently.

While the corpus was being assembled and evaluated, it was also being expanded. I planned from the beginning to include material still *in situ* and fragments from known tombs which had previously been viewed mainly in an archaeological context, without wider reference. Earlier studies have tended to regard the isolated blocks as "art objects", rather than as part of an architectural whole with specific funerary application, and I hoped that more complete tombs would provide a physical context for these reliefs, and expand the base of well-dated material. These tombs have proved of more limited value than anticipated. Only eleven examples with

figured relief decoration have been located,⁵ all in the Memphite area, at Saqqara (3; 22; 31; 47; 82) and Giza (4; 5; 6; 25; 27; 63) (see further below). They pose problems of their own and are difficult to evaluate, since it is unclear how representative they are of Lower Egyptian tomb architecture as a whole (pp. 17-22). A comparatively large number can be dated with reasonable accuracy (e.g. 3; 4; 22; 31; 82; less so 47) and they constitute a high percentage of such pieces (see ch.2), but damage and poor publication - only 6 is almost fully published and even that is predominantly in line drawing - as well as differences in the nature of the decoration, such as numerous religious scenes with the deceased before deities, rather than the more "secular" decoration of the isolated blocks, make direct comparison difficult. The dated tombs fall mainly in the first half of Dynasty 26 (3; 4; 5; 6; 22; 31). Some (5; 6; 25; 27; 63), must be dated stylistically, using the same criteria as for the isolated blocks.

It was also necessary to enlarge the corpus to include other less well-known fragments. Some are published in less accessible works. Others were located through the records of the Topographical Bibliography in the Griffith Institute and the *Cairo Journal d'Entrée*; in the latter case, there may be pieces there which I was unable to recognize from the *Journal* description.⁶ Some were identified visually, from the Brooklyn Museum transparency collection (e.g. 17), by visiting museum collections and examining their records, or were called to my attention by helpful curators and others. The one important source I was not able to consult was the files of the Corpus of Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period in Brooklyn. A small number of pieces, from sales or catalogue descriptions (84; 86; 87) or other sources (83; 85; 89) have been included on the basis of their descriptions.

Most of these additions are also without known provenance, having appeared on the art market, been purchased from dealers (who may provide information of questionable reliability as to findspot), or been given to museums. It has therefore been necessary to devise criteria for separating Lower Egyptian blocks from other unassigned ones. This can be done with some confidence where names and titles are preserved. Theophorous names can show northern cult affinities; others can show characteristically northern spellings (e.g. *šb* for *šp*, see 2 a)). Titles are more diagnostic because they are often closely associated with one particular site. My

partial survey of Late Period stelae, statuary, Theban tombs and pieces in this corpus whose provenance is known or reasonably certain shows that Late Period priestly titles tend to divide into Upper and Lower Egyptian, and that southern and northern benefices are rarely mixed. This is extremely useful for the broad regional distinction necessary to assemble the corpus, but less valuable for internal divisions (see further below).

Many of the pieces are uninscribed or bear only uninformative captions. Other criteria have had to be devised to set these apart from other Late Period reliefs. Hard stone architectural relief seems reserved for temples and royal building, with private tomb reliefs executed only in limestone. Limestone could also be used for royal buildings, but private and royal limestone relief can easily be distinguished, chiefly by subject. Representations of the king are unknown in Late Period private tombs. Nor are lines of gods receiving offerings a regular part of the private tomb repertory (54 is unusual, but shown to belong in the corpus by the representations of the non-royal owner), although they are present in funerary vignettes (e.g. 3; 31), receiving the deceased (e.g. 5; 6; 64 [raised]; 65 [raised]) and in other appropriate mortuary contexts (e.g. 6; 63), with Osiris the most regularly featured. The suckling Isis with kneeling donor at her feet in 4 is extremely unusual, but the possible votive nature of that building (pp. 27-8) may explain its peculiarities. Divine figures are more difficult to date and to differentiate as Lower Egyptian, as the softer modelling and idiosyncratic facial and body shapes found on humans are eschewed in favour of a firmer, more traditional ideal. I have therefore excluded figures of deities unless there is good reason to believe they come from Lower Egyptian tombs.

It was necessary from the start to distinguish Lower Egyptian private tomb relief from such reliefs from other parts of the country. This was initially daunting because of the wide range of possible styles and processes involved in the creation of a relief, but, in fact, the only substantial body of comparable material comes from the Theban necropolis. Other sites, like Herakleopolis,⁷ possibly the Fayyum,⁸ Abydos,⁹ and Akhmim,¹⁰ have produced a few pieces, but not enough to suggest major tomb relief schools or to provide an impression of a regional character. The principal differentiation is therefore between Theban and northern reliefs.

This must ultimately be visual, as many of the smaller fragments are

uninscribed, and no scientific tests have been done to determine limestone sources. The limestone itself can nonetheless be differentiated. Theban limestone is described as generally creamy-white in hue.¹¹ Cooney noted¹² that the limestone of the Asasif, where most Late Period tombs are located, is hard and compact, with concentrations of iron oxides, producing patches with a ruddy hue. While a pink tint is not present on all Theban fragments, it can serve to distinguish them from Lower Egyptian material, as none of the pieces known to come from the north has this colouration (but cf. the dubious 93), nor is it present in the Giza-Saqqara cemeteries or on stone from Tura. The limestone of the Lower Egyptian blocks is consistently whitish or very slightly yellow (52 is unusually yellowish and grainy), and frequently contains very fine grey veins of a harder quartz-like material, resembling faint pencil lines; there are never more than a few on any block and they are visible only with close scrutiny. The soft, yellowish, nummulitic limestone of Giza seems to have been avoided for relief carving.¹³ Fracture patterns also differ. Theban fragments seem to be harder and more brittle,¹⁴ and tend to break with sharp, clean-cut points and surfaces. The softer northern limestone has a duller, less angular fracture style, and more crumbling and wear softens the break lines. Even the best-quality limestone, which allows crisp relief cutting and has its broken edges unmarred by chipping, does not fracture in points like the Theban stone.

Some of the differences between northern and southern reliefs are typological. A large proportion of the Lower Egyptian blocks are from doorways, either lintels or jambs bearing figured decoration (pp. 14-16). Doorways in Theban tombs are not normally adorned with relief, but are surrounded by bands of texts alone, and are often not surmounted by the torus moulding and cavetto cornices which are regular features in the north.

The reliefs themselves show stylistic differences, some of which must be temporal. While Late Period tombs at Thebes continue into the sixth century, most date to late Dynasty 25 and the reign of Psammetichus I. They therefore overlap primarily with, and are mainly liable to be confused with, the beginning of the Lower Egyptian relief sequence. Consequently, works showing the softer, plumper body forms (pp. 64-5) and fashionable Late Period clothing and wigs (Ch. 8) not otherwise attested in preserved

Theban tombs, are more likely to belong to the longer-lasting Lower Egyptian series. Distinctions between seventh century reliefs, however, have to be made on more closely-defined stylistic grounds. The crisp cutting in the Theban tombs reflects the compact character of the stone. Bas-relief stands out sharply from the background; its outlines and facial features are more severe than in the north.¹⁶ There is a greater accent on such incised detail as flower petals, basketry, clothing ridges and folds, and major figures in particular seem fussier than their counterparts in, for instance, 3 or 6. Plastic eyebrows and incised indications of eyelid rims are more common at Thebes. The head is often flatter on top and almost rectangular, and chin lines are firm. Body forms are thicker, especially across the shoulder, forearms and legs.

There are differences in costume: Theban men are more likely to wear tiered hairstyles based on those of the New Kingdom,¹⁶ short beards, sandals (p. 251) and multi-layered kilts; the mid-calf length kilt is common at Thebes, often in combination with others but is not especially popular in Lower Egypt. Amulets on cords, often in addition to the broad collar, are more frequent at Thebes (p. 250). Subsidiary male figures are also more likely to wear shoulder-length wigs, which in the north are almost confined to the owner (p. 246). Theban ladies may wear long, heavy wigs and the *haik*-costume,¹⁷ which are not found on the northern reliefs.

There are also compositional differences. Wall fragments showing register composition do exist from Lower Egypt (pp. 16-17), although this traditional style of figured decoration was not common; tombs where it appears (6 E, perhaps F; 27; perhaps 22) seem to date to Dynasty 26. At Thebes, large scale register composition was regularly used in the underground areas of the tomb, so there is a greater chance of pieces with multiple registers deriving from there. Representations of the tomb owner at a much larger scale are more common at Thebes than in the north (only in 3; 6; 27; 90). Overlapping of identical figures, common at Thebes, is almost completely avoided in the north (p. 82), where there is a preference for free-standing figures in a line. There is also some variation in the scenes preferred, with music (pp. 145-78) and marsh scenes being more common in the north, while funerals, the owner receiving offerings on loaded tables, and agricultural and related activities like apiculture are more frequent in the south.

None of these features of Late Period Theban tombs is absolutely diagnostic, and there are variations at Thebes, but they give a stylistic profile which can usually be distinguished from that of Lower Egypt. Attributing a provenance is more difficult when figures are fragmentary, and the occasional Theban piece (such as 90 ?), may have slipped into this corpus, or a northern one of the seventh century may have been excluded.

Except for the occasional Theban tomb (e.g. Ankhhor), there is almost no comparative tomb relief from elsewhere in Egypt for the sixth-fourth centuries,¹⁸ except for the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel at the end of the series. While the non-Hellenizing portions provide points of comparison with Dynasty 30 Lower Egyptian pieces, the fanciful elaboration of detail and the carrying of tendencies and features one step further shows that this tomb is somewhat later than the corpus, perhaps about 330-300.¹⁹

Several bodies of material which might technically qualify for inclusion among private Late Period tomb reliefs from Lower Egypt have been omitted. One group is what might be termed "Greek-style" reliefs.²⁰ These are excluded because features of dress and pose show that they are more strongly linked with the Greek artistic sphere, where parallels and affinities should be sought, rather than with Egyptian tradition, where the roots of the corpus lie. These may tentatively be dated to the end of the fourth century or later, which probably puts them later than the Egyptian-style pieces, providing an additional argument for exclusion. Although their provenance is unclear, it is likely to be Lower Egypt, as the centre of Greek impact - the tomb of Petosiris is exceptional - but whether they are tomb reliefs or from some other context is unknown.

A second group omitted are slab-like pieces.²¹ These are excluded because, with their raised frame-like borders,²² they seem to be independent compositions, more in the stela tradition than that of tomb reliefs, which are primarily architectural. Like stelae, they may have been set into funerary structures (p. 24), or erected separately, but their original context is uncertain. In some cases, like the lying-in-state on Berlin 23721 (n. 21), funeral associations are clear; this particular piece, which is extremely unusual in showing a dead Mede with attendant mourners, is more closely linked with Carian stelae than with the present corpus. The grounds for excluding this more nebulous category of material

are less specific than for the "Greek-style" group, but they seem satisfactory.

The region under discussion, styled "Lower Egypt" for convenience, includes both the Delta and the Memphite region cemeteries, Saqqara-Giza-Heliopolis. These three sites have produced the majority of the pieces in the corpus whose provenance is known or can be deduced with some certainty. Giza, newly popular as a necropolis after long disuse,²³ and Saqqara formed the main branches of the Memphis burial area.²⁴ On the opposite side of the river, the cemeteries of Heliopolis-Kheraha at Old Cairo,²⁵ expanding from Dynasty 26 onward, have also yielded a number of relief fragments. For historical and environmental reasons, the Delta is less productive. Scattered sites have provided a few pieces each, and local differences are hard to identify. With the Memphite area blocks, they form a distinctive, relatively homogeneous group whose internal similarities are much greater than the differences, and which stands as a unity against reliefs from elsewhere in Egypt.

I have been circumspect about assigning provenance too precisely where the evidence is textual, as erroneous attributions can have a misleading effect on the study of regional artistic schools (pp. 69-74), where such small numbers are involved. Dealers' statements about provenance are especially untrustworthy. Sometimes titles point specifically to one site; more often an individual held titles from several sites, and it may not be clear on internal grounds at which of them, if any, he was buried. Titles clustered round a region - for instance, the Sais-Xois-Buto series of 33 and 34 - may point to the major sphere of a man's activity but court connections may mean that he was buried at Memphis/Sais.

Even when a block has a site provenance, few have been excavated in their original settings; the majority have been found during *sebak* digging or were reused in antiquity. In some cases (e.g. 53; 59; 60; 64), they were probably only moved from the nearest cemetery to the current habitation site. Sometimes, however, they may have travelled some distance and been mixed with material from other nearby areas. The large-scale use of stone from Heliopolis to build the Roda Nilometer is well-known.²⁶ The removal to the Nile bank of the sarcophagus of *Hn3t* (London BM 86 - see Catalogue to 55) has prompted the suggestion that his tomb lay at Heliopolis,²⁷ despite the discovery of a tomb lintel (56) at Mit Rahina;

this illustrates both the wide dispersal of pieces of the same tomb and the confusion such relocations can cause. The builders of Alexandria, the reputed findspot of 32 (see further Catalogue), are well known to have employed stone taken from elsewhere in the Delta and similar removal and reuse doubtless occurred at other sites.

At the beginning of this study, "Late Period" was selected as a sufficiently broad time designation for the final phase of native Egyptian tomb relief before the Ptolemaic style prevailed. There is no necessity to devise criteria to separate it from Third Intermediate Period material, since the group begins abruptly, probably around the time of Psammetichus I's rise to power in 664. The end is slightly more difficult to date with precision, although it too seems to have been sudden, with no clear evidence of overlap with the full-blown Ptolemaic style. The sequence certainly spans Dynasties 26-30, but may have continued a little after the reign of Nectanebo II (p. 49), into the second Persian period or even the Macedonian. However, the owner of 82, one of the latest, has firm links with Nectanebo II, and there are very few pieces which appear stylistically as late, and none as late as Petosiris. 325 or slightly earlier therefore provides the lowest likely terminus. In practice, I have not dated any later than 340, since the turmoil of the following years will not have been conducive to the production of tomb reliefs.

As an essential to this study I have provided a descriptive catalogue, including accounts of present condition, tool marks, paint remains which may eventually disappear, and a full bibliography. As many photographs as possible have been presented; the descriptions supplement features unclear or not visible. Precise dating (ch. 3) for each piece is a necessary preliminary to stylistic evaluation and assessment of development (ch. 4), and it will be seen how a re-dating of pieces alters traditional views about foreign influences in Late Period art (ch. 5). An evaluation of these reliefs in relation to earlier Egyptian art is made, with special regard to the archaism often connected with the Late Period. Finally, their distinctive contribution to Egyptian artistic tradition is assessed (ch. 6). A series of thematic studies (ch. 7) and an investigation of garment and wig types (ch. 8) provide more detailed illustrations of the features discussed in ch. 6.

CHAPTER 2 ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

The majority of reliefs in this corpus have appeared in museums, on the art market, been confiscated, or found reused, entirely separated from their original settings, of which little or nothing is known. This attempt to reconstruct their architectural context is based on two complementary types of evidence. Firstly, there are inferences drawn from the reliefs themselves, particularly from borderlines, traces of adjacent decoration - or their absence - around the extremities of the reliefs, and the shaping and finishing of the block edges, including those not intended to be seen. Secondly, there is the archaeological information on the architecture and decoration of Late Period tombs, including more complete decorated Lower Egyptian structures in the corpus, as well as other tomb types where relief plays little or no part. Prior studies have not fully utilized either of these. When the original context has been considered, only that of the particular piece(s) under examination has usually been studied. Earlier reconstructions were based on only a small sample of the extant museum pieces and paid scant attention to wider archaeological evidence. More recent studies have inclined either to accept earlier suggestions uncritically,¹ or to compare closely similar monument types, without considering the broader context of both buildings and dissociated blocks.²

Review of previous theories

Maspero³ was the first to recognize that the reliefs which Mariette had discovered reused in a house at Mit Rahina (53; 59; 60) were not domestic decoration, but had been removed from nearby tombs. The thinness of these and other fragments known to him led him to postulate (his pp. 75-6) that they were used as cladding against brick walls, imitating "certain mastabas memphites", but it is not clear whether he meant that the Late Period tombs themselves were similar to these mastabas or whether the similarity lay solely in the physical deployment of relief.⁴

Von Bissing suggested⁵ that 76 was a false-door, on the basis of the torus moulding and enclosing bands; although he mentioned the tops of jamb texts and the downward continuation of the borders which are clear on that piece, he did not press them as evidence to support his theory. He offered no comment on the tomb type.

A lintel or doorway context for the blocks has been recognized,⁶ although whether they are from functional doorways, false-doors or niche surrounds has not been discussed. A variety of other contexts has been suggested over the years, ranging from grave structures related to Old Kingdom mastabas in which the role of the reliefs is ignored⁷ to small chambers decorated with narrow friezes or large pedestals with relief.⁸ Scharff⁹ attempted to synthesize Maspero's and von Bissing's hypotheses, attributing to Maspero his own idea of small, low, brick mastabas, the walls of whose cult chambers were decorated with stone false-doors and one or two low bands of relief "in Erinnerung an die Mastabas des AR".

The theory which has received widespread support and remains influential,¹⁰ despite criticism (n. 14 below), is that propounded by Kuentz.¹¹ He was unable to imagine a tomb with only the doorways in stone and therefore dismissed the lintel hypothesis (his pp. 38-9). However, his sample was too small^{and} did not include door-jambs, and his conclusions were consequently erroneous. He proposed that the blocks formed a continuous frieze, surmounted by a torus moulding and cavetto cornice, around the top of otherwise plain exterior walls of a small, rectangular stone structure, in a decorative conception which he thought more Greek than Egyptian (his pp. 39-40; Fig. 1 here). He supported his reconstruction with a single example at Athribis, in which the sarcophagus was housed above ground in a masonry core, fusing superstructure and subterranean elements.¹² The crucial tops of the walls were missing,¹³ but this did not hinder his reconstruction of a tomb type not otherwise known to exist in Egyptian architecture.

Anthes¹⁴ rejected Kuentz's theory on the grounds that the corners and side edges of 55 did not suit the hypothetical tomb type: the horizontal torus moulding continued well-shaped for only about 40 mm before stopping on the left (damaged) and meeting rough-hewn, laterally-projecting stone on the right. These features are found on numerous other blocks (see below). Other objections to Kuentz's reconstruction can be made. Definite jambs and wall fragments exist (see below), proving that at least some of the blocks come from other types of tombs. If these are excluded and only the "frieze-like" blocks considered, it still seems unlikely that Kuentz's postulated tomb existed even as one type among others. The Athribis structure lacks all trace of the frieze central to Kuentz's theory,

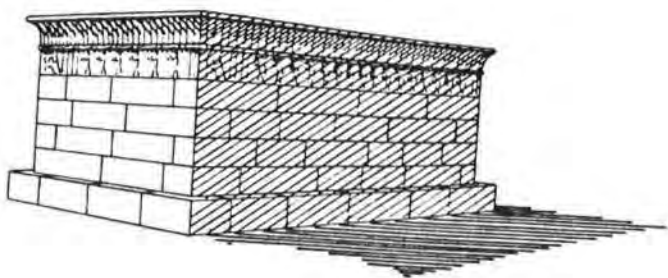


Figure 1

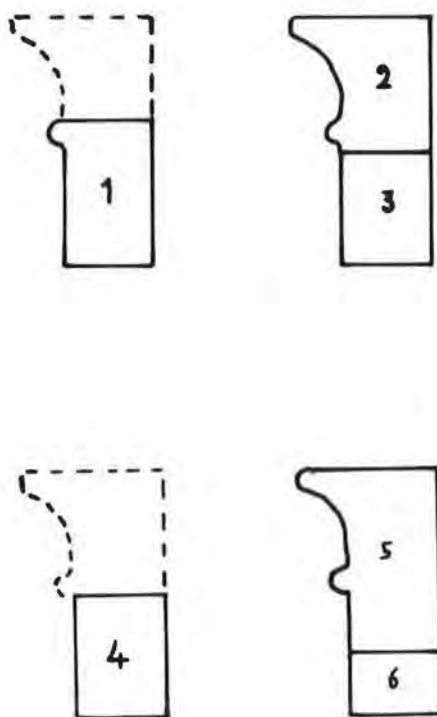


Figure 2

although a portion of the cavetto cornice was found. The excavators noted that only one long face, the north, was well finished and that this was probably the façade, while the other three sides were left rough;¹⁵ yet Kuentz wanted his frieze to extend completely around the building. It is possible that the Athribis monument was incomplete when utilized, and that the north face was the only one to receive nearly final treatment. However, an identifiable façade is incompatible with Kuentz's idea, in which all sides receive equal treatment and none is a focal point. Anthes¹⁶ noted the absence from the loose blocks of the vertical torus edging seen on the extant tomb corners. Similar traces are now known (see below), but they are rare and are positioned differently from those on the Athribis tomb (i.e. along flat surfaces, not angled around corners). Size provides another objection. While the complete "frieze-like" scenes fall within a range not inconsistent with the 1.204-1.282 m for the short sides of the Athribis monument¹⁷ (see below), there is none approaching the 2.56-2.574 m of the longer sides (see 55 remarks below), although these ought to exist in equal numbers to the shorter ones; to explain this by suggesting that they have all been broken seems inadequate.¹⁸ Furthermore, while four "frieze-like" pieces would be required for each tomb, no more than two are known for any individual, with the exception of 82, where the blocks were certainly placed above doorways. Finally, relief traces around the main scene (see below) frequently show the "frieze-like" blocks to have been related to other wall decoration, not to have stood alone. None of these arguments is decisive in itself, or as damning to Kuentz's case as Anthes' observation on the block edges, but together they provide sufficient evidence to discount Kuentz's reconstructed tomb type as even one option among several.

Information from the blocks

Evidence of the architectural context of the isolated blocks occurs on both the compositional surfaces and the adjacent edges. The latter, where not fractured, bear cutting or finishing markings which may be original or date from periods of ancient extraction and reuse, or from more modern reshaping for transport and/or display (see Catalogue entries for details).

Differentiation is important in evaluating whether the marks can provide clues to the original setting and completeness of a particular scene.

Examination of the lateral edges of blocks which borders and edging lines on the composition suggest are complete shows a characteristic pattern of original markings. These consist on block sides of long, nearly vertical cutting grooves a few millimetres deep, made by a chisel about 5 mm wide. In a few cases these grooves run horizontally across visible surfaces of door-jambs (e.g. 64; 73). They lie roughly parallel, with variable but often close spacing. They are genuine tooling grooves, and are not pre-planned, the length, angle, spacing, etc. varying on a single piece, although they are generally consistent; few grooves run the entire height of the block. The chisel was usually held with its broad surface parallel to the stone, producing grooves of uniform depth, but in a few cases (e.g. 8 bottom; 34 left; 35 bottom) it was used at an angle, producing grooves that are deeper on one side and with a more ridged pattern between them. Original top and bottom block edges bear similar grooves, which tend to run back-to-front or diagonally, less frequently lengthwise; sometimes the lower edges of lintels (see below) are well smoothed. 20 unusually shows these cutting marks on its back. Similar grooving, apparently done with the same tool, occurs on scene surfaces as a decorative background texturing (pp. 50-1) or was used functionally, with wider spacing, as a key for gesso (e.g. 64; 65).

A second type of original treatment, found on backs and the back portions of side edges not intended to be visible, is rough-hewing, in which the surface is shallowly roughened with small, irregular concavities, without obvious tool marks. This rough-hewing is indistinguishable from that found at earlier periods.

While it is necessary to distinguish between primary and secondary cutting, it is not vital to understanding the architectural context to differentiate ancient and modern recutting. Sometimes reworking is clear from the whiteness of the limestone compared with the relief surface, but often recut areas have acquired a similar patina. Ancient retouching can be difficult to tell from original cutting when the same type of 5 mm chisel was used, as in the secondary trimming at the bottom of 60 (cf. also 34; 35). Two common patterns of tooling marks seem not to be original (perhaps ancient on 96?). One consists of fine, close-set, serrated cuts, presumably made with a fine-toothed saw, which often appear especially on the backs of blocks which have probably been trimmed for transport. The

other, also frequent on refinished backs, is a series of short, squarish flattenings from a 5 mm (e.g. 17 B) or 10-12.5 mm chisel (e.g. 71), producing a more distinct "worked" patterning than the rough-hewn treatment.

Scratch-like cutting marks (e.g. 2; 24; 52) are probably seldom original, although on 42 they may be; when in a criss-cross pattern (e.g. 41; 71; 91) they are certainly secondary. The sides and back of 78 are scored with shallow, irregular, vertical grooves apparently made with a claw-chisel, which paler interiors suggest are not original, although the dado of 65 [sunk] bears very shallow claw-chisel striations which show that this tool was used by Dynasty 30. Drilled holes and other geometrical indentations in backs and sides are all modern; there are no ancient depressions for clamps between adjoining blocks. Because of the difficulties in distinguishing original and secondary cuttings, I have been guided in determining the date of edges by a combination of tooling marks and compositional features such as framing lines, symmetry, ^{and} position of figures and texts, which indicate the likelihood of the Egyptian artist abandoning or continuing the scene.

The isolated pieces fall into three distinct architectural categories. The majority¹⁹ are lintels from doorways, false-doors or niche surrounds, made as separate units (Fig. 2),²⁰ comprising mainly those blocks Kuentz believed to be "frieze-like" - long rectangular pieces usually with a single decorative register enclosed by a framing line or block-border (or with block-borders on three sides and a simple baseline). Occasionally the scene is divided for part of its length into two sections or sub-registers (21; 43; 51; 52 [if a lintel]), but a figure of the owner at full lintel height at one end preserves the single register context (assumed for 43; not on 21). The figured scenes regularly measure 0.23-0.36 m in height (excluding torus moulding and cavetto cornice), and 1.10-1.27 m in width; 20, of ordinary height, is unusually long, while 54, when the kiosk tops were added on the surmounting block, must have been unusually high. A few are larger in both directions²¹ - 51 and 56 measure about 0.425-0.475 x 1.40-1.44 m, while 56's companion, 55, was exceptional at about 0.55 (excluding torus) x 1.98 m, approaching the length required for Kuentz's tomb type.

The scenes are frequently surmounted by a torus moulding in various

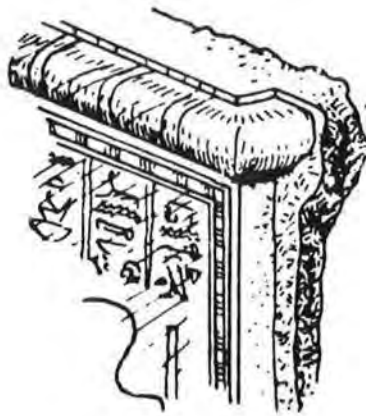


Figure 3

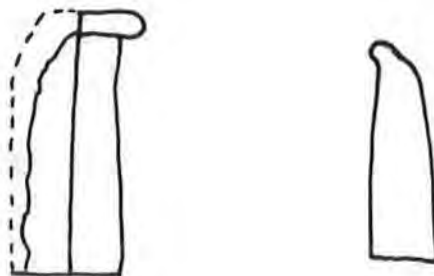


Figure 4

stages of completion, made as one with the scene, and which would have been topped by a separately made cavetto cornice. Others which consist simply of a rectangular scene would almost certainly have been surmounted by a block with torus moulding and cavetto cornice.²² 53 and 75 support this reconstruction, coming from lintels made in two halves laid one above the other, part of the figured scene being on the piece with the torus and cavetto cornice, while 48 consists of the cavetto cornice, torus, and an elaborate relief border to be placed over a figured composition. No block consists of the cavetto cornice, torus, and complete scene, so that all these doorways or niches were topped with at least two horizontal blocks. The doorways with 53 and 75 must have been structurally weak, with a comparatively low block immediately above the opening.

Although many blocks show a torus moulding above or markings below the scene, relating them to other decoration on the doorway, none has any trace of another scene or texts at the sides; where original ends remain, there is a narrow blank strip beyond the scene-framing line. Sometimes the vertical border or line at the side of the scene runs unbroken onto the jamb (20; 21; 33; 76 [also an inner border]; 77; 78); on 21, 36, 48 and 75, the lateral torus moulding or raised strip may have done the same. Beneath the baseline of many scenes are the tops of edging and dividing lines for two columns of text on the door-jamb. These mark their original juncture with jambs, and may have assisted in aligning architectural elements if doorways were carved elsewhere (see p. 70), but also identify the long blocks beyond doubt as lintels. 12, 29, 33, 76 and 80 also have the tops of hieroglyphs which continued onto the jambs; these are less easily explained as functional in assembly, but show rather that the doorways were carved as a unit, *in situ* or elsewhere.

In a number of cases (Fig. 3) the torus moulding continues, well-rounded, around the corners and onto the side edges for about 35-65 mm (e.g. 53; 55; 56); 20 unusually continues 0.162 m on the left. Sometimes it merges with a rougher rectangular projection on the line of the torus (16; 77; 80 [with more projecting stone below]), sometimes it abuts a projecting surface parallel to the scene (53; 55;²³ 56; probably 60). This shows that the lintels, and by extension, the jambs below, protruded slightly from the wall;²⁴ numerous instances *in situ* in 3, on both doorway and niche surrounds, and 5 C confirm this positioning. Usually a better-

flattened strip about 50-80 mm wide, with long, vertical cutting grooves, runs along the edge adjacent to the scene, but this never has the fine finish of the block front; toward the back it becomes rougher. This corroborates the idea that the doorway protruded slightly from its setting.

Many of these lintels are very thin (about 5 mm), and dorsal tooling marks suggest that they have been sheared off, probably for ease in transport.²⁶ This undermines but does not disprove Maspero's theory of their use as cladding blocks. 56 and 78 (59 broken similarly) have a distinctive profile, with the top shortened and an angled plane linking it to the back (Fig. 4). This would have made it difficult to fit a cavetto cornice of any thickness above them (see below).

The second distinct block type is the door-jamb, belonging to doorways of the type represented by the lintels (19; 45; 46; 62; 64; 65; 73; 81). These can be framed on the outer side by a vertical torus moulding, presumably continuing from the lintel (64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]), but they are more normally edged by a relief line (19; 46; 62; 81) or lines (45); 73 is unusually isolated in a framed space. Lintels, such as 20, 21 and 76 show that some must have decorative block-borders, but none has been discovered. They are invariably decorated with a standing figure of the deceased, placed above a deep, plain dado, and surmounted by vertical columns of text. Markings at the bottoms of preserved lintels all indicate two columns of inscription, but on 62 there are three, and 64 and 65 have four [sunk sides] or five [raised sides], showing that the number could vary. 46, 81 and possibly 73 come from jambs made of several courses of masonry.

Since there should be two jambs for every lintel, their rarity is striking. There are several possible explanations for the imbalance. Some may survive unrecognized, perhaps because they are broken or were made in sections (see below), or because they are decorated entirely with texts, making them less readily associated with relief blocks which bear little or no text.²⁶ The length or thickness of others may have recommended them for reuse (cf. 64) and some may still exist in later structures. It is also conceivable that lintels were exposed first in searches for blocks, and that the accompanying jambs still stand or lie underground in or near their original positions.

The third block type is the isolated wall fragment. They include: 8;

9; 17; 23; 26 (?); 35; 37; 39 [identifiable from Maspero's early publication but overlooked]; 40; 41; 61; 72; 88 (?); 90; 91; 92). There is also an uncertain group which may come from either walls or lintels (1; 30; 50; 52; 58; 67; 79; 83; 84; 85; 86; 87; 89; 93; 94; 95; 96). Wall blocks show both single register compositions (7) and multi-register scenes (e.g. 72 has evidence of three registers). The registers and figures in them are not significantly different in size from those on the lintels. Many contain comparatively long portions of adjacent text.

Architectural context of the isolated blocks

Besides showing that they come from slightly projecting doorways or formed wall decoration, the dissociated blocks provide little direct evidence of their original setting. Later trimming, particularly to reduce thickness, has destroyed potentially useful construction information. However, it is possible that some blocks were originally cladding, either in brick structures, as Maspero suggested, or lining poorer-quality limestone chambers. This latter technique was used extensively in 3, where facing blocks varied in thickness from 80-300 mm and were held in position with mortar. If some of the loose pieces once lined other rock-cut chambers, probably in the Giza-Saqqara area, they could have been deployed similarly.²⁷ I do not include here blocks extracted from tombs whose locations are known, which are discussed with the tombs themselves.

A single architectural context or tomb type should not be assumed for all the blocks. Although decorated doorways and walls exist, they need not have been in identical structures. Indeed, from the loose blocks assembled here, there is no direct evidence that a single tomb had both relief-decorated walls and doorways; only 5 among the extant remains (see below) certainly contains both. Lower Egyptian cemeteries²⁸ show a plethora of tomb types in both stone and brick, single- and multi-chambered and often serving as family vaults, whose architectural arrangements and those for protecting the coffin were influenced by local topographical conditions, such as the availability of stone suitable for building or for rock-cut structures, and the height of the water-table.

At any one site, too, there could have been more than one tomb type in concurrent use. This is most evident in the Memphite region. The known Late Period tombs at Saqqara range from the rock-cut, multi-chambered

sepulchres of *B3k-n-rn.f* (3) and *Hr-jr-c3* (31), through the free-standing tomb of *Ns-dhwtj* (22) with its pylons, court and inner chambers, and the late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27 shaft tombs (including *P3-dj-nt* [47]), to the tomb of *Wn-nfr* (82) possibly resembling the tomb of Petosiris. Giza shows a similar variation, with the huge cruciform chapel of *Trj* (6), the buildings of *Hr-bs* (4) and Chapel H (5) lining the sacred approach to the Isis temple like votive chapels, LG 81 (27) with its pillared porch tunnelled into the Chephren causeway, *Pth-jr(-dj.s)* (23) and *P3-dj-b3stt* (63) with their open courtyards before small rock-cut chambers, and the shaft-tomb-like LG 24.²⁹ Although less well known, Heliopolis also shows a range of tomb types including small, vaulted, subterranean chambers of limestone,³⁰ limestone structures, often for family burials, within large brick enclosures,³¹ rectangular underground brick chambers whose only stonework was the door surrounds,³² and single-chambered family vaults entered by a shaft.³³ As these blocks come from a wide range of Lower Egyptian sites, it is likely that they once adorned a variety of such tomb types. Nothing comparable to the systems of brick pylons, entrance-ways, deep open courts, and elaborately decorated underground complexes known from Dynasty 25-26 Thebes exists in the north,³⁴ so that they are likely to provide few direct parallels for decoration and scene distribution.

Kuentz pointed out³⁵ that the large number of "Saite" sarcophagi unearthed in the last century proves that many were not deeply buried. This observation applies equally to the isolated tomb reliefs. Both funerary equipment and reliefs may, of course, have been moved before they were "discovered", as the reuse of 53, 59, 60 and 64 shows, but the principle holds good that they must have been reasonably accessible for ancient builders to have extracted them. This view is supported both by the general topography of the Delta, which did not allow deep foundations without danger of waterlogging, and evidence from Saqqara and Giza, where the deepest, most inaccessible structures, the shaft tombs (Appendix V; see further *P3-dj-nt* below), have yielded almost no figured decoration. This suggests that the relief scenes were nearer the surface, either buried in less deep tombs such as those at Heliopolis (nn. 30-33) or above ground in rock-cut structures or free-standing chapels. Some must have been closely associated with the burial, as remains of both the building and its burial are known (e.g. *Hn3t* [55; 56]). Others could have stood on the surface

above shafts from which they are now dissociated. It is striking that the known late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27 shaft tombs have no accessible offering place for ongoing mortuary rites. This cannot be a security measure, as the shafts themselves with their sand fill were the most theft-proof tomb style ever devised by the Egyptians, and religious considerations had previously always outweighed strict security. Barsanti found evidence of Late Period officials pillaging earlier material to embellish the mouths of their shafts,³⁶ proving that there was surface marking with this tomb type. Some of these reliefs may therefore come from superstructures, perhaps quite modest, connected with such deep shaft graves,³⁷ which could have served as a cult focal point, as well as with more ordinary burial shafts.

Stylistic similarities among the blocks do not suggest that any large groups come from single structures or from huge, unknown tombs. The four blocks of 17 are numerically the largest group from one building; although they are all wall fragments with evidence of multi-register composition, they could be from the same scene and represent no more than the decoration on one wall of a modest structure. However, some pieces could be the scant remains of larger buildings as thoroughly destroyed as are 22 or 82 which, particularly if they had a high proportion of text to relief, now appear little different from those from smaller edifices. Two sets of wall blocks reveal positive information about the rooms in which they were placed. 10 shows a chamber with walls probably predominantly covered in inscriptions, and with a row of religious scenes sandwiched between text areas, extending onto the springing of a vault. The tomb could have consisted of a single vaulted stone or stone-lined brick chamber³⁸ or had several vaulted chambers (e.g. 3; 6). 7 has a single horizontal line of text running around probably three walls of a room, with two simple religious vignettes probably placed opposite each other on the lateral walls, perhaps near the doorway (see Appendix V). The exact dimensions of the room are unknown, nor is it entirely clear whether the line of text with vignettes formed the sole decoration,³⁹ or whether it was set well above vertical texts (?).

The context of the lintels and jambs is also problematic. Although called "doorways" here for convenience, they could have come from functional doorways or have been the surroundings for false-doors or the ubiquitous niches for statues, canopic jars, etc. which are so prevalent in

Late Period Lower Egyptian tombs. In 3 both doorways and niches were adorned with surrounds with cavetto cornices, identical except that the smaller niches have smaller surrounds. They seem often to have projected slightly from their wall setting, but 75, with its curious raised lateral strip, may have been set so that the lintel scene itself was flush with the wall surface, while its edges protruded slightly. 66 probably had its triple-banded lower border flush with the wall, while the figured scene, probably with a raised strip along the edges, projected slightly outward. Anthes observed⁴⁰ from the stone projection on the side of 55 that the slab was probably set into a wall made of more roughly-fashioned masonry. This does not tally precisely with his fig. 4 drawing, where the projection appears well smoothed, or with Egyptian architectural practice, where a finished visible wall at this height would be smoothed (could *Hn3t*'s wall have been unfinished?). Elsewhere (see above), the projecting sections are rough-hewn and sometimes very irregular, which does not accord well with stone building techniques but could be advantageous for secure insertion into a brick-built structure, where they could be bonded in place with mud plaster. The sloping upper edges of several blocks (see above) lend support to this, as they would be less stable in a stone construction but at no disadvantage if embedded in brick. 78, which slopes from directly behind the torus, suggests that the lintel and its cavetto cornice might have been embedded separately, with a wide fill of mud plaster between them at the back. Such structures are known to exist in the Late Period,⁴¹ although none so far has been found with this type of relief decoration on the surrounds.

Some of the doorways may therefore have adorned brick tombs, possibly with painted decoration on adjacent walls. If some were set into brick edifices, particularly if they were small, it is probable that the stone elements were carved elsewhere and bonded in during building; jamb lines marked on lintels (see above) would then have been of use in aligning the sections, rather than being a simple offshoot of cutting *in situ*. This raises the question of whether they were made locally or could have been transported some distance, with its possible implications for purely local schools of sculpture (pp. 69-74). The apparently ancient reshaping of the right edge of 80, perhaps in order to fit into a wall, might support initial carving elsewhere. Stone might also have been used for columns,

thresholds and niche surrounds.⁴² A limestone architrave apparently belonging with the isolated lintel 78⁴³ shows that more than one part of that tomb was stone.

Lintels where inner jamb borderline tops are marked show that the openings to these doorways are often 0.60-0.70 m wide, which is adequate for them to be functional. Height is not easy to assess reliably, as figured jambs, even if they have a dado at the bottom, may have been placed above plain stone courses. 64 and 65 are clearly from a functional doorway, but they are the only blocks in this corpus decorated on both sides. The sunk relief and torus moulding suit an exterior setting, with the raised relief on the inside of a room,⁴⁴ so that only a single chamber could be represented, although both 3 and 6 show abundant use of sunk relief inside, and two rooms are also possible. Some blocks decorated on one side may have surrounded niches. Others may have been placed back-to-back with other slabs in composite functional doorways,⁴⁵ perhaps undecorated or without relief, making association difficult. The inscribed doorway from Heliopolis Cairo JE 47120 (n. 41) provides an extreme example of the complexities of such a construction: less than 1 m high, it has addorsed lateral jambs of different widths and with different widths to the abutting slabs, which bear texts asymmetrically arranged; in addition, the quality of workmanship varies throughout. 46 and 81 represent jambs probably built up in sections, similar to the door and niche surrounds in 3.

Several people are known to have had two lintels (*P3-tnfj* [20; 21]; *P3-jr-k3p* [33; 34]; *Hn3t* [55; 56]; *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* [59; 60]; *T3-nfr* [76; 77]; perhaps *P3-dj-3st* [14; 15] and *nh.f-n-shmt* [50 (maybe not a lintel); 51], but in no case are the dimensions identical, so that if they were addorsed in composite doorways, they would have created different doorway surrounds on the two sides. It seems unlikely that this lack of uniformity was universal, while size differences between some lintels, such as those of *P3-tnfj* and *Hn3t*, are such that they would be difficult to incorporate together. These pairs of lintels probably surmounted separate openings - a doorway and a niche, niches of slightly different widths on opposite sides of a room, or some other combination. 82 has three chapel rooms in a row at the back of the building with their entries surmounted by separate areas of lintel-like decoration, with the central one higher and wider than those

on the sides (also with minor differences). This might provide an explanation for the peculiarly large 51 and 55, if they topped a larger central door. Some isolated lintels could have come from a similar arrangement, with any additional lintels in the group lost. The five rooms in a line at the back of 22 show that a different number of chambers could have been so decorated, but no identifiable doorway elements remain from this tomb.

The dissociated block shapes and sizes and the architectural elements represented do not seem to show any chronological variations. This does not mean that tomb types did not change throughout the period, merely that changes cannot be deduced from the decorated blocks away from their original context.

The extant tombs

Decorated Lower Egyptian tombs vary enough architecturally to merit consideration singly.

1. Rock-cut tombs : B3k-n-rn.f (3) - Records suggest that decoration is confined to the multi-chambered superstructure, which provides the only certain example of limestone blocks as cladding, here against a rock-hewn surface. The plan is symmetrical, both in the positioning of doors, niches, and pillars within individual rooms and in the arrangements of side-chambers, which may vary slightly in dimensions but not in layout. Incomplete publication and destruction of the north and east sides make it unclear how symmetrically decoration and texts were disposed within chambers and in antithetical rooms, but my reconstruction of Room D suggests a high degree of balance (see Catalogue).

Doorways and niches are prominent architectural elements, but although they are given salience by their slight forward projection and set off by borders and cavetto cornices, they remain primarily architectural and a vehicle for texts, without figured decoration.

The forecourt and east end of the tomb are destroyed but earlier accounts do not suggest that there was a division in the decoration between secular and religious motifs in the outer areas and religious scenes of the afterlife further in (cf. 6; 22).⁴⁶ Several unconventional decorative usages, including the vaulted ceiling (A), are discussed on pp. 115-17.

Pth-jr(-dj.s) (25) - This tomb has been so thoroughly pillaged that it will never be known whether there was a division between secular and religious scenes of this world outside and religious scenes connected with the afterlife inside, whether the entire superstructure was decorated/completed, or, less likely, whether there was any subterranean relief.

Nothing is known of the doorway decoration and niches are not a feature. LG 81 (27) - The columns are unfinished and other portions of the tomb, including the decoration, may also have been; it is unclear whether an open court was added before the façade. Only the scenes on the west side of the first room are recorded. Neither B nor C, which most likely run from the doorways to corners of the room, shows traces of separately decorated or emphasized door surrounds; the orientation of the figures on C in the inside of the tomb, with their backs to the door, does not highlight the opening. There are no niches in either chamber. The heavy decorative borders emphasize each wall as a separate unit. The scenes seem to be secular and occupy the entire wall space in traditional registers, rather than being broken into small units by large blocks of text (e.g. 3; 31; 82). This tomb also provides the only clear example of a figure of the owner occupying the height of the wall, with an emphatic size difference between him and the minor figures (but cf. 6 E, F; 82 A; 90). The archaizing features of the scene (pp. 121-2), the Old Kingdom-type tomb plan, including the wide columned portico, the visual focus, the proportion of scene to text, and possibly its placement here, and the absence of religious scenes and texts could be modelled on nearby tombs. LG 81 may be, like 22, an architectural as well as artistic archaism - a tomb created in the style of the Old Kingdom.

P3-dj-b3stt (63) - This tomb shows that rock-cut chapels continued into Dynasty 30, and has the only preserved example of Late Period figured façade decoration, possibly on cladding blocks, which could have adorned other Late Period rock-cut tombs. It may have had an open forecourt, as in other tombs.⁴⁷ The facing depictions of the tomb owner, with accompanying text, on either side of the opening are traditional in composition but contemporary in style, while the representations above including Osiris do not seem to have formed part of the decoration of private tomb exteriors before the Late Period (see also 6). The resemblance to door "jambs" is emphasized by the figures with text above which closely resemble the

isolated jamb blocks, but there is no lintel, torus or cavetto cornice over the opening, although the two back-to-back scenes which run across the entire upper width produce an effect not unlike an elongated version of bisected New Kingdom lintels (see p. 121; cf. 54; 82 B). The disposition of large amounts of text punctuated by small relief spaces containing single figures resembles that found on the interior of other Late Period Lower Egyptian tombs (e.g. 3; 31; 47; 82), and produces a piecemeal, fragmented effect. Again, symmetry prevails everywhere, although the outward focus of the scenes above and the inward focus of those below distract from the doorway opening, rather than emphasizing it.

2. Shaft tombs : P3-dj-nt (47) - This is unique among discovered late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27 shaft tombs in having relief decoration in the subterranean vaulted chamber; elsewhere decoration is confined entirely to texts, occasionally punctuated with friezes of offerings.⁴⁸ Even here, in the limited space available, priority is given to texts; the representations are simply single- or two-figure groups. The architecturally symmetrical niches are highlighted by symmetrical Anubis figures with canopic jars, which allude to the actual jars below; they provided both a symbolic safeguard and a visual conceit.

In scene of P3-dj-nt with Osiris (A) also emphasizes the niche beneath, but is unconnected with its use. Positioned so deep underground, it could not have been the focus of the cult, so it must be purely symbolic, perhaps recalling representations of Osiris as the culmination of the main axis in other tombs (e.g. 5, 6). The uncertainty as to whether it is an inset plaque or carved on the wall (see Catalogue) has wider implications. If it is a separately-made plaque, perhaps with a frame around the edge, it might provide a parallel for the slab-stelae and other plaque-like reliefs which have been excluded from this study (pp. 7-8) on the grounds of their resemblance to stelae and their uncertain setting. Its use as isolated decoration does not provide a satisfactory alternative setting to lintels for the "frieze-like" blocks, with their markings for additional architectural elements (jambs and cornices).

Whatever superstructure accompanied this and other shaft tombs (see above) may have altered the balance between texts and scenes in the underground section.

3. Free-standing limestone tombs : Trj (6) - The size and prominent position of this chapel give the exterior reliefs high visibility. The fact that the south walls of both side chambers were decorated, as well as the more usual façade, shows that the overall view as the tomb was approached was considered. The ornamentation only of the portions seen from the south is a labour-saving alternative to complete decoration. In their repetitive tableaux of Trj confronting Osiris, with subsidiary female figures, the scenes resemble those of the king honouring the gods on the outer walls of temples, but here they have been adapted to a private and a funerary focus. The ubiquitous presence of Osiris recalls the interior decoration of 3; he is also the focal point on the end wall of the main axis (BB). The loss of the east end with its doorway makes it unclear whether the Osiris representations continued onto the façade in anticipation of 63.

Interior decoration is confined to the superstructure. The destruction of most of the south court, which bears the only unquestionably secular scene (E), obscures any distinction between "worldly" outer and religious inner decoration. Although the building is architecturally symmetrical, the reliefs show major differences between complementary rooms (p. 77). This is clearest in the East and the West Chambers, which are internally balanced (e.g. P, R on opposite walls), but which have in the former human figures receiving offerings with appropriate texts and, in the latter blocks of gate *genii* with religious formulae, in an east-west secular-religious arrangement. Doorways are occasionally emphasized by figures on either side facing towards them (e.g. I, K) or have the opening lined with a column of text, but they do not project or have separate surrounds. Nothing suggests relief figures on the vaults to parallel those of 3 A, or any other decoration (painted?). In contrast to 3, 6 is stressed as a family tomb, with relatives of several generations prominent everywhere and an unusual scene where Trj plays a subservient role to his father (P). Indeed, so prominent is the family, that Trj does not stand out, and can sometimes only be identified through texts. The ratio of texts to relief is also different from 3; decoration is prominent and more central on the walls, rather than relegated to their fringes.

Ns-dhwtj (22) - The arrangement of courtyard with papyriform colonnades and containing the burial shaft, with cult chapel amid side chambers at the

rear, is modelled on New Kingdom Memphite tombs, specifically the more elaborate ones with a second court and a pylon entrance; it deviates from its prototypes in being of solid limestone instead of brick with limestone facing (see n. 46). The archaizing hunt and, probably, marsh scenes are in keeping with the architectural style, suggesting that the tomb as a whole was created as a revival in the style of the New Kingdom. The distribution of the fragments with the hunt and marsh scenes in the outer court (A-D), and religious fragments from unknown areas or from the chapels, suggests that the secular outer, religious inner placement of decoration was observed. This would not only parallel the New Kingdom pattern, but seems to reflect the scene distribution in contemporary Theban tombs. Nothing can be identified as doorway decoration, and niches do not feature in the plan. It is unknown whether the exterior bore figured representations.

Wn-nfr (82) - The plan does not follow in the New Kingdom tradition,⁴⁹ as a separate, shallow, wider room between the entrance and what would be the "court" has no earlier parallels, and the distribution of the relatively wide columns suggests that they supported a roof, rather than porticos. The tomb may follow a contemporary design similar to that of Petosiris and Graeco-Roman temples (see Catalogue), although the decoration is not similar. Only the superstructure has relief. The exterior side walls seem to have been exclusively vehicles for texts (blank on Petosiris), while the façade is destroyed; on Petosiris' chapel, the front with its scenes of the deceased adoring gods has the only external decoration. The series of niches in the back exterior wall is architecturally striking, but it is not known whether they were decorated. There was probably an outer court.

Niches do not feature in the interior design. The chapel doorways bear decoration resembling that on the isolated blocks. The lateral walls of their façades have two or three columns of text. No figures appear below them on the squeezes, and their height in relation to the projected height of the walls⁵⁰ suggests no room for standing figures, merely a high dado or small decoration with dado. The larger opening of the central doorway has larger decoration, including three columns of side texts and a wider, higher wall area above, with similar design to the others. Their layout, with inward-facing figures of Wn-nfr with text between, is not paralleled in the corpus, but has forerunners.⁵¹ The composition reinforces the impression that text takes precedence over figured

decoration, and the figures here may have helped emphasize the doorways. They were not topped by a torus or cavetto cornice, but by a hkr-frieze.

Too little remains to evaluate the relief decoration in other parts of the tomb, except that, judging by the quantity of text, it cannot have been extensive; there is no evidence of multi-register compositions, although there were large figures, perhaps alone (A). The presence of female figures (C, D) shows that it was not restricted to Wn-nfr alone, as in 3. Whether relief was concentrated in any area or any differentiation existed between the character of the outer and inner decoration is unknown.

4. Free-standing chapels : Hr-jr-c3 (31) - Nothing is known of Hr-jr-c3's superstructure. Some surface structure seems essential as an offering place or cult focus, elements clearly lacking in the subterranean decoration. Apart from the shaft tombs, this is the only tomb in the corpus with figured decoration in the underground portions. The design and shallow depth of the shaft prove that it is not an early example of a shaft tomb proper. Relief content does not vary noticeably between outer and inner rooms. Scenes are religious and restricted to representations of deities or the owner worshipping, or vignettes illustrating nearby texts. The principal focus of the decoration is on the deceased in a purely religious context, with no place for his secular or family role. The lateral walls exhibit a keen sense of balance in decoration, above and between the niche openings, in keeping with the strict architectural symmetry in the room. Niches play a major role, possibly, with the doorway, leaving no long, unbroken surface (see 31 F discussion), yet they seem not to have received any special decorative consideration. They are simply treated as breaks in the figured scenes, without particular orientation of the figures about them or independent decorative treatment. Ceilings are painted with traditional designs.

5. "Votive" chapels : Hr-bs (4), Chapel H (5) - Although with design differences, these two structures consist basically of a room (or two ?) with a columned entry in 4 and a niche as focal point in 5, in a simple version of the free-standing limestone chapel. What distinguishes them is their situation in a temple precinct and alignment to its processional way (cf. 82 in relation to the Serapeum road), showing that they were not devised as entirely independent, but fitted into a pre-existing scheme. 5 contained a burial shaft, and may reflect the Third Intermediate Period

tradition of burial in a sacred precinct.⁵² The absence of a shaft with 4 is puzzling, as frequent probings in this small area would probably have revealed one had it existed. The shaft may have been in an unusual relationship to the rest of the edifice and remain hidden, or the chapel may be more votive in function. This might explain the later graffiti left by priests in the area, which appear in abundance in 4 but not in 5 or elsewhere in the enclosure. It could also explain the culmination on the north wall with a scene featuring Isis instead of Osiris.

The damaged state of these chapels allows little to be said about their overall decoration, except that scenes seem to occupy more space than texts. In 5 deities figured prominently everywhere, in static scenes rather than as illustrations to texts. Family members are present. The slightly-projecting surround of the poorly-preserved niche opening appears to be decorated at the bottoms of the jambs (C) with confronting representations of the owner adoring, but its entire upper part is lost.

6. Anomalous : T3j-3st-n-jmw (64; 65) - Little can be said about this edifice except that it appears to have been above ground to permit the ancient extraction of 64 for building, and that it contained a usable doorway, decorated on both sides but otherwise similar in design to other doorway blocks, either connecting two rooms or a room and a court or entrance.⁵³ The texts suggest that the structure, referred to as an *ḥ*, was not the tomb of the builder but a restoration on behalf of a long-dead individual. Other such pious commemorations are known,⁵⁴ but this is an unparalleled example of building undertaken for a dead official. The Dynasty 30 section could have been attached to a restored Dynasty 26 tomb or some other structure such as a votive chapel - the reference (64) to the structure being for *Jḥ-ms-s3-nt*'s Shepset and to T3j-3st-n-jmw placing his own Shepset there suggests that the edifice had a cult function, but the language is vague. Whatever the nature of the original structure, the Dynasty 30 addition is not funerary (T3j-3st-n-jmw makes no mention of being buried in it), and so is probably, like 4, a rare example of non-funerary building with relief by a private person.

The extant tombs all come from the Giza-Saqqara area. While they show that architectural styles varied widely there, the design of tombs in the Delta, from which many of the isolated reliefs come, is unknown.

CHAPTER 3 DATING

Historical

The difficulties in isolating a corpus of Late Period Lower Egyptian reliefs have discouraged attempts to arrange them in a relative chronological sequence, to divide them into sub-groups, or to assign absolute dates. Studies from early in this century remain fundamental, despite the small number of monuments available to their authors. Because they continue to be cited and their conclusions are often accepted, with little further consideration, a summary of their premises and particularly their methods is necessary.

Maspero, in his pioneering study, made valid stylistic observations about the layout and spacing of the scenes, changes in body proportions, and probable underlying shifts in meaning.¹ He was struck by the oddities of 76 in particular when compared to the familiar "Egyptian" style, and explained them as the result of Greek presence in the Delta. He saw stylistic variations as being due partly to change over time, and partly to growing foreign influence on native artists. He laid great stress on local schools, which he considered would have been susceptible to such influence at varying rates (p. 69). Despite this caveat, he arranged the reliefs by what he thought looked earlier (i.e. more Egyptian, less foreign) and later (i.e. more foreign), and assigned dates (p. 92) ranging from Dynasty 26 or the early Persian period (13; 20; 21; 39) to possibly Ptolemy III or IV (76; 77); he excluded 15 as New Kingdom.

Although Maspero's results are impressive, some of his basic assumptions are questionable. Without a more precise definition of "foreign influences", with individual traits isolated and dated, and a demonstration that this was a primary - or even an important - feature in Late Period art that might be applicable to at least a large proportion of the blocks, his method remains fragile. Any attempt to draw far-reaching conclusions from such a small corpus spanning such a broad date range is problematic, as Maspero himself admitted (his p. 92).² Nevertheless, his general relative sequence agrees broadly with mine, which has been established by other methods (see below); in some cases the dates can now be more closely fixed.

Von Bissing,³ in the second important general study, disagreed with Maspero's emphasis on local schools as a factor in stylistic change (p. 69). He, too, saw foreign elements in the reliefs, but, unlike Maspero, he attempted to isolate specific features and trace their evolution in an Egyptian context. He concentrated on what he took for the Greek himation (pp. 240-3 here), the Greek-Syrian amphora type on 76 (p. 107), and the nelumbo lotus, thought to be a Persian introduction; these provided an unspecific date range running from the late Saite period into the Ptolemaic. For dating, he relied more on "archaism" as a factor governing stylistic changes, with pieces having closer general affinity with Old and Middle Kingdom models lying earlier in his sequence than those with New Kingdom ties (see further pp. 112-13).

The line of development produced by von Bissing is generally similar to that of Maspero, with the *P3-tnfj* pieces (20 and 21) having the closest Old - Middle Kingdom links and therefore standing at the beginning of the sequence, while 13, 16 and 53, *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (59 and 60) and *T3-nfr* (76 and 77) show more New Kingdom influence and therefore come later. By reason of the increased number of unusual elements, *T3-nfr* was thought to be later than *Nfr-sšm-psmtk*, while 15 was inconsistently said to have New Kingdom influence but dated earliest of all, to the "true" Saite or early Persian period. Thus, two attempts at a stylistically-based relative chronology that stemmed from quite different premises produced generally similar results.

Efforts by von Bissing to fix dates independent of style were less happy. He concluded that the three "exotic" features which he studied in depth originated in the Persian period and so assigned the more "progressive" pieces to Dynasty 30 or the start of the Ptolemaic period. He then unaccountably accepted Griffith's date of around 350 for the death of *P3-tnfj*,⁴ at the beginning of his sequence, thereby compressing the entire group of reliefs into an extremely short period (20-50 years?) in the fourth century, implying that great stylistic changes rapidly succeeded one another. Although little disquiet has been expressed about the speed of change required, unqualified acceptance of von Bissing's dating has been rare.⁵ Anthes⁶ endorsed him (and Griffith's 350 date for *P3-tnfj*), but contended that the Amasis connection of 55 (pp. 35-6) required an earlier start for the group c. 530. Von Bissing

had rejected the link of the ^{of 55} *Hn3t* with Amasis, but this now seems certain, providing decisive evidence that the reliefs began at least as early as the sixth century.⁷ While his dating is no longer specifically cited, it may be the origin of the common view that all "Neo-Memphite" reliefs date to the fourth century and the consequent tendency to date pieces to that time.

The only other attempt at a broad dating of the reliefs, by Gilbert,⁸ was flawed by untenable premises and arbitrary method. He attributed all blocks bearing a name compounded on *Psmṯk* to Dynasty 26, assigning reliefs thus categorized to the reigns of the kings of that name on seemingly arbitrary grounds. The presence of *ḥḥ-psmṯk* as the father of *I3-nfr* on 76 and 77 thus pulled these pieces, which he acknowledged to be latest on stylistic grounds, into Dynasty 26, and the whole range of reliefs was assigned to the seventh-sixth centuries.

Since Maspero and von Bissing, most work has concentrated on publishing individual pieces or small groups, often centred around a particular museum's holdings (ch. 1 n. 3) and drawing on Maspero's corpus for comparisons, and in some cases dates. A few efforts have been made to deduce dates on other criteria, such as other known monuments of the individuals named⁹ or comparisons with a wider body of material, including statuary.¹⁰ Occasionally evidence has been adduced which invalidates earlier theories, such as Anthes' assignment of a sixth century date to the *Hn3t* blocks, and his proof that Kuentz's hypothetical tomb type does not suit all the known reliefs (see pp. 11-12),

but there has been little systematic reevaluation of particular blocks and what is known about them.¹¹ In a recent pronouncement, Bianchi declares, without discussing the subject at length, that it is "...increasingly evident that these Neo-Memphite reliefs cannot be any earlier than the very end of Dynasty XXVI", and thinks Dynasty 27 a suitable *terminus post quem*.¹² There are, however, ample reasons, laid out below, for recognizing earlier monuments of Dynasty 26.

A note of caution should be sounded over two much used phrases. Years ago Bothmer¹³ justifiably condemned the term "Neo-Memphite"¹⁴ as "meaningless", since its application to all sorts of reliefs ranging from Dynasty 26 to the Ptolemaic period has deprived it of any chronological significance.¹⁵ Yet the term continues to be used.¹⁶ Its

frequent use both to imply a style which often bears very little relationship to supposed Old Kingdom models as well as to provide a supposed date confuses matters.¹⁷ The tendency to apply "Neo-Memphite" solely to detached blocks isolates them from monuments *in situ*, obscuring their origin as tomb reliefs, and masking an important source of dating criteria (pp. 2-3). I have avoided using the term.

Care should be also exercised, particularly in studying earlier literature of the subject, with the word "Saite". At one time it served as an all-embracing term for the whole late dynastic period and, like "Late Period" here, encompassed a wide range of material, much of it recognized as not being of Dynasty 26 date.¹⁸ This usage has now largely disappeared, so that "Saite" refers only to Dynasty 26.

The prosopographic basis

Previous studies have thus relied heavily on stylistic analysis to order the pieces, while criteria for assigning absolute dates have been virtually absent. Until recently a background of well-dated Late Period objects for comparison was lacking. There are still large gaps in the published documentation, most notably the Serapeum stela later than year 21 of Psammetichus I. However, enough collections of texts from different sites, title studies, and publications of isolated objects, have appeared in recent years to allow dating of this corpus on a textual and epigraphic basis.

The only two attempts to date the material by textual means, those of von Bissing and Gilbert, were unsuccessful respectively because a false crucial date was adopted from elsewhere, and false criteria were employed. Yet the texts, limited as they generally are on these pieces, offer the least subjective means of fixing the pieces chronologically. Stylistic considerations may help, but I have tried to avoid too great a reliance on them to provide a basic dating framework. Their secondary role, particularly in refining the dating of inscribed pieces and in dating uninscribed, or not diagnostically inscribed, reliefs is discussed later. I have drawn mainly on cartouches, names and titles and other, more securely dated, monuments of the tomb owners. None of these is as helpful as one could wish. Names and titles may place the pieces within a general Late Period Lower Egyptian tradition, but are

not sufficiently temporally confined to provide precise dates. Few new links between individuals known from the blocks and other well-dated objects have been established (but see 11. below). Nevertheless, a prosopographic approach does yield a chronological framework around which other reliefs can be grouped on stylistic grounds.¹⁹

Well-dated reliefs : I consider the following pieces to be closely dated on textual grounds; their value for comparative stylistic dating varies.

1. B3k-n-rn.f (3) B3k-n-rn.f was a vizier of Psammetichus I,²⁰ both of whose cartouches occur in his tomb (e.g. Anteroom B; A). His precise position in the reign is not known; Bothmer thinks it is the earlier part,²¹ which the overall style supports.

2. Hr-bs (4) Although there is no textual evidence for a precise date in the chapel of Hr-bs at Giza, several of his statues (Cairo T.31.12.28.10 [nsw-bjtj Psmṯk]; Chicago, FM 105181-Copenhagen, NCG AEIN 78; also stela Cairo JE 28171 [nomen only ?]) bear the titulary of Psammetichus I. Bothmer is inclined to place him in the early part of the reign "from the sum total of his sculptures and reliefs";²² 664-635 provides a suitable range.

3. T3j-3st-n-jmw (9) The deceased has been identified with the owner of a highly archaizing striding statue in the British Museum (BM 1682), which bears the title "prophet of the statues of Psmṯk ḥnh ḏt" on the belt.²³ The statue is dated on stylistic grounds to the reign of Psammetichus I, while the epithet ḥnh ḏt shows that the cult existed and the statue was dedicated during the king's lifetime. As the published photograph of 9 is not of the entire relief, it is conceivable, but unlikely, that there is a cartouche on the block; there may equally be evidence on other tomb fragments (see Catalogue).

4. Hr-jr-ḥ3 (31) Hr-jr-ḥ3 can be placed firmly in mid Dynasty 26, and specifically dated to the reigns of Necho II-Apriès;²⁴ As the evidence is scattered and slightly confusing, it merits review. The connection of Hr-jr-ḥ3 with Psammetichus II is clear from his basiliphorous rn nfr Nfr-jb-r-ḥ-nfr (see 5. below), from his statue Cairo CG 658,²⁵ which is dated by the full titulary of Psammetichus II, qualified as living by the phrases ḥnh ḏt and ḥnh mj Rḥ, and from his statues Cairo CG 38236 and in a private collection,²⁶ which name him as royal tutor, mnḥ nb

t3wj Psmṭk (specified as *ḥḏ dt* on Cairo CG 38236). That he survived into the reign of Apries is certain from the votive bronze Louvre AF 1670,²⁷ dated to the dual tenureship of the office of God's Wife of Amun by Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre, on which the latter is called *snt nsw W3ḥ-jb-rḥ*.

His connection with Necho II is less explicit. The title *mnḥ nb t3wj Psmṭk*²⁸ shows that *Hr-jr-ḥ3* already held high office under Necho II and conceivably Psammetichus I. Several of his statues on which royal names have been altered were probably dedicated in Necho II's reign, when *Hr-jr-ḥ3* may have been called *Wḥm-jb-rḥ-nfr*.²⁹ His close personal connection with Psammetichus II from his youth, his basiliphorous *rn nfr*, and the fact that he survived in office from the reign of Necho II into that of his son, possibly with a name change to show allegiance to the new monarch, suggest that *Hr-jr-ḥ3* was probably at the height of his career under Psammetichus II, and that he furnished his tomb then,³⁰ c. 595-585. Because they are available only as line drawings, the value of his reliefs for stylistic dating is limited.

5. *P3-jr-k3p* (33; 34) Although two tomb fragments of *P3-jr-k3p* do not bear cartouches, I regard them as well-dated. In her discussion of the pieces, Desroches-Noblecourt asserts that on the basis of his *rn nfr Psmṭk-mrj-nt*, *P3-jr-k3p* lived under Psammetichus II, one of whose priests she believes him to have been, and dates them to his reign (595-89).³¹ Bianchi considers her "assumption that Pairkap was a contemporary of Psammetichus II"... "not securely established";³² by rejecting this Dynasty 26 date he supports his post-Saite dating for the whole series of reliefs. In fact, a Saite date can be certainly demonstrated for these blocks. De Meulenaere has shown that the Late Period use of the *rn nfr* is an archaism renewing Old and Middle Kingdom traditions.³³ The earliest datable basiliphorous *rn nfr* is from the reign of Psammetichus II, when they became very fashionable;³⁴ in Dynasty 27 (or possibly under Amasis) the pre-Psammetichus II non-basiliphorous *rn nfr* returned to favour. De Meulenaere further maintains³⁵ that the basiliphorous *rn nfr* was acquired during the holder's lifetime, not at birth, and was held by men with strong links with the court. Thus, the *Psmṭk* of *P3-jr-k3p*'s *rn nfr*, *Psmṭk-mrj-nt*, must be Psammetichus II, in whose reign the cartouche was also regularly

used, as here, for individuals particularly close to the king.³⁶

The title *hm-ntr Hr mnh-jb* seems not to constitute such a strong dating criterion. *Mnh-jb* is the Horus name of Psammetichus II, and De Meulenaere³⁷ regards its use as indication of contemporaneity with this king, dating the pieces to "595-589(?)". However, the fact that a vizier apparently dated to Nectanebo I and his grandfather held priesthoods of *Hr mnh-jb*³⁸ shows that this cult survived the Persian period, and thus cannot be employed as an absolute dating criterion for the reign of Psammetichus II.

Although his *rn nfr* links *P3-jr-k3p* to Psammetichus II, his reliefs need not have been carved while he was serving that king. If *P3-jr-k3p* did not rise to a sufficiently prominent position at court to merit a basiliphorous *rn nfr* before he was about 25, and if he lived 70-75 years, his tomb, if prepared in his old age, could date from as late as c. 540, toward the end of Dynasty 26. However, it is more likely that it was equipped earlier and that the blocks come from the earlier half of a 595-540 range, perhaps 595-565; they cannot plausibly be pushed to Bianchi's Persian period bottom limit.

6. *Hn3t* (55; 56) *Hn3t* can be precisely fixed in time from monuments other than his tomb. His sarcophagus (BM 86) and a naophorous statue in the British Museum (BM 134) show that he too bore a basiliphorous *rn nfr* (sometimes called his *rn c3*) *Hnm-jb-r^c-mn*,³⁹ linking him to the court of Amasis (570-526), where his other titles suggest he was concerned with the administration of the royal household.⁴⁰ On *Hn3t*'s naophorous statue Florence 1784,⁴¹ dedicated by his son, presumably after his death, he is a *hm-ntr* of *Hnm-jb-r^c m3^c-hrw*, showing that he was active at the end of Amasis' reign and continued to function after the latter's death (526),⁴² probably into the early Persian period. As none of *Hn3t*'s monuments definitely dates to the Persian period, he may only have lived into the brief reign of Psammetichus III (526-525), when the Florence statue could have been made, but it is prudent to allow for his surviving into Dynasty 27.

A late Saite date is supported by monuments of his descendants, although these are less precisely dated. *Hn3t* is known from the Serapeum stela of his grandson *Hnm-jb-r^c*, Louvre IM 4032, attributed to year 34 of Darius I (488)⁴³ probably on the basis of Mariette's find

context, while the Serapeum stelae of *Mm*, the husband of one of his granddaughters, Louvre^{IM} 4027, and of another grandson *W3h-jb-r^c-mrj-nt*, Louvre IM 4112,⁴⁴ both attributed to year 34 of Darius I, would confirm a date for *Hn3t* in the latter part of the reign of Amasis c. 540,⁴⁵ based on a 25 year generation span.⁴⁶ As with *P3-jr-k3p*, this does not provide a precise date for 55 and 56. One cannot know whether it is because of space restrictions, because he had not yet acquired his *rn nfr Hnm-jb-r^c-mn*, or from choice that it does not occur on these blocks. *Hn3t*'s tomb is probably slightly earlier than Florence 1784; a date of about 540 to the early Persian period is appropriate.

7. *T3j-3st-n-jmw* (64; 65) Although the door-jambs from this man's edifice (p. 28) bear the cartouches of two kings widely separated in time, their texts distinguish the deceased king Amasis (*nsw-bjtj Hnm-jb-r^c m3^c-hrw*) from the living Nectanebo I (*nsw-bjtj Hpr-k3-r^c cnh dt*).⁴⁷ The blocks clearly derive from a building erected 379/8-362/1.

8. *Wn-nfr* (82) There is nothing in von Känel's preliminary account of the squeezes from 82⁴⁸ to suggest that any Late Period cartouche was recorded in the structure or on the sarcophagus (New York MMA 11.154.1 = PM III², 504). However, aside from serving in reestablished Old Kingdom royal cults, *Wn-nfr* held priesthoods in more recent ones which help to date him. He was a priest of the statues of *Nht-hr-hb p3 bjk*,⁴⁹ which is known to have been inaugurated during the reign of Nectanebo II (359/8-342/1) and continued into the reign of Ptolemy IV or V (221-180).⁵⁰ The lowest possible date, if *Wn-nfr* was relatively young (25 ?) during the troubles which brought Nectanebo II to the throne, lived to be about 75 and did not prepare his tomb until late in life, would be c. 310. However, he also served the statue cult of the "king's father, the general *T3j-hp-(n-)jmw*", the shadowy non-royal father of Nectanebo II;⁵¹ such a cult is unlikely to have continued much beyond the death of his son and thus favours a date c. 360-330 for 82.

Closely datable reliefs : Several reliefs in this corpus, for which a date can be convincingly adduced on epigraphic or textual grounds, are not closely tied in with a specific date indicator. A few others bear evidence for a date not in line with that traditionally assigned, or are associated with several attendant pointers to varying, but not

irreconcilable, dates. The dates assigned below can be considered extremely probable.

9. P3-tnfj (20; 21) In dating these blocks, von Bissing relied on Griffith,⁵² who wrongly assumed that because P3-tnfj and his father held priestly titles of the "Sebennyte" god (on 21), they could only date to the "Sebennyte" (30th) Dynasty (see above p. 30). In our republication of 21 (Appendix III), A. Leahy and I have given reasons for raising his date into Dynasty 26, probably the second half of the reign of Psammetichus I, c. 630-620.⁵³ These are based partly on name patterns and title usage, partly on the stylistic dating of 20, and partly on a stylistic dating of the statue West Berlin 10076, which probably represents P3-tnfj's grandfather, to c. 680-670.⁵⁴ So far, no member of P3-tnfj's extensive family can be tied to a monument with a cartouche that might give an independent dating.

10. Ns-dhwtj (22) No cartouche or royal protocol remains on any of the fragments from this tomb published by Quibell, nor did he mention any in the parts he did not reproduce.⁵⁵ Two independent pieces of evidence appear decisive for dating, but on examination prove problematic. PM III², 669 places 22 in the time of Psammetichus I, on the basis of a statue of Ns-dhwtj⁵⁶ apparently not found during Quibell's excavations and not known to come from the tomb. This piece, once Liverpool, Merseyside County Museum M. 13903, was destroyed in the Second World War and no copy of the inscription remains.⁵⁷ The catalogue card claims "There is a dedication by his family to him, and on the right shoulder the prenomen of Psammetichus I". If this information is correct, it suggests that Ns-dhwtj was deceased and the dedication made by his son(s) in the next generation; less likely, it could have been donated by later descendants. The cartouche thus dates the statue but not necessarily Ns-dhwtj.⁵⁸ "The prenomen of Psammetichus I" also raises a query, as W3h-jb-r^c is also the nomen of Apries, and with no introductory phrase, it is impossible to be certain that Psammetichus I was intended.

The second piece of evidence is a Greek amphora found in the outer court of the tomb enclosure.⁵⁹ The excavators dated this to the early sixth century, without discussing its affiliations in Greek vase-painting, and suggested that organic remains in it might have been wine.

The amphora itself is of interest to vase-painting experts as an example of Late Corinthian ware copying Attic pottery, and they date it to c. 575-550.⁶⁰ This date applies only to the vessel, whose time of entry into the tomb complex is unknown. Quibell⁶¹ stated that while parts of the pavement in the inner court of the badly-pillaged tomb were still in place, the entire pavement of the outer court, where the amphora was found, had been torn up, although a column base remained *in situ* and the wall foundations were undisturbed; he believed the destruction could "safely" be attributed to the monks who built the monastery of Apa Jeremias. The binding of the limestone chips above the pavement of 22 shows that the amphora cannot have been a post-Coptic intrusion; the possibly vinous contents reveal that it was not part of a secreted "treasure hoard". Quibell offered no explanation for its presence, nor did he say whether he thought it was in position when the pavement was laid (so that the pavement and therefore the tomb post-date 575) or whether it might have been buried subsequently (i.e. from 575 onward), perhaps in the sixth century (as a wine container, the vessel is unlikely to have remained in use very long after its manufacture). Large-scale destruction of the complex would not be required for the insertion of a single vessel - a single loose or removed paving stone would provide some transient person with (short term ?) storage space in which to set an amphora. Because its precise relationship to the building is so uncertain, it cannot be used to date the structure.

The cartouche and the Greek pot therefore do not help a close dating of 22. The possibilities range from a structure built early in the reign of Psammetichus I by *Ns-dhwtj*, who was commemorated later in the reign by his son (?) with a statue bearing the king's prenomen, and into whose tomb the amphora was inserted (conceivably about a century later), to a tomb built toward the end of the reign of Apries (c. 575-570) which accidentally incorporated a contemporary Greek amphora, with *Ns-dhwtj* dying around that time and being commemorated by his son (?) before 570 with a statue bearing the nomen of Apries. All that is certain is that *Ns-dhwtj* and his tomb date to Dynasty 26.

Since the "dated" associated material gives a range from early Psammetichus I to late Apries, only stylistic and content dating of the tomb fragments can provide more precision. The blocks bear abundant

traces of the striated texturing which does not continue much beyond the reign of Psammetichus I (p. 50-1), while Bothmer claims⁶² that the short beard (F; H) was used, at least in statuary, more regularly in the second half of the seventh century than in the first (see p. 46); the Hathor cow (G) is only paralleled in this corpus by 6 I. To judge from the published photograph, the head on 22 F is very similar to the few securely-identifiable relief representations of Necho II (610-595),⁶³ particularly Baltimore WAG 22.135 and Copenhagen NCG AEIN 46. The valanced wig projects slightly at the forehead and has the separated crown marked with oblique hair strands diverging from the summit.⁶⁴ The firm chin-line slopes gently toward the neck, the face generally lacks the puffiness seen later in Dynasty 26, and the eyebrow is gently modelled over the long, low eye. However, the deep curved furrow marking the cheek edge of the herdsman on 22 A has affinities with somewhat earlier material. Kansas City 48-28/2, from the tomb of Montuemhat (c.665-650) and Coll. Avery 2/101 (c. 665-650) provide relief parallels,⁶⁵ and similar grooves occur on statuary from the reign of Psammetichus I, when Bothmer claims that experimental attempts to individualize faces, with an emphasis on skin and flesh treatment, were rife.⁶⁶ Elsewhere among the fragments, the care for linear details, with sophisticated yet restrained modelling within the sunken outlines, and figures with neat heads set on broad shoulders, with slender, well-proportioned limbs and torso lines slanting to a flat abdomen and narrow hips, are in keeping with such a date. Thus, the stylistic evidence points to a date in the second half of the reign of Psammetichus I or possibly just after, perhaps 640-600.⁶⁷

11. ḥḥ.f-n-shmt (50; 51) and Nfr-sšm-psmtk (59; 60) Another set of problems attends the dating of 50 and 51 (ḥḥ.f-n-shmt) and 59 and 60 (Nfr-sšm-psmtk). Both groups of blocks are generally given a particular date without discussion, and they have not been systematically scrutinized. The ḥḥ.f-n-shmt pieces are assigned wider-ranging dates, between Dynasty 26 and about 400,⁶⁸ but there is an increasing tendency to treat them as definitely Persian period objects.⁶⁹ This dating seems to be based on purely stylistic grounds which are inadequate because stylistic criteria for assigning a date in Dynasty 27 are tenuous (see below). The Nfr-sšm-psmtk lintels are usually placed in Dynasty 30.⁷⁰

59 and 60 mention no relatives and only bear the titles *jt ntr sš md3t ntr*. 50 preserves the names of *nh.f-n-shmt*'s wife (*Hwt-hr-m-h3t*) and daughter (*T3-(nt-)nfr-tm*) but not his parents; a son is pictured on 51 but was not named. Until recently, there has been nothing to link the two sets of blocks. Malek⁷¹ concluded that the recurrence of titles and "family names" on the monuments of his five known individuals called *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* make a family relationship likely; his *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (E), the owner of 59 and 60, is the only post-Persian period one, if the traditional stylistic dating to Dynasty 30 is followed.

Two recently published monuments provide important evidence for this family. In 1985 Limme published the statue Rome, Museo Nazionale 115259 on which the owner, to be equated with Malek's *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (B), has a son *nh.f-n-shmt* who numbers among his titles (several connected with Memphis and Ptah) that of *hm Pth*.⁷² Von Känel's publication⁷³ of the Serapeum stela Louvre IM 4111, dedicated by an *nh.f-n-shmt*, the son of Malek's *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (C), provides the information that the father of *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (C)'s wife *T3-(nt-)nfr-tm* was an *jt ntr hm-ntr Shmt šndt* called *nh.f-n-shmt*; her mother is not mentioned. The owner of 50 and 51 has the same name, title and a daughter of the same name. It is unlikely that there were two men called *nh.f-n-shmt* with daughters named *T3-(nt-)nfr-tm*, bearing the uncommon title *hm-ntr Shmt (nt t3) šndt*, living in the Memphite area at about the same time, as a stylistic comparison of the reliefs suggests, and the conclusion that the grandfather and mother of the dedicator of Louvre IM 4111 are the *nh.f-n-shmt* and *T3-(nt-)nfr-tm* of 50 and 51 seems obvious. This genealogy, with a possible link with that provided by Limme and Malek on the basis of Rome, Museo Nazionale 115259 and Serapeum stela Louvre IM 4067,⁷⁴ is shown on Fig. 5.

Although the Baltimore *nh.f-n-shmt* and the son of that name on the Rome statue seem to have the title *hm(-ntr [?]) Pth*, this is not by itself sufficient to identify these individuals, but the dating evidence of the monuments permits the equation. Mariette attributed Louvre IM 4111 to the Apis of year 34 of Darius I (488).⁷⁵ If one allows 25 years per generation, *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (C) and *T3-(nt-)nfr-tm* would be c. 515-510 (Darius I) and the *nh.f-n-shmt* of 50 and 51 c. 540-535 (Amasis).⁷⁶ This would place the Baltimore pieces within the date parameters often

suggested, fixing them toward the end of Dynasty 26, which accords well with their style. The musical instruments based on Old and Middle Kingdom prototypes (see p. 174), the archaizing nature of ^{the} games scene on 51 (see p. 123-4), and the sheath dress and tripartite wig of the wife on 50 (see p. 195-9, 213-14) sit well in a Dynasty 26 context, while a date c. 540-535 would make the 'realistic' elderly head of the 50 harper contemporary with similar heads on the 54 owner and 55 scribe. To allow the tomb reliefs ten years either side of the time fixed by the Louvre stela is reasonable, and they are accordingly assigned c. 550-525.

A link of the Baltimore-Louvre IM 4111 *ḥnḥ.f-n-shmt* with the son on the Rome statue is not hindered by this dating, which confirms and strengthens what is already known about the dating of the latter's family. Malek suggests that the name of the first *W3ḥ-jb-rḥ-mrj-ptḥ* in the family of Louvre IM 4067 was based on that of Psammetichus I, that his son *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (A) was likely also to be a contemporary of Psammetichus I, and that *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (B) could have lived under Amasis. Limme⁷⁷ agrees that *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (B) can scarcely be placed before Amasis, although he could postdate him. If the *W3ḥ-jb-rḥ-mrj-ptḥ* who dedicated Louvre IM 4067 is the brother of the Baltimore-Rome *ḥnḥ.f-n-shmt* and, like him, dates c. 540-535, *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (B) would date c. 565-560, earlier in the reign of Amasis, and projection backward in generations of 25 years would confirm Malek's dates for *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (A) and his father.

While the position of *ḥnḥ.f-n-shmt* of 50 and 51 in the *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* family is thus confirmed, that of the *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* of 59 and 60 is not, and the evidence of "family titles" cannot by itself resolve it. The presence of an isolated Dynasty 30 member of a family otherwise known for at least 21 generations,⁷⁸ from long before Dynasty 26 and extending into the first half of the Persian occupation, is disconcerting, so that the fourth century date needs to be reexamined. The general stylistic evidence of 59 and 60 is ambiguous. 60 has closer affinities in subject matter, costume, and spacing with late Dynasty 26, while these features on 59 are more closely allied to Dynasty 30 (see pp. 63-6). They are the products of two distinct craftsmen (p. 71), but the fact that they were discovered reused together, the similarity in the inscriptions and representations of the tomb owner, and the

presence on both of two incised folds of flesh on the front of the neck, an unusual detail on these reliefs (p. 125), show that they must belong to a single *Nfr-sšm-psmtk*.

The dilemma of whether to assign a pre- or post-Persian period date is resolved by a piece of stylistic evidence which has not been remarked upon by Egyptologists. The women 60 2, 4, 5, and 6 wear a distinctive ear ornament, consisting of three rings passing through or clipped onto the upper edge of the ear.⁷⁹ Hemelrijk's study of this type of upper ear decoration⁸⁰ has shown it to be in origin a distinctive Cypriote fashion, later adopted and modified by the East Greeks. It was popular in Cyprus c. 600-470, and Hemelrijk regards it as belonging essentially in the sixth century.⁸¹ The type of ornament comprising three rings set in the upper ear rim (his a)), sometimes combined with other ear decoration, seems virtually confined to Cyprus; 60 is one of the few instances he cites from elsewhere, and the only one known from Egypt.⁸² The possibility of it here being a Dynasty 30 revival of a Dynasty 26 feature can be discounted, because this ear ornament was never well-represented in contemporary Egyptian art, and, with no forerunners, it is impossible to postulate archaism. There is little likelihood of an Egyptian artist reviving a defunct Cypriote tradition in an attempt at archaism. Thus, these upper ear rings fix the *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* lintels c. 600-470.⁸³

This date can be further refined. 486-470 is extremely unlikely, as there is virtually no post-Darius I Persian material from Egypt (pp. 52-4); the corpus contains nothing else from c. 500-485, although a few examples may come from early Dynasty 27. Stylistic comparison with other sixth century blocks suggests a date in late Dynasty 26 or the beginning of the Persian period. 60 has affinities with the reliefs of *Hn3t* and *nh.f-n-shmt* with their archaizing scenes and details, short captions among the figures, and the crisp sure cutting of the low relief, which gives a sense of fullness and roundness to the figures without relying on internal modelling (especially clear on 50; 56; 60). The similarities between 56 and 60 with their wide, unencumbered spaces between the figures, minimal extraneous "filler", and accents on bold attitudes which stand out against the empty ground, contrasting with an interest in meticulous delineation of detail, are striking. The

confident execution and the highly mannered attitudes of 60, and the compositional affinities of 59 with Dynasty 30 works rather than those of Dynasty 26, suggest that the *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* blocks are slightly later than those of *ḥnḫ.f-n-šhmt* and *Hn3t*, perhaps c. 530-500.

The most obvious place for Malek's *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (E) in the genealogy is in the generation following that of the *ḥnḫ.f-n-šhmt* of 50 and 51, and he may be the same as Malek's *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (C). The date for *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (D) is somewhat late for the Cypriote ear rings, and an equation of *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (D) and (E) would place 59 and 60 too far from the *Hn3t* and *ḥnḫ.f-n-šhmt* blocks, setting them alone in the corpus in the mid-Persian period. Nothing is known of the parentage of *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (C), although the rarity of the name makes it likely that he is a member of this family marrying his cousin *T3-(nt-)nfr-tm*. If *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (C) and (E) are not the same, the pattern of name alternation suggests that *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (E) falls within this generation rather than the next, and may be the son of *P3-dj-ḥk3*, of the *W3ḫ-jb-r^c-mrj-ptḫ* who dedicated Louvre IM 4067, or of another unknown sibling or collateral, who was named after his grandfather *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (B). A place in the succeeding generation is also possible, but less likely.

A framework for dating these reliefs can thus be established on a textual basis. The resulting dates run from the early Saite period to roughly the beginning of the Ptolemaic. Dates established toward the start and the end of the sequence are less problematic than some of those in the middle, but enough reliefs are datable to about the second half of Dynasty 26 to give an idea of the style in the Memphite area at that time (see pp. 60-3). Von Bissing's dating to the fourth century and the idea that these blocks run from late Dynasty 26/early Dynasty 27 to the early Ptolemaic period are disproven, and a longer period must be allowed. Given the northern orientation of the prosperous Dynasty 26, the abundance of private statuary and stelae datable to Dynasty 26, and the extensive relief decoration in Dynasty 26 tombs at Thebes, it would be surprising not to find decorated remains of private tombs in Lower Egypt from that time. That such tomb remains from Dynasty 26 do exist has been recognized for some time,²⁴ and the reluctance of many scholars

to assign Dynasty 26 dates to dissociated relief material is baffling and clearly mistaken.

Dating by style and content

There are few comparative bodies of material or established stylistic dating criteria for Late Period objects. Most of the small number of identifiably northern stelae are later than these reliefs;⁸⁵ they show the persistence and popularity of features but are not helpful for dating. Fuller publication of the Late Period Theban tombs is needed before they can provide stylistic dating criteria, and they were built only during the first part of the period covered here.

Late Period temple reliefs are mainly scattered blocks, and there has been no systematic study of them.⁸⁶ A few fragments from other royal structures exist, such as the reliefs from the palace of Apries at Memphis,⁸⁷ but they too are poorly published, and it is not clear how far they adhere to the canons of temple relief. Bianchi's studies of small royal relief works⁸⁸ highlight some of the difficulties in trying to equate pieces in the corpus with other categories of material. Although royal reliefs often present named figures of kings, there are not enough of them to allow a stylistic progression to be traced, and they rarely resemble those of private individuals, either in dress or physiognomy.⁸⁹ Several, not mutually exclusive, explanations of this divergence are possible, among which are stone type and relief size.

The hard stones popular for Late Period temple building allow a sharp, clean finish, leaving incised details crisp and striking, although they do not encourage detail and subtlety. The addition of painted detail, whose role and extent in hard stone is difficult to assess,⁹⁰ to the limestone of the private reliefs to touch up or modify the cutting (pp. 91-4), may be a factor in explaining lack of carved detail. Royal relief in limestone would have received painting similar to the private and was probably also carved with the expectation of a final finish in another medium. Although Late Period royal reliefs are not very large, most of the figures on these Lower Egyptian private reliefs are small - e.g. about 150-250 mm high, having heads 20-33 mm high, with some figures still smaller (e.g. 65-70 mm on the upper sub-register of 51 and 100-115 mm on its lower sub-register and on 43, with heads about 15 mm high). They could not have the intricacy

of facial and modelling detail possible on larger pieces.⁹¹

Even when material and scale are the same, the force of tradition and a desire for uniformity in royal representations,⁹² as in divine, were powerful factors in royal sculpture, which often eschewed the transitory and "fashionable", and aimed at a timeless, monumental art. Headdresses and costumes are limited to the traditional royal types and offer few points of comparison with non-royal dress. The reverse is true of private Late Period reliefs, which show remarkable variety, and seem, most strongly after the reign of Psammetichus I, to have developed independently of royal relief style. They show a marked openness to change and innovation, not only in costume (pp. 224-5, 251), but also in the rendering of the face and body (pp. 59-68). The development of a "private" art style increasingly independent of, and remote from, the "official" style⁹³ largely precludes using royal works to provide a dated stylistic framework for these reliefs. The reliefs from the palace of Apries (n. 87) are an exception (possibly because they are in limestone and contain numerous minor human figures (see further p. 60 and p. 39 for Necho II similarities to *Ns-dhwtj*).

The single wide-ranging attempt to provide stylistic dating criteria for a large body of Late Period material, much of it private, is Bothmer, *ESLP*. This was a pioneering study into a period about which much more is now known, and its statements about style and dating parameters can now be used only with caution. Its focus on statuary constitutes the principal difficulty in drawing on it for stylistic dating of relief, since many of its dating criteria are specific to statuary. It also tends to impose views on the evidence, such as those about the Persian period (see below). An incidental drawback, the result of limitations in the material, is that the rarity of statues of women at this period has allowed less study of their clothing and hairstyles than of those of male figures, although in relief they show at least as much variety and may be more useful for dating.

Where *ESLP* does treat relief,⁹⁴ it is as individual exhibition objects, with little attempt to put features in a wider context or discussion of larger compositional issues. Some dating criteria relate exclusively to relief (e.g. cone position discussed below); others are applicable to both relief and statuary (e.g. the "bob" wig [pp. 214-16 here] and the male tripartite ensemble [pp. 236-43 here]); to what extent

features appear synchronously in relief and statuary has yet to be fully examined, although some elements of dress and hairstyle seem to appear earlier in relief (ch. 8). I am therefore cautious in utilizing what at first seem useful stylistic dating criteria.

Bothmer's observations on types of clothing and hairstyles are discussed in ch. 8. His most useful statements relate to pieces from the reign of Psammetichus I, probably because of the inclusion of pieces from Theban tombs, and Theban reliefs seem to form the basis of his observations (see p. 47 for differences between Theban and northern tomb reliefs). Some observations are also valid for the north. The small head in proportion to the body seen on Theban royal reliefs of the mid-seventh century⁹⁵ occurs on northern reliefs of the reign of Psammetichus I (e.g. 3 A, U; 8; 20; 23), but not later. The relative popularity of short beards in the second half of the seventh century⁹⁶ is reflected on these pieces, with the only examples (3 G, Z, perhaps I; 22 F, H; 24) coming from the reign of Psammetichus I. I do not, however, regard the dating of beards to be so rigidly established as to date 3 after 650.

Some of the criteria set forth in *ESLP* can serve as a general guide, but exceptions make them unreliable by themselves for assigning dates. For instance, the observation that the leopard skin disappears after the reign of Psammetichus I until the Ptolemies,⁹⁷ appears to be confirmed on these reliefs, as the only examples date to Psammetichus I or a few years afterward (e.g. 23, where I would not wish to be adamant that the leopard skin establishes 610 firmly as the *terminus ante quem*), but examples in other media⁹⁸ and in the Theban tombs⁹⁹ show that this is not universal. It is not quite clear whether Bothmer means that striations on wigs in general disappear between the reign of Necho II and the early Ptolemies, or whether he is referring only to a particular style of shoulder-length male wig.¹⁰⁰ Striations on traditional male shoulder-length and tripartite wigs (6 F, I; 7 B; 21; 31 D, E) and on female tripartite wigs (6 E, F; 17; 27 A [date uncertain - perhaps c. 600]; probably 25) do seem most prevalent on pieces not later than Necho II (see pp. 33-4 for 31), but their appearance on 54, from c. 540-520, shows that they can occur later.¹⁰¹ Wider-spaced striations are also a feature of the short wigs of Group A (p. 72) reliefs from the early to mid-sixth century. Thus, while striations on traditional hairstyles may suggest a Psammetichus I-Necho II date, they are not

conclusive.

A less trustworthy indicator is the position of the cones under chair legs. Bothmer claims¹⁰² that they are usually inverted (i.e. broad side uppermost) in the mid-seventh century, but enough examples of inverted cones exist from later in the relief sequence to show that this cannot be used alone as a dating criterion (e.g. 51; 55; 56 from the second half of the sixth century, 82 B in the mid-fourth century).

Some features, particularly those of dress and hairstyle, are retained once they appear, so that knowing the date of their introduction only provides a *terminus post quem*. In some cases, usages on statuary and Lower Egyptian relief seem to be at variance. For instance, the broad collar, with few exceptions, was not used on private Late Period statuary,¹⁰³ but in this corpus it is worn regularly by figures in traditional clothing and is almost universal with the tomb owner in a kilt (p. 249-50). Similarly, Bothmer claims that the wig standing forward slightly from the forehead is a feature from the end of Dynasty 27, which becomes increasingly popular in the fourth and third centuries.¹⁰⁴ On these reliefs, hair protruding before the brow is not uncommon (e.g. 8; 16; 20; 23; 46) and appears more frequently before the Persian period, particularly in the first part of Dynasty 26. It features especially with the male valenced and *sm*-priest wigs, which are more frequent then than later. These two details are indicative of the differences that can exist between conventional representations in different media.

Some of the more general stylistic points in *ESLP*, while arranged correctly sequentially, have over-confident dates imposed on them based on the author's strong developmental theories, where the evidence is really less sure. For instance, the idea that "true portraiture" is a development of the Persian period (see further pp. 89-91) is open to question, with pieces like 50, 54 and 55 strongly suggesting that it began toward the end of Dynasty 26. The difference of a few years is important here, as it affects the issue of whether or not there was an artistic gap in the Persian period (see below). On the other hand, Bothmer's observation that experiments in individualising faces by treatment of skin took place in the time of Psammetichus I (see n. 66) does seem to be borne out (e.g. 6 J, S; 22 A; 90; p. 89).

It is clear from the foregoing that criteria laid down in the past for

statuary cannot be uncritically applied to relief.¹⁰⁵ A small corpus such as this is inadequate to test thoroughly for general applicability to Late Period relief; it is more likely to produce examples to support or disprove particular points than to confirm or deny wider trends.

Because of the lack of firm stylistic dating criteria, I have devised my own methods of dating by style and content. These rely on comparison of the undated fragments with the dated and datable pieces listed above, in terms of compositional features like spacing, treatment of detail and layout of texts, features of body outlines and modelling, such as chin-line and female torso treatment, and elements of dress. I have taken wider trends, particularly archaism and innovation (ch. 6), into consideration when assigning dates, especially for works not accessible in the original or in photograph. Where possible, I have tested stylistic dating features in *ESLP* against my own results; where there is a conflict (e.g. cone position etc. mentioned above), I give precedence to overall style rather than the individual feature. The lack of uniformity on these reliefs is of considerable assistance in this, because it facilitates the grouping of pieces and often offers clear and striking points of comparison. Chin line appears to be a particularly useful dating guideline.

Such a method does not produce very close dating, although the relative sequence seems reasonably securely established. I have been cautious in assigning absolute dates, in some cases perhaps allowing an over-generous range; further study will probably refine some. Where dates assigned coincide with the start or end of a reign (except perhaps early Psammetichus I), they should not be interpreted as suggesting that artistic features were tied to particular rulers; the coincidence is incidental and some leeway should be allowed. The relative abundance of well-dated pieces for comparison from the reign of Psammetichus I gives a good basis for the beginning of the sequence, which appears to start abruptly soon after his accession. There are no reliefs which suggest a Dynasty 25 date, but this is not surprising in view of the dearth of monuments of the period in the north (see further p. 52-4). However, the Kushite art style persisted into the reign of Psammetichus I,¹⁰⁶ as the inseparability of late Dynasty 25-early Dynasty 26 material at Thebes illustrates, and influences may be seen on 1 and 2 (pp. 55-6).

The relative homogeneity in style of the Dynasty 30 reliefs makes the

assigning of blocks to the end of the series fairly straightforward. There can be no question but that Group B (pp. 73-4), with 77, belongs stylistically at the end, although none of the pieces in it is precisely dated. The crowding and filling of vacant space with floral elements and animals, and the almost overabundant detail of hair and dress on figures, as well as the modelling of the figures themselves, place them close to the tomb of Petosiris, which dates to the early Ptolemaic period and which carries the trends of Group B a stage further. However, similarities in the representation of the owner *T3j-3st-n-jmw* on 64 and 65, and of *Wn-nfr* on 82 show that the group is also intimately linked with Dynasty 30, and seems to date the end of the sequence, before the arrival of the Ptolemies.

It is in the middle that dating is most difficult as there are comparatively few dated or datable pieces from c. 600-379/8; for discussion of the interval 486-379/8, see pp. 51-4. Furthermore, it is not always easy to decide whether the considerable stylistic variation on blocks that are not from the time of Psammetichus I or Dynasty 30 is exclusively temporal or whether it is evidence for local schools (see further pp. 69-74). Most of the securely datable reliefs (31; 50; 51; 55; 56; 59; 60) are from the Memphite region, so that an impression of the mainstream course of relief development in that area emerges. However, pieces known to come from Delta sites vary significantly in, for instance, body proportions and spacing within lintel confines (e.g. 13 and 16 from Bubastis) or in facial cutting (e.g. 14 and 15, probably from Sais), which suggests that they may be products of local workshops. They lack dated counterparts to which any but the most general stylistic features (e.g. wig and garment types, overall body treatment) could be related, and I accordingly allot them a somewhat broader date range. Most seem to date to Dynasty 26, probably the first half or the middle.

Group A (pp. 71-3) is the largest and to some extent the most distinctive of these groups. It does not have strong stylistic affinities with any of the Memphite dated pieces, but the inclusion of 34, firmly dated c. 595-565, places it in the middle of Dynasty 26, and suggests a possible alternative line of development, perhaps regional (Western Delta), perhaps at Memphis, concurrent with the main one there (see p. 73). How long this group continued is unclear; it may be purely a product of mid-Dynasty 26 or it may run somewhat later, perhaps to the end of the dynasty,

but it does not seem likely to date earlier. 33 is also useful in attaching 32 to c. 595-65. This, with its women with short rounded wigs, long awkwardly positioned arms with the elbows not sharply articulated, slightly sagging breasts on stooping figures, ^{and} high buttocks balancing flaccid, slightly protruding stomachs, more closely resembles 33 than any other piece in the corpus. Group A and 32 highlight the importance of a firm date for *P3-jr-k3p* (33 and 34); this has wider implications for garment (pp. 202-3; 242) and wig (pp. 214-15) types, as well as for regional issues (pp. 71-3).

Dates assigned to individual pieces are given in Catalogue entries, and a summary of the stylistic development which emerges follows on pp. 55-68. Dating conclusions based on clothes and hairstyles are found in ch. 8.

Several new stylistic indicators have emerged in the course of this study. The distribution of the texts on lintels differs in the pre- and post-Persian periods. Before the Persian period a line of description is often added above the scene and shorter captions interspersed among the figures on the composition itself. In Dynasty 30, the horizontal line is absent and short captions are almost never added. Those that occur (e.g. 75; 76; 77) are confined to one or two figures, rather than running through the entire scene. These differences provide a guideline to pre- and post-Persian material.¹⁰⁷

A distinctive trait found on many of the earlier pieces in the corpus (3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 9; 10; 11; 17; 18; 19; 22) is the long, close-set, vertical striations which cover the background surface to sunk relief. This is not a technical measure for securing a plaster layer,¹⁰⁸ but a decorative, treatment, perhaps designed to make the contours of the smoothly-modelled figures stand out and to create an impression of depth by contrast.¹⁰⁹ The occasional absence of these striations from small areas awkward to cut (e.g. 17 C around the gazelle's head; 22 B around the hedgehog's face and front legs) and across relief areas (e.g. 17 C, D and 22 B across register lines; 10 A onto demons) suggests that they were added after the figure outlines. This treatment, or a similar one with the striations running more obliquely, is occasionally found on Third Intermediate Period objects¹¹⁰ and much later on Graeco-Roman works,¹¹¹ but on Late Period tomb reliefs seems to run no later than the reign of Psammetichus I.¹¹² It is distinct from the so-called "Ethiopian rain" which appears on Dynasty 25

Theban monuments as a treatment to facilitate plaster adhesion on raised surfaces of figures in relief.¹¹³ Somewhat similar marks occur, spaced less regularly and evenly, in Theban tombs from the time of Psammetichus I;¹¹⁴ they lack the systematic, careful application which characterizes the Lower Egyptian examples, and it may be preferable to distinguish the two treatments.¹¹⁵ Systematic surface striation is not confined to Lower Egypt,¹¹⁶ but the extent and date of its use are still unknown. On these blocks, its Psammetichus I date seems firmly established.

Where possible, I have examined raised relief blocks for the perpendicular cutting of contours which Bianchi claims marks Saite votive pieces as against the bevelled cutting which he states is indicative of Dynasty 30 work,¹¹⁷ but I can neither verify nor deny the validity of the cutting angle for dating these reliefs.

The Persian period and its aftermath

With the exception of 59 and 60, none of the blocks in this corpus can be securely dated textually to the Persian period proper (525-404) or to the two succeeding Egyptian dynasties (404-379/8). This is not surprising as very few private monuments of any kind are dated to that period by their texts.¹¹⁸ This raises the question of whether any reliefs can be so attributed on stylistic grounds.

Royal monuments that can be compared with these reliefs are rare. One would expect them to have been concentrated in the Delta and Memphite areas. The few known buildings with relief decoration, such as the Darius I sections of the Hibis temple in the Kharga Oasis¹¹⁹ and the Hakoris chapel at Karnak, stand as isolated monuments in provincial backwaters, and one cannot know if and how local traditions, and the use of sandstone, may have affected their style. The Persian monarchs would have had royal-quality craftsmen at their disposal, as is known from pieces such as the colossal statue of Darius I from Susa (ch. 5, n. 79). Whether they would have been sent, and in what numbers, to remote places like Kharga is uncertain. Differences in subject matter, too, make direct comparisons between these monuments and Lower Egyptian private tomb reliefs difficult.

There are two conflicting views about Egyptian artistic development in the Persian period. That espoused by Bothmer in *ESLP*¹²⁰ is that not only did Egyptian statuary flourish throughout the Persian occupation, but that

it was a highly creative time in this field, in particular inspiring "a new, less idealistic, approach to rendering the human form" (his p. 71) and opening "the floodgates of long pent-up individualism in Egyptian sculpture" (his p. 82). The dating of statues to the Persian period rests largely on the identification of "Persian" features in costume or pose, rather than on good inscriptional evidence, and the impression of an abundance of monuments is strengthened by terms like "Persian gesture", "Persian jacket", and "Persian sleeves" (see further pp. 233-5 here). Evidence cited to support his datings, including some of these Lower Egyptian reliefs, is often not itself demonstrably dated to the Persian period.¹²¹ He takes Florence 1784 of *Hn3t* with Amasis designated *m3c-hrw* as being fully Dynasty 27 (his p. 79) when dating a piece c. 500, but then cites 55 of the same man, as well as 54, as being "approximately the same date" as a piece he places c. 450 (his p. 83). 57 is called Persian on the basis of "Persian" sleeves and gestures (his p. 79). 50 and 51 are labelled Dynasty 27 (his pp. 110, 112 ["the most advanced style of Dynasty XXVII"]), and 50 further specified as middle to second half of Dynasty 27 (his p. 114),¹²² although I have shown above that their owner, *nh.f-n-shmt*, must date to the reign of Amasis (c. 550-525). In his assumption that statuary developed continuously, Bothmer ascribes numerous features in his relative sequence to the Persian period, some of which have since been shown to be earlier (pp. 89-91, 231). He cites few pieces as belonging specifically to Dynasties 28-29, although he believes in their existence,¹²³ and views the whole period 525-379/8 as characterized by continuous development and a high degree of craftsmanship, forming a link between, and in no way fundamentally different from, the preceding Saite and later Dynasty 30 periods.

The opposite argument has been advanced by Munro, who in his review of the reprint of *ESLP*¹²⁴ observes that, with the exception of the putative Dynasty 27 statuary identified by Bothmer, objects of all categories, including essential funerary equipment, are noticeably absent from the period after Darius I until Dynasty 30. In his *Totenstelen* (his pp. 64-6, 113-6) he finds virtually no stelae from anywhere in Egypt datable to that period. Munro views Darius I as an Egyptophile and acknowledges that Egyptian arts continued to flourish under his patronage, noting that almost all the known evidence from Egypt during the Persian occupation comes from

his reign or that of Cambyses. This view is supported by the Susa statue and by Bianchi's list of measures taken and remaining objects known from his reign,¹²⁵ as well as Serapeum stelae, and by his interest in creating a new Persian style of sculpture, in which Egyptian craftsmen and ideas played a role.¹²⁶ After his death, Munro postulates a barren phase in Egyptian production of durable objects c. 485-379/8 and regards Bothmer as being carried along by his theory of continuous development in statuary without considering it in a wider context.

Although presented tersely, and without extensive support, Munro's argument from the silence of the rest of the Egyptian archaeological repertory carries conviction, and is supported by the demonstrable reduction in Bothmer's list of Persian period monuments (see above). If Bothmer's theory is rejected, then the only analogy for a hypothetical continuance of private relief work disappears; its persistence would be unparalleled rather than a corollary to statuary. A hiatus of about a century, for most of the fifth and the early fourth centuries, would help to explain the differences in subject matter, style of representation, and attitudes toward archaism, tradition, and innovation which I detect between the pre- and early Persian reliefs and those made in the post-Persian period.¹²⁷ I view pieces made 525-485 as continuing the Saite tradition from Dynasty 26, not as showing peculiarly Persian contributions or stylistic features. I use the short-hand term "pre-Persian" to mean before the hiatus, while "post-Persian" means after the hiatus, rather than following strict dynastic dates. Some pieces could emerge from the gap,¹²⁸ particularly from Dynasty 29, when there was some revival of monumental art, but large numbers that might span the void should not be anticipated.

Within the corpus, only 59 and 60 seem to fall in early Dynasty 27 (c. 525-500, on the placement of Fig. 5). They thus form the end of the Saite phase of development, and are early enough in the Persian period to admit the production of Egyptian monuments. The slightly earlier 55 and 56, with the stylistically related 57 and a few others from the end of Dynasty 26, may just extend into Persian times, although it seems unlikely from the dearth of monuments datable to Cambyses and Darius I that they all do. The only other relief which may come from slightly later in this period (probably no later than 500) is 93. The mourner's body has similarities both with the women of 59 and with later female figures (e.g.

65 [raised]; 66; 77) (see Catalogue). The indication of her outer toes, which is more common in Dynasty 30 (p. 64), and the height of her wig above the forehead¹²⁹ may favour a post-Persian date, but the figure might represent the latest phase of Saite development.

A framework of dated and datable pieces can thus be established which identifies a break in private tomb decoration for most of the Persian period, dividing the corpus into two phases - a long one covering much of the seventh and sixth centuries, and a much shorter one in the fourth century. On this basis, dates of varying precision can be assigned to all the reliefs.

CHAPTER 4 ASPECTS OF STYLE AND COMPOSITION

Summary of stylistic development

The chronological arrangement of the catalogue made possible by more precise dating clarifies trends in stylistic development. Here I describe aspects of composition, how body forms in particular change over time, and summarize trends attested in groups of material rather than individual pieces, in order to exploit the conclusions on dating and to deepen understanding of the character of the works. Discussion summarizes mainstream development, which, on the basis of the known findspots, is mainly that around Memphis or produced by craftsmen trained there. The choice of motifs and their sources are discussed in ch. 6.

This group of reliefs begins abruptly about the time of the reunification by Psammetichus I, emerging after a void in the northern private tomb relief tradition. There is, therefore, no problem with distinguishing Late Period from Third Intermediate Period style; it is only necessary to separate Late Period from New Kingdom pieces, predominantly from the Memphite area, which generally causes few difficulties. The Kushite style of Dynasty 25 seems to have had little impact in the north. Few Delta works from that period are known,¹ and the remains are scattered and inadequately published. What exists is largely the residue of royal activity and temple building.² Private tomb construction with relief decoration seems to have fallen into abeyance. Given the fragmented nature of the Delta during the Third Intermediate Period, any production of private monuments there was may have been marked by distinctive regional style(s).³

There must, however, have been skilled craftsmen, experienced in working on temples, stelae and statues, available in the north, which had been the centre of government since Dynasty 19, and it is not necessary to assume that the Theban art style (or artists) was brought north to Sais or Memphis, and provided the basis from which the Dynasty 26 style of tomb decoration developed.⁴ Indeed, the fact that even the earliest Lower Egyptian private reliefs (1; 2) can readily be separated from Theban work, shows that the development of a distinctive northern style must have been swift and local. The heavier, slightly ungainly, body proportions, the compact, squarish heads on short thick necks, the plastic eyebrows and

cosmetic line (2), the large nostrils of broad noses, with the nostril wings deeply incised and recurving, and the straight, thick-lipped mouths with a slight fleshiness at the inner corner seen on 1 and 2 may show the influence of the Kushite tradition. These may be the productions of a northern workshop or workshops, developing the existing style of Dynasty 25, as manifest in forms such as statues and stelae.

Seventh century - The style at the beginning of the sequence seems to fall within the reigns of Psammetichus I and possibly Necho II, and is restrained and classical. A relatively large number of preserved tombs with known location and architecture are from the later seventh century (3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 10; 22; perhaps 25; again including 31 at the end of the sequence), including the two largest discovered in Lower Egypt (3 and 6). They display considerable variety in architecture (ch. 2) and in decoration. While relief-decorated doorways are known, they form a smaller percentage *vis-à-vis* examples of wall decoration than at any subsequent period. None are known *in situ* in any of the "complete" tombs, although doorways and niches with ornamental surrounds, mouldings and cornices feature prominently in 3. Sunk relief was particularly popular under Psammetichus I, and much less common later. It is usually accompanied by striated surface texturing (pp. 50-1) which is a northern feature in this regularized form and confined to the reign of Psammetichus I; it is one of the new features from this time. Some of the distinctive "new" Late Period compositional tendencies are already present. The replacement of large-scale register composition by blocks of decoration punctuating texts (pp. 76-7) was already well underway (e.g. 3), presaging its almost complete abandonment in Room A of 31 and alternate orientation of registers placed one above the other is known (e.g. 6 G; perhaps 22 B; see further p. 75). Despite the preference for traditional motifs and poses, the reversed leg posture is found (17; 18 B; see pp. 86-8). Compositions are spacious with little clutter, and figures stand out well against their sparse setting, with almost no overlapping between figures (but see the cattle of 15; laterally-layered dogs of 22 B) except of offering animals. Scenes with a landscape background are not common (e.g. 20 right; 22 B, D).

Figures are clad traditionally, not in contemporary dress. Women always wear tripartite wigs, sometimes striated, and the simple sheath; the

single innovation is the strap-knot set on the front of the shoulder(s) (p. 196). Male figures also wear traditional or archaizing hairstyles (pp. 245-8) and garments, slightly more varied than those of the females; short and mid-calf length kilts predominate, although there are occasional examples of more unusual kilt (e.g. 5 F; 12; 20 fishermen) and robe (e.g. 5 D [boy]) types. The leopard skin with knotted shoulder ornament, sash passing diagonally across the torso and the wig of the *sm-* or *jwn-mwt.f* priest are restricted to this period (p. 229). The only examples of short beards (p. 46) occur then. Valanced wigs (pp. 246-7) often project slightly at the forehead (e.g. 8; 20), and can be shallow on the top of the head (e.g. 18 B; 20). The owner and his equipment are strictly traditional (p. 115) and representations where he is clad as, or serves as (6 P), a priest are of the seventh century.

Where the workmanship is of good quality, the figures are graceful and elegant, and their attitudes simple, precise and well-observed. They are often attenuated, although not positively mannered, with long slender arms, hands, legs, and feet, and the torso elongated between breast/pectoral and waist. Male figures often have broad, powerful shoulders, well-rounded at their joints, and with an indentation at the top of their rounded biceps; the forearm may be thickened, with a rounded bulge along the inside (e.g. 3 A; 8; 9; 20). The degree of pectoral rounding varies, and, as at no other time, the nipple tip may be marked on the outline, usually of sunk relief figures (e.g. 6 bis [raised relief]; 7 A; 8 owner; 19). Compact rounded "bullet" heads on thick necks, shaven or with a close-clinging hairstyle, occur sometimes in the seventh century (e.g. 8; 12; 20 punter), continuing the type found at the beginning of the sequence. Women have narrower shoulders and lack the articulation of arm muscles. Breasts are deep and well-rounded, with a swell but no sag on the underside; the tips are usually rounded instead of pointed (but cf. Isis on 4). Below the breast, male and female figures are similar. Waists are usually indented, and the small, high-placed buttocks project little. The abdomen outline is indicated as a very slight, firm swell, without the accompanying plastic rounding inside the contours which is often found later. Where the navel is indicated, it is a shallow groove or tear-drop shape set near the outline. Occasionally, kneecaps and calf muscles are plastically modelled with care (e.g. 19; 20), particularly on male figures; bent knee joints can

be extremely sharp (e.g. 3 U; 6 bis; 20). Shapely rounding of women's legs individually beneath their clinging garments is present (e.g. 3 A; 17), particularly when the reversed leg posture is indicated (17; 18 B). A feature exclusive to female figures which is present under Psammetichus I (e.g. 3 A; 5; 6 O, AA, BB) and recurs later in Dynasty 26 (33, 38), is strong delineation of the iliac crest, sometimes by incision, with the top line of the bone running to, or almost to, the back of the figure outline.

In all but the earliest reliefs, facial features are often small and neat. Cosmetic lines are rarely present (but cf. 2; perhaps the woman on 6 F). Eyebrows are rarely plastic (but. cf. 3 U; 20 owner), but, compared with other periods, are frequently outlined with incisions above and below (e.g. 1; 2; 6 Y; 23); their shape is commonly a horizontal bar with a sharply downward angled outer corner. The eye shape and treatment varies too. The internal duct is often marked (e.g. 2; 23; 24). The edge of the upper rim can be incised (e.g. 2; 3 U; 23) and occasionally overhangs the lower lid at the outer corner (e.g. 2 owner; 20 owner). The lower rim can be emphasized, by bevelled cutting of the lower eyeball outline (e.g. 2) or by a narrow indentation below this outline (e.g. 20 owner; 24). The eye, which is usually placed almost horizontally on the face (but cf. 12), is long, low and rather small, and often has a more pronounced curvature at the top than below (cf. an extreme version on 6 bis).

The mouth is small and straight, and sometimes rises slightly toward the corner, hinting at a smile. It can be lined with a fine incision (e.g. 20 owner) or sharp ridge (e.g. 23), and emphasized by an indentation below, setting it off from the chin. The chin treatment is distinctive. The face below the mouth is generally small and shallow, and the chin itself often recessed from the lips. The angle can be very abrupt, and the line of the lower jaw to the neck is firm, although it may slope gently. The chin bone is not set off from the lower jaw line, as later. Occasionally the chin does not recede, but the whole lower face juts forward, so that figures are prognathous (e.g. 6 bis; 15 second and third drovers). Sporadic instances of "realism" and "ageing" occur on faces - see further pp. 89-91.

Modelling is extremely restrained, focussing on male upper arms, and occasionally fingers curling into a hollowed palm (e.g. 20; 24), and on the lower legs. Knee and calf muscles can be carefully indicated (e.g. 19), and sometimes two grooves run the length of the calf (e.g. 6 bis; 20).

Raised relief is generally very flat and low. Treatment varies somewhat within the sunk relief outlines. In the second half of the reign, there is an increased sense of depth and rounding, sometimes amounting to a slight puffiness, especially about the side of the face (e.g. 18; 19; 20 owner).

Sixth century - The period from roughly 600-550 is more difficult to assess. A single line of stylistic development is not clear, because well-dated monuments for comparison are rare and there are problems of provenance with a number of reliefs. This seems to have been a time when different styles flourished contemporaneously, either as regional products or as the output of separate studios at the same site or in different places but adhering to the same general northern style. Uniformity of style was of no concern. At least four stylistic strands seem to be present, which may be concurrent or partly consecutive. Two of these are the delicate, attenuated Group A and the smaller group comprising 32 and 33, with their sturdier, slightly dowdy figures (p. 70-73).

A third tendency is found on pieces too different to constitute a coherent group - 30, 40, 41, 42 - all without secure provenance. 39, slightly on the fringe of Group A, is also close to these representations, while 52 may show its latest stage. They are characterized by extreme slenderness of arms (especially on 40), elongation of legs on 30 and 42, and, on all but 30, over-large heads. The faces lack the sweetness of Group A, and its general grace and delicacy. The mannerism of Group A is present (e.g. 40 tambourine player's left hand; 42 female offering bearer's hand positions). Body modelling is minimal (but cf. the frontal lower body of the thigh-slapper on 40); leg-rounding is not indicated beneath garments, and the nipple depiction on 30 is unusual. Facial features are simple, and without elaborate attempts at interrelating; the ears are small. Eyes are elongated and low, and marked only by simple incision; eyebrows are added in relief or incision (also present on most of Group A). Chin lines are mainly firm, either straight (30) or with a gentle softening of the chin tip and slight fulness (40; 41), but some examples of what was to become the normal indented chin occur (41 first clapper; 42). Garments include both the traditional sheath (30 [probably archaizing here]; 42) and more fashionable robes. Hairstyles, too, vary, but all are short. There is enough similarity between these pieces and Group A to suggest some relationship. They may be successive phases from one studio or area, or

may run concurrently, both representing an extreme continuation of the tendency to elongation and slender body forms found under Psammetichus I.

Pieces representing the fourth strand, showing what was to become the mainstream tendency later in Dynasty 26, are not frequent. This may be due to accident of preservation or identification (e.g. 27; 47 is too poorly published to tell whether it comes early or late in the reign of Amasis), but they could have been comparatively scarce, while works in the alternative styles held sway. Pieces such as 43, 44, probably 45, 46 and the male figures of 42 seem to reflect the style of the royal reliefs from the Palace of Apries, now dated c. 570 (Ch. 3, n. 87). The modelling is fuller and rounder than that of the later seventh century, with a tendency to fleshiness especially noticeable in the face. The figures are sturdier and more robust than those in Group A or the related attenuated pieces, but are still graceful and precise and betray some mannerism (e.g. left hand position of the second offering-bearer on 44). The impression is of diverging tendencies in the early sixth century from the Psammetichus I models, with one line of development following through, and eventually exhausting, the slender, elongated figure, while another, which was to prove the more enduring, "mainstream" form, developed the inclination toward fuller rounding of body forms seen in some of the later Psammetichus I sunk reliefs.

Male figures have broad shoulders, contrasting with the narrow, stooping shoulders of Group A; the shoulder joint, upper and lower arms, and often the bent elbow angle, are softened by rounding. Torsos lack the elongation between breast and waist, and appear plumper by sometimes having an indentation between pectoral and abdomen which can be gently, almost imperceptibly, rounded outward, and the abdomen swelling slightly in a different curve. The plumpness of the belly is emphasized by modelling within the figure, producing a small, low rounded abdomen. The navel is a drilled dot, occasionally with a short groove above it, near the centre of the stomach rounding, rather than set adjacent to the outline; because the stomach is so reduced in size, it is still comparatively near the edge of the figure.⁵ Buttocks are small, high and compact. The legs can show working of the musculature on the kneecaps, linear grooves on the calves, and indication of the ankle bone (43; 45 [knees]).

Faces have small, neat features pushed toward the front, emphasizing

the breadth of the face, which is well rounded. Despite their small scale (cf. especially the sub-register figures of 43, 100-120 mm high) the features are cut skillfully and with care. Eyes are small and low, and can have tiny plastic upper rims and eyebrows echoing their curvature (e.g. 42 drover; 43 final male offering-bearer). Lips are short, thick and individually well-rounded, and are rather sharply separated from the puffy flesh nearby; the small mouths with thick lips brought forward have a pursed effect. Chins are shallow and receding, with a small knob set off on the jaw line, and a plump outline between the indentation and the neck.

The compositions combine clear, straightforward depiction, modified by graceful mannerism of attitude and gesture, and finicky, intricate detail in small areas (e.g. tiny wig curls and incisions on the hieroglyphs on 45 and 46; rosette border and feathering on 42; hair, rope, feathering and plant details on 43). There is a similar interest in minute articulation on wigs of subsidiary figures on the reliefs from the palace of Apries.

The full but firm body forms, and the composition of scenes in broad masses while rendering insignificant elements in minute detail, continue as the predominant tendencies to the beginning of Dynasty 27 (52 is a likely pendant to the spindly phase). Even 54, which shows a restrained, elongated, "classicizing" treatment of the bodies of the gods, reminiscent of good quality works under Psammetichus I (e.g. 17), exhibits a contemporary preoccupation with fine incised detailing (e.g. wigs, collars, offering plants) as well as a care in rounding limbs, gently marking knee and ankle bone structure, and undulating chest and abdomen muscles. Abdomens remain well-rounded plastically, but get bigger, and the navel becomes slightly larger and deeper, being placed either in the protrusion of the belly over the kilt (e.g. 54; 55 servants) or near the centre of the swelling toward the hips (e.g. 50; 51; 59; 60). Sometimes knee-caps and ankle-bones and linear musculature on calves are indicated (e.g. 54; 56 3, 4). Male and female body proportions are usually clearly distinguished, with the firm masculine shoulders contrasting with the narrower, sloping feminine ones (but compare the more feminine shoulders of the minor figures on 51). Women's backs are more deeply curved than male ones and there is none of the similarity between pectorals and breasts found in Group A. Breasts take on a more natural shape, having a gentle concave line descending from the armpit suggesting their weight, rounded tips, and a

slightly sagging curve to the underside which abruptly rejoins the torso outline.

Faces lose some of the sweetness found earlier. Features are slightly larger and fill the space better, instead of being pushed toward the front. Eyes are long, low and comparatively large within the corpus, often with the rim of the upper lid incised (e.g. 51; 55; 57; 59; 60) and sometimes with a slight upward tilt to the outer corner (e.g. 53; 55). Eyebrows are occasionally marked with incision (e.g. 50 wife; 54), but their line is more often plastically indicated by a sharp change in level which forms the top of the hollowed eye socket; modelling of the eye area seems a regular feature. Chin lines vary, from extreme versions of the tendency to isolate a tiny section at the front, followed by jaw line plumpness (e.g. 50 wife; 52; 53 2) to a smoother transition between rounded chin and slightly drooping jaw line flesh. In several late cases (58; 59; 60) the fatty jaw line sag is emphasized by an upward-curving incision where it meets the neck and a curved incision on the neck below; on 59 the sag of the jaw line is less pronounced.

A renewed phase of realism occurs in some of the faces of late Dynasty 26 or early Dynasty 27 (pp. 89-91). A sharply indented receding hairline on male figures enjoys some popularity, both with ageing figures (50 harper; 54 owner; 55 scribe) and with other generally idealizing persons (e.g. 51 minor figures; 55 servants; 58).

The workmanship is excellent and fluent. An impression of depth is given to some figures by subtle rounding of the outlines, modulation of the face around the eyesocket, shallowly-incised folds on garments (55; 56 servants' kilts; 57), and even allowing the viewer to "see" into sleeve openings (57).⁶ This stands in strong contrast to the relief height, which is often, contrary to the appearance of photographs, remarkably low and reliant on outline (50; 51; 57). There is often a slight formalization and hardening of forms into a more rigid, "classical" ideal. Garment folds (above, with 56, 60 owners' kilts) are reduced to symmetrical patterns with evenly-flowing lines. The indication of scale-like feathering on birds (e.g. 49; 55) is comparable. Symmetrical arrangements are another feature (e.g. 49 plant cluster; 53, 55 and 56 with specialized offerings), while compositions are smooth and evenly-flowing. Most of these pieces are certainly or probably from the Memphite region. Because there are so few

blocks from elsewhere during this period, it is impossible to say whether this is a local style or whether it spread throughout the Delta.

Several phenomena characterize sixth century relief more generally, whether pieces come from one of the disparate "middle" phases or the final one. Perhaps most fundamental is the predominance of the decorated lintels as a vehicle for relief scenes. A wider range of subjects is depicted in the sixth century than at any other time and there is a preference for "secular" scenes. Invention and imagination are shown in the proliferation and occasional combination of styles (e.g. 42 - see further pp. 120-22), in featuring women performing various tasks (pp. 127-9), and in the creation of the new motif of lily-processing (Ch. 7.11). A number of new garment and wig styles (ch. 8) previously thought to appear during the fourth century can be shown to emerge in the sixth, so that the tendency to show people in contemporary dress is another trend of this phase.

The distribution and nature of texts on Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27 lintels is distinct from that which follows. While at both times one or two columns of text identifying the deceased may separate him from the subsidiary scene, additional texts, excluding the occasional short label, are a feature of the pre-Persian phase. They consist of a horizontal line of text running above the subsidiary scene and terminating before the owner or his identifying inscription, describing what the scene below illustrates, and short captions scattered between figures on the scene. These are almost exclusively labels rather than statements made by the figures (cf. exceptions are the spell of 42; remarks on 51); they never name the figures. These three types of text occur alone or in combination. Post-Persian lintels continue to use the one or two columns identifying the owner, but abandon the horizontal description and almost eliminate labels within the scenes.

Fourth century - Post-Persian pieces follow on from the mainstream stylistic trend of late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27. The general attribution of the *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* lintels (59; 60) to Dynasty 30 (p. 39) illustrates their stylistic closeness. There are, however, a number of changes apart from the distribution of lintel texts. Most striking is the restriction in the variety of motifs illustrated. They are now predominantly offering-bearers (often with children, in a trend already begun on 59), musicians, marsh scenes, and those featuring the owner alone,

although a few others occur (see pp. 132-3) (e.g. 66 lily processing; 72 upper scene), including some examples of the deceased with deities (e.g. 63; 64 [raised]; 65 [raised]). No new scene types appear, except perhaps the mourning on 93, but the adaptation of the royal and divine suckling scene to the private sphere (64 [raised]), and the creation of new musical ensembles (pp. 169-71) show continued inventiveness. Long-defunct scenes are not revived. A contemporary spirit prevails, with fashionable clothes from daily life and a variety of hairstyles appearing; garments arranged to reveal both male and female genitals, which are rare earlier, become common. All seem to have entered the tomb relief repertory before the Persian hiatus, although some elements like the huge floral bouquets (p. 172), hair "loops" (pp. 220-1), and the male tripartite ensemble (pp. 236-43) become characteristic in Dynasty 30.

Because of the popularity of heavy, voluminous garments, body delineation is often confined to the head, forearms and hands, ankles and feet. The raised relief is slightly higher than that of the end of the pre-Persian sequence, while that in sunk relief can be rounded and modelled quite deeply (e.g. 82 A). The smooth, even rounding of limbs and the prevalence of rounded forms within softly curving outlines gives the figures a sleek, fleshy, slightly bloated aspect. Detailed modelling on nude or partially clad figures is often minimal,⁷ with smooth curves prevailing everywhere (e.g. 69; 72; 78; 80). Limbs can be stylized and even spindly (cf. 81 for unusual musculature on the inner left arm), with joints only roughly indicated by gentle indentations, and knees and ankles almost lost in the even, gentle taper of the leg (see previous examples). Well-modelled ankle bones and toes on the nearer foot can seem incongruous amid the soft flesh. Toes shown from the outside occur occasionally in the pre-Persian period (e.g. 54 left; 55),⁸ but they are found very frequently in Dynasty 30 (64 [both sides]; 65 [raised]; 66; 72; 73; 76; 82 B), sometimes indicating a reversed leg posture not otherwise suspected (p. 86-8). In contrast to this care in differentiating feet, the tendency to show the "wrong" hand⁹ (e.g. 77 3, 7, 9; 80 owner) which had always occurred (cf. earlier 43 male offering bearer; 56) is still found.

Full (pp. 209-10) and partial nudity show some variety in body forms, although softness prevails. Male figures are not muscular. They may have deep concave backs ending in tiny, high buttocks, with back outlines

identical to women's (e.g. 80; 70; similarity between the sexes but without much curve on 77). Their shoulders are not necessarily broad (e.g. 75; 77); where they are (e.g. 81; 82 B), the effect with the rest of the body can be incongruous (cf. the slender waists on 80). Some heavier male figures with thick pads of flesh around the ribcage, very slight indication of a waist, well-rounded abdomens bulging over belts, and heavy thighs (79 3, 7; 93) verge on the obese.

Female bodies, too, vary but almost all lack the sense of firmness and underlying bone-structure found at earlier periods. Some are almost stylized caricatures, with slack or unusually-shaped breasts simply added to the chest without organic integration, almost no waist indentation, large rounded bellies, fat buttocks jutting out and highlighted by unbalanced poses and fat thighs, on spindly lower legs (e.g. 72; 78). Elsewhere, they are depicted in a less mannered style, with more traditional proportions (e.g. 66; 74 B; 76; 77). Breasts are prominent and naturally shaped, coming to a rounded point and sometimes having a gentle downward bulge on the underside, suggesting their weight; they are particularly carefully modelled individually on 66, with the nipple outline differentiated. Torsos are thick and waists no longer slender. The abdomens are well-rounded, sometimes with light plastic modelling (e.g. 76), and large round, navel drillings appear toward their centre. Thick thighs can be curved far inward at the top (e.g. 67; 79 2, 5). 71 and 80 contain more graceful female figures, with firmer, less sagging body forms, but the prominently rounded bellies, broad hips and heavy thighs are present in modified form.

A deliberate androgynous tendency can be seen on some pieces, in the close similarities in body forms between men and women (e.g. 80). This is reinforced by similar short hairstyles and occasionally men in garments like those of women (pp. 229-31), and sometimes by modification of the male stride length so that it resembles that of women.¹⁰ This is sometimes "justified"/necessitated by the reversed leg posture (e.g. 77)¹¹ but can also be found with the conventional leg stance (e.g. 69; 79; 80).

Heads often seem big in relation to bodies. Features are rather large and are not always pushed to the front (but cf. 64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]), but cheeks still appear broad and full. The eyesockets may be deeply carved (e.g. 65 [both sides]; 66; 77; 81), sometimes with full rounding of the

eyeball (e.g. 65 [sunk]; 81; 82 A). Although eyes can be very small (64 [sunk]; 80), they are usually in proportion to the head, and can be shown with considerable care, with the edge of the upper rim (e.g. 71; 75; 76) and occasionally the lower as well (e.g. 65 [sunk]; 66; 67) lined with incision. 74 B has unusual relief cosmetic lines. Eyebrow treatment ranges from single incisions in assorted shapes (e.g. 74 B drummer; 80) through incised brows (e.g. 74 B lyre-player) to a modelled ridge on which they were presumably painted (e.g. 65 [sunk]; 66; 81) or no indication (e.g. 67; 71). Lips are thick and protrude from close below the nose. The mouth is often angled slightly upward with its corner drilled deeper giving the impression of a smile (e.g. 64 [sunk]; 80 owner; 81).¹² Chins are invariably indented along the jaw line, with a round, knoblike front section, and a sag of soft flesh running to the neck which may be very puffy and slack (e.g. 74 B lyre-player; 75 owner and lyre-player). Occasionally, incised curves where the jaw joins the neck and below are marked with double flesh folds (e.g. 66; 74 B; 75; earlier examples on 58; 59; 60). Fleshiness can also be indicated by plastic modelling - for instance, the raised fold of fat beside the left press-operator's nose on 66 and along the cheek of the steward on 75. The trend toward realism on representations of elderly figures found at the end of the pre-Persian sequence continues, combining skin and bone structure modifications (pp. 87-91).

Attempts at conveying three-dimensions, similar to those in late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27, are seen, and the fat, round treatment of people and animals may be an aspect of this. Bothmer considers the introduction of "rather high "low relief" at this time to be an innovation on Late Period private tomb decoration, which had extended to royal works by the time of Ptolemy I.¹³ This marks the start of three-dimensional modelling in relief. The sinking of the eyesocket and rounding of the eyeball, so that the cheekbone appears to stand out (e.g. 81; 82 A), provide depth to the face. Fine, incised folds on garments are found (e.g. 76), and the contrast between cloth types on multi-layered garments like the male tripartite ensemble and elaborate wrappings of clothing layers, with attempts to express their relationships, enhance the impression of depth. The spreading of a section of some shawl-like feminine garments behind the figure creating a once-colourful backdrop to

the nude torso and legs, also served this function. Open sleeves into which the viewer can "look" (see earlier 57) occasionally recur (64; 76 harper, first clapper and lyre-player; 77 scribe; perhaps 74 A); 79 3 indicates the inside of a kilt. Smith suggested that this type of foreshortening executed in line, indicated a new, Greek point of view, but the sixth century occurrence on 57 disproves that theory; it is not as rare on these pieces as he suggested.¹⁴

A few foreshortened representations also convey three-dimensionality; whether or not these are inspired by Greek art is unclear (see pp. 98-9), but compression and modification of length for spatial and other considerations is an intrinsic feature of Egyptian representation, and an indigenous origin is equally likely. A few examples may be found in this corpus before the fourth century (e.g. the position of distant feet on 28), but modification of proportions to convey a sense of depth seems to be a regular feature of Dynasty 30 reliefs. The angle and attitude of the left arm of 78 8 as it emerges from the distance to draw aside her garment or the shortened right thigh of 78 10 are explicable only as deformity or foreshortening. On 75 the lyre-player's left forearm behind the strings, and the drummer's right arm as it coiled around the instrument, were probably foreshortened. The attitude of the drummer on 76 - and, by extension, those on 74 B and 75 - has been attributed to an attempt to show an oblique view of an entire figure suggesting depth.¹⁵ An alternative explanation is the delineation within traditional conventions of a figure in bulky, multi-layered garments for which there was no fixed iconography, whose large instrument awkwardly obscures the middle section of the body, and for whom there was not much space. It could also convey activity. The less-than-rectangular shape of the lyre on 76 may be a subtle indication of depth by alternation of angles, or a result of shortage of space. The right hand of 76 harper behind the harp strings, unattached to a forearm, probably does not convey three-dimensionality, but is simply an abbreviated carving which would have been supplemented with paint, with the instrument strings. As with representations of drummers these apparently "advanced" compositional phenomena have earlier native parallels, and it is not necessary to postulate Greek or other foreign influence,

A striking feature of many Dynasty 30 compositions is the sense of crowding, in extreme cases (e.g. 77; 79) amounting almost to *horror vacui*.

Figures are often placed close together, with overlapped miniature cattle and children filling the lower spaces in offering processions (77; 79; 96) and dangling plants, birds, carried calves and other objects fitted into upper areas. Where there are no figures, large floral bouquets occupy the space to head height (e.g. 70; 74 B; 76); these also occur as a filling decoration in the owner's area (75; 76; 78), so that the whole composition is uniformly densely filled. Free-standing groups of marsh plants with their heads at different heights also contribute to fill the space, either as background to figures or between groups (67; 72; 78). This crowding is prominent in Group B (pp. 73-4), but is also found on pieces not be directly associated with it (e.g. 67; 70). In combination with the increased mannerism of the period, it can produce irrational, almost grotesque, representations, as in the "heraldic" plant clump behind the head of 79 6, or the birds perched on the heads of 71 and 77 6 (with an unsupported plant bundle draped over a head).

The figures themselves are affected. Even where there are wide spaces between figures or groups (e.g. 66; 80)¹⁶ or figures are placed in isolation or in small groups (e.g. 64; 65; 73), detailing of costumes and wigs, elaborate garments which do not hug the figure, and even complicated painting (seen on 64 and 66 [raised]) can provide a feeling of clutter in an otherwise spacious composition. This contrast between the simple and spacious and the meticulously elaborate is another feature of Dynasty 30 reliefs which echoes a treatment found in the sixth century.

There is thus a broad development in these Late Period Lower Egyptian pieces from the simple and straightforward to the complex, from the firm to the soft and round, from the traditional to the contemporary. The change is not continuous or consistent; experiments and almost sportive representations, particularly in the sixth and fourth centuries, show an openness to alternatives outside a main line of development. Complex, sometimes divergent, trends make it impossible to define a unified style for the reliefs at any time other than the reign of Psammetichus I, when an impulse toward a single style based in the traditional mould, and perhaps arising from the desire to revive and reinterpret a "lost" tomb art, held sway.

Local schools, workshops and groups

In his initial study of these pieces, Maspero¹⁷ accorded great importance to local schools, subjected to and admitting foreign influences at different rates but capable of independent, creative response to stimuli, as a factor in explaining stylistic variation. The idea of local schools, presumably based in areas from which reliefs known to him came, was reinforced by the coincidence that the eleven reliefs he published seemed to come from five separate sites (Saqqara-Memphis; Sais; Bubastis; Heliopolis; Benha - probably Athribis). This chance of distribution obscured a preponderance of pieces from the Memphis-Giza-Heliopolis region, and tempted him to give the findspots of all the blocks equal weight in stylistic importance, not realizing that very few came from some sites, and that some of the striking differences between the blocks are temporal, rather than the results of contemporary styles. Maspero was unspecific about regional variation, except between the Delta and Thebes, and did not attempt to define the characteristics of any local schools.

Von Bissing¹⁸ did not believe in local schools, preferring to regard all developments as diffused from a single one at Memphis,¹⁹ where he saw parallel tendencies in terracottas and Aramaic stelae from Saqqara. He viewed works from sites away from Memphis as by Memphite(-trained) artists practising further afield. Since these two early studies, the issue has largely been ignored,²⁰ although the occasional oblique reference²¹ shows that von Bissing's view of a stylistically pervasive Memphite school has found some favour. The impression of stylistic unity and of Memphis as the source of the style is enhanced by the use of the term "Neo-Memphite" (see pp. 31-2).

The question can be re-evaluated on the basis of the present, enlarged corpus. The number of Delta sites involved is small, and there are problems of provenance for many of the pieces. Assignment of provenance on the basis of texts can only be tentative (see Ch. 1). The sites from which Late Period tomb reliefs are known or strongly suspected, on a variety of criteria, to come are : Busiris (9; 10; 29; 44); Bubastis (16; probably 13); Sais (15; 89; probably 14; perhaps 37); Buto (80); Tanis (79; 83); possibly Athribis (39), with Alexandria (perhaps 32) being a source with reuse (Appendix IV). Less certain is the western Delta, Xoïs-Buto-Sais region (33; 34); Horbeit (41) has been indicated on very doubtful

grounds. The number of possible pieces from any one site is too small to allow a balanced assessment of "local" qualities as opposed to the idiosyncracies of individual artists (see below). Even a slight error in attribution where numbers are so small could produce highly misleading results.²² Nor are there enough to mark change over time.

The evidence from these sites remains tantalizing. For example, the two pieces thought to be from Bubastis (13; 16), although both outside the mainstream of relief development and fairly close in time to each other, are not similar enough to suggest a connection. It is impossible to know whether the differences between the two are those of different local schools - if 13 is not from Bubastis, but from another site with distinctive traditions - workshops, or craftsmen. The pieces from Busiris, which range in time from Psammetichus I to mid-late Dynasty 26, are not far removed in style from contemporaneous Memphite works and do not support the hypothesis of a regional trend. They suggest either that local schools in the Delta were not important or that they are scattered, unidentifiable phenomena not to be expected at every tomb-relief findspot.

Blocks could have been carved in one place and then transported to a cemetery elsewhere, particularly if the stone elements in a structure were few. In the Delta, good quality stone for carving (unless reused) would have to be brought from Tura or other quarries, and it could have been brought already worked. Blocks transported carved from Memphis would be virtually indistinguishable from ones made locally by Memphite(-trained) craftsmen.

The evidence for local schools is no stronger than it was in Maspero's day. My impression is that vigorous local schools of the type Maspero envisaged did not exist. However, distinctive workshops or studios, with idiosyncratic designers, did. Some were contemporaneous at the same site or not far apart. The lintels of *P3-jr-k3p* (33; 34) provide the most extreme example of differing contemporaneous styles, especially in the treatment of female figures. On 33, their heads are compact and squarish, set on sturdy necks, with the slight bulge at the back of the hair emphasizing the solidity of the juncture; facial features are incompletely cut, and unsubtle, with heavy nostril wings, deep, straight mouth slashes and determined, angular but shallow chins. The bodies are heavy, with somewhat pendulous breasts, thick waists, slightly bulging

abdomens which echo at the front of the body the rounding of the buttocks, and heavy thighs and stout calves clearly marked beneath the clothing. The female offering bearers of 34 show the characteristics of Group A (below). The predominant differences here may be between workshop styles, rather than between craftsmen.

However, the stylistic differences between the *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* lintels (59, 60), which show two rather less strikingly distinct styles, are almost certainly personal. The figures are similar in the treatment of body details such as face, neck, breast, abdomen and navel. If one sets aside the archaizing aspect of 60 (Ch. 7.1) and the contemporary features of 59, and the differences in spacing and caption distribution, the two can be distinguished mainly in the manner of carving. On 60, the better-rounded and more fully-integrated body forms and poses, and the more delicate facial features, are the work of a master craftsman. 59 with its flatter relief, heavier body forms and clumsier faces, is by a much less skilled hand. The occurrence on both of similar incised details (e.g. the double incised curve on the neck) suggest that they were designed by the same person, and executed by different craftsmen. This is probably also true of 64 and 65 (see Catalogue).

There are two groups of blocks which are stylistically distinctive and probably represent the output of two workshops.

Group A - 34; 35; 36; 37; 38; 39 (perhaps marginal) - These constitute a group whose main features happen to be most readily identifiable from representations of women, which are small-limbed and delicate; cf. p. 59 for related pieces with spindly limbs and slender bodies. Pieces are in both raised (34; 36; 38; 39) and sunk (35; 37) relief. The most striking characteristic is extreme attenuation of arms, legs and torso between breast and hips, with a barely-perceptible swell to the abdomen outline, not accompanied by rounded surface modelling; if carved, the navel is a long groove near the outline (34 1-2; 37 grape-treader and pourer; shown as rounder and further to the side on 39 owner and servant in the water). The breast is small and gently rounded from the armpit (the nipple point on 37 is unusual but not integral to the shape); it is closer to swelling male pectoral muscles (cf. 39) than to the breasts of mature women, and on 39 is so small that Maspero identified the swimmer as male.²³

Heads vary slightly in shape. On 34, 35 and 37, they protrude at the

upper back in a graceful rounded bulge flowing in a single curve into the neck and accentuated by the close-clinging hair shape; the more compact heads on 36 have a restrained, rounded back. On 34, 35 and 37, the face slopes gently from the tip of the nose toward the back of the head, without a change of angle at the bridge of the nose. On 35 first harvester, 36 and 38, the angle change is slight from the bridge of the nose, from which the forehead rises more vertically on 39 swimmer. Facial features, except in the case of the crude 38, are small and neat, with tiny noses and almost pursed mouths. The eyes are long and low, often with an inner prolongation (34; 35; 37; 39) and may have the upper rim edge incised (35; 37); they may be horizontal or slant up toward the outer corner (35; 38). Incised eyebrows either curve (34; 35) or are horizontal with an abrupt downward slant at the outer corner (37; 39). Chins are shallow and slightly recessive and range from firm and straight (e.g. 34 3, 5-7; 39) through a softer line (e.g. 34 scribe, 6) to ones with a tiny round area isolated by indentation and a slight sag to the jaw line (e.g. 33 flower-carrier, first harvester; 37; 38).

Hair is in one of the short rounded styles. It often has a patterning of striations running vertically or angled toward the face from the crown of the head (35; 36; 38; 39 [men]). Where it is arranged in echeloned curls (34 2; 37), the vertical lines predominate. 39 swimmer is unique in having a principally horizontal line to the curls.

Male figures are less well preserved (34; 35; 39). Hairstyles vary more than on the females, and the vertical striations do not predominate (only 39 [two short-haired servants]). Head shape is more difficult to assess because of the fuller and longer wig shapes. They generally exhibit the same delicacy of facial feature and eye configuration. While the figures show attenuation on 39, the shoulders have a normal male breadth. On 34, shoulder breadth and form do not vary much between men and women, with drooping rounded shoulders being the norm; this, combined with the slender limbs and restrained treatment of the female breast, brings the forms of the two sexes close to each other. The entire figures are sweet, delicate, and almost doll-like.

Group A stands outside the mainstream development of these reliefs. The securely dated 34 shows it to be an alternative style of the second half of Dynasty 26.²⁴ Both its precise temporal span and where it

originates are unknown. *P3-jr-k3p*'s titles are almost exclusively from the Western Delta (see catalogue 33), but he could have been buried at Memphis (see p. 8). None of the other pieces has a known provenance, although 37 may be from Sais on the basis of a title, and 39 was acquired near Athribis. "Bedrashen" on 38 points to the Memphite area, but may be a guess. The group probably originates from one workshop rather than a single designer (see Group B).

P3-jr-k3p's other lintel (33) and the stylistically similar 32 probably come from the same site as Group A. The two share such features as heavy, dumpy bodies and belong closely together. It is unlikely that a single tomb would contain decorated blocks brought from different sites, although it could be worked by craftsmen trained in different traditions. *P3-jr-k3p*'s blocks are therefore probably from separate workshops in the same place or region. The most likely site to accommodate rival studios and styles is Memphis, but Sais is an alternative.

For the implications of the large number of lily-processing scenes in this group, see p. 194.

Group B - This group, otherwise the "Heliopolitan" group, consists of 74, 75, 76, 77 and 78.²⁵ Heliopolis is shown to be the source by the findspot of 78, and distinctive names and titles on 75, 76 and 77; 74 is associated by style. The pieces are characterized by dense crowding, with virtually all free space being filled by large floral bouquets (74 B; 75; 76; 78), marsh plants (78), or prolific offerings, frequently vegetal (77), which link the figures. The tomb owner is always shown shaven-headed, wearing the tripartite ensemble (pp. 236-43), seated on a low wicker stool and often lifts a flower to his nose (74 A; 75; 76; 78; not exclusive to this group, cf. 24; 33) and/or holds a flower or bouquet in his lap (74 A; 76; 77; 78). I discuss the characteristic poses and arrangement of the musicians before him on pp. 171-3.

The facial features and body shapes are typical of Dynasty 30 work, and offer nothing in themselves which is exclusively Heliopolitan. However, they exhibit a distinctive whole, with considerable detail incised on hair and dress, abundant ornament, a variety of contemporary hairstyles and costumes on the women, and fashionable clothing on some male figures other than the deceased (harpers on 74 A, 76, probably 75; wine-stewards on 75 and 76; scribe and 10 on 77). Numerous contemporary features - such as spiral

curls (pp. 97-8), foreshortening, "realism" in depicting age (pp. 89-91), mannered gestures - give these blocks a distinctive character which is sometimes ascribed to foreign influence (p. 99). The impetus to the style is more likely to be an indigenous wave of innovation (pp. 132-4). They provide evidence for the question of pattern books, and may be the creation of a single artist based at Heliopolis (pp. 173-4).

Features of Composition

1. Aspects of layout and orientation

Walls - Details of wall decoration in some tombs as it relates to architecture are given in Ch. 2. Some trends are summarized here.

The general absence of large-scale figures (only 82 A; 90) among loose wall fragments is symptomatic of a breakdown in traditional register composition as the principal form of wall decoration. 27, with its archaizing scenes (mainly A), complementing what is probably an archaizing tomb plan, has a huge figure of the tomb owner with a female relative observing four registers which occupy the decorated height of the wall. The size of the principals in the damaged archaizing musician scene of 6 E (probably also F) suggests that it too was divided into registers. The east end of 3 Room D has a slightly different treatment, with small figures in multiple registers placed on one wall (I), while the related major figures (J, U) are on the adjacent walls. Elsewhere, an owner can survey two registers of figures (e.g. 1; perhaps 23; see also the lintel 21) - but here, the size differential is reduced by having seated ancestors who occupy less than half the height of the main figure. In the East Chamber of 6 (P, R; perhaps also 8), a slightly larger representation of the principal figure raised on a dais, confronts a single line of figures sharing his baseline, with a large blank area above to his head height. 39 carries the development a stage further, with the entire marsh hunt scene reduced to a single register, and the deceased only marginally larger than other standing figures. Here, as on lintels, the register rather than the wall has become the essential compositional unit.

There is an increased independence of individual registers. This can be thematic, with unrelated scenes in contiguous registers (e.g. offering-bearers above boating on 39 and 40; a procession (?) above boating on 72).

Other walls show some build-up on the same theme (e.g. offerings of 3 I and 17; the archaizing desert hunt of 22 B); known examples are from the time of Psammetichus I, and this may not have continued afterwards. The breakdown into registers can also be seen in a change in orientation. In some cases, orientation toward the same fixed point is clear (e.g. 3 I; 6 I, K; 27 A, C; probably 17). With the lack of an obvious focal point in the enlarged figure of the deceased, the orientation may be less focussed (e.g. 39, 40 and 72 are too fragmentary for certainty). Rarely, contiguous registers are oriented in opposite directions (6 G). This seems to be a specifically Late Period feature, the outgrowth of the conception and design of each register as a separate unit. The decline in multi-register wall composition perhaps reaches its extreme in 31 Room A, where figures break from their horizontal constraints, and perhaps in 7, where a single line of text accompanying vignettes was possibly the sole adornment of at least two walls.

The relationship in quantity and disposition of text to figured scenes shifts. This is noticeable in the large seventh century tombs, and can be seen in 63 and 82, but evidence from the intervening period is restricted to the shaft tombs, including 47. Texts (often, in the first half of the Dynasty 26, long extracts from older funerary compositions), can take precedence over figured scenes (but cf. the archaizing 27 and at least the archaizing parts of 22 where the older pattern prevails). This has no precedent in Old Kingdom private tomb models which are often postulated as the prototypes for these reliefs (see pp. 114-17). It could be a development from the New Kingdom, from tombs in which didactic, biographical and liturgical passages occur beside the figured registers. The primary impact of rooms adorned mainly with texts in the Lower Egyptian tombs would have come from the painting of their hieroglyphs (p. 93), with only minor decorative impact from the smaller, sparser scenes. Pieces such as 8 and 35, where the fragmentary texts are probably secular, as well as 82 with its long autobiographical passages, show that priority over the accompanying secular scenes is not reserved for religious texts.

The allocation of considerable wall space to texts is accompanied by an occasional upward movement of scenes, more closely integrating wall and ceiling decoration. This complements the vaulting of some chambers, where no strong horizontal angle emphasizes the disjunction of planes. Figured

scenes can be placed on the lower curvature of the springing, with significant areas of text above and below (10), or lie on the main curvature, with only a band of text separating the two halves of the arc (3 A), instead of the more usual geometric motifs, stars or vultures. Figured decoration of ceiling vaults is not new, as is shown by tombs in the Valley of Kings and at Deir el-Medineh, where the device exploits the space available to the maximum. Such placing of the tomb owner before deities is new, however.

The only tombs which have numerous religious scenes date to the reigns of Psammetichus I and Necho II (3; 4; 5; 6; 10; 31). Each is different in size and architectural type and in the distribution of texts and scenes. 3 with its huge dimensions represents an early stage and contains numerous unusual features. The walls are given over to religious texts, occasionally interspersed with large figures of *B3k-n-rn.f* (H, J, V). Regular spaces for figured decoration are left at the top of wall areas; most are vignettes illustrating nearby textual passages or non-specific offering scenes to forms of Osiris. *B3k-n-rn.f* is shown almost without family (see only G), while scenes where he receives offerings are mainly confined to two sides of one wall (G; Room D I, with J and U as probable extensions; see also V). Elsewhere he is depicted alone (e.g. H, X-Z) or before the gods. If my restoration of Room D is correct (see especially I, J, V) and the offering table scene extends from the north and south walls as a continuous decorative unit instead of self-sufficient sections, ignoring the room corners, ^{it} shows a free treatment of both artistic composition and architectural units.

The latest tomb in this group (31) shows a similar close association between texts and figure decoration, but in Room A the vignettes are much more irregularly distributed, often without any specific area allocated them. Blocks, sometimes of irregular shape, are found instead of coherent registers. The explanation is that the decoration is determined by the subject matter, which is taken directly from the papyrus tradition. The whole gives the impression of a large-sized funerary papyrus stuck onto the chamber walls, although the resemblance is not carried as far as in, for instance, the tombs of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II, where the texts are shown in a cursive style to complement the scenes. Here, the inscriptions are strictly neat hieroglyphs, not hieratic.²⁶ The solar boat sinking

around a curve and the divine arms extended upward toward it (B) are complete anathema to the traditional spirit of register composition but quite acceptable in underworld compositions. 31 Room B is arranged in a more linear fashion, although the architecture excludes the employment of large-scale register composition, and the functional and religious requirements of the tomb take precedence over the decoration.

The multi-chambered tombs show an overall balance, principally in architecture, but also in decoration. Scenes on opposite sides of a room tend to be symmetrical. 6 shows that the decoration of architecturally balanced rooms can be significantly different, although internally balanced, with the funerary texts and figures in the West Chamber contrasting with those in the East Chamber and the rest of the chapel, where offerings to and relations with the gods are paramount. See ch. 2 for exterior wall decoration.

Lintels - Decorated lintels posed a different set of compositional problems from those provided by walls, not simply through lack of space.²⁷ Simple compositions, such as inward-facing figures of the owner at either end, kneeling to adore cartouches²⁸ or seated with passages of text between them are largely absent (cf. wall areas thus on 63; 82 B). Instead, there are complicated scenes, sometimes the only figured decoration in the chamber, which can summarize the essential elements from an entire wall. The long, low lintel shape imposes a linear form on the decoration. This type of composition parallels the tendency to regard wall registers as individual units; one could have influenced the other, or the two could form part of a larger development. The rarity of decorated lintels of this type from elsewhere in Egypt, except for a few from Abydos (Ch. 1, n. 9), suggests that it is a fundamentally Lower Egyptian development which probably spread elsewhere from the north.

The lintel form imposed constraints on size and is probably the main reason why single register compositions are preferred. There are a few examples where the entire subsidiary scene before the owner is horizontally subdivided, with standing or seated figures of half his height (43; 51; 52 if a lintel; less likely 1 [wall fragment ?]); elsewhere, subdivision can be used for small elements within the scene (e.g. 36 jars; 60 jewelry). Although the owner provides a unifying element, and the sub-divided lintels could be regarded as showing small-scale composition over two registers,

the linear constraints of the block shape take precedence, and I regard them as sub-registers within a single register composition. 21 is a unique lintel with two single "registers", each with a standing figure of the deceased before a line of ancestors; the change in block level between the two emphasizes their distinct nature, and suggests that the piece owes something of its design to false-doors. It might be preferable to view it as two contiguous lintels, each with a single "register" arrangement involving a standing figure of the deceased. Vertical bipartition of lintels was not popular - see only 54 and possibly 50 - showing that a single directional orientation was preferred.

The tomb owner is usually on the left, facing right,²⁹ while the subsidiary scene has a leftward orientation; this suggests that the right-facing orientation of the principal took precedence in the compositional arrangement. Examples where the reverse direction obtains show that this was a regular alternative (e.g. 14; 30; 51; 55). Where two lintels are known for one individual, they sometimes have alternate orientations (*Hn3t* 55 and 60; perhaps *P3-dj-3st* if 14 and 15 come from the same tomb; *P3-tnfj* 20 and 21) and sometimes have both scenes oriented toward the owner on the left (*I3-nfr* 76 and 77; *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* 59 and 60; *P3-jr-k3p* 33 and 34). No cases are known where both have the owner on the right.

In designing single register lintels in place of multi-register wall compositions, it was necessary to compress activities into a linear sequence. Four methods are employed. Division into sub-registers can be used, as on 43, where the separate stages of setting the clapnet and of capturing birds from the closed net are placed one above the other, marking a temporal division between sub-registers; here there is also a progression in sequence toward the owner. 51 shows a simpler use of sub-registers, where activities which were often earlier shown near one another are placed one above the other.

A second approach is illustrated by the gold-giving and linen-presentation scenes (Ch. 7.1), in which only a portion of the operation is shown. The third method is complex: a series of activities with a temporal sequence is reduced to a few representative figures or groups and arranged before the owner in a temporal progression. This can be seen on the lower sub-register of 43, where the gathering of birds from the clapnet takes place farther from the deceased, and the birds are presented with other

offerings by figures nearer to him. A two-part temporal sequence is seen on 13, although it is not clear whether the activity further from the owner is unpacking of cloth prior to, or packing subsequent to, presentation; the temporal progression toward the owner on 43 and other pieces, as well as normal Egyptian practice, suggest the former.

Most complicated is the temporal sequence in the "lily-processing" scenes (see further Ch. 7.III), where the entire process of harvesting, portage, expressing the juice, decanting and presenting can be shown (33) or can be condensed to exclude certain phases (e.g. harvest); the progress is always from the earliest event furthest from the master to the latest directly before him. Whole stages (e.g. carrying; decanting) can be represented by a single figure, allowing numerous activities to be shown in the limited space. This linear representation of time can be seen on the wall fragments 35, where the harvest, portage and expressing are shown in the same manner as they would be on a lintel, and 37, where the vintage is compressed to a linear sequence in a temporal order, rather than being spread over several registers.³⁰

The new motif of lily processing exploits this linear time-sequence most extensively, although 37 and 43 show that older scenes could be adapted. Agricultural scenes which have a strict developmental sequence, and could have been adapted by reduction, do not occur in the north although they are found at Thebes where they follow traditional arrangements and orderings closely.³¹

At the other extreme from this careful condensation of walls to one register is the fourth method found on 20, where separate scenes of cattle in the marshes and the owner pulling papyrus from a skiff are simply juxtaposed on the lintel. While the general marsh theme provides a link, the swamp background on the right but not the left, the separate placement of labels above each portion, and the second representation of the deceased on the right, show that each section was envisaged as distinct. The lack of harmony in this procedure may have prevented it from gaining favour.

These single register scenes display regular compositional features. With a few exceptions like 1 (if it is a lintel), 21, and 54, the deceased sits on one side of the scene alone (except 2; 24; perhaps 50 if a bisected lintel). He usually faces standing figures; where they (or several of them) are seated, he stands (e.g. 1; 21) or the scene before him is divided

into sub-registers (e.g. 43; 51; perhaps 52). The head level of the owner is thus approximately on the same line as those of the standing figures opposite, and he is only slightly emphasized by size;³² there is also a subtle distinction between the seated and the standing. The difference in head height is slighter or non-existent on pieces where no caption runs above the subsidiary section (e.g. 59; 60; 75; 77; 80), many of them Dynasty 30 blocks where no caption is present (p. 50). Where the horizontal text occurs, an external constraint limits composition space for the subsidiary scene, varying the head levels of the deceased and other figures (e.g. 14; 33). On 55 this device is negated by fitting short columns of identifying text above *Hn3t*, rather than before him, thus aligning his head level with that of the servants.

Other methods of setting the owner apart from his servants, apart from features of dress and accoutrements, include the mat beneath his chair which raises him above the common baseline, and the columns of text that are often placed before him, separating him from the rest of the scene. Where these columns are absent, the sense of isolation within his own space is less (cf. especially 55). Background elements such as marsh plants stop with the subsidiary scene, leaving the owner in a "free" area (e.g. 78; owner lost on 42 and 67; other elements separate him and the plant clumps on 20 and 43).

Sometimes he is integrated with the scene before him. On 51 minor figures who probably represent his sons offer a lotus to his nose from one sub-register and turn and seize the bottom of his staff from the other. As usual, the principal generally offers no direct response to the figures before him, but on 11 and 13 he reaches out a hand to touch cloth (pp. 143-4) proffered by a servant. On some Dynasty 30 reliefs the bouquets which serve as space-fillers and unifying elements can also occur in the owner's reserved area (75; 76; 78), integrating the whole composition. On 78 the bouquet behind the deceased is a formal echo of the marsh background to the rest of the scene, which is filled with living plants.

Within the single register arrangement on the lintels, there is considerable variety; many of the variations also occur in multi-register wall compositions where the register is the basic unit. The traditional practice of keeping all the figures in a scene the same size³³ is loosened, often by the inclusion of children in offering processions (p. 127).

Variations in head height³⁴ can be the result of placing captions above some figures within a scene, but not above others (e.g. 20; 33 right). A prominent new device is to place a figure with a large container on its head amid others without one, so that the container top is at a level with their heads and the carrier is reduced in stature (e.g. flower-carriers on 33, 36 and 66; 42 woman offering bearer; 56 5; 77 10). Traditional devices are often employed - for instance, figures may sit (e.g. the harper on 50, 74 A, 75 and 76; in skiffs on 67 and 78 4, 13), or bend forward to perform some action (e.g. punting on 78 1; hauling a calf from the water by 78 10) or are simply reduced in height for no obvious reason (e.g. 13 1; 78 3). The upward tilt of the head of the press-operator on 35 breaks the monotony, although head heights remain level. Such figures are often placed at the ends of scenes farthest from the owner (e.g. 36; 56; 67; 76) or nearest him (e.g. 13; 14; 60). In the first instance, the effect is to weaken the end of the scene, throwing the focus toward the owner at the front. In the second case, the dip in the line of figures directly before the deceased makes him more salient.

Occasionally, de-emphasis at the end of a scene can take the form of a figure turning away from the owner, as in the left-most figure in the lower sub-register of 43. This is also found with birds on bouquets (76 right end; 78 left end). Occasionally the figures are oriented away from the principal but with their heads toward him (cf. probably 29). This may also be the case with the punter of 72, whose body is oriented toward the room corner, although she looks back over her shoulder toward the right, where the tomb owner may have been (see Catalogue). Aside from the traditional representations of a small family member before the owner (e.g. 5 C, D son; 20 wife; 51 lower sub-register, with a dual function as a son), scenes never clearly begin with a figure with its back to the deceased; 52 may be a child, while it is possible that a single figure preceded the pair-dancers on 28. Occasionally, a figure like 78 1 (and possibly the punter of 72 if the owner was on the adjacent wall or in a register above and not repeated here ?) is oriented toward the deceased but looks away, beginning the scene on a minor note. 20 is unusual in having a second focal point in the scene, with a second representation of the deceased in relation to whom figures are ordered. Sometimes a disconcerting end is provided, as with the incomplete papyrus stalks of 72 and perhaps 67, or ending 80 with

two men.

Women hardly ever directly confront the tomb owner. A male figure always begins an offering procession, while in scenes where women are the principal participants, a male figure can be interposed at the beginning (e.g. 33; 60; 74 A; 75; 76). Occasionally, however, a woman is placed directly before the owner (e.g. 32; perhaps 28).

Monotony is avoided by varying hairstyles, clothing, objects carried or actions.³⁵ The reversed leg posture (pp. 86-8) and occasional partial frontality (pp. 88-9) are probably part of this trend, as are the large floral bouquets which break up figured sequences (e.g. 74 A; 75; 76). Perhaps the most common variation is the use of confronting pairs of figures, virtual mirror-images of each other, who share some task (e.g. 13 3 and 4 lifting a garment; 28 and 36 dancers; sack-press operators on 32, 33, 35, 36 and 66; 53 1 and 2 supporting a table; 60 holding jewelry). Sometimes paired figures perform similar but not identical actions (e.g. 16 different actions in sealing chests; 51 game-players).

Within individual figures much overlapping occurs; arms drawn forward across the torso, overlapped shoulders³⁶ sometimes approaching a true "profile" (e.g. 37) and the reversed leg are common. Overlapping is common in items carried and with animals brought as offerings, which are often overlapped by their tenders' legs. However, the figures themselves are spaced out, even where there is crowding from a proliferation of objects, and there is almost no overlapping or layering of humans. 29 provides the only instance in this corpus where the legs of human figures in identical poses overlap in a harmonious pattern. 37 offers an unusual instance of relating figures by crossing limbs. Maspero³⁷ noted this spacing, which he contrasted with Theban arrangement,³⁸ and which he believed to be drawn from earlier Memphite models. This spacious arrangement does seem to be a Lower Egyptian feature, but could well be independent of earlier sources (see p. 120). A rare example of large-scale complete, patterned layering is on the cattle of 15, although this is more frequently found with plant offerings (e.g. 33; 59 2, 3, 11; 77 5; 79 4). 42 has partial layering on the fording cattle and 22 B of hunting dogs; in both these cases, the archaizing subjects and models may be responsible.

2. Representations of the tomb owner

A general absence of register composition in these tombs removes a traditional method of emphasizing the tomb owner, in large figures spanning several registers.³⁹ Single-line compositions, in registers or on lintels, give less scope for variations in scale; 39 provides an extreme instance where, were it not for the owner's attitude and the subordinate activities of the other figures, it would be difficult to distinguish a standing figure of the deceased from his servants. Representations of the owner much larger than his attendants do still occur, in archaizing wall scenes (e.g. 6 E, F; 27 A) or on subdivided lintels (e.g. 43; 51; perhaps 52) and related blocks (e.g. 1; perhaps 23), where a standing or seated depiction of the deceased can face two lines of figures.

None of the reliefs in the corpus appears to come from the tomb of a woman,⁴⁰ although a few such Late Period tombs are known,⁴¹ in which the woman takes the primary role. Here, while female relatives may have shared the sepulchre, they are depicted in supportive roles, not as the principal. The importance accorded the owner within the structure varies. In, for instance, 3 and 82, he is virtually the only human figure shown, and necessarily prominent. At the other extreme, he can be almost lost in a plethora of relatives (e.g. 6) or deities (e.g. 31), as later in the chapel of Petosiris. In 6 P, he is reduced to offering to his father (who enjoys the place usually accorded to the tomb owner), not as a man saluting his ancestors (e.g. 1; 21; 23), but as a dutiful son, almost exactly corresponding to the depiction of his own son on the opposite wall (R).

The tomb owner is the only one who makes offerings to or directly greets the gods, although he may be accompanied by a relative (e.g. exterior of 6). Such acts of piety now occur for the first time on outside walls and are their only known decoration (6; perhaps 63). They display a pious individual whose sphere of activity mingles with the divine, rather than a powerful man, as earlier. There are rare variations in scene types. 5 F seems to have the owner in a decorative kilt led by a male deity of the same size before a standing god, in a scene reminiscent of those on stelae and those of the king with the gods.⁴² On 64 [raised], *T3j-3st-n-jmw* usurps the royal and divine honour of being suckled by a goddess (see further p. 132).

The tomb owner is not necessarily the focal point of his own tomb

decoration. Sometimes, a scene with gods alone occupies the end wall on the central axis (4 [with a small kneeling figure of Hr-bs]; 5 G; 6 BB), although the owner can feature on adjacent walls (e.g. 5 F; 6 AA). It is possible, however, that the impression from the relief is misleading, as now-lost tomb statues of the deceased may once have stood before these divine scenes.⁴³

The only part of the tomb in which the owner is always preeminent and emphasized by composition is on door-jambs (see further p. 16; see 65 [sunk] Catalogue for a possible case of someone other than the owner being depicted). He is isolated in his own space below two or more columns of inscription; texts and figures never mingle here. Balancing figures of the deceased (cf. 63 [wall]) face inward toward the opening; exceptions are 64 [raised] and 65 [raised], where the goddesses take precedence and face the opening. Except on these two pieces, the owner is always alone, never accompanied by members of his family, as sometimes earlier. He stands stiffly and formally, and during Dynasty 26 usually holds a staff and *hrp*-baton (e.g. 19; 46) or linen strip (e.g. 6 G, I, K; 45). During Dynasty 30, he normally carries a staff and has the other hand clenched to display a signet ring, a new status indicator (pp. 250-1) or has both hands free (e.g. 63 [wall]). 62 shows one or both hands raised in prayer or adoration, an attitude common in the New Kingdom but not on these blocks, except before gods or ancestors.

During the first half of Dynasty 26, the owner is frequently shown as a family man in traditional groups with his wife or mother standing (e.g. 5 C, D; 6 C-F; 27 A) or sitting (2; 3 G; 24) behind him, or squatting at his feet (20). This is in keeping with contemporary Theban tomb decoration. In this respect, private relief contrasts with contemporary statuary, in which pair statues of husband and wife do not occur. Female relatives largely disappear later (see only 50; perhaps 82 C, D) but whether this was a deliberate choice in content or whether it was a consequence of the use of the decorated lintel and an exclusive view of the owner's space within it (see above) is unclear.

While children of subsidiary figures are common in offering bearer scenes (p. 120-1), offspring of the deceased are rarely shown. 5 C, D and 22 where copying from the Old Kingdom is likely,⁴⁴ seem to show the children in traditional attitudes, while the later sixth century examples

(50; 52 if the female is a child) show daughters in both traditional and new ("Persian gesture") poses. They sport contemporary short hairstyles (and 50 a mature body) and dress (on 52). On 51, one son offers a lotus to be sniffed in an archaizing gesture (p. 162), but a figure which is probably another son is partially and awkwardly integrated into the scene; apparently playing a game, he turns to grasp the owner's staff in a pose reminiscent of those of children. No Dynasty 30 representations of the owner's young children occur in this corpus.

The owner's pet is occasionally shown under his chair during Dynasty 26 (11; 18 A; 20; 55). It is always a monkey on these reliefs, although a wider variety of pets are known from the Theban tombs.⁴⁵ The cockerel standing before *Hp-jw* on 74 A is best explained as an unusual pet - perhaps a prized fighting-cock? - and gives a personal touch to the scene (see further p. 133). It is probably placed in front of the deceased because the construction of his stool leaves no room for an animal beneath it.

Much of the owner's paraphernalia is traditional. The mat below his chair appears regularly as a status indicator (cf. higher dais-like versions in 6 E, P).⁴⁶ On Dynasty 26 representations, he sometimes carries the *hrp*-baton (e.g. 19; 21; 46), but no examples are known from the post-Persian period; the folded linen strip may also have been largely abandoned at this time (cf. only 64 [raised]). The long staff remains common, sometimes thrust forward further than the norm (e.g. 45; 56).⁴⁷ Its importance is indicated by the fact that, when it cannot be held in the usual way, it may be leaned against a seated figure's shoulder (24; 33; 74 A [tucked under the arm]) rather than omitted. It is more frequently omitted in Dynasty 30 (e.g. 63; 75; 76; 78; 82 B).

A few of his attitudes are new, such as the "Persian gesture" (63; see pp. 102-6) or the divine suckling (64 [raised]). New sets of objects held are the bouquets and individual blossoms or leaves which the owner lifts towards his nose (24; 33; 74 A; 75; 76; 78) or holds on his lap in the manner of the linen strip (74 A; 76; 77; 78; perhaps 75 as part of Group B [pp. 73-4]). They are often found together but can also be used separately with the long staff (e.g. 33; 77; perhaps 24). There are antecedents in representations of the principal sniffing a lotus,⁴⁸ but here the bouquets have a "contemporary" composition, containing Madonna lilies (pp. 179-94), lotuses and their leaves, and buds. They appear in the first half of

Dynasty 26 (24; 33 is c. 595-65)⁴⁹ but are more frequent after the Persian hiatus, when they become integral to the contemporary image of the "fashionable" tomb owner (see below). It is not clear where the idea originated, but in Dynasty 30 these plants and bouquets in the owner's hands are closely bound up with Group B from Heliopolis (pp. 73-4); I know of no other contemporaneous representations of them from elsewhere.

The owner's clothes and wigs are discussed in ch. 8.II. Traditional depictions in knee-length kilts, and a variety of wig-types harking back to earlier periods appear throughout the period, and predominate in the pre-Persian period. They continue into Dynasty 30, but by then, close-cropped hair or skull-caps and contemporary garments, notably the male tripartite ensemble, had become frequent, if not preferred. Garments probably illustrating those actually worn appear during the sixth century, but are not common (e.g. the high wraparound skirt on 54; male tripartite outfit on 33) and none of the garments which tomb owners wear in the post-Persian period is new. Beside representations of the owner in a variety of traditional and contemporary fashions, one integrated and uniform new "type" stands out. This is the figure with close-cropped hair or skull-cap and the male tripartite outfit, sitting on a wicker stool (pp. 130-1) and usually holding or sniffing a flower or bouquet. It was probably devised to fill a need for a thoroughly contemporary way of showing the deceased.

The owner's dress tends to harmonize in a general way with those of the subsidiary figures. Scenes which are clear revivals are never combined with illustrations of the deceased in distinctively Late Period robes. However, a "classical" depiction of the owner bare-chested with a short, tight kilt and in a shoulder-length or valanced wig or a skull-cap or close-cropped hair could be combined with both archaizing and traditional motifs, and was also used with figures in fashionable Late Period garments (e.g. 59; 80). In the one instance where the owner is preserved in the new lily-processing scene, he is in contemporary robes (33).

3. Reversed leg posture

The reversed leg posture, in which the leg nearer the viewer is advanced and overlaps the distant one, appears on a number of these blocks.⁵⁰ It occurs rarely earlier, on single figures,⁵¹ although its novelty has been overestimated.⁵² In contrast, it is very frequent on these reliefs.

Isolated examples occur (e.g. 66 right press-operator; 73; 78 5), but more often entire groups of subsidiary figures, or most of them, are shown in this leg position (e.g. 17; 18 B; 33 [except first harvester; male figure unclear]; 37; 77 1-4, 7, 9-10 [5 and 8 probable; not 6]). It is a distinctive Late Period trait⁵³ and, despite earlier examples, an innovatory deviation from prototypes.

There are subtle variations. Instead of featuring the reversed leg by showing it bare or with suitable costume, as before, these depictions often hide it beneath a long dress (e.g. 17; 37) or knee-length kilt (e.g. 18 B; 77), where it would have been visible in the painted relief only in the full, rounded modelling of the legs beneath the garment. The process is carried a stage further on 66 and 73, where the body outlines are not indicated beneath the heavy garments, and the only indication of this posture is in the marking of the outer toes of the advanced foot. 73 shows that by the end of Dynasty 30 it had become so commonplace that it could be used with the tomb owner as well as minor figures.

Schäfer⁵⁴ postulated that the pose emphasized movement, largely on the basis of early depictions, but on these reliefs the activities which it accompanies are not particularly energetic, being primarily bringing offerings or picking crops. With the grape-treader of 37, where livelier movement might be expected, the planting of both feet on the baseline and the generally sedate attitude do not stress motion; with the grape pourer, it is the forward lunge, wide-spread legs, and raised rear heel which convey movement, to which the reversed leg posture is irrelevant. On other figures, such as the decanter of 33 and the sack-press operator of 66, leg movement is not required; on the latter, the pose could be simply a reversal of that of the right-facing partner. They reveal that the posture was now just an alternative to the traditional stance.

The reversed leg posture is characteristic of Late Period art generally. Examples occur in the Saite tombs at Thebes,⁵⁵ and on stelae.⁵⁶ The pose emerged at the end of Dynasty 25 or in early Dynasty 26,⁵⁷ and the abundant examples from the reign of Psammetichus I in the tomb of Ibi and on northern reliefs like 18 B show the speed with which the innovation was accepted. Its use on pieces from late Dynasty 30 or the early Ptolemaic period (e.g. 66; 73; 77) testifies to its continuing popularity, but it is absent from the tomb of Petosiris and does not appear to have found favour

in the Graeco-Roman period. Its appearance in the mid-seventh century shows that it cannot be due to Greek influence, as has been suggested.⁵⁸

4. Frontality

The reversed leg posture shows a loosening of traditional artistic conventions and this is found in other compositional features, such as frontality, where previously the profile view dominated. On 40, the combination of an entirely frontal body, including the area below the waist, with a profile head is very unusual.⁵⁹ A full rendering of the chest is sometimes seen, especially in the New Kingdom, when the turns of musicians (paralleled in the lute- and lyre- players' stances here - p. 173) are emphasized.⁶⁰ Frontal legs are less common,⁶¹ and renderings with only the head in profile, extremely rare.

Excluding the demon of 10 A, the only example of a fully frontal face in the corpus is the girl of 96, but this may be a "sculptor's model" rather than a tomb relief. The number of such representations in two dimensions increases slightly with the New Kingdom,⁶² and the pose may have continued into the Third Intermediate Period on plaques, furniture inlays and other small objects (see below). It is not found in any of the published Late Period Theban tombs, but occurs frequently in the tomb of Petosiris,⁶³ which is stylistically not far removed in date from 96. Bothmer⁶⁴ and Cooney⁶⁵ suggest that its occurrence/re occurrence in fourth century works is due to Greek influence; Bianchi⁶⁶ puts it (and the nudity) down to a general loosening of artistic convention without postulating a foreign impetus.

The frontal lower body of 40 (first half of the sixth century), shows that partial frontality did occur in these reliefs before the fourth century, but it must have been quite exceptional, and did not gain the same popularity as the "unconventional" reversed leg posture. There are some examples in first millennium bronze and ivory furniture inlay,⁶⁷ but it is not yet known whether frontality was in continuous use or had a fourth century revival.⁶⁸ Frontal faces need not be of Greek inspiration, as they are sometimes found on ninth-eighth century "Egyptianizing" Nimrud ivories.⁶⁹ If the source is not indigenous, it could come from the Near East, and at a date prior to Greek contacts with Egypt (p. 97). Frontal faces on 96, Brooklyn 51.222 (n. 64), in the tomb of Petosiris (n. 63) and

on any other fourth century pieces could be part of the late, short-lived creative spurt by Egyptian artists (pp. 132-4), perhaps innovative, perhaps inspired by other models, perhaps bringing a contemporary usage in other media into the more conservative tomb relief.

5. "Realism" and Portraiture

The issues of "realism" in the portrayal of ageing faces and of portraiture and its mechanisms have been studied in depth for statuary.⁷⁰ Bothmer suggests that attempts to give the face individuality occur in two phases, one at the end of Dynasty 25 and in the reign of Psammetichus I, when a "brutal realism" (*ESLP*, xxxviii) was used as a blanket mode for conveying maturity, the other beginning in the Persian period and continuing until the end of the Ptolemaic.⁷¹ He distinguishes between the earlier type, which he considers "variations on a formula of realism" and which pays scant heed to the features of a particular person, and the later variety, co-existing with this "schematic realism", which approaches the face individually, in what he considers to be the beginning of portraiture as we know it (*ESLP*, 78).

This corpus shows some variation from Bothmer's scheme. There is some realism on these reliefs during the reign of Psammetichus I, after which there is a break. Examples are found on 6 J, where the owner is reported to have a furrowed brow,⁷² and S, where the woman has a groove in the skin beside her mouth (perhaps also on 6 bis ?), and on 22 A (the only one of these I have examined), where a flesh groove running down beside the nose and mouth bears some resemblance to the Kushite "fold".⁷³ These relief representations do not show any change in profile; ageing is indicated exclusively by lines added within the ordinary relief contours, in a treatment concentrating on flesh rather than bone structure. The flattening of the top of the skull and pointed backs of the heads on the fishermen of 20 (also the later men on 78) possibly have archaizing origins (see further p.131-2), and do not seem to be strictly comparable with the occasional flattening of wigged heads found in statuary early in the reign of Psammetichus I.⁷⁴

Bothmer's second phase, after a gap of about 85 years when only idealizing representations were fashionable, begins with, and is presumably stimulated by, the Persian conquest, and runs uninterrupted through the

ptolemaic period. It provides one of the mainstays to his theory of continuity and innovation in the Persian period (pp. 51-2 here), although he dates few examples showing this tendency⁷⁵ between the end of Darius I and Dynasty 30. The opposing theory of an artistic gap from the death of Darius I through Dynasty 28, and probably Dynasty 29 (pp. 52-4) rejects Bothmer's continuous development, dividing it into two phases, and suits the evidence of these reliefs better.

50, 54 and 55 belong before the Persian hiatus. 50 was almost certainly made before 525 (pp. 40-1), while the others date to the end of Dynasty 26-very early Persian period.⁷⁶ Thus, Bothmer's claim that this verism does not begin before Dynasty 27 is assailable. Either statuary and relief work were not stylistically synchronized at this period, and the impetus toward portraiture in the later sixth century began slightly earlier in relief, or, more likely, the trend began earlier in statuary than Bothmer allows.⁷⁷

50 harper, 54 owner,^{and} 55 scribe show a different approach to indicating age from that in the seventh century. Now the profile and head shape are modified by indentation, bulging and flattening, which stress the bone structure, complementing the skin treatment in a more integrated portrayal of ageing. Furrowed brows, bulbous noses and sagging, fleshy jaws are characteristic. Realistic age portraits on post-Persian reliefs are similar in conception and execution to those found at the end of Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27, and must show a resumption of that trend. The elderly harper of the musical ensembles on 74 A, 75 and 76 is a stock character probably taken directly from the blind old harper of the New Kingdom, but the delineation of age in each case is individual. This is particularly skillful on 76, where the haggard expression of the harper has been attributed to Greek influence.⁷⁸ 73 shows that it can still extend to major figures. The groove along the inner cheek of 75 steward shows an attempt to indicate maturity by skin treatment only, comparable to that in the seventh century.

Thus, in all three periods - the seventh century and both sides of the Persian era - there are "realistic" depictions of the tomb owner and of minor figures. Whether they are true portraits of individuals or standardized likenesses indicating age is a moot point. Their use on minor figures, concentrating on the stock figure of the elderly harper, suggests

the latter. The head of the owner on 54 may show a genuine personal portrait, as it does not have the head shape, saggy jowls and related features found on other figures, but it may be a type of "resolute ageing owner" for which there happen to be no parallels.

As has been observed of 55 and 76, the realistic representations⁷⁹ follow a traditional pattern of individualizing one head in the midst of a series of ideal ones.⁸⁰ It is given either to figures isolated in their own space (6 J, S; 73) or to ones at the head of a group (e.g. 55; 74 A).

Paint

It can be assumed that these Late Period reliefs followed Egyptian tradition and were painted (or intended to be), although few now bear pigment. Considerable information can be gleaned from the scant traces. The uses of paint varied. On the half-finished 34 and presumably on its companion, 33, where only the eyes, hemlines, and a few details of costume remain uncarved, the final paintwork supplied what the sculptor omitted and gave a completed, if hasty, look. Sometimes a change in plan can be detected between the carving and painting, as in the painting out of the second dress strap on 17 A and probably 17 B, for consistency with the single-strapped 17 C-D. Elsewhere it is not always clear why there is modification. For instance, on 53 all the hairlines are incised, but covered over in red, giving the painted figures a bald appearance. A similar bald painting seems to occur on the harper on 50, whose hairline is only partly incised, but pigment remains are scant. Traces on 64 [sunk] and 65 [sunk] show the opposite treatment, with dark hair or skull-caps painted but not incised.

Rarely, whole new elements are added completely in paint, such as the canopic jars in wooden boxes, with their wood texturing added in paint, above the niches of 47, or the linen strip on 64 [raised]. It is impossible to know how often features were added exclusively in paint. Crowded compositions of the type common in Dynasty 30 leave little room for painted additions, although smaller details for which space had already been allowed, such as birds in cages on 59 4 and 9 or harp and lute strings on 76, could have been painted inside the incised outlines.

Garments seem to have been especially subject to alteration in paint, with hemlines often added (p. 209 for painted garments and nude women;

pp. 222-3 for collars). Tantalizing traces suggest that robes which now appear as plain masses of cloth may have been patterned with complicated folds (e.g. 64 [raised] [owner's belt and kilt]; 65 [raised] and [sunk]) or decorative stripes (e.g. 96). This treatment has a relief counterpart in shallow incised folds on undergarments (e.g. 74 A, 77 and 78 owners), outer robes (e.g. 57; 76 owner, harper and drummer), and kilts (e.g. 55; 56), but the painting is in too poor a state to know whether these merely provided a monotone effect beneath a layer of pigment, or whether they were emphasized by painted lines. 65 [raised] is an extreme instance where painting changes the relief garment considerably, most strikingly adding an outer wraparound garment (p. 232).

Such paintwork should probably not be seen as an attempt to disguise the relief,⁸¹ but, as ever, as a means of enhancing it. Sometimes there is a disparity between the skills or care of sculptor and painter - as in the sloppy painting over the carefully worked collar on 3 U or the dress stripe of 17 A running across the bird's legs and leash. In other cases, more pedestrian relief may have been improved by careful paintwork. Detail added in paint can be extremely fine, as shown by the feather outlines on the bird, and the tufts on the cattle and antelopes on 17, or the kilt pleats of the owner and the intricate collar and strap pattern on the goddesses of 64 [raised] and 65 [raised]. Very fine outlining around the exterior seems also to have featured (e.g. 17; 36 left-hand figure; 64 [raised]; 65 [raised]), but was not invariable (e.g. 3). The final, painted versions, with intricate details added to clothing, and whole features like hair added or eliminated, may frequently have produced a much more elaborate finish than survives. The traces reveal a generally high level of skill among the painters.⁸²

Although colour traces are sparse, they hint at several trends. Red is the pigment which most often remains, followed by black and blue or green (often difficult to distinguish - e.g. 3; 53), with yellow and white less frequent. White was the common background colour; the yellow ground of 3 G, (yellow traces on 1 and 53, and the grey-green on 60 are probably not original), the blue-grounded vault scene of 3 A, and the black texts with black dividing lines against a reddish ground in the West chamber of 6 are unusual. In some cases the background may have been unpainted (see further below). Torus mouldings have usually lost their pigment; 65 [sunk]

has a white roll with dark green ribbon edged in black. The cavetto cornice of 53 is the only example with paint remaining, in alternating green and black strips.

3 shows the extensive use of nearly monochrome blue sunk relief texts, which may have been common. Small bits of red, green and black paint occur sporadically, and appear on the block-border edging lines of text, but the sunken outlines are predominantly filled with blue pigment.⁸³ A similar blue hue is used on the hieroglyphs of 35, and possibly on 8 (but red column lines), while in 22 the sunk relief texts of the outer court were blue;⁸⁴ in the tomb of Montuemhat the sunk relief texts appear all to be blue, while raised signs are multicoloured.⁸⁵ This suggests a phase of popularity during Dynasty 26 for large areas of blue hieroglyphs against a white or plain limestone ground, reminiscent of the colouring of the Pyramid Texts in Old Kingdom royal tombs.⁸⁶ Traces of white and red on the text of 37, and multi-coloured inscriptions in 6 (South Room N wall; H; T; Z; AA) show that the style was not universal even in sunk relief.

A second type of painting, found in the tomb of Montuemhat⁸⁷ and in portions of 6 (G; H; J; R) uses a restricted range of colours sparingly on figured scenes.⁸⁸ Male flesh is painted red, wigs are black, and kilts are white (in Montuemhat) or left plain (in 6), but the scenes are otherwise without paint; in 6, collars, kilts, belts, toenails and a tray of offerings are specified as having been unpainted. More extensive use of pigment, in a wider range of colours, elsewhere in both tombs suggests that this is a deliberate technique, not simply unfinished.

The range of colour on 64 and 65, the only post-Persian pieces with paint traces, is different from that found in earlier times; in particular, the blues and greens are darker. The colouration is similar to that found in the inner chamber of Petosiris and together they may mark a shift in colour preference.

It is unclear whether women's skin was painted yellow or red during this period, or whether it varied. There are no remains of women with yellow skin, except for the goddess on 64 [raised]. As a divinity, her colouration may be traditional; her counterpart on 65 [raised] has unusual white skin. The absence of yellow pigment on women is not surprising as yellow is one of the more fugitive colours and the fact that few women show any skin colour may support the assumption that they were painted yellow.

However, on 17, their flesh is a pale red, contrasting with the deeper hue of male skin; fading on 5 C makes it impossible to tell whether the woman was a paler red or the same as the man. On 3 G the woman's flesh seems more likely to be red than yellow. 42 has the same red on the ankles of both sexes. 37 is more uncertain as the red fingertips on the right could conceivably belong to a man, while the red specks on the ankle and chest of 60 6 and near the first figure of 36 may not be original. 42 is an extreme instance where men and women are not differentiated. Thus, women were sometimes painted red instead of yellow, reflecting the colour usage of the New Kingdom rather than the Old-Middle Kingdoms.⁸⁹

CHAPTER 5 THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE

One of the commonest ways of explaining change in Late Period art has been to attribute it to foreign influence. There has been a tendency to underestimate the range of iconographic and representational types in earlier Egyptian art, especially in the minor arts, and this has led to a tendency to assume that new features were inspired by contacts with the first millennium Mediterranean world, without sufficient consideration of possible indigenous sources. Once foreign elements are sought, examples appear in abundance,¹ and the resulting impression is of a highly eclectic phase of Egyptian art, containing elements drawn almost at random from various regions and cultures that had contact with Late Period Egypt. Here I exclude such features as musical instrument types, which originated abroad in the distant past and entered Egypt in the New Kingdom or earlier (see Ch. 7.II), as their presence on these Late Period pieces shows reference to established Egyptian tradition, rather than the introduction of "foreign" elements. Only putative influences from c. 700-330 are relevant, as showing a current awareness of, and desire to incorporate, features from alien cultures.²

Late Period contacts with foreigners took place both inside Egypt and abroad, and, during times of foreign subjugation, were not entirely voluntary. Egyptian artists and patrons, however, were always free to decide what foreign elements, if any, to adopt or adapt. Foreign contacts were not of uniform intensity. Associations with the Assyrians and the Kushites during the century before Dynasty 26 were relatively brief and in parts of the country ephemeral; those with the Greeks, Persians, and other eastern Mediterranean - Levantine cultures were longer lasting and more enduring.

Kushite

Kushite influence on these pieces is difficult to assess because the Kushites were working in the Egyptian artistic tradition, rather than an alien one, and changes during Dynasty 25 can be viewed to some extent as natural developments in Egyptian art, often based on older models and not incorporating any particular "Sudanese" input. Only Dynasty 25, as the immediate forerunner to the period covered here, is relevant, as their

successors made no artistic contribution to Egyptian culture. Items such as the barrel-drum (pp. 156-7) had been in Egypt for so long, they formed part of the local tradition.³ Garment types such as voluminous robes (pp. 203-8) and the shawl (pp. 208-12) have such an uncertain genesis, that claims to a southern origin can only be regarded with scepticism. The *swrt*-bead necklace (p. 139) and dangling pendant earring (p. 222) of the drummer on 74 B have also been assigned a southern derivation, but in both cases it is doubtful. The main features of dress which appear to have some foundation in Kushite period art are the use of the strap-knot (p. 196), possibly hair "loops" (pp. 220-1) and the increasing use of short hairstyles (pp. 214-17) on female figures where tradition did not demand a tripartite wig, although this trend began in the New Kingdom. They are not, however, manifestations of a specifically Kushite culture, with the possible exception of the hair "loops", ^{but} have a basis in Egyptian art.

As Delta monuments datable to Dynasty 25 are scarce, the extent to which Kushite modifications to body forms and modelling might be reflected on these Lower Egyptian reliefs is uncertain.⁴ On a few of the earliest pieces (e.g. 1; 2) the sturdier Kushite proportions are apparent (pp. 55-6), and the "Kushite fold" (p. 89) occurs several times before c. 600 (e.g. 6 S; 22 A), but these were abandoned early in Dynasty 26 in favour of a new body type (pp. 52-9). Similarly, the "realism" of some Dynasty 25 heads, which continues in statuary into the reign of Psammetichus I, is occasionally found on these reliefs (e.g. 6 J; 22 A; see further pp. 89-91). None of these features is prevalent and all were of short duration, disappearing as the more mature artistic style of Dynasty 26 emerges.

Kushite art did not add much new to Egyptian art. Innovations in royal iconography, such as the use of the double uraeus, the ram's head amulet, abundance of bracelets and armlets, and the four-plumed crown, were abandoned with the expulsion of the Kushite pharaohs from Egypt.⁵ It is possible that the beginnings of the tendency to introduce contemporary features (see ch. 6) are to be found in Dynasty 25 (for instance, showing hair "loops" and the wicker stool [pp. 130-1]). However, its main, less tangible but more lasting contribution to later art, especially that of Dynasty 26, was its interest in models and features from the past and the accentuation of the trend toward archaism which found its most coherent expression in relief, particularly in the sixth century (see further

pp. 120-32). In this respect, Kushite art was fundamental in shaping that of the later dynastic period.

Greek

It used to be thought, especially when a general fourth century date was assigned the "Neo-Memphite" blocks, that Greek influence was clear, but the recognition that the "Greek/Macedonian *himation*" - the male tripartite ensemble - is of Egyptian origin (p. 236) has undermined one of the mainstays of that argument. Kuentz's suggestion of a new tomb type based on Greek friezed structures has also been discounted (pp. 11-12). The dating presented here, by pinpointing the appearance of different features and allowing individual pieces to be related more closely to the well-dated phases of Greek art, makes it possible to establish whether or not Greek prototypes existed at the time of the alleged influence. Anthes' general division of Egyptian-Greek contact into two phases, one c. 700-300, in which the impact was of Egypt upon Greece, and a second, c. 300 BC-AD 300, in which the influence was of the Greek world on Egypt⁶ is relevant here. Within the first phase, a distinction may be made between the reliefs made before the Persian hiatus, most of which are contemporary with the Archaic style in Greek art, and the post-Persian productions, contemporary with the late Classical period. In the former, Greek influence can be discounted altogether; in the latter, it is not a significant factor.

This can best be demonstrated with reference to the representation of human figures, features of which are sometimes attributed to Greek influence. Von Bissing's idea⁷ that curly hair was Greek inspired has not received support. Although Bothmer⁸ states that short curly hair is part of the Egyptian tradition, he does not discuss the tight spiral curls which occur on a number of the later examples in the corpus (68; 70; 74 B; 75 drummer, lute(?) - player; 76 lyre player (?); perhaps 79 4 and 94 baby).⁹ There are strong arguments against Greek influence on this. In Greek statuary tight, regular, rounded curls are primarily a feature of the highly-stylized Archaic phase, and went out of fashion c. 480, with the advent of the Severe style. They usually frame the face, taking a variety of decorative configurations, while the rest of the hair follows a different pattern. In Attic black- and early red-figure vase-painting tight, formal spirals with this form occasionally frame the face,¹⁰ but

all-over patterning with them is rare.¹¹ As spirals do not seem to appear before c. 360 in Egyptian art, Greek influence on them would have to have been archaizing to its own tradition, to features no longer current. Furthermore, while in Greek statuary and relief short waves and curls were features of male hairstyles, tight curls were not used much with women except occasionally on the Archaic fringe,¹² although other styles of loose ringlets feature in vase-painting to c. 460. The Egyptian examples are on both women and men, with the women's hairstyles being the shorter, fashionable ones (pp. 214-17) and bearing no relation to mainstream Greek forms. If the feature were of Greek origin it would have to have been completely isolated from its Greek context, and used creatively within an Egyptian one.

These stylized spiral curls could equally have been an indigenous Egyptian innovation, serving simply as an alternative to the customary rectangular curls. Connected as they are with short hairstyles, they may have drawn their inspiration from, for instance, the circular disc pattern covering royal headgear,¹³ or from Old Kingdom and earlier models with short, curly hair indicated by small circles.¹⁴ Alternatively, Late Period spirals may be an innovation, perhaps part of the trend to softer, rounder body forms (pp. 64-6). There is no strong reason to consider them to be Nubian or connected with southern ethnic stereotypes on these reliefs,¹⁵ whatever its original connotations, and in the tomb of Petosiris it is used indiscriminately on people who have no obvious Nubian connection or have beards, which suggest an Asiatic or Greek link.¹⁶ It is impossible to determine fully what origins and associations spiral-shaped curly hair may have had, but there are possible parallels in the earlier Egyptian repertory, and its source need not be sought abroad.

It used to be thought that the upturned lips and sunken corners of the mouth, present but less obvious on these reliefs than on contemporary statuary, was based on the Greek "Archaic smile",¹⁷ but it is now generally believed that the influence went the other way, and the "smile" was one of the conventions which the Greeks took when they derived the art of monumental sculpture from Egypt.¹⁸ The "realism" seen in some Late Period heads is also unconnected with Greece (pp. 89-91), as is the trend toward deviating from traditional poses and attitudes.¹⁹ The limited use of perspective foreshortening for minor details (p. 67) cannot be directly

traced to Greek influence, although this is conceivable because examples on these reliefs occur relatively late in the sequence.

Less easy to assess is the theory that the Egyptians drew their interest in nudity and in modelling the body from a familiarity with body forms in Greek art;²⁰ an "awareness" of Greek drapery rendering is occasionally also claimed.²¹ The fact that nude or fully-modelled figures of women occur on these Lower Egyptian reliefs in the mid-sixth century (pp. 209-11) makes a Greek source very unlikely, as the contemporaneous Greek Archaic sculpture almost always showed women fully clothed in the *peplos* or *chiton* and *himation*, with only minimal indication of jutting breasts and swelling legs beneath the robes, not showing the interest in body forms seen on some of the Egyptian reliefs (e.g. 60).²² The patterned folding or texture of the garments predominate, and there is no exposure of, or preoccupation with, the female body.²³

This is paralleled by the stiff, stylized treatment of the male body in Greek art, which, although often nude, reduced musculature on the chest, abdomen, and legs to harmonious surface patterns, with no real effort to indicate the coherent musculature of the body as a whole or to relate it to the underlying bone structure.²⁴ Two-dimensional representations, particularly in the sixth century, have a slightly more "advanced" tendency than some of the contemporary statuary, but here, too, parallels to the Egyptian are generally lacking. Black-figure vase-painting relies on simple masses of colour, with etched lines indicating body features and muscles reduced to highly-stylized patterns, with no sense of depth, rounding of forms, or integration of body structure and musculature. Not until the appearance of Attic red-figure vase-painting c. 530 are a sense of life and movement and an interest in portraying the reality of the human body conveyed; even here, division and contouring of the male abdomen by linear patterning is still prevalent.²⁵ Nudity among women becomes frequent later still in vase-painting development. Thus, Greek art of the sixth century supplies no fount of inspiration for Egyptian interest in the nude figure, particularly the female.

Bothmer²⁶ has shown that Late Period Egyptian statuary followed its own line of body development, independent of Greek sculpture, with detailed anatomical modelling and "realism", focussing on the head. Contemporary Egyptian relief probably took a similar course, to some extent

parallel to statuary in figure development, rather than pursuing a separate path and seeking foreign models. While nudity had always occurred in Egyptian art among children and sporadically with minor figures and a few others, an increased interest particularly in the female body appears from the New Kingdom. Widespread depiction of garments as diaphanous from mid dynasty 18 allowed the artist to model the body completely while keeping it clothed, as occurs often on tomb reliefs, stelae, and other objects with ritual purpose and destination. Scenes with musicians and dancers in particular often portray the body with noticeable freedom,²⁷ while on minor arts items, the figure of a naked young woman, often playing a musical instrument and placed in a marshy setting or in a boat, become very popular;²⁸ sometimes making the figure a swimmer provided a pretext for nudity (as on 39).²⁹

The presence of nude women on metal and faience vessels of the Third Intermediate Period, ³⁰ frequently in boating/marshland/watery contexts, shows that the tradition remained alive, and provide a potential vehicle of transmission for the (semi-)nude female figure (see further p. 128). Parallel to this strain is that seen in bronze statuettes, a form which apparently received new impetus in the Third Intermediate Period and which serves as the chief source of information for the representation of female figures in three dimensions during the Late Period. Bronzes of nude women with short wigs occur throughout the Libyan and Kushite periods,³¹ carrying on at least an element of the type of representation seen in "fertility" figurines of the New Kingdom;³² bodies are often well-developed, with heavy hips and thighs and well-rounded abdomens. A growing interest in body modelling can be seen on such figures and on the increasing number who are depicted almost as though naked, with breasts and jutting nipples, swelling abdomens with deep navel, the setting-off of the abdomen from the flatter pubic bone by gentle angling, rounded thighs and knee bones carefully articulated; garments are treated as though invisible, the only concession to them being the hemline and the softening of the division between the lower legs (see further pp. 209-10).³³ Such interest in body modelling (for changes over time, see pp. 56-68) was not confined to nameless women as symbols of fertility or eroticism. It is also found with royal ladies and goddesses, and stands in sharp contrast to the simple body renderings, particularly of the torso, seen on male figures in statuary and bronzes.

There was thus a growing interest in modelling the female body before Dynasty 26, and this probably continued directly into the Saite-Ptolemaic periods without outside stimulus. Contemporary Greek art was in no position to influence Third Intermediate Period Egyptian art,³⁴ and was at that time devoid of interest in intimate delineation of the human nude.

Thus, Greek art offers almost no suitable prototypes for the sixth century, when these features first appear on Lower Egyptian reliefs, while there were Egyptian roots and models for almost every feature suggested as being due to Greek influence.³⁵ Only a few elements, such as the problematic frontal face (pp. 88-9), which appear at the end of Dynasty 30 or early in the Ptolemaic period, could show a late Hellenic contribution.

The only object I can identify as possibly of Greek origin is the wine-ladle held by the steward on 76, which comes late in the sequence of relief. The commonest type of ladle (*kyathos*) had a small bowl at right angles to a long handle, which often had a hooked end decorated with a duck's head.³⁶ When these ladles appeared in the late sixth century, the Greek (small, deep, ovoid bowl) and Etruscan (very shallow, broad bowl) versions had different shapes; they converged to a uniform shape with a fairly shallow bowl, almost all with a duck-head handle terminal, by the fourth century.³⁷ The ladle on 76 takes this form, although the handle seems to end in a simple hook. A pair of similar ladles with a wide-mouthed mixing bowl (presumably for wine), is shown in the weighing section of the metal-working sequence in the chapel of Petosiris, and again in the top register being packed with other items which include Greek- or Persian-style horse-head rhyta.³⁸ As 76 dates c. 360-340, about the time when Hellenic arts flourished throughout the Mediterranean world, it would not be surprising to find a manifestation here. Its importance should not be overemphasized, as the history of such implements in Egypt is still unknown, and a longer earlier history there is possible.³⁹ If it is a foreign type recently introduced, it could stand as, for instance, the Cypriote earrings of 60 do (pp. 42-3) or the rectangular lyre (pp. 150-53) - as an isolated element. Iconographic reflections of borrowing in clothing, hairstyle, beards, poses, etc., such as are found in the tomb of

Petosiris⁴⁰ or that of Siamun in the Siwa Oasis,⁴¹ are not attested on these reliefs. The former is certainly later, the latter may be.

Persian

The Persian is the only Near Eastern empire for which influence on Egypt has been suggested.⁴² The extent of Persian influence on these reliefs is difficult to assess. There is a tendency, growing from the dating and style study of *ESLP*,⁴³ to attribute features of costume in particular to Dynasty 27, together with the pieces which have been assigned to it, in order to fill the gap in the sequence of monuments (see p. 52). The hiatus in relief production and other monumental arts which I believe existed after c. 486, if not earlier (pp. 51-4), shows that any borrowing must have occurred at the outset of the Persian domination, before the death of Darius I. It does not seem likely that, for no apparent reason, Persian elements would have been adopted before 525, when Egypt was not otherwise looking abroad for models.⁴⁴ Recently, doubt has been cast on this approach by the recognition that the "Persian" wraparound skirt originated in Dynasty 26 and probably had Egyptian origins (pp. 231-2). The appearance of the "Persian jacket" at the start of the Persian period is also open to question, and its connection with the supposed Persian prototypes is tenuous (pp. 233-5). The assumption that new garment types such as the jacket/sleeves and wraparound and other features are "Persian" has implications for more aspects than dating, since it also suggests that Egypt was willing to adopt styles from its conquerors.⁴⁵

The "Persian gesture", in which the left hand, usually clenched, is held at about groin level and the right hand holds the wrist,⁴⁶ typifies the confusion which can result from assigning a foreign origin to a motif. Although this distinctive attitude was long recognized as occurring in Dynasty 27,⁴⁷ it was Bothmer who pressed the case for its being of Persian derivation,⁴⁸ and it has since been accepted as a Persian gesture, with the attendant dating and cultural implications.⁴⁹ While never common,⁵⁰ it appears in a wide variety of contexts, including tomb reliefs, statues, stelae,^{and} coffin lids, on both male and female and major and minor figures, from about the beginning of Dynasty 27 into the Roman period.

Examples of what has been identified as the Persian version of this gesture are abundant in the palace of Darius I at Persepolis,⁵¹ employed by

Mede and Persian dignitaries in procession; the distant hand crosses onto the nearer wrist, left and right varying with the orientation of the figure. Laurent notes significantly⁵² that at Persepolis one hand always holds something, or rests on an item of equipment, and that no figure has the other hand encircling the wrist; it merely rests loosely on it. She rightly concludes "le geste représenté à Persépolis n'a pas son équivalent exact dans la statuaire égyptienne connue", in which either nothing or a short roll is held and the hand grasps the wrist.⁵³ A more fundamental difference, however, seems to lie behind the gestures. Barnett, who regarded the pose at Persepolis as "highly unusual", asked whether it was reserved for important officials or was simply a convention for representing hands,⁵⁴ without offering an opinion. At Persepolis, it occurs in groups of noblemen whose arm positions and items held are carefully varied from figure to figure. The impression is of an attempt to indicate restrained informality, becoming almost a study in idle gesture, and the hand draped casually across the opposite wrist is one variant among many, not differing in substance from the hand holding a flower, a perfume flask or some other small object; the attitude is casual, a conventional way of depicting hands, and nothing more.

The Egyptian gesture seems to have a deeper meaning. Egyptian statuary, particularly that destined for temples, prefers timeless, traditional attitudes; where new variants or poses such as "apotheosis"⁵⁵ or naophorous figures are created, they tend to display a religious action. On tomb reliefs, funerary equipment, and other "serious" objects, the owner's attitudes are always circumspect and meaningful, with trivial, relaxed gestures largely eschewed. The "Persian gesture" must therefore have had some specific meaning for it to be used in these contexts; its presence in a line of identical subsidiary figures very probably ranged before the deceased on 57, perhaps one of the few stone elements in the tomb (p. 20-1), certainly argues against an inconsequential treatment. Earlier material suggests that it is an attitude of respect (see below). Its employment by women (e.g. Louvre E.27159 [n. 50]; 52 [girl]) shows that it was not "official" and reserved for high dignitaries,⁵⁶ but was appropriate to a wider range of people. It would be odd if a gesture without specific meaning in its homeland should suddenly acquire one in a land adopting it, when there was no gap in the repertory which required

filling, yet this is a corollary of assuming a Persian origin.

The possibility of a foreign origin for the "Persian gesture" raises a basic question which has not been addressed by proponents of the idea. Is it likely that the Egyptians would wish to emulate their Persian conquerors? With the exception of a few collaborators, they were opposed to Persian rule, as the history of the period shows.⁵⁷ Although not averse to integrating artistic themes from abroad when it suited them,⁵⁸ the Egyptians were generally loath to accept iconographic features and motifs from unpopular foreign conquerors, as is seen from the Hyksos and, to a lesser extent, the Kushite periods, and do not seem to have borrowed much, if anything, lasting from Persia. In Cooney's words,⁵⁹ "As there were two periods of Persian domination of Egypt and, presumably, some trade between the two countries, it is surprising that the extent of Persian influence is so slight. The explanation is probably that because of its essentially decorative character Persian art had little to contribute to the far more extensive art of Egypt". He rightly recognized that Achaemenid influence is seen mainly in the minor arts and that objects showing even a slight amount are not numerous. Even as late as the start of the Ptolemaic period, Persian elements remain isolated and largely confined to small craft objects.⁶⁰ It is thus unlikely that the Egyptians would seek out a Persian pose, impregnate it with new meaning, and use it extensively.

There is a potential Egyptian source for the "Persian gesture" which, as Cooney noted,⁶¹ had its foundations in archaism, although probably not in the direct manner that he conceived. Bothmer⁶² acknowledges earlier "isolated cases due to the inventiveness of the artist and not based on a well-established Egyptian custom", but, probably correctly, does not view them as the actual models for the "Persian gesture". During the Old Kingdom gestures of respect, many involving a hand clutching some part of the upper body or other arm, were popular,⁶³ and similar attitudes occur sporadically thereafter.⁶⁴ The "Persian gesture" does not appear to be a direct copy of one of these, but such Old Kingdom representations could have provided accessible material with a clear meaning as a source of inspiration for the invention of a new gesture, archaizing in spirit, while not exactly reproducing an earlier prototype.⁶⁵ It would thus be a Late Period innovation whose basis lies in a creative use of earlier models. This interpretation is a viable alternative to the unsatisfactory

suggestion of a Persian origin. Behind the innovation may have been a desire to devise a new pose to go with new garments.⁶⁶ None of the garments worn by figures employing this gesture is from the traditional range, but they are not as unusual as Laurent believes.⁶⁷ They are the male tripartite ensemble (pp. 236-43), the long, sleeved tunic (pp. 232-5), the feminine voluminous robes (pp. 203-8), and other "fashionable" items from the contemporary artistic repertory. Instead of emphasizing the foreign nature of the accompanying gesture or clothing,⁶⁸ both may have been chosen as "new" and complementary, the compatibility of elements being based on internal Egyptian, rather than foreign, criteria.

Because of the gesture's supposed connection with the Persians, the date when it appears in Egyptian art has not been seriously examined, and it has instead become a marker for ascribing to Dynasty 27 pieces of questionable date.⁶⁹ Some can confidently be assigned on grounds of style to Dynasty 30-early Ptolemaic period (e.g. 63; Cairo CG 140 [n. 50]) or Graeco-Roman (e.g. Antwerp A.1; Cairo CG 687, 691, 1189; Louvre E.11127; London BM 90 [all in n. 50]), but no precise distinction between late Dynasty 26 and early Dynasty 27 (see pp. 53) is possible for the statues and reliefs which might be earlier (e.g. 52; 57; Louvre E.27159; Cairo JE 45534; Cairo CG 1282; Berlin 7737; Baltimore WAG 22.208; private collection [all in n. 49]). It would be rash to assume that none of these pieces can antedate 525. On 57, the head shape, the skull-cap or hair curving from high behind the ear onto the neck, the firm jawline with only a slight sag, and the shallow, widely-spaced, curving grooves indicating cloth folds, are similar to features on 55 (folds also on 56), which is securely dated to c. 540-520. Thus the motif could have been devised toward the end of Dynasty 26, when new hairstyles, garments, etc. appear with greater frequency (Ch. 8), as part of the innovative, contemporary trend in Egyptian art. The first few decades of the Persian occupation are less likely to have produced such a novelty.

If the "Persian gesture" in Egypt is Egyptian in origin, the question arises of whether the Persians might have borrowed it from there, stripping it of its Egyptian meaning and using it as merely one of a number of gestures. The absence of a long tradition behind Persian art and its bursting full-blown onto the international scene with the creation of the Achaemenid empire are well-known,⁷⁰ as is the use of craftsmen from

different parts of the realm to build and furnish Pasargadae, Persepolis, Susa, and Babylon,⁷¹ to create an eclectic, catholic type of art.⁷² Egyptian craftsmen are known to have participated widely in this, often as wood- and metal-workers, and there is textual evidence that they were partly responsible for the wall decoration in the palace of Darius I at Susa⁷³ and served as stone-carvers at Persepolis in the reign of Darius I.⁷⁴ The apparent absence of detailed records of the nationality of sculptors elsewhere leaves many questions unanswered about the derivation of the Achaemenid style,⁷⁵ but architectural elements like the cavetto cornice,⁷⁶ the lotus and palm-frond capital on the corolla of columns and a similar use of columns as an architectural element,⁷⁷ influence on metalwork,⁷⁸ and the unparalleled statue of Darius I from Susa⁷⁹ show the pervasive influence of Egyptian art and architecture⁸⁰ on Persia. Egyptian postures, as well as motifs, could have found their way into this mixed art, and slight modification of form or loss of meaning would not be surprising.

A plausible alternative source for the Persian version of the gesture lies in Assyrian art, where exact prototypes, sometimes with the same idle connotations, are found sporadically.⁸¹ A version closer to the Egyptian, with one hand gripping the wrist of an arm ending in an empty fist, is also found.⁸² This should be distinguished from the traditional Near Eastern attitude of reverence with both hands clasped before the abdomen.⁸³ The occurrence of versions of the gesture in Persian and Egyptian art might then be coincidental and derive from separate sources.

Eastern Mediterranean

Some minor decorative motifs, such as the rosette and the stylized, curving "lily" motif, belong by this time to the "*koine*"-culture of the eastern Mediterranean, reflecting Egypt's connections with a wider artistic sphere, but having no specific national or cultural connotations. The rosette occurs in a variety of contexts - as flowers/decorative elements in ornamental bouquets (39; 49), in wide borders (42; 48), as inlaid (?) decoration on a lyre (75) and as an alternative to the more usual bud or lotus on the brow (74 B lyre-player). It had been very popular in the New Kingdom,⁸⁴ and continued into the Third Intermediate Period on, for instance, faience vessels,⁸⁵ so that its appearance on Late Period reliefs

is part of an ongoing tradition. Continuous friezes of rosettes are consistent with earlier usage⁸⁶ and were widespread throughout the Near East during the first millennium.⁸⁷ The stylized floral motif perhaps based on a "lily" design which hangs around the ibex's neck on 17 D and forms part of an ornamental strip on 49, with outward-curving petals, often with a drop shape (spathes ?) below them, and a central hemispherical element, sometimes shaped like a palmette,⁸⁸ was also popular in the New Kingdom,⁸⁹ and continues into the minor arts of the Third Intermediate Period.⁹⁰ "Tree of life" type composites, made up of a number of these patterns placed one on top of another,⁹¹ are not found on these reliefs, although they occur in the contemporary minor arts.⁹² Both rosettes and this floral shape are frequent in the tomb of Petosiris.⁹³ The position of the bull's front legs on 17 C may also come into this category of "*koine*" motifs; it, too, has good Egyptian prototypes.

Von Bissing raised the possibility⁹⁴ that the amphora with the wide shoulder, narrow low mouth, small high lug handles, and pointed base on 76 is not native to Egypt but belongs to the Greek-Syrian cultural sphere. His list of actual pots and representations⁹⁵ contains examples (some datable by Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions) running from about the Persian period into Graeco-Roman times. He suggested that some might pre-date Dynasty 27, linking them with similar, earlier amphora forms which he dated from the New Kingdom and thought came from Syria; he also cited examples found in "Jewish period" Palestine. Examples of the type from seventh - fourth century Cyprus have also been identified.⁹⁶ The amphora on 76, then, is of a type abundantly attested in Egypt during the Late Period, but it is still impossible to be precise about the dating of the vessels or their place of origin and pattern of diffusion.⁹⁷

Unspecified western Asiatic or Syrian influence is sometimes suggested to explain the male and female tripartite ensembles and voluminous robes,⁹⁸ but this seems unwarranted (see individual garment types in ch. 8). The only items in the corpus to which an unquestionable eastern Mediterranean origin can be assigned are the sixth century Cypriote earrings on 60. The lack of popularity of such decoration outside Cyprus shows some direct contact between the designer of 60 and Cypriotes. This could either have been in Cyprus, when Egypt held the island under Amasis, or in the Delta, where Cypriote material has been found at Naukratis.⁹⁹ It is not clear

whether these earrings are intended to mark the women as foreigners; their sheath dresses, hairstyles (pp. 216-18) and the archaizing character of the scene (Ch. 7.1) argue against it.

Some of the elements which were originally imported from the Near East had been in Egypt so long, they were fully naturalized and cannot be regarded as foreign by the first millennium - for musical instruments, see Ch. 7.11; for the chicken as a Syrian import, see p. 133. Of the former, only the rectangular lyre seems new, although its date of arrival in Egypt is uncertain, and may constitute a "foreign" element on these reliefs.

It seems, then, that to attempt to explain changes on these blocks in terms of foreign influence is misleading; such an approach cannot be justified and the influences have been wildly exaggerated. Except for a few minor details of dress and equipment, foreign influence is not a major factor on Lower Egyptian tomb reliefs, or Late Period art in general. Native sources, either used in a continuing tradition or as models from which to (re-)create features, provide better alternatives to most postulated instances of foreign influence. Many of the alleged foreign elements are those which belong to the innovative phase of sixth-fourth century work (pp. 126-34) and which reflect contemporary Egyptian features. The art of these reliefs is still very "Egyptian".

CHAPTER 6 ARCHAISM, TRADITION AND INNOVATION

General discussion

Egyptian art at all periods after the formative stages of the Old Kingdom is a mixture of the three strands of archaism, tradition and innovation. Archaism - the revival of defunct elements - can be blatant, reintroducing features long since passed from the regular repertory, or more subtle, reviving others only recently discarded, or less easily definable "styles" of earlier periods. At this distance in time, with gaps in the material, the latter may be difficult to recognize, and some of what is now regarded as late phases of a tradition might to the Egyptians have been conscious archaism. Tradition represents the continuation of an ongoing trend, either unchanged except by the dictates of overall style of the period, or with the slight modifications which show natural growth and development from within. Innovation, the introduction of new motifs or manners of representation, can encompass deliberate and radical alterations of earlier or current elements. The divisions among the three are not always clear and may be open to interpretation. The balance between them varies at different periods in Egyptian art, and largely accounts for their differing "characters". During the Late Period, the emphasis on the polarized trends of archaism and innovation is perhaps stronger than at other times, and explains the extremes of style on these reliefs.

Archaism has long been recognized as a pervasive feature of Late Period culture. The major phase had its beginnings in the eighth century, was reinforced by the Kushite dynasty, and reached its zenith in the Saite Period.¹ Studies of archaism in relief have focussed on the Theban tombs, as more completely preserved, better known and published.² The identification of a number of models for these in the nearby Theban tombs of the New Kingdom,³ suggests that the most conveniently accessible sources were usually drawn on, while the derivation of the well-known craftsman scene in the tomb of Ibi, from that in the Old Kingdom tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi,⁴ shows that prototypes from different periods and distant locations might be employed.

Archaism has also been recognized on these Lower Egyptian reliefs. It, and foreign influence, are often cited as the chief explanations for oddities and changes from New Kingdom norms. Maspero recognized archaism

as a factor (p. 29) but saw local schools and foreign influence as more important. Von Bissing, however, regarded archaism as the principal force, with changes over time being due to the use of models from different periods (p. 30). The unfortunate term "Neo-Memphite", which has emerged since, besides having dating connotations (pp. 31-2), implies both a revival and Memphite sources (i.e. Old Kingdom cemeteries) as the essence of the style. Even where care is taken to spell out New Kingdom links and models, or to stress that the reliefs are not copies of Old Kingdom prototypes,⁵ the very use of the term suggests that revival of Old Kingdom fashions from the Memphis necropolis and vicinity was the chief characteristic of these pieces. Munro's "neo-unterägyptisch"⁶ is equally unsatisfactory in implying a deliberate attempt to resurrect a regional style of an unspecified period which may never have existed as an identifiable or unified entity. Until the relationship of this corpus to reliefs of earlier periods is more fully traced, it is best to avoid such terms, even as a convenient short-hand.⁷ Indeed, my survey suggests that if there is scope for these terms, it is in such a confined sphere as to make them superfluous.

The sources and processes by which older material was transmitted, and the question of pattern books against actual monuments as the basis for models have been much discussed recently.⁸ This is mainly with reference to material other than these reliefs, and the assumption that they are fundamentally archaizing and based on Old Kingdom models from the Memphite area remains unchallenged.

The evaluation of "tradition" depends on being able to trace continuity from earlier material. In this it differs from archaism, where ancient models were eclectically sought as an alternative to those currently in vogue (i.e. "tradition"), and any strong, traceable link should not be expected. Because of the absence of tomb decoration in the Third Intermediate Period, continuity of tradition in scenes must depend on the minor arts, descended from those of the New Kingdom. These links are difficult or impossible to trace, owing to the transient nature of some of the evidence and to the poor conditions of preservation in the Delta. If parallels with minor arts objects from Upper Egypt are not forthcoming or convincing, it may be due to these factors as well as possible regional variation, and does not necessarily make the connection impossible. What

appears new or unusual in tomb decoration may not necessarily be so in a more general Late Period art context, and could show merely the transfer of elements or themes from one medium to another, untraditional one. Such a transferal may be deliberate, rather than reflecting "carelessness" on the part of the craftsmen, and could thus rank as innovation.

The innovative aspect of Late Period art has been largely overshadowed by the archaizing. The misconception that the two are not compatible has frequently led to innovation being wrongly ascribed to foreign influence, rather than to native creativity, as active in the supposedly derivative Late Period as at any other time. Innovation ranges from the introduction of new elements, particularly in clothing, hairstyles and accoutrements (the one completely new scene type is lily-processing), through new emphasis on, or contexts for, older motifs, as in the prominent and diffuse role of women (pp. 127-8), to recombination of traditional or obsolete elements into a new whole. Such creative use of older features highlights the lack of clear division between these artistic tendencies.

The more precise datings proposed here have important implications for the analysis of archaism, tradition and innovation. The assignment to the sixth century of reliefs which had previously often been placed in the fourth largely eliminates Greek influence as a factor in change (p. 97). Many of the innovations which find their fullest expression in Dynasty 30 have clear roots in developments of Dynasty 26, emphasizing the artistic creativity of the Saite period, rather than revealing Dynasty 30 as a derivative time, whose only inspiration lay in alien arts. The coherence which had characterized earlier periods of Egyptian art is visible here: Late Period tomb art was secure in its native traditions, and its designers were confident craftsmen with a respect for, and interest in, their own heritage. The proposed chronology also eliminates Persia as a source for features such as the high wraparound skirt (pp. 231-2) or the impetus to facial realism (p. 89-91), and casts doubts on its putative contribution of elements like the "Persian gesture" (pp. 102-6) and the long sleeved tunic (pp. 232-5). These features can also be seen to be Egyptian, in the case of realism perhaps gaining something by looking back to the Kushite-early Dynasty 26 phase but modifying features on a new format (i.e. innovation mixed with archaism).

A separate effect of better dating is the identification of a hiatus

in relief production from c. 486 or earlier until about the start of Dynasty 30 (pp. 52-4). If of shorter duration than that preceding Dynasty 26, there must have been the same need in the fourth century to recreate a tomb art which no longer had a fixed tradition. This further diminishes the likelihood of a significant Persian contribution to Egyptian monumental art, and, more importantly here, identifies Dynasty 30 as a second time of renaissance within the period covered. Earlier models had to be sought and choices taken on the basis of the past; changes must be viewed as the result of thought and initiative, rather than as results of momentum from a movement already in progress.

Thus, closer dating focusses attention on potential Egyptian sources, rather than foreign ones. It suggests the widening of the search to unconventional Egyptian models for tomb art, instead of looking abroad, where the correspondence of features with the Egyptian may be coincidental or the result of Egyptian influence on foreign art. The "Persian gesture" perhaps, the male tripartite outfit on fifth century Cypriote statues (pp. 236-43) almost certainly, illustrate borrowing from Egypt. Late Period art appears more vital and creative than is usually recognized, yet closely linked to its past. The dating also clarifies the relationship between sixth and fourth century works. The period is not a strict unity, and the theory of continuous artistic production through the Persian period is no longer tenable. Two main phases - pre- and post-Persian - emerge: two periods, instead of one, of selection and recreation, not necessarily having the same interests in the past or, indeed, the same preferred periods for models, or the same drive to innovate. The separation of Dynasty 26 and Dynasty 30 material allows each phase to be studied more intensively, for a better understanding of the art of each dynasty.

I have divided the discussion below on these lines to clarify the changes in emphasis. The first phase forms less of a historical than an artistic unit, running from c. 664-500/486; it can be subdivided meaningfully into seventh century and sixth century phases. The post-Persian phase, corresponding fairly closely to Dynasty 30, is too short to allow much differentiation over time, or for significant stylistic trends or shifts in interest to find full expression.

A recognition of the differences in emphasis between Dynasty 26 and Dynasty 30 is reflected in von Bissing's idea that the earlier pieces in

the sequence drew on Old and Middle Kingdom models and the later ones on New Kingdom prototypes.⁹ His condensed dating of all the pieces to the fourth century (p. 30) obscured the importance of the Persian hiatus as a potential watershed within the series, and this dissipated the full impact of his theory. This was in effect that Dynasty 26 pieces have one, earlier source of inspiration, while Dynasty 30 reliefs (including, as he does, 59 and 60 from the end of the first phase) look to a later period for models. As it stands, the observation is inaccurate in a number of aspects. Even early Dynasty 26 reliefs show some New Kingdom-based content (see below) in addition to Old and Middle Kingdom elements, while later pieces follow a contemporary trend, which probably grew out of a tendency begun in the New Kingdom, but which had acquired a distinctively Late Period character, through innovation combined with adaptation of themes which first emerged in the New Kingdom minor arts but probably continued to develop during the Third Intermediate Period. I shall show that the difference lies in emphasis on archaizing/innovative features, not between the different period choices for models. However, von Bissing's general detection of more ideal, "classical" types at the beginning, and more flamboyant ones toward the end, each with a different source of inspiration, is valid.

Bothmer's distinction between "archaizing", which he calls the classicistic tendencies of Dynasty 26, and "archaistic", which he applies to Dynasty 30 as he sees it harking back to Dynasty 26, especially to the time of Psammetichus I,¹⁰ equally has an element of truth to it with regard to these reliefs, although not in the precise way he intends it (see further below). However, the distinction is overprecise¹¹ and unnecessary. Dynasty 30 borrowing from the past does not fundamentally differ from that of the Saite or any other period, except that it has a wider range of potential sources, of which the Saite period is one; it is not, intentionally or accidentally, doubly derivative, as Bothmer's definition would suggest. His more recent alternative, "neo-archaism", for post-Persian borrowing of eighth and seventh century archaizing features¹² is not much more felicitous, implying as it does the borrowing of predominantly borrowed features and ignoring the acceptance of new elements. Neither term will therefore be employed here.

The Third Intermediate Period formed a break in continuity in tomb decoration. Reuse of existing structures was usual, and the few new tombs

that were built appear to have followed mainly in the New Kingdom traditions. No tombs datable to Dynasty 25 have yet been discovered in Lower Egypt, so that Dynasty 26 must mark a new beginning in tomb construction and decoration in the area. The Late Period Theban sequence begins slightly earlier, with tombs such as those of Harwa, Akhamenru, and perhaps Montuemhat begun, if not completed, by the end of Dynasty 25. The Theban tombs cover a shorter timespan and are architecturally different from those in the north (p. 18), which may account for some of the variance. However, there are differences in the repertory of scene types, in costumes and in figure cutting (pp. 5-7) between Theban and Lower Egyptian work. The fact that the two can be distinguished at the beginning of the period, and that separate lines of development are apparent throughout the duration of tomb building at Thebes, demonstrate the independence of the Lower Egyptian style(s) of these reliefs.

The precise sources available to Lower Egyptian artists are problematic but three broad categories can be identified. Of earlier funerary monuments, those in the Giza and Saqqara cemeteries would be the most accessible from the court centre at Memphis. The return to Giza as a burial-ground after a long gap testifies to renewed interest in this region; the use of Saqqara may have been more continuous, although Third Intermediate Period remains suggest reuse of earlier tombs rather than new building.¹³ To what extent earlier Delta monuments were accessible is unknown, as for the most part is the nature of tombs there, but they ought not to be completely discounted. Temple archives could have served as a guide to tradition and "proper" usage. Their information could have been disseminated in the form of pattern-books, whose existence is assumed here. Examples from the New Kingdom might still have been extant in the Late Period; models from earlier times would be accessible only in new compilations. Representations on funerary papyri may also have been consulted. Depictions on bowls, chalices, furniture inlays, and other minor arts objects which may have kept earlier traditions alive represent the third possible source. Their small size limits their usefulness in the formulation of large-scale, multi-figured compositions, but they may have provided new motifs and details. The evidence suggests that all three - monuments, records and craft objects - were utilized. Conscious selection must have played a significant role at the outset, and the readiness with

which the artists drew from different sources suggests a freedom from constraint and an attempt to create, rather than merely to perpetuate.

The seventh century

The style of decoration that emerges in the seventh century shows all the patterns of archaism and invention, and begins trends which are intensified later in Dynasty 26. From the outset, the sources for the "new" tomb art do seem to be mainly the Old and Middle Kingdoms, rather than the New Kingdom, or at least post-Amarna New Kingdom. Human figures wear the ubiquitous tripartite wig and sheath dress, with the strap-knot innovation (see p. 196), or traditional simple long wigs or old fashioned or archaizing valanced wigs and skull-caps (pp. 246-8) and simple kilts characteristic of Old and Middle Kingdom figures, and those of the early New Kingdom, before they were fixed in the religious sphere and replaced in the human by more elaborate coiffeurs and multi-layered, finely-pleated, fashionable costumes. This favouring of traditional simply-clad figures gives the scenes a spacious, classical air, as does the preference for static poses, such as the woman seated behind her husband or son and embracing him (e.g. 2; 3 G; 6 E, F; 9), or the owner standing with staff and linen-strip or *hrp*-baton, or sitting before an offering table (e.g. 3 G, J, U; 6 E, P [father], R; 9; see further below).

On the other hand, the presence of gods in private tombs shows that there is a significant New Kingdom element in the early stages of Saite tomb art generally - most of the representations of deities in the corpus are from the first half of Dynasty 26 (3; 4; 5 A, B, E-G; 6; 10; 31; otherwise, see only 54 and 82 B : C, D). This is likely to continue the Third Intermediate Period tradition of stelae, coffins and funerary papyri, rather than to show archaism to New Kingdom models. New Kingdom influence on early Saite tombs at Thebes owes more to the easy accessibility of tombs and temples of that period.

The tomb of *B3k-n-rn.f* (3), one of the earliest in the sequence, illustrates this development from the New Kingdom. Scenes of the deceased adoring gods and performing magico-religious acts predominate in the decoration. This, with the absence of family (except on G), the abundance of texts from the Book of the Dead, and the small spaces allotted to scenes compared with inscriptions suggest that it represents a transfer of the

funerary papyri tradition, whose origins must ultimately have been temple archives. The end of this trend is the tomb of *Hr-jr*-3 (31) at the beginning of the sixth century, which shows in Chamber A an extremely interrupted, papyrus-like aspect (pp. 76-7), in which the New Kingdom Books of Aker (A) and Gates (C-F) provide the texts. The gateways with guardian demons on 6 West Chamber and 10, and Book of the Dead spells in 7, suggest similar sources, although the linear disposition and large size of the scene relative to the text in 7 shows the adaptation of papyrus archetypes.

Only New Kingdom compilations of spells with established vignettes are illustrated; although the Pyramid Texts are amply used for texts in 3 and in later Saite shaft tombs, there is no attempt to devise pictorial vignettes to elucidate those passages. Established representations are borrowed but new ones in the same spirit are not invented. The figures within the vignettes have been modified and simplified in line with the contemporary preference for lack of clutter, and the traditional garments and wigs give these representations generally an aspect distinct from that of the later New Kingdom. The diaphanous robe covering the upper body on the deceased on 31 B is probably not an archaism to the New Kingdom, but the end of a tradition which was dying out (p. 243). The disposition of figures and elements in the scenes remain close to the New Kingdom originals so that most of them can be recognized from summaries of these New Kingdom vignettes¹⁴ with reference to the texts for confirmation. This type of decoration is essentially a seventh century vogue.

The decorated ceiling vaults which appear in 3 (as well as in 6 and 10) are not a common architectural feature except in the royal tombs at Thebes and so raise the possibility of some inspiration in early Dynasty 26 coming from Thebes, and perhaps the Valley of the Kings.¹⁵ Such vaults do not seem to feature in the New Kingdom cemetery at Saqqara¹⁶ or elsewhere in Lower Egypt. The vault does occur in Late Period Theban tombs, such as that of Ibi, perhaps from the same source. Some of the decoration of *B3k-n-rn.f*'s ceilings also recalls that in the royal tombs at Thebes, notably A, with its division into hours of the day and night (although not the disposition of the confronting figures of the principal), the ceiling to Room E with vultures with outstretched wings, and Anteroom B, with figures of deities in boats and cartouches of Psammetichus I at its entrance and cartouches as its main ceiling decoration. It is unknown whether the

vaults of 6 and 10 had similar ornamentation or the more traditional stars (also on the vaults of 3 Rooms D and F).

The layout of 22 in the design of a Saqqara chapel-tomb (pp. 25-6) provides a comparable example of architectural archaism from the New Kingdom, whereas the plan of 27 suggests an Old Kingdom source (p. 23), so that architectural borrowing was not confined to one period. If 3 does owe something of its design to Theban royal models, it does not necessarily mean either that Theban artists were employed in the north or that Saite artists actually entered tombs in the Valley of Kings seeking prototypes, as the information may have been available in pattern books. It suggests a continuation of the mixing of royal and private found in some Third Intermediate Period burials,¹⁷ a form of innovation in use which was to reappear in Dynasty 30.

It has long been recognized that these artists sought inspiration and models in the works of the Old Kingdom, and this is implicit in the phrase "Neo-Memphite". The degree of reliance on these is less universally agreed. Some scholars view it as a systematic and complete effort to return to any older style, with the blatant attempt to copy earlier works being paramount.¹⁸ Others acknowledge the Old Kingdom models, but realize they were mixed with elements from the New Kingdom and other periods, and transformed to suit contemporary taste.¹⁹ This latter view is much closer to the truth. In the larger context of Egyptian art, the Old and Middle Kingdoms form a general unity, with the Middle Kingdom continuing and amplifying, without radically altering, the models of the earlier period. Much of what is new in the Middle Kingdom repertory - the sporting and laundry scenes, the interest in desert animals and peoples, for example - is at least partly due to the provincial art of Middle Egyptian tombs.

On these reliefs it was probably the Old Kingdom monuments in the Memphite cemeteries which provided the models. This reflects the absence of Middle Kingdom monuments there rather than a specific preference, and copying (and dissemination by pattern books ?) in the region of *Jt-t3wj*, where the Middle Kingdom court cemeteries were concentrated, or even Middle Egypt (cf. n. 4) cannot be excluded. Saite grid lines show copying of specific reliefs from the South Tomb of Djoser,²⁰ and Dynasty 5 mortuary temples at Abusir,²¹ but these have not been identified in private tombs, nor are there in this corpus any recognized "copies" of specific scenes

comparable to the Taharqa copies of Libyans²² from the mortuary temples of Sahure and/or Niuserre at Abusir,²³ or those in Late Period Theban tombs (n. 3). However, there are enough diagnostic features to indicate the Memphite cemeteries, chiefly Giza and Saqqara, as main sources. The harps on 6 E point to Giza (pp. 168-9), while the bird procession of 55 and the gold-giving scenes (pp. 136-42) of 30 and 60 (and by extension perhaps 11 and 13) revived in the sixth century are essentially confined to the Memphite area in the Old Kingdom.²⁴ Games such as those on 51, and the tomb owner sniffing a lotus there are also rare in Old Kingdom provincial tombs.²⁵ The differences from the prototypes are such, however, that the "copies" might better be understood as "adaptations"²⁶ or "transformations"²⁷ of older material to suit contemporary tastes.

The question of pattern-books and models is discussed more fully in the context of musical scenes (pp. 168-75). 22 B suggests that there was not a single adaptable model provided for archaizing scenes. The desert hunt had dropped from the tomb repertory soon after the reign of Amenhotep II.²⁸ 22 B and the approximately contemporary representation in the tomb of Ibi,²⁹ the only two later examples of which I am aware, are thus certainly archaizing revivals of a defunct motif. Little remains of 22 B and the upper part of the Ibi scene is lost, but enough is preserved of both to suggest that they have many elements in common: a hedgehog, a fallen antelope above, and a pair of antelope below. Striking as these are, the differences are greater. Several explanations are possible. The most likely is that the two Late Period depictions show alternatives from different prototypes or pattern-books. A single large model is also possible, with different, partially corresponding selections adapted from it. A single, small-scale prototype, showing a coherent hunt of a similar size to that in the tomb of Ibi (the size of the composition in 22 is unknown) seems unlikely, as major modifications in orientation, animal type and position, and background would have to be envisaged.

Changes to prototypes were rarely in strict keeping with the originals. For instance, the Princeton block from 4, with its simple forms, costume and distinctive choker was stylistically close enough to works of the end of the Old Kingdom to lead Ranke to date it, with reservations, to that period.³⁰ However, the presence of a deity in a private chapel is anachronistic, while the use of sunk relief for interior

work, the surface striations which are closely linked with the second half of the seventh century (pp. 50-1), and perhaps the kneeling donor are contemporary features which reveal the late date of the piece. The entire tableau in fact represents the sort of subject which might occur from the New Kingdom onward, delineated in a late Old Kingdom-based style and with the careful inclusion of Old Kingdom jewelry.

A similar combination can be found in the adjacent, and probably nearly contemporary, Chapel H (5) where the prominence of the gods is part of the New Kingdom-based trend, while interior sunk relief ^{and background treatment} are contemporary features. C and D present family tableaux where the costumes and diminutive child before his father recall Old Kingdom scenes; on D an anachronistic note breaks the "classical" character of the scene in the unusual tunic worn by the boy (p. 245), which may show some form of contemporary dress.

Pigment traces on, for instance, 5, C, D and 17 A-D hint at what was probably once a major difference between many of these later works created in a style reminiscent of the pre-New Kingdom era ^{and their prototypes.} This is in the painting of women with red skin (pp. 93-4), an alternative to the traditional dichotomy, which is found in tomb art from about the Amarna period. If figures such as Isis in 4 were so coloured, it would readily have set them apart from Old or Middle Kingdom type prototypes. Such a difference must have been obvious to the designers of Saite tomb art, whatever their degree of knowledge on "suitable" subjects or relief treatment for works created in a "classical" style, and suggests an intentional lack of strict adherence to earlier archetypes. Even if it was part of a continuing tradition, its application to older type female figures in tombs marks a contemporary element.

The mixture of old and new apparent even at the beginning of this relief sequence is well illustrated by 1. The seated figures with their skull-caps or close-cropped hair, sashes, short tight kilt and static, formal poses recall Old and Middle Kingdom types. The Middle Kingdom form of filiation used is in keeping with this archaizing aspect. However, the motif of the private ancestor cult is new to the tomb repertory. It is probably an off-shoot of the interest in genealogies which characterizes the Third Intermediate Period and which is now given physical expression on tomb walls. 21 appears to draw the model for the ancestor statues from

representations of the pilgrimage to Abydos sequence which appears first in New Kingdom tombs.³¹ This new motif did not gain the acceptance that lily-processing did and representations of the owner worshipping his ancestors are confined to the seventh century (1; 21; 23).³²

As has been noted above, distinguishing between archaism and innovation may not be easy. This can be illustrated by the spacing of figures on seventh century pieces, whose isolated and spacious arrangement with little overlapping (p. 82) Maspero contrasted with Theban (i.e. New Kingdom) compositions and suggested was based on local schools.³³ While his observation is valid, his explanation is questionable. The spacing could equally be an innovation - a rejection of New Kingdom overlapping and layering - which coincidentally took the form of Old Kingdom spacing. There are, after all, only a limited number of options - to overlap or not to overlap - and the same choice made at different periods need not mean archaism. Similarly, the reversed leg posture (pp. 86-8) need not be connected with specific earlier prototypes, as it is the only possible variation from the regular leg stance if variation is desired.

Of the seventh century stylistic innovations, such as the reversed leg posture, the employment of sunk relief scenes inside as well as out, and the striated background texturing (pp. 50-1), the striations are of short-lived popularity, ending about 600, but the other two continue through this series of reliefs, although the *floruit* of sunk relief is also in the seventh century. The emergence of the relief decorated lintel in the characteristic Dynasty 26 form (pp. 77-82) is a feature of this early phase which was to grow in popularity as the relief form *par excellence*.

The sixth century

The sixth century did not have the problems of devising a tomb relief style which necessarily occupied the mid-seventh century. Few strikingly new features occur, but there is some shift in emphasis. Religious scenes and papyrus-inspired decoration largely disappear after 31 (but cf. 47), while the decorated doorway or niche surround appears as a major focal point for relief decoration. After earlier experiments, such as 20 with its double representation of the owner and divided focus within the scene (p. 79) and 21 with its formal architectural layering and different levels in the stone, the strict form with one representation of the tomb owner at

the end as the focal point holds sway. Where more complicated series of activities before him were desired (e.g. 43; 51), the space was divided into sub-registers, in a miniaturization and condensation of register composition on walls, instead of maintaining the strictly linear format and multiplying depictions of the deceased. The rare examples of formal vertical bipartition of scenes on 54 may be a sign of archaism or, more likely, of transference to a tomb context of an arrangement more common in other media. The placement of gods back-to-back at the centre, with an adoring royal figure facing inward from each end is found on earlier temple lintels,³⁴ and would provide a suitable model, with the private figure substituted for that of the king. It could thus mark a borrowing from the royal sphere. Bipartition of this type is also found on Late Period stelae,³⁵ but as these are Upper Egyptian, predominantly Theban, a transference from them seems less likely.³⁶

It is in the sixth century that revival of defunct scenes and genre types, poses and features is at its height. The range of themes is much wider than in either the seventh century or Dynasty 30, and where a motif occurs once in the corpus, it tends to be at or about this time (cf. e.g. 22 B desert hunt). The types of scenes which appear only about then include viticulture (37), gold-giving (Ch. 7.1), clap-nets (29; 43), fowlyard presentation (55), butchery (27 B; 58), fishing with a seine-net (27 A), games (51), cattle fording (42), and exclusive presentation of oils and unguents (53; 56) or fabrics (13, probably 11). The most "complete" example of borrowing at this time may be 27, where a whole tomb type with columned portico seems to be modelled on nearby tomb types at Giza, while the disposition of the interior scenes in traditional register composition with little text and a huge figure of the tomb owner confronting registers of fishermen reinforce the impression that the tomb is taken as a "unit", not piecemeal, from a single source. Here the pose of the owner, with a long staff tucked into one armpit, with the arm trailing along it and the opposite hand resting on the top, is that often found with overseers or the owner surveying his domains in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.³⁷ Examples in Late Period Theban tombs³⁸ show that the pose was a more general Late Period archaism. The guilloche border which adorns all the walls in this tomb has Old Kingdom parallels,³⁹ but is also in keeping with the contemporary taste that produced the fancy borders of 42, 43 and 48. While

seine fishing is popular in the Old Kingdom,⁴⁰ the motif of two men carrying a large *h3*-fish (*Lates niloticus*)⁴¹ is extremely rare,⁴² and suggests an element chosen for its exotic nature. The otherwise convincing Old Kingdom aspect of the scene (as far as can be gleaned from the copy) is given a Late Period twist by the apparent use of the reversed leg posture on a number of the figures.

The choice of motifs here is revealing about the nature of archaism in Saite scenes. The range is largely that in use during Dynasties 5-6 and in the New Kingdom. Some of the motifs occur earlier, but none of these reliefs is decorated with scenes or figures reminiscent of those from the very early dynasties or the start of the Old Kingdom, as seen, for instance, on the slab stelae.⁴³ Some scenes, such as the hippopotamus hunt and the owner spearing fish, which are popular from the Old Kingdom into Dynasty 18 are absent, while fowling in the marshes is also uncommon (only 39); earlier perennially popular agricultural and craftsmen scenes are also missing. At the other end of the spectrum, exclusively or typically New Kingdom scenes are never revived. There are no representations of horses or chariots, foreigners (cf. the dubious 94 figure), or family banquets (see p. 176 for the devising of an alternative), and funeral scenes are rare or perhaps unattested (cf. 93; perhaps 91). Nor are the elaborate curled wigs and pleated garments found in post-Amarna tomb representations borrowed in that form.

The plan of 22 suggests that prototypes for such scenes must have been known in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, so that a conscious disinclination toward works of the (particularly later) New Kingdom seems indicated, reflected also in the spacing of figures and the avoidance of layering (p. 82). Often, where a motif had a long prior development, it was the pre-New Kingdom versions which were selected; the treading-pit instead of the sack-press on 37 exceptionally reveals a New Kingdom borrowing (p. 184). Many of the musical instruments are those of the Old and Middle Kingdom (6 E; 50; 51), although New Kingdom based alternatives are also found (36; 40) (see further below).

The clapnet sequence on 43 provides another instance. A double illustration of the net, once open and once shut, is typical of Old Kingdom representations, whereas Middle and New Kingdom scenes tend to depict it once.⁴⁴ Here, the inclusion of both versions was instrumental in the

formulation of the lintel layout, requiring sub-division of the subsidiary scene space. Other archaizing elements in the scene include the kilt on the lower signalman (? usually on overseers and other important figures; p. 228) and perhaps the amulet worn by the left-hand bird collector (p. 250). Old Kingdom figures pulling the rope seem usually to stand, sit or lie on their backs,⁴⁵ whereas kneeling figures are more common from the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁶ However, variations from the early versions show Saite transformation of the old prototype. These include the shape of the hide, which is usually almost columnar,⁴⁷ but is here spaced out as individual stems in typical Late Period fashion, and includes the bullrush bud (?) (see below), the lack of encircling vegetation around the pool⁴⁸ and the woman (here in contemporary style - see below) among the offering bearers carrying the birds to the deceased. These innovations show the freedom with which a scene in an "old-fashioned" manner could be adapted to suit contemporary Dynasty 26 taste, yet still retain elements revealing the period of the archetype.

Sometimes misinterpretations occur, as in the game-playing sequence on 51. Since the representation in the tomb of Ibi at Thebes⁴⁹ is the only *other* known post-Old Kingdom example of *mhn*, both are clearly archaizing. The surmounting descriptive labels and identical conversational captions, and the paired players engaged in finger/marble games with an ignored *mhn*-board in their midst on the *right* of the composition, with *snt* being played on the *left*, show that they must be taken from the same source, possibly as a unit with the accompanying music scenes (see further pp. 168-9). It has been suggested that this was the tomb of Ibi at Deir el Gebrāwī,⁵⁰ largely on the basis of the presumed copying of the craftsmen scene there in the tomb of the Theban Ibi, but board games are rare in Old Kingdom provincial tombs,⁵¹ and features in the musical sequence point to the Memphite area as the origin. The *mhn*-board has been misunderstood by the draughtsman responsible for the copy used in the Late Period tombs⁵² and converted into a large pot, without the characteristic coiled markings (unlikely to have been added in paint, given the rest of the scene). The paired arrangement of the players of the Old Kingdom game has been maintained, but their hand and arm positions differ, as do the interpretations of their actions. In the tomb of Ibi the men appear to play finger guessing (?) games, while on 51 marbles have been added both to the scene and to the descriptive label,

either completely interpolating a third game or confusing the round pieces sometimes seen with Old Kingdom depictions of the game (n. 49). These alterations almost certainly took place in separate workshops and at different times, when the common copy was converted to individual monuments, and illustrate graphically the wide range of possible "adaptations" from one model.

The papyrus-pulling sequence (the old *zšš w3d*) on the right of 20 may also be a misunderstanding of older models or a deliberate adaptation to suit current criteria, here of the seventh century. *P3-tnfj* stands in the skiff pulling down papyrus stalks from a thicket beside, rather than forming the background to, the craft. This version is the one most often performed by women,⁵³ and is perhaps mirrored by his wife's action. This is the only transference of a predominantly female action to a male figure in the corpus, whereas the converse transfer of male activities is well represented (see below). Whether the designer was aware of this shift in usage or whether the selection from the range of possibilities was unfortunate is not known; the latter is perhaps more likely. The priestly dress of *P3-tnfj* here differs significantly from that shown in the Old Kingdom versions,⁵⁴ although it is generally appropriate to the ritual context. Such radical interpretations are usually made among subsidiary figures in secular scenes. The slightly later version of the *zšš w3d* on 39 conforms more closely to the "typical" male version⁵⁵ and has no obvious misunderstandings, although the whole composition contains an infusion of contemporary elements centred around the swimmer (see below). These two papyrus-pulling variants show that several archaizing patterns for a scene type could be in almost concurrent use, as it is inconceivable that, like the games scenes, they were independent modifications from a common copy.

Consistency in style pointing to a particular period usually prevails in a general way. For instance, archaizing musical instruments and players are never mixed with modern ones (p. 168); tripartite wigs on female servants do not alternate with short hairstyles (see below). Occasionally efforts were made to make representations of the tomb owner suit the archaizing nature of the scene before him, for instance, by giving him close-cropped hair or a skull-cap (e.g. 55; 56; pp. 247-8) or by placing him on a high-sided chair (13; 51; 55). Such chairs, indicative of high rank, had passed from the repertory by the New Kingdom and are a clear Old

Kingdom borrowing;⁵⁶ the arm position is also known then. It has been suggested that the side-panel of 55 may be an anachronistic open-work design, with the columns produced on a lathe;⁵⁷ as the lathe is not certainly attested in Egypt before the fourth century,⁵⁸ this would be the earliest example of its use, if this identification is correct. However, the columns could have been made by more traditional wood-working methods,⁵⁹ and need not reflect a new technique. Nor need it represent contemporary design or major modification of the high-sided chair design, as Old Kingdom examples exist with a similar design of *tjt*-amulets inlaid in rows.⁶⁰ The columns could merely be an elaboration of an old tradition.

Particularly with archaizing scenes the general impression of a period, rather than rigid fidelity in detail, seems to be the rule. Sometimes it can be difficult to decide (if the distinction is valid) whether the composition as a whole is intended to be archaizing or whether it is intentionally in a freer "mixed" style incorporating borrowings from earlier periods. A number of pieces in the corpus mix styles or elements from several periods. On 43, the clapnet sequence is based on Old and Middle Kingdom versions (see above), whereas the woman with the short hairstyle, fringed dress and mannered style of balancing the basket on her head without support gives a decidedly Late Period look (see below) to this section of the lintel. 42 shows a similar mixture. The cattle-fording sequence on the left derives from an Old and Middle Kingdom context, when scenes of cattle-rearing in the marshes were most common,⁶¹ while the drover's recitation is drawn directly from the old phraseology (see Catalogue). The rendering of the marsh background and its placement behind the cattle belongs to contemporary style representation (see below), as does the scene on the right with the woman punter and women with shorter rounded hairstyles. On 60, the gold-giving scene itself and the jewelry are Old Kingdom revivals (pp. 138-9), but the women in it wear contemporary hairstyles based on New Kingdom models (see below), Saite-style strap-knots (p. 196) and contemporary Cypriote earrings (pp. 42-3); the jaw-lines and interest in body modelling are contemporary, while pierced earlobes and flesh folds on the neck derive from the New Kingdom.

The selection and melding of eclectic elements into a harmonious whole is clearly a favourite form of Saite, particularly sixth century, artistic expression. The resulting scenes disconcert only if rigid

adherence to archetypes is expected. If the eclecticism and recreation are seen as positive creative factors, one of the keys to the Saite approach to earlier sources is revealed. The resulting relief art must be viewed in its own terms, not held up against earlier renderings in search of "errors" or "impurities". Such treatment is not unique to the Saite period - it is found, for instance, during the early New Kingdom - but the extent of its use, the wide range of prototypes drawn upon, and above all, the skillful merging of originally disparate elements into a well-integrated whole are distinctive.

Innovation is at least as widespread and important as archaism in this relief art, and is also manifested in a variety of ways. It can be seen in the development of the decorated lintel as a focus for relief scenes within the tomb, with the condensing of entire walls to their quintessence. It follows quite a different course from that of the Old Kingdom decorated lintel,⁶² due to their different positions in the span of Egyptian art and to fundamentally different artistic approaches. The Old Kingdom lintel was gradually expanded, adding new elements and arrangements to the owner and offering table; text played an increasingly important role and its arrangement was of artistic importance. The process in the Late Period lintels is reversed, characterized by the reduction of primarily visual elements already evolved elsewhere; the text is subjected to similar contraction and simplification, so that by Dynasty 30 only the essential name, titles and sometimes filiation of the owner regularly appear. The largely sixth century development of a temporal sequence within the limited space, which carried over into wall decoration, shows the continuing thought behind, and organic growth within, this tomb art. New motifs and subjects were rarely introduced, and the impression is that past Egyptian art provided enough material for the artists; the precise forms they used in creating the lily-processing sequence testify to their contentment with it.

Active adaptation of the past continued in the sixth century. The dropping of features like the owner clad in the leopard skin, female servants in tripartite wigs with the sheath dress, tombs decorated predominantly with gods or papyrus-like vignettes and texts, and the striated surface texturing shows that the immediate past was subjected to the same critical treatment as earlier periods. Sometimes the essential

character of a theme was changed. For instance, the sixth century sees the beginning of the trend (40; 59) which became common in the fourth century (77; 78 in boating scene; 79; 80) of including children in offering bearer processions. Besides altering the rhythm and balance within the scene, they turn the processions into family groups of servants.⁶³ In the place of the impersonal earlier processions, they create human relationships as they turn toward (e.g. 59 3, 5, 8; 79 4, 6; 80 6), look up at (e.g. 79 2; 80 2) or even hold the hand of (e.g. 80 8) a parent. Maspero contrasted this with the named estates of the Old Kingdom (n. 63), representing specific geographical units rather than nameless servants. That change had, of course, taken place earlier,⁶⁴ with Middle and New Kingdom processions of unnamed figures ousting the Old Kingdom domains, so that the modification here is of these servant processions, rather than a direct reaction to or alteration of the oldest versions. The exclusively new styles of dress of the women highlight the change in focus.

As in the seventh century, so in the sixth, one source of new features was the introduction into tomb art of elements present in other media. This largely-ignored strain explains many of the changes which occur at this time. A distinctly "contemporary" strand is clear in sixth century works, either isolated or mixed with archaizing features.

A New Kingdom element has occasionally been detected on these reliefs;⁶⁵ this has mainly been associated with fourth century pieces, although only von Bissing made the distinction between early and late reliefs in the sequence. The manifestations cited are minor features such as women's wigs or the curves on the neck, and they are thought to be the result of drawing directly on New Kingdom models; the process is therefore not differentiated from archaism as applied to other periods of the past. I consider the process to be somewhat different - an instance of transference from a continuing tradition which arose in the New Kingdom, and therefore has its roots there, but which was alive, in the minor arts at least, in the very recent past (see below).

This trend finds its most obvious expression in the role and depiction of women. Although they had virtually disappeared from statuary, they continue to play a prominent part in relief compositions. Female relatives and goddesses become infrequent (see only 27 [presence due to archaizing?]; 50; 54), but female minor figures proliferate and engage in a wider

range of activities than in the seventh century, where they are exclusively offering bearers if unrelated to the deceased. Now they are found punting skiffs (40; 42), engaged in musical performances (36; 40; 41), dancing (28; 36), processing lilies (32; 33; 35; 36; 38), harvesting grapes (37), receiving rewards (30; 60) and swimming (39), as well as participating in offering processions (34; 43; 59). The offering scenes and dancing are traditional and the rewarding scenes archaizing. The presence of the new lily-processing scenes may either reflect actual practice or be an expression of the current interest in showing women in many activities.

Female musicians and the range of instruments they play here derive ultimately from the New Kingdom repertory (pp. 169-71), but evidence suggests that they continued to be played, as well as occasionally illustrated. They belong in the New Kingdom to the sphere of tomb and temple decoration as well as to the minor arts, but the connection of female musicians with boats and marshes is a feature of the minor arts milieu. The lutenist can be found on faience bowls and vessels, in a skiff or a marshy setting,⁶⁶ and other often scantily- or fashionably-clad women appear frequently in similar contexts;⁶⁷ these latter could form the prototypes for the later 67 and 78. Such women are often seen punting skiffs,⁶⁸ and the nude or bejewelled and ^{be-}wigged female swimmer makes a regular appearance.⁶⁹ A number of the wig and garment types which appear on these women on these reliefs also have forerunners both in minor figures in New Kingdom tombs and on these items - see further Ch. 8.1. Figures celebrating with wine on boats are found;⁷⁰ on these reliefs the owner is not shown in this context, although jars found in skiffs (Dynasty 30 67; 78) show that the association continues. Apart from calves drawn behind boats to lure a fording herd in Old and Middle Kingdom scenes,⁷¹ cattle had rarely featured in boats in earlier tomb representations.⁷² However, on chalices and other vessels⁷³ they appear regularly, in skiffs or being hauled aboard. Their comparatively frequent presence in skiffs on these reliefs (42; 67; 78) thus has a prototype.⁷⁴ The rendering of the marsh plants as regularly-spaced, separate stalks (e.g. 20; 29; 39; 42; 43), rather than a solid mass, has earlier forerunners in Middle and New Kingdom tombs (although solid blocks of vegetation are also common there),⁷⁵ but is the standard rendering of a swampy background on faience relief chalices.⁷⁶

A series of probably sixth century blocks from Karnak shows women with scanty and contemporary clothing, and some shorter hairstyles, dancing and playing musical instruments in a marsh setting.⁷⁷ The appearance of such scenes in monumental art is thus not confined to Lower Egypt or to tomb reliefs, as, given the provenance, the Karnak blocks are likely to be from a chapel. These fragments, as well as the Shepenwepet II block from Medamud,⁷⁸ showing music in a marsh context, allow the possibility that innovation may have occurred in other monumental art first and been transferred thence to tomb reliefs, rather than showing a direct inspiration from the minor arts. The Medamud piece shows that the change in what was appropriate in different media began at latest in Dynasty 25.

These minor arts objects clearly show divergences from New Kingdom art as seen in tombs and temples. Although the subjects themselves are not radically different, the combinations of elements are new. It is striking that so many elements of costume, hair, activity and combination of features on these reliefs have prototypes on these craft objects, but do not belong to mainstream New Kingdom tomb decoration. This suggests that a divergence of "major" and "minor" art styles took place in the New Kingdom, both reflecting contemporary tastes. While tomb decoration died out in the Third Intermediate Period, the minor arts tradition flourished, as exemplified by some of the faience relief chalices and metal bowls. A direct connection between these items and the figures which appear mainly in the sixth-fourth centuries cannot be abundantly demonstrated⁷⁹ for a variety of reasons. Many of these small objects cannot as yet be well dated, so that pieces belonging securely to the Third Intermediate Period are scarce. Many of them come from Upper Egypt, when a provenance can be assigned, so little is known about this tradition in the north, in the New Kingdom or later. Items from that area are unlikely to survive in any quantity, given the water levels there. Metal vessels, which seem to have been elaborately decorated in the Third Intermediate Period, are likely to have been melted down for reuse. The shift in Late Period burial practices, too, decreases the chances of survival of much of this potential material, as large-scale tomb furnishing was replaced by body amulets, shabtis and canopic jars as almost the exclusive material tomb offerings.

But if direct connections cannot be made, the parallel tendencies seen on what remain of these items and on these Lower Egyptian reliefs seem too

close to be coincidence. Direct Dynasty 26 copying from a defunct tradition in the minor arts seems unlikely, and it is preferable to assume an ongoing tradition. The innovation would lie in the incorporation of these elements into tomb decoration, rather than in outright invention. Their mixture into other scenes significantly changes the character of the reliefs. It is not always entirely clear whether items of clothing or hairstyles reflect styles currently in use in Dynasty 26 or ones that were in fact obsolete by then, if they had ever really existed. They seem, however, to reflect contemporary taste and are not far removed from items which probably do reveal current dress, and may therefore be considered "contemporary", with the possibility that there may be some archaism to recently eliminated styles.²⁰

The inclusion of aspects of current daily life in sixth century tomb art is often inextricably bound up with the style growing out of the minor arts, and the two together may be considered to be a contemporary style. It is the opposite of the tendency to archaize, although it was probably never viewed as such, and does not seem to have been developed out of dissatisfaction with the past, as the two tendencies run concurrently. It seems to be part of a modernization of Egyptian art. It can be seen in the attempt to give the old *jb3*-dance a new format (pp. 163-4), and in the introduction of the lily-processing motif, although the format chosen is distinctly "old-fashioned" in many essentials. It may also be seen in the creation of the "Persian gesture" in the style of Old Kingdom poses (pp. 102-6). It is perhaps clearest in the increasing use of shorter hairstyles and garments on women which probably reflect what was actually worn, although, as with the female tripartite ensemble (pp. 199-201), figures shown wearing them might not have been those who did so in life. A number of male garments also appear for the first time, including the high wraparound skirt (pp. 231-2), the long sleeved tunic (pp. 232-5), and the male tripartite ensemble (pp. 236-43). These are also depicted on contemporary statuary, but the comparatively widespread use of all these modern features, as well as new stylistic elements like the reversed leg posture (pp. 86-8), increasing dramatically in the fourth century, suggests a readiness to experiment in relief not matched in statuary.

Another Late Period contribution is the introduction of an item of contemporary furniture in the form of the wicker-work stool with arched

supports, with one vertical and two diagonal struts per side. Known from Dynasty 25,⁸¹ this continues sporadically throughout Dynasty 26⁸² (33) and Dynasty 30 (74 A; 76; 77; 78).⁸³ It seems to be a variation on an item of furniture, introduced in about the seventh century, which finds its way into tomb art as a reflection of "modern" Saite Egypt. It is employed exclusively in a new representation of the tomb owner, with contemporary dress, appropriate hairstyle and a new set of floral attributes (p. 86). In its application to the principal, it reveals a desire to create a modern alternative to the traditional or archaizing ones which extends beyond the minor figures and their activities to the central one. The tomb owner as a "modern" man on some of these reliefs, carrying into Dynasty 30 and the tomb of Petosiris, is a distinctive Saite contribution to Late Period art and becomes a "stock" figure.

The "bulrush bud" which appears on a number of these reliefs (e.g. 43; 69; 75; 76) is another example of innovation from the contemporary sphere. Identified as *Cyperus alopecuroides*, it has been suggested that it was introduced into Egypt late, either about the time of Alexander,⁸⁴ or earlier in the fourth century.⁸⁵ However, the plant is a denizen of stagnant watery places and capable of growing wild in Egypt, as well as being cultivated for mat-making, and is likely to have existed in Egypt much earlier.⁸⁶ Sporadic representations which have been identified as *Cyperus alopecuroides* go back at least to the tomb of Rahotep and Nefermaat at Meydum,⁸⁷ although the forms are more varied and less stylized than those on these blocks. Bothmer⁸⁸ claims that this "peculiar form" first appears on post-Persian reliefs, but 43 shows it to have been represented in this manner by the mid-sixth century, although it occurs more frequently in the fourth century. The plant seems to be an element already present in Egypt, which, in the innovative spirit of the period, was brought into monumental art, newly formalized in a distinctive, decorative fashion.

Realism in delineating features (pp. 89-91) which appears toward the end of Dynasty 26 may be another manifestation of the desire to depict life as it was. Although it had appeared in Dynasty 25-early Dynasty 26, the form which it takes here, involving modification of the skull shape and profile, is new and distinctive, although earlier realism may have provided a stimulus. However, the skulls of boating men (78) and fishermen (20) which are flattened on top, without corresponding modification of facial

features to indicate age, may be archaizing, as similar head shapes on marsh and agricultural figures occur earlier.⁸⁹

The fourth century

Given the apparent hiatus in the production of relief decorated tombs in Egypt for about a century, from roughly the end of the reign of Darius I until the start of Dynasty 30 (pp. 51-4), the problems confronting fourth century craftsmen must have been essentially the same as those in the seventh century. Their solution was different. Instead of eclectic selection from different periods, the fourth century artists looked directly to the preceding period for most of their prototypes. Bothmer's use of the term "archaistic" (n.10) for this phase is justified in the sense that Dynasty 30 did hark back to Dynasty 26 for models, but is incorrect in specific application. It is not to the archaizing strand of Saite art that fourth century designers look principally, but to the modernizing, contemporary trend. The fact that 59 and 60 have so often been assigned to Dynasty 30 on stylistic grounds (p. 40) and the assumption of continuity of art through the Persian interlude (pp. 51-2) testify to the success with which the fourth century artists picked up from those of late Dynasty 26 - early Dynasty 27. This may have been purely a matter of artistic choice, or there may have been an attempt to expunge the recent past by carrying on as though the interruption had never occurred.

The restriction of motifs in Dynasty 30 is striking, with musical performances (74; 75; 76; 78), marsh scenes (67; 71; 72; 78), and offering bearers (68; 69; 70; 77; 79; 80; 95; 96) predominating beside figures of the deceased. These are shown in the "modern" style which grew out of the New Kingdom via the minor arts. Lily-processing is also attested (66). Generally, however, where old motifs are revived or rare scenes occur, they are on reliefs of Dynasty 26 (but cf. 64 [raised]; dubious 93 and 94).

There is still an element of creativity. The urge to democratize royal features resurfaced, and can be seen in the adaptation of the sm3-t3wj motif on 71 to a marsh context, with women as the principals and a papyrus clump replacing the heraldic plants,⁹⁰ and the transformation of the plant cluster on the head of 79 6 into a heraldic group. 64 [raised] provides the most striking example, with the motif of the goddess nursing a private, non-royal person.⁹¹ 82, if in the form of a miniature Ptolemaic-

style temple (see Catalogue), would be an architectural innovation, preceding the chapel of Petosiris, drawn from the religious sphere, although the decoration appears secular.

A few new elements are added. For instance, the chicken which had probably been introduced from Syria in the New Kingdom,⁹² and which occurs occasionally on minor arts objects⁹³ now enters the tomb repertory on 74 A.⁹⁴ It cannot have been an exotic bird by the fourth century,⁹⁵ in light of improved incubation methods about this time,⁹⁶ and its presence here must be as a feature of contemporary life. The cockerel of 74 A is probably a pet (p. 85) rather than an offering, as the placement of offerings directly before the owner is no longer the norm, and offerings would probably be placed before, not on, the mat.

The revived style of late Dynasty 26 was modified slightly, without altering its focus or character. A degree of naturalism appears which stands in contrast to the formalism which crept into some late sixth century works (p. 62). For instance, although the regular arrangement of rigid plant stalks in marsh backgrounds (see above) is occasionally maintained (78 left), it is more often broken up into clumps and/or swaying stems of irregular height, with the plant heads in differing degrees of maturity (67; 72; 78 right); an attempt to indicate the fine texture of papyrus umbels in relief, by the close-set striation of the filaments, is often found (67; 68; 69; 70; 71; 74 B; 77 [offerings]; 78). The interest in texture can be paralleled on human figures in the increased use of folds on garments and the differentiation of weight of layers by them. The floral bouquets which become such a major compositional feature (p. 68) are given a similar more natural treatment. Although symmetry still dominates, the arrangement is looser than in Dynasty 26 prototypes (39; 49), and the stems, not so rigidly bound into a columnar bundle, often have a swelling near the base. Naturalism can be seen on figures in, for instance, the introduction of spiral curls (pp. 97-8) and perhaps the increased use of foreshortening (p. 67). It is uncertain whether this is inspired by Greek contacts or not (p. 97). Given otherwise strong adherence to Egyptian traditions and models, and the use of innovations arising from their own cultural heritage, deliberate borrowing from a Greek overall schema seems unlikely, although indirect inspirations are impossible to detect. The burst of naturalism could show a desire to innovate, within the constraints

felt to be imposed by their Dynasty 26 models.

The "stock types" of figures and groupings which appear in the Heliopolitan group (pp. 171-4) (musicians and owner) represent the output of a single workshop or craftsman who had found a satisfactory "formula" and was experimenting with its application, rather than a dearth of ideas. It is difficult to talk of meaningful trends in the short span of fourth century relief production, although the overcrowded, fussy compositions of the Heliopolitan group and, for instance, 79, as compared to the starkly simplified compositions of 80 and 82 suggest that two different stylistic strands were emerging before the second Persian occupation and then the Greek invasion put an end to this line of development.

Archaism in the inscriptions on these reliefs is largely independent of artistic archaism. It appears mainly in the revival of older titles, name patterns and spellings, and was devised in the overall context of Late Period archaism, not specifically for these reliefs. However, some of the phraseology on the captions is drawn from older scene prototypes and is tied to the scenes themselves. For instance, the reference to *wš* as a feeding place for poultry on 55 belongs to this revived scene type. The caption listing games no longer played on 51 (see above) reflects the archaizing content of the lower sub-register, while the conversational remarks of its figures, unusual on these reliefs, are in the spirit, if not the identical wording, of Old Kingdom comments. The herdsman's apotropaic spell of 42 is drawn directly from the Old Kingdom scene models. "Old-fashioned" words can also be used for descriptions, even when not intimately tied to an archaizing element, to provide an archaizing impression - for example, the *hrj-dbc* cattle of 15. A few phrases are less specific and while most common at one period, occur elsewhere throughout time - for example, the *ndt-hr* of 14 B, 15 and 34, found mainly in the Old Kingdom but occurring with New Year's gifts in the New Kingdom.⁹⁷ In a case like this, it is more difficult to determine whether there really is linguistic archaism and if so, to what period it relates, and whether it is in any way specifically connected with a given relief. The Middle Kingdom filiation pattern on 1 is a good example of an archaizing formula, the extent of whose employment in the Late Period is still unknown, but which seems to have been specially selected to be in keeping with a new scene

which, with its formal division of static figures of relatives, seems to be based on Middle Kingdom models.

Captions can mirror the eclectic character of the compositions themselves. For instance, the Late Period spelling of *m33* on 43 is set in an otherwise predominantly Old-Middle Kingdom based scene type punctuated by occasional Late Period features, such as those centred on the female offering bearer (see above). 15 has its New Kingdom style bull accompanied by a caption with a probably New Kingdom word, which contrasts with the archaic *hrj-d^b*. In the more contemporary Dynasty 30 scenes, with very few captions (p. 50), the opportunity for Late Period language suitable to the style to appear is limited. 64-65 [sunk] is, however, an instance of an extremely original composition containing numerous current writings.

In the following chapters, I analyze in more detail themes which illustrate the strands discussed here - the revival of an old motif (gold-giving and the presentation of linen), a traditional subject which occurs at all periods of Egyptian art but whose treatment differs (music and dance), and a new motif (lily-processing). The chapter on garments and accoutrements discusses individually these items as they occur in the corpus; origins and prototypes are of special concern as many have in the past been assigned a foreign origin.

CHAPTER 7 THEMATIC STUDIES

I. "Giving Gold" and Presenting Linen

Relevant pieces : 30, 60 (gold); 11, 13, perhaps 16 (linen)

"Giving Gold"

One of the less common motifs on these blocks is that of "giving gold", found on 30 and 60. This is an Old Kingdom scene type revived as part of the sixth century archaizing trend (pp. 121-6).¹ The completely preserved lintel 60 shows the tomb owner looking on as a squatting scribe records large jewelry items set before him on two mats, one above the other, while behind him are two confronting pairs of women and one of a woman and a man, all holding outsize jewelry. 30 merely preserves women with large necklaces, the rightmost almost certainly in a paired arrangement. The only captions are the repeated *rdjt nbw*, "giving gold" (on 60 and probably 30)² and *sš nbw*, "scribe of the gold" (60). On the basis of these and of parallels with other tomb scenes where products are brought and presented to the deceased for use in the afterlife, numerous writers have interpreted these scenes as a variant on this theme,³ or on that of the preparation of these goods,⁴ with the Late Period innovation of women as artisans where men were earlier shown.⁵ The alternative, correct explanation - that it is a presentation of jewelry to the women by the tomb owner - has occasionally been recognized.⁶ This identification is based on Junker's study of the motif in the Old Kingdom,⁷ in which the deceased receives and inspects a consignment of linen from the workshop and subsequently rewards the weavers with gifts of jewelry. Junker was only able to cite five examples of this theme,⁸ which first appears in late Dynasty 4-early Dynasty 5 in the tomb of *Nbf-m-3htj* at Giza,⁹ and is confined to the Old Kingdom. He considered it to reflect some public ceremony of recognition for skilled craftsmen, both male and female, and he observed that weaving is the only handicraft so honoured.¹⁰ Whether these artisans were employed in state or private concerns is unclear, but Junker showed that during the Old Kingdom their social status was probably more exalted than previously thought, and important officials, including those of noble birth, could be involved in their management; he pragmatically noted that this "gold" was probably predominantly faience with minor settings of the precious metal.¹¹

The parallels between 13 and 30 and these Old Kingdom scenes of rewarding weavers make it clear that the latter are the "models" or inspirations for the later compositions. Rewarding of female musicians and dancers is also known,¹² but there is nothing in the women's attitudes on 30 and 60 to connect them with such activities. They hold the jewelry as do the Old Kingdom weavers (n. 8) showing that that version rather than the rarer musicians variant is the prototype. A scene in the mortuary complex of Sahure,¹³ shows the king presenting jewelry identical with that awarded to weavers in the private mastaba scenes to a large group of officials of varying ranks, and Harpur suggests that lost Dynasty 4 royal versions of this theme may have provided the models for Old Kingdom private depictions.¹⁴ The Late Period versions must be taken from the private mastabas rather than adapted from royal contexts.¹⁵ Despite Dynasty 26 copying at Abusir,¹⁶ the Sahure and Neuserre scenes do not seem to have provided direct models, although they may have stimulated interest in the motif, leading to its revival from the private sphere. The fact that women are already the recipients in Old Kingdom tombs, so that their inclusion on 30 and 60 is a reflection of the prototypes rather than Dynasty 26 innovation (pp. 127-8), their upright poses (not bowing as in the Abusir scene(s)), and the revival of the other aspect of the scene connected with linen (see below) all favour derivation from Old Kingdom private representations. The caption *rdjt nbw* (see *3htj-ḥtp*) rather than *šsp nbw* (Sahure) might also favour this. As such rewarding scenes are rare in the Old Kingdom and unknown outside Giza and Saqqara,¹⁷ the model(s) for the Late Period scenes must have come from the Memphite area.

Parallels to details in the Old Kingdom compositions can be seen, combined, in a typically Late Period manner, with features of other periods. Even within this corpus 60 presents a particularly eclectic mixture of elements from various phases of Egyptian art (see p. 125). Specific links can be seen between the "giving gold" representation here and the Old Kingdom examples. Of the latter, only *3htj-ḥtp* shows a scribe, standing, specifically recording the jewelry items; he, too, has his back to the recipients and faces the principal. His caption reads *sš m nbw*, as does that on 60. The scribes on the false-door of *Snb* seem either to record the cloth bolts¹⁸ rather than the jewelry rewards for the weavers, which are not displayed *en masse*, or to set down the rewards given to the

weavers as they parade in them.¹⁹ Figures similar to the squatting scribe of 60 are encountered frequently in the Old-Middle Kingdoms²⁰ and his oval "table" (i.e. his equipment case) with central knotting and radiating curved strands has prototypes then.²¹

The extreme size of the jewelry arranged before the scribe on 60 and held by the rewarded figures echoes instances on *3htj-htp*, *Pth-htp*, *Nbj-m-3htj*, and *Htp* where the items are displayed or carried; on these pieces and on the false-door of *Snb*, where the ornaments are actually worn, they are ostentatious but of a more credible size. Their arrangement in two sub-registers on 60 recalls that of *3htj-htp* and *Nbj-m-3htj*, although there, as well as on *Pth-htp*, where a single immense heap of objects is portrayed, the ornaments rest on (i.e. in) chests rather than being laid out on mats, as in the Late Period scene. The restriction of the jewelry on display from the varied Old Kingdom collection to simple broad collars and counterpoises and their neat, symmetrical groups is apparently a Late Period reinterpretation,²² although there may have been other examples of the scene type which were used as models in Dynasty 26, which provided prototypes for seemingly divergent features.

Most of the jewelry items on 30 and 60 have parallels in the Old Kingdom scenes. The plain, unadorned collars already worn by the women holding further rewards on 60 can be seen twice on the relief of *3htj-htp*. The huge counterpoises displayed and held on 60 are not shown being given out or worn in any of the preserved Old Kingdom scenes,²³ but their inclusion in the distribution is known from the item set sideways in the *Pth-htp* chest.²⁴ The plain broad collars held and displayed on 60 are of a type common in Old Kingdom scenes.²⁵ On the Late Period version the internal beadwork is not indicated, although it may have been marked in paint; the bead at the base of the cords is seen in the Old Kingdom, but the exceptionally long cords with tasselled tips and the general shape of the collar, with a very deep chest section narrowing around the shoulders, seem to be Late Period mannerisms. The version on 30, with drop-shaped pendants along the bottom edge and an elaborate pectoral with curling side edging, has an exact counterpart in the Old Kingdom representations,²⁶ but for the arrangement of the internal beading divisions in rows, which could have been modified in paint on 30.

The gold collar used in the writing of *nbw*,  , on both 30 and 60

is not repeated in the figured compositions themselves. Aldred²⁷ claims that its presence here is anachronistic, as the model for this broad collar type was not currently in use. However, the frequent illustration of this sort of collar within this corpus (pp. 222-3) shows this to have been current as part of the continuing artistic tradition. It is difficult to substantiate assertions like that of Aldred, especially given the tendency for precious metals to be reused, the perishability of even faience in the damp Delta soil, and the change in Late Period burial furnishings to specifically funerary and often amuletic accoutrements which might bear little relationship to current "living" fashions. It is conceivable that if a revival is involved, it took place within the sphere of daily life,²⁸ so that 30 and 60 actually reflect contemporary, albeit archaistic, usage. It is, however, probably wrong to read too much into the hieroglyphic sign, whose form was established millennia before and bears no necessary relation to current jewelry fashions.

The short necklace carried by 60 2, 4 and 6, consisting of a barrel-bead between two round ones on a thong, is not found in any of the Old Kingdom depictions. It may be a reinterpretation of the beaded choker,²⁹ but it is sufficiently divergent to suggest a separate creation. Aldred suggests that these necklaces, with what he identifies as the *swrt*-bead,³⁰ were copied from Middle Kingdom archtypes, and the parallels he quotes are virtually identical. However, barrel-beads are known to have been in use during the New Kingdom and the Kushite period,³¹ and a similar necklace with central barrel-bead amidst a round- and tubular-bead strand is worn by the drummer on 74 B in Dynasty 30. The necklace type may thus be an example of "contemporary" jewelry added in the recreation of the rewarding scene, as are the Cypriote earrings placed in the upper ear of 60 2, 4 -6 (see pp. 42-3), rather than an archaism from the Middle Kingdom intruding into a predominantly Old Kingdom-based series of jewelry types.³² There are no Middle Kingdom versions of the scene from which it could have been borrowed, and it seems unnecessary to replace one old-fashioned item of jewelry with another, whereas the substitution of a contemporary item for one no longer in use suggests an updating of the motif to create a blend of elements from different periods.

The layout and poses of some of the figures on 30 and 60 show links with the Old Kingdom representations, although none seems directly based on

any of the preserved versions of the sequence. Costume, wig styles, etc. are discussed elsewhere (Ch. 8.1), but the close-cropped hair or wigs of the women on 30 call for further remark. The hair adheres closely to their heads, unlike the most "standard" short, rounded hairdo (pp. 214-16), which often puffs out slightly at the back and has a rounder look. The shape is common on Old Kingdom women,³³ and it may be drawn from these figures rather than being intended as a contemporary style. Its presence on 30 may be connected with an earlier "gold-giving" prototype. A number of the female weavers (for instance, on *3htj-htp*, *Htpt* and *Snb*)³⁴ sport this hairstyle, and such representations may have influenced the design of the Late Period piece. The fillet worn by the leftmost woman of 30 lacks the rear bow which was a regular feature of the Old Kingdom gift ornaments,³⁵ and it resembles more ordinary types.

The man behind the scribe on 60 is probably not a weaver but is more likely to be an employee of the sort shown handing out jewelry on *3htj-htp*, *Pth-htp*, and *Nbj-m-3htj*.³⁶ The short, rod-like object he rests on his right shoulder has counterparts in some of the Old Kingdom compositions, and may be either a scribe's palette (*3htj-htp* (?)) or a rolled document (*Snb*); in either case, it is scribal. Whether or not his separate function was recognized by the Late Period artists is unknown, but the fact that he retains his scribal equipment, rather than holding a large item of jewelry, suggests that he was differentiated.

While the act of handing the reward to the deserving weaver is shown in the Old Kingdom representations,³⁷ the iconography of 60 and probably 30, with each figure supporting half of the object, is not preserved, although there are instances where the presenter opens out the collar with both hands (*3htj-htp*, *Pth-htp*, and *Mttj* (?)). The central woman on 30 is unusual in neither wearing nor carrying reward jewelry (see Catalogue). The open position of her right hand on her chest has parallels among the earlier "gold giving" scenes (*3htj-htp*, *Pth-htp* (?), *Htpt*, *Nbj-m-3htj*, *Snb*). Junker suggested³⁸ that the gesture derives from the recipient adjusting or proudly fingering the pendant flap of a broad collar, and he noted that where women perform this action, they hold their hand flat against the item itself, rather than supporting the decoration from below. Some rewarded weavers assume this position without actually touching their necklace (*Snb*) or even when not wearing it (*Htpt*), suggesting a standardized

posture, and the gesture on 30 is probably influenced by such examples.

A final distinctive pose which clearly draws on the Old Kingdom "giving gold" scenes is that seen on 60 5 and the left woman of 30.³⁹ The adjustment of the ornamental fillet is well-known among the poses of rewarded weavers (*3htj-htp*, *Nbj-m-3htj* (?), *Snb*), where the remaining fingers seem always to be extended⁴⁰ as on 30, rather than curled into the palm, as on 60. On 60 5, the hand raised to the back of the head, with thumb and forefinger forming a circle, looks mannered and meaningless, and it is only by comparison with 30 and the Old Kingdom material that the gesture acquires meaning. A fillet could have been added in paint which has not survived, but the close placement of the fist along much of the back of the wig allows little space for details like the dangling ends or the ubiquitous Old Kingdom bow; the contemporary Late Period pointed hairstyle (pp. 216-18) might also be difficult to reconcile with a fillet with dangling ends.

It is clear that none of the known Old Kingdom scenes served as a model in the narrow sense or directly inspired 30 or 60. Lost Old Kingdom versions could have served as the source, but there are still enough details from other periods, including the Late Period itself, to preclude direct copying. None of the figures can be directly paralleled, but there are sufficient divergences in costume, poses, and jewelry to suggest an independent Late Period recreation of the "giving gold" motif, based on an awareness of the finer details in earlier scenes and relying on copies of Old Kingdom figures and elements for details such as the fillet-adjusting pose, the hand on the chest, and the broad collar with pectoral flap.

Perhaps the greatest difference between the versions of the two periods lies in the overall conception of the "giving gold" theme. In the Old Kingdom it was viewed as the culmination of a wider set of activities, with the background provided by the representations of the recording and presentation of linen to the tomb owner, occasionally extended further with additional food and cloth rewards, as in the tomb of *Pth-htp*.⁴¹ The Late Period scenes, on the other hand, seem to be entirely without context, and it is only by reference to the fuller earlier versions that one learns that, at least in the Old Kingdom, it is weavers being rewarded by the tomb owner rather than an ordinary presentation of tomb goods.⁴² 30 could conceivably derive from a larger composition laid out on Old Kingdom lines,

as it may be a wall fragment. However, its general dimensions and the preponderance of lintels in the corpus, suggest that it comes from a lintel. 60 is certainly one, and self-contained. 59, the other known lintel from the tomb of *Nfr-sšm-psmtk*, has a scene of agricultural offerings, which does not provide a "weaving" context for the "giving gold". Even if adjacent wall scenes, in relief or paint, had cloth preparation and presentation scenes, the placement of the "giving gold" above a doorway and not in the midst of a larger composition would mark a separation of ideas. The Old Kingdom depictions provide the additional important information that the presence of women as recipients is not a Late Period innovation (pA 127-8), but integral to the original motif.

Presenting linen

In the Old Kingdom the presentation of linen to the tomb owner is essentially a background setting for the more important "giving gold",⁴³ which occupies a more central position in the layout. 11 and 13 have suffered separation from the rewarding context, as the "gold giving" has from its weaving context. Both are lintels and therefore self-contained compositions, and neither is sufficiently similar stylistically to 30 to suggest that they come from the same tomb. Like "giving gold", the presentation of linen is primarily an Old Kingdom theme.⁴⁴ Later examples of cloth among gifts abound, but it tends to be included or carried by offering bearers among other gifts, rather than forming a sequence in itself.⁴⁵

Links between 11 and 13 and cloth presentation sections of scenes of the type cited above (n. 8) are clear. Representations range from the very condensed tableau of *Snb* to the fuller packing and displaying scenes of *3htj-ḥtp* and *Nbj-m-3htj* to the version in *Pth-ḥtp*, where reallocation of cloth to the weavers as part of their rewards is featured, although the area showing the presentation to the tomb owner is now destroyed. Although women are rewarded as weavers, they play no part in the Old Kingdom scenes of preparation and delivery of cloth. This shows that the male participants on 13 follow Old Kingdom practice. The temporary storage of linen rolls in chests with bending figures packing or unpacking the rolls is known (*3htj-ḥtp*; *Nbj-m-3htj*);⁴⁶ *3htj-ḥtp* shows additional chests set one above the other but not in current use, as on 13. The figure holding

vertical cloth rolls with wider-flaring lower ends outward from each side of his body has an exact parallel, but for the differences in kilt, in *3htj-ḥtp*. Figures supporting a curved roll across the body with both arms are also found in *Snb* and *3htj-ḥtp*, although the arm positions vary and are not the same as on 13. None of the preserved linen presentation scenes shows the flaring garment opened out between 13 3 and 4, but contemporary parallels for it exist in mixed offering contexts.⁴⁷ The possibility of inspiration from a lost archetype cannot be excluded.

3htj-ḥtp and *Mttj* (?) provide a particularly strong parallel for the grouping of the first figure and the deceased on 13 and on 11 (where the minor figure is lost), who reaches out a hand to touch the extended rectangular object proffered. The single register of the lintels does not offer the same problems of scale which the large Old Kingdom tomb owners present, and which is solved in *3htj-ḥtp* by extending the rectangular object over two rows and bearers, and in *Mttj* (?) by reducing the item and confining it to a single figure in a sub-register. The captioned group of scribes with document rolls under their arms and the roll visible in the hand of the presenting figure make it clear in the case of *Mttj* (?) that the rectangle is a papyrus list. This is less certain on the relief of *3htj-ḥtp*, where the figures are not captioned and bear no marks of scribal status; the fact that they seem here to form part of the linen presenting procession makes it as likely that the rectangle is an unrolled piece of cloth that the owner examines as that it is a papyrus sheet.⁴⁸

Similar arguments and uncertainty apply to 13, and it is possible that the Late Period designer did not understand the rectangle in the same way as his Old Kingdom predecessor. The owner's flat palm against the object, the archaizing high-backed chair and the presumed position of his right arm draped over its side (p. 125) are particularly close to the representation on *Mttj* (?). On 11 the deep fringe at the bottom makes it certain that fabric was presented and examined. The deep fringe/border along the bottoms of the cloth rolls and open garment on 13 suggest that a similar decoration was probably added to the item proffered by 1 if it represents cloth, so that its original identification may have been clearer. These deep fringes do not have counterparts on the Old Kingdom representations, unless they were added in paint⁴⁹; they may belong to the more common use of fringed garments seen from the New Kingdom onward. The scene with

chests in the tomb of *3htj-ḥtp* raises the possibility that 16 may come from a similar scene. Nothing to indicate the chest contents remains on 16, although it may have been clarified to the left. It would not be a "sale",⁵⁰ but a standard scene of presentation of goods to the deceased. The texts on 16 are problematic and there are similarities of vocabulary with *3htj-ḥtp*, so that 16 could be a reinterpretation of the traditional scene, emphasizing the sealing of the boxes rather than their contents. The fact that 13 and 16 are from Bubastis shows that one or more versions of this revived Old Kingdom scene made from tomb scenes in the Memphite cemeteries had travelled into the Delta, probably in pattern-book form.

The "giving gold" and presentation of cloth motifs are a clear revival of an Old Kingdom theme which had passed out of use and show its reinterpretation to fit a different context - single register lintels instead of multi-register wall decoration. The fact that the Late Period artists felt free to divide what had previously been a unified scene to form two complete tableaux, which one would not realize had initially belonged together without reference to the Old Kingdom originals, shows that either they did not fully appreciate the unity of the borrowed composition or ^{they} did not feel tightly bound by its tradition. Elements were drawn upon freely, selecting enough intact to leave the origins of the composition clear, while adding new features to update or create a new version, or simply to change it according to their preferences.

II. Music and Dance

Relevant pieces : 6 E; 28; 36; 40; 41; 50; 51; 74; 75; 76; 78

The musical scenes which are a prominent motif on blocks in this corpus vary considerably in their context and historical associations. They are found continuously from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period, and their broad development is comparatively easy to trace. The instruments are readily identifiable, and recent surveys have assembled abundant material.¹

However, these works do not gather the musical representations and instrument types of the Late Period as thoroughly as those of earlier periods. It is therefore difficult to put these Lower Egyptian blocks into a larger context, and a proper musicological study might modify some of my conclusions. Nevertheless, there are enough specific points of contact with earlier periods to make a detailed study of the subject desirable. My concern is with the general significance of the scenes in the context of the corpus rather than with musicological aspects.

Chordophones

Stringed instruments are the commonest type on these reliefs, and all the main categories - harps, lutes, lyres - are represented. This preponderance is general throughout Egyptian history.

Harps

The harp was highly regarded both for its music and as a suitable possession of, or dedication to, the gods.² Eight harps appear on six reliefs in this corpus, making it the best-represented instrument. A large variety of forms existed and scholars do not agree on typology, evolution, or terminology. For convenience, I have accepted Manniche's definition and identification of shovel-shaped harps on 6 E and 51.³

One acknowledged feature of Egyptian harps is that, contrary to Near Eastern practice, they were played with the strings vertical, the instrument frame against the musician's chest and the strings toward the front, the longest outermost at the open side. Egyptian harps always have the sound-box, a wooden frame covered with coloured skin, at the bottom, while on the imported angular version it is carried vertically. Egyptian harpists used their fingers, never a plectrum,⁴ as in the Near East, and a number of plucking positions are known, involving both hands plucking

simultaneously or consecutively or one hand plucking the string while the other shortens it for a subsidiary note. Photographs of the harpists on 6 E are indistinct, and the first harpist is damaged at this point. The second seems to have the fingers of his upper, left hand spread on the far side of the strings (shown as though pushed through them - cf. the lyre on 75) and those of his right hand together; this may represent double-handed plucking but it does not look as realistic as many other examples. The remaining reliefs show the near hand plucking with the two forefingers, the thumb extended at varying angles and the other two digits curled inward (except 75, lost at this point, but probably similar to 74 A and 76). The hand behind the strings has the fingers spread but not held rigid. This is not the position of thumb and little finger on the same string which the other hand plucks,⁵ but if it illustrates double-handed plucking, there is no clear reason for the great variation in hand positions.

bnt (Wb. I, 457), the ordinary Old Kingdom word for "harp", is used on 6 E, 50 and 51 for the shovel-shaped instrument, after Old Kingdom usage. It continues to be the most common word for "harp" and was applied to the new angular form in the Late Period, as is seen on 75. The other term for "harp", *d3d3t* (Wb. V, 533), possibly found from the Middle Kingdom onward and sometimes applied to late angular harps, does not occur on these reliefs. It is unclear whether the terms were used concurrently or whether *bnt* is an archaism here. *sqr* (Wb. IV, 306-7), with either or both determinatives  and , is the usual verb for "plucking" the harp,⁶ and is used on all these pieces where captions are preserved.

Shovel-shaped harps (6 E; 50; 51) - Vertical harps apparently originated in Sumer.⁷ The initial stages of Egyptian harp development are still unclear, but H. Hickmann suggested that the earliest version attested in Egypt, with the shallow shovel-shaped sound-box, was of Egyptian origin.⁸ These harps vary in size and have a gently-curving neck projecting from the sound-box; 6-12 strings are wound around the neck and immovable pegs at the top,⁹ and tied onto a movable suspension-rod below.¹⁰ The representation on 6 E shows 12 (right) and 14 (left) strings clustered together in a column-like arrangement toward the open outer side of the harp, in a manner almost universal in the Old Kingdom.¹¹ The fuller covering of the interior by strings, as on 50 and 51, is more closely allied with New Kingdom iconography.¹² 50 has 9 pegs and 8 "main" strings, with two more close to

the harper's body included almost as an afterthought and only shown above and below his shoulder. Despite their tiny size, the harps on 51 have 9 pegs and 8 strings (left) and a varying 8-9 strings to an uncertain number of pegs (right).

The shovel-shaped harp is the characteristic form of the Old Kingdom¹³ and continues into the Middle Kingdom. It was mainly an orchestral instrument, very frequently occurring in combination with the oblique flute and the double clarinet (see n. 62) although it could accompany voices by itself. In the Old Kingdom it is played primarily by men; women harpists are increasingly common in the Middle and New Kingdoms.¹⁴ The male harpers are usually depicted as of "ideal" age, like the other musicians, and in this respect 6 and 51 follow the usage of their early models. The elderly harper (often soloist) is typical of the New Kingdom,¹⁵ and to see one playing a shovel-shaped harp on 50 suggests a degree of eclecticism, as by the time of these reliefs, the type had long been out of use,¹⁶ so that its presence can be considered a definite archaism.

Angular harps (74 A; 75; 76) - During Dynasty 18 a new type of harp probably directly connected with the angular vertical harp of Babylonia¹⁷ appeared in Egypt. It became increasingly popular in Egypt in the first millennium, when it was also widespread in Asia.¹⁸ Its chief feature is the sharp angle at the juncture of the neck and sound-box. Contrary to the pattern with "indigenous" Egyptian harps, the sound-box is not at the bottom, but runs vertically along the player's body, while the neck emerges from the bottom.¹⁹ It was steadied in position by a narrow wooden block protruding from the lower end of the sound-box, which the harpist clamped between his legs (not visible on these reliefs). Construction details are well known from the excellently-preserved Louvre N.1441.²⁰ The strings were attached to an immovable suspension-rod which was an integral part of the sound-box, running its whole length; it was fixed firmly in place and covered with the skin which enclosed the box itself, with only the string holes exposed. The strings were wrapped around the horizontal neck, reinforced with small cords and ribbons with tasselled ends. The insignificant fastening pegs are not often visible in representations since they were situated along one side of the neck. Tuning was by adjustment along the neck.²¹ The 12 small conical objects along the lower side of the neck on 74 A are probably decorative tassels rather than fastening pegs,

but they do not correspond to the 9 strings incised. The relatively deep blank area below the neck on 76 suggests that longer or slightly dangling tassels were added in paint. The strings, too, could be schematically treated in relief (except 75). Such representations do not convey the increase in the number of strings (21-25) found in preserved angular harps, which allows a greater melodic range.²² The angular harps pictured on these reliefs are of the larger variety.²³

Like other harps, angular ones are played by women as well as men.²⁴ E. Hickmann's statement that the instrument was mainly used solo or accompanied a solo singer is incorrect, as it occurs often in orchestras.²⁵ The context in which angular harps were used is also disputed. Ziegler²⁶ claims the larger version was only played in cult practices, with the smaller one employed in the same, wider sphere as the arched harp, whereas E. Hickmann²⁷ believes the angular harp to have been used almost exclusively at secular feasts and to be a folk music instrument (presumably in the Late Period on a level with the double clarinet and the oblique flute - see below). "Secular" and "folk" music are not interchangeable terms; the former should be understood as non-sacred music spanning all social levels, while the latter comprises the "ordinary", "village" music of the majority of the population. The scenes on 74 A, 75 and 76 show performances given for a tomb owner which could therefore be of a type not available to or appreciated by the majority of the people. They do not support the assumption that the angular harp was solely a folk music instrument, although it may have been played in that context too. This role in private celebrations, whether or not they have a link with Hathor (see pp. 175-6), shows, on the other hand, that the angular harp was not exclusively a cult instrument either. It would probably be fairer to regard its use as unrestricted, like earlier arched harp types.

Lutes (76)

At present, the lute appears only once on these blocks - on 76 - although it was probably originally also shown on 74 and 75 (p. 172).

The lute,²⁸ thought to have originated in Mesopotamia during the late third millennium, became common throughout the Near East, where its simplicity, versatility and portability made it popular among nomadic peoples. It may have been introduced to Egypt from Syria c. 1500,²⁹ and it

became widespread in later Dynasty 18. While a huge variety of lutes with a multiplicity of shapes occur in the Near East, the Egyptian preference was for the long-necked lute, named *gngntj*,³⁰ which continued in use into the Ptolemaic period, beside others which seem to have emerged in Ramessid times.³¹ It is the type with the pear- or almond-shaped sound-box which is pictured on 76.³²

Extant instruments range from about 0.62-1.20 m long, and consist of a fretted neckpiece passing through the hollow skin-covered sound-box of wood or tortoise-shell. The gut strings were not attached by pegs to the upper end of the neck, as they are on modern stringed instruments, but were knotted at the top and tied to small spiralling fastening cords, which often had a decorative knot or tassel at the other end that swung free. The movable attachment at the lower end of the strings was pushed up and down for tuning; because all the strings were of the same thickness and had to be adjusted together, it is surmised that they were tuned in unison. Lutes had two or three strings only, one of which may have served as a drone, and fingering was assisted by several frets, which were probably cords fastened around the neck.³³ The four tasselled cords depending from the end of the lute neck on 76 are therefore problematic. Either they indicate a four-stringed lute, which does not appear to be attested elsewhere in Egyptian iconography,³⁴ or one or two may show tasselled ends to the separate lashing which held the upper ends of the (two or three) in place - or the representation is imprecise. The loss of the paint which presumably indicated the strings, and possibly frets, leaves this question irresolvable. Egyptians generally plucked their lutes with a plectrum, which is often depicted attached to the neck by a cord; extant examples are either oval or shaped like small pointed sticks and are pierced for suspension.³⁵ The plectrum, held between the thumb and index finger of the right hand, was struck against the strings just above the sound-box, but during the Late Period the lower ends of the strings were strummed.³⁶ This is shown on 76, where the oval plectrum is not attached to the instrument, although this detail may have been indicated in paint. The realistic fingering position differs from those illustrated by Manniche.

Egyptian lute-playing differed significantly from that of the rest of the Near East in having female as well as male players.³⁷ The instrument soon acquired a place in sacred and secular music, at court and at private

banquets. In Theban tomb paintings, it normally forms part of an orchestral ensemble, mainly associated with harps, lyres, double oboes and the rectangular tambourine. In other contexts, however, it was played alone, probably accompanying singing, and the young girl with the lute, often scantily clad and sometimes dancing, became a popular motif on New Kingdom minor arts objects.³⁸ The lute-player on 76 is similar in many respects to such representations, although the pose is more restrained, without tossing hair, twisting torso or lute at an unusual angle. There are New Kingdom examples, however, which show the lutenist in a more sedate pose, with a knee gently bent and a foot or heel raised, contrasting with others in a firmly-planted standing stance, which may depict a restrained dance-step.³⁹ If the lutenist on 76 is executing a simple dance-step, so is her lyre-playing companion (and identical figures on 74 B, 75, 78), in exactly the same stance but for her turned head (see below).

Lyres (40; 74; 75; 76; 78)

This instrument, of which there are two basic types - symmetrical and asymmetrical⁴⁰ - consists of a sound-box of varying shape from which two arms emerge supporting a yoke or crossbar. The elaborate decorative finials often seen on the yoke arms of other types of lyre are absent from the rectangular form pictured here, but the incised rosette on 75 shows that the sound-box could be ornamented.⁴¹ The strings were attached to the bottom of the sound-box by a metal or wooden device and spread upward to the yoke, around which they were coiled, intermixed with thin straps or cords forming cushions, which could be adjusted for tuning; the pads are prominent on 75 but not elsewhere. The number of strings varied with time from 5 to 15 on asymmetrical lyres; the relatively narrow rectangular lyres shown on these pieces seem to fall at the lower end of that range - 7 are incised on 75 and 76, 6 on 74 B, while 78 seems never to have had the strings carved and 40 is too weathered to provide details. The instrument is sometimes attached to a cord fastened to the player's wrist,⁴² as on 74 B. Egyptian lyres were most often struck with a plectrum running across all the strings, usually held in the right hand, although there are rare examples of plucking with the fingers held vertically. 78 shows the wide end of an egg-shaped plectrum against the strings, while it has a finger-like shape on 74 B and 75, and is tiny on 76 (40 is lost). The other wrist

rests against the far side of the top of the sound-box⁴³ and the fingers are spread lengthwise along certain strings to prevent their vibration; open strings gave a stifled sound.

Like the lute and the tambourine, the lyre was of Mesopotamian origin. It was probably introduced to Egypt from the Syro-Palestinian area, and only really enters the Egyptian pictorial repertory in Dynasty 18.⁴⁴ Its syllabically-written Egyptian name *kn-jnfw-rw* (*Wb.* V, 132) came with it, from the Semitic *kinnor* (Akkadian *kin-nu-ru*; Greek *κινύρα*).⁴⁵ Whereas in the Near East it had been essentially a solo instrument played by men, in Egypt, with the exception of the giant lyre,⁴⁶ it was played mainly by women. It was used almost exclusively as an orchestral instrument, occurring frequently with harps, lutes, tambourines and oboes in the small musical groups at New Kingdom banquets;⁴⁷ the lyre-player, like the lutenist, is often a scantily-clad woman who dances as well.⁴⁸ The lyre is occasionally shown in a non-secular context.⁴⁹ The Egyptian lyre exhibits a huge variety of forms,⁵⁰ so that only classification on broad lines can be meaningful.

Portable symmetrical lyres occasionally appear in the New Kingdom,⁵¹ but the small rectangular symmetrical sort shown in this corpus seems to be a late introduction, sometime after 1000.⁵² There are Saite/early Persian representations (besides 40),⁵³ as well as post-Persian instances on 74 B, 75, 76 and 78. Since no depictions have been identified from the Third Intermediate Period, the instrument may actually have been introduced during the Saite period. That it came from Asia, is certain - lyres of this type are known from eighteenth century Syria and were popular further east in first millennium Assyria.⁵⁴

The main difference from the asymmetrical New Kingdom lyres is the vertical or slightly oblique position in which it is held;⁵⁵ as with the angular harp, when the foreign instrument was adopted, the playing position was changed. 40 has the player seated facing straight ahead, as is normal, with the lyre resting across her near (left) shoulder. On the Heliopolitan group (pp. 73-4 and below), the figure of the lyre-player is given such a distinctive stance that the lost lower section of 75 can be confidently reconstructed from the others. The woman stands with her weight on the right leg, the left heel slightly raised and the knee gently bent; her left arm is close to her body with the forearm held upright behind the

instrument, the right arm is bent at about waist-level to strum the lower part of the strings, and, most distinctively, her body twists above the waist so that the shoulders are frontal, while the head turns back over the shoulder to face the lyre. Deviation in these figures is confined to minor details.

The backward-turning head is significant since most musicians face the same direction as their instruments, the exception being lutenists, who may turn their heads.⁵⁶ Instances may be found in an almost identical pose to these lyre-players,⁵⁷ and it may be that the Late Period designers took a conventionalized musician's stance and simply substituted a different instrument to create this Heliopolitan "stock figure" (for the possibility that this figure is dancing, see p. 172). Pieces like London BM 47992 (n. 53) show the rectangular lyre in cult ceremonies. Ziegler implies that it had a primarily or exclusively ceremonial role,⁵⁸ but the Heliopolitan group reveal a different context, and the aquatic 40 and 78 are not predominantly religious (see below).

Although there were significant technical changes in the art of lyre-playing in Greece in the fifth century,⁵⁹ their impact on Egypt is unknown. The fact that the "new" rectangular lyre had certainly arrived in Egypt by the sixth century (see n. 53) and came from Asia rather than Greece - none of the Greek lyre types is rectangular - suggests that the new instrument shape and any innovations in playing did not come to Egypt together from the same place. 78 shows what may be a unique example of a normally orchestral instrument being played virtually alone, with only 8 providing accompaniment by slapping her thigh (p. 162); whether the lyre-player is singing as well as playing is unclear. The entire representation is of a "stock figure" found (and probably developed) elsewhere in the Heliopolitan group as part of an ensemble, following the New Kingdom use of the lyre as an orchestral instrument, with the singing role devolving on the harper. The scene may, nevertheless, evoke a Greek-style virtuoso song and lyre performance by means of an isolated lyre-player. The unusual plucking position of her left hand, instead of the rigid straightforward stoppage of the strings seen elsewhere, may show the left-handed plucking which was growing increasingly common in Greek music and illustrations, although the plectrum in the right hand is depicted as though in use. Alternatively, the figure may convey no more than the idea of music on board a boat (as on

40), which the crowded scene and the limited space of a lintel did not permit to be elaborated more fully. The lyre-player may be selected as the token figure, with an adjacent figure performing simple "body music", where a New Kingdom artist would probably have chosen the lutenist.

Aerophones

The classification and dating of Egyptian aerophones is fraught with difficulties, due to the separation and loss of essentially simple components and to wide variation in instrument size and the number and arrangement of finger-holes.⁶⁰ The only piece in the corpus on which wind instruments are shown is 51; Lise Manniche has kindly identified them as the oblique flute and the double clarinet (personal communication). This relief is heavily archaizing and the aerophones hark back to the Old and Middle Kingdoms; New Kingdom varieties are not represented.

Oblique flute (51)

51 2 plays the indigenous oblique flute, known as *m3t* (Wb. II, 6) to the Egyptians. Named for the position in which it was played,⁶¹ the oblique flute was a simple tube, usually of reed; it was blown across the upper end, without an upper air hole or special mouthpiece. The small, variable numbers of finger-holes grouped toward the lower end are not always clear in representations. The features which distinguish this flute from other aerophones are its extreme length and relatively wide diameter; the musical range depends upon the length of the tube. Comparisons with the virtually identical modern Arab *nāy* suggest that despite its simplicity, the oblique flute had a rich range in the hands of a skillful musician, who could vary the angle and intensity of breathing as well as the position of his fingers to produce a great variety of sounds.

The oblique flute was a favourite instrument during the Old Kingdom, when it was played exclusively by men; women appear in this role in the Middle Kingdom. The player usually squats with one knee on the ground and the flute slanting across his body. It is a common constituent in orchestral groups,⁶² where it is thought that it performed the melody, sometimes in company with the clarinet, and was also used to accompany singers.⁶³ The number of Old Kingdom flautists known by name suggests that these performers were highly regarded.⁶⁴ There are fewer representations of the instrument in the Middle Kingdom, and depictions become rare in the

New Kingdom,⁶⁵ when its orchestral role is largely usurped by the "oboe" and other new aerophones adopted from Asia.⁶⁶ Its simplicity and close similarity with the *nāy*, probably a direct descendant, argue against its having totally vanished, to be reinvented, although its continued use may have been in contexts or among social groups not ordinarily shown on the monuments.⁶⁷ A small bronze flute inscribed in demotic shows that it existed during the Ptolemaic period,⁶⁸ and it is prominent in later Isiac processions.⁶⁹ With the exception of a single representation in the Festival Hall of Osorkon II, which may be archaizing,⁷⁰ 51 and the music scene in the tomb of Ibi at Thebes (n. 113) are the only known illustrations of the oblique flute after the New Kingdom.

Double clarinet (51)

51 4 plays the double clarinet; its simplified representation resembling a single tube is conventional.⁷¹ The instrument is composed of two wood or metal tubes of identical length, shorter than those of the oblique flute, over 10 mm in diameter (without the flare of modern western clarinets), fixed side by side with resinous material and tied by cords or fine ribbons at both ends.⁷² Each tube has a separate vibrating reed mouthpiece inserted into a slit near the upper end, which was blocked off, but details are uncertain as almost no reed mouthpieces are preserved. Four to six finger-holes regularly spaced along the tubes were arranged symmetrically, with minor variations, so that when the fingers simultaneously stopped corresponding holes on both tubes, the sound produced was intentionally not identical.

Like the oblique flute, the double clarinet is characteristic of the Old Kingdom, and was played exclusively by men; it is distinguishable by its horizontal playing position (see n. 61). It often occurs in orchestral groups with harps and flutes (see n. 62), but the fact that no ancient clarinetist is known by name implies that these performers had a lower status than the others, who were often individualized.⁷³ Sporadic Middle Kingdom examples show its continued existence, but in the New Kingdom it, too, fell from favour and is rarely illustrated in the Theban tombs; when it is shown, it is in the realm of "folk music", among rural festivities,⁷⁴ rather than in formal orchestral ensembles. The Medinet Ghurob instrument (n. 72) shows that it was still used during the Byzantine period, and its

close similarity with the modern *zummāra* suggests that its history as a popular instrument may have continued uninterrupted.⁷⁵ 51 is the only known post-New Kingdom representation. The lost left-hand section of the Ibi musician scene may well have contained a double clarinet player, since they are so common in combination with harps and oblique flutes in the Old Kingdom tableaux which must have provided the models here (see further below).

The captions on 51 cause some problem, as both the oblique flute and the double clarinet are labelled *sb m m3t*, "playing the flute", employing the term regularly used for the oblique flute. The double clarinet is known as *mnt* (*Wb.* II, 59) in the Old Kingdom⁷⁶ and *zb3 (m) mnt*, with a double-pipe determinative, is the regular phrase for clarinet playing. The determinative here, however, shows the separate reed mouthpiece of the clarinet, rather than the simple flute, to which it is once erroneously (?) applied. Several explanations are possible. The artist, in rendering unfamiliar Old Kingdom instruments and captions, may not have realized the appropriate distinction or may simply have used the name of one aerophone for both. As such representations had long since fallen into disuse in some circles, he may not have been aware that two different instruments were intended, but assumed they were both the oblique flute held in different positions (see n. 61; for confusion in the accompanying gaming scene, see pp. 123-4). It is also possible that when these old-fashioned instruments fell from favour and entered the "folk music" sphere, distinctions were not maintained and a generic *m3t* was employed; in this case, the labels might reflect current usage. Haplography in the phrase *sb m (m)mt* is unlikely, as one would expect such a deliberate, contrived spelling, based on specific background knowledge, to differ in some respect from the oblique flute caption. On the whole, the determinative suggests a visual or "physical" uncertainty rather than a purely verbal one.

Membranophones

Drums and tambourines (or frame-drums) probably played the principal rhythmic role in Egyptian music when they were present in the Nile Valley, with clapping and other "body music" (see below) providing accents of beat or rhythm.⁷⁷

Barrel drum (36; 74 B; 75; 76)

The barrel drum was known as *qmqm* or later, *tbn*.⁷⁸ Despite its popularity in African and modern Egyptian folk music, the barrel drum entered Egypt comparatively late and had only limited use there. The earliest attestation is a Middle Kingdom instrument found at Beni Hasan, but it did not enter the pictorial repertory until the New Kingdom. The drum on 75 is virtually lost, and those on 36 and 76 rendered in outline form only, without construction details, which may have been added in paint, while 74 B has the structural details incised. Here the instrument seems to be of medium size, with a slightly elongated body and a distinctive system of close-set parallel cords running the length of the body, holding the end membranes in place;⁷⁹ the narrow vertical band at their edges shows where the cords are attached to the membranes, either threaded through perforations and knotted or caught through separate thongs.⁸⁰ Ziegler⁸¹ suggests that this lacing system first appeared in Dynasty 25. The playing technique remained the same until Roman times: the drum was suspended around the neck by a strap and struck on both surfaces with the bare hands.⁸² The drummers of 74 B, 75, and 76 appear to rest the forearm of the hand striking the "upper" membrane along the upper side of the drum barrel, while the player on 36 apparently approaches this membrane from the side, her forearm hidden by the instrument; how much this corresponds to the actual playing position is unknown.

During the New Kingdom, the barrel drum is played by men. Its associations seem specific, but whether they were primarily military or African⁸³ is not clear. Nubians in particular use it to accompany their dances, including those in religious contexts,⁸⁴ and as Nubians were employed mainly as soldiers during the New Kingdom, the drum is found frequently in military scenes.⁸⁵ Nubian marching songs or rhythms may have resembled their dance beats, making the drum equally at home in both contexts. It occurs in only one New Kingdom private musical ensemble.⁸⁶

It was only after the New Kingdom that the drum lost its military associations in Egypt. Male players are now generally priests⁸⁷ and women players occur regularly for the first time.⁸⁸ The earliest instance is on a Saite block from Karnak, on which a woman accompanies a group of dancing girls,⁸⁹ in a less restrained group than that on 36. The barrel drum also now finds a place in orchestral ensembles,⁹⁰ apparently replacing the

tambourine as the chief rhythm instrument (cf. n. 103). Whether it continued to have a Sudanese connection at this period, as Ziegler asserts, is less clear. Certainly, two examples⁹¹ come from the south, but, as she admits, evidence from Egypt itself becomes rarer. In fact, besides the four Lower Egyptian blocks in this corpus, the depictions from Karnak and Medamud, a Naukratis statuette (London BM 58309, see n. 87), and actual instruments found in Egypt (n. 79) show it well established within Egypt, without any specifically Nubian links, and it may simply be that the absence of Delta material to balance the well-preserved evidence from Kushite Nubia creates a misleading impression. It is not surprising that an instrument of African origin should continue popular in Nubia, but it is unlikely that it should still be considered as African in a purely Egyptian context, after over a thousand years of familiarity and diffusion into priestly and female hands.

Round tambourine (40)

The tambourine, or frame-drum,⁹² consists of a shortened wooden frame to which the parchment membranes for striking are attached. The instrument is regularly held at about face height in the left hand, which probably executed some of the less important rhythms, while the right struck the main blows. The representation on 40 conforms to this pattern.

The tambourine was introduced to Egypt from Mesopotamia, where it apparently originated, during Dynasty 18.⁹³ Despite the regular use of *O* as a determinative, the term *sr* (*Wb* IV, 191) appears to refer to both the round and the rectangular tambourine, while the later *tbn* comprises both tambourines and the barrel drum (see n. 78). Whereas the rectangular tambourine enjoyed only a brief period of popularity in Egypt during Dynasties 18-19,⁹⁴ the round version was used continuously from its introduction into the Roman period. Perhaps the most notable feature of its use in Egypt is its almost exclusive connection with women;⁹⁵ this is not unique, and even today in traditional oriental music tambourine-playing is done by women.⁹⁶ The principal example of men (priests) playing the round tambourine is in the Festival Hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis, where the extreme size of the instrument, necessitating a separate carrier and player, suggests that it may have been regarded somewhat differently from the ordinary version.⁹⁷ Otherwise it is played only by Bes and more rarely

Anubis and later Eros-Harpocrates, deities closely connected (at least in these contexts) with women.⁹⁹ Both designs on the membranes themselves, and the contexts in which the representations occur, show round tambourines to have been used in cults of goddesses, particularly Hathor in Graeco-Roman temples, as well as Isis, Bastet, and others, and its role has consequently been compared to that of the sistrum.⁹⁹ Manniche contends that the round tambourine had a religious function at first, its earliest known representations being in *sd*-festival scenes of Amenhotep III,¹⁰⁰ and that it was during the reign of Akhenaten, with its extension of the religious domain into everyday life, that the instrument acquired a place in the secular sphere. However, the rectangular tambourine entered private orchestral tableaux earlier in Dynasty 18,¹⁰¹ and it may be simply chance that no depictions of the round version are known before Amenhotep III. Both are "feminine" instruments, the same name was used for both, and when both are shown, their use appears the same.

The tambourine provided a rhythm in orchestral ensembles at banquets and elsewhere¹⁰² where the barrel drum, with its early military links, was excluded, and it may be the tambourine which the drum has replaced in the Late Period ensembles of 74, 75 and 76, and on 36.¹⁰³ 40 illustrates the continued use of the round tambourine in a New Kingdom-style ensemble.

Chironomy (6 E; 51)

Chironomy,¹⁰⁴ the direction of a musical ensemble by a series of distinctive hand movements, was widespread into the Middle Ages, is still used in the Orient, and was commonly believed to be of Egyptian origin. Its purpose, in the absence of written music, was to recreate the melody movement, to remind singers of what they already knew and, when singers improvised, to assist accompanists. H. Hickmann has shown that chironomy was highly developed and that the wide range of poses and gestures represented on reliefs corresponds to reality. From the start gestures probably had an explicit and understood meaning, although later they became traditional and even unconscious. Chironomic signs can be broadly divided into rhythmic and melodic signals, although the distinction was not always clear-cut. Rhythmic gestures often involve striking the knee or leg, or a hand resting on the leg, in a sonorous type of "body music". On neither 6 E nor 51 are such details visible because the relevant figures are

damaged at waist level. Traces of the raised far knee on 51 6 and 7 show no remains of striking hands, but the broken arms are positioned so that the open or clenched hands could be striking the lowered knee.¹⁰⁵ The relevant figure in 6 E is more problematic. Petrie's photograph (see Catalogue) shows the upper left arm crossing the man's torso at a more pronounced angle than on 51. Hickmann's line drawing of this figure¹⁰⁶ shows the horizontally-extended forearm, with the hand missing; in such a position, it could either have been striking the raised knee (completely lost) or hovering above the lowered knee.

The rhythmic chironomic gesture of counting the beats on the fingers, touching each in turn with the thumb, is an ancient practice common in oriental music. The man directly before the harpists in 6 E is doing this with his upraised right hand, touching the little finger with his thumb.¹⁰⁷ 51 7, who touches his middle finger with his thumb, is more likely counting time than snapping his fingers.¹⁰⁸

All the gestures that cannot be ascribed to striking time or counting musical beats fall into the category of melodic rhythmic signs. Most obvious is the "singer's gesture", putting the extended hand to the ear. The meaning of this is lost, and the theory that it augments internal resonances has been denied.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, it is still a widespread traditional pose associated with singing throughout the Orient and southern Africa, and the man in the musical scene in 6 E and 51 5¹¹⁰ are singer-chironomes. Signals with the other hand are melodic rather than rhythmic, and are confined to two types, in which the free hand is partly extended, with the thumb and index finger forming a circle, or is opened flat and extended at varying heights and angles; the latter is seen on both these reliefs. The angle and position of the arm may have a musical meaning, with a raised arm perhaps indicating a higher note and a lowered arm a lower note, and the internal arm angle possibly indicating musical intervals,¹¹¹ but it is unknown whether the hand gesture had any musical significance. H. Hickmann believed that the chironomic gestures of singer-chironomes aided instrumentalists to accompany an improvised tune. Figures without a hand to the ear are thought to be pure chironomes, not singers as well, employing both hands in musical signalling, with melodic or rhythmic gestures or a combination. The figure directly before the harpists in 6 E and 51 6 and 7 are such specialist chironomes in appearance (despite the

captions), with 51 6, with his open hand held vertically, engaging in a combination of rhythmic and melodic gestures¹¹² if the lost hands of these individuals were once employed in knee-slapping (see above); 7 is practising rhythmic chironomy, and the musician in 6 E combined or purely rhythmic chironomy (depending upon the interpretation of the finger gesture).

The positioning of the chironome before the harpists in 6 E makes physical sense and numerous parallels exist, as they do for the siting of the three chironomes behind the instrumentalists on 51.¹¹³ In reality, only one chironome was needed to direct an entire ensemble, but the Egyptians frequently illustrated more. Usually each musician (or small group) faces one chironome in these cases, but there are parallels to 6 E where several chironomes face one musician.¹¹⁴ Sometimes such lines can be interpreted as containing both a chironome for the instrumentalist and singer-chironomes, shown facing the same direction but intended to be facing each other;¹¹⁵ this is more realistically represented on 51 where 6 and 7, labelled as singing/making music (but neither with the hand-to-cheek singer's pose), directly confront each other.¹¹⁶

The performance of the (singer-)chironome(s) is described by the verb *hsj* (Wb. III, 164-5; 6 E traces). This has a complex range of meaning, applying to singing and to chironomy alone, and may here mean "to make music", which was "produced" by means of chironomy.¹¹⁷ The arm determinative¹¹⁸ suggests that its primary association was with the hand gestures which directed the instrumental music flow. The addition of  to , which it gradually replaces, reflects the rise in the importance of singing and the decline of chironomy. By the New Kingdom the soloist singer-harper replaced the singer-chironome figure, and *hsj* had come to mean "sing, chant", without chironomic overtones. This may be the meaning of *hs* on 50, where the single musician is described as "plucking the harp" (see p. 146) and "singing",¹¹⁹ although it could equally be a writing of *hs(w)*, "singer" (Wb. III, 165).

The fact that the chironome, nearly always a man,¹²⁰ is characteristic of Old Kingdom musician scenes and almost totally absent from New Kingdom representations,¹²¹ suggests that the models for 6 E and 51 were Old Kingdom.¹²² H. Hickmann pointed out¹²³ that the New Kingdom omission of the figure could be a matter of choice, rather than reflecting the demise

of chironomic practice. These reliefs might then show a renewed interest in illustrating chironomes, rather than a revival based on Old Kingdom sources. This is unlikely, as other figures in their accompanying ensembles also show Old Kingdom links (see further below). The chironomes on these pieces are a definite Old Kingdom- (or pre-New Kingdom-) based archaism.

Ideophones and "Body Music"

The only major category of instruments not represented on these blocks is that of ideophones. Even the sistrum, which is shown several times with women in the Late Period Theban tombs (n. 156), is absent, although it continued to be used as a cult instrument. However, what may be described as "body music", utilizing the sound produced by striking parts of the body in a rhythmical/musical context, is attested in several forms.

Clapping (41; 76)

Clapping¹²⁴ was a well defined division of ancient Egyptian music. Its origins and use were closely connected with dance, in which it kept time and regulated movement, although the principal rhythm role was probably filled by various membranophones once they had been introduced (n. 77). Egyptian dancers usually left clapping to others. Inscriptions suggest that practitioners were viewed as skilled "professionals" or artists in their own right, rather than as singers performing an additional subsidiary function. Male clappers occur, but the metronomic role was more often filled by women, who generally performed in groups of two or three and who specialized in accompanying dances. For certain dances, clapping alone was the accompaniment.¹²⁵ 41, with at least five almost identical female clappers, may be an example of this, although comparable numbers occasionally join other musicians.¹²⁶ Neither the flat, closely-spaced feet, the closed lips nor the repeated label *sh.s* ("she claps"), suggest that the women were doing anything else. *sh* (Wb. III, 466-467), which occurs with both open hand and fist determinative to describe clapping, is known from Old Kingdom texts, but *m3h* (Wb. II, 30) and *hsj* are more common.¹²⁷ 76 includes two clapping women as part of a small ensemble to which no specialist dancers are attached, although the lyre- and lute-players are probably executing simple steps (see below).

The difference in hand positions on 41 and 76 is probably significant, since various modes of clapping are known.¹²⁸ In the commonest, the hands

are held horizontally, as on 76, or vertically, and struck flat, producing a muffled beat. Another method, cupping the hands to increase the resonance, is usually represented by showing the hands apart and one or both slightly cupped.¹²⁹ 41, with one hand horizontal and one vertical with the palms meeting, is likely to be a version of sonorous clapping, as the hands must meet at an angle to each other to maintain the cupping, and there is no practical reason for the awkward position with the ordinary "flat" clap.

"Body music" (40; 78; perhaps 36)

Other parts of the body may be struck in time.¹³⁰ On these reliefs, such body music is confined to thigh- and buttock-slapping. Instances of slapping cited by H. Hickmann mostly show singers and chironomes striking their legs, but dancers may have contributed beyond clapping and finger-snapping.¹³¹ It is difficult to decide whether the hand extended along the buttocks seen in many Old Kingdom dance scenes represents buttock-slapping or a fixed dance pose with the hand resting on the hip, buttock, or thigh.¹³² Similarly, the open hands against thighs on 36 may represent a static pose or rhythmic slapping to accompany an extremely sedate *jb3*-dance (see further below). However, the extended hand deliberately flattened against the naked thighs of the semi-frontal figure on 40 and her profile equivalent, 78 8, must represent thigh-slapping as body music, since the woman on 40 would otherwise have no function in a musical group. What can be seen of her apparently restrained leg position, the flat feet close together and straight legs on 78 8, and the placement of the musicians on a boat suggest that she is not dancing in addition (but cf. the possibly dancing lyre-player on 78).¹³³ The clenched fist held against the upper body on 40 and bent back toward on it on 78 probably shows the women holding their garments aside (cf. buttock-slapper on London BM 47992, n. 53), rather than illustrating a rhythmic beating on the chest with a fist.¹³⁴

The broken figure on the far left of 40 may be slapping her buttocks, as is the fourth figure in the procession on London BM 47992. This woman bends forward pronouncedly, with her dress pulled up above her waist and the cloth slung over her left arm, and raises her right arm high behind her to slap her posterior. The scanty traces on 40 would fit such a

representation, and alternatives are not readily forthcoming. The disposition of her dress and feet need not have been precisely identical to BM 47992, but the closeness in date (sixth century) favours the parallel.

Dance

Musical figures and scenes often accompany depictions of dancing. Dance has been comprehensively studied,¹³⁵ and it is relatively easy to fit the representations here into the framework of what is known. Brunner-Traut's assertion¹³⁶ that during the Late Period dancing was confined to the religious and festival sphere and rarely depicted, although abundantly mentioned in texts, needs modification, however.

Diaphanously-clad or nearly-nude young women lutenists and lyre-players who dance frequently accompany themselves on their instruments. This first becomes common in Dynasty 18 and may show Asiatic influence.¹³⁷ The representations on 74 B, 76, 78 and probably 75 thus reflect a tradition drawn from or growing out of the New Kingdom.

Two clear instances of dancing occur on 28 and 36, in both cases labelled *jb3* (*Wb.* I, 62). This most common word for "dance" occurs at all periods and covers a wide range of movements from the formal and sedate to the acrobatic.¹³⁸ Brunner-Traut observed¹³⁹ that Egyptian dance vocabulary and representations generally do not coincide, making attempts to classify dancing according to Egyptian terminology fruitless. H. Hickmann¹⁴⁰ assumed that a large number of choreographic terms were known to a few specialists but imperfectly understood in other spheres, and that tomb artists applied terminology indiscriminately. This might explain the radically different character of the *jb3*-dance as illustrated on these Late Period blocks.

The dance on 36 is simple and sedate; only the hieratic attitude of the arms, the caption and the nearby drummer betray a dance. The costumes (pp. 202-3) and hairstyle (pp. 214-16) of the dancers are identical to those of their companions, while the standard short "stride" with both soles flat on the baseline and the upright postures do not disturb the calm, spacious build-up of the scene. Precise models for the formal pose are not forthcoming. A similar figure appears in the Dynasty 18 tomb of *Dhwtj-htp* at Debeira (n. 86) although the lowered arm does not actually touch the legs. On the basis of the skin colour, the barrel drum

accompaniment and two other examples of negresses in comparable dancing positions, Wild suggested that a Nubian dance is shown. While he may be correct in the Debeira case, superficial similarities between it and 36 should not be overemphasized and the latter need not show Nubian women dancing. The dancers in ThT 113 and on tambourine membranes,¹⁴¹ with raised arms at different angles and lowered arms held away from the thighs, are not close parallels for 36. The fact that their legs do not reflect the energetic movement usually associated with Nubian dancers is not significant, since there are other Late Period examples of dancers with stationary feet,¹⁴² and even the Debeira girl's foot movements appear to have been restrained. Nubian girls are rarely shown dancing,¹⁴³ and nothing in the appearance of the dancers on 36 suggests that they are ethnically different from their companions; the rest of the scene, illustrating lily-processing, is firmly in the Lower Egyptian sphere (p. 179). Nor can the barrel drum accompaniment be considered Nubian in the Late Period, whatever its origins (pp. 156-7). An alternative source for the poses is the common Old Kingdom line-dance in which one arm is raised before the dancer and the other rests on or slaps the 'buttock'.¹⁴⁴ The bent arm raised on 36 might be explained as a compositional adjustment, as a line-dance in which participants faced the same direction became a pair-dance of confronting figures; the freely-modified "model" would then probably be of the Old Kingdom, but the possibility of separate invention and the multiplicity of depicted choreographic poses makes it impossible to prove any connection. It could also be a late artistic development, perhaps loosely based on earlier models - a creation in the perceived spirit of an earlier period, like the "Persian gesture" (pp. 102-6). The dance could equally be a Late Period women's pair-dance involving thigh-slapping (see n. 133) and perhaps striking the partner's hand; earlier models would thus be irrelevant (see n. 147).

Juxtaposing of women in mirror-image poses in a pair-dance on both 28 and 36 is unusual but not unparalleled. Such pair-dances, often labelled *trf/tnf*,¹⁴⁵ are usually performed by men, although female pairs are known. Where several pairs perform different moves, as on 28, they may represent a sequence performed by a single pair or a variety of movements in the dance sequence executed by adjacent pairs.¹⁴⁶ The movements in such dances are usually lively and often involve whirling with the hands joined. 28 is

untypical in having the dancers kneeling instead of standing, and the exaggerated, very stylized poses and gestures are striking; no good parallels to either pair - or to the individuals - are forthcoming. The attitude of the left pair shows one knee and toes on the ground and the other leg bent, with the body's weight resting on the knee. The distant arm extends horizontally to the elbow, which is sharply bent so that the hand rests on (or slaps ?) the raised knee, and the other extends backward and bends slightly to touch the heel (the resemblance to the Archaic Greek running pose is certainly fortuitous). The pair on the right kneels on both knees and, unusually, both feet are indicated separately, not simply overlapped. The distant arm is held horizontally with the forearm extended vertically and the outward-facing open palms of the women opposite each other; the near arm is drawn across the torso and the open hand supports the elbow. The raised hands were probably clapped against each other, a move known from Egyptian dancing¹⁴⁷ but not often illustrated. It is less likely that they are in a static formalised pose.

The costumes on 28 are remarkable. The rounded bulge at the forehead was probably to be a flower (p. 220), but it is difficult to explain the short "pony-tail" hanging from the crown of the head. The long hanging plait with a weighted ball or disk on the end, Brunner-Traut's "Kugelpopftracht",¹⁴⁸ provides the most likely inspiration. This was adopted by acrobatic dancers in Dynasty 6 and was standard for acrobats by the Middle Kingdom, when it was also used irregularly by dancers; thereafter, it passed out of fashion. The women's dress on 28 does not tally with that normally worn by acrobatic dancers with the "Kugelpopftracht", who sport only a tiny skirt cut high across the legs.¹⁴⁹ It may be a version of dress sometimes seen in Old Kingdom dances (Brunner-Traut's "Rauten-Schreittanz"), where lines of women striding sedately forward with their arms circling above their heads are often clad in a crossed chest-band knotted at the back and a short knee-length kilt, sometimes with a tight ankle-length kilt over it.¹⁵⁰ The high flounce below the buttocks on 28 would then be a wider interpretation of the knee-length kilt, worn on the outside if still a separate garment. There is no incision marking a crossed sash, although the small protrusion at the back of the waist could represent its knot;¹⁵¹ it could equally be the outline for a conventional kilt belt, which often had a projecting roll at the

front. A skull-cap or close-cut hair usually accompanies the kilted costumes of the Old Kingdom "Rauten-Schreittanz", but the "Kugelzopftracht" does occur.¹⁵²

Perhaps the closest parallel to the dancers on 28 is in the Festival Hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis,¹⁵³ where three pairs of female pair-dancers perform (dance type not labelled), possibly to musical accompaniment. All wear long wigs but their costumes vary. The pair furthest left combines elements of the poses seen on both pairs on 28 - two confronting women in tight dresses kneel on both knees (only the outer foot is shown), like the second pair on 28, but the raised forearm has the palm turned toward the face, and thus not clapping against the partner's hand. The other arm is flung back and downward, away from the body and feet. The pair on the right executes an arm gesture in which both limbs are extended toward the partner, in a manner not entirely dissimilar to the right pair on 28. The central pair is reminiscent of the left one on 28, with one knee raised and one (lost) probably lowered, the near arm flung out behind but clearing the rear foot, and the distant arm lowered across the thighs, so that a dancer in this pose would be twisting her shoulders. Both the central and the right pairs at Bubastis are bare-chested and wear "male" knee-length kilts similar to the proposed upper layer of 28.

If this interpretation of 28 is correct, the relief is an interesting example of "creative" archaism. Details of dress and hair long out of use were drawn from Old and Middle Kingdom scenes without the realization that different types of dances were originally involved. The acrobatic dancer/acrobat's long swinging "Kugelzopftracht" could not fit easily into the disposition of figures and captions or was not to contemporary taste, so it was shortened and modified, preserving the idea, rather than the image, of an ancient hairstyle. An old style of dress, too, was altered, either from misunderstanding or from a desire to make it appear more decorative. The dance itself is more difficult to explain in this way. Both 28 and 36 may, however, owe the inspiration for the exaggerated angular gestures and the rigid treatment of the entire body to Old and Middle Kingdom sources, rather than to New Kingdom choreography with its more fluid movements. In either case, the dances are loosely based, not directly modelled, on older scenes. However, the dances on 28 could continue the type of kneeling women's pair-dance attested in the Festival

Hall of Osorkon II (unless this itself is archaizing), depicted in a more rigid, formal manner possibly inspired by older dance scenes and in keeping with the versions of older costume shown.

A comparison with the only Late Period dance sequence in a Theban tomb is instructive. In the tomb of Ibi,¹⁵⁴ above the gaming and musician registers, are three registers devoted to dancers, the upper two with line-dances supported by clapping, the lowest containing badly-damaged male pair-dancers (labelled *trf* in the older style, rather than *tnf*). Its debt to an Old Kingdom prototype has long been acknowledged.¹⁵⁵ The top group clearly but rather awkwardly shows the "Rauten-Schreittanz"; the appropriate Old Kingdom hairdo and dress style are depicted, while the kilt is a mid-thigh-length version with no longer upper layer. The same garb is worn by the dancers of the second register, sometimes without the chest straps, who also perform formal line-dances with clapping and singer-chironome accompaniment; the two with striated hair seem to execute the step which may be the basis of the representation on 36, although the lowered hand is turned outward instead of resting on the buttock. The male pair-dancers' movements are largely lost, but it is clear that they were executed standing and involved whirling with hands joined, in the more customary manner. The Old Kingdom links in Ibi are more obvious and the prototype steps and costumes easier to identify. The artist there has altered his models less and whole figures are "lifted" with their general context, creating a work reasonably close in both spirit and detail to the models. The Lower Egyptian artists, on the other hand, appropriated details and poses almost randomly, and mixed and adapted them more freely. Some of this will have been necessary in transforming long multi-register scenes into something suitable to a lintel (see pp. 77-80). A comparison with the tomb of Ibi suggests that the Theban version is modelled on the Old Kingdom, while the Lower Egyptian ones are created "in the spirit" of the Old Kingdom.

Discussion

Musical scenes or figures and dance sequences are relatively frequent on these reliefs (11 examples), while in Late Period Theban tombs they are rare.¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, women rattling sistra, which make up the majority of the Theban representations, are unrepresented in this corpus.

The discrepancy may be accentuated by accidents of preservation, but variation in taste may also be a factor. The only two non-sistrum scenes at Thebes are heavily archaizing, while in the north, both archaizing and "contemporary" music scenes are found. Some of this may reflect the dates of the two groups of monuments, with "contemporary" versions coming into vogue at a time when grand tombs were no longer being built at Thebes.

The Lower Egyptian musical scenes fall broadly into two groups, archaizing and "modern"; dance scenes are not so neatly categorized. The most clearly archaizing musical pieces are 6 E and 51, where the designers deliberately tried to recreate pre-New Kingdom musical scenes. The models were probably of the Old Kingdom, since although many of the instruments continued into the Middle Kingdom, musical depictions were less common then, and the ensemble of harp, oblique flute and double clarinet was at its height in the Old Kingdom.¹⁵⁷ Elements like the double clarinet, the oblique flute and chironomy did not pass out of use entirely when they ceased to be pictured in tombs, but remained part of Egyptian folk music. Nevertheless, their reappearance in tomb decoration is likely to be archaizing, even if the instruments were in current use at a different social level, given the way they are combined into a single group and accompanied by the old, shovel-shaped harp.

The men of idealizing age who make up Old Kingdom orchestral ensembles (with the occasional female harpist) are exclusively pictured on 6 E and 51, although from the New Kingdom onward women musicians seem to have predominated. 6 E is convincingly Old Kingdom as far as it is preserved; its later date is revealed by technical details such as the use of sunk relief and the striated texturing of the background surface (pp. 50-1). The more complicated scene on 51 not surprisingly contains more features which diverge from Old Kingdom models. These range from minor uncertainties about objects which no longer existed (for instance, the fuller New Kingdom-type stringing on the extinct shovel-shaped harp - also seen in the tomb of Ibi) to complete misunderstanding about what is shown, as in the treatment of the *mhr*-board in the game scene below (see pp. 123-4). Elements are also changed (perhaps converting game-players into chironomes or singers ?) or interpolated to provide an Old Kingdom "feel" (interspersing large vessels among the musicians¹⁵⁸ - not on Ibi). Divergences from the Old Kingdom seem unintentional in these cases,¹⁶⁰ as

there is no mixing in of instrument types or other features drawn from, for instance, the New Kingdom or Late Period repertory; these scenes were as "pure" as the artist could make them.

More precise models for 51 exist. There is a close similarity with the representation in the lower two registers in the tomb of Ibi - the ensemble of old-fashioned oblique flute, harp and perhaps a lost double clarinet, the gaming scene and the accompanying captions. The resemblances in the musical portions are close enough to support the common source suggested by the games sequence. As game-playing scenes do not occur before Dynasty 5,¹⁶¹ nor does the double clarinet, the basis for the composition must be Dynasty 5 or 6; the board games point to the Memphite area as the source (pp. 123-4). The presentation of the lotus to the tomb owner, presumably at a banquet, is also a predominantly Memphite motif, known from Dynasty 5 into the First Intermediate Period.¹⁶² If Manniche has observed correctly that at Saqqara multiple harps are depicted identically, while at Giza (as well as Dahshur and Thebes) they combine profile and *en face* views,¹⁶³ Giza is most likely to be the source for Ibi, as well as 6 E, and also, on grounds of general similarity, since the harp bottoms are destroyed, of 51.¹⁶⁴

The second major group (40, 74, 75, 76 and 78) reflects a different stage in the development of Egyptian music. Except for the elderly harpist, the musicians are women, often revealingly clad, who usually stand to perform, instead of sitting (exceptions are the harper figure and the lyre-player in the boat on 40). None of the instruments shown on these blocks existed in Egypt during the Old Kingdom,¹⁶⁵ which also had a different variety of harp. The tambourine, lute and lyre all appear in ensembles in Egypt during Dynasty 18, with new, often portable, varieties of harp. The character of Egyptian music at this time is thought to have undergone radical transformation. With shriller, more lively instruments replacing the softer, more sombre harp-flute-clarinet combination,¹⁶⁶ and whirling, provocatively-dressed dancers and mobile musicians, musical performances must have changed considerably. Although lute, lyre and tambourine originated in western Asia, and the drum originally had Nubian connections, these instruments were fully Egyptianized by the Late Period, and are not evidence of contemporary foreign influence. The point is important since the barrel-drum has led Bothmer¹⁶⁷ to assume that certain

details of costume ("stole", necklace, ear pendants) were southern (see pp. 96, 204). This has prompted some writers¹⁶⁸ to imply a Nubian connection for at least one member of the ensemble on the Heliopolitan group and to regard the pieces as late links in the chain relating the barrel-drum to Nubia. I do not believe any of the features of dress warrant a Nubian connection and do not think these musicians had any foreign associations for Egyptians of this period.

Although the lyre and especially the harp are well known as classes of instrument in Egypt, the forms in which they appear on this group of reliefs do at first glance seem new. However, the angular harp first appeared in Egypt during Dynasty 18 and during the New Kingdom it was just a minor type among the variety of harps in fashion. It evidently grew in popularity over time, for by the Late Period it had become the most common variety.¹⁶⁹ The lyre too continued in the Late Period in a form different from the asymmetrical type predominating at its introduction in the New Kingdom. Early versions of the symmetrical lyre which appear in the Ramesside period¹⁷⁰ usually have curved or splaying arms of the same length or a sound-box of a shape unusual in Egypt. Although the precise date of entry of the Asiatic rectangular lyre is uncertain, it was relatively late and constituted only a minor change in shape, since more fundamental differences, such as the shift from string displacement on asymmetrical lyres to the cushion tuning system (see n. 40), were already familiar from other shapes of symmetrical lyres. Putative changes in the manner of playing, as discussed above, would be matters of technique and musical preference, and while possibly inspired by foreign contacts, are almost impossible to prove.

The presence of these later forms in a New Kingdom-type orchestral group strongly suggests that what is shown here is not archaism based on New Kingdom models, such as von Bissing believed to characterize Dynasty 30 works (pp. 112-13), but "contemporary" Late Period music which had grown out of the New Kingdom musical sphere and employed many of the same instrument types, some transformed outside Egypt into a more modern form. The presence of the barrel-drum in women's hands as part of such an ensemble, taking over the primary rhythm role from the New Kingdom tambourines, is an innovation reflecting contemporary taste, as is the use of the parallel lacing system seen on 74 B (see n. 79). Not many post-Kushite examples of

multi-figured ensembles are preserved, but pieces such as the bowl London BM 47992 (n. 53) with its round tambourine, rectangular lyre, clackers, buttock-slapping and double oboe, the Medamud block (n. 89) dated to Shepenwepet II with the woman playing an angular harp on the back of a crocodile playing a lute, and the early Ptolemaic musical scene from Medamud (n. 88) with its angular harp, tiny barrel-drum, lute and clapping women, show that these New Kingdom-based musical ensembles with contemporary instrument forms and usages continued in Egypt in a wider sphere, and not just on Lower Egyptian tomb reliefs.

A few of the Lower Egyptian pieces are difficult to categorize either as "archaizing" or as "contemporary". 36, with its depiction of a barrel-drum as sole accompaniment to a dance of uncertain origins, may belong to the "contemporary" class, although if the dance freely adapts Old Kingdom prototypes, it may be a more "mixed" production (see pp. 125-7). 50 exhibits a combination particularly difficult to analyze. The shovel-shaped harp is archaizing, but, as on 51, the fuller New Kingdom manner of stringing is employed, although this may not be a deliberate mixing of sources. The playing of this harp type in the hands of the "New Kingdom" figure of the aged harpist is anachronistic, and there are other eclectic features, such as the owner's daughter with a "contemporary" shorter hairstyle (p. 216) and his wife with a traditional tripartite wig. The line of clapping women on 41 may show a traditional element, but their hair and voluminous garments (pp. 203-8) show contemporary affinities.¹⁷¹

No scenes reflecting contemporary music are known from the Theban tombs. Archaizing musical representations all date to Dynasty 26 (Montuemhat, Ibi, 6 E, 51), with the majority being seventh century. Pieces such as the Shepenwepet II Medamud block (n. 89), the Saite block from Karnak (n. 89), 36 and 40 (first half of the sixth century) and the bowl London BM 47992 (last quarter of the sixth century) prove that the portrayal of contemporary music also began in the second half of Dynasty 26 and ran concurrently. The fourth century representations (74; 75; 76; 78; also the Ptolemaic block [n. 88]) take up this trend, and exclude all archaizing instruments, in keeping with the preference for contemporary representations.

The close similarity in musical scenes in the "Heliopolitan group" (74; 75; 76; 78 - 77 not relevant here; pp. 73-4) and the apparent links

between 51 and the representation in the Theban tomb of Ibi raise the question of transmission of models. The musical sections of the Heliopolis pieces are remarkably similar in the representation and ordering of individual musicians, although overall arrangement varies. The orchestra is led by an elderly harper, possibly blind, who sits on a low stool with a large angular harp in his lap; on 76 he wears contemporary tripartite male dress (pp. 236-43), and traces on 75 are consistent with a heavy shawl and similar garb, but the damaged harper on 74 A probably wears a contemporary long sleeved tunic (pp. 232-5). Although the elderly harper is a New Kingdom genre figure, the fact that he is given a "contemporary" angular harp and modern dress shows that he is not abstracted wholesale, but is a development from New Kingdom iconography.

Behind him stands a female drummer, whose varying costume is particularly voluminous and unrevealing around the legs. The harper and drummer are treated as a single "unit" in the composition. Beyond them the scenes vary, as though the area behind them had no fixed design in any model. Variation ranges from female clappers on 76 (since clappers usually face accompanying dancers, their position here is odd), two huge floral bouquets and a wine-steward with his paraphernalia (any or all of which may have been placed on the broken right ends of the other two lintels), to the huge single bouquet on 74 B or direct juxtaposition of the drummer and the following group on 75. The next musician (excluding the clappers of 76) is a scantily-clad woman playing a rectangular lyre and probably dancing in a pose which owes something to that of New Kingdom lutenists (see p. 128). She turns her head toward a female lute-player, similar but for the turned head, who is fully preserved only on 76, but can confidently be completed from 75. A version of this figure almost certainly faced the lyre-player beyond the bird and reed filler of 74 B.

The wine-stewards of 75 and 76 and the clapping women of 76 provide clues as to what may be missing on the lost third to half of 74 (0.666 m combined), although its wider spacing of figures would not allow much furniture or vegetation if both the wine-steward and clappers were included with a lutenist. Half or less (0.55 m) of 75 remains, and as a wine-steward is already present, as well as the four musicians, it is difficult to guess what the right-hand portion contained. The crowded spacing could accommodate a relatively large number of figures, as on 78, perhaps

including female clappers and/or dancers among floral bouquets. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the strong similarities between the preserved figures and their arrangement argue for a general compositional plan, the "units" of which could be shuffled to some extent. "Units" could be single figures (wine-steward) or features (bird and flower clusters) or pairs (male harper-female drummer; female lyre-player-female lutenist). Minor details of dress, hairstyle, etc. could differ but the figures remained essentially the same. Thus, although a lyre-player's hair ornaments, the arrangement of her shawls, or the position of the hand behind the strings could change, her twisting pose with heel raised and scanty clothing remain constant. While on 74 B, 75 and 76 the lyre-player could be regarded as a fixed figure within a standard group with a recognized arrangement, the single player in a marsh setting on 78, as though spirited from an ensemble, shows that such a detail could be abstracted to a different context.

The blocks are not copies of the same prototype, but independent creations from the same elements. While a pattern-book in which the individual "units" were executed in detail is a likely source, it is not the only or necessary explanation. The fact that all these pieces were produced at Heliopolis, while nothing even partially similar is known from elsewhere in Egypt, shows that, whatever its form, the source need not have been widespread. The "creation" may owe its existence to a single workshop which, once it had "standardized" its figures, drew on them as occasion arose, until the fashion for relief-decorated tombs at the site died out. These particular "stock figure" musicians are not known to occur outside Heliopolis or Dynasty 30, and no musician scenes attributable to Heliopolis at that period contain anything but these figures. If Bothmer is correct¹⁷² that the comparative spaciousness of 74 shows it to be earlier (c. 360) than the over-crowded 75 (c. 350), with 76 and the cluttered 78 presumably also near the latter date, the time span for this group is short. Even if the latter pieces extended into the early Ptolemaic period, as is sometimes suggested for 76 and 77, the time span could still fall within the working lifetime of a single master craftsman responsible for the designs. The pattern-book in this case might be nothing more than a series of drawings or sculptors' models kept in a workshop at Heliopolis and used by its members, or it may have been the creation, perhaps without

physical mnemonic form, of one man who personally supervised any assistants, perhaps with the aid of sketches which were not kept.

51 and the musical scene in the Theban tomb of Ibi argue for some wider method of diffusing ideas. The Heliopolitan group is based in the "contemporary" musical milieu and designs for individual figures and features could have been devised on the basis of a grounding in Egyptian art and its techniques, without precise models. The Ibi and 50-51 scenes, however, are archaizing, drawing on musical instruments, games and, in Ibi, dance steps which no longer existed or which had not been depicted in Egyptian art for centuries. The similarities in the overall arrangement are too great to be fortuitous. In particular, the exact correspondence of the game scene labels (p. 123) and the misinterpretation of the *mhr*-board argue against separate investigation and reinterpretation of ancient prototypes and strongly in favour of a common pattern available both in Lower Egypt and at Thebes. Details point to Giza as the source, although no precise archetype has been identified. This is instructive for the distribution of archaizing motifs. The dance portion of the scene in Ibi was not based on the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi,¹⁷³ as were his craftsmen scenes, so that models from more than one monument or site were being used. Artists could have travelled about deriving inspiration and making personal selections from ancient monuments. In the case of Ibi, a specific mission to the provincial tomb, because of the similarity of names, or even an assumed descent, resulting in copies reproduced at Thebes is possible, but this cannot have been a normal procedure.

The Giza model is different, as Ibi is not known to have had links with any historical person there. Some of the artists who designed Theban tombs of Dynasty 26 may have come from the north with the God's Wife of Amun, bringing their models with them, or pattern-books compiled at Giza, perhaps conflating several models, perhaps including a number of possible variants, could have been diffused throughout the country. Differences in figures, such as the head and flute positions of the flautist on 51 and in Ibi or the hand gestures of the game-players, might be explained by the inclusion of several variants, the existence of several pattern-books or personal selection and modification by the artist. In any case, the captions would probably have been copied faithfully, hence their almost identical composition.

The apparent Memphis connection of 50 and 51 (see Catalogue 50) shows that the models for its archaizing elements were close to hand. The designer of 51 need not have personally studied or made his selection *in situ* in mastabas, but could have drawn his models from copies and pattern-books. The time gap between the musician scenes of Ibi and *ḥnh.f-n-shmt* militates in favour of such a compilation. The tomb of Ibi dates to the middle of the reign of Psammetichus I, c. 640-625,¹⁷⁴ that of *ḥnh.f-n-shmt* to late Dynasty 26, c. 550-525. The minimum gap of 75 years between the two is beyond the working lifetime of an individual and his successor. There can be no direct connection between the artists of the two works, and an archetype or source of designs for the two, independent of individual craftsmen and with a wide area and long period of circulation through Dynasty 26 and perhaps longer, must be assumed.

A final aspect of these musical scenes requiring investigation is their general context and affinities. Writers on dance and music, although allowing them both sacred and secular roles at other times, allot them a purely religious function in the Late Period. Brunner-Traut, apparently unaware of 28 and 36, and of the possibility of dancing musicians on 74 B, 75, 76 and 78, claims that dancing is hardly ever depicted on Late Period monuments, although frequently mentioned in texts (n. 136). The rarity of musical scenes in Theban tombs has probably contributed to this false impression. Brunner-Traut allows the representations in Ibi, but rightly regards them as archaizing, and, as most of her sources are temples, erroneously concludes that Late Period dancing is confined to public festivals or religious occasions. Ziegler¹⁷⁵ has concluded of the Heliopolitan group, on the basis of a misunderstood statement by Bothmer, that the harper has a dual role as musician and priest¹⁷⁶ and that the representations show a type of concert given in honour of Hathor. Bothmer was undoubtedly correct when he stated of 75 that the texts refer both to Heliopolis and to Hathor and that they reveal the original location of the piece. It is another matter whether they "make clear to whose cult the people were attached". The text before the wine-steward appropriately expresses the wish that the Golden One (Hathor) should give his master drunkenness every day. Hathor's epithet "Goddess of Drunkenness" was well known, so that mention of her in this context is hardly surprising and should not be viewed as denoting a deeper adherence to her cult. Nor

should her long-standing patronage of music and especially dance be seen as endowing the Late Period scenes with any more specific a Hathoric link than at any other period. Private religious devotions were never a common subject in tomb decoration (but cf. 54), so a private ceremonial concert for Hathor is not the obvious interpretation of the scene.

I prefer to view these representations as descendants of the banquet scenes found in tomb decoration of all other periods. Both the long lines of guests pictured in the New Kingdom banquet scenes and the large groups of entertainers common before the noblemen at all times are curtailed on the lintels for reasons of space and the scene reduced to the essential elements of tomb owner and performers, sometimes with a servant providing refreshment (see further pp. 172-3). The representations are thus "secular", insofar as any tomb scene is non-religious.¹⁷⁷ A departure from earlier tradition is the emphasis on drink, giving the scene more the character of a Greek symposium than a traditional Egyptian feast. Earlier examples of the tomb owner being offered drink, rather than food, flowers or libations are known,¹⁷⁸ but on 75 and 76 (and by extension, 74, where a wine-steward may be lost) and 28, where the "excellent wine-steward", well dressed and equipped with his paraphernalia and honoured with a name and speech on 75, takes the place of a son or priest on earlier versions, the scene resembles a drinking party rather than a ceremonial meal. Such celebrations could have taken place at times of religious festival, which provided the excuse for indulgence and, the demarcation between secular and sacred being often blurred, it would be wrong to deny these scenes any religious associations. While the orgiastic celebrations of the Hathor cult are perhaps the best known,¹⁷⁹ overindulgence was also a feature of other divine cults.¹⁸⁰ Although the text of 75 invokes Hathor, the context seems similar to any other celebration where drink, music and dance, under her special patronage, featured.

If 74, 75, and 76, 28 with its dancers and wine-steward,¹⁸¹ and the archaizing 51, the Theban Ibi scene, and perhaps 6 E represent music in a private banquet-type context, the associations of some of the other representations are less certain. 50 seems to depict a private performance for the owner and his family by an elderly singing harpist; the fact that he is the only musician on these blocks who is named may suggest that he was a well-known personality of his day or that he was particularly

patronized by *ḥnḫ.f-n-shmt*; his Late Period theophorous name shows that the entire tableau is not an archaism. The dance to the drum on 36 probably represents a celebration connected with the completion of *lirinon* production (p. 186). Of the isolated group of clappers on 41, little can be said, except that they probably belonged to a larger secular or sacred music and/or dance sequence.

The boat-load of musicians on 40 form part of a larger boating scene (whatever lay in the upper register), possibly a sacred procession on the river, perhaps accompanied by the type of riotous behaviour described by Herodotus for the procession to Bubastis, in which women displayed their genitalia to people on the river-bank,¹⁸² or a scene of pleasure-boating in the marshes. The skiff on the right may have carried a group of men, as on 78. The papyrus plant background, the cattle and waterfowl in the boats, the wine jars in the first skiff (cf. the wine-stewards in the Heliopolitan group), and the woman (5) wading in the water suggest that 78 represents bucolic pleasures, including music, in the marshes, rather than any religious procession.¹⁸³ Manniche's observation¹⁸⁴ that outdoor music is an aspect of the New Kingdom milieu needs slight modification, since the occasional flute and/or rhythmic accompaniment is found earlier with harvest or vintage scenes. Nevertheless, *al fresco* musical performances of various sorts, ranging from dancers and musicians in religious processions to women performing in the marshes, flourished in the New Kingdom, although often in the minor arts (see pp. 127-8), and the figures on boats on 40 and 78 show a link with that tradition.

The context of the musical scenes raises the question of who the performers were. Dances seem to have been executed by a wide variety of people and animals, but those depicted are performed not for personal enjoyment, but in honour of superiors.¹⁸⁵ The appearance of female dancers in historical times suggests that they are in some degree professionals,¹⁸⁶ from Dynasty 4 onwards performing in both funerary and secular contexts. In the Old Kingdom the "harem" (in the sense of female dependents) connection of dancers and clapping accompanists was strong and it is often mentioned in accompanying captions;¹⁸⁷ even in the New Kingdom, when captions are less explicit, representations show that these links were maintained and that it furnished the dancers who performed at private banquets.¹⁸⁸ This tradition may have continued in the Late Period, but the

blocks are mute on this point.

Less is known about the musicians. During the Old and Middle Kingdoms the female clappers providing musical accompaniment seem the essential adjunct to the dance, and their "harem" associations are explicit. The predominantly male instrumental ensembles are composed of skilled musicians, but it is doubtful whether they had close links with the harem ladies; they may have participated in dance sequences only on rare formal occasions. Representations of these sedate orchestras without dancers also occur, showing that their music was valued in its own right. During the New Kingdom male orchestras were largely superseded by groups of female instrumentalists who often danced as well as played. They could have had access to or arisen within the harem milieu, and occasional illustrations of the harem itself show musical instruments as a prominent feature.¹⁸⁹ Men were not entirely excluded from this world, although they are often elderly and possibly blind (the aged harpist) or can be specially blindfolded. It is impossible to know whether all these performers were "privately owned", or whether itinerant professional troupes existed.¹⁹⁰

Costume is always important in these performances, and I discuss the dress of these women on pp. 205, 211. During the Old Kingdom dancers were clad more elaborately than their accompanists;¹⁹¹ the clothing was intended not only to free the body for easy movement but to exhibit their charms as well.¹⁹² By the New Kingdom, when music and dance intermingled, the dancers and other women musicians wear diaphanous robes or are virtually nude, and the erotic content of these "beautiful dances" seems clear.¹⁹³ The lutenist and lyre-player of the Heliopolitan group, with their flimsy shawls draped around their arms and shoulders, leaving most of the body exposed, provide evidence for the survival of this tradition.

III. Lily-processing

Relevant pieces : 32; 33; 35; 36; 38; 66: viticulture - 37

The Plant

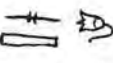
The lily-processing motif is a Late Period innovation in tomb decoration found only in the north.¹ 35 and 38 are new identifications, the rest widely known. All except 66 (fourth century) date to the second half of Dynasty 26, and the emergence of this theme at this time reflects the phase of innovation and introduction of contemporary elements which is the counterpart of archaism (pp. 126-32).

Botanical authorities are agreed that the plant in question is *Lilium candidum* L., more popularly known as the Madonna lily.² This unanimity of opinion testifies to the careful observation and delineation of the Egyptian artists, as only a single specimen of the plant, about which some doubt has been expressed, has been identified from Egypt.³ 33 and 38 depict the growing plant as having a single, stiff main stem, sometimes branching near the top on 38, which is topped with a single open blossom.⁴ On 33, short, slender, slightly curling leaves alternate up each side and occasional pointed buds and open flowers emerge singly at their bases, near the stem. It is impossible to tell whether the lower layer of blossoms on 35 represents lateral flowers or a terminal cluster. In the Theban tomb of Ibi (temp. Psammetichus I), an offering bearer carries plucked stalks of Madonna lilies, represented with open lateral blossoms, as on 33, but without leaves.⁵ Side buds and blossoms deviate slightly from the generally thyrus-like aspect of the plant, but do not hinder identification. The flowers are shown as elongated cones with gently outward-flaring petals to indicate their trumpet-shape, numbering five on all the representations except 38, where only three are drawn. The distinction between the three outer petals and the two inner ones (= those on the far side of the trumpet), of which only the tips are visible, is not preserved in relief on 35, but could have been added in paint. On none of the reliefs is the pigment preserved, but the blossoms would have been painted white.⁶ The height on the plants on 33, 35 and 38 is striking. Pliny, in his account of the perfume-yielding lily which has been identified as *Lilium candidum* L., claims that no flower grows higher and that the plant can attain a height of three cubits.⁷ The relationship

between the heights of the women and the plants as shown is therefore relatively accurate. Any discrepancy has been ignored in the creation of an even, decorative background, similar to the papyrus thicket of earlier periods, in which neither lilies nor women overshadow the other. As is typical of background plants of the period (p. 128), the upright stalks are spaced out at even intervals, showing a contemporary preference in the arrangement.⁸

Although the Madonna lily is now widespread throughout southern Europe and the Levant, it apparently grows wild only in Syria and Palestine,⁹ and is not part of the native flora of Egypt. It prefers moist, cool growing conditions, and its zone of habitation seems to have contracted with the gradual dessication of Syria-Palestine and the loss of woodland, so that in neither place is it common any more. It seems to be the oldest cultivated lily, but the date of its introduction into Egypt is uncertain. Suggestions have ranged early Dynasty 18 to the cautious view that it was at least known by Saite times.¹⁰ It was widely cultivated in Egypt during Graeco-Roman times and was extensively commented on by classical authors. It was also known as a perfume- and medicine-producing plant in the early Islamic period. But *Lilium candidum* L. appears never to have become fully acclimatized in Egypt or capable of existing in a wild state there. It is thought that the cultivation of the plant for oil extraction died out well before the Arab conquest.¹¹ The heraldic plant of Upper Egypt, the "Lily of the South", is probably not a true lily.¹²

Thus, when *Lilium candidum* L. appeared in Egypt, it was as a cultigen, introduced and raised for a specific purpose. This was presumably the extraction of lily-oil rather than aesthetic reasons, since the Madonna lily was never an important decorative motif there. The representation of oil-expression only on blocks from northern Egypt may indicate that its cultivation was mainly confined to the Delta, although the illustration in the tomb of Ibi (n. 5) suggests that the plant was at least known at Thebes.

The plant is called  on 36 and 66, on 33 simply . This is probably not to be read as sš,¹³ and taken as a specific name for *Lilium candidum* L., but as a defective writing of sš(š)n, Coptic ϣωϣϥ ϣϥ , an old Egyptian word translated as either "lily" or "lotus".¹⁴ If so, the omission of final -n, which is unusual in this word, although not

problematic in the wider phonetic context, may reflect a northern dialect variant.¹⁵ Ancient Egyptian plant taxonomy focusses on the feature common to both lily and lotus, namely the cupped shape of the blossom, rather than habitat or other differences between them. A similar complication exists with Hebrew *šōšan* and Arabic *shūsan*, which both refer to a broad spectrum of plant types including the lily family and flowers resembling them.¹⁶ It has been suggested that Egyptian *sš(š)n* was borrowed into Hebrew when the lotus was introduced to the Near East from Egypt, and was then confused with the local lily.¹⁷

Greek terminology is varied. Classical authors writing on the subject of lilies, primarily Theophrastus, Dioscorides and Athenaeus, usually used *κρίνον* for the plant,¹⁸ but this can refer to *Lilium candidum* L., to other varieties of lily or even, in one instance, to *Nelumbium speciosum*.¹⁹ The less common word *λείριον* also encompasses a broad range of flora, including various narcissi and, at least once, seems to refer to the Madonna lily.²⁰ Greek also has a third word for "lily", *σοῦσον*, which is not used in the technical, botanical accounts. *σοῦσον* shows affinity with the Semitic root, and Greek sources attributed an Eastern origin to it.²¹ It seems to have been popularly linked with the name of Susa, presumably in connection with the belief that the Greeks first came into contact with perfume via the Persians.²² Despite the general prevalence of *κρίνον* for "lily", lily perfume is called *λείρινον* (hence modern "lirion") or *σοῦσινον*,²³ the latter perhaps derived from the Near Eastern/ Egyptian name for the scent or flower. Pliny, too, retains this root in his Latin version of the name of the perfume, *susinum*, which he also calls *lilinum*, while the plant itself is *lilium*.²⁴

A consequence of the different basis of ancient plant taxonomy is that, while a precise species identification can be made from the pictorial evidence, it cannot be traced through the written sources, so that it is impossible to ascertain the date at which the Madonna lily arrived in Egypt. All that can be said with certainty is that evidence of its cultivation first appears on these Late Period reliefs. The most complete version of the plant and all its processing stages, is on 33 (c. 595-565), and the clustering of 32, 33, 35, 36 and 38 c. 595-550 shows a phase of popularity when the motif was first introduced. There are slightly earlier depictions of the plant in the tomb of Ibi (n. 5). No representations are

known from the Graeco-Roman period, although Classical literary sources on the subject abound.

Depictions

One of the most obvious features of the representation of lily-processing is its close affinity to traditional vintage scenes, which provided prototypes for the depiction of more than one stage of the new process. Harvesting (33; 35; 38), transportation (all but 38), extracting the juices by means of a sack-press (all but 38), decanting the liquid (33; 36; probably 66) and presenting the finished product to the tomb owner (33; probably 36) can all be paralleled from such earlier material, although with significant differences in emphasis and presentation. Viticulture was not a popular motif in the Late Period. Only two representations are known from the Theban tombs, which seem to have close affinities with Dynasty 18 versions.²⁵ Only one example occurs in this corpus, 37, which is contemporary with most of the lily-processing scenes. It provides a valuable contemporary northern example of the prototype for comparison. The latest example of viticulture occurs in the tomb of Petosiris,²⁶ and seems to have close associations with Hellenized representations.

The iconography of viticulture is well known from all previous periods.²⁷ Although the scenes are broadly consistent, variations over time can be observed. This simplifies the task of detecting affinities with particular periods in the late corpus, and the degree of innovation. Related to this question and its implications for the study of archaism is that of whether this adapted viticulture iconography depicts adequately the lily perfume manufacturing process.

Harvest

The first stage in viticulture sequences, the picking of bunches from a grape arbour,²⁸ is quite different from the lily harvest, owing to the differences in growth patterns of the plants. Lily plantations seem to owe more to representations of marshy thickets than to depictions of agricultural crops. On 33, in a row of almost uniform height between the figures, the abundant leaves and lateral blossoms give a sense of depth to the "stand". On 38, the effect of density is achieved by isolating the picker²⁹ amid the irregularly-spaced stalks, sometimes branching or obscuring one another, with the terminal flowers shown at random heights.

On 35 the plants resemble a papyrus thicket with a row of close-set, evenly spaced blossoms reaching to the figures' head height, and the tips of a lower row of flowers visible in the interspaces; the impression of a marshy thicket is heightened by fluttering and perching waterfowl, characteristic of such a setting.

The method of picking varies, ranging from tugging off the blossom alone directly below its attachment (38), through lifting it off gently between thumb and forefinger (33; 35) to breaking off a portion of the stalk with the flower (33 - the attached stalk is clear on 32). The leftmost harvester on 33 ties up a bunch of leafless flowers with short stems; this procedure is not always reflected in the flower arrangements in the baskets bearing blossoms to the press,³⁰ but is clear on 35. Perhaps the closest flower-picking scenes are occasional representations of lotus-gathering in the marshes for unspecified purposes depicted in Old Kingdom tombs.³¹ The aquatic setting is evident and the pluckers (male) either lean over the sides of boats to reach the flowers or wade through the water pulling on the long stems and depositing the blossoms in baskets or accompanying skiffs. These scenes are too far removed from the late lily-gathering representations to provide a good model. This suggests that the harvesting sequence was largely of Late Period design and devising.

Transport

The transport of blossoms to the press has a significant place in the iconography. Porters carrying basketloads of grapes are common in earlier viticulture scenes,³² but movement of materials seems to play a proportionally more significant role with lily-processing (five out of six examples, with 38 broken in the crucial place). The flower carrier alone can represent the entire harvesting operation³³ (cf. 36 where the scene terminates behind the figure; 32 and 66 are unclear but likely to). The smaller stature of some of the carriers (e.g. 33; 36; 66) and the corresponding delicacy in body proportions do not imply that the job is performed by young girls³⁴ but rather allow the baskets on their heads to fit into the register with the general semblance of uniform head height being maintained, as well as permitting other figures to occupy maximum space (see p. 81). The fact that the porters on 32 and 35, who carry their burdens in their hands rather than on their heads, are shown on the same

scale as the rest of the women³⁵ supports this interpretation.

The baskets vary from long shallow trays (36) through low, curving containers (66, drawn in section; cf. 18 B) and smaller flaring baskets (33) to the truncated conical ones traditional in vintage scenes (35; also lower and more attenuated versions on 37). The small flaring-bottomed, almost sack-like baskets with prominent curving side-attachments dangling from the hands of the flower-carriers of 32 and one grape-picker on 37 have parallels in late Lower Egyptian offering-bearer scenes (e.g. 77 5). This basket type is not normally associated with the vintage earlier, the truncated conical variety being almost *de rigueur*^u. The flaring basket shape, with or without handle, is common from the Old Kingdom, associated with both marshland³⁶ and agricultural activities, and is frequently carried by offering bearers. It appears that a basket shape from a more general context has crept onto 37, but it may always have been considered appropriate to the lily scenes. The shallow rounded baskets with thick handles held by the harvesters on 33 have no ready associations with any period.

Squeezing

Treading, commonly shown in viticulture scenes,³⁷ is not an operation suitable for the smaller quantities of lily blossoms being processed or to the nature of the flowers, and is not shown. It does occur, however, in the contemporary vintage scene on 37 and in the tomb of Ankhhor,³⁸ marking the main difference between the iconography of viticulture and lily-processing scenes. The next stage in wine-making, the squeezing of the must, supplies the iconographic model for the similar process in lirinon manufacture, and is almost the diagnostic tableau for it. Antithetically-balanced confronting figures, almost mirror-images of each other, are a popular grouping on these reliefs (p. 82), and are here used to symbolize the preparation. For instance, on the highly simplified 32, where the harvest and transport of the flowers is schematized to a single blossom held by the pickers/porters, the sack-press is fully depicted. In viticulture scenes, the use of the sack-press is a secondary operation, reflecting the normal sequence of wine-making operations, where the remaining juices were expressed thus from the trodden pulp. In fully preserved wine-making sequences, the sack-press is almost never shown

without the treading vat, although treading can be depicted without an accompanying sack-press, which may not always have been used.³⁹ Its greater frequency in the Old Kingdom compared with the New Kingdom⁴⁰ may be due to a change in fashion during the later period, when the stages of amphora storage and presentation of offerings to Renenutet were given greater prominence, rather than to the actual abandonment of this stage.⁴¹ Its operation is well-known, and its form and the disposition of the operators have been frequently discussed.⁴²

The *lirinon* pressing sacks follow the common Old Kingdom form, where a pole is passed through each of the looped ends of the bag containing the matrix and they are turned in opposite directions, to exert pressure by human agency alone.⁴³ From the Middle Kingdom onward more sophisticated systems of single and double wooden side supports were introduced, to which one or both ends of the sack were attached, providing a steady base against which torsion could be exerted,⁴⁴ and it is this form, not the exclusively hand-turned variety, which is found in New Kingdom wine-making scenes.⁴⁵ The Late Period artists, however, varied the earlier formula by standardizing the number of operators to two, antithetically arranged in comparatively sedate poses.⁴⁶ Except for 35, the press is now operated exclusively by women, marking a break with earlier tradition in which they are not shown. The shape of the vessel catching the expressed liquid is standardized as a broad-shouldered, neckless storage jar with rolled rim and lug handles which rests directly on the ground (32; 36) or on a low stand (33) or table (66); during the Old Kingdom particularly, the vessel shape seems to have varied more widely.⁴⁷

Decanting

The decanting step, shown on three of the four reliefs where the scene is preserved beyond the squeezing stage (33; 36; almost certainly 66 but not 32), was never popular in viticulture scenes. There are rare examples from the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms,⁴⁸ in which the large-scale transfer of liquid between vessels is clearly intended. 33 shows it as a logical sequel to the pressing sequence, with liquid being poured from a jar identical with that below the sack-press into another like it. In contrast, 36, with its sub-registers of widely-varied receptacles and the main pouring jar unlike that below the sack, seems to be closer in spirit

to the Old Kingdom representations. Such pouring-off of the juices at different stages may have been an essential part of the lily-perfume manufacturing process, not simply a final bottling stage (comparable to the filling of storage amphorae) before presentation to the tomb owner.

Musicians

The group of musicians performing beyond the decanting operation on 36 is not an integral part of the *lirinon* depiction; its apparently unique presence here is hard to assess owing to the broken condition of so many of the other reliefs. It has been suggested that it may represent a harvest celebration at the completion of the perfume manufacturing,⁴⁹ but the connection need not be so specific. The scene may indicate an atmosphere of merry-making drawn from the repertory of musicians and dancers. The instrument and positions of the female musicians playing the barrel-drum and dancing with highly stylized and conventionalized gestures and postures are discussed elsewhere (Ch. 7.II). Music is sometimes associated with viticulture scenes, primarily with the grape-treading sequence, when one or two musicians sometimes squat on the ground beside the treading vat, beating out a rhythm to keep the treaders in step, either by clapping their hands or by beating together clappers or short sticks.⁵⁰ The inclusion in this depiction of musicians to give the beat is an Old Kingdom feature which had gone out of fashion by the New Kingdom,⁵¹ when the treading rhythm seems to originate from the songs of the treaders (see n. 53).

Presentation

The final stage, and from the Egyptian point of view the most important, is the presentation of the perfume to the tomb owner. There is a preference for this to be done by a man (33)⁵² who may be the only male in the scene apart from the deceased, and this is in keeping with both general Late Period practice (p. 82) and tradition. The solitary woman standing sniffing a lily before the (lost) owner on 32, although rendered in a traditionally female pose and not actually presenting perfume, is unusual in directly facing the master (p. 82); here her sniffing of a lily may be an allusion to the scent of the perfume. There is adequate space on the left of 36 for a (male ?) figure presenting the finished product. In other depictions of oil and unguent presentation in the corpus (53; 56; perhaps 86), all the offering bearers, not just the leader, are male.

The captions to the *lirion* operations follow the Old Kingdom tendency toward brief labels in viticulture scenes, rather than the longer remarks, conversations and songs often seen later.⁵³ The minimal captions here are purely descriptive, without particularization of individuals. Not all the stages are labelled - the transport of flowers to the press never is - nor did every step in a scene have to be described. For instance, on 35 the sack-press caption is tucked neatly into the space between the twisting batons, but the background flora and fauna leave no space for a label to the lily-harvesting scene; the entire sequence may have been described in the horizontal text above. The terminology is fairly standardized and may represent a technical vocabulary specific to *lirion*, or other perfume, production. Forbes' suggestion that most of the unguent-cookers' jargon is drawn from kitchen terminology does not apply in this case,⁵⁴ and none of the phrases used here appears in his list. *fdq* (*Wb.* I, 583, 7-15), "to pluck", is known from the Middle Kingdom onwards, but is not used in viticulture captions and occurs only once here (33) in an unambiguous context (see also 35). It seems to have rather violent overtones, in keeping with some of the more vigorous gestures seen in blossom removal. *(j)^cf sš*, "squeezing lilies" is the standard phrase for the sack-press operation on these reliefs (33; 36; 66). *(j)^cf* is an occasional rather than standard description for the expression of grape juice; if anything, it might be considered a regular Middle Kingdom term for wringing out laundry.⁵⁵ *stf*, "decanting", (33; 36) first appears quite late (*Wb.* IV, 342, 5, 11). 33 concludes the operations with *nw* (?), "containers" (?), and *jn stj šhd*, "bringing clear (?) perfume" (see Catalogue for these). If correctly interpreted, the latter phrases argue against the addition of any colouring agent, as is known to have been done to various unguents in Classical times. Pliny⁵⁶ and Theophrastus⁵⁷ both state that colourings were considered an important, but not universal, ingredient in perfume-making, but Dioscorides⁵⁸ makes no mention of such additions to *lirion*, so that any hue it^{had} will have come from the essential ingredients. No original pigment survives on these reliefs which might help decide the question (cf. n. 6).

Analysis of the iconography of the *lirion* process shows that the artists did not draw exclusively, or even regularly, on viticulture scenes of any one period for their models. There is an Old Kingdom bias, which

may be enhanced by the wide spacing of the figures, by no means confined to these pieces (p. 120), and by the form of the sack-press. The entire emphasis has, however, been shifted with the use of the sack-press as the focal point for operations, and the new, prominent place given to decanting liquid. The scheme has also been modified by an eclectic approach, which may use the papyrus marsh as a model for the plantation, and perhaps yet others for the picking gestures, and by the introduction of contemporary elements such as the substitution of women for men (p. 127) and the fashionable garments worn by them (Ch. 8.1). The "feminisation" of the motif is significant since women play a negligible part in the vintage process.⁵⁹ The theory that the women involved in the grape harvest on 37 were granted special dispensation because the tomb owner, and presumably they, were priestesses of Neith, working in nearby Delta vineyards,⁶⁰ is implausible. There may instead be cross-fertilization of ideas. Lily-processing was a more popular motif than viticulture in Late Period northern Egypt, and although it initially drew on ancient vintage scenes, the substitution of women for men may have influenced the older wine-making theme.

Discussion

It must now be asked how accurately the lirinon manufacturing process is depicted on these reliefs, and how far the representation has been adapted to earlier models, particularly viticulture. There are no relevant Egyptian texts except for the captions on these scenes. Perfumes and unguents had always played a major role in temple and funerary ritual, medicine, personal cosmetics, and even literary imagery, and abundant references in literature and inscriptions of all sorts testify to their importance.⁶¹ There are some recipes involving scented substances and oils, sketched out in broad terms and usually without indication of quantities or preparation time, in medical texts,⁶² but nothing comparable to the Classical treatises is known. Of the latter, there are four important authors whose work has survived in more than excerpt form.

The earliest, Theophrastus (371-287), a disciple of Aristotle, wrote a general *Enquiry into Plants*, in which *Lilium candidum* L. and other Egyptian plants play a part,⁶³ and the important *Concerning Odours*, 27-31, a major theoretical and practical study in which οὐσίον is specifically

mentioned, while many of the other observations must also have been generally applicable to lily-perfume. His contribution is notable, not simply because later writers, particularly Athenaeus, based many of their own comments on it,⁶⁴ but also because his work is roughly contemporary with the latest relief in this series, 66, so that he describes the Mediterranean tradition within which the process was carried out in Egypt.

Dioscorides, a Cilician from Anarzaba writing in the first century AD in Greek, produced a herbal with numerous botanical notes to which plant illustrations were added in Byzantine times.⁶⁵ In addition to providing detailed descriptions of numerous Egyptian plants, among which he includes *Lilium candidum* L., he gives an unusually precise recipe for making σοῦσινον or λείρινον which is of great use in explaining the processes illustrated on these reliefs.⁶⁶

Pliny, writing in Latin in the mid-first century AD, also produced a "scientific" categorization of plants, with a wealth of information on both native Egyptian flora and the Madonna lily, not specifically connected by him with Egypt.⁶⁷ He gives a list of ingredients for *susinum* somewhat different from that of Dioscorides.⁶⁸

Finally, there is Athenaeus, a native of Naukratis living in Rome in the late second-early third centuries AD and writing in Greek. His "scientific" comments on perfumes, particularly σοῦσινον, are largely drawn from Theophrastus, as well as other lost writers,⁶⁹ but he also provides an eclectic wealth of social background on the uses of the lily and on perfume, drawn from earlier as well as contemporary material.

What is of interest in all these works is that they treat Egypt as a country apart from the point of view of Nilotic aquatic flora, but as part of the same Mediterranean cultural milieu as the Graeco-Roman world and the Levant in other respects. Alexandria enjoyed a special prominence as an unguent manufacturing and exporting centre for the whole region,⁷⁰ and Egyptian perfumes, like those from other regions, went through phases of being fashionable.⁷¹ They had a good reputation,⁷² and Athenaeus apparently considered them the best, although expensive.⁷³ The processes, products and, perhaps to a lesser extent, usages connected with perfume in Egypt, particularly in the social sphere, may not have been radically different from those described in these Classical authors. The Egyptian reliefs provide the earliest evidence we have for the manufacturing process

and overlap the earliest Classical written sources. Since *Lilium candidum* L. was not native to Egypt, its use to make perfume was probably not an Egyptian innovation, and Mediterranean influence may have extended to methods of production.

The processes for extracting odoriferous essences will have varied according to the material in question, and several processes seem to have been in use contemporaneously in the Mediterranean area.⁷⁴ Solutions of scented principles in alcohol were unknown until late, owing to lack of knowledge of distillation.⁷⁵ This was at an early stage of development in Aristotle's time, so could conceivably have been in use during the Late Period, but none of the reliefs shows any sign of such a process, and the latest, 66, does not suggest any change in technology; here, however, artistic tradition could have taken precedence over exact portrayal. Forbes mentions a primitive form of distillation found on the upper Nile in recent times, in which odoriferous herbs were boiled in water in a vessel covered with strips of fat- or grease-coated cloth; when the scent had become fixed in the grease or fat, it was scraped off the cloth.⁷⁶ While this method may be ancient, nothing resembling it appears on these reliefs. Other methods described - the modern *ecuelle* process using hollow vessels with spikes, the sponge technique, solvent extraction and distillation involving boiling water and steam - do not seem to have been used either.

Forbes cites three perfume-making processes which he believes were used in the ancient world. The first, which he calls "enfleurage", is a cold process, and involves layering flowers or petals in solid fat or soaking them in oil⁷⁷ until the medium becomes impregnated with the scent.⁷⁸ Individual flowers or petals are then picked or strained out and replaced once their odour has been absorbed, care being taken not to let them decay first and spoil the scent;⁷⁹ the saturation process is repeated until the fatty or oily vehicle has reached the desired strength. The second main method, called "maceration" by Forbes and considered by him to have been the most popular anciently,⁸⁰ was a hot process which involved dipping flowers and other scent-bearing principles into hot oil.

Theophrastus' *Concerning Odours* gives great account of this method, which he claimed to be less wasteful and more absorbent than cold treatments.⁸¹ Forbes' third method is that of expressing the flowers or seeds, depending heavily on techniques developed for producing wine and oils and relying on

the sack-press.⁸² His only evidence for this method is the reliefs in this corpus, and Lucas and Harris are surely right in taking it as a secondary stage, practised on flowers previously steeped in oil.⁸³ Lilies are not naturally juicy and a sack-press would not seem to be the ideal method of extracting what little liquid there is.⁸⁴ If the sack-press was employed, as the reliefs suggest, there must have been a prior stage of infusing the scent into fat or oil which is not shown.

Whether this infusion was a hot or cold process has to be inferred from assorted tangential evidence. The Egyptians knew and practised the heat method of transferring essences from a solid principle into a liquid medium at a much earlier date, as a recipe for rejuvenation found in the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus demonstrates.⁸⁵ Although references to oils and unguents are frequent, and the presentation of jars of oil to a tomb owner a common motif at all periods, preparation scenes are rare. One Dynasty 18 example seems to illustrate an unguent maker's workshop.⁸⁶ Three men pound solid base materials, set in baskets beside them, with large mortars and pestles, while a fourth man appears to grind something into a quern;⁸⁷ beyond them the unguent-cooker stirs a mixture in a wide, relatively shallow vessel. The area of the heat source is damaged, so that it is not certain whether a fire was depicted (and therefore heat employed in the process); the nearby kneeling figure could have been tending flames or mixing ingredients. At the end of the sequence, a workman strains the preparation through a shallow vessel and the liquid falls in drops into the container below; this stage may be equivalent to the decanting step shown on the Lower Egyptian reliefs. This New Kingdom example shows that there were relevant prototypes on which the lily-perfume-making depictions could have been based, and poses the question of why the artists preferred to look to viticulture and other motifs for models rather than to such apparently closer forerunners.

The answer may be partly a matter of accessibility - scenes showing the preparation of oil were rare, those of wine-making common. The main factor probably lies in the *lirion* process itself, fully described by Dioscorides.⁸⁸ From this, it appears that heat was only applied once, at the outset, when the oil to be used as the carrying vehicle was mixed with myrrh and scented wine, "seethed" and strained, and cardamom soaked in rain water added. The recipes of both Dioscorides and Pliny suggest that *behen-*

oil (the Egyptian 'balanos')²⁹ was used, and since Theophrastus notes its particularly receptive powers,³⁰ it may have been the oil employed in the Late Period. It was only after this thickened, heated oil had been prepared that the operation of lily-perfume-making itself began.³¹ According to Dioscorides, it was a cold process from then on, with repeated sequences of mixing, standing and straining producing perfumes of decreasing strength and quality.

The fact that the name λείρινον or σούρινον was applied to lily-perfume, no matter what its place of origin, in an age when fine distinctions were made between different kinds of perfume, suggests that the recipe for lirinon, and consequently its preparation techniques, did not vary greatly from one region to another. Nor does Dioscorides, in asserting that, in his day, the best lirinon came from Phoenicia and Egypt, mention any difference in production techniques.³²

Dioscorides' recipe may therefore shed some light on the way in which the Egyptians chose to portray the new lirinon operation and their choices in adapting older models. A step involving the soaking of the blossoms in the oily vehicle is omitted between the transport and sack-press stages. The explanation, and the reason why the vintage was selected as a model, may well lie in the fact that, except for the initial oil-base preparation, lirinon production was essentially a cold process. The unguent-cookers' shop was not chosen because heat was only used in the preliminary stage. A model involving heat where no heat was actually used may have been thought less appropriate, even when the end product was perfume, than the cold process of wine-making. As with other processes, there was no requirement to illustrate all the stages and, as there was no ready prototype in viticulture scenes on which to draw for the saturation operation, it was simply omitted.

The time-honoured sack-press, whether or not it was actually employed in lily-perfume manufacture - Dioscorides mentions no such wringing device, all the squeezing in his recipe being done by honey-coated hands - may have symbolized "extraction" in all its manifestations. However, the method may have differed slightly in Egypt from elsewhere; such a variation would be purely mechanical and would not affect the end product. The sack-press, capable of processing small quantities of material, would be a highly suitable technological device for removing impregnated oil from lilies. It

may, then, be a real part of Egyptian lily-perfume-making and not an entirely artistic device based on older models. There is no way of knowing whether if a sack-press was used, it was the Old Kingdom variety employing two batons (see above) which could have fallen from the tomb repertory but continued in use for extracting small quantities of liquid, or whether its representation is evidence of archaism leaning on Old Kingdom models.

A less likely explanation is that there was a reluctance to show the outdoor picking almost directly adjacent to the indoor cooking sequence; this is perhaps unsatisfactory since on some of these pieces (32; 36; 66) the harvest is absent so that such a juxtaposition would not have occurred. The description given by Dioscorides, of numerous strainings and transfers of liquid from one vessel to another, probably explains the prominent place given to decanting on these reliefs. The operation as thus portrayed, then, would not be a meaningless variation on the viticulture motif, but may adapt the most relevant parts of its iconography (nn. 46-8) to show one of *lirinon*'s most characteristic operations. If so, it is a creative departure from earlier tradition.

In the Classical world, *lirinon* had extensive medicinal application,⁹³ but it is not entirely clear how far *s(š)n* was used for this purpose in Egypt.⁹⁴ The reliefs probably depict extraction for cosmetic use,⁹⁵ but the basic process would not have differed. It has been suggested that the men who had themselves depicted surveying their lily plantations and their produce had made their fortunes from *lirinon*.⁹⁶ The only piece on which the owner's titles are preserved is 33, which belonged to *P3-jr-k3p*. He held a variety of sacerdotal titles at different Delta sites, and it is impossible to tell whether he supervises *lirinon* production in a personal capacity or as a priest in charge of temple lands. The scale of production and the market for *lirinon* in the sixth century are also difficult to identify. Some of the perfume was doubtless already being exported, but a growing internal market of both foreigners and Egyptians can be assumed. The symbolic presentation of the Madonna lily to Ibi in his tomb (n. 5) suggests that the perfume had none of the connotations of effeminacy which it had in some Greek quarters from the sixth century onward.⁹⁷

The manufacture of perfume from lilies is one of few new activities shown in these reliefs. Nothing closely similar to it existed in the traditional repertory of tomb decoration, so a new iconography had to be

devised. The solution adopted was to combine relevant parts of viticulture and probably marsh representations, probably drawing primarily on Old Kingdom models for some of the details, such as the sack-press, and to update them with contemporary elements. This contemporary look is augmented by the fashionable garments and short hairstyles worn by the women. The nearly exclusive employment of women is one of the salient features of the lily scenes and may reflect social reality if women actually did the work.⁹⁸ Lily-processing would be a lighter, less arduous task than the grape harvest and could have been largely left to women. Alternatively, their presence may be a fiction, devised as part of the new trend to show women in a variety of activities new to tomb relief. The fact that the motif is only shown in Lower Egypt and the growing conditions required by the plant, suggest that *Lilium candidum* L. may have been grown (and presumably processed) only in the Delta. If so, these pieces show a regional activity as well as a reflection of the contemporary world. It is also significant that except for the Dynasty 30 66, all either belong to Group A (pp. 71-3; 35; 36; 38) or are closely connected with it (32; 33). If these pieces represent the output of Western Delta workshops (p. 73), they may further reflect an activity which took place on a large scale in that area, but this is speculative.

CHAPTER 8 GARMENTS AND ACCOUTREMENTS

I. Female Garments

There is considerable variation in the costumes of female figures on these reliefs, but many elements have not been fully examined, due to a general absence of representations in the round. Until more extensive study has been devoted to Late Period garments, it is premature to classify and subdivide them in detail, so I treat them in broad categories, in each of which several garment types, perhaps with different antecedents, may be encompassed.

Tight sheath

Relevant pieces : 2; 3 A, G; 4; 5; 6; 9; 14 B; 17; 20; 30; 32; 36 press-operators, decanter; 37; 42; 43; 50 wife; 54; 60; 64 [raised]; 65 [raised]. Probable : 18 B; 25 A; 27 A; 33; 34; 36 harvesters; 50 daughter; 82 C, D; see also p.209.

The traditional sheath with straps is the most common female garment. It is regularly about ankle-length, as at other periods; 17, 30 and 32, reaching to approximately mid-calf-level, are exceptionally short.

Wherever the surface is not damaged or lost, an incised line or very narrow band (3 A; 42) below the breasts marks the departure point for the straps. Either one or two straps are shown, often depending on the figure's arm and shoulder position. The rear strap is sometimes omitted (e.g. 6 D, K; 14 B 4; 17 [see below]) or only has its outside outline shown when the lappet of a tripartite wig obscures the area where it would lie (e.g. 14 B 2, 6; 50). 32 5 unusually has a single strap to the forward shoulder, although both shoulders are depicted frontally and the woman wears a short wig. 17 A-B originally had two straps incised. The narrower one on the left shoulder of 17 A was painted out and the front strap narrowed at the painting stage, making the sheath conform to the single-strapped representations on 17 C-D; 17 B has lost its pigment in that region, but was probably painted in the same way.

The tapering straps often meet at the bottom, forming a V-neckline (e.g. 3 A; 4; 60), a feature found regularly with royal and divine corselet straps in the reign of Taharqa.¹ However, there are earlier versions of the female sheath dress with this feature,² and both it and women's strap

shapes and the strap-knot probably derive primarily from earlier women's clothing, rather than, as Desroches-Noblecourt implies (n. 1), from the male repertory, although the latter may have reinforced the choice. There are also examples where the straps are clearly separated at their base (e.g. 30; 50; 54); the variation is not chronological.

The buckle-like strap-knot which occurs frequently is a characteristic feature of the Late Period sheath (e.g. 2; 37; 60). Where the strap-knot is present, the strap itself is pulled inward, showing that the knot is functional, rather than an applied ornament; numerous examples in 3 G and 6 where the indentation appears but the knot is not incised, but was perhaps added in paint,³ emphasize this. The knot must have rested on the shoulder and the adjustment in position will be just a visual conceit. Where the knot is absent (e.g. 17 A [right shoulder], C, D; 50; 54), the straps preserve their straight edges. There appears to be no chronological pattern to strap shapes.

Strap-knots had never previously featured prominently on sheath dresses. Earlier examples are primarily found on ladies of higher station and goddesses,⁴ although isolated examples do occur on subsidiary figures.⁵ From the reign of Taharqa, they appear regularly on male royal and divine corselets (n. 1), and their increasing frequency there may have stimulated the revival of an earlier feminine detail on figures of women.⁶ They appear abundantly on royal and divine sheaths during Dynasty 25⁷ and in Dynasty 26 they become a characteristic feature and are extremely popular on goddesses, noblewomen and servants, not only on Lower Egyptian reliefs, but in Theban tombs,⁸ on stelae,⁹ and elsewhere. B. Lesko's assertion¹⁰ that it is the "occasional tendency of Saite-period artists to dress all classes in the manner of the rich" seems unfounded here, although "class-related" variation in clothing seem to occur from the sixth century, with, for instance, the use of the sheath for important females (see below) or the shawl-garments (below) on minor figures. Although its origins may have been "class-related", the ubiquitous Late Period strap-knot is probably the result of a liking for detail and elaboration, perhaps augmented by its "antique" flavour, rather than a deliberate attempt to dress servants as ladies. 64 [raised] and 65 [raised] show that strap-knots continued into Dynasty 30, but the increased popularity of other garment types makes them less frequent then.

Most sheath dresses have lost their paint; often they were probably plain white (e.g. 3 G). 17 shows that decorative sheaths were not confined to divinities on these Late Period reliefs. Where pigment is preserved, however, there are surprising variations. 17 depicts a predominantly white dress, with broad black stripes at the hem and below the breast, with wide black and white stripes on the strap. The incision above the hem of Isis in 4 and on 42 suggests a border painted differently from the rest of the garment. 5 G, probably a goddess, has enough green pigment to show that the entire skirt at least was so painted. The nearly identical dresses of the goddesses on 64 [raised] and 65 [raised] have the lower part deep green, with a white horizontal stripe with black detailing along the hem on the former and a similar stripe below the breasts on the latter; both bands may originally have been present on both figures. The straps are blue with a reticulated pattern. The fine incised fringe which apparently adorns the hem on 43 is unparalleled on well-preserved figures in the corpus, although fringes may occasionally have been added in paint (see pp. 91-4). The grape-treader on 37 seems to wear a belt with dangling ends with the sheath dress; this is unparalleled elsewhere in the corpus. Women's sheath dresses were traditionally white, although variations do occur;¹¹ particularly during the New Kingdom, goddesses' sheaths are often adorned with intricate, colourful patterns,¹² while private women continue to wear white clothing, often of a more fashionable cut.

The tight-fitting sheath is worn mainly with the long tripartite wig, but short wigs, both gently rounded (e.g. 30; 32; 37; 42; 43) and with more intricate shapes (e.g. 60), also accompany it. This variation is partly chronological, linked with a growing popularity of short women's hairstyles from the second half of Dynasty 26, but 54, 64 [raised] and 65 [raised] show that the combination of sheath dress and tripartite wig was never abandoned on important figures.

The sheath dress is worn by females of all stations, but it is the only garment worn by goddesses and female relatives of the deceased (with the possible exception of 52). An element of conservatism and decorum based on older models thus operated for important female figures, while more contemporary expressions were reserved for subsidiary figures.

Probable versions of the sheath dress - There are a number of problematic pieces (listed above) on which the female figures may be wearing sheaths,

but are not clear because of damage, inadequate reproduction, or the original workmanship. The outlines on 25 A and 27 A and the likely remains of tripartite wigs, as well as the postulated dates for the reliefs, suggest simple sheaths; this is reinforced for 27 A by the archaizing nature of the entire scene (pp. 121-2) and the fact that the lady is related to the tomb owner. Traces of very thin straps, probably without knots, may be visible on Quibell's photograph of 82 C¹³ (and D by extension). The tripartite wigs and the grouping of figures who do nothing, suggesting that they are divinities or female relatives of the deceased, support this dress type. 18 B is problematic. The incision below the breast on 6 and what is probably her hemline between her legs suggests that she wears an ordinary sheath. A similar garment was almost certainly added in paint to 2 (perhaps shorter and corresponding to the line of the antelope's belly?) for symmetry within the scene. A naked figure here would be incongruous in a tripartite wig (pp. 213-14) and radically out of synchronism with other likely naked women in the corpus (pp. 209-10). It is unclear whether, despite the incised kilt hem, 4 was painted as a woman in a sheath dress (see further Catalogue).

On a number of sixth century reliefs - 33 harvesters, 36, 50 daughter - no garment details are incised on the upper bodies, but tight skirts are clearly marked around the ankles. These must be instances of sheath dresses whose upper outlines were added only in paint, perhaps connected with the trend in statuary only to indicate garments on the lower legs and to model the rest of the body as though nude (p. 100). This treatment on 33 harvesters, the unfinished state of 33 and 34, the apparent broad collars (p. 223), and the offering procession context combine to suggest that 34 2 and 6 were similarly clad. The absence of upper garment details may not be due solely to hasty workmanship, as there seems to have been a frequent omission of all clothing details on the upper body of finished female figures in different media in the Late Period. In all periods, figures of women may have had no garment lines added on the upper body, the dress being indicated only by the hemline on the legs, while the body is often modelled in considerable detail.¹⁴ On bronzes and hard stone sculpture, paint might not always have supplied the deficiency, showing that this was an acceptable rendering of a dress. This cursory treatment of the garment top as one with the torso is probably better viewed as the

culmination of a tendency begun in the New Kingdom than as something directly inspired by the Old Kingdom.¹⁵ Thus, examples in the corpus with upper garment details omitted may be intentional rather than signs of haste or reliance on final painting. Other figures, notably on 38 and 71, may either have been similarly dressed or shown nude - see further pp. 208-13.

Long skirt

Relevant pieces : 93; perhaps 31 B, E

The long skirt in this corpus, which is wrapped high and leaves the bosom bare, is not the version with a decorative tie beneath the right breast dating from late Dynasty 25 to the end of the reign of Psammetichus I.¹⁶ The garment on 93 belongs to the traditional iconography of bare-breasted mourning women which is followed, with variations, on most Late Period representations.¹⁷ The examples on 31 B, E, if they are accurately copied,¹⁸ are slightly more complicated. While they could be relief representations of the skirt discussed by Bothmer (who considers them to be an archaism based on Middle Kingdom servant statues) with the small tie omitted (by the copyist ?), they seem to me more likely to be drawn from the continuing mourning tradition. In New Kingdom two-dimensional representations, straps on conventional sheath dresses are often narrower than earlier, exposing more of the breast; they, and the sheath, become increasingly linked with divinities as human women sport more elaborate robes. On goddesses, notably Isis and Nephthys, they are sometimes combined with an elaborate high belt, while the straps can be reduced to an extremely narrow strip of cloth along the side of the breast or be omitted entirely.¹⁹ On Isis and Nephthys, who figure prominently in funerary iconography, the bare bosom may be associated additionally with mourning women, as well as being part of a general tendency toward reduction of strap size, and the garment type may have spread to netherworld deities. Such representations continue on goddesses into the Late Period,²⁰ and thus would not be surprising in this corpus.

Female tripartite ensemble and variations

Relevant pieces: 33; 36; 66; 76

Blanchi has demonstrated the existence of a female equivalent to the Late Period male tripartite ensemble (below),²¹ with differences in the knotting, weight of fabric, size of shawl, and orientation of the wrapping

making the distinction clear. He calls the female version the "Egyptian robe" and the male the "Saite skirt",²² but I have not used these names because of the temporal associations of the latter term, which imply questionable links and archaism in some later instances. The differences lie in weight of cloth, fastening and wrapping, not in the essential nature or role within the ensemble, so I have imprecisely used "robe", "skirt", and "wraparound" for both. The outfit consists of: 1) an undergarment related to the traditional sheath; 2) an outer robe wrapped in multiple layers from left to right around the body and distinguished from the masculine outer layer in being of a flimsier, more clinging fabric registering many folds; 3) a shawl fringed along one edge, also of lighter material than the male version, with one fringed corner drawn forward over the right shoulder and knotted above the right breast to the free upper corner of 2), so that its fringe hangs down the figure's right side, while the other side of the shawl is draped over the left shoulder and arm and held in position by the elbow.²³ Bianchi (pp. 10, 22-3) denies any specific Isiac connections implied in the term "Isis knot" for the shawl fastening, stressing that it is an ensemble of Egyptian origin popular with living women in the Late Period, which was later exported.

As with the male tripartite costume, Bianchi (pp. 15-16) suggests that versions occur in relief slightly before they appear on statuary. He cites the drummer on 76, explaining the fringe-like layer around her ankles as folds of the undergarment and ascribing the lack of folds on the outer layer of the wraparound (marked on the area below the knot) as "due to the medium and the temperament of the sculptor". Nevertheless, there are complications and inaccuracies in this depiction of the ensemble, which could be due to translation into two dimensions. On statuary, the outer corner of the wraparound is tied to the shawl. Here the finer folding suggests that it is the undergarment which is knotted, not clearly to the shawl, but apparently to itself; the knot probably thus represents the tunic's shoulder fastening. The fringed edge of the wraparound, which should run vertically up the centre of the woman's body, was probably added in paint, if at all; the vertically-fringed cloth before her body represents the fringed right side of the long shawl, rather than part of the wraparound (which would then be wound from right to left). The shawl is particularly at variance with other representations. The top right

corner should be tied to the wraparound on the right breast, but instead is draped forward in a long fringed point over her right arm; the fringed right side of the shawl appears below the drum. The unfringed point drawn over her left upper arm is pictured conventionally, while the main part of the shawl hanging down the back was probably omitted from the relief for clarity.²⁴

Bianchi does not comment on the more cursorily-treated outfit of the second clapper on 76, which is probably another representation of this ensemble, here with the shawl tied on instead of flung loose over the top. The lowest layer around her ankles could be the undergarment, but its folds are not incised and it is of the same girth as the wraparound robe above. The upper area where the knot would be is obscured by the arm pose, but an irregular extension of the shawl onto her chest may mark where it is tied to the lower robe. The fringed cloth before her is probably the more finely-fringed right side of the shawl. The point drawn over her left shoulder is much shorter and higher than on the drummer, and its lower outline is too far to the right, so that it resembles a short sleeve, rather than a shawl; this may have been clarified in paint.

Bianchi's identification of 66 as a "modified form of this costume" is terminologically awkward, since the ensemble includes no undergarment and is thus bipartite. It may be preferable to define this type as a knotted ensemble with fringed shawl,²⁵ more likely to be derived from the tripartite dress than to be distinct from it. A fine, clinging undergarment may have been painted on in the appropriate places (p. 209). The shawl is considerably reduced, so that it resembles a small cape, and no longer fringed edge hangs down the right side. On 66 the fringe expected only on the right adorns both outer edges; this may be due to the influence of independent shawl garments (cf. e.g. 74 B lyre-player; 76 lyre-player; 80 3; see further pp. 208-12) on the shawl with one fringed edge belonging to the knotted ensemble. The lower wraparound and shawl are clearly knotted on the porter and decanter, but the attachment is less certain/well-aligned on the press-operators. The pointed shawl tip pulled forward over the left shoulder of the left-facing press-operator suggests that the knot lies "correctly" over her right breast, despite the ambiguous rendering of the shawl outline on her right shoulder. Her right-facing partner's shawl shows the right top corner lying loose over her arm,

implying the shawl rests there freely (cf. the drummer), rather than being knotted to the drawn-up section of the lower robe, and may show a reversal of what is intended on her companion. It is conceivable that the drawn-up sections represent an undergarment fastened as is that of 76 drummer, with the outer wraparound distinguished from it only in paint, so that what now appears as one garment was originally two, but the detailed carved finish to the relief elsewhere makes this unlikely.

If 66 shows a variant of this ensemble, 36 must have further versions, probably also without the undergarment marked. The robe is not wrapped below the bosom, but passes below the armpit and high over the breast, with an upward section; an incised knot on the right-facing dancer indicates its attachment to the shawl. Its placement over the left breast of this figure, with the free shawl end pulled over her right arm, is probably because she is a reversal of her partner, rather than an alternative way of wearing the dress. The high positioning of the knot on 36 leaves little room to show the fringe on the right side of the shawl; the fine fringe on the left section may be intended to compensate for its absence on the right or, less likely, may be due to the influence of other shawled garments, as is possible on 66.

The flower-carrier on 33, who has the short point of a shawl pulled forward over her left shoulder, is closely akin to the representation on 36. That no sign of attachment is incised before her right shoulder is not surprising when one considers the cursory/unfinished treatment of the whole lintel, which relied heavily on paint for essential details (see Catalogue). Whether a fringe was painted on the left shawl section, as on 36, is a moot point. The end which hangs down her rear ankle distinguishes her costume from that of the other women (but cf. *P3-jr-k3p*), suggesting the winding layers of a wraparound. The incised curve at her throat could mark the upper edge of a broad collar (cf. 34; p. 223 and Catalogue) not normally worn with this ensemble in statuary, or the rounded neckline of an undergarment, in a tripartite outfit. Here, as on 36, 66 and 76, explanatory details may have been conveyed by paint. The hem of the undergarment, perhaps with fine folds similar to those on 76 drummer, may have been added elsewhere, making all examples of the ensemble clearly tripartite, whether this was obvious from the top or not.

The recognition of this outfit on 36 and, more importantly, on 33, is

crucial for dating. The latter is well-dated to c. 595-565 (pp. 34-5), and the stylistic links between its companion 34 and 36 (pp. 71-3) are close enough to place the latter in the second half of Dynasty 26.²⁶ A sixth century date for the appearance of the ensemble in relief separates it by over two centuries from its appearance on statuary in the early Ptolemaic period,²⁷ but aligns it with the introduction of the male tripartite costume in relief, which also antedates its use on statuary (p. 242). The range of variation in its relief depictions seems greater than with the male counterpart, and Bianchi (his p. 17) notes that its iconography in sculpture in the round was not standardized until the reign of Ptolemy II.

On all these blocks, the female tripartite outfit is worn by subsidiary figures, rather than female relatives of the tomb owner, and is accompanied by one of the fashionable shorter hairstyles (pp. 214-18), never the tripartite wig. Bianchi's explanation of the robing process shows that this required assistance,²⁸ and although the hands were freed, only restricted use of the left arm would be possible if the shawl were to remain neatly in place. In real life such an outfit would only have been suitable for a limited field of activity and for classes of women who could afford servants. It would hardly have been worn by ordinary working women, as on 33, 36 and 66, and its inclusion in these lily-processing scenes highlights the eclectic nature of their composition (see further Ch. 7.III) and gives them a slightly fanciful element. It might, however, have been a formal costume for musical performances, as the drummer and first clapper of 76 (both relatively static roles) and the sedate dancers and drummer of 36 suggest.

Long voluminous robes

Relevant pieces : 40; 41; 52; 74 B drummer; 76 first clapper; perhaps 75
Voluminous, ankle-length garments falling nearly straight from the shoulders and hiding all traces of the body beneath are worn on a number of these reliefs. Several similar garments probably existed, with differences in the sleeves and perhaps in wrapping, which tended to fuse in two-dimensional representations. One has been described as a sack-like shirt, made of a rectangle of cloth sewn at the sides to the armpits,²⁹ with an opening for the head (cf. 5 D [boy]). Another may be either wrapped around in some manner or have at least one open, fringed side. 52 and 76 first

clapper wear garments not unlike the modern *galabiya*, with loose elbow-length sleeves, resembling simple openings in the side of the garment on 52 and shaped, articulated sleeves on 76. Arm openings are less clear on 40 punter and 41, and were probably clarified in paint. A tighter-fitting version is depicted on 40 punter than elsewhere, but it is not clear whether this is a physical difference or a compositional alteration. 41 (and probably 76) has V-necklines, but the throat area is obscured on 52 and is not incised on 40. 76 has a fine fringe along the bottom, not incised on any of the other certain representations of the garment (cf. 72 p. 244).

The forward section of cloth below the right arm on 76 is set off by the forward movement of the left side of the body as the arm is drawn across, rather than marking an edge of a wraparound. The deeply-notched vertical side edge on 74 B drummer shows that the garment must be wrapped around her lower body, and is perhaps not sewn at one side; its relationship to the upper part of the garment is unclear, since the robe seems to be in one piece but the serrations disappear behind the drum. Although the sleeves resemble slits in the sides, as on 40 punter and 52, the rectangular neckline and bands of decoration (?) adorning the throat and chest are unparalleled on other examples of voluminous garments in the corpus. The notching might derive from the female tripartite outfit as worn by the 76 drummer, which formed part of the same group as 74 B (pp. 73-4).

Bothmer's suggestion³⁰ that the costume of the drummer on 74 B is probably "Sudanese" is without firm foundation. Of the other items he cites as pointing to a southern origin, the derivation of the barrel drum is too remote to be relevant (pp. 156-7), the necklace (p. 139) may be a revival of a Middle Kingdom style or, more likely, part of a continuing jewelry style, the source of the ear pendants (pp. 221-2) is uncertain, and the woman wears no obvious "stole" (*contra* Bothmer; see further discussion below). The closest parallel I can find for her dress is on an Edfu stela, Cairo JE 46916 (temp. Shabaka).³¹ Here the wide, transparent lower section, with narrow borders at top and bottom, is without a wraparound edge, and the upper section resembles a version of the fringed *haik*-shawl (n. 35), with additional straps (?) or folds from the waist to the forearms, at the left shoulder, and upright to the right shoulder. This last is not dissimilar to the strips on 74 B drummer, although the parallel

cannot be pressed as the woman's wig lappet and arm position obscure any counterpart on the left, and there is no horizontal cross-strip on the stela. This outfit, worn on 74 B by a member of a performing troupe, may be a costume for performances, not normal wear (cf. 28 dancers; see below). The tripartite costume of 76 drummer and the voluminous one of 74 B suggest that at least the drummer of 75 may have been amply clad.

No details of wrapping, fringes, or folds are incised on the punter on 40, 41 or 52, but some or all of these may once have been indicated with paint. Similarly, the otherwise plain voluminous robes could have been brightly coloured or have had a pattern indicated in pigment.

40 contains two further possible versions of voluminous garments. The upper body of the woman slapping her thighs is swathed in a V-necked garment from which her arms emerge at the elbows in a similar manner to the punter's; it depends to thigh-level at the sides while curving upward at the front to expose her abdomen. Her left hand appears to grip the cloth, and she is probably lifting a stylized longer robe, whose excess material is omitted for compositional reasons, rather than wearing an unusual jacket with no covering on her lower body. The tambourine-player sports a V-neck robe with the edge of a wrapped layer incised below her right arm. Her arms seem to emerge from the garment at the shoulders, as on 41, but here elbow-length sleeves could not have been added in paint without departing considerably from the lines of the relief. The garment lacks the width of other instances of the robe in the corpus, and it may therefore not be of the voluminous type. Alternatively, the dress could be based on the sheath, with a wrapping layer added along the side. The lyre-player is too badly damaged to tell anything about her clothing.

The long voluminous female garment is always worn with one of the increasingly fashionable shorter hairstyles (see below) or with the side-lock of youth (52).

The first appearance of these garments is difficult to date and the origins are obscure. 74 B and 76 are securely dated to Dynasty 30, but I assign 40 and especially 41 and 52 to mid-late Dynasty 26 on less certain stylistic criteria. If this is correct, its presence in Egypt before the hiatus of the Persian period (pp. 51-4) is confirmed. Examples from outside the corpus offer little assistance in dating. A Saite presence is supported by the bowl London BM 47992 (late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27),³²

which shows two female musicians in long, V-necked voluminous robes with fringes but without incised indication of wrapping, and with tight, fitted-looking, long sleeves; the woman slapping her buttocks who draws aside what seems to be a similar garment but with wider, elbow-length sleeves, provides support ^{for} my interpretation of the thigh-slapping figure on 40. The only instance I know on statuary is on the uninscribed wooden Louvre E.27159 (unpublished) - a V-necked, fringeless version with the forearms emerging from a top without separately articulated sleeves; it, too, is worn with a short wig. The statue has not been closely dated on stylistic grounds, so provides no aid for the reliefs. The rarity of this garment type on statuary probably relates to the rarity of female statues in the period, while the increasing popularity of the feminine tripartite outfit on Ptolemaic statues (see above) probably excluded other contemporary dress. It may also be unsuitable for three dimensions because it conceals body forms. I know of no parallels in the Late Period Theban tombs, probably because these monuments mostly date to the first half of Dynasty 26, before voluminous robes became common.

Little can be gleaned about the antecedents of this robe without further study. New Kingdom two-dimensional representations show at least two separate garment types with a roughly rectangular outline. One, often found on musicians and other minor figures, falls almost straight from the upper arms, which emerge, elbow-level or higher, from slit openings rather than articulated sleeves.³³ The diaphanous nature of the garment is explicit - the body outlines inside are clearly marked in paint or rendered in relief where appropriate, and the area is either painted white like the rest of the garment or has a pinkish tint. The width of the garment, which is sometimes painted with fine folds, is treated almost as a less-substantial back-drop to the figure, emphasizing rather than obscuring, the body shape, although it may have hugged the figure more closely in reality.³⁴ The other type is the *haik*-ensemble, with a fine upper layer knotted on between the breasts, featuring wide, curving, sleeve-like openings at the elbows and a horizontal fringe across the abdomen from this shawl. This appears in the New Kingdom and persists until the Ptolemaic period.³⁵ The body is clearly delineated below the clothing, again stressing the flimsy, revealing nature of the ensemble. Versions of the *haik* are probably depicted on most of the Late Period stela representations

of women in sleeved garments,³⁶ but in some instances a single voluminous robe may be intended.³⁷ The most significant difference between the Late Period voluminous robes and those with a rectangular outline pictured earlier is that the former entirely conceal the body beneath what must be a heavier material, while the latter highlight it amid a diaphanous mass. In this corpus the torso and legs are not modelled or indicated beneath the robes, whereas on New Kingdom relief examples, even where the paint is lost (e.g. Cairo JE 4872 in n. 33), the body is completely delineated in relief. None of these garments has its original paint preserved, so that it is not known whether fine folds or other patterns were added, but it seems unlikely that the bodies between the neck and ankles were always added only in paint, beneath another painted layer of cloth (cf. 5 D [boy], where the body is modelled). The differences between the concealing Late Period outfits and the revealing New Kingdom ones suggest that they may not be purely artistic variants of the same thing (at all events, the *haik* is completely separate). Such an extremely simple style, particularly where slits for the arms instead of sleeves are used, is likely to recur in different guises. Perhaps the heavier version is a reflection of what was really worn (in the north ?), and thus a contemporary element; it could equally be a "realistic" rendering of a garment which was given fanciful treatment in the New Kingdom. There is no reason to connecting voluminous garments specifically with the south (n. 30). Rectangularly-cut robes are not worn by Nubian women more than others in the New Kingdom, and I know no examples from Dynasty 25. Female figures in Kushite temples at Sanam, Kawa, etc. wear traditional sheaths, as do the God's Wives of Amun in their chapels, while the few securely-dated, more fashionably-dressed relief representations of women which occur then³⁸ show the body fully modelled beneath, after the New Kingdom manner. They have not been studied and any connection between them and the concealing Lower Egyptian robes is uncertain. Assyrian representations of southern women in reliefs showing Ashurbanipal's sack of a Kushite town³⁹, not too distant in date from the Dynasty 25 depictions, are not closely parallel to contemporary Egyptian and Kushite material, but are closer to the Late Period enveloping voluminous robes, with elbow-length sleeves and probably a wraparound pattern which is indicated only at the bottom of the skirt. The enveloping, voluminous garments seen on these pieces may be regarded as

distinctively Late Period, and probably represent real contemporary costume (pp. 130-1).

Tiered skirts

For the dancers' costumes on 28, see pp. 165-6.

Open-fronted robes, shawls and the question of nudity

Relevant pieces : garments - 59; 67; 72; 74 B; 76; 77; 78; 79; 80; 95; 96; probably 75; perhaps 36

possibly nude - 38; 39; 59; 67; 71; 78

A number of women on these reliefs wear garments which expose the fronts of their bodies from the breast downward. These fall roughly into two categories - 1) those passing over one shoulder, cape-like, covering the back, buttocks, and legs to thigh- or knee-level (shorter on 77), often with a section emerging on the distant side and forming a sort of backdrop (e.g. 59 2; 67; 72; 76 lyre-player; 80 5, 9), and 2) those wrapped as a strip around the figure's arms and upper torso, without consistently covering the back of the body (e.g. 74 B lyre-player; 76 lute-player; 78 8, 9; 80 3). The divisions between these categories are not rigid and drapery methods within them are so variable that further subdivision is not useful. Wrapping details are given in individual catalogue entries. The incised, sleeve-like arrangement over one arm, formed by the edge of the cloth on the standing figure on 67, 76 lyre-player, and possibly 77 2 (less clearly, 2 and 9), is unusual, but similar short or elbow-length coverings could sometimes have been added in paint (e.g. 59 2; 78 11); this single "sleeve" seems to have been added more often on male versions of the costume (pp. 229-31). Elsewhere, the robe may have run under one arm and been knotted at the other shoulder, as is clear on 96. In several instances two pieces of cloth appear to be knotted together at one shoulder, with one slung over the back and buttocks while the other is draped across the shoulders and drawn forward, to fall in a short point or truncated section on the other arm, similar to the shawl in the female tripartite ensemble (e.g. 72; 80 3, 5, 9; 95); 78 9 pictures two pieces of cloth draped only around the shoulders and arms. Many of the shawls and cape-like robes have a fine fringe along the outer/lower edge.

It seems likely that the female musicians of 75, part of the same series as 74 and 76 (p. 171-3), would have been dressed in a like manner,

with the drummer modestly clad, while other figures probably wore only shawls draped artistically about themselves.

The flamboyant arrangements of these shawl-like garments and the emphasis that they put on the swellings of the exposed breasts, abdomen, and thighs raises the question of whether they were worn with other layers of clothing shown only in paint. Maspero⁴⁰ believed that the nudity was illusory and that the painter added garments, without using guidelines, creating a semi-transparent look with the body well-modelled underneath. There has been little other discussion, although recently scholars⁴¹ have assumed that parts of the body not shown clothed in the relief were nude. Maspero's theory of extensive painted clothing is disproved by representations of women and men in similar cape- and shawl-like garments in the tomb of Petosiris⁴² where flesh-coloured pigment on the torsos and legs contrasts with the vivid hues of their garments. In a few cases⁴³ fine fold lines of a diaphanous lower layer of cloth are painted exactly following the relief outlines of the figure, but even here, parts of the legs below knee-level are distinguished as bare. From the relative numbers preserved in the chapel of Petosiris, it seems logical to assume that figures clad in shawl-type garments on the Lower Egyptian reliefs were probably predominantly nude otherwise and rarely, if ever, had a clinging lower garment added in paint.⁴⁴ Like the tomb of Petosiris, many of these may have been brightly painted, with contrasting fringes or border stripes.

Full nudity, suggested by relief lines in certain instances, may also have been present. In some cases, the impression is almost certainly misleading (see e.g. 27 A; 34; 82 C, D, all pp. 198-9). Several pieces are more ambiguous but may be part of a trend to expose the body. For instance, the lily-picker of 38, whose lower body is lost, may have worn a sheath similar to those on 33, whom she resembles in pose. The deep incised curve of her hip does not necessarily favour nudity (cf. 67) as this feature appears on figures in sheaths in 3 A and 6 O, AA, BB and on the woman on 27 A (see above), who must have been clad. However, minor figures need not all have been dressed. The same question arises with the two women of 71, probably from a marsh setting, whose lower legs are lost.

There are several cases where women with no carved garments may genuinely be nude; the swimmer of 39 certainly is. In boating scenes a woman occasionally sits in the stern - drinking on 67 and paddling with a

leg dangling into the water on 78 13. The 67 figure has a relief line beside her neck which may be part of a plant neck ornament like that worn by her companion or, less likely, the raised relief V-neckline of a garment, but her compressed pose leaves this unclear. The left leg position of 78 13 makes it unlikely that her lower body was covered and she appears to be nude; this adds weight to the suggestion that the 67 figure, depicted in a similar setting and position in the skiff, is naked. In the mixed offering procession of 59 6 and 9 are without carved garments. A cape-like layer covering just the back of their bodies, similar to that of 2, may have been added in paint, but the presence of prominent vegetative neck ornaments which are absent on 2 with its simple, rounded neckline may argue against this. Fully nude children are present in the scene (3 [belt only], 5, 10; see other naked children on 40 [gender uncertain]; 80 2 [boy]) and it is possible that naked adults accompanied them. Otherwise, they can only have been partially clad in garments revealing their fronts. For arguments against Greek influence on this nudity, see pp. 99-101.

Whenever one of the open-fronted, shawl-like garments is worn, and in cases of probable nudity, one of the shorter hairstyles accompanies it, rather than the tripartite wig.

Whether such representations had an erotic element⁴⁵ is open to question, and it is simplistic to assume that mere nudity and the exposure of the female body which coincides with a period of comparatively high relief and swelling body forms (pp. 64-8) is always intended to be titillating. Eroticism (as opposed to explicit sexual content) in different cultures is notoriously difficult for outsiders to recognize. Identified Egyptian erotic signs,⁴⁶ such as mirrors, elaborate wigs, figs, mandrake fruit, pomegranates, and monkeys, are absent; indeed, the fashionable short hairstyles are very unlike the heavy erotic wigs of earlier representations. The context, too, of many of the figures as they bring offerings in family groups (p. 127) or go about their business in the marshes (e.g. 71) may argue against eroticism.

Possible erotic "signs" can also appear in a manner which suggests that they are devoid of erotic content. For instance, ducks are not cradled to the bosom of nude or scantily-clad women but are carried amid assorted offerings of the field and marshes (e.g. 77 9; 80 5); so too are *tlapia* (42; 77 2). Monkeys do not cavort among the women, but remain

beneath the master's chair after the usual manner of pets (11; 18 A; 20; 55). In a few cases, however, there may be an erotic reference - for instance, the possible *tilapia* held by the scantily-clad woman on 67 and the waterfowl, including ducks, perched on the heads of the women of 71 or seized by the naked swimmer of 39. Only minor figures were so shown on these reliefs, just as other "fashionable" clothing and hairstyles were confined to them. They seem to exhibit a freedom which might allow a degree of licentiousness inappropriate with female relatives or deities. Female musicians in particular may have been less respectable (pp. 177-8), and it is probable that in their cases (74 B; 76; 78; probably 75) their scanty clothing was intended to be provocative.

The question of the extent to which these shawl-like garments were actually worn, and how far they may be fanciful must also be considered. Female musicians and dancers may have worn extravagant garments, erotic or otherwise, in line with earlier traditions,⁴⁷ so that what is depicted may reflect contemporary reality, perhaps as part of a running tradition here revitalized. However, such outfits are disconcerting in offering sequences. These garments, if they were ever actually worn by anyone, may have been transferred to these figures for aesthetic or other reasons, as the female tripartite ensemble sometimes is to women who would not have worn it (p. 203), or they may be imaginative creations, allowing the human anatomy to be rendered with minimum interference. Similarly, nudity as on 59 ^{and} 9, is unlikely, and would be inconvenient for peasant women, as the family groups suggest them to be (p. 127). The appropriateness of full or partial nudity to women in marsh contexts is ambiguous, as the presence of musicians (40; 78) and drink (67; 78) in some of the boats suggest a festive link in which unusual dress might be worn. There was an established tradition of naked or semi-naked women, sometimes musicians and often with recognizable erotic overtones, in boats or set against a marsh background, especially in the minor arts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.⁴⁸ Thus, in certain contexts this type of garment may have been used ^{for} and its presence on these reliefs reflect contemporary fashion, while this is implausible in other cases, where it must at best show artistic licence with some foundation in reality.

The appearance of these revealing garments in Egyptian art is difficult to date precisely, although 59, which can be dated to c. 525-500,

shows that they were present before the Persian hiatus. If the left-hand figure on 36 had one of these shawl-like elements instead of a (more likely) long shawl to the tripartite ensemble (see p. 202), it would be an isolated example in the first half of the sixth century.⁴⁹ All the other representations of the shawl-like garb date to Dynasty 30 or the early Ptolemaic period. The shawls draped casually about the shoulders and arms are without precedent and constitute a Late Period innovation. They could be a secondary elaboration from the cape-like version (see below), as they seem to appear only in the fourth century (see *caveat* on 36 above). There are occasional, mainly New Kingdom, examples of the single long garment flung back cape-like behind the shoulders, exposing the whole body;⁵⁰ these are mainly on minor art objects. As such garments do not appear on the Lower Egyptian reliefs until late in Dynasty 26, it is difficult to trace a direct relationship between the two, although the link may have been continuous (see p. 129). The cape-like shawls may be an archaizing revival of a later New Kingdom feature, reflect a continuing tradition growing from the New Kingdom one and now transferred from minor media to tomb walls, or be a new creation. Continuity of tradition seems the most likely.

Possible examples of full female nudity seem to run from mid or late Dynasty 26 onward, with 59 again providing a fixed point (c. 525-500) and 38 a potential and 39 a certain earlier one. Well-dated parallels from other contexts are, again, not readily forthcoming. This is not surprising in statuary and stelae, where the few women represented are of high status, or in bronzes, which mostly show deities. Nor is its absence surprising in the Late Period Theban tombs, because these date mainly to Dynasty 25 to the first half of Dynasty 26. Again, it is likely that the tradition of nude women continued on small objects (p. 128) and was introduced thence into tomb decoration.

Apart from the tomb of Petosiris, whose representations show an imaginative exuberance more advanced than that on the Lower Egyptian reliefs, a few small objects show that these reliefs are not isolated, but part of a larger artistic trend. An ivory plaque from Lindos on Rhodes⁵¹ shows a shawl arranged cape-like down a woman's back and forming a short sleeve over one arm with a series of ridged folds not paralleled on these reliefs; it seems to date from the middle fourth century, on the basis of similarities with 76 in particular. A plaster plaque, probably Dynasty

30 or early Ptolemaic in date,⁵² shows a nude girl with a well-developed womanly body. There are probably further examples on minor art objects.

Female wigs and accoutrements

Long tripartite wigs

Relevant pieces: 2; 3 A, G; 4; 5 C, D; 6; 9; 14 B; 17; 18 B; 20; 25 A (?); 27 A (?); 50 wife; 54; 64 [raised]; 65 [raised]; 82 D

The traditional long tripartite wig is common on these pieces and is the sole wig worn by adult female relatives of the tomb owner (cf. short styles on daughters on 50 and perhaps 52). It is the normal wig for goddesses, the chief exception being the long, swept-back wigs without forward lappets on 3 B and 31 B; on 31 E they wear the form with rounded back section and longer lappets characteristic of the male tripartite wig. 64 [raised] and 65 [raised] are unusual in having the shape of the back section modified to run parallel to the arm; the gentle indentation at the neck here is also found in the tomb of Petosiris.⁵³ The pattern of usage is closer to that in Late Period Theban tombs, where the tripartite wig is usual on all female figures, than to the tomb of Petosiris, where adult female relatives may wear shorter wigs, while goddesses wear only the tripartite.⁵⁴ The tripartite wig is worn sporadically by minor figures (14 B; 17; 18 B; 25 A [? neck markings consistent with a lappet]) in the seventh century, but this use is abandoned later; female relatives and deities wear it during the whole period under discussion. Where the wig appears, all minor figures in the group wear it, and it is not used as an alternative for variety within a scene.⁵⁵ The wig of 18 B 4, if it is female, is probably tripartite, with the front lappet repositioned to accommodate the carried calf. The wife on 50 is unique in the corpus in having hair from the back section shown in the area between arm and breast, as in some Old Kingdom examples;⁵⁶ the abundant black pigment on 17 suggests that it was not customary to fill the gap with paint alone. This marks a difference from Late Period Theban tomb representations of the tripartite wig, which are more inclined to show the hair between torso and arm,⁵⁷ although this varies. Vertical striations are sometimes added (e.g. 6 E, F; 17); those on 54 (c. 540-520) show that the feature does not disappear at the end of the seventh century (see p. 46-7). The double row of rectangular curls framing the woman's face on 6 F probably represents real hair visible

under the wig. On the goddesses of 64 [raised] and 65 [raised] it is bright blue, indicating their divinity.⁵⁸

The tripartite wig is worn exclusively with the tight sheath, never with any of the contemporary outfits.

Short rounded hairstyles

Relevant pieces: 30; 32; 33; 34; 35; 36; 37; 38; 39; 41; 42; 43; 50 daughter; 59 2, 3, 6, 10; 60 4; 67; 71; 74 B drummer; 77; 4, 9; 78 5 (?); 79 2; 80 3; 94; probably 96

This category probably includes several distinct types which could be recognized more easily on three-dimensional representations. They range from hair with a decided rounded puff on its lower part and at the back of the head (e.g. 50 daughter; 59 2, 3, 6, 10; 60 4; 77 4, 9), through a type with a puff at the back of the head but a sharper angle to the neck (e.g. 32; 37; 41; 71) to forms which cling to the head (e.g. 30; 34; 74 B drummer). On most examples the ear is exposed, often with a rounded tab before it (e.g. 35; 36; 37; 41; 71). The traditional rectangular tab is absent (including on the possibly archaizing 30), although an unusual pointed form (33; 59 2, 3, 6, 10 [blunted]; 60 4; 77 4, 9; 78 5 (?); 79 2; 96 unclear) may be a version of it. Occasionally the tab is extremely abbreviated (e.g. 67), while on 94 it is modified with the wobble to the negress' hairline. Rare instances where the hair covers the ear (39) illustrate a separate wig type, perhaps related to one popular in Dynasty 25 (see nn. 91, 102); 38 probably has a careless version of the type with a rounded tab, rather than one meant to conceal the ear.

Some of these, possibly the majority of those with rounded tabs and revealing the ear, may be the cap-like hairdo described by Bothmer as a "bob",⁵⁹ with the characteristic bulge above the ears not showing in relief. He may be correct that it is found chiefly on statuary of the fourth century, as well as on his "archaistic" reliefs of Dynasty 30, (fourth century examples on 67; 71; 74 B; 77; 78 5 (?); 80; 96; perhaps 94), but his end of Dynasty 26 date for its first occurrence is too late. His statement that "it is never found in relief during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C." is incorrect, since his earliest relief example, 50, dates not to middle-late Dynasty 27, but to c. 550-525 (pp. 40-1). Other possible sixth century examples, many from the first half of the century,

include 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 59 and 60 (c. 525-500), and perhaps 38. If at least some of these depict the "bob" and my dates for them are correct, they show, with Bothmer's three-dimensional representations from late Dynasty 26, that the style was common before the Persian period, and call into question his strong fourth century association.

It is uncertain whether these short hairdos are wigs or real hair.⁶⁰ None of the examples has pigment preserved, but they were probably all painted black. Curl patterns are very varied, ranging from plain versions which may have been left smooth or had divisions added with fine painted outlines (e.g. 30; 32; 33; 41; 67) through those with vertical striations descending from the crown (e.g. 35; 36; 38), to echeloned curls (e.g. 34 2; 37 [with a strong vertical element]; 71; 79 2) and spirals (74 B drummer); 39 unusually has horizontal rows without vertical divisions.

The antecedents for these styles are difficult to define, especially since they vary greatly but not distinctively.⁶¹ Perhaps all that can be distinguished at this stage is the type which frees the ear (chiefly the "bob") and the much rarer one which covers it (39).⁶² Short women's hairstyles always occurred as a less-popular alternative to longer wigs, in the Old Kingdom on both important women and servants,⁶³ in the Middle and New Kingdoms increasingly confined to minor figures or foreigners,⁶⁴ often on small craft objects.⁶⁵ The Third Intermediate Period saw a revival of shorter hairstyles on women of all ranks,⁶⁶ and they were popular in Dynasty 25.⁶⁷ There was, however, no consistent trend toward their use in monumental relief. None occurs on blocks in this corpus dated to Psammetichus I,⁶⁸ nor are there instances in contemporary Theban tombs, where the tripartite and longer wigs are preferred. This suggests that, at least in private tomb decoration,⁶⁹ the reign of Psammetichus I saw a marked preference for traditional hairstyles, accompanying that for the sheath dress at the expense of more fashionable costumes (see above). Examples in other media⁷⁰ show that the fashion continued elsewhere during early Dynasty 26, so that when short wigs appear in the second half of the dynasty in tomb relief, they reflect wider current practice. 33 and 34, from the middle of Dynasty 26, are the earliest well-dated examples in this corpus, and mid-sixth century examples followed in abundance (see above). Bothmer claims that the "bob" with its characteristic puff above the ears has an indisputable male forerunner in Middle Kingdom statuary.⁷¹ If this

is so, it is a noteworthy instance of archaism across genders. However, the style is so simple that other explanations are possible. Its only significant difference from Old and Middle Kingdom female types is in the puffiness above the ears, which is present in some Dynasty 25 examples which conceal the ears.⁷² The Late Period "bob" could be an independent result of varying the existing short hairdos covering the ear, and therefore have no archaizing relationship to the Middle Kingdom male hairstyle. Such a puff could have resulted from cutting real hair, rather than a wig arrangement, and is consistent with the trend to rounding of body forms. 30, with its close Old Kingdom associations, is probably not the "bob" but inspired by close-cropped Old Kingdom models (p. 140). 94 has a separate, ethnic-stereotype origin. The rest of these shorter rounded wigs have nothing specifically Nubian/"negroid" about them,⁷³ nor do they have stronger associations with the New Kingdom ⁷⁴ than with any other period. Valanced wigs like those worn by men and found occasionally on earlier objects⁷⁵ and in the tomb of Petosiris⁷⁶ are absent from the corpus, although some of the instances on 40 are similar (see below).

On these tomb reliefs, the shorter hairstyles, both rounded and the types with pointed fronts discussed below, are confined to servants (except 50 daughter and perhaps 52). This usage differs from that of the preceding period and of other Late Period media;⁷⁷ it may go back to the New Kingdom preference in tomb representations for long wigs on major female figures. Representations of the wife and daughters in the chapel of Petosiris,⁷⁸ however, show that there was no rigid convention against short wigs on female relatives.

Both the rounded and the pointed short hairstyles (below) are worn with the traditional sheath dress (e.g. 32; 33; 37; 60) with a variety of contemporary fashionable outfits (e.g. 36; 41; 59; 66; 76; 77), and by nude figures (e.g. 39; 59; 67).

Short pointed wigs

Relevant pieces: 59 9; 60 3; 2, 5-6 questionable; 66; 67; 72; 74 B lyre-player; 75; 76; 77 2, 7; 78 5 (?), 7-13; perhaps 40; perhaps 80 5, 9

Some short wigs come to a longer point beside the face. There is contemporaneous variation in overall shape, extending from those with long distinct points falling forward from a relatively high back (e.g. 66 porter

and left press-operator; 67; 76; 77 2, 2) to those where back and front are nearly the same length and the point is not pronounced (e.g. 59 9; 60 3; 66 right press-operator and decanter; 72; 74 B lyre-player). Often the intervening lower edge is cut in a concave curve (e.g. 60 3 - 2, 5 (?), 6 [if applicable]; 67; 74 B lyre-player; 76; 77 2, 2) but elsewhere it is nearly straight (e.g. 59 9; 66 left press-operator and decanter; 72). On 40 and 80 5, 9, the differences in back and front hair lengths are so insignificant and the lower edge so straight that the hairstyle would not be identifiable without parallels. They must, however, be variations on this type, as there is no ready alternative with which they can be associated (the male valanced wig is too remote from 40). 80 5 with its unusual, almost receding hairline at the crown and temple and its very slight dip along the lower edge, is different enough from other examples to prevent certain identification; it may be better categorized with the aberrant hairstyles (see below). 60 2, 5-6 are also problematic (see below). The hair sometimes covers the ear (e.g. 60 3; 67; 74 B lyre-player; 77 2) and sometimes reveals it, with a pointy (e.g. 72; 76; 77 2), rectangular (e.g. 59 9 [irregular tab shape]; 66; 75) or other (e.g. 66 [rectangular tab before ear]; 80 9 [rounded tab]) shapes; there is no pattern to the variation.

No paint remains on any of these hairdos; they were probably black. Some are left plain (e.g. 40; 59 9; 60 3; 67; 77 2, 2) while others are patterned with long, rectangular, echeloned curls (e.g. 66; 72; 75 lyre-player; 76) or spirals (74 B lyre-player; 75 drummer). 60 2, 5-6 are unusual in having the pointed section behind the ear worked in low relief with fine curls (?) indicated by closely-spaced incised horizontal rows with dots inside; the plain hair at the top of the head is in distinctly higher relief. The impression is of a close-clipped area along the back and sides of the neck, with fluffier, longer hair above. As other pointed hairstyles appear cut on one level and are uniformly decorated, the hairdos of 60 2, 5-6 could be distinct from them, despite their similarities of exterior outlines. 60 3, which is of the more conventional pointed type, has a jagged outline along the cheek, as though marking the edge of long rectangular curls not elsewhere added in relief (cf. 50 owner). As with the short, rounded hairstyles, real hair or wigs could be shown; the browline on 80 5 and close cutting at the bottoms of 60 2, 5-6 (both

examples aberrant) suggest that the women's own hair may be pictured, while the probable prototypes (see below) favour a wig.

The antecedents to the pointed styles seem to occur only from mid-Dynasty 18 onward.⁷⁹ A royal version, almost invariably having several distinct tiers of larger curls adjacent to the face, is not uncommonly worn.⁸⁰ An often simpler version, which may lack the tiers of ringlets by the face, is found on New Kingdom men⁸¹ On women, it often has intricate details and occurs mainly in the minor arts.⁸² It is impossible to establish whether the Late Period Lower Egyptian versions are archaizing, looking back to New Kingdom models, or part of a continuing tradition, perhaps in the minor arts (see pp. 128-9), but I have found no examples which can plausibly be dated to the Third Intermediate Period or to the reign of Psammetichus I. Pointed wigs seem to become popular on tomb reliefs slightly later than the rounded versions, in late Dynasty 26 or early Dynasty 27, the earliest closely datable examples being 59 and 60, c. 525-500, but 40 with its less clear form dates to mid-Dynasty 26 and is contemporary with the earliest rounded types. They are much more frequent on post-Persian works than on those before the hiatus.⁸³ The form is absent from the Late Period Theban tombs and the tomb of Petosiris. Furthermore, unlike rounded hairstyles, pointed ones are uncommon in other media.⁸⁴ Thus, short, pointed hairstyles share some features with the rounded ones, such as being part of a continuous and subsequently expanding tradition deriving from the New Kingdom minor arts, being worn with both the sheath dress and more fashionable garments, and being confined on these reliefs to minor figures. However, usages are not identical. The rounded types, although not found in tomb reliefs under Psammetichus I, never die out in other media and are introduced to tomb decoration about mid-Dynasty 26. Pointed styles, on the other hand, seem to be an isolated phenomenon, almost confined to tomb relief. This suggests that the hairstyle is an archaism, looking to the New Kingdom for sources. However, the loss of most of the minor art field after the New Kingdom (p. 128-9) probably obscures relationships, and this hair form may well have continued sporadically (?) there, to be transferred to tomb reliefs in the sixth century and enjoy a late phase of development and popularity.

Other hairstyles

Relevant pieces - 3 B; 18 B 4; 28; 31 B; 52; 93; perhaps 60 2, 5-6 and 80 5. A few women's hairstyles do not fit rigidly into any of the above categories, although some may be extreme variations of an established type. In particular, 80 5 and 60 2, 5-6 (p. 217) could be versions of a pointed hairdo, or could be something clearly different were the representations three-dimensional. On 80 costumes and hairstyles are varied, so that the peculiarly high starting line for the hair on 5 may be there for the sake of variation. It is difficult to say whether the precise form chosen owes something to earlier models²⁵ or is an independent creation; it does not seem to be related to the receding male hairline (p. 248), as seen on 80 1. 60 is not so strongly varied; the women's dresses are identical and three have the same hairstyle, while another has a pointed wig covering the ear; mannered fancy by the designer may be the explanation. 18 B 4 is probably a variant of the tripartite wig (see above).

The swept-back hair of 93 is consistent with other representations of mourners and is explained by the flung-back position of her head; it is thus the result of pose rather than being a special hairstyle. On 3 B choice of swept-back hair instead of the tripartite wig may be dictated by the awkwardness of a lappet running horizontally, but on 31 B there is no obvious reason for the selection of this style.

The wigs on 28 are probably derived from the dancers' "Kugelzopftracht" (see p. 165).

Some details of the hairstyle of the girl on 52 are unclear because of damage. It is uncertain whether the side-lock springs from close-clinging, rounded hair with long, echeloned curls which start high on the brow and has a very shallow upper section, or whether her head is shaven and the plaited section emerges from a slightly broader clump of hair with a different strand pattern; the relative width of the upper part may make the first alternative the more likely, but either is possible. There are New Kingdom antecedents for the side-lock emerging from short hair.²⁷

Jewelry and Other Ornaments

The jewelry and ornaments worn by women here are, with few exceptions, traditional and relatively simple. Many figures, goddesses and female

relatives as well as subsidiary figures, wear no jewelry, although in some cases (especially likely on 14 B) simple ornaments may have been added in paint. Conversely, minor figures often wear elaborate ensembles, which in the case of musicians (cf. 74 B; 75; 76) may be part of a performance costume (p. 211).

Hair ornaments - Tripartite wigs are almost never further ornamented (see only 6 O, BB), whereas shorter hairstyles often have added decoration.

A fillet with an open blossom (usually a lotus) or a bud projecting at the brow is the most common type (e.g. 33; 35; 41; 66; 76). It is often slender, suggesting that it may be the flower stalk; no knot is ever indicated.⁸⁸ On 36 the fillets necessary to support the flowers must have been omitted or added in paint. That on 74 B drummer is set remarkably high on the head. In a few cases they are wider and therefore likely to be of some other material (e.g. 72; 74 B lyre-player; 75 lyre-player; 76); such fillets never attain the depth of the broad bands of petals common in New Kingdom banqueting and similar scenes.⁸⁹ 75 drummer (and probably the damaged right-hand figure) unusually has the spiral curls of her hair interrupted by two projecting rows of small rectangles at the level where the blossom and hair "loop" (below) show a fillet must be, suggesting a beaded band. In some instances the fillet with single flower is the only decoration worn (e.g. 33; 36; 41); elsewhere it combines with other ornaments.

Occasionally non-floral fillets are found; their contexts generally argue against a blossom being added at the forehead in paint (e.g. 6 O, BB). On 59 2 the fillet may be added for variation but the floral element be omitted for patterning reasons, since none of the other figures have flowers projecting at the brow. The narrow one with a bow at the back on 30 represents a completely different type and is probably archaizing to Old Kingdom models,⁹⁰ in keeping with other aspects of the scene (pp. 136-42). This type is difficult to reconcile with 60 5 (see p. 141), and if she wore a painted fillet, it may have been a simple band.

A new element of hair decoration in tomb reliefs is the hair "loop" found on 35, 66, 72, 74 B, 75 and 76 drummer, clappers and lutenist and probably carried by 52.⁹¹ Suggestions as to what they represent range from outsized bows or loops,⁹² presumably fastening the fillet, through "a

ribbon or roll attached to many of the wigs behind",⁹³ to bead collars removed from the neck and hung in the hair to keep them out of the way while the women work⁹⁴ or head pads for carrying weights.⁹⁵ While many examples show the "loop" *en face*, dangling from the fillet (66; 72; 74 B lyre-player; 75 drummer; 76 drummer, first clapper, lutenist) or passing through the back of the hair (74 B drummer), 35 and 75 lyre-player have it running flat, at an angle, around the top and back of the hair and held in place by the fillet. This arrangement, as well as the one carried by 52, shows that the "loops" are not collars or integral fastenings to the fillet, but separate elements worn on the top of the head. Where they have slipped from their original position and hang loosely from the fillet behind, they may perhaps indicate movement; this would be appropriate with musicians (e.g. 74 B; 75; 76) or punters (72), but perhaps less so with sack-press operators (66 - disarray caused by work ?; see also remarks on the reversed leg posture on 66 pp. 86-8). 74 B is unique in showing the "loop" as double or with an internal division and nicks around the edges. 74 B drummer is alone in having the "loop" attached directly to and below her hair, instead of depending from the fillet (changed in paint ?), although 35, 75 lyre-player and 76 second clapper show the "loop" in position resting completely on top of the hair; the peculiarities on 74 B are probably artistically mannered, rather than depicting a differing feature or arrangement. Since some "loops" lie flat upon the hair, they were probably not thick; a ribbon or decorative strip of cloth or beaten metal, rather than a wreath or plait, is probably indicated. The earliest dated example I know is the Edfu stela Cairo JE 46916 of the reign of Shabaka (n. 36), which shows two "loops" with nicks along one side (a fringe ?) resting at different angles, one above the other, on the back of a heavy wig, with a horizontal fillet of rosettes holding them in place.⁹⁶ Therefore, whatever its original origin⁹⁷ or true nature, the "loop" as a hair ornament had been present in Egypt well before it appears on these reliefs in the middle of Dynasty 26 (35). However, the rendering of the "loop" hanging freely from the fillet seems to be unique to Late Period pieces (cf. the plaque cited in n. 51).

A small dangling ornament similar to an ear pendant is attached to the tab before the ear on 74 B drummer; what looks like something comparable at the back of the hair of 76 lyre-player is probably damage. There is no

means of knowing whether they are separate items of jewelry whose counterparts have not been identified in the archaeological record⁹⁸ or earrings tied into the hair. Examples from Dynasty 25, including the multiple scattered ones on the side of the wig on Cairo JE 46916 (n. 31),⁹⁹ show that the Dynasty 30 occurrence in this corpus continues an established tradition.

Earrings - The wearing of earrings continued in the Late Period.¹⁰⁰ The large hoops which had been fashionable in the New Kingdom¹⁰¹ have given way to small types on which the pendant element predominates on these reliefs¹⁰² (35 first harvester; 72; 74 B drummer). The 74 B drummer has a single beaded strand with a triangular bottom element descending directly from the lower edge of her earlobe; on 35 double and on 72 damaged triple stringlike strands each support a small triangular member and hang from the lobe. They do not seem to follow a "Sudanese" type, as Bothmer suggests,¹⁰³ or a "classical pattern", as Ransom Williams thought.¹⁰⁴ Instead, their closest affinities are with some of the Dynasty 25 hair ornaments (n. 99), and they may picture an indigenous type of earring developed relatively late, of which no examples have been found.

For the sixth century Cypriote earrings worn on the upper ear rim on 60, see pp. 42-3.

Neck decoration - Broad collars are the commonest form of neck ornamentation. They may be plain (e.g. 2; 9; 32; 50 wife) or have internal rows of beads and drop-pendants along the lower edge (e.g. 4 [low slung]; 54; 64 [raised]; 65 [raised]). When they are worn with a tripartite wig, the section before the lappet is shown, with occasionally that behind the lappet added (e.g. 6 F [not well aligned]). Although the broad collar virtually disappears from statuary (predominantly male) from the beginning of Dynasty 26,¹⁰⁵ it is used regularly on male and female figures in all types of relief throughout the Late Period,¹⁰⁶ and continues a tradition, rather than being an anachronism or archaism.¹⁰⁷ For archaism in the type with the flap on 30, see p. 138.

The broad collar is worn with the sheath dress with a few questionable exceptions. On 33 porter and 72, where the female tripartite ensemble and a fashionable shawl-like garment are worn respectively, the single incised curve at the throat may be an unclear garment neckline (cf. 59 2), rather than the top of a broad collar whose bottom edge is not incised, or

conceivably a floral ornament (see below). On 59 3 the child wears only a belt around her hips, and the single curve at the throat could represent the top of a collar otherwise added in paint. These pieces raise the question of whether an incised curve at the base of the neck which is not a garment neckline indicates the top of an incompletely-carved collar, or whether it can have other meaning. With the exception of the problematic 82 D and 77 4 (see below), there are no examples in the corpus of relief stems or cords to which a painted floral element could have been added (as noted above for the flower attached to a fillet), so it is unlikely that a single incised curve could fulfil that function, especially on raised relief. There are frequent examples on male figures where the single throat curve accompanies a kilt; there is never evidence of an upper body covering. The curve may either represent a collar or be anatomical. Although a curved line occasionally marks the transition from neck to torso on Late Period statuary,¹⁰⁸ it is not common. As no other linear indications of torso modelling occur on these reliefs, it does not seem likely that the neck-torso transition would be marked. Pieces such as 14 B and 59, which show the incision only on the leader but not on the other male figures, who may have other neck decorations, suggest that this curve depicts decoration, and is most likely to be the common broad collar (see also 43 signalman in both sub-registers). However, the otherwise identical figures on the "Memphite genealogy" Berlin 23671¹⁰⁹ occasionally have this single curve, and it would be somewhat disconcerting if only some of the ancestors had a collar (others added totally in paint ? incision painted over ?). The question may be left open, although my preference is for an incised collar edge. There is no reason to assume different usages on male and female figures, especially on the same piece (e.g. 34; 59). On 82 D the narrow raised ridge at the throat of one of the figures may be the neckline of a garment (but see its male counterpart on 82 A) or, more likely, be connected with neck decoration. It is more likely to be an unusual representation of the upper edge of a broad collar than a torque-like item or a stalk for a vegetative element (see below).

The beaded choker fastened around the neck column only appears in this corpus on Isis in 4. It is characteristic of Old Kingdom iconography and is an archaism on Late Period figures.¹¹⁰

Single short strands of beads are sometimes worn (or carried 60). The

drummer of 74 B wears a barrel bead (see p. 138-9). 96 has a strand of large spherical beads in high relief.

Floral neck decoration similar to that worn by men and cattle also features (e.g. 59 6-7, 9-10; 67; 74 B lyre-player; 77 2, 7, 9). Usually open blossoms and buds hang from their knotted stalk (knots clear on 59 6, 8 [boy], 9; 67; 77 8 [male]; 95); 74 B lyre-player sports a leaf. Lotus flowers hanging from the neck occur earlier,¹¹ but the decoration type is so simple and vegetative elements otherwise so abundant on these reliefs, that the usage is probably a natural alternative to other ornaments, rather than an archaism. On 66 porter the flower is reduced to a small geometric element (cf. 59 5, 10); on 77 4 the blossom or bud may have been added in paint.

Bracelets - These fall into two categories. Broad band bracelets, sometimes with incised internal beadwork, are worn principally by goddesses and female relatives of the deceased (e.g. 3 A; 4; 54; 64 [raised]; 65 [raised]; perhaps 20 wife), but can also be worn by minor figures (e.g. 17 D and 42 punter added in paint). Minor figures usually wear the hooped bangles, often with a pronounced curve, which occur at all earlier periods¹² (e.g. 59 2, 4; 66; 74 B; 75 drummer; 76).

Anklets - Anklets are not common. When they appear, they are part of an ensemble with broad collar and band bracelets and have a wide beaded pattern similar to bracelets. They are usually worn by goddesses (e.g. 3 A; 4; 54 64 [raised]; 65 [raised]) or female relatives (e.g. 3 G), but are found on minor figures wearing band bracelets (17 D and 43 both added in paint).

For the reward jewelry of 30 and 60, see pp. 138-9.

Summary - Female dress and ornament fall into two distinct categories. The "classic", traditional type with long tripartite wig, sheath dress, and broad collar, band bracelets and sometimes anklets, which had been used since the Old Kingdom is invariable for goddesses and important female figures, and sometimes found on minor figures, the last chiefly during the seventh century. About the middle of Dynasty 26 the second type emerges for subsidiary figures and takes over in that sphere at the expense of the traditional iconography. It consists of one of the shorter hairstyles combined with a fashionable garment or ensemble, in which semi- or complete

nudity play a role, and adorned with a different range of jewelry and ornaments, largely floral. While some of the "new" elements probably reflect contemporary fashions, others had long existed in other art forms and now began to be shown also in tomb relief; many had their roots in the minor arts from the late New Kingdom. The sheath dress, with its now-fashionable strap-knots, seems to have been appropriate to both traditional and contemporary style representations, but otherwise there is no mixing or interchanging of elements, nor are traditionally clad figures used for the sake of diversity in subsidiary groups where dress and ornaments varied from one figure to another. It is as though costumes were suitable to particular modes or styles, and the iconography of the figures was selected according to whether a traditional or contemporary "look" was desired for a particular composition.

II. Male Garments

Individual items of male apparel have been discussed and dated more fully than female garments, largely because they appear so frequently in the better-studied medium of statuary. Because of this, a study confined to these reliefs is less useful than for the women's garments which are prominent here as nowhere else. Male figures are also more prone to being shown in traditional style than women, so that time-honoured clothing and accoutrements appear at all periods, obscuring fashion trends.

Kilts

The kilt is the most common male garment. Worn by major figures and servants throughout the period, it has a variety of traditional forms, with mid-thigh to knee-length types being the most popular. Usually, the overlap is at the front, although occasional examples occur where it crosses from the buttocks (e.g. 6 N; 31 D; perhaps 77 3).¹ It is not common for no overlap to be indicated (but see 7 B; 59 4), except on seated figures (e.g. 11; 14 A; 59; 60; 80) or those with both knees lowered together (e.g. 4; 6 Z; 26; 27 C). The overlapped section can be wrapped so that its hem is flush with that of the lower layer (e.g. 7 A; 15; 60 1), or it can be raised at an angle, as though its upper edge is tucked in at the waist and draws it upward (e.g. 16; 55; 59 2, 11). Occasionally, the side edge of the overlap has a fringe, which may realistically droop downward under its own weight, giving a tilt to the corners (e.g. 55; 69; 77 3; 79 3). Lower edges are occasionally fringed (e.g. 79 3) or have other border decoration (e.g. 55 5, 6 [embroidery?]; 96 [stripe]); fringes are found only on reliefs from late Dynasty 26 and Dynasty 30. Most of the short kilts are tight, but sometimes the front section of a simple wraparound stands out slightly from the legs (e.g. 6 C; 20 second drover; 59 1, 2, 11; 77 3, 5, 8).

A few types have a confined use. The type with the stiff triangular front section, distinct from that with the roughly triangular overlap, is a status indicator worn only occasionally, and by the tomb owner (3 A [not all, H; 6 H (?) I, K; 39; 45) or by a leader in a subsidiary scene (43 signalman). Plain versions (with pleat lines added in paint?) (3 A, H; 19; 39; 43), as well as those with fine pleats radiating from the front point of the triangle (6 I, K; 45) occur. This kilt seems confined to

Dynasty 26, while the only known examples of the rarer *šndt*-kilt date to Psammetichus I (3 R, T).

Long kilts, worn by both major and minor human figures, are most common in early Dynasty 26 (e.g. 3; 5 C, D; 6; 12; 13; 31 A; 33), although a few Dynasty 30 instances occur (63; 82 B B and D); mid-calf-length examples outnumber ankle-length ones. While processions of figures could show different kinds of short kilt variation (e.g. 59. 77; 79; 80), long and short types were not normally mixed (see only 6 R; contrast 6 P). Sometimes an otherwise close-fitting long kilt on the owner juts out slightly in front of his ankles (e.g. 3 G, BB; 13 owner; 82 B B and D); elsewhere only an incised hemline across the ankles reveals its presence (e.g. 3 V, Y; 12). The comparative unpopularity of long kilts, and the fact that they sometimes protrude at the hem, has led me to assume that where no hemline is incised, a mid-thigh or knee-length kilt was marked in paint (e.g. 50 owner and harper; 82 B A and E; perhaps 18 A and 25).

One type worth further study is the short kilt with open front, sometimes worn by minor figures. Scanty forms, rounded upward from the buttocks, with a curving section visible on both thighs, but an apparent gap between them (e.g. 20 third drover, fisherman; 43 male offering bearer; 59 8 [boy]; 77 1; 78 1-3), have Old and Middle Kingdom prototypes in workers' kilts which sometimes display the genitals.² These may have a belt-end dangling along the distant leg, which is here transformed to the far side of the cloth and is draped against the leg, rather than standing out from it. An apparently new variant is rectangular, with a straight cloth edge visible on each leg (e.g. 79 3, 6 [boy]; 96). The depiction of these kilts in scenes where the women's garments leave much of the front and lower part of the body bare (pp. 208-12) suggests that they were a male version of revealing dress, which allowed the naked male form to be rendered as fully as the female (see further below). Kilts revealing the genitals occur mainly toward the end of Dynasty 26 and in Dynasty 30; 20 has other archaizing features (p. 124), including perhaps the enlarged genitals on the fishermen,³ and may draw more directly on older models. If, like the shawl-like garment on women, their popularity is a late development, it could explain why they do not figure in Late Period Theban tombs.⁴ They, too, may be an artistic fiction, rather than representing a new kilt type, or the revival of an ancient one.

Other archaizing kilt types, drawing on Old and Middle Kingdom prototypes, are occasionally depicted in Dynasty 26. These include the short kilt with the blunt projecting front on 43 worn earlier by overseers;⁵ the kilt with a triangular front projecting up and down on the seated figure of *Hn3t* (55),⁶ and the probable belt with strips in the front on 27 A, first register,⁷ which is not really a proper kilt. Longer New Kingdom kilt and skirt types, with fine pleating and frequent use of a diaphanous longer layer over a short kilt, rarely provided models (cf. only perhaps the double-tiered kilt on 5 F), whereas they are popular in Late Period Theban tombs, especially on the owner,⁸ and on objects such as stelae.⁹

Considerable care may be taken to indicate the texture of material. Fine pleats, sometimes with a scalloped hemline (56 owner; 60 owner; 64 [raised]) may be marked, as may softer fold grooves, indicating the draping pattern of the cloth and suggesting a fine, pliable quality (e.g. 55; 56; 96). The absence of such treatment on long kilts suggests a heavier material, but some may have had folds indicated in paint.¹⁰

Kilts usually have a belt (for exceptions, see, for instance, 51; 56; 82 B), set at an angle and tapering slightly from back to front; occasionally, it is modified to accommodate a well-rounded abdomen (e.g. 59 1, 2, 11; 77, 8; 80 4, 10 [also with kilt overlap drawn up]). Protruding knots are common. Belt ends often run along the edge of the kilt overlap, either to the hem (e.g. 6 I, K, L, M bis, X (?); 39; 43 signalman) or ending at a higher level (e.g. 6 B, G, P, Q, R; 55; 60 1); they are frequently omitted (e.g. 14 B; 15; 16; 60 1, 4, 7, 11; 80 4, 10). Rarely, an intricate woven pattern is incised (e.g. 55 scribe, 4-6), which may have been more commonly indicated in paint (e.g. 64 [raised]).¹¹ Sometimes the ends are fringed (e.g. 55; 60 1).

Kilts are worn with a variety of hairstyles, with or without a broad collar, and sometimes as part of priestly garb (see below). A tunic top with straps and strap-knots may be added on deities (e.g. 31 D, E, F).¹² The chest-high wraps occasionally shown on men in Theban tombs¹⁴ are not depicted. The only upper-body garment worn with kilts (other than the leopard skin - see below) is a sash passing diagonally across the chest and over one shoulder (e.g. 1; 3; 4; 6; 8; 39 owner; 43; 63), which is most common in the reign of Psammetichus I, but occurs until about the middle of

the sixth century. The only post-Persian instance in the corpus, 63, may be archaizing, perhaps looking to Dynasty 26 models.

The biggest range of kilt types is found during Dynasty 26, when most of the archaizing examples also occur. The decrease in variety in the post-Persian period may be due to the popularity of "new" contemporary alternatives.

Priestly dress

Relevant pieces : 2; 3 A, H, J, U, X; 18 A; 19; 20 [two examples]; 21 [two examples]; 23; probably 90 [all clothing lost]

Representations of the owner in priestly costume are not particularly common. The outfit consists of a leopard skin, sometimes with a separate band divided into narrow strips running from below the near arm, and over the distant shoulder lining its upper edge (e.g. 2; 3 U, sometimes A; 20 left), and a knotted amuletic ornament¹⁵ resting on the distant shoulder, often with the two uneven ends draped forward toward the chest. The spots of the leopard skin seem usually to have been added in paint (see 3 U), but are meticulously incised as circles with dots in the centre on 21.

The broad collar is always present. The kilt is short, either tight (e.g. 3 J, U, X; 18 A; 20; 21), or with a projecting triangular front (e.g. 3 A, H; 19).¹⁶ The varied hair and wig types include: the skull-cap or close-cropped hair (e.g. 2), the valanced wig (e.g. 20 [left]), the shoulder-length wig freeing (e.g. 3 H, U, X; 18 A; 21) or covering (3 J; 19) the ear, and the valanced wig with side-lock of the *sm*- or *jwn-mwt.f* priest (3 A; 20 [right]; 23; 90).

This priestly ensemble on these reliefs is exclusive to the tomb owner.¹⁷ It, and by extension the *sm*- or *jwn-mwt.f*-priest's wig, occurs only on pieces which date from the reign of Psammetichus I or the end of the seventh century (see p. 57).

Open-fronted robes, shawls and nudity

Relevant pieces : 77 6 [boy], 10; 79 4 [boy]; 80 6, 8 [boys], 10

Nude : 59 5 [boy]; 78 4; 80 2 [boy]; perhaps 40

The shawl as an independent garment, and not part of an ensemble, is rarer on male figures than on female (pp. 208-12 for further discussion). Most examples are on young children (see Catalogue entries for wrapping details), in offering processions in which the female figures wear similar

garments exposing much of the body. Naked boys are depicted in the same contexts and often the same scenes. Both the cape-like version providing a billowing backdrop to the body (77 6, 10; 79 4; 80 6, 8), and those wrapped strip-like around the body (e.g. 80 10) occur, often fringed, with no apparent distinction. The higher percentage of versions with a single sleeve on male figures (e.g. 77 10, perhaps 6 [arrangement unclear]; 80 6, 8, 10) than on female may be due to chance preservation and the small number of reliefs on which the garment is depicted.

The presence of these garments on two apparently adult male figures (77 10; 80 10) is unusual, as male and female dress on these reliefs is usually exclusive to one gender. On neither of these exceptions are compositional demands for regularity or patterning the explanation. Indeed, on 77 the regular alternation of man in kilt - woman in shawl among the dominant adults is broken by having the last figure not in a kilt. On 80 the alternation of male and female figures is already broken by having the last two figures be men, and is further stressed by having the first, instead of the second, in this costume, which is otherwise uniformly worn by the women. This may be part of the tendency to end lintel scenes on an irregular or unusual note (pp. 81-2). 77 10 is smaller than the other adults in the scene, although the basket on his head makes their overall heights roughly equal. This is probably primarily a compositional device (p. 81), but in this case, the fact that he wears clothing otherwise almost exclusively reserved for women and children may show that he is an adolescent, older than the other children in the corpus, but still clothed as a child. Against this, there is no reason to regard 80 10 as immature.

Elsewhere men in open mantles fastened on one shoulder, leaving both arms free^{and} exposing the front of the body, do occasionally occur, notably in the tomb of Petosiris, where this is the preferred form for both men and women,¹⁹ and the narrow, artistically-draped shawls do not feature. Earlier examples are known,¹⁹ but whether this has any connection with the long cloak fastened on one shoulder sometimes worn by New Kingdom Libyans²⁰ is unclear. The shawl-like garments worn by male figures in this corpus are part of the same tradition as the female. If there is any link between the more cape-like disposition of some shawl-like robes and these male figures (but see p. 212 for possible feminine prototypes), the transformation took place in the sphere of female dress, and the male

figures on these reliefs followed pre-set feminine conventions. The two reliefs on which they occur, both with male and female figures with almost equal stride lengths and short hair, and 80 with almost androgynous body forms, show some "unisex" tendencies of which this costume may be an extension. While, as at all other periods, young boys could be shown nude (e.g. 59 5; 80 2, perhaps 40), full nudity on men is hardly attested (only 78 4; for similar nude women squatting in the sterns of skiffs, see 67 and 78 13), although exposure of the genitals is ^{not} uncommon among minor figures. This often occurs in scenes where there is a corresponding considerable degree of female nudity (see p. 209).

High wraparound skirt

Relevant pieces : 54; 65 [raised]; probably 47 A

An ankle-length skirt wrapped high on the chest, whose fastening is a pronounced roll of cloth bulging over the top front edge on the left side of the chest, has been the subject of much recent discussion, mainly based on statuary. Bothmer provided a detailed discussion of the manner of wrapping,²¹ and took it to be part of the Egyptian interpretation of the "Persian costume", which he thought first appeared at the beginning of Dynasty 27, presumably as the result of Persian influence, and which he took to be a firm indicator of a date in the Persian period or later. More recent studies have shown it to appear first in mid-Dynasty 26.²² It is, therefore, neither a valid criterion of Persian period date, nor evidence of foreign influence. It is likely to be an indigenous garment, although its origins are not entirely clear.²³

Of the three possible examples on these reliefs, 47 A and 54 antedate the Persian hiatus and may date from the latter part of Dynasty 26 rather than the early Persian period. 65 [raised] provides a Dynasty 30 instance.²⁴ As in statuary, this skirt may be worn alone (47 A; 54) or with an undergarment (65 [raised]).²⁵ On these reliefs, it is depicted only on the tomb owner. The wraparound skirt has not, so far as I know, previously been identified on 47 A or 54. On both representations on 54, the area of the roll is obscured, either by damage (left)²⁶ or by the man's arm position (right), but the high position on the chest, with no incised fastening band (see below), is clear. On both, the wrapping is left to right.²⁷ The drawing of 47 A is slightly less certain, as the copyist,

probably unfamiliar with this garment, rendered it more as a high-set kilt with a fine belt (?) along the top and a prominent looped knot with short pendant ends, which are probably a misunderstanding of the rectangular roll which should be visible here. The high placement on the torso and the voluminous outline departing from the chest favour the identification, but the belt-like line around the upper edge is inappropriate, and may show that this is merely a high-set kilt (as probably on 3 Z).

65 [raised] has this high wraparound added in paint over a long *galabiya*-like robe with elbow-length sleeves (pp. 232-5) and an undershirt. The black paint outline slims the back and hips of the relief figure slightly, perhaps for a more pleasing line, perhaps in an attempt to add purpose and to integrate the fold lines (see below). The front line is considerably modified with this skirt so that it drops slightly obliquely from its upper edge, without an indication of the body outline below. This garment is often rendered as a plain mass, without folds, suggesting that it is of a heavy material, but here a few wide-spaced fold lines in paint indicate the pulling of the fabric into the fastening roll,²⁸ Contrary to usual practice (n. 27), the garment is wrapped from right to left, and the roll is placed over the right side of the chest.

Except for this, and the possible double top edging line on 47 A, the evidence of these reliefs conforms to what is known of the garment from its depiction in three dimensions. I know of no examples of this skirt in the Late Period Theban tombs. This may be because the wraparound became popular after the majority of these tombs were built; it may, alternatively, be a predominantly northern costume.

This wraparound skirt is always accompanied by a skull-cap or close-cropped hair, which may have a receding line at the temples (54).

Long, sleeved tunic

Relevant pieces: as outer garment - 57; 65 [raised]; 74 A harper possible examples in tripartite ensemble - 63; 64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]; 76 harper and perhaps steward; 82 A, B C and F

A long tunic with sleeves is depicted on several reliefs (57; 65 [raised]; 74 A harper), and may be shown on others as a variant of the male tripartite ensemble (63; 64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]; less clearly 76; 82 A, B C and F, where the wrapping of the heavy shawl obscures some of the details-

see further pp. 239-40). On 57 and 74 A, it is worn alone. On 65 [raised], it was carved and initially painted as the principal garment, with the rounded neck of an undershirt visible at the throat, but a high wraparound skirt was painted over it at a later stage, altering the clothing profile at the back and particularly the front (p. 232). 57 and 65 [raised] have V-necklines, but the arrangement on 74 A is less clear, owing to the near-profile shoulders and the position; two slender bands at the throat suggest that it may have a rounded neckline or an undershirt with a rounded neck, but it is possible that a neck ornament was added, obscuring the garment line. On none of the possible examples as part of the tripartite outfit is the neckline clear, because of damage (76 steward; 82 B C and F) or the positioning of the shoulders and/or shawl (e.g. 63; 64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]; 76 harper; 82 A). 65 [sunk] may show a V-neck, but it is slightly off-centre and one side of the V is edged entirely by the shawl. 82 A is unclear, but may have had an undershirt with rounded neckline indicated by the raised ridge and a V-shaped neckline to the sleeved layer, with the distinctions between layers of clothing relying heavily on painting (see Catalogue entries).

The sleeves are mainly elbow-length and slightly flaring (57; 64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]; 76 harper; 82 A). Longer, almost wrist-length sleeves with a wide lower edge are shown on 63 and 74 A; 82 B C and F have tight wrist-length sleeves. 65 [raised] has tight elbow-length sleeves, whose length the secondary painting has not altered, although the left one has been given additional fullness and some gathered (?) fold-lines at the elbow. 57, 65 [raised] and 74 A show the tunic to be ankle-length; the length is less clear on examples which may be part of the tripartite ensemble (see below). 57 has widely-spaced fold grooves indicating some fullness to the garment, but these are omitted elsewhere (perhaps added in paint). None of the examples has any vertical cloth edge to suggest wrapping (cf. some voluminous female garments p. 203), and they must have been pulled on over the head.²⁹

These garments are known from other categories of object, but it is not easy to relate the evidence of these reliefs to that material or to discussion generated by it. The terminology used is confusing, and seems to have been applied indiscriminately to a broad range of types and variants. Cooney first recognized what he termed a "jacket" with long,

flaring sleeves, worn with the high wraparound skirt on a statue Brooklyn 37.353.³⁰ He took this to be an Egyptian interpretation of a Persian court dress and an example of Persian influence; he seems to have coined the term "Persian jacket".³¹ He also distinguished a "one-piece coat, almost identical with the present-day gallabiya", which he thought might be of indirect Persian derivation,³² and whose relationship to the "jacket" he did not further specify. 57 provides one of his prime examples of this *galabiya*-like garment. His term "jacket" has stuck,³³ and Bothmer accepts the foreign connection in calling it a "sleeved Persian jacket".³⁴ He considers the "jacket" and longer *galabiya*-like garment largely together, although he does not apply "jacket" to the long version.³⁵ Cooney was particularly struck by the sleeves which on Brooklyn 37.353 were fitted to the elbow and flared to the wrist below, which he links intrinsically with the Persian-based jacket.³⁶ Bothmer's definition of "Persian sleeves",³⁷ as "short, half-long or long sleeves, both tight and flaring"³⁸ is more all-embracing; the impression given is that he perceives them in relation to the "Persian jacket" as manifest in Egypt, rather than, as relating directly to Persia.

Schulman causes confusion by equating the (longer) "Persian dress" with Bianchi's short-sleeved tunic element in the tripartite male ensemble (pp. 236-9), and upholding a Persian origin for it.³⁹ He accepts Bothmer's tentative suggestion⁴⁰ of a regional variation, with the V-neck and flaring sleeves being characteristic of the north and the round neck and tight, wrist-length sleeves of Upper Egypt.⁴¹

Of these reliefs, 57, 65 [raised] and 74 A show ankle-length, *galabiya*-like garments which, if Cooney's distinction be maintained, may be one step removed from the "Persian jacket" and may not have a direct foreign prototype. Their length makes the term "jacket" inappropriate, and a vaguer "tunic" preferable.

But did the "Persian jacket" - i.e. a shorter version of the type shown here - really exist in Egypt? Cooney was led chiefly by the long flaring sleeves of Brooklyn 37.353, and oriented towards Persia by the unquestionably Persian torque worn by that figure. He specifically dissociated the Persian skirt which accompanies the jacket on representations in Persia from the Egyptian skirt,⁴² thereby implying a mixture of foreign and indigenous elements. In fact, no matter what the

length of the sleeved top as part of an outfit in Persia, there is no hard evidence for a comparable shorter "jacket" version in Egypt. Wherever it is worn with a skirt over the top, its length is entirely obscured. Where it appears as the outer garment, it is depicted as ankle-length,⁴³ in the form Cooney did not derive directly from Persia (n. 32). The so-called "jacket" in ensembles may simply be this *galabiya*-like tunic with a skirt wrapped over it, which does not usually appear at the ankles (but see perhaps 76 harper);⁴⁴ variation would be in the neckline, and especially the sleeves, but not necessarily in length. In view of this uncertainty, a less explicit term such as "tunic" is preferable in all contexts.

If a "jacket" is eliminated from consideration, only the long flaring sleeves (as on 63 and 74 A) remain as a possible Persian element. Nothing like them occurs on the voluminous female costumes here, but the examples are too few to confirm that they are exclusively masculine. In the light of the doubts about the "jacket" in Egypt, it is best to regard "Persian sleeves" with equal caution.

The "Persian jacket" and "Persian sleeves" are generally regarded as appearing in Egypt with Dynasty 27 and providing a dating criterion.⁴⁵ With the exception of 57, all the examples in the corpus are post-Persian. 57 is one of the pieces which stylistically belongs to the end of Dynasty 26-beginning of Dynasty 27. I have cast doubt on the origin of the "Persian gesture" shown on it and its value as a Dynasty 27 dating criterion (pp. 102-6), so the precise date of the piece remains uncertain. I consider the dating of this long, sleeved tunic to be similarly open to question; it may be an innovation of late Dynasty 26, rather than a result of the Persian occupation. The presence of voluminous female robes in the mid-sixth century repertory opens the way for a male counterpart not far removed in date, and an indigenous origin at that time seems likely. If either a "jacket" form or "Persian sleeves" are eventually shown to exist and to enter Egypt with Dynasty 27, they would constitute the only identifiable Persian influence on costume on these reliefs.

Alone or in combination, this long sleeved tunic is always accompanied by a skull-cap or close-cropped hair on these reliefs, although in statuary other styles may be found.⁴⁶

Tripartite male ensemble

Relevant pieces : 33 owner; 63; 64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]; 73; 74 A owner; 75 owner and steward; 76 owner, harper, perhaps steward; 77 owner and scribe; 78 owner; 82 A, B C and F; perhaps 62 and 72.

The distinctive male tripartite ensemble has been discussed and clarified by Bothmer⁴⁷ and Bianchi,⁴⁸ the latter mainly with regard to the Ptolemaic period. It consists of an inner layer which takes a variety of forms, an outer wraparound skirt and a heavy shawl, usually with a deeply notched lower edge, which is usually wrapped around the upper body and has one end pulled forward over one shoulder. This has been taken to represent the Greek or Macedonian *chiton* and *himation/pallium*,⁴⁹ or a Syrian style of dress,⁵⁰ but all the elements have now been shown to be Egyptian in origin and to form a fashionable Late Period outfit.⁵¹

The Undergarment - Bianchi identifies the innermost layer on the Ptolemaic version of this costume as a short-sleeved, round-necked tunic, usually thigh-length but occasionally long.⁵² Nothing in this corpus resembles this tunic, which must be either a derivation from a garment pictured here, a contemporary form not illustrated on these reliefs or chronologically separate. Two variations of the undergarment occur here. One is the sleeved tunic, which I have suggested above may be ankle-length. Examples with wrist-length sleeves, slightly flaring (63) or straight and tight (62; 82 B; possibly 76 steward), or elbow-length ones slightly wider at the bottom (64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]; 82 A) occur. The neckline is either unclear or V-line (e.g. perhaps 65 [sunk] and 82 A [with round-necked undershirt below ?]). This is clearly not Bianchi's short-sleeved tunic, although it may be a forerunner of it.

The second type of undergarment, found on 33, 73, 74 A owner, 75 owner and steward, 76 owner, harper and perhaps steward, 77 owner and scribe, 78 owner, and perhaps 62, has not hitherto been fully understood. It is characterized by a section of finely-folded cloth running diagonally across the chest, and a single, wide, elbow-length sleeve. Bothmer interprets the three-dimensional model for this ensemble in the Schimmel collection⁵³ as a single, coherent presentation, with a sleeved, V-necked garment over a round-necked undershirt, and the multiple folds on the chest representing multiple wrappings of the shawl. He applies this interpretation to the two-dimensional representation of the deceased on 75, where the "broad

scarf with serrated edge" is "wrapped several times around his chest and shoulder".⁵⁴ He then unaccountably interprets the garment of the steward on 75, which is identical to the owner's but for its width and the absence of shawl serrations, as being "an undergarment of multiple folds". These he erroneously claims are "quite different from the superimposed edges of the broad scarf worn by the principal figure".⁵⁵ He regards this example as "a kind of singlet supported by a halter over one shoulder" and cites a parallel in statuary.⁵⁶

It is not impossible that Bothmer's version with multiple wrappings of the shawl around an otherwise bare torso did exist, but there are objections to it, particularly in reference to these reliefs. While such multiple wrappings would produce a diagonal pattern across the chest similar to what is shown and, with its added bulk on the shoulder, might explain the high level of the outer shawl on the left shoulder sometimes seen (e.g. 76 owner; 77; 82 A), the number of wrapping layers necessary to produce what is sometimes shown (e.g. 73) would require an extremely lengthy shawl, and assistance in robing.⁵⁷ The cloth would have to be light-weight to allow multiple layers without excessive bulk. A single-wrapped version, crossing the chest once, falling in loose folds and forming a "sleeve" (see below) is also possible, and perhaps more likely, but is not precisely what Bothmer describes. A "sleeve" (not mentioned by Bothmer) could be achieved by allowing one layer to spread along the arm, but it would be restricted and restricting, with any sudden movement likely to disarrange the top of the ensemble. It would also be open between the waist and left underarm, which is difficult to reconcile with the "seam-like" appearance to the sleeve on 77 owner and 78 owner. Most tellingly, it ought to exhibit the notched lower edge of the rest of the shawl; this is never present. Finally, the back view of a shawl multiply- or singly-wrapped across the chest is not that seen on three-dimensional representations (see below).

In fact, Bothmer's second interpretation of a "singlet" is closer to what is shown on these reliefs, which can only be explained as a separate undergarment of finer material falling in more graceful folds than the heavier outer shawl. It is not necessary to assume that Bothmer's "singlet supported by a halter" is a separate garment, as this arrangement can be produced with a simple rectangle of cloth and requires no tailoring. 33,

with its unusual disposition around the left arm, is particularly useful in clarifying the arrangement. A rectangle of cloth is wrapped once with its upper edge under the right armpit and the top corners fastened on the left shoulder. They were probably simply knotted together,⁵⁸ but they could have been pinned; the invariable placement of the outer shawl over this shoulder completely obscures this fastening. The fine double incised edge in the section of cloth beyond the shawl on 33 explains the subsequent phase. This must be the back left side of the undergarment rectangle, which passes obliquely from the shoulder fastening, across the upper left arm, and hangs behind the arm, with this whole side of the garment so far open. The fact that it reaches the hemline of the outer skirt here shows that this undergarment rectangle must have hung to nearly ankle-length (cf. n. 63), rather than being a waist- or thigh-length piece. A loose, elbow-length sleeve of the sort seen on many of these reliefs (e.g. 74 A owner; 76 owner and harper; 77 owner; 78 owner) could have been achieved merely by adding the wrapped skirt (see below), which would pinion the loose left edge against the waist. Such wrapping in would produce the almost sling-like sleeve whose opening is seen on the scribe of 77. A longer sleeve, such as that on 73, could be achieved by pulling more of the undergarment's left side edge above the skirt waist.

It seems likely that a number of upper arrangements were possible. Representations in the chapel of Petosiris suggest either several wrapped layers of the shawl, or a decorative arrangement of folds, almost like pleating, on the section of shawl which passes over the left shoulder.⁵⁹ Others have a few strips along the inner side edge of the shawl which seem more closely connected with it rather than being a separate undergarment, since they parallel the shawl edge and merge with it into the area at the waist,⁶⁰ instead of running high under the armpit and following their own line, as on the Lower Egyptian reliefs. Alternatively, this may be an idiosyncratic stylization of the undergarment, along slightly different lines from the latter. The presence of a long sleeve on the left arm, even where the folds on the chest more closely resemble part of the shawl,⁶¹ may bear out the presence of this layer; this sleeve, although clinging closely to the arm, sometimes shows close-set folds, suggesting a fine material.⁶² Examples with a section of fine folding below the skirt hem⁶³ may be further evidence of a long undergarment. This is not

certainly paralleled in the corpus (but see the plain section on 72; 76 harper; p. 244), in which the sleeve is on the left arm and the right is bare. This may in part be responsible for Bothmer's failure to identify this garment, as the left arm of the Schimmel model is not indicated beyond elbow level. This piece would appear to present on one figure the range of options open to the artist, rather than illustrating an ensemble as Bothmer believes. Generally, the figures are right-facing, but the left-facing 72 and examples in the tomb of Petosiris suggest that it is an illustration of the actual arrangement rather than artistic convenience. The remains on 62 appear to be consistent with a bare right arm, if this is an instance of tripartite dress. 76 steward is damaged where the undergarment would be expected to run across the chest. The long shawl (?) and towel (?) or other shawl end draped over his left arm obscure most of it, but there seem to be no traces of a sleeve; it may have been added in paint.⁶⁴

The Robe/Skirt - The second element in the tripartite ensemble is the robe wrapped as a skirt around the lower body, which is of heavier fabric than is its female counterpart.⁶⁵ Bothmer suggests⁶⁶ that this is the long high wraparound with rolled fastening. As the wrapping of the shawl always obscures the crucial area, this is hard to verify or deny, although pieces such as 77 owner and especially 73, where a considerable amount of the undergarment appears on the chest, do not favour his interpretation. Bianchi⁶⁷ identifies a separate skirt which is usually wrapped from right to left, in the opposite direction to the high wraparound skirt, and it is probably this which is represented here. Where a skirt side edge is incised (73; 76 owner; 77 owner and scribe; 78 owner), it is usually wrapped from left to right; 74 A owner is an exception. None of these pieces shows the vertical fringe found in statuary⁶⁸ and on examples of this skirt type in the Theban tombs,⁶⁹ although a double incision can mark the side edge (e.g. 76 owner; 77 owner).

It is not clear whether this robe was always worn where a long, sleeved tunic was the undergarment. On none of the examples where the lower body is preserved (63; 64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]; 76 harper; 82 B C and F; 72 if relevant) is the vertical edge of a wraparound marked.⁷⁰ It may have been added in paint in many cases (not likely on the narrow skirts of 82 B C and F), but on some of these reliefs the long sleeved tunic may have been worn alone. Indeed, a wraparound would be unnecessary to hold anything in

place, and the tunic, pulled on over the head, would not have any overlapped edges. 76 harper provides the most positive evidence that a separate outer wrap could be included, as the folding on the garment on his upper body and sleeve is much more close-set and deeply cut than is that on the lower part. The narrower lowest layer of his outfit at the ankles might represent the hem of a *galabiya*-like tunic below the outer skirt, but it might also show another layer of the skirt's wrapping. On the other hand, the tight lower section on 82 B C and F, taken in conjunction with the long tight sleeves, might indicate a garment similar to that of Baltimore WAG 22.208⁷¹ (but see the apparently tight lower garment of 33, where a skirt seems essential). Bothmer is unclear on this point, as in one place he describes 65 [sunk] as having a sleeved garment and the shawl, with no mention of a separate lower layer,⁷² while in another⁷³ he refers to a wraparound skirt. Bianchi does not mention the possibility of the lack of a skirt.⁷⁴ However, it seems that the crucial, identifying element to this ensemble is the shawl, and that what goes under it, particularly in the lowest layer, is variable. If Bothmer is correct that at least some examples show multiple shawl wrappings rather than a fine undergarment, then two-part examples of the "tripartite" ensemble would exist, paralleling the omission of layers with the female version (pp. 201-3).

The Shawl - The outer shawl with deeply serrated lower edge is the most striking item, and the most important,⁷⁵ of this ensemble, and varies little in form. The fringe arrangement is its characteristic feature. Its lower/outer edge is deeply notched and divided into rectangles, as is occasionally one side edge (73; 82 B; perhaps 76 steward); these must represent a deep fringe whose stylized ends are gathered together into groups.⁷⁶ This fringe is also shown on one side edge, on the dangling left section, on 73 and perhaps 82 B C and F (see also 76 steward). The outermost tips may be adorned with a fine double outline (e.g. 33; 73; 74 A) and the inner edge marked with an incision (e.g. 33; 74 A; 76 harper). Where the serrations are not incised (64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]; 75 steward; 82 A), they may have been added in paint, as the remains on 65 [sunk] suggest.⁷⁷ Some folding of this upper section into tiers may be shown on 82 A. This is less clear on 75 steward, whose shawl section pulled over the shoulder is extremely narrow (but see 33); I know of no other instance of the shawl without its serrations.

The shawl differs from its female counterpart (p. 200) in weight and the manner of draping. Whereas the female shawl is knotted onto the lower wrapped robe, so that it is an integral part of the clothing, the male version is draped, unattached, over the other layer(s). On the earliest example, 33, it apparently simply hangs forward over his left shoulder in an ankle-length strip; the section which hangs behind his back is shown dangling vertically behind him, instead of pulled forward across his waist as later. 76 steward has perhaps a later reflection of this long, hanging end without the front waist wrap, if he is actually wearing this outfit.⁷⁸ Elsewhere it seems a shorter shawl, worn in a conventional fashion with little variation. One edge is pulled horizontally across the abdomen. The slightly trapezoidal shape sometimes given to this portion (e.g. 73; 74 A; 77 owner) suggests that it may have been secured in place when required by tucking the top corner/edge into the top of the skirt. The modification may equally be to allow the upper section precedence. In other instances (63; 64 [sunk]; 65), it hangs free at an oblique angle and does not appear to be realistically held in place except by the man's hand position. The shawl is then pulled around the back and forward over the left shoulder.

82 B C and F are difficult to interpret. F's right forearm covers the top of the shawl section, which crosses the body and whose fringe emerges below. The notched section which appears on the right side of the chest suggests that the shawl does not pass around the body, but is only looped over the right shoulder; the free left arm confirms this. C must be a reversed image of the right-facing figure, mirroring the garment draping, rather than transforming it into a left-facing view (e.g. 63; 64 [sunk] and 65 [sunk]), and would be the only example in the corpus where the shawl is wrapped from the figure's right to his left. The back view of the Schimmel model⁷⁹ confirms that it is wrapped once across the back; the multiple wrappings of the shawl which Bothmer suggests (see above) would produce a completely different configuration here. The pronounced angle at which the end drawn forward over the left shoulder sometimes crosses the body (e.g. 65 [sunk]; 82 A) suggests that the end may be tucked into the skirt waist, while 63, 73 and perhaps 82 B C and F show that it can hang free.

Bianchi has shown that the serrated shawl is Egyptian in origin,⁸⁰ and that sporadic examples appear from Early Dynastic times. From early Dynasty 26, it occurs with greater frequency, to become what he considers

to be the dominant item of clothing on the deceased on fifth and fourth century reliefs.⁸¹ This overstates the case, as bare-chested representations of the tomb owner remain frequent in Dynasty 30 (e.g. 63; 64 [raised]; 65 [raised] [chest covered but without a shawl]; 80; 81; 82 B A and E, B and D), but there is certainly an increased tendency toward its use, along with other contemporary garments, by this time. His mention of fifth century reliefs presumably stems from his belief that the series of Lower Egyptian reliefs begins in late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27 (p. 34), and does not allow for the hiatus in the sequence which I believe covered most of the fifth century. Staehelin considers the fringed mantle found in Dynasty 26 to be a forerunner of the notched version, not the identical garment, and claims that 65 [sunk] is the earliest dated example;⁸² this date is incorrect, as the sixth century 33 shows.

The tripartite ensemble as a recognizable unit first appears on these reliefs, c. 595-565, on 33.⁸³ The draping of the serrated shawl is somewhat different from what is depicted later, but the characteristic shape of the wide notched sections on the outer edge and the disposition over the left shoulder are clear. With the wraparound fringed skirt and a version of this shawl, or its immediate forerunner identified in Theban tombs from the reign of Psammetichus I,⁸⁴ the ensemble must be of Egyptian origin, owing nothing to foreign inspiration.⁸⁵ I know of no precise versions of this ensemble from the Late Period Theban tombs, although both the shawl and the skirt (see above) are attested. The outfit may be a northern one, suited to the cooler winters, which was brought to Thebes, or its use there stimulated, by the northern officials of the God's Wives. This would explain its sudden popularity (or that of individual elements of it) from early Dynasty 26, and might also explain its seeming prominence in the north. However, this might equally be due to the decline of tomb building at Thebes by the end of Dynasty 26, while the ensemble grew in popularity principally in the later part of the Late Period. It would thus run roughly parallel with female versions of the tripartite outfit. As Bianchi recognized,⁸⁶ it became particularly widespread on fourth century reliefs, to the extent that it has been recognized as *the* fashionable male outfit of Dynasty 30-early Ptolemaic period.⁸⁷ Representations in relief seem significantly to antedate those in statuary, which Bianchi notes do not appear until Dynasties 30-31.⁸⁸

All foreunners and examples of this ensemble appear in the human sphere, suggesting that the individual elements alone or in combination are a manifestation of contemporary fashion rather than some symbolic garb. It is worn by the tomb owner (all relevant pieces except possibly 72), as well as leading subsidiary figures such as scribes (77), wine stewards (75; perhaps 76) and important musicians (76). The outfit is never worn by minor figures, as the female tripartite costume seems to have been (p. 203), showing that it retained its status connotations.

The male tripartite ensemble on these reliefs is accompanied by a skull-cap or close cropped hair, occasionally with a receding hairline (e.g. 75 owner and steward; perhaps 73). "Bald" depictions without incised hairline (e.g. 62; 63) may have had hair or a skull-cap added in paint (e.g. 64 [sunk]). The only jewelry shown with this outfit is the signet-ring and variants (63; 64 [sunk]; 65 [sunk]).⁸⁹ The appearance of this outfit in a new stock representation of the tomb owner on a wicker stool is discussed on p. 86.

Miscellaneous garments

Relevant pieces : 3 Z; 5 D [boy]; 31 B; 72; 80 1, 2

A few male garments defy easy categorization. Some may be inaccurately copied (3 Z; 31 B), others may be unusual variants of other types (5 D [boy]; 72), while others appear to be deliberate attempts to be different (80 1, 2; perhaps also 27 A if a belt with strips is intended [see above]).

31 B is unique in the corpus in depicting a long, diaphanous garment, apparently of a single piece, with the upper body covered. The belt at the waist draws in the sides so that there is a wide, transparent arc of cloth between the arms and the belt. The arms emerge at elbow level from the upper section, from the side openings rather than from separate sleeves. Below is a full, billowing skirt of the same material. Such flimsy robes, in a variety of forms, occur infrequently in Late Period Theban tombs⁹⁰ and elsewhere,⁹¹ but in northern tomb decoration, kilts with bare chests and later other fashionable garments were preferred. This is probably part of a more general trend away from clothing derived from New Kingdom types which covered the upper body.⁹²

The wrapping high on the chest of the garment worn by 3 Z seems to place it outside the range of ordinary kilts, which hang from the waist; it

could be miscopied. It does not seem to be a version of the long wraparound skirt (see above) since there is no sign of a rolled fastening. However, since both are essentially long skirts fastened high on the torso, they cannot be entirely dissimilar. The slender top band here makes the garment resemble the female long skirt worn under the breast (see above), but they have no apparent association. It is also similar to 47 A, and they may both be the same garment if I have erroneously interpreted 47 A. The links of 3 Z are probably with the traditional long skirt of the vizier or some other male garment.

The staff beside the figure on the left of the top register of 72 suggests that it is male, but the preserved bottom of the clothing is like no other single item of male apparel in this corpus. It resembles a long kilt or robe with a deep fringe at the bottom. The closest parallel is perhaps the fringed voluminous garment worn by the first clapper on 76. Examples of men in knee- or calf-length³³ fringed kilts are never common, and I have been able to find no parallels to this ankle-length version. Fringes may have been added in paint (cf. cloth samples on 11; 13), although this seems unlikely to be the case very often. Generally, fringed hems seem to have been preferred for female garments, but intriguing damaged representations of Egyptians at Persepolis³⁴ show what must be men in long, fringed robes whose bottoms are similar to what is shown here; their upper bodies are lost. It may be that long, fringed kilts or *galabiya*-like robes with fringed hems were worn by Egyptian men, but infrequently depicted.

An alternative explanation is that this is not a single garment, but that the "fringe" is really the fine, vertical folds of a flimsy undergarment, and the plain area the heavier outer robe, with the distinction below the two clarified in paint. This in turn suggests a version of the tripartite male ensemble (pp. 236-43). None of the preserved examples show the undergarment clearly below the voluminous lower robe (but cf. 76 harper and n. 62), but on the female version of the tripartite outfit on 76 drummer, the hem of the inner layer, also resembling a fringe, appears. It is shown clinging closer to the body than the outer layer, producing a stepped effect not matched on 72, but the difference is probably not significant. This may then be another variant of the fashionable Late Period tripartite male dress, not a distinctive garment.

The "tunic" worn by the son of 5 D is unlike the mostly shawl-like garments on other children in this corpus. It seems to be a rectangle of cloth with a slit or hole for the head; it is not clear whether the sides were sewn, leaving slits for the arms, or whether they were left open. It hangs to about mid-thigh or knee-level, and appears to be his only garment. Except for the length, the garment may be similar to some of the voluminous female garments here. The appearance of a similar "tunic" on children in the tomb of Petosiris,⁹⁵ suggests that it may be a garment for young children, with no adult counterpart.

The cross between a loincloth and a wide belt sported by 80 1, 2, could be a fanciful creation in the spirit of the unusual and impossible shawl-like garments found elsewhere on the piece. Like them, it is impractical, covering neither genitals nor buttocks completely, and is designed to reveal rather than conceal. It is doubtful whether such a garment ever existed or, if it did, was worn in the formal context of presenting offerings to the master. It may be inspired by the short curving-sided kilts with open fronts sometimes worn by minor figures here (p. 227) or may have drawn its inspiration separately from the same Old and Middle Kingdom models. This might explain the cloth section hanging before and out from the distant leg, as did the old belt end, rather than clinging to the distant thigh and sharing its outline, as later versions of the kilt do. However, the form is so simple, it may be an independent creation.

Male hairstyles

A wide range of male hairstyles is depicted on these reliefs, mostly well-attested earlier.

Tripartite wigs

Tripartite wigs are confined almost exclusively to divine figures (6 West Chamber; 10; 31 D, E; 54) The damaged figure on 7 B has the lappet of a tripartite wig on the front of his left shoulder, perhaps because he performs a magico-religious act; 7 A shows an ordinary, human shoulder-length wig in an identical context. The wigs are usually striated (see p. 46), regardless of date, but a few examples are left plain (10; perhaps some in 6 West Chamber) and follow the traditional form. The only possible exception is 18 B 4, if the figure is male (see Catalogue).

All these examples come from Dynasty 26, predominantly the reigns of

psammetichus I-Necho II, with only 54 being later. This is the period when religious depictions were most popular, so the correspondence is logical.

Shoulder-length wigs or hair

Shoulder-length hair is almost entirely confined to representations of the tomb owner (e.g. 3; 6; 9; 24; 59; 81). It is usually plain, but may have striations (e.g. 6 F, I, K; 21, with each strand individually rounded at the tip) or fine curls (e.g. 3 J; 39 [man with pole]; 45); 50 owner has a line of long, rectangular curls along the side of his face, instead of the usual smooth hairline, showing that the whole was probably covered in such curls added in paint. Variations which resemble the two-layered New Kingdom types, or those with elaborate fine ringlets are absent, and simpler forms are preferred. The ear is always exposed.

Occasionally subsidiary figures wear long wigs (39; 59 5 [boy]; 78 3, 6 [boy]; 80 2 [boy]; perhaps 25 A 5); the hairstyles clearing the shoulders and sticking out slightly at the back, with an almost straight lower edge, on 59 8 [boy] and 92 may be variations of this.

Their potential for adding variety to processions of figures was not exploited, in contrast to the Late Period Theban tombs.⁹⁶ They occur throughout the period under consideration, but are less common in Dynasty 30 (see only 80 2 [boy]; 81) than earlier. This is probably due to the increased popularity of contemporary costumes which were worn with short hairstyles (see below). The shoulder-length wig or hair is only worn with kilts or the leopard skin ensemble (3 H, J, U; 19; 21) - i.e. traditional costumes - never with any of the new, fashionable robes.

Valanced wigs

Valanced wigs enjoy a revival in the Late Period⁹⁷ after falling into disuse in the later part of the New Kingdom. While in statuary they appear to be used in two phases - once in early Dynasty 26 and again in Dynasty 30 in a "classicizing" move⁹⁸ - they occur in the corpus without significant interruption. They are worn by the deceased (e.g. 20; 46; 80) and by subsidiary figures (e.g. 16; 18 B; 20; 44; 56). The ear is always covered but the shape can vary: the bottom may be broad and flat (15 second and third drovers; 16; 20 first drover; 80 owner, 4, 6) or may taper to a point along the neck (e.g. 15 first drover; 20 second drover; 22 F [with an unusual indentation]; 27 C). This wig type, more than any other, regularly

projects slightly at the forehead (e.g. 15 second and third drovers; 16; 20; 46; 59 4, 7).⁹⁹

The wig may be plain (e.g. 15 second drover; 59 4, 7; 80) or be scored with rows of rectangular (14 A 3; 16; 20), occasionally triangular (39 deceased; 46), curls; the horizontal rows without rectangular curls on 14 A 1, 5, 7 and 34 3 may be unfinished. The curls usually continue to the top of the head (e.g. 14 A; 15; 39 deceased; 56), but there may be a reserved area at the crown from which strands of hair radiate downward (e.g. 22 F; 35) or which is left plain (e.g. 16 2, 4, 5; 46). Occasionally a row of fine curls can be added along the nape of the neck (e.g. 20 owner; 34 3). The arrangement in vertical rows seen on some statues¹⁰⁰ is absent here. Occasionally, the horizontal rows slope slightly backward (43 offering bearer; 56); this must be a deliberate stylistic feature rather than poor alignment as the pieces on which it occurs are otherwise meticulously worked.¹⁰¹ As both reliefs date to later Dynasty 26, this may represent a mannerism of the time. The valanced wig is always worn with a traditional kilt or the leopard skin (20 left), never with one of the contemporary garments.

Side-locks

For the *sm*- or *jwn-mwt.f* priest's wig, see p. 229. The side-lock also occurs with close-cropped or shaven heads or a skull-cap (black on [64 raised]) on 4 and 64 [raised], on representations of children, or adults in the role of children. However, it is not popular on representations of children (see perhaps 52; p. 219), who tend to be shown in hairstyles mirroring those of the adults. Side-locks on these reliefs regularly curl forward (4; 21 right; 23; 90) rather than backward (possibly 64 [raised]).

Close-clinging styles

Hairstyles adhering closely to the head are popular. They appear frequently on both the deceased (e.g. 4; 33; 54; 55; 56; 76; 77) and on minor figures (e.g. 13; 39; 55; 42; 80 1, 7, 8, 10). 39 shows an unusual variant of hair strands descending directly from the crown, and 43 a clinging form with fine horizontal rows of curls. On depictions of the tomb owner, they usually take the form of a skull-cap or close-cropped hair, but examples of the owner with a receding hairline do occur, especially where some attempt at indicating age or character is made (54;

56 [ideal]; 75 [ideal]; perhaps 73). Receding hairlines enjoy a particular vogue among minor figures (e.g. 14 A scribe; 51; 55; 60 scribe; 80 1, 2, 8 [boy], 10), although skull-caps or close-cropped hair are also found (53 [painted out]; 57). Receding hairlines are found at all other periods,¹⁰² although they are most popular in the Old Kingdom. Thus, it cannot be regarded with certainty as an archaism based on a particular, earlier period, although it may look to the Old Kingdom. Alternatively, it may be a popularization of a traditional phenomenon. However, the skull-cap or close-cropped hair on the tomb owner is almost certainly an archaism, reviving Old and Middle Kingdom usage, as comparable New Kingdom representations are rare.

The issue of bald or shaven heads is difficult to resolve. On 53 figures are carved with skull-caps or close-cropped hair but painted as though bald, whereas on 64 [sunk] a man indicated in relief as though bald, is painted with hair or a skull-cap. Where all pigment is lost it is impossible to tell whether or not hair was indicated.¹⁰³ Aged faces such as those of the harpers of 50; 74 A, 75, and 76, as well as the deceased on 73, may well have had a bald pate, regardless of incised complete or partial hairlines (cf. 50, with red paint on the top of his head; only his front hairline is incised).

It is also impossible to tell whether a skull-cap or absence of hair is intended with such loss of paint. Most of the few examples where colour is preserved (3 Y; 6; 64 [sunk], [raised] (under side-lock); 65 [both]) show it painted black or brown, and therefore possibly representing hair. The blue pigment on 3 AA shows that at least some are skull-caps. 47 A seems to have a fine double-edging line around the face, suggesting the edge of a cap, but the copy may be inaccurate.

These close-clinging hairstyles are found with traditional kilts, and are invariable with contemporary high wraparound skirts, long sleeved tunics and tripartite outfits. Their increasing frequency in the later part of the period covered is linked with the growing popularity of these fashionable new garments, especially on representations of the tomb owner and important subordinates.

Other styles

A few male figures have hairstyles whose closest affinities are with some of the female hairstyles. 60 11 wears a plain wig exposing the ear, which comes to a point on the neck and is identical to that worn by the woman 9. This is the only example here of a man in a pointed wig, and this must be taken from female iconography, in the manner of shawl-like garments (pp. 229-31), rather than have separate roots and an evolution of its own.

Several male figures have short rounded wigs similar to those of women (pp. 214-16) or wigs of an intermediate length only slightly removed from close-clinging male styles (e.g. 77 male offering bearers; 79 4, 6 [boys]; perhaps 70 first figure). It is not clear whether these are generations from clinging male styles, perhaps tending toward shoulder-length versions, or whether they represent transference of female short rounded hairstyles to men. None show the rounded tabs before the ears often found in the female versions (p. 214) or convincingly show the "bob". Their origin may never have been clear to the artists, and they may have been part of the generally androgynous tendency found on some Dynasty 30 pieces (p. 65).

Jewelry and Other Accoutrements

This is simple, mainly traditional, and almost confined to neck decoration. Nothing comparable to the Persian-style torques and bracelets occasionally found on statuary¹⁰⁴ occurs. Head ornaments, bracelets and earrings are never worn, although 60 1 has a pierced ear which may be an archaism looking to the New Kingdom (p. 127).

Neck decoration - Broad collars are the most common neck ornamentation. For the principal discussion, see pp. 222-3. The form carved on these figures is usually a simple curving band which may have had internal divisions added in paint, but particularly on representations of the tomb owner, greater care in delineation can be taken, and elaborately carved examples with internal bead layers and sometimes vertical beading and drop-shaped pendants along the bottom are found on depictions of the principal more often than on those of minor figures (e.g. 4 [Horus]; 6 F; 20; 21; 55; 56; 81). Broad collars are worn with traditional kilts and are optional, even in the dress of tomb owners (e.g. 46; 80 where they are omitted); they are, however, *de rigueur*⁴ with the leopard skin garb. They are never worn with contemporary fashionable male garments, not so much because they had

fallen out of use by this period (cf. p. 139) but because they were not compatible. They would have been difficult to accommodate or display with V- or round-necked tunics or heavy shawls (the ridge of 82 A is almost certainly from a round-necked undershirt, rather than a collar), and the apparent decline in their popularity on the later reliefs in this corpus may, at least with the representations of the tomb owner (cf. only 81, in a kilt) and important subordinates, been due to the popularity of contemporary robes.

Floral neck decorations identical to those worn by women (p. 224) appear, often in the same offering bearer scenes (e.g. 60; 77; 79 4) but occasionally where the women are differently adorned (e.g. 14 A). The open flowers and buds on a knotted stalk predominate, but occasional variants of leaves (74 A), knotted stalks or cords with the knot displayed (77 8) or flat, slightly flaring elements which are probably vegetative (e.g. 60 5)¹⁰⁵ occur. Floral ornaments are almost exclusively confined to offering bearers, but the owner of 74 A unusually wears a lotus leaf on a stalk with the tripartite ensemble.

Amulets dangling from cords are less common on these Lower Egyptian reliefs than they are in Late Period Theban tombs (p. 6).¹⁰⁶ An ovoid amulet on a short cord is worn at the throat by the man gathering birds on 43; given the other archaizing elements in the scene (pp. 122-3), it may be inspired by Old Kingdom models,¹⁰⁷ rather than part of an independent trend. The only other depictions (3 H, J) are from the reign of Psammetichus I, when more traditional forms of dress were prevalent (p. 56-7) and when Late Period Theban tombs were at their height. These depictions could have been part of a more general milieu which did not find lasting favour in the north.

Rings - The only uniquely Late Period item of jewelry found on male figures in this corpus is the signet ring with a thick broad bezel,¹⁰⁸ worn on one of the middle fingers of the left hand. It is illustrated only on Dynasty 30 reliefs (65 [sunk]; 73) and has parallels in the tomb of Petosiris.¹⁰⁹ In both places it is worn only by the tomb owner or important subordinates¹¹⁰ and only with the tripartite male ensemble, and is invariably emphasized by a downward turn of the fist; this gesture is not always linked with the ring (e.g. 63). 64 [sunk] shows an unparalleled variant, with a cartouche-shaped bezel with a plume on either side. This

probably represents a seal type known from impressions and bearing the owner's name with that of the king in the oval.¹¹²

Sandals - Sandals of the traditional type with high front straps are worn occasionally by the deceased (82 B F) and by important minor figures (76 steward) but are never common.¹¹³

Summary - Male clothing and ornament followed a slightly different course from female dress. Traditional short and clinging hairstyles and kilts of various lengths remain the norm for major and minor figures throughout the period; particularly during the first half of Dynasty 26 sashes or leopard skin priestly robes can be added. By the second half of the dynasty new types of garments, generally long and concealing, reflecting contemporary living fashion (perhaps mainly that of the Delta), begin to appear. Unlike similar female garments, these fashionable outfits with their accompanying close-cropped hairstyles are largely reserved for the tomb owner and leaders within the subsidiary scenes (but cf. 57). The updating of the image of the principal contrasts with the traditional treatment of his female relatives. This representation of the owner as a "modern" man is one strand of development, the other of which is the traditional representation in kilt and hairstyles which look largely to Old and Middle Kingdom sources. Depictions of minor figures remain roughly the same, although in the fourth century there is some loosening of conventions, and occasionally men are shown in female-style garments. Such figures are rare and are never predominant within a scene.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION: ASSEMBLING THE CORPUS

1. *Le Musée égyptien* II, 74-92, pls. XXXI-XLII.
2. *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101; his No. 7 (18) is a naos fragment and omitted here. He recognized the links of the three pieces on his pl. 102 with this group (text to pl. 102) but did not fully include them, as I do.
3. E.g. von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 102 (now 68 and 69; 71) and *BVBKAB* 4 (1929), 9-14 (now 36 and 41); Ransom Williams, *JEA* 5 (1918), 280-4 (74 B; her attribution of Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, pl. 1 to this group was wrong); Gauthier, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 27-36 (14 B; 56; 78; 80); Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-22), 1-28 (33; 66); Kuentz, *Mon. Piot* 33 (1933), 27-42 (14 B; 43; 56); Scharff, *ZAS* 74 (1938), 41-49 (73; 74 A); Capart, *JWAG* 1 (1938), 13-17 (50; 51), updated by Hill, *JWAG* 19-20 (1956-57), 35-41, 97 (with Seattle addition); Anthes *ZAS* 75 (1939), 21-31 (55); Smith, *BMFA* 47/268 (1949), 21-29 (54; 67); Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 40-60 (37).
4. *Le Musée égyptien* II, 92.
5. These are tombs whose precise location is or was known, not independent assemblages of blocks from one tomb, like 7, 10, 17 and 18 (whose site may be known but which cannot be pinpointed and whose architecture is unknown).
6. Maspero claimed (*Le Musée égyptien* II, 92) that the museum possessed others of this type which he intended to publish but never did. It is difficult to guess which pieces they were as, except for 72, which was registered in 1898 but initially published as an Old Kingdom block (Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, 9-11, pl. 2), and 56, which has 'Mit Rahina 1897' on the block but was not registered until 1924, all the other Cairo blocks known to me were discovered or bear registration marks subsequent to Maspero's publication. Some of these may have been in the collection for some time before being registered, but there may be other Lower Egyptian Late Period blocks there which I was unable to recognize from the *Journal d'Entrée* descriptions.
7. See [Berlin] *Ausführliches Verzeichnis* (1899), 263, for East Berlin 11580, reputedly from the High Priest's tomb, and 11865, which is stylistically close, although nothing is specified of its origin.
8. E.g. East Berlin 11582 ([Berlin] *Ausführliches Verzeichnis* [1899], 264) [Horus of the Fayyum mentioned].
9. E.g. Louvre E.20351 (Moret, *Catalogue Guimet*, 126-7, B.8, pl. LVIII; Sydney, Nicholson Museum 25.36 and 37 (Frankfort, *JEA* 14 [1928], 244-5 [No. 20], fig. 8); Karlsruhe H.1048/50 (De Meulenaere, *OLP* 6-7 [1975-6], 144-5 [No. 28]); Cairo JE 3476 (Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, No. 1253); Cairo JE 32022 (Amélineau, *Nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos* 1895-6, 52-3); Cairo JE 91219 (O'Connor, *Expedition* 10/1 [1967], 13-14, 16; 11/1 [1968], 28). These all date to the seventh century.
10. *Guide (Sculpture)* (1909), 253 [No. 942].
11. Fazzini, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1, 63. Bothmer's description of the Asasif limestone as having a "creamy texture" (*ESLP*, 7) is more difficult to assess. If he means to imply that it is soft, this is not borne out by the fracture pattern; if he means that it is smooth,

uniform and without inclusions, this may be valid.

12. *JARCE* 3 (1964), 79.
13. El-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 8, with reference to 6. The scenes of 4 and 5 are on fine white limestone. Whether this extended to 25 and the façade of 63 is unknown. The local limestone walls of 27 were covered in plaster on which the decoration was apparently rendered (see Catalogue), obviating the need to cut intricate detail in the stone.
14. Fazzini, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1, 63-4, who rightly attributes some of the seemingly Theban harshness to style, rather than the stone.
15. See Fazzini, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1, 64.
16. E.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 13, 49, 67-8; Cooney, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 62 (Sept. 1975), 237-9, fig. 10; [Toledo], *Museum News - The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio*, pt. 2 (Spring 1971), fig. 12 (Montuemhat); Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 18 (ThT 279).
17. E.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 67, 130; Assmann, *Mutirdis*, pl. 20 A.
18. Exceptions are the tombs in the Bahriya and Siwa oases (Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis* I, 21-2, 49-149; *Siwa Oasis*, 132-59), the latter probably Ptolemaic. Decoration is painted, and therefore not strictly comparable to relief, and the repertory is not similar to that of Lower Egypt, where "secular" scenes are common.
19. Nakaten, *LÄ* IV, 995, gives the early Ptolemaic period.
20. This includes: Berlin 2214 (Schäfer, *Berliner Museen* 42 [1921-22], 15-22, fig. 14); Hildesheim 2244 (Hildesheim, *Götter und Pharaonen*, No. 189 with refs.); Hildesheim 2198 (Hildesheim, *Götter und Pharaonen*, No. 190 with refs.); Boston MFA 64.730 (unpublished); a piece in Brussels (number unknown; Capart, *Les antiquités...Bruxelles*, 116, fig. 22).
21. This includes: Cleveland 3949.20 (Bothmer, *ESLP*, 28 [No. 24], pl. 22, fig. 50) and other slab-stelae; Berlin 23721 (Parlasca, *FuB* 14 [1972], 77 n. 22, pl. 5.1); 94 may possibly belong here.
22. For raised plaque edges, see Bianchi, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 17.
23. El-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 5-8.
24. El-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 155. They may once have formed a vast necropolis connected by Abusir, where Saite burials are coming to light - el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 151.
25. E.g. el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 183-5, with refs.; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 110. See Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 132-3, for fluid boundaries to the Heliopolite area; also Corteggiani, *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* I, 115-53.
26. E.g. Drioton, *BIE* 20 (1937-8), 244-5; Munro, *Kestner-Museum, Hannover, Jahresbericht 1970-73*, 318, and Kestner-Museum, *Ägyptische Abteilung - Totenkult und Magie*, No. 10.
27. Capart, *Documents* II, 83.

CHAPTER 2 ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

1. E.g. Corteggiani, *The Egypt of the Pharaohs at the Cairo Museum*, 167.
2. E.g. el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 103-65, who considers only tombs in northern Egypt and ignores isolated blocks, including those which may come from Giza.
3. *Le Musée égyptien* II, 75, followed by Gauthier, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 27.

4. Stone cladding on brick is not limited to the Old Kingdom - cf. its characteristic use in the New Kingdom Memphite tomb chapels, Kitchen, *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, 275.
5. *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101.
6. E.g. Ransom Williams, *JEA* 5 (1918), 281 n. 2 [false-door]; Smith, *BMA* 47/268 (1949), 28, whose context shows that his "architrave" refers to my "lintel" [chapel door or niche]; *AAAE* (1981), 418-19, with "architrave" and "lintel" used synonymously [small niches or shrines]; Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst*, XLVIII; *ESLP*, 93-4. Published door-jambs have generally been recognized as such.
7. Curtius, *Die Antike Kunst* I, 214.
8. Müller, *Encyclopedia of World Art* IV, 701.
9. *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 42-3 n. 5; he was mistaken about 76 showing signs of two registers.
10. E.g. Capart, *JWAG* 1 (1938), 15; Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le style égyptien*, 166; *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 58 and n. 5; *L'Art égyptien* (1962), 152; Drioton, *Encyclopédie photographique*, 13-14; Gilbert, *CdE* 27 (1952), 345-6; Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 236; Corteggiani, *L'Égypte des Pharaons au musée du Caire*, 227-8; *Egypt of the Pharaohs at the Cairo Museum*, 167 [No. 111]. Some, such as Hill, *JWAG* 19-20 (1956-7), 40, n. 20; Smith, *AAAE* (1981), 419 and n. 59; Leclant et al., *L'Égypte du crépuscule*, 83, allow two different contexts, by acknowledging the existence of Kuentz's tomb type, while reiterating the doorway origin of some blocks.
11. *Mon. Piot* 33 (1933), 37-41, fig. 4.
12. Gauthier, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-22), 171-88. For the owner, and a dating of the tomb to Dynasty 29-early Dynasty 30, see Vernus, *Athribis*, 171-6 [Docs. 143-5].
13. Kuentz did not comment on the cavetto cornice fragment (Gauthier, *Mon. Piot* 25 [1921-22], 178 and fig. 6) which suits his projected type; he also omitted from his drawing the torus mouldings running vertically up the corners of the Athribis structure (Gauthier, 176-7 and figs. 1, 5).
14. *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 30-1; he offered no alternative tomb reconstruction. It is also explicitly rejected in *ESLP*, 93.
15. Gauthier, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-22), 178.
16. *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 31 n. 2.
17. See Gauthier, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-22), 173, for Athribis measurements.
18. 1 is the only possible (but unlikely) example of a "frieze-like" block (if a lintel) of the required length.
19. Although this has been recognized (n. 6), the present corpus shows them to be more numerous than previously believed. These are: 2; 6 bis; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 18; 20; 21; 24 (?); 28; 29; 32; 33; 34; 36; 38; 42; 43; 44; 48; 49; 51; 53; 54; 55; 56; 57; 59; 60; 66; probably 68 and 69; 70; 71 (?); 74; 75; 76; 77; 78; 80.
20. Based on Kuentz, *Mon. Piot* 33 (1933), fig. 3. His distinction between types 3 and 4 may be false for his sole example, 15, if it has been trimmed at the top, but would suit whatever block accompanied 48, and possibly several other pieces. Type 2 is a reasonably accurate representation of 48, but not of 53, as claimed, or of 75, both of which contain more of the vertical scene than Kuentz allows, and which constitute type 5 here. Type 6 is unattested but must be allowed for.
21. If 1 is a lintel, it would probably fall within a similar size

range.

22. Absence of a torus is not grounds for excluding a block from the lintel category, as does Gauthier, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 35.
23. See Anthes, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 31, fig. 4.
24. Anthes, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 31; he did not equate it with doorways.
25. Anthes, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 31.
26. Examples of such pieces excluded from the corpus because they bear no relief are: Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, 174 [No. 116], pl. p. 172; Florence 2603 = PM III², 310; Heidelberg number unknown (ex Karlsruhe, Badisches Landsmuseum H414) = Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar*, 99 no. 226; possibly Zurich private collection = Kaplony, *Festschrift Berliner Museums*, 119-50, pl. 16.
27. 31 near 3 may have been similarly lined.
28. See, e.g. Malek, *LÄ* IV, 440-9 with refs.; el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 103-40, 151-65, 183-5, 207.
29. See el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 126-32, for a modern interpretation, with earlier references.
30. E.g. Gauthier, *ASAE* 27 (1927), 1-18; el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 183.
31. E.g. Gauthier, *ASAE* 33 (1933), 27-53; el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 183-4.
32. E.g. Gauthier, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 197-213; el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 184.
33. Petrie and Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurufa*, 34; el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 184-5, describes single-chambered tombs rather than the multi-chambered described by the excavators.
34. Cf. el Naggar, *EVO* 9 (1986), 17, for schematic correspondence in plan between Late Period Theban tombs and 3. If comparable court tombs had existed in the north, they would have been in the Memphite area, with its low water-table and rocky desert plateau capable of sustaining such an architectural style.
35. *Mon. Piot* 33 (1933), 40 n. 2; they may still have been placed a shorter distance underground, not necessarily in tombs of the free-standing type he envisaged.
36. *ASAE* 2 (1901), 248.
37. None of the known owners of shaft tombs can be matched with individuals on these reliefs.
38. E.g. Gauthier, *ASAE* 27 (1927), 2-4; the subterranean chambers of late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27 shaft tombs offer parallels.
39. See "Campbell's Tomb" (LG 24), Perring, *Pyramids of Gizeh* III, pls. XIX-XX for a single line of text without vignettes as room decoration.
40. *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 31.
41. E.g. Gauthier, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 197-203, with its doorway (p. 199) now Cairo JE 47120. At Thebes, see the stone facing to the doorways in the brick pylons to brick tomb superstructures - el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 169-71, 176, with refs. For a comparable body of decorated surrounds from Abydos, see ch. 1 n. 9, to which add false-doors such as Louvre C.107 (= Pierret, *Recueil* II, 36); East Berlin 7323 ([Berlin] *Ausführliches Verzeichnis* [1899], 265), without relief decoration. All were almost certainly embedded in mud-brick chapels.
42. See Kitchen, *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, 275 for stone elements in New Kingdom brick tombs.
43. Formerly in the Ben Zion collection, now in the Cairo Museum (number unknown). Illustrated by A. Mekhitarian in a lecture at the British Museum in 1988. An architrave implies columns, which are so far unattested from Late Period tombs at Heliopolis (see nn. 30-33).
44. See Leclant, *Cahiers Techniques de l'Art* 4 (1957), 39-40, nn. 93-4,

for sunk and raised relief on opposite faces of one block.

45. *ESLP*, 111, recognizes the presence of composite doorways but does not address the question of whether they are functional.

46. For this distinction in New Kingdom Memphite tomb-chapels, see Kitchen, *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, 272-84, esp. 276.

47. As el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 136. It would be extraordinary if the scenes were simply rendered in plaster exposed to the elements, as she suggests, without even the protection of a columned porch, no trace of which is recorded; relief seems a more likely medium.

48. E.g. Bresciani, Pernigotti and Giangeri Silvis, *La Tomba di Ciennehebu*, for texts without figures. Cf. the unpublished frieze of pots, food and jewelry in the tomb of P3-dj-3st (PM III², 649); for earlier prototypes see Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pépi II*.

49. As Kitchen, *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, 281 and n. 61, claims.

50. Von Känel, *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), fig. 3.

51. E.g. Simpson, *RdE* 24 (1972), 169-75, pl. 15.

52. See A. Leahy, *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), 61, with refs.

53. An exceptional feature might be the depiction of someone other than the owner/donor on the jambs if 65 [sunk] represents J3h-ms-s3-nt.

54. See Bresciani, *EVO* 8 (1985), 1-6, for a statue dedicated seven generations later, at about the time of 64 and 65.

CHAPTER 3 DATING

1. *Le Musée égyptien* II, 74-92.

2. One of the weaknesses of his study is the inaccuracy of many details, such as the provenances of some fragments, which differ from those in the *Journal d'Entrée* (e.g. 20; 77). Some text copies are incomplete (e.g. 20), and important details are omitted (e.g. the earrings on 60 [pp. 79-81]) or erroneously described (e.g. the "male" swimmer on 39; the reversed description of 13).

3. *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101. He elucidated the connection of 77 with Griffith's excavations at Heliopolis, but then incorrectly assigned it and 76 to Memphis, whence the original owner Tigrane believed 76 to come. He also reinstated 15, although placing it in Dynasty 26 or the early Persian period, outside his assigned range for most of the pieces.

4. *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101, n. 40; see Griffith, *Tell el Yahūdiyyeh*, 68; see Leahy and Leahy, *JEA* 72 (1986), 146-7 for a re-dating.

5. *Contra* Anthes, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 30 n. 1. Thus, Bénédict, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-22), 27, set them from Dynasty 27 to the beginning of the Ptolemaic period; Scharff, *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 48 and n. 4, 49, accepted Maspero's commencement at the end of the Saite period but preferred a terminus in the fourth century, before strong Greek influence; Hill, *JWAG* 19-20 (1956-7), 41 and n. 21, accepts the date but tried to separate Saite and other pieces; Leclant et al., *L'Égypte du crépuscule*, 83, puts them from the first Persian conquest to about the time of Alexander.

6. *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 29-30.

7. E.g. Smith, *BMFA* 47/268 (1949), 24 col. 1 n. 1; Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens*, 637; allowed by Bianchi, *BES* 2 (1980), 16 and n. 27.

8. *CdE* 27 (1952), 337-49.

- of a *mn*^c. See Cairo CG 658 = el-Sayed, *Documents*, 99-100, for royal siblings of Psammetichus II for whom he may have performed a similar function and who, on el-Sayed's reconstruction, regarded him highly enough to commission or subsidize the statue.
29. This would be a rare instance of the modification of a basiliphorous name to mark a new reign (De Meulenaere, *Surnom*, 27-9). On Cairo CG 807, the central sign of the cartouche in *Nfr-jb-r^c-nfr* is a recutting. Borchardt's reading (*Statuen* III, 104-5) - *Hnm-jb-r^c-nfr* - is chronologically improbable and an original *Whm-jb-r^c-nfr* has been assumed in more recent literature (De Meulenaere, *Surnom*, 19 n. 86; Yoyotte, *Dictionnaire de la Bible* suppl. VI, cols. 370-1). On Cairo CG 638, the titulary of Psammetichus II is cut over another, presumably Necho II's. Cairo CG 928 is also listed by Yoyotte, followed by De Meulenaere, as a monument of *Hr-jr-^c3* dating to Necho II, although Borchardt's copy, which includes the latter's cartouche, does not give the owner's name (*Statuen* III, 159).
30. LD III, 280-2a contain no examples of the *rn nfr*, nor does *mn^c nb t3wj Psm^tk* appear (although *Hr-jr-^c3* would have had charge of royal children under Necho II), but republication of the tomb may change this. Given the selectivity of Egyptian monuments, the absence of the title does not prove that the structure antedates Psammetichus II.
31. *Revue du Louvre* 25 (1975), 249.
32. *BES* 2 (1980), 16 n. 27.
33. *Surnom*, 24-6. With his updated list in *OLP* 12 (1981), 127-34, he stresses (p. 132) that new evidence corroborates his earlier conclusions.
34. *Surnom*, 27-8; the point is emphasized by the fact that under Psammetichus II and Apries all known *rn nfrs* are basiliphorous. De Meulenaere (p. 27 n. 3) dismisses older studies which held that these also occurred under Psammetichus I.
35. *Surnom*, 29-30.
36. *Surnom*, 33; the few exceptions appear not to have been in the king's immediate entourage.
37. *Surnom*, 8 n. 26; *P3-jr-k3p*'s monuments form his No. 19 here and in *OLP* 12 (1981), 127-8.
38. Pernigotti in Bresciani et al., *Tomba di Boccari. La galleria di Padineit*, 65; texts on pls. 11-12. The Dynasty 30 date for this individual is contested by De Meulenaere, *OLP* 12 (1981), 133.
39. See el-Sayed, *Documents*, 223, 135-44 [Doc. 10], pls. XX-XXIII. For variation of the Saite basiliphorous *rn nfr* and the similar Old Kingdom *rn^c3* on the monuments of *Hn3t* and another man, see De Meulenaere, *Surnom*, 30-1.
40. De Meulenaere, *Surnom*, 30; 15-16 [No. 48] for *Hn3t*. The basiliphorous *rn nfr* had declined in popularity by this time; De Meulenaere knows only two examples from the reign of Amasis (p. 24 - no new ones in *OLP* 12 [1981], 127-34), and *Hn3t* is the only known person who continued to use a *rn nfr* acquired in the previous dynasty in the Persian period (p. 27).
41. El-Sayed, *Documents*, 129-35 [Doc. 9], pl. XIX.
42. The epithet *m3^c-hrw* and the fact that the title "priest" is attached directly to the name of the king, rather than to a statue cult, suggest that the cult is mortuary, as assumed by De Meulenaere, *Surnom*, 16, 27, and *ESLP*, 79; Anthes, *ZAS* 75 (1939), 29, did not regard the Florence title as proof that *Hn3t* survived Amasis.

43. PM III², 802-3. A full genealogy of this family was presented by Anthes, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), foldout, with discussion pp. 27-9.
44. Respectively PM III², 803, 812, called "Dyn. XXVI-XXVII". Chassinat, *RT* 25 (1903), 59-61, thought it was year 34 of Darius I.
45. Anthes, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 29-30, and Smith, *BMFA* 47/268 (1949), 24, opted for the second half of the sixth century, about 535-530. De Meulenaere, *Surnom*, 16 and el-Sayed, *Documents*, 144 are less precise, suggesting simply the reign of Amasis (570-526) and the early Persian period.
46. Cf. Leahy and Leahy, *JEA* 72 (1986), 143 n. 11.
47. Recognized by *ESLP*, 92.
48. *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), 31-45.
49. *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), 40.
50. Yoyotte, *Kémi* 15 (1959), 70-4, esp. 72 [Doc. 2]; De Meulenaere, *CdE* 35 (1960), 92-107, esp. 94-5 [Doc. 6].
51. *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), 40.
52. *Tell el Yahûdiyyeh*, 68.
53. *JEA* 72 (1986), 166-7. Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien* II, 92, also dated the piece earlier, as did Vernus, *Athribis*, 76, 78.
54. For these points see *JEA* 72 (1986), 146 n. 37, with pl. XI.2.
55. *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10)*, 30-3, pls. LIX-LXIII; other portions described on his p. 33.
56. I am grateful to Jaromir Malek for this information.
57. Piotr Bienkowski, personal communication. All information is based on a nineteenth century catalogue card, which describes the statue as of green basalt, about 16½ inches high, showing *Ns-dhwtj* seated on the ground (possibly a block statue?).
58. It is conceivable that the statue was ordered by *Ns-dhwtj*, in which case he and the cartouche could be contemporaneous, and the dedicatory inscription added after his death (not necessarily much later).
59. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10)*, 31, 143, pl. LXIV; findspot marked on plan pl. LIX top.
60. Information from T. Carpenter. See H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 316, 326 and addenda.
61. *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10)*, 30-2.
62. *ESLP*, 6.
63. Cf. *ESLP*, 49 [No. 42], pl. 39, figs. 92, 94 (Baltimore WAG 22.135); Copenhagen NCG AEIN 46 = Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs*, 44-5 [No. 54], pl. LIV. Also, *ESLP*, 42-3 [No. 35], pl. 33, fig. 77, an unidentified figure of a king ascribed to the second half of the seventh century.
64. The back of Baltimore WAG 22.135 is broken, so that it is unknown whether it paralleled the almost pointed bottom of the valanced wig on 22 F; Cleveland 3920.20 and Copenhagen NCG AEIN 46 have the more conventional wider, straight bottom. See also 8 with a pointed bottom.
65. *ESLP*, 16-17 [No. 14], pl. 13, fig. 32, and 18-19 [No. 16], pl. 14, fig. 34 respectively, with dates.
66. E.g. *ESLP*, 17-18, 20, 22-24, and examples on his pl. 16, fig. 38; pls. 18-19, figs. 43-5; pl. 20, fig. 46; pl. 21, fig. 98; pls. 24-5, figs. 56-7. Where he specifies the date further than the reign of Psammetichus I, he gives the first half of the reign.
67. The amphora would thus be intrusive, while the statue could date either to the later years of Psammetichus I (removing Necho II's years from the date range of the tomb) or to the reign of Apries.

68. Dynasty 26: H. Hickmann, *45 siècles*, 18; Montet, *CdE* 30 (1955), 192. Dynasty 27: Manniche, *AEMI*, 45 and n. 91; Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 81; Pusch, *Das Senet-Brettspiel* I, 141.
69. E.g. PM III², 718, perhaps based on *ESLP*, 110 (as a well-dated relief of mid Dynasty 27), 112, 114 (as mid-second half of Dynasty 27); also on the museum label. Some authors are less specific, suggesting about 600 (or Dynasty 26) to 400 - e.g. Hill, *BWAG* 3/5 (Feb. 1951), 4th page, extends the range from 600-300; id. *JWAG* 19-20 (1956-7), 41, where she calls them fourth century but of "Saite" type; id. *Archaeology* 11 (1958), 276, 278; Von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb*, 105.
70. Dynasty 30: Malek, *JEA* 64 (1978), 140; Aldred, *Jewels*, 243; PM III², 852; Nofret I, 98 [No. 43], among many. Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien* II, 92 and *Art in Egypt* (1912), 266 opted for Dynasty 29-30, although in several guidebooks to the Cairo Museum collection, he assigned them to Dynasty 26 - e.g. *Guide...Boulaq* (1883), 419-20 [No. 492-3]; *Guide...Caire*, 4th ed. (1915), 200 [No. 801]; *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, trans. by J.E. and A.A. Quibell (1903), 172-3 [Nos. 654, 659]; 3rd ed. (1906), 167 [No. 654 - as Dynasty 30], 175-6 [No. 654a - as Dynasty 26]. Exceptions to this dating include: London, Royal Academy of Art, *5000 Years of Egyptian Art*, 21 [No. 78]; [Zurich] Kunsthau Zurich, *5000 Jahre Aegyptische Kunst*, 76 [No. 215]; Louisiana, Humlebaek, *5000 Års Aegyptisk Kunst*, 73 [No. 204] opt for the fifth or fourth century; Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, *5000 Ans d'art égyptien*, 30 [No. 72] selects Dynasty 26; Essen, Villa Hügel, *5000 Jahre aegyptische Kunst*, 111. The basis for Gilbert's date in late Dynasty 26 (*CdE* 27 [1952], 339) is unsound (p. 31).
71. *JEA* 64 (1978), 138-40.
72. *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 205-12. He queries (p. 207 n. 13) whether *hm Pth* is a variant of *hm-ntr Pth* or a separate title.
73. *Les prêtres-ouâb*, 103-5 [Doc. 47]. Partially known earlier (PM III², 802) and used by Malek.
74. PM III², 811. Unpublished but cited by Malek, *JEA* 64 (1978), 138-40, relying on an earlier extract by Lieblein. Five generations of alternating *Nfr-sšm-psmtks* and *nh.f-n-shmts* are provided by the linkage.
75. Von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb*, 103 and n. 3. Attributions by Mariette seem to have been based on findspot and probably some secondary stylistic consideration, and appear generally sound.
76. 30 year generations would still leave these individuals in the reigns of Darius I and Amasis but carried back over seven generations, would leave the eponymous *W3h-jb-r^c-mrj-ptḥ* c. 668, before the reign of Psammetichus I!
77. *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 210.
78. Limme, *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 209 and n. 26 cites Lieblein's version of Louvre IM 4067 (n. 74 here); it would last 24 generations if the connection on my Fig. 5 is correct.
79. Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures*, 174, noted both the notched earlobes, which they isolated as a late New Kingdom feature, and these rings, which they did not discuss further.
80. *BVBKAB* 38 (1963), 28-50, esp. 28-34.
81. *BVBKAB* 38 (1963), 28, 31.
82. *BVBKAB* 38 (1963), 29 n. 2 for finds outside the area. On p. 34 he notes the unpopularity among the Greeks of decoration piercing other parts of the ear than the lobe. This suggests that its presence on 60

- is the result of direct Cypriote contact, either in Egypt or abroad.
83. Hemelrijk's suggestion of a probable date in the sixth century (BVBKAB 38 [1963], 31-2) has been ignored by Egyptologists, but is preferable to the traditional Dynasty 30 date.
 84. E.g. the shaft-tombs at Saqqara; el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, presents imprecisely dated remains from a cemetery with significant relief decoration.
 85. ^{Munro} *Totenstelen*, 328-43 [Memphis], 343-5 [Delta].
 86. See Ruszczyk, *Archeologia* 24 (1973), 12-49 for a general survey of the remains.
 87. See recently Kaiser, *MDAIK* 43 (1987), 123-54.
 88. *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 15-22; *JSSEA* 11/1 (1981), 31-6.
 89. E.g. the elongated proportions and "elegant internal modelling" noted on reliefs of Nectanebo II by Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 235, is not matched on private works, except in the detailed treatment of a few faces, such as 65 [sunk] and 81, pp. 89-91 here. A forthcoming study is Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX*. See Bothmer, *BMFA* 50/281 (1950), 56 and n. 34, for the influence of fourth century private relief on royal.
 90. See Baines, in Schäfer, *Principles*, 50, n. 114; in general, Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik*, esp. 39-42, 52-8. *ESLP*, 27, found no evidence that Late Period hard stone sculptures were ever painted.
 91. Bothmer and De Meulenaere, in *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, 1, recognize size as a factor in showing detail in statuary, on a piece comparable in scale with these reliefs.
 92. See Bianchi, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 15, 18. The fact that private statuary does not seem to follow royal trends in the Late Period is discussed by Barocas, in *Studi Giuseppe Tucci*, 153-4.
 93. For a distinction between "official" and "private" clothing, see Scharff, in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I, 623 and n. 4.
 94. E.g. Nos. 6, 14-16, 24, 35, 42, 74, 82, 87-8.
 95. *ESLP*, 10. See also Leahy and Leahy, *JEA* 72 (1986), 146 n. 37.
 96. *ESLP*, 6; Leahy and Leahy, *JEA* 72 (1986), 135 n. 8 (now omitting ex-Brooklyn 34.1220). The full beards of 92 are excluded here as part of a "type" figure and probably archaizing. Beards are not used only during this time - cf. Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Anch-hor I*, plan 23.
 97. *ESLP*, 16; Leahy and Leahy, *JEA* 72 (1986), 137 n. 9.
 98. E.g. Winter, *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 146-55 [Necho II-Psammetichus II bronze]; Munro, *Totenstelen*, fig. 23 [Theban stela temp. Amasis].
 99. Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-hor I*, pl. 15.
 100. *ESLP*, 2, 115-6.
 101. Cf. Cruz-Urbe, *JARCE* 23 (1986), fig. 7, in the Hibis sanctuary, possibly now to be dated to the Saite period (n. 119 here); examples in n. 87 here.
 102. *ESLP*, 7.
 103. *ESLP*, 115-6; it is found on private bronzes.
 104. *ESLP*, 112; the example given, and perhaps the whole phenomenon, is not strictly the same as on these reliefs, where the protrusion is greater.
 105. I have not attempted to analyze every statement of possible use in this summary. Other pointers adopted from Bothmer's study, especially with garments, are acknowledged and discussed at the relevant points.
 106. Cf. Bianchi, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 16 and n. 17.

107. See Bianchi, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 18-19 and n. 38; *JSSEA* 11/1 (1981), 31, for the peculiarly Saite integration of texts with relief on votive plaques, a usage parallel, but not identical, to that on tomb reliefs.
108. As similar, but more widely-spaced, striations on 64 and 65 appear to be; see similar treatment on Ricke, *Die Tempel Nektanebos' II. in Elephantine und ihre Erweiterungen*, pl. 9b.
109. Recognized by Munro, *Kestner-Museum, Hannover, Jahresbericht 1970-73*, 318 [No. 8], and Kestner-Museum, *Ägyptische Abteilung - Totenkult und Magie*, No. 10, without firm dating associations.
110. E.g. stelae: Munich, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* (1972), 82 [No. 73] (Osorkon I); Aufrère, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 37-8 (on raised edge - Dynasty 22).
111. E.g. Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, 156-8 [no. 89] (Ptolemaic stela); Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis (IV)*, pl. XIX (altar).
112. This is on the assumption that it is not found in 31. If it is present, the technique could then be said to disappear with Necho II or immediately thereafter.
113. See e.g. Leclant, *Les Cahiers Techniques de l'Art* 4/1 (1957), 39-40; *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 121-2; Aufrère's supposed Dynasty 22 example (*ASAE* 68 [1982], 37-8) is questionable. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 54-5, and *L'Art égyptien* (1961), 68, misdates 37 to the end of Dynasty 25 on the basis of striations on the sunk relief background which she wrongly calls "Ethiopian rain"; they are neither the oblique "Ethiopian rain" nor the vertical striations discussed here, but simply careless oblique abrasions from an uneven finish. They are not as prominent as her photographs suggest and have no dating implications.
114. E.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 84, 85 [sunk portions], 99a, 100-101 [abbreviated and scratch-like], 104-9, 120-9, 151b, 154b-d, 155a, 156; Assmann, *Basa*, figs. 27, 50-1 [irregular].
115. Short, less regularly-applied grooves, similar to those at Thebes, are also found on Late Period blocks from Abydos - e.g. Sydney, Nicholson Museum 25.36, Karlsruhe H.1048/50, and Cairo JE 3476 (see ch. 1 n. 9 for references).
116. Cf. Berlin 11580 and 11865 ([Berlin] *Ausführliches Verzeichnis* [1899], 263), from Herakleopolis; Berlin 11582 ([Berlin] *Ausführliches Verzeichnis* [1899], 264), possibly from the Fayyum.
117. *JSSEA* 11/1 (1981), 31, 35.
118. Posener, *La première domination*; the number has not increased substantially since his study. Particularly noteworthy are the autobiography of Wedjahorresnet (Lloyd, *JEA* 68 [1982], 66-80) and the Serapeum stela of Darius I (PM III², 799-804).
119. Now under re-investigation before resiting - see Cruz-Uribe, *JARCE* 23 (1986), 157-66, esp. 164-5. Preliminary studies suggest that the building was begun in Saite times and that Darius I's contribution was less than previously supposed.
120. The idea is integral to the study, with specific pieces and features discussed mainly on pp. 67-84; pp. 85-9 attempt to span the gap between the expulsion of the Persians and Dynasty 30, but do not give precise dates.
121. E.g. Berlin 23673 (*ESLP*, 80), listed as a private inscription of the Persian period, is the genealogy of the Memphite High Priests, usually dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Kitchen, *TIP*, §151-4).

122. This is queried by Munro, *BIOr* 27, 3/4 (1970), 203.
123. See Bothmer and De Meulenaere, in *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, 7 and n. 17, where only two certain examples of Dynasty 29 are adduced.
124. *BIOr* 27, 3/4 (1970), 203, view reiterated in *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 179.
125. *LÄ* IV, 944 with refs. All the objects, however, are small - hinges, vessels, etc. - and, taken with what seems now to be a lesser contribution to the temple at Hibis than previously believed (n. 119) might suggest that his "Egyptophilia" consisted more in ideological (cf. *Wd3-hr-rsnt*'s claims, n.118) and administrative measures contributing to the smooth running of a Persian satrapy than in overt patronage of the visual arts of a province.
126. Farkas, *Achaemenid Art*, *passim*, esp. 28; Munro, *BIOr* 27, 3/4 (1970), 203.
127. *ESLP*, 110, also recognizes this distinction.
128. The unique Berlin 23721 (Parlasca, *FuB* 14 [1972], 77 n. 22, pl. 5.1), not included here because of its slab-like nature (p. 7-8), shows by its mourning scene and the cap with depending flap, tunic and trousers of the deceased that it is a funerary monument of a Mede who must have died in Egypt and been buried at Saqqara, almost certainly 525-404. This could be from before 485 or a rare piece from the period after Darius I. See also the list of stelae in Bianchi, *LÄ* IV, 947.
129. *ESLP*, 100.

CHAPTER 4 ASPECTS OF STYLE AND COMPOSITION

1. *ESLP*, 10, underestimates the amount of Dynasty 25 material, some of which has emerged since that publication.
2. E.g. in general Ruszczyk, *Archeologia* 24 (1973), 12-49. For Tanis, see Römer, *LÄ* VI, 194-209; for Memphis, Meeks, *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* I, 221-59, and Jones and Milward Jones, *JARCE* 22 (1985), 23-8.
3. Cf. the regional styles of donation stelae, even as late as Necho II : A. Leahy, *RdE* 34 (1982-3), 90.
4. *Contra* Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 55; Aufrère, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 38, n.1 (context dubious).
5. See Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 97-8, on navel positions.
6. A New Kingdom example is noted by Smith, *AAAE* (1981), 419 n. 62.
7. See Bianchi, *JSSEA* 11/1 (1981), 32, for subtly-merging planes, without interior modelling on other Dynasty 30 reliefs.
8. See Schäfer, *Principles*, 295-6, Addendum 396, and Russmann, *BES* 2 (1980), 57-81, for this feature, which occurs sporadically from Tuthmosis IV onward; Russmann (p.76) considers it a mark of distinction. Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929-32)*, 54, gives Third Intermediate Period examples. Smith, *BMFA* 47/268 (1949), 27, noticed it on these blocks, but did not remark on its much greater frequency in Dynasty 30 than earlier.
9. Schäfer, *Principles*, 297-9, for conventions; representations here are still in line with Egyptian practice. *ESLP*, 28, considers the use of two left hands to be due to archaism, but this seems unwarranted, as the practice was probably continuous.
10. See Schäfer, *Principles*, 294-5.
11. This can be found with the reversed leg posture earlier - cf. 18 B.
12. See *ESLP*, 112, for this "smirk", which Bothmer says does not appear in

- relief before Dynasty 30, although it is present on Dynasty 26 statuary.
13. Noted by Bothmer, *BMFA* 50/281 (1952), 56.
 14. *BMFA* 47/268 (1949), 28; cf. *AAAE* (1981), 419, 475, n. 62.
 15. E.g. Curtius, *Die Antike Kunst* I, 215. Hamann, *Agyptische Kunst*, 298, went too far in suggesting that perspective shortening, which he saw in the navel placement and wrapped garments, gives the impression of free-standing figures embedded in the walls.
 16. The spacious disposition of figures noted by Curtius, *Die Antike Kunst* I, 214-15, is not characteristic of all the pieces, and is more prevalent in the pre-Persian period.
 17. *Le Musée égyptien* II, 91. See also p.29 here for discussion.
 18. *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101.
 19. He believed eight of his seventeen pieces, including 76 and 77, to come from Memphis - hardly "bei weitem die Mehrzahl des Stücke" as he suggested.
 20. E.g. Kuentz, *Mon. Piot* 33 (1933), 37, deliberately ignored the issue, despite possible bearings on his putative tomb type. Gilbert, *CdE* 27 (1952), 344, too, disregarded the question.
 21. E.g. Boreux, *L'Art égyptien*, 38-9; Bianchi, *BES* 2 (1980), 16, who regards all reliefs he terms "Neo-Memphite" as having a "certain homogeneity of style" which suggests that they are roughly contemporary. He does not, however, explicitly stress Memphis as the source. Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 236, claims that "all seem to be the work of a particular studio", although he notes earlier that not all the "Neo-Memphite" pieces come from Memphis. Daumas's vigorous support for the important role of local schools on the stylistic development of "Late Period" reliefs (in Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten*, 327) refers only to Graeco-Roman temple design. Drioton, *Encyclopédie photographique*, 13, credited Sais with a primary role.
 22. See Vandier, *Manuel* III, 173-8, for a rash attempt to do this with Middle Kingdom sculpture.
 23. *Le Musée égyptien* II, 86.
 24. *Contra* the late Dynasty 25 dating of 37 by Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 55; *L'art égyptien* (1961), 68; *L'Art égyptien* (1962), 178, which would place it at the inception of the series, and Bothmer's fourth century date (*ESLP*, 110), at the end. It starts earlier than I suggested (Leahy and Leahy, *JEA* 72 (1986), 133, n.3: late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27), but is unlikely to continue this late.
 25. The group was identified by Bothmer, *ESLP*, 103-4, 109, but he did not list all the pieces and it is not clear whether he includes all contemporary reliefs from Heliopolis, as here, or only the three musician scenes (74; 75; 76) around which his discussion centres.
 26. For New Kingdom versions, see Saleh, *Das Totenbuch*.
 27. Compare the development on Old Kingdom lintels, summarized in Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 44-8.
 28. E.g. Martin, *Corpus* I, 31 [No. 75]; Ranke, *University Museum Bulletin* 15/2-3 (1950), 46, fig. 26.
 29. Recognized by Gilbert, *CdE* 27 (1952), 341. Corteggiani, *L'Egypte des Pharaons au musée du Caire*, 228, overstates it, claiming that the deceased is always on the left. For regular positioning on the left earlier, see Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 461.
 30. Cf. Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, "Anch-hor I, plan 23; II, pls. 66-9, fig. 112, and Pabasa (PM I², 358-9 D[c]) where the processes are arranged over several registers.

31. E.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 59, 122a; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Anch-hor* I, perhaps plans 19, 22; Montuemhat (PM I², 59-60); Cooney, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 81. However, the list in PM I², 466, suggests that they are not particularly popular at this time.
32. This "Scheitelgleiche" is a basic feature of register composition - Schäfer, *Principles*, 234. Recognized by Ransom Williams, *JEA* 5 (1918), 281 and n. 2, who ignored other methods of emphasis in spacing, orientation, status-indicating paraphernalia etc.
33. Cooney, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 82, commented on this in the tomb of Montuemhat. The Amarna period device he mentioned, where heads rise successively toward the focal point, is not present on these reliefs.
34. Kuentz, *Mon. Piot* 33 (1933), 33, on 56.
35. Woldering, *Agypten - Die Kunst der Pharaonen*, 203, commented on the loosened compositions and stylish individuality of these pieces. Desroches-Noblecourt, *L'Art égyptien* (1962), 158, notes the breaking of the uniformity and denies that it is the result of Greek influence.
36. See Schäfer, *Principles*, 304, Addendum 367-8, for the increased tendency to this from Dynasty 18 and for a greater softening and rounding on Dynasty 30 examples such as 64 [sunk].
37. *Le Musée égyptien* II, 88. However, Schäfer, *Principles*, 172, pointed out that in all periods the juxtaposition of figures without overlapping is the most common arrangement.
38. He could have been referring to contemporary Late Period Theban works or, more likely, to those of the New Kingdom. Partial and complete layering of figures and animals does occur in Late Period Theban tombs much more often than in the north. Schäfer, *Principles*, 185, noted the more restricted use of overlapping in the Late Period.
39. See Schäfer, *Principles*, 164.
40. *Contra* Desroches-Noblecourt, who thinks 37 comes from the tomb of a priestess of Neith (see Catalogue with refs).
41. E.g. Assmann, *Mutirdis*; ThT 390 (PM I², 440-1).
42. Cf. the scene in a temple in Bahriya oasis, in which the governor responsible for its construction follows his royal master before the gods - Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis* I, pl. LXI A.
43. Cf. the rock-cut statue at the western end of 3, almost certainly B3k-n-rn.f, not Osiris.
44. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1908-9, 1909-10), 33.
45. E.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 181 [gazelle]; Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 13 [monkey], 14 [gazelle]; Assmann, *Mutirdis*, pls. 6 A, 7 [monkey]; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Anch-hor* I, plans 16-17 [monkey], 28 [dog].
46. See Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 300. It also appears under the chairs of ancestors on 1, but not under the *hwt*-thrones of those on 21. On a few reliefs the mat is omitted below the owner, for no apparent reason, see e.g. 3 Y-Z; 6 F; 25 B; 80.
47. Cf. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pl. 32.
48. E.g. Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, fig. 20; Davies, *Nakht*, pls. XIII, XXV; id., *Seven Private Tombs*, pls. II, IV.
49. At Thebes, see Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 29 [in lap], 60 [sniffing].
50. See Schäfer, *Principles*, Addendum by Baines, 366 (to p. 293).
51. See examples gathered by Baines (previous note), to which add: Old Kingdom - Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* (1929-1930) I, fig. 138, pl. XLIX.2; Schäfer, *Principles*, fig. 272; First Intermediate Period - (? PM IV, 263 [usurped figure of Tf-jbf in hall: information from D. Magee]; Middle

- Kingdom - B. Lesko, *Remarkable Women of Ancient Egypt*, fig. p. 18; New Kingdom - Smith, *AAAE*, pl. 109; *Nofret*, I, 105 [No. 46]; post-New Kingdom - Tait, *JEA* 49 (1963), pl. XIV b. It is not uncommon on New Kingdom dancers - e.g. Vandier, *Manuel IV*, figs. 195.2, 247.1, 250, 252.
52. E.g. Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-2), 13-14; Desroches-Noblecourt, *L'Art égyptien* (1962), 158; Schäfer, *Principles*, 293, and the impression is not forcibly dispelled by Baines' Addendum, p. 366.
53. Drioton, *BIE* 20 (1937-38), 241-3, and Desroches-Noblecourt, *L'Art égyptien* (1952), 158, and *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 52-4, note this trait as part of the "Saïte" repertory (in the extended sense - see p. 32; in *L'Art égyptien* [1962], she notes both Saïte and post-Persian examples) and cited examples, but neither seemed to realize how prevalent it was. Drioton was mistaken in claiming (p. 243 n. 1) that the male figures on 77 follow the traditional pattern.
54. *Principles*, 293; Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 54.
55. E.g. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), fig. 16; Kantor, *JNES* 19 (1960), pl. V; Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 10-11, 20, 26-7, 28, 30, 59-60, 83; Wolf, *Die Kunst Aegyptens*, fig. 682; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, "Anch-hor I, plan 22.
56. E.g. Drioton, *BIE* 20 (1937-38), 231-45, figs. 1-2; Munro, *Totenstelen*, pl. 43, fig. 154.
57. Tomb of Montuemhat, recognized by Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 52; the quarreling girl (Chicago OIM 18828) follows the Menna prototype. See also Cairo JE 58924, from a Medamud chapel of Shepenwepet II (H. Hickmann, *45 siècles*, pl. LXIII a).
58. Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-2), 13-14. That it could not be Greek-influenced was recognized by Smith, *BMFA* 47/268 (1949), 28, and Desroches-Noblecourt, *L'Art égyptien* (1962), 158.
59. Cf. Cooney, *JNES* 9 (1950), pl. XVI, probably from the tomb of Montuemhat, for something comparable; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pl. 141 left, for a New Kingdom semi-nude female.
60. See Schäfer, *Principles*, 209, 278, 280-1.
61. See Schäfer, *Principles*, 205-6; figs. 207, 209 give Old Kingdom examples of representations with only the head in profile.
62. Schäfer, *Principles*, 207-9, where some full face depictions are viewed as the "personal caprices" of the artists. Cf. Martin, *Corpus* I, nos. 65, 70, 72, for further examples.
63. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XII bottom register, XIII top and bottom registers, XIX top and bottom (= pl. XXII.2), XX top and bottom, XLVI middle and bottom, XLIX bottom; it is also used with livestock, pls. XXXV top and bottom (= pl. XXXVI left), XLIX top, XCVI middle (= pl. XLVII right).
64. *BMFA* 50/218 (1952), 56. See also the glassy faience relief, Brooklyn 51.222 (his fig. 9) for another instance from that time. Examples he cites in n. 34 of Greek influence in fourth century private tombs are pieces in this corpus from both the pre- and post-Persian periods, none of which I consider to show indisputably foreign features.
65. *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art*, 41.
66. *Art Gallery* 22/2 (Jan. 1979), 103.
67. E.g. Brooklyn 56.101 (Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art*, 41 [no. 48 A]; Brooklyn 51.222 (n. 53); Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection*, sale (June and July 1922), 160 [No. 1226], pl. xxxvi centre.
68. As Bothmer and Cooney, nn. 64-5 above.

69. E.g. New York MMA 60.145.11 and London BM 132915; see Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains* II, 528-30, pls. VII, 443-8, for a group of Egyptianizing ivories. Contra Schäfer, *Principles*, 209, n. 177, who claimed a dearth of Babylonian-Assyrian human models for this feature. The similarities of New York MMA 60.145.11 to Brooklyn 56.101 (n.56) in the pose and dress of the Nubian and what he brings are clear; Brussels 6.904 has a similar representation of a Nubian with frontal face and chest, dated to the New Kingdom but possibly of this group (Capart, *L'Art égyptien II Choix de documents IV Les Arts mineurs*, pl. 766 B). They may belong to a more widespread first millennium tradition of small items decorated with representations of foreigners based on New Kingdom stereotypes.
70. *ESLP*, xxxviii, 44, 78, 80-6, 105, 117-8, with references to earlier studies, among which see Anthes, *AA* 54 (1939), 376-402; Barocas in *Studi Giuseppe Tucci*, 113-61.
71. He stresses its indigenous origins. Greek influence on the development of Egyptian portraiture has long been rejected - e.g. Maspero, *Art in Egypt*, 253; Anthes, *AA* 54 (1939), 378; Gilbert, *CdE* 27 (1952), 345; Bianchi, *LÄ* IV, 947.
72. El-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, 43.
73. See *ESLP*, 9, for the naso-labial furrow as a standard method of showing maturity.
74. *ESLP*, 22, 41; while his No. 19, pls. 16-17, figs. 40-2 shows some standardised features of ageing, No. 34, pl. 32, figs. 74-6 does not. It does not seem to occur on shaven-headed statuary of the period (p. 41).
75. See *ESLP*, 81-3 [No. 67], pls. 64-5, figs. 160-3; 85-6 [No. 69], pl. 66, figs. 166-9.
76. *ESLP*, 83, cites both pieces as relief parallels of similar date to a statue he calls c. 450, although elsewhere (pp.110-11) Bothmer places *Hn3t* in late Dynasty 26-early Dynasty 27 - and hence he implicitly admits the possibility of pre-Persian "realistic" portraiture. The features of 55 are discussed in detail and compared with idealizing forms by Anthes, *AA* 54 (1939), 378-84.
77. Bothmer's view is supported by Bianchi, *LÄ* IV, 947. Earlier, Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur*, 93, recognized the possibility of realistic heads by Dynasty 26. Josephson, *JEA* 74 (1988), 232-5, suggests that realism in royal statuary may be pre-Persian.
78. Scharff, in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I, 623; cf. Scharff, *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 46, for the portrait-like quality of the expression.
79. It is impossible to tell whether the left-hand representation of the owner on 54 was realistic or whether an idealizing depiction balanced the realistic one on the right.
80. Anthes, *AA* 54 (1939), 378. 54 and 73 show that Capart's observation regarding 55 and 76 (*Documents* II, 85), that special artistic effort was accorded to less important heads, is of limited application.
81. As Maspero, *Art in Egypt*, 266.
82. Maspero, *Art in Egypt*, 267, noted what he thought an increased importance of painting and attributed it to Greek contact.
83. Traditional multi-coloured texts could still adorn ceilings.- cf. *LD* III, 263.
84. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10)*, 32.
85. B. Lesko, *JARCE* 9 (1971-2), 86 and fig. 3.
86. In publications of Late Period tombs the painting of inscriptions is often not recorded. It would be particularly interesting to know whether the late Saite shaft tombs at Saqqara, where Pyramid Texts are prominent,

often or ever contain this monochrome technique. The multi-coloured raised relief texts of *P3-dj-3st* (Barsanti and Maspero, *ASAE* 1 [1900], 232) prove that it was not universal there.

87. Recorded by Cooney, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 81.

88. It is not yet clear how widespread this pattern was at Thebes or in the north. Since el-Sadeek (*Gizeh*, 13-88) does not always specify where paint remains, it is even difficult to assess its prevalence in 6.

89. Both red and yellow occur on women on Late Period stelae.

CHAPTER 5 THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE

1. Recognized by Capart, *Documents* II, 84.

2. For the few reliefs created predominantly in the traditions of foreign cultures and not included in this corpus, see p. 7.

3. *Contra* *ESLP*, 104, followed by Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 72, for drum, clothing and jewelry cited below.

4. "Ethnic stereotypes" of southerners, such as the negress on the dubious 94, are primarily based on New Kingdom, not Kushite, figures.

5. Russmann, *Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, 25-44.

6. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107/1 (1963), 60-81, esp. 61. A better upper limit for the second phase might be c. 320. See also Boreux, *L'Art égyptien*, 41, and Richter, *Das Altertum* 19 (1973), 85, for Greek impact on Egypt only from the time of Alexander.

7. *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 102 b.

8. *ESLP*, 104.

9. Seen also in the tomb of Petosiris - Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pl. XLIX top and bottom. It is difficult to determine from the drawings whether the rounded curls giving a knobby appearance to the outline on pls. XII middle and bottom, XXXV top-bottom, XLVI bottom are of the same type. All the Lower Egyptian reliefs have a smooth outline, not this bumpy configuration. Although Siamun's hair is curly, his hair outline shows only a slight rippling (Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, 134, figs. 19-20, 25).

10. E.g. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, figs. 86-7, 89 [all by a painter with Egyptian connections - Boardman, 54], 100-101, 153; *Athenian Red Figure Vases - The Archaic Period*, 16, 32, figs. 2.2 [black figure], 42, 140.

11. E.g. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, fig. 161.2.

12. See Richter, *Korai*, 20, on female hairstyles of the Archaic period. Such curled fringes also appear on male and female figures in Cypriote statuary of roughly the same period.

13. Russmann, *Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, 28-9. Cf. earlier representations like Iuput II (?) of Dynasty 23 on Brooklyn 59.17 = Riefstahl, *Ancient Egyptian Glass and Glazes*, 61, 106 [No. 59].

14. E.g. Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes*, pls. E, G [all with beards]; Corteggiani, *Egypt of the Pharaohs at the Cairo Museum*, fig. p. 37; von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 102 b and n. 9. The last acknowledged this as a potential source, but considered the arrangement and the half-free styling on 68 to be Greek. See also e.g. Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 73 [No. 247], pl. L.247, from New Kingdom Deir el Bahari, with a man covered in black paint (and therefore negroid?) with the curls of his valanced wig marked with raised, rounded knobs. I know of no attempt to connect this style with the tight, protruding hair and beard curls of Assyrian and

Persian art.

15. Although the man and child on the plaster mould Brooklyn 35.1312 (Chassinat, *Les Antiquités...Fouquet*, 25-8, pl. XV) are probably negroid, it is the high line of the man's hair, his broad nose and thick protruding lips, the monkey he carries, and the deep baby sling which convey the ethnic stereotype; the hair merely reinforces it. Chassinat (pp. 26-7) considered the curly hair to be anachronistic and cited examples of non-Nubians in the chapel of Petosiris with it.
16. E.g. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pl. XLIX top [including bearded example] and bottom. The half-Greek Siamun (Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, 134) also has curly hair.
17. Boreux, *L'Art égyptien*, 41, and *Guide-catalogue sommaire* II, 441, queried the possibility. Bothmer, *ESLP*, xxxviii, 35, 112, states that the "smile" appears in Egyptian statuary in the reign of Psammetichus I and hints at a possible connection with earlier Phoenician ivories; he gives a Dynasty 30 date for its appearance in relief.
18. With such features as frontality, hands clenched at the sides, the left leg advanced, the colour palette, and poses such as the calf-bearing attitude. Cf. e.g. Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art*, 56-7 (also credited to Mesopotamia); *Kouroi*, 2-3, 10; *Korai*, 4, 14; *Das Altertum* 19 (1973), 74-88. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture - The Archaic Period*, 18-20 mentions modern scepticism about the extent of the Egyptian contribution.
19. *Contra* e.g. Curtius, *Die Antike Kunst* I, 214-15; Scharff, in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I, 623. See Desroches-Noblecourt, *L'Art égyptien* (1962), 158, who also realizes that the reversed leg posture and the breaking of monotony is not Greek.
20. E.g. Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst*, 300; Drioton, *BIE* 20 (1937-8), 241; Smith, *AAAE* (1981), 419. Badawy, *JNES* 21 (1962), 226, attributed the gracefulness of female figures to a blend of Egyptian and Greek forms. Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 236, denies Greek influence on "the revived cult of the nude", favouring Egyptian tradition as a source, while Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, 54, 58, reverses the influence and argues that the Greeks took the idea of divine and youthful nudity from the Egyptians; female nudity is irrelevant at this period.
21. E.g. von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101 [although citing earlier Egyptian examples]; Chassinat, *Les Antiquités...Fouquet*, 26 [Hellenic-Asiatic influence on late female garments]; Scharff, in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I, 623; Smith, *AJA* 54 (1950), 256.
22. Small naked and partially-clad figurines existed, of course - cf. e.g. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period*, figs. 19, 26-7, 39 - but "monumental" female nudes are almost non-existent (cf. the pair from Gortyn = Boardman, fig. 31 c. 650-630. Forms are indicated simply, with no interest in elaborate modelling or underlying musculature).
23. E.g. Richter, *Korai*, who suggested (p. 4) that early drapery rendering was adopted from Egypt, and to a lesser extent Mesopotamia. See also Boardman, *Greek Sculpture - The Archaic Period*, 69.
24. Richter, *Kouroi*, *passim*, esp. 17-25 [summary].
25. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases - The Archaic Period*, 14-15.
26. *ESLP*, esp. xxxiv-xxxv.
27. E.g. *Nofret* I, 105 [No 46]; ThT 80 (Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, 259 - wrongly as ThT 92); Davies, *Huy*, pl. VI; id., *Nefer-hotep*, pls. V, XIV, XVII-XVIII) cf. Baines in Schäfer, *Principles*, 368, Addendum to 306. See also figures such as Nefertiti - e.g. *Nofret* II, 92-4 [No. 140]. See further pp. 208-11 and subsequent note.

28. Also noted by Robins, *Egyptian Painting and Relief*, 56. Cf. e.g. her figs. 48, 49; Nofret I, 113 [No. 51], 118 [No. 54]; II, 76 [No. 132]; von Bissing, *NAWG* 1941, 7, pl. III.5. See further pp. 128-9, 177.
29. E.g. Nofret I, 112 [No. 50]; list in Tait, *JEA* 49 (1963), 126; Keimer, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 59-72.
30. E.g. Nofret I, 142 [No. 67]; Tait, *JEA* 49 (1963), pls. XIV a-b, XV.3.
31. E.g. Nofret II, 132-3 [No. 164]; Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur*, 63-5 [Nos. 169-76] - various materials; Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 133 [No. 560], pl. LXXXV. 560.
32. E.g. Nofret I, 136 [No. 64]; Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 45 [No. 126], pl. XVII.126; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pls. 65-8.
33. The statue of T3-kšt in Athens (Smith, *AAAE* [1958], pl. 169 b) is particularly pronounced; all clothing and jewelry are totally subordinated to the body forms and merely etched onto the surface to indicate their presence. Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 141 (temp. Osorkon II) is an earlier instance. Later examples include [Berlin] *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 100-101 [No. 43]. The treatment is even extended to goddesses: Nofret I, 176 [No. 84], 177 [No. 85], 192 [No. 95]; II, 146 [No. 173].
34. There are a few traces of contact, not necessarily direct, before the seventh century - e.g. A. Leahy, in *Bronze-working Centres of Western Asia*, 303.
35. Recognized by e.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1981), 407-8, who remarked on Egyptian resistance to Hellenic forms even in the Ptolemaic period.
36. Noticed by von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101. See Hill, *JWAG* 5 (1942), 41-55; Gilbert, *CdE* 27 (1952), 343, claimed that this ladle was a Greek adaptation of an Egyptian type.
37. Hill, *JWAG* 5 (1942), 42-3. For Graeco-Roman examples found in Egypt, see von Bissing, *Metallgefäße*, CG 3561, 3563-5.
38. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pl. VIII.
39. Cf. H. Hickmann, *45 siècles*, pl. LXIII a, for a block from the time of Shepenwepet II, when a similar but truncated ladle occurs.
40. E.g. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XII-XIII [chitons in agriculture and viticulture scenes; beards (?); women's ringlets], XIX [women's dress and hair; men's hair and right-hand robe; poses and themes], XX top [right woman's hair] and bottom [right woman's dress and hair; wreath], XXXV top [all women's ringlets; 4th man's beard and perhaps hair (?)] and bottom [3rd man's hair], XLVI top [penultimate man's hair and beard (?) and robe; right-hand woman's veil (?)]. Medium length hair with a wide edge on the neck (e.g. pls. XXXV bottom 4th man [= colour drawing pl. XXXVI left]) cannot be viewed automatically as Greek in derivation since potential Egyptian models exist (e.g. East Berlin 11865 [temp. Psammetichus II] [Berlin] *Ausführliches Verzeichnis* [1899], 263), although when combined with a full beard (e.g. *Petosiris* III, pl. XLVI top penultimate man) it may be (see also Schäfer, *Berliner Museen* 42 [1920-21], figs. 14, 16): at this date these pieces would show an element of archaism in the Greek sources. The beards could also be descended from those of New Kingdom Asiatics.
41. Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, 132-59, esp. 134, figs. 19-20, 26 [curly hair, beard, "fair" skin on Siamun and son, son's cloak wrapping]; these features and the father's name (p. 134), suggest that Siamun was half-Greek. Greek influences on the tomb may have come from contacts with Cyrene, as recognized by Fakhry, 27, 134, rather than Egypt.
42. Nothing which can be traced to the short period of Assyrian conquest before Dynasty 26 is identifiable on these reliefs, as Parlasca, *Akten des VII. internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie*, 317,

recognizes.

43. E.g. Schulman, *BES* 3 (1981), 103-11, esp. 104 n. 3.
44. See Cooney, *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 1, for the negative Egyptian attitude.
45. If borrowing from Persia before 525 can eventually be proven, it will decrease the value of "Persian" phenomena as dating criteria for Dynasty 27.
46. On Cairo CG 140 (see n. 50) with the right hand flat on the left wrist.
47. E.g. von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 71 b (no link with Dynasty 27); Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur*, 93 (chronological association); Cooney, *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 10 n. 4, who queried whether it was due to Persian influence or was an archaism.
48. *ESLP*, 83-4; he also drew Barnett's attention to it as a feature of Egyptian art during the Persian period (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 62 [no. 20]).
49. E.g. Thomas, *Archaeology* 23/4 (1970), 335; Schulman, *BES* 3 (1981), 104 and n. 4, 107; Laurent, *RdE* 35 (1984), 140-2, 158, is more cautious about it for dating; cf. Bianchi, *LÄ* IV, 946, accepts the remarks in *ESLP*, 83-4.
50. Laurent, *RdE* 35 (1984), 141, list, with references: Cairo CG 140, 687, 691, 1189, 1282; Baltimore WAG 22.208; Berlin 7737; Antwerp A.1; Louvre E.11127 (following Bénédict, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 40 [1908], 317), to which add the Tell el-Maskhuta piece in a private collection; Cairo JE 52356, *ESLP*, 84 (possibly Laurent's CG 687 ?); Louvre E.27159 (unpublished); reliefs: 52, 57, 63 (with an additional example of the left hand clutching the right wrist); Cairo JE 45534 (Schulman, *BES* 3 [1981], 103-111, pl. 1); London BM 90 (De Wit, *CdE* 39 [1964], 66, fig. 4). 52 and Louvre E.27159 show women employing it for the first time.
51. E.g. Barnett, *Iraq* 19 (1957), pls. XVI.3, XXI.3; Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, pls. 51-2, 57-8, 72 C (?) and D, 87 B-C, 121, 122 [arms lowered], 123; II, pl. 69 G [arms lowered].
52. *RdE* 35 (1984), 141-2.
53. Cairo CG 140 (n. 50) is not too distant from the Persian version, with the right hand open. Additions to her list (n. 50) conform to this tendency, with 52 substituting a hair "loop" (p. 220-1) for the more usual short roll.
54. *Iraq* 19 (1957), 62. Roaf, *Iran* 21 (1983), 108-114, does not single out this position among the highly-conventionalized hand positions at Persepolis or attribute a foreign origin to it.
55. Bothmer, *Kēmi* 20 (1970), 37-44.
56. Barnett, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 62, raised the possibility in the Persian context; Schulman, *BES* 3 (1981), 108, implies its link with collaborators with the Persian regime; Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 81, suggested that the men on 57 are priests.
57. E.g. Cooney, *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 1, 7, 15; De Meulenaere, *CdE* 31 (1956), 253 n. 4. Cf. Ray, in *Achaemenid History* I, 79-95.
58. Cooney, *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 1, while recognizing the tendency to borrow only from "inferior" nations, while Egypt was politically strong (principally in the New Kingdom), still allowed the introduction of foreign dress and possibly a foreign gesture from the Persians.
59. *JARCE* 4 (1965), 39.
60. Parlasca, *Akten des VII. internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie*, 317-23, marshals the evidence but overemphasizes its importance.
61. *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 10 n. 4. Schulman, *BES* 3 (1981), 104 n. 3, convinced by Bothmer, dismisses this suggestion out of hand.

62. *ESLP*, 83; on p. 84 he lists five New Kingdom examples, including three statues of Amenhotep III (Hayes, *Scepter II*, fig. 142); the attitude of the right hand crossed over the left in a relaxed manner, not clutching the wrist, is not strictly the same).
63. E.g. Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 27 [arms bent and hands clasped]; Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 319-25, fig. 153 - Fig. 153.7, with the right arm lowered and ending in a fist and the left hand holding the forearm is not dissimilar. See also the attitude with one arm hanging straight with the hand open and the other hand holding the forearm (e.g. Steckeweh, *Die Fürstengräber von Qâw*, pl. 13) or the wrist - e.g. Borchardt, *Sa³hu-re^c II*, pl. I; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. VIII a-b, fig. 24.
64. E.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 92 B; Nina Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XVIII.
65. Something similar also occurs among gestures in Late Period funerary scenes - e.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibī I*, pl. 65 [right hand on left elbow; one reversed depiction]; Assmann, *Basa*, fig. 41, pl. XXIX [the lowered right hand is opened palm outward]; Chicago OIM reconstructed wall from Nespaqashuty [lowered right hand gripping a rail and the left hand holding the forearm]. This may reflect a resurgence in formalized attitudes involving seizing parts of the body. It is not clear whether they represent a genuine attitude or are an artistic convention.
66. *ESLP*, 84, acknowledges its fashionable aspect.
67. *RdE* 35 (1984), 142, with garment types, to which add the voluminous female robe of 52 and Louvre E.27159. My discussion centres on the pieces from the dynastic period and omits Graeco-Roman clothes.
68. E.g. Schulman, *BES* 3 (1981), 104.
69. E.g. Schulman, *BES* 3 (1981), 107 with n. 20.
70. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, and in *Ancient Persia* (ed. Schmandt-Besserat), 16, contends that this imperial art style was chiefly the creation of Darius I, the most "Egyptophile" of Persian kings (pp. 52-3 here).
71. E.g. Culican, *Medes and Persians*, 104-6. As early as the eighth century, foreigners identified as Egyptians and Kushites were living at Nimrud - Albenda, *BES* 4 (1982), 8. For the seventh century, cf. Oppenheim in Pritchard, *ANET*, 293; for the early sixth century, see Edel, *GM* 29 (1978), 18. Eph'al, *Orientalia* 47 (1983), 76-80, mentions a sizeable Egyptian community in Babylon before the Persian conquest of Egypt, probably the result of deportations by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. At these dates, they are unlikely to have introduced the "Persian gesture", which probably did not yet exist in Egypt.
72. E.g. Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 166. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, throughout stresses Assyrian-Babylonian links while crediting the Greeks with the main creation of Persian sculpture; she cautions (p. 5) that foreign debts may be overemphasized at the expense of the indigenous, owing to the lack of evidence on pre-Achaemenid art.
73. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 43, notes that Darius I relied almost completely on foreign craftsmen for this construction, but mentions only inlay-making as the Egyptian contribution to Susa (p. 87). See Culican, *Medes and Persians*, 104 [also gold- and wood-working]; Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 156 and n. 25. Stronach, *Journal asiatique* 260 (1972), 243, suggests their responsibility for the statue of Darius I.
74. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 45 n. 65^a.
75. See Culican, *Medes and Persians*, 105, 111, citing a statement of

Diodorus that Cambyses employed Egyptian builders.

76. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 156; Schmandt-Besserat, *Ancient Persia*, 56.
77. Culican, *Medes and Persians*, 92, 109, 111. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, 156, is less specific about column elements.
78. Culican, *Medes and Persians*, 115-16. Metal-working influences may not have been entirely one-way. Shore, *BMQ* 29/1-2 (1965), 24, suggested that some designs on metal vessels found in Delta hoards show a Persian contribution to Egyptian art; Cooney, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 40-2, offered two Persian-style bowls from Egypt.
79. Kervran, Stronach, Vallat and Yoyotte, *Journal asiatique* 260 (1972), 235-67; *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4 (1971-4); Farkas, in *Ancient Persia* (ed. Schmandt-Besserat), 16, claims that it was exported to Susa from Egypt.
80. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 58, suggests that the entire concept of architectural decoration at Persepolis may have been inspired by Egyptian ideas. By contrast, Nylander, *Ionians at Pasargadae*, 14 and n. 14, is inclined to minimize Egyptian influence.
81. Barnett, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 62, without references; BM panels 10-12 from the Southwest Palace at Nineveh, Court XIX (c. 640-20), with the hand loosely draped across wrist; Gadd, *Stones of Assyria*, pls. 13, 38, 41-2.
82. Gadd, *Stones of Assyria*, pl. 34 [similar to the Egyptian but for the bend and horizontal extension of the left arm]; see also Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, pl. XX. Cooney, *JARCE* 4 (1965), pl. XXXVI, with the left hand on the right wrist lowered similar to the Egyptian version, shows a blend of Persian and Egyptian elements, in what could be a case of the "Egyptian" attitude.
83. *Contra* ESLP, 84. E.g. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture*, figs. 28, 43; Paley, *King of the World*, fig. 18 b; Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures...from the Central and South-West Palaces at Nimrud*, pls. VIII, XXI right, XCIX, CI.
84. E.g. on ceilings (Malqata palace = Smith, *AAAE* [1958], pl. 121 A-B), canopies (Tutankhamun = Smith, pl. 147 B; ThT 55 = Aldred, *Akhenaten*, 150-1 and n. 29; Davies, *Ken-amūn*, pl. XXII [ThT 93]), foreign luxury goods (Davies, pls. XIII-XIV), and elsewhere (Smith, pls. 107 B, 148 B. See also discussion in *Egypt's Golden Age*, 116-7).
85. Nofret I, 142 [No. 67]; Tait, *JEA* 49 (1963), pls. XVII. 3 [No XVIII], XVIII [No. XV], XXXVI.
86. E.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pls. 121 B, 148 B; Davis, *Iouiya and Tuiyou*, pls. I, XXXII. Cf. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, 44, for it as a traditional motif.
87. E.g. Babylon - the Ishtar Gate (Seton Lloyd, *Art of the Ancient Near East*, fig. 191); Assyria - bronze gates of Balawat (Seton Lloyd, fig. 161); Ashurbanipal's palace at Nineveh (= Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture*, fig. 24 - the nearby lotus-and-bud strip looks Egyptian influenced, directly or via Syria-Palestine or Phoenicia - cf. e.g. Davies, *Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, pl. XIV); Persia - Cyrus' palace at Pasargadae (Stronach, *Pasargadae*, pl. 101 a); Persepolis (Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pls. 20, 22, 27-52 etc). They are a vital element on Corinthian, Rhodian and other East Greek orientализing pottery.
88. See Petrie, *Ancient Egypt I* (March, 1929), 65-73, for an attempt to trace the development of this element, which he believed was based on the lily and originated in Crete, and to equate its stylized elements with plant parts. It could also possibly be an elaboration of the heraldic so-called "lily of the South" (ch. 7, n. 12).

89. E.g. Davies, *Ken-amūn*, pls. XIII-XIV; Edgar, *Le Musée égyptien II*, pls. XLV, XLVIII; Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 146. Capart, *L'Art égyptien II - Choix de monuments IV - Les Arts mineurs*, pls. 715 A, 751.
90. E.g. Tait, *JEA* 49 (1963), pl. XVII. 3 C, XXXVI.
91. For discussion of this motif, see *Egypt's Golden Age*, 117 (termed "palmette"), where the question is raised whether it is a Syrian import during the New Kingdom or an Egyptian influence on Syrian art, with its evolution reaching back to the Old Kingdom. E.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 99 A; Porada, *Ancient Iran*, fig. 83; London BM 129381 [stylized versions from Persepolis].
92. E.g. Brooklyn 35.1312 (Chassinat, *Les Antiquités...Fouquet*, 25-8, pl. XV, who suggested [p. 26] Achaemenid inspiration); Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis III*, 41-2, pls. XXXV-VI.
93. Lefebvre, *Petosiris III*, pls. VIII (= photo pl. X) bottom register, XX bottom, XXXV middle and bottom; some of the extreme plant shapes may be elaborations of the "lily" motif. Late traditional forms also occur - e.g. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst*, pl. 184; see also a Dynasty 26 tomb in Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis I*, pl. XVII A and B. Rosettes are also popular in the tomb of Siamun - Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis*, figs. 26-8, 40 [friezes, clothing].
94. *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101, esp. n. 31.
95. To which add Schäfer, *Priestergräber...vom Totentempel des Ne-user-rê*, fig. 207); von Bissing, *ZDMG* 84 (1930), figs. 2-3; George, *Egyptiska Utställningen*, pl. p. 16; Winlock, *BMMA Pt. 2* (1928), 26-8, fig. 34 (Theban, dated c. 600-300); Lefebvre, *Petosiris III*, pl. XII bottom register.
96. Winlock, *BMMA Pt. 2* (1928), 27, fig. 35.
97. If the prototype was introduced into Egypt in the late New Kingdom and evolved there, its presence on 76 and other late monuments would constitute another innovative portrayal of current features, rather than a new foreign influence on Late Period Egypt.
98. E.g. Ransom Williams, *JEA* 5 (1918), 283; von Bissing, *BVBKAB* 4 (1929), 10 [said to be mixed with Greek influence]; Scharff, *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 47-8; Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le Style égyptien*, 173, and *L'Art égyptien* (1962), 158.
99. See Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, 119-20, 125-6.

CHAPTER 6 ARCHAISM, TRADITION AND INNOVATION

1. Recent studies are: - Brunner, *Saeculum* 21 (1970), 151-61 and *LÄ* I, 385-95; Nagy, *Acta Antiqua* 21 (1973), 53-64; Schenkel, in Assmann *et al.* (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, 417-41; Der Manuelian, *SAK* 10 (1983), 221-45, with a survey of relevant literature.
2. See, most recently, Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, "*Anch-hor* II, ch. VI; Der Manuelian, n. 1; *MDAIK* 39 (1983), 131-50; *JEA* 71 (1983), 98-121.
3. See Der Manuelian, *SAK* 10 (1983), 224-30, for the predominantly New Kingdom sources of Montuemhat and other Theban tombs.
4. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibī* I, pls 30, 103-7; see Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī* I, XIII-XIV.
5. *Le Musée égyptien II*, 87-8.
6. *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 179.
7. See Bianchi in Ch. 3 n. 16; *BES* 2 (1980), 15 n. 22.
8. E.g. Bianchi, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 20-2, as well as the works cited in nn.

- 1-2. For an earlier period, see Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*, ch. 2. See Capart, *Documents II*, 96-7, for a later papyrus with a chicken and other birds on a grid, which must be a drawing guide, as he and Houlihan, *Birds*, 81 and n. 446, recognize. Pattern books with more important figures, groupings, or scenes may have taken a similar form.
9. *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101.
10. *ESLP*, xxxvii.
11. Cf. a rejection of it by Bianchi, *JSSEA* 11/1 (1981), 31 n. 4. The term "archaistic" has not gained widespread acceptance.
12. *Mélanges Mokhtar I*, 101, n. 14.
13. Martin et al., *JEA* 72 (1986), 15-22.
14. E.g. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*; Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher* and *Das Buch von den Pforten*.
15. The vaulted shape in some of the tombs at Deir el-Medineh may also be inspired by the royal tombs in which the craftsmen worked.
16. See Kitchen, *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, 272-84, esp. 274-5.
17. A. Leahy, *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), 61.
18. See e.g. Drioton, *Encyclopédie photographique*, 13; Boreux, *L'art égyptien*, 38-9; Maspero, *Art in Egypt*, 262; Corteggiani, *Egypt of the Pharaohs at the Cairo Museum*, 168.
19. E.g. Leclant et al., *L'Égypte du crépuscule*, 83; Müller, *Encyclopedia of World Art IV*, 701; Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 236.
20. See Bianchi, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 21, with refs.
21. See Baines, *GM* 4 (1973), 9-14.
22. Macadam, *Kawa II*, 63, pls. IX, XLIX.
23. Baines, *GM* 4 (1973), 11, with refs. I must thank Yvonne Harpur for going through much of this material to look for close links with Giza, Saqqara and other Old Kingdom tombs. Her failure to identify prototypes in any known tombs and her comments on variations from Old Kingdom norms have been of considerable assistance to me in the formulation of ideas about the nature of archaism as revealed by these reliefs.
24. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 253 and 254 respectively.
25. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 111 and 331-2 respectively.
26. As Bianchi, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 20.
27. Müller, *Encyclopedia of World Art IV*, 701.
28. See PM I², 469.
29. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi I*, pls. 59, 122 b.
30. *JNES* 9 (1950), 228-36.
31. Leahy and Leahy, *JEA* 72 (1986), 144-6, with discussion.
32. The motif as tomb decoration may be a northern one; I know of no examples of it in Late Period tombs at Thebes, but cf. the stela published in Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes*, pl. XCI.
33. *Le Musée égyptien II*, 88; followed by Drioton, *Encyclopédie photographique*, 14.
34. E.g. the Siamun lintel in Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, pl. XXIV.
35. E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 13, 16-26, 28, 78-9, 84, 87-8, 96, 131.
36. However, the contemporary dress worn by the donors does parallel that on 54 in a way which royal representations do not.
37. E.g. Old Kingdom - Careddu, *La collezione egizia - Museo Barracco di Scultura Antica*, 7-8 [No. 5]; Mariette, *Mastabas*, figs. 492-4; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī I*, pl. XI; Middle Kingdom - Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. VII.
38. E.g. von Bissing, *ZAS* 74 (1938), fig. 7 [owner ?] (ThT 33); Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi I*, pl. 59 [overseer]; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Anchor I*, plans 20, 22 [overseer].

39. See Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 44 and fig. 12.
40. E.g. Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), pl. VII; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 4; id. *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 31, 36b; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī I*, pl. IV; id., *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XII.
41. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten*, 39.
42. Information from Yvonne Harpur. Cf. Petrie, *Medum*, pl. XII left; id., *Deshasheh*, pl. V.
43. See *ESLP*, 28 [No. 24], pl. 22, fig. 50, for a Late Period work in this style. See Catalogue 6 for the exclusion of ex-Brooklyn pieces in this style from that tomb.
44. See Vandier, *Manuel V*, 320-98, esp. 361, 363, for the Old Kingdom associations of the double representation.
45. E.g. Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetetep I*, pls. XXV below - XXVI; Blackmann, *Meir II*, pls. III-IV, XXIV; IV, pl. VIII.
46. Middle Kingdom - Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XXX; id., *El Bersheh I*, pl. XVII; Blackman, *Meir VI*, pl. XI.
47. E.g. Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. VIII; V, pl. XIII; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XII; id., *Antefoker*, pl. V; Wild, *Ti II*, pls. CXXX-CXXXII.
48. E.g. Old Kingdom - Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. VIII; Vandier, *Manuel V*, fig. 158.1; Middle Kingdom - Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pls. XX-XXI.
49. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi I*, pl. 28. These scenes have been much discussed and compared with Old Kingdom versions - see Capart, *JWAG* 1 (1938), 16-17; Hill, *JWAG* 19-20 (1956-7), 37-8; Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 486-93, esp. 489-91.
50. E.g. Ranke, *SHAW*, Ph.-L. Klasse XI, 1920.4, 13-14, who thought that the west wall bore a game sequence, now lost. Followed by Hill, *JWAG* 19-20 (1956-7), 38 and n. 15; Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 489.
51. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 111. Cf. Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. XXIV; LD II, 61 a, for the combination of dancers, game-players playing *mhn* and *snt* and musicians, in registers arranged differently from Ibi and 51.
52. This seems the most satisfactory explanation, as it is unlikely that the artists in the tomb of Ibi and those that created 51 would have independently devised the same solution to a confusing feature. Cf. Cooney, *JNES* 9 (1950), 199-200, pl. XVI, for a probable Saite misunderstanding of scribal equipment.
53. See Harpur, *GM* 38 (1980), 53-60, esp. 53 variant (b), 56-7; she also gives an instance of a dwarf adopting this stance.
54. Harpur, *GM* 38 (1980), 57.
55. Harpur, *GM* 38 (1980), 53.
56. See Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 84-5; for examples, see e.g. Old Kingdom - LD II, 42a, 61a; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pls. IV a, X b.
57. Anthes, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 23 and n. 5.
58. See Der Manuelian, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, 128. See Lefebvre, *Petosiris III*, pl. X, for the first known Egyptian depiction of the lathe, used to produce a panel similar to that of 55; Cooney, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 40-2, for a fourth century bowl with lathe markings. See Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World*, 303, for the wood-turning lathe in the Mediterranean area, perhaps from the seventh century.
59. See Der Manuelian, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, 125-8, with refs.
60. E.g. Smith, *History of Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, fig. 141.
61. Vandier, *Manuel V*, 96-124, for different phases and aspects. By the

New Kingdom, marsh activities in tombs were more restricted and centred mainly on symbolic hunting, fishing and fowling by the deceased.

62. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 44-8.
63. Noted and discussed by Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien* II, 88, and *Art in Egypt*, 263-4, where he connected some of the changes in female body shapes with attempts to indicate maternity.
64. Observation made by Yvonne Harpur.
65. E.g. von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101; Drioton, *Studies...* Griffith, 294; Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 236.
66. E.g. Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pls. 140 right, 141 left, 143; *Egypt's Golden Age*, No. 143; Hölscher, *Excavations at Medinet Habu V*, pl. 6.G.
67. E.g. Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pls. 139 right, 140 left; Capart, *L'Art égyptien II Choix de documents IV Les Arts mineurs*, pl. 717 B; Quibell, *Yusa and Thuiu*, pl. XXXVI.
68. E.g. *Egypt's Golden Age*, No. 74; Capart, *L'Art égyptien II Choix de documents IV Les Arts mineurs*, pl. 733 B; von Bissing, *NAWG* 1941.7, pl. III.5; Hölscher, *Excavations at Medinet Habu V*, pl. 6.G.
69. See examples in Keimer, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 59-72, pls. I-VII.
70. E.g. Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients*, 3rd ed. (1942), 699, pl. 461.
71. E.g. Vandier, *Manuel V*, 110-11, fig. 66 b; Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II*, pl. XIV [without boat]; Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 112.
72. E.g. Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. VII; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. XXIIIc-d; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī I*, pl. IV; II, pls. IV-V; id., *Nefer-hotep*, pl. XLIV.
73. E.g. Capart, *L'Art égyptien II Choix de documents IV Les Arts mineurs*, pl. 733 B; Tait, *JEA* 49 (1963), Nos. IV-XII, XIV-XV, XVII, XXXVI, XLII-XLIII.
74. Cf. Lefebvre, *Petosiris III*, pls. XXVI, XXVII (= photo pl. XXV.1), XXXVIII, for wall scenes similar to those in minor media, which must share an origin with those on the Late Period Lower Egyptian reliefs.
75. See Cooney, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 84, for this style, also applied to Saite grain fields, which he considered mannered, artificial and self-conscious. He thought it a Saite development, but these minor art objects show it in existence in the Third Intermediate Period. This concept of arrangement is carried into the rendering of lily plantations - see pp. 182-3.
76. Tait, *JEA* 49 (1963), pls. XIII.4, XIV-XV, XVI.3, XVIII.
77. Robichon et al., *Karnak-Nord IV*, pl. CXIV, C206, C260, C355.
78. H. Hickmann, *45 siècles*, pl. LXIII A; the resemblance of many elements in this scene to New Kingdom satirical drawings further supports the minor arts connection.
79. One striking similarity in pose is found between the swimmer on 39 who reaches out one hand to seize a duck by the throat and a swimmer on *Nofret I*, 142 [No. 67].
80. They must, however, have been contemporary innovations in their original New Kingdom context.
81. E.g. Medamud block of Shepenwepet II in n. 78; headrest London BM 26256 [unpublished; date uncertain].
82. E.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi I*, pls. 60-1 [side panel, deep cushion, oval footrest].
83. Not shown in the tomb of Petosiris, although footrests like that on 74 A are shown being manufactured - Lefebvre, *Petosiris III*, pl. XI; see also the earlier Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Anch-hor I*, plan 15.
84. Von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, text to pls. 101 and 102, who first drew

attention to the plant.

85. Ransom Williams, *JEA* 5 (1918), 282; followed by *ESLP*, 110.
86. See Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* II, 38, 85, 89-96, 101, 142-5.
87. See Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* II, 94-5, for examples; they suggest that the *hm*-sign may represent this plant.
88. *ESLP*, 110.
89. E.g. Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep* II, pls. VIII, XIII-XIV, XVIII; Wild, *Ti* II, pls. CX-CXI, CXIV, CXVII, CXX-CXXIII; Blackman, *Meir* I, pls. III, X; IV, pl. VIII.
90. Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 273-5; the earlier adaptations cited are too rare to provide a base for archaizing.
91. Cf. the God's Wife of Amun in the Karnak chapel of Osiris *hq3-dt* - Redford, *JEA* 59 (1973), 21.
92. See Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* III, 70-2; Houlihan, *Birds*, 79-81 [No. 40], with refs. I find the putative Middle Kingdom instance on a Medamud graffito (Cotteville-Giraudet, *Rapport... Medamoud*, 36, 41, 74, pl. VIII [No. 42]) unconvincing, as the graffito could be later.
93. See examples cited in the previous note, to which add Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des objets de toilette*, O.T. 375 [Saite (?) vase in chicken form]; Botti and Romanelli, *La Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, 90-1 [No. 135], pl. LXII [stela with Aramaic inscription].
94. See slightly later examples in Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XXXV, XLVI (= pls. XLVII left; XLIX).
95. *Contra ESLP*, 103-4.
96. See Houlihan, *Birds*, 81.
97. L.M. Leahy, *JEA* 71 (1985), 124 (g).

CHAPTER 7 THEMATIC STUDIES

I. "Giving Gold" and Presenting Linen

1. Aldred, *Jewels*, 18-19 and Wildung, *BSFE* 102 (1985), 12, suggest that the scene here may not be entirely fictitious and archaizing, but that it could represent continuing practice. I find this unlikely - the manner of depiction and its presence in the repertory are clearly archaizing, and the motif itself probably is too.
2. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae* III, 16, does not supply the missing [rdj]t and therefore does not identify 30 as of this type.
3. E.g. Maspero, *Musée égyptien* II, 79-80; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 10; Mariette, *Notice des principaux monuments... Boulaq* (1896), 96; Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire* (1915), 210; Weigall, *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art*, 324; Schmidt, *Levende og Døde*, 161; Aldred, *Jewels*, 243; Terrace and Fisher, *Treasures*, 176.
4. E.g. Boreux, *L'art égyptien*, 39.
5. E.g. Terrace and Fisher, *Treasures*, 176. Old Kingdom examples cited in PM III², 356.9 (d), 905 (d) usually have dwarfs in this role.
6. Gilbert, *CdE* 27 (1952), 339; Drioton, *Encyclopédie photographique*, 31/46; exhibition catalogue appearing as London, Royal Academy of Art, *5000 Years of Egyptian Art*, 21; Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, *5000 Ans d'art égyptien*, 30; Zurich, Kunsthau Zurich, *5000 Jahre ägyptische Kunst*, 76; Louisiana (Copenhagen), Humlebaek, *5000 Års Ægyptisk Kunst*, 73; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 9; Wildung, *BSFE* 102 (1985), 11-13.

7. Giza V, 40-61, with further references.
8. Giza V : figs. 7-8 (*Snb*), 9 (*3htj-htp*), 10 (*Pth-htp*), 11 (*Nbj-m-3htj*), 12 (*Htpt*). Kaplony, *Or* 37 (1968), 339-41, pl. LXI and further PM III², 647, probably from the tomb of *Mttj* and identified by PM as a rewarding scene, resembles the right end of *3htj-htp* and probably comes from a similar depiction of the distribution of jewelry; the references to *nbw* in the fragmentary inscription support this identification.
9. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 114.
10. Giza V, 55.
11. Giza V, 55-8.
12. Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 171-2, 181, 198. His example from *Nbj-m-3htj* is actually weavers.
13. Borchardt, *Sá³hu-re^c* II, 60-4, pls. 52-4; he mentions traces of a similar scene in the Neuserre complex (p. 61).
14. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 114. Aldred, *Jewels*, 18, also remarks on Old Kingdom officials aping the king by bestowing golden rewards on their followers.
15. New Kingdom scenes of the king rewarding courtiers are too dissimilar to be a possible model.
16. See Baines, *GM* 4 (1973), 9-14.
17. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 114, 254.
18. Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 7.
19. Junker, *Giza V*, 44 and fig. 8.
20. For the scribal figure and his equipment, see Vandier, *Manuel* IV, 193-216; he noted that scribes before the deceased are more common in the Old and Middle Kingdoms than in the New Kingdom (p. 206). This suggests some archaism, but the figure is so common that it is preferable to view it as an old-fashioned arrangement rather than seeking models.
21. Vandier, *Manuel* IV, 195.
22. See Borchardt, *Sá³hu-re^c* II, 61-2, for a description of the sort of jewelry given in the Old Kingdom. For simple broad collars, see *3htj-htp*, *Pth-htp*, and probably *Nbj-m-3htj*; for a counterpoise on display, see *Pth-htp*.
23. See examples in Aldred, *Jewels*, 146, pls. 10-111; examples worn on Aldred, *Jewels*, fig. 28; Borchardt, *Statuen* I, CG 139, 230, 269.
24. Junker, *Giza V*, 54, noting this, assumed that the *Pth-htp* piece was therefore part of an omitted collar. The artist(s) of 60 interpreted it as a separate item, as extant examples (previous note) show it to be.
25. Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 13,A,1.
26. Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 13,A,3.
27. *Jewels*, 243.
28. Suggested by Aldred, *Jewels*, 243.
29. Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 13,A,5-6; Borchardt, *Sá³hu-re^c* II, 62.
30. *Jewels*, 243; see also 144-5 and figs. 23-4, and *Wb*, IV, 71.
31. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 196; Macadam, *Kawa* II, 43, 244, fig. 36.
32. With two equally plausible models, it seems unlikely that this is a reinterpretation of the cylinder seal found in Borchardt, *Sá³hu-re^c* II, 62, pl. 53. Cylinder seals are not found in any of the private gold-giving scenes, and may have been a royal prerogative.
35. Junker, *Giza V*, 54 and fig. 13,A,7 and B,6-9.
33. E.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 35; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī* I, pls. V, VII, XII, XV, XVIII; Blackman, *Meir* V, pls. XXVII, XLV.

34. See also Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 13,B,7 and 9.
36. Also Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 13,B,1-2.
37. Junker, *Giza V*, 58, 1-2.
38. *Giza V*, 59, 5.
39. Recognized by Wildung, *BSFE* 102 (1985), 12.
40. Junker, *Giza V*, 59 and fig. 13,B,6-7 and 9.
41. Junker, *Giza V*, 60-1.
42. Whether the women were recognized as, or intended to represent, weavers in the Late Period is unknown.
43. Junker, *Giza V*, 60-1.
44. For instance, Davies, *Puyemrê I*, pls. XLII-XLIII and *Rekh-mi-rê II*, pl. LVII are the only examples PM I², 475 (a) cites among the New Kingdom Theban tombs; the figures and their offerings remain subsidiary to a larger offering context.
45. Cf. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi I*, pl. 53, for linen rolls in a Late Period offering procession.
46. For a discussion of the practices of the garment storeroom of the linen workshop, see Junker, *Giza V*, 46.
47. E.g. Simpson, *Kawab, Khaf-Khufu I and II*, pl. XXII, fig. 30; Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pls. XIII, XXI; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pl. 12.
48. Junker, *Giza V*, 46, identified it without reserve as an open papyrus roll.
49. The detailed ~~way~~ on, for instance, *3htj-htp* shows that fringed ends to woven material were found in the Old Kingdom.
50. As suggested by Drioton, *Encyclopédie photographique*, 31/46.

II. Music and Dance

1. See principally Manniche, *AEMI*; Ziegler, *Catalogue*; Anderson, *Musical Instruments*; various entries by E. Hickmann in *LÄ*, cited under individual instruments. These provide the basis for this study, and as they are broadly in agreement, I cite specific authors only where views diverge or where they make individual contributions.
2. For recent studies of harps with examples and bibliography, see Manniche, *AEMI*, 36-69, esp. 36-46 for the shovel-shaped and 62-6 for the angular version; E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 966-72; Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 101-15, esp. 103-5 on the arched harp and 105-7 on the angular; Duchesne-Guillemin, *CdE* 44 (1969), 60-68, on typology; H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 656-63, on stringing and construction.
3. *AEMI*, 45 and nn. 88, 91, confirmed in a personal communication. This group is subsumed in Ziegler's much larger category of arched harps and E. Hickmann's "Bogenharfen". A version of classification appears in H. Hickmann, *BIE* 35 (1954), 309-68.
4. Duchesne-Guillemin, *CdE* 44 (1969), 61, 65-6, supported by Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 105 n. 37 who proves that the supposed plectrum of Macadam, *Kawa II*, pl. XIV, is really an implement for beating a rhythm on the sound-box in African style. See also Manniche, *AEMI*, 69 and nn. 316-17. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 971, still believes the Kawa object to be a plectrum.
5. Manniche, *AEMI*, 68 figs. 3-4.
6. Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée*, 361, notes the use of  in smiting scenes but does not draw the conclusion that the instrumentalist may have had to "strike" the strings with some force. He recognized the

- difficulty in interpreting — as a harp-playing accessory since the plectrum was not used (n. 4 above). H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 181-3, discusses its possible connection with the human arm and clackers.
7. Manniche, *AEMI*, 67, with examples; cf. Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 92, and Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 103.
 8. Manniche, *AEMI*, 67; she equates it (p. 36 n. 2) with H. Hickmann's "harp en form de pelle".
 9. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 101; E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 967, who claims that swivelling tuning pegs were unknown; H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 658-61 and figs. 20-21. Manniche, *AEMI*, 39, 46, raises the question of whether some harps lacked pegs and merely had the strings wrapped around the neck, making them more easily adjustable for preliminary tuning. Duchesne-Guillemin, *CdE* 44 (1969), 60 n. 2, objects to direct tying of strings as primitive, while H. Hickmann (p. 658) assumed representations without pegs or suspension-rods to lack detail.
 10. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 967, states that one end was knotted to the sound-box body, yet illustrations and preserved instruments make the separate suspension-rod clear. H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 656-63, emphasized the construction differences between the arched harps with movable suspension-rods and the angular where they are firmly emplaced.
 11. See Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, 84 n. 354. Cf. H. Hickmann, *45 siècles*, pls. XII-XIII, XVI B, XX, LXI, LXXVIII B, LXXXIX B, CII; LXII B is treated as a solid mass, with only the outer string indicated, as on 76.
 12. Cf. Davies, *Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, pls. V, XVIII, and *Nakht*, pls. XV-XVI and frontispiece; Brack and Brack, *Haremheb*, pls. 29-30; Feucht, *Nefersecheru*, pls. II B (colour), LXVII. Column-like depictions of strings are also common in the New Kingdom, cf. H. Hickmann, *45 siècles*, pls. XLV B and C, XLVI A and B, XLVII A and C, L, LII C.
 13. Manniche, *AEMI*, 38-43; cf. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 103.
 14. Manniche, *AEMI*, 46.
 15. Old or Middle Kingdom examples may exist, but the general distinction is plain. New Kingdom male harpists are by no means all elderly — for young ones see H. Hickmann, *45 siècles*, pls. XLVI B, XXXI B and D.
 16. Manniche, *AEMI*, 45; fragments of London BM 6381 (her p. 37 and n. 7) may date to the New Kingdom. Other arched harps did continue, and a new form even emerged in the Late Period — see E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 970-71, who claims that the angular harp almost totally displaced the arched harp then.
 17. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 105; Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 95; E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 970; Duchesne-Guillemin, *CdE* 44 (1969), 64 and fig. 6. See Spycket, *Journal des savants* (July-Sept. 1972), 163, for earlier Near Eastern relatives. The vertical playing position is important, as scholars are adamant that the horizontal harps common throughout Asia are never found in Egypt: Egyptians accepted a foreign instrument but played it in their own way. Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 81, denied any direct relationship between vertical and horizontal harps.
 18. See Spycket, *Journal des savants* (July-Sept. 1972), 201-3. In the Near East the vertical variant was played by both sexes (as in Egypt), the horizontal only by men.
 19. A few large angular harps played in a standing position and having the neck emerging from the top of the sound-box are depicted in Taharqa's Nubian temples — Macadam, *Kawa* II, pls. XIII-XIV, LIII; Griffith, *LAAA* 9 (1922), pl. XXIX. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 105, admits that they are angular, but inclines to view them as illustrating an extreme local evolution of the arched harp.

20. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 104-5 and n. 39 [No. 122], 113, 111, p. 112.
21. It is possible that a pad system was used here, which was not the case with the arched harp - see Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 105-6; H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 658-63, for construction and tuning. Because of its horizontal neck, both have compared it to the stringing of a (symmetrical) lyre.
22. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 106.
23. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 106-7, where other variations are discussed. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 968-9, produces an alternative subdivision.
24. E.g. H. Hickmann, 45 siècles, pls. LIV, LXXXVI, LXIII a. Anderson's statement (*Musical Instruments*, 72) that they are often associated with foreign musicians is exaggerated, although he is correct that they were a later import into Egypt.
25. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 971. Of Manniche's list (*AEMI*, 64-5), two of these so-called solo instances are on statuettes (nn. 290-1), one is a determinative (n. 298), two show Bes (nn. 297, 299); her nn. 287 and 293 (Manniche, *Kémi* 21 [1971], fig. 7) are fragmentary and uncertain, and the rest are ensembles.
26. *Catalogue*, 107.
27. *LÄ* II, 971.
28. For discussions with abundant documentation, see E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 942-4; Manniche, *AEMI*, 70-81; Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 122-4; for stringing, H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 649-56; for the Near East, Collon and Kilmer, *British Museum Yearbook 4: Music and Civilisation* (1980), 13-14, and Spycket, *Journal des savants* (July-Sept. 1972), 174-5.
29. The earliest depictions in Theban tombs date to Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III - see Manniche, *AEMI*, 71 - and there is an extant instrument of the same period - see Scott, *BMMA* 2/5 (Jan. 1944), 159-163.
30. *Wb.* V, 177. This word is not known until the Late Period; it is not clear whether it refers to lutes in general or specifically to the long-necked variety - see E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 943.
31. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 943. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 123, claims that the sound-box gradually elongated, until by the Late Period it was as important as the neck. Cf. Graeco-Roman examples such as Drioton, *Fouilles de Médamoud* [1925-6], fig. 8; Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten*, pl. 315 a.
32. Terminology of Manniche, *AEMI*, 76-8, and Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 122, who distinguish it from the lute with an oval or round sound-box. The guitar-shaped variety with concave sides, represented on the Hermopolis *talatat* (Manniche, *AEMI*, 70, 77-8) and continuing into the Byzantine period (E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 944), forms the much rarer third broad category of lute shapes. Manniche, *AEMI*, 77, considers the neck on the lute on 76 to be comparatively short and thick.
33. See H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 161-93, for a reconstruction of musical intervals from lute frets depicted in Theban tombs, optimistically assuming a detailed knowledge of music by the artists and the intention to record it minutely. See also Manniche, *AEMI*, 92-3.
34. Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 102, mentioned, without references, rare instances of 3 [sic] and 4; perhaps he had 76 in mind.
35. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 123; Scott, *BMMA* 2/5 (Jan. 1944), 162-3.
36. Manniche, *AEMI*, 78 and nn. 440-1.
37. For male lutenists, see e.g. Manniche, *Kémi* 21 (1971), figs. 2, 8; Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, pl. 23 a; *Haremheb*, pls. 32 b, 35 a; Nina Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XV.
38. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 123 and n. 27 with ill. For examples, see Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des objets de toilette égyptiens*, OT 22, p. 17 and

- ill. p. 16; OT 29, pp. 18-20 and ill. p. 19; OT 110, pp. 41-43 and ill. p. 41; *Egypt's Golden Age* (Picture Book), figs. 38, 98; see also examples in Ch. 5, n. 28 and Ch. 6, n. 66.
39. For instance, Brack and Brack, *Haremheb*, pls. 3, 32, 37 a and 29, 30 a [knees bent but feet flat]; Davies, *Nakht*, pls. XV-XVI, frontispiece; id., *Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, pl. XXIII. Cf. Wild, *Kush* 7 (1959), pl. XIX for dancers and asymmetrical lyre-player with this same leg position.
40. For recent discussions with references, see Manniche, *AEMI*, 36, 81-91, esp. 86-7; Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 116-18; E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 996-9; Spycket, *Journal des savants* (July-Sept. 1972), 164-8; stringing and tuning, H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 648-9.
41. Cf. the decoration on Spycket, *Journal des savants* (July-Sept. 1972), fig. 55.
42. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 116-17, mentions a movable wrist fastening. This differs from the strap across the sound-box which is a feature of Cypriote lyres of the seventh-sixth centuries - Spycket, *Journal des savants* (July-Sept. 1972), 206 and fig. 57.
43. Manniche, *AEMI*, 90 lower left, illustrates an example where the muting hand is shown on the viewer's side of the strings. The Heliopolitan group (pp. 73-4, 171-3) shows varied solutions to the rendition of this distant hand. The tiny 78 delineates the left hand position carefully but the strings not incised (perhaps added in paint); the curving forefinger appears to be plucking rather than simply muting (see text below). 76 gives precedence to the strings, whose entire area is shown in raised relief, with the hand disappearing behind it. Most apparently realistic is 74 B with its wider spacing of the raised relief strings, allowing a full representation of the left hand with its fingers widely spread. Something similar was intended on 75, but the left hand, which should be understood as placed behind the strings, is given priority and interrupts them.
44. The oft-cited nomad player in the Dynasty 12 tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan (Nina Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* I, pl. XI) is the only pre-New Kingdom instance mentioned by the authorities cited in n. 40. Despite some claims, such as Anderson, *Musical Instruments*, 8, the lyre was not "not common" in Egypt.
45. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 998; cf. Spycket, *Journal des savants* (July-Sept. 1972), 190 and n. 121. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 116, claims the lyre is occasionally referred to by the ordinary word for harp, *bnt*, while the giant lyre of the Amarna and Graeco-Roman periods had the special name *gn...* (*Wb.* V, 173).
46. Manniche, *AEMI*, 91 n. 534, says it is played frequently by men during the Amarna period, but is also pictured in a harem (and presumably female) context, and is later seen played by women.
47. E.g. Davies, *Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, pls. V, XVIII; Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, pls. 254, 279. Ziegler states (*Catalogue*, 117) that the lyre is never played alone in tomb representations. However, 78 shows a single figure with only "body music" accompaniment.
48. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 117.
49. Manniche, *AEMI*, 91.
50. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 998, suggests that some may be due to contact with the Near East, the Aegean and Greece.
51. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 997, without examples. Manniche, *AEMI*, 86-7, and nn. 514-17 gives some Dynasty 20 examples, but admits that it is difficult to differentiate symmetrical from asymmetrical lyres.

52. Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 101. It is not known whether this symmetrical lyre ever completely replaced the asymmetrical in Egypt.
53. For instance, a silver bowl Berlin 14117 (Sachs, *Die Musikinstrumente des alten Ägyptens*, fig. 61); a late sixth century steatite bowl London BM 47992 (Shore, *BMQ* 29 [1965], 19-21, pl. IX; Anderson, *Musical Instruments*, 8, claims that this instrument is trapezoidal and slightly asymmetrical, but this is probably due to the tiny size and the poor quality of the piece; a rectangular lyre is certainly intended). The apparent slight deviation from a rectangular shape on 76 may be due to crowding, rather than being an attempt at foreshortening (p. 67). Cf. also Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, pl. 71.
54. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 118 and n. 28; Porada, *Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman* [1956], 202, fig. g.1; Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 79; Spycket, *Journal des savants* (July-Sept. 1972), 190.
55. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 118; Manniche, *AEMI*, 89. The slant of 75 is apparently pronounced, but comparison with others in the group proves it is intended to be held nearly vertical. The position on the Assyrian reliefs noted by Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments*, 33, is more oblique than the vertical Egyptian poses, but scarcely "horizontal" as she claims.
56. Leibovitch, *JEA* 46 (1960), 53. Instances of oblique flute players with their heads turned do occur - e.g. Lauer, *Saqqara*, fig. 69; H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), pl. XL a; the archaizing Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibī* I, pls. 28, 98-100; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 68-9 [Dynasty 5] - and this is sometimes justified by their looking at a chironome behind them.
57. E.g. Davies, *Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, pl. XXIII [reversed leg posture]; Brack and Brack, *Haremheb*, pls. 3, 32 top, 37 top [forward leg raised]; Davies, *Nakht*, frontispiece, pls. XV-XVI.
58. *Catalogue*, 118.
59. For a valuable study of the lyre in Greece, see Roberts, *British Museum Yearbook 4 : Music and Civilisation*, 43-76.
60. See H. Hickmann, *CdE* 26 (1951), 17-27, for classification, in which diameter plays a key role. Recent studies of the types shown on 51 include Manniche, *AEMI*, 12-20; Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 80-88; E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 265-7 and III, 449-51.
61. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 84, points out the possibility of short versions being played horizontally and thereby being confused with the double clarinet. See Lauer, *Saqqara*, fig. 69, for a series of long flutes held straight before the player which could represent oblique flutes or extremely long clarinets.
62. Cf. Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pl. XII, fig. 11; Junker, *Giza* IV, fig. 9 and VI, pl. XV; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* VI.3, pls. XLVII, L, fig. 83; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 26-7.
63. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* IV, 606, gives primacy to its orchestral role; Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 81, 83, views it more as a vocal accompaniment, while acknowledging its place in orchestras. It also occurs in harvest contexts; cf. Manniche, *AEMI*, 15, nn. 47-50.
64. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 266; III, 450.
65. See examples cited by Manniche, *AEMI*, 15, nn. 55-62, to which add the extant instrument, Cairo CG 69817 (H. Hickmann below), from a Dynasty 18 tomb at Deir el Medina. This modifies H. Hickmann's parallel, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 99, between the possible continued existence of chironomy, despite its not being depicted, and the supposed disappearance of the oblique flute from New Kingdom scenes, although it continued to be played in folk music

- (n. 123).
66. See Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 84, for theories about its "decline".
 67. Cf. the simple oboe which is known from extant instruments but not represented by artists : Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 88. See also H. Hickmann in previous note and below on the double clarinet; the post-New Kingdom fates of the flute and clarinet may have been similar.
 68. Shore, *BMQ* 30 (1965-6), 35-6, pl. V (London BM 12742).
 69. Apuleius, *Metamorphosis*, XI, 9.
 70. Naville, *Festival Hall*, pl. XV.7.
 71. H. Hickmann, *CdE* 26 (1951), 21, and E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 450, claim that the single clarinet did not exist in Egypt; Manniche, *AEMI*, 19-20; Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 80-82.
 72. Manniche, *AEMI*, 19, n. 30, on this basis differentiates clarinets from oboes (less than 10 mm in diameter); the markings on the two also vary. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 80, notes the importance of the length : diameter ratio to the identification of the double clarinet, which appears short and wide. See also n. 61 and H. Hickmann, *CdE* 26 (1951), 21-2, where he noted that components are often separated and that tie marks indicate their double construction. Double oboe sections bear fastening marks at their upper end only, and are thus distinguishable from clarinets. See extant examples in fig. 4 there and in Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 86, n. 50; Manniche, *AEMI*, 19, nn. 81-5. The piece from Medinet Ghurob (Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, 58, pl. L) is from the Byzantine period.
 73. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 450. Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 91-2, noted that modern *zummāra* players are "low-caste musicians".
 74. Manniche, *AEMI*, 20 and n. 102 and Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 81, 86 and n. 48 (= Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, pl. 192). E. Hickmann, *LÄ* III, 450, suggests this "fall" into the popular music sphere is why it ceases to be represented, because reliefs are not concerned with this type of music.
 75. Manniche, *AEMI*, 20; Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 86, suggests its continuous use may date only from the Byzantine period to the present.
 76. E. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 17-18, points out that *Wb.* II, 6, 8-10, does not distinguish *m3t* and *mmt*.
 77. H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 72. Before the introduction of these instruments, ideophones and "body music" must have filled both roles.
 78. *Wb.* V, 40 and V, 62. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 71, who discusses other late names, suggests that *tbn* may be the Ptolemaic transcription of the Greek *τύμπανον*, a term which confuses the barrel-drum and the tambourine. H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 330-1, denied the application of *τύμπανον* to the barrel drum, while claiming *tb(n)* was used from the Middle Kingdom for all drums. The instrument is not named on the blocks in my corpus. See in general Manniche, *AEMI*, 6-9, with a list of predominantly New Kingdom illustrations. She conflates 74 B and 76 (n. 82) and omits 36 and 75. See also Ziegler, *RdE* 29 (1977), 203-14, largely repeated in *Catalogue*, 71-3; E. Hickmann, *LÄ* VI, 767-9.
 79. Ziegler, *RdE* 29 (1977), 204, 208, pl. 17 a; Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 96-7. This parallel lacing is preserved on two examples which have been dated to the early fourth century : Louvre N. 1442 (Ziegler, 204), and MMA [24.2.15] (Winlock, *The Private Life of the Ancient Egyptians*, pl. 17). That lacing is depicted, and not components of the wooden frame, is suggested by the strap attachments which touch the upper body on 36 and 76, and seem to be caught on a thong further down on 74 B.
 80. Both the drums cited in the last note have perforations on the membrane edges and a thong twisted over the lacing straps.

81. *RdE* 29 (1977), 208. Cf. Macadam, *Kawa* II, pls. XIII a, XIV b.
82. Manniche's assertion, *AEMI*, 9, that they were always played in a horizontal position is contradicted by 76.
83. Suggested respectively by Manniche, *AEMI*, 9 and Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 72, who concedes that by the Ramessid period the drum normally has a military connection. Baines, *JEA* 72 (1986), 48-9, identifies a military drumming contest in the Second Intermediate Period.
84. See, e.g. Brack and Brack, *Haremheb*, pls. 47 b, 51 c; the Opet festival at Luxor temple : Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pl. 193; procession at Armant : Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pl. IX.
85. Ziegler, *RdE* 29 (1977), 207 and *Catalogue*, 72. Cf. Naville, *Deir el Bahari* VI, pl. CLV; Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, pl. 9, and *Haremheb*, pls. 47 b, 51 c; other exx. cited in Manniche, *AEMI*, 7-8.
86. A badly damaged scene in the Dynasty 18 tomb of *Dhwtj-htp*, formerly at Debeira (now in Khartoum : Wild, *Kush* 7 [1959], 76-90, figs. 1-2), shows a black drummer in an ensemble with female clappers and oboist and a black woman (?) dancer (see further text below). The drum, which has net-like lacing is well preserved, but the player is nearly lost, with a single line suggesting a long wig providing the only clue to its sex (perhaps female but mixed orchestras do occur). Thus the African link remains, the male is questionable, the military absent. The location of the tomb in Nubia may explain the otherwise anomalous usage : the artist may have mistakenly introduced a native instrument into an "Egyptian" ensemble or he may have pictured a Nubian orchestra which differed from the Egyptian by including the drum.
87. E.g. Macadam, *Kawa* II, pls. XIII a, XIV b; Griffith, *LAAA* 9 (1922), pls. XIX, XXIX; London BM 58309 : Manniche, *AEMI*, 9, n. 91 (?).
88. Besides 36, 74 B, 75, 76 and the example quoted in the next note, illustrations are found at Medamud (Drioton, *Fouilles de Médamoud* [1925-6], fig. 8) and at Meroe (LD V, pl. 34 a).
89. Robichon *et al.*, *Karnak-Nord* IV, 131-2, pl. CXIV. Stylistic comparison with a Medamud block (H. Hickmann, *45 siècles*, pl. LXIII a) of Shepenwepet II (formerly III) has frequently led to the attribution of the Karnak block to "Shepenwepet III".
90. Cf. the Ptolemaic Medamud scene (n. 88), 74 B, 75 and 76.
91. A Qustul drum, Cairo CG 69353 and a Meroitic vase, Louvre E. 11378, in n. 87.
92. For the round tambourine in Egypt, see Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 71, 63-5, largely repeating *RdE* 29 (1977), 209-14; Manniche, *AEMI*, 1-5 and *AcOr* 35 (1973), 29-34.
93. See esp. Spycket, *Journal des savants* (July-Sept. 1972), 180-82, figs. 31-2, for frame drums of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The single earlier depiction that has been identified as an enormous frame-drum, from the solar temple of Niuserre, is considered to be a Mesopotamian import by Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 73-4 and n. 35, quoting Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 96. H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 318, cited Winlock's theory that the later introduction was due to Hyksos influence.
94. For the rectangular tambourine, see especially H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 317-33. He and Ziegler believe it never completely disappeared from Egyptian music as it is found on a few Graeco-Roman terracottas and is known in modern north Africa. If so, its absence from representations of Egyptian music may parallel chironomy (pp. 160-1), the oblique flute and the double clarinet.
95. See Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 33-6, for the widespread

- links between women and various types of drum. The tambourine was predominantly played by women in its Mesopotamian homeland : Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments*, 23-4; Spycket, *Journal des savants* (July-Sept. 1972), 181, figs. 31-2, 55-6 (first millennium Assyrian men), 57.
96. Ziegler, *RdE* 29 (1977), 214.
97. Also an ordinary-sized tambourine on Louvre E. 3308 (Ziegler, *Catalogue*, ill. pl. 73). Manniche's possible example from Sanam (*AEMI*, 3, n. 25; Griffith, *LAAA* 9 [1922], pl. XXIX), of a man playing a miniature version is not convincing.
98. Manniche, *AEMI*, 4, claims that Anubis is often shown so, Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 75, that it is rare. Cf. Ritner, *JEA* 71 (1985), 149. For Eros-Harpocrates, see Ziegler, *RdE* 29 (1977), 214.
99. Ziegler, *RdE* 29 (1977), 213-14 and n. 56; *Catalogue*, 75 and n. 53.
100. OIP, *Kheruef*, pl. 24. See Manniche, *AEMI*, 4; *AcOr* 35 (1973), 32-3, on New Kingdom religious usage.
101. See H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 319-20, nos. 1-6, for pre-Amenhotep III instances.
102. E.g. Davies, *Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, pls. V, XVIII; *Rekh-mi-rē* II, pl. LXVI; *Nefer-hotep*, pl. XVII; *El Amarna* I, pl. XIII; II, pl. XVIII; III, pl. XV; VI, pls. XVIII, XX; *Huy*, pl. XV.
103. H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 333.
104. Major studies : H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 417-27 and *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 96-127; E. Hickmann, *LÄ* I, 914-15.
105. Cf. H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), figs. 1 and 24 (both similar to 6 E and 51 Z, 25 and 28 (perhaps similar to 51 G), 29-30.
106. *ZÄS* 83 (1958), fig. 13. It is unclear whether he traced this figure from the wall or whether it is reconstructed here, since the area is not clear on Petrie's plate or his own 45 *siècles*, pl. VII. This latter and el-Sadeek, *Gizeh*, fig. 6 show that the two chironomes were contiguous and terminated the ensemble on the right.
107. H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 106 and fig. 13, claimed that the little finger was involved, but it is impossible to tell from the published photographs whether this or the forefinger is touched. By comparison with Indian music, Hickmann (pp. 106-7, 114) suggested that the smallest finger might have been touched at the beginning of a measure, believing that, as in India, the index finger was not employed in this counting process; he preferred (p. 109) to see the circling thumb and forefinger as a melodic gesture. See also H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 156, where the same gesture is said to be an element of choreographic chironomy; cf. *ZÄS* 83 (1958), fig. 23 and pp. 111-12 for this pose and leg-slapping combined. If his theory is correct, the chironome of 6 E is indicating the melody rather than the beat to the harpists.
108. See H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 78, on the confusion of finger-snapping with chironomy in dance sequences, where chironomy seems to be limited to touching thumb and forefinger.
109. H. Hickmann, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 421. However, practical experiments show that it does alter the sound quality and volume to the singer.
110. Good early parallels : Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pl. XII, fig. 11; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. XXIV, fig. 38; Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 38 a and b; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, pls. 26-7.
111. See H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 109, 117-19, and *ASAE* 49 (1949), 420, who identified these meanings in modern Egyptian chironomy, in which some of the ancient poses are exactly echoed.
112. H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 100 and n.2, cited Müller's suggestion

that within a musical context the arm and forearm held at an acute angle represent a gesture of appeal.

113. See H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 110-11 and his pl. XI a, fig. 21; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pl. XII, fig. 11; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, fig. 4; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. X; Hassan, *Neb-Kaw-Her*, pls. XII-XIII, figs. 2, 3, 7. Of the other Late Period instances, one from the tomb of Montuemhat (Cooney, *JNES* 9 [1950], pl. XIII) has a gesticulating singer-chironome squatting behind a harper; Macadam, *Kawa II*, pl. XIV, shows one standing behind a drummer and another behind a harpist. It is not clear whether the three men before the musicians on Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi I*, pl. 28, are beating time with their extended hands on their knees (cf. Hickmann, 101-2), but as the standing men in the register above also accompany shoulder-clutching with a pendant arm, they are probably not chironomes, although examples of a comparable chironomic pose exist, cf. *LD Ergänzungsband*, pl. XXXV. There is a standing woman with hand-to-cheek in the second register of the *Ibi* dance sequence.

114. H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 116 and pl. XI a, fig. 21; Steindorff, *Ti*, pls. 59-60.

115. H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 116 and fig. 37.

116. J. Capart, *JWAG* 1 (1938), 16, suggested that the man with hand-to-cheek is singing a solo while the others perform a duet, with alternating parts. These figures, which resemble the pairs of the lower sub-register could, however, continue from its gaming scene but be provided with a musical caption without modification to the singing pose, which had passed out of use in orchestral scenes (see text).

117. H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 122-7, for discussion. See also Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée*, 359-60. *Wb.* distinguishes meanings followed by *m* and *n*.

118. The arm with downward-curving hand seen twice on 51 seems to be more common, but both hand positions are employed by singer-chironomes (H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 [1958], 108), and may have been selected once on 51 for its correspondence to the practitioner's hand pose. Cf. Cooney, *JNES* 9 (1950), 197, for this detail in the tomb of Montuemhat.

119. Old Kingdom representations of chironomes with harpists often juxtapose *hsj* and *sqr* (*m*) *bnt*: e.g. Junker, *Giza IV*, fig. 9; Steindorff, *Ti* pls. 59-60, 127; *LD II*, 53 a; Mogensen, *Le mastaba égyptien de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, pl. V; where there is a flute-player, the phrases are *hsj* and *sb(3)* (*m*) *m3t/mmt*: e.g. Junker, *Giza IV*, fig. 9; VI. fig. 13; *LD Ergänzungsband*, pl. XXVI A.

120. H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 99 n. 2; Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée*, 360. A few representations of women are known - see Hickmann, 99-100 (no examples cited); see next note and Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. XXIII; Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi I*, pl. 28 (in dance).

121. H. Hickmann, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 99 n.3, 101-2 and the enigmatic fig. 4; OIP, *Kheruef*, pl. 24. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 62, indirectly links its loss of popularity in the New Kingdom with a preference for improvised music.

122. For other Late Period archaizing singer-chironomes, see n. 113, to which adds the bronze statuette, Maspero, *ASAE* 8 (1907), 282-3.

123. *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 99; his possible parallel of the continued use of the oblique flute, but its disappearance from New Kingdom iconography, is invalid - see p. 154 and n. 65.

124. See generally H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 67-122, esp. 67-76; A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus II*, 274.

125. H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 72 and Brunner-Traut, *LÄ VI*, 219-20,

who claims acrobatic dances had no pitched music, just clapping and rhythmic instruments. See, e.g. Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī* I, pl. X; II, pl. VII; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, pls. IV, VIII, XIII, XVII; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 130; OIP *Kheruef*, pls. 24, 59, 61; Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. XXIII, XXIII A.

126. E.g. Steindorff, *Tl*, pls. 59-60; OIP *Kheruef*, pls. 24, 59, 61; Davies, *El Amarna* I, pls. 21, 23; Vandier, *Manuel* IV, fig. 228.

127. See Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 16-17.

128. See H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 68-71, esp. 71 n. 2, 172-4.

129. See examples in H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 70 n. 1 and fig. 3 (Medamud ?), to which add his fig. 9 on p. 173; Vandier, *Mo^calla*, pl. 33; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī* I, pl. X (?); II, pl. VII.

130. See H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 76-81. As stated above, 51 7 is more likely to be beating time than snapping his fingers, although the latter cannot be excluded, and might thus represent a branch of body music not otherwise preserved on these reliefs.

131. Cf. H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 78 and n. 1, fig. 8, with a dancer slapping her knee.

132. Cf. Junker, *Giza* X, pl. XVIII c-d; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pl. XII a; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 19 and figs. 4, 10; H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 79-80.

133. See Robichon et al., *Karnak-Nord* IV, pl. CXIV, C260 for a dancer slapping the fronts of her thighs.

134. H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 76 and n. 5.

135. Useful sources are Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, summarized and updated by her in *LÄ* VI, 215-31; Wild, *Les danses sacrées*, 33-117; H. Hickmann, *ChE* 5/2-3 (1953), 161-73 and *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 151-90. At all periods, women played the major role in dance, in many cases reinforced by its "harem" connections, so that the exclusive presence of female dancers on these blocks is not unexpected.

136. *LÄ* VI, 223-5. She does not discuss the Lower Egyptian corpus.

137. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* VI, 222 and *Tanz*, 61-8, on "der Schöne Tanz", esp. 62-3. The instruments these women often play - the lyre, lute, tambourine, and double oboe - are of Asiatic origin, suggesting that instruments, types of music, and related dance sequences may have entered Egypt together during Dynasty 18. However, indigenous roots for this type of dance can be found in the Middle Kingdom, with the first solo female dancers playing musical instruments, and even in the Old Kingdom, when principal dancers were dressed differently (often more scantily) from the others; see Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* VI, 219, 221, who notes (*Tanz*, 63) that by the end of Dynasty 18 dancers abandon their instruments to gain freedom of movement. Late Period representations show that a discreet step might still be practised by musicians. Its inclusion among "contemporary" musical groups suggests that it was "contemporary", not an archaism based on Dynasty 18.

138. See Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* VI, 216; more generally, *Tanz*, 14-20, 76-8. H. Hickmann, *ChE* 5/2-3 (1953), 162, preferred to view it as the most ancient Egyptian dance, with a calm slow step and arms above the head; in *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 152, he compared it with a board game. However, the radically different dances seen on 28 and 36 show that, whatever the original reference, by the Late Period *jb3* encompassed a huge variety of types and movements.

139. *LÄ* VI, 216.

140. *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 185-6.

141. Wild, *Kush* 7 (1959), pl. XIX.

142. Wild, *Les danses sacrées*, 59, cites an instance at Medamud.
143. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ VI*, 223.
144. See "body music" above; cf. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, fig. 4; *LD II*, 53 a.
145. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 78 and *LÄ VI*, 216, 219.
146. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 21-2 and *LÄ VI*, 219; H. Hickmann, *BIE 37/1* (1956), 174. For examples of pair-dancing, see e.g. Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī I*, pl. X; *II*, pl. VII; Duell, *Mereruka I*, pls. 86-7; H. Hickmann, figs. 8, p. 173, 10-16, pp. 175-9, 21, p. 185.
147. H. Hickmann, *BIE 37/1* (1956), 160-64, which also contains partners striking each other's clackers.
148. *Tanz*, 23-4 and *LÄ VI*, 219-21. Her belief that the weight of the ball or disk facilitated movements by acting as a counterbalance is impractical.
149. *LÄ VI*, 219. See, e.g., *Tanz*, fig. 8; Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. XXII-XXIII A; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī I*, pl. X; H. Hickmann, *BIE 37/1* (1956), figs. 8 on p. 78, 21 on p. 185. The "Kugelzopftracht" can also be worn with a traditional sheath dress, generally by more static figures - cf. Duell, *Mereruka I*, pls. 86-7 (clappers); Macramallah, *Idout*, pls. VII, XI, XV, XVI a-b, XX (tomb owner) - but also occasionally on less acrobatic dancers - cf. Duell, *Mereruka I*, pls. 86-7; *II*, pl. 165; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. XXIV a and b, fig. 38.
150. On this costume, see Brunner-Traut, *LÄ VI*, 219 and *Tanz*, 15 and n. 1, 16, fig. 3 (Steindorff, *Tf*, pls. 59-60). Costume was not strictly associated with dance type and identical steps can be shown with different dress and hairstyle. A single kilt is more often worn in the "Rauten-Schreittanz" - e.g. Simpson, *Western Cemetery : Part I*, pl. VI, fig. 6 (triangular); Junker, *Giza IV*, fig. 9 (triangular) and VI, fig. 13 (tight); van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef*, pl. 6 (triangular).
151. Cf. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibī I*, pls. 28, 98-100, for a looped knot at the back mainly on figures with crossed sashes but occasionally just with belted kilts. The Old Kingdom arbitrarily included it with the crossed chest-bands - e.g. Borchardt, *Sa³hu-Rē^c* II, pl. 54. Occasionally, the knot appears without the chest straps - cf. Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 13; Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. XXIII, XXIII A (with a short loincloth).
152. Cf. Duell, *Mereruka I*, pls. 86-7; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. XXIV a and b, fig. 38. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibī I*, pls. 28, 98-100, exhibit the skull-cap type.
153. Naville, *Festival Hall*, pl. XIV. An adjacent, unconnected group of female musicians with tambourines probably accompanied the dance; the only place for musicians on 28 would be on the lost left, in front of the owner.
154. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibī I*, pls. 28, 98-100.
155. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 22.
156. Only two full musical scenes are known to me : Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibī I*, 81-8, esp. 83-5, pls. 28, 98-100, and Cooney, *JNES 9* (1950), pl. XIII (tomb of Montuemhat). Women playing sistra occur in : Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibī I*, pls. 67, 130; Assmann, *Mutirdis*, pls. A, a and 11, fig. 7; PM I², 358 (Pabasa); as it is always a prominent person who holds the instrument (wife, tomb owner, Nitocris respectively), it may have a symbolic/religious rather than "musical" role. The ostrakon from ThT 312 mentioned in Manniche, *AEMI*, 53 and n. 180, is probably New Kingdom, not Saite.
157. See E. Hickmann, *LÄ VI*, 606; Manniche, *AEMI*, 20, 46, 94, who stresses that despite its foreshadowings of some New Kingdom changes, Middle Kingdom music was not very different from that of the Old Kingdom.

158. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, 84, n. 354, pls. 28, 98-100. The only other Late Period shovel-shaped harp I know outside these reliefs is in Montuemhat's tomb, Cooney, *JNES* 9 (1950) pl. XIII. See also the ostrakon in n. 156.
159. Large jars and vessels of various sorts are popular in Old Kingdom tombs and may have provided the inspiration for such fillers; see Hill, *JWAG* 19-20 (1956-7), 38 and n. 16; cf. Cooney, *JNES* 9 (1950), 199-200, pl. XVI, for another enlarged object interspersed with figures.
160. See Cooney, *JNES* 9 (1950), 194-5, for modification of New Kingdom details in Saite tombs.
161. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 111.
162. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 331-2.
163. *AEMI*, 38.
164. Dahshur is also possible but seems less likely, given the active Saite interest attested at Giza. Cf. the Dynasty 5 tomb of *R^c-šps* at Saqqara, where the owner in a high-sided chair (as 51) confronts a register of dancers, above one containing harpers, a flautist and chironome, with men behind playing *snt* and *mhn*.
165. Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 104.
166. Sachs, *History of Musical Instruments*, 98; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 62-3.
167. *ESLP*, 104.
168. Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 72 and *RdE* 29 (1977), 208; Manniche, *AEMI*, 208.
169. Manniche, *AEMI*, 95, regards the angular harp as the most prominent stringed instrument of the Late Period. For the Dynasty 25 type with the string-support arm at the top, see E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 969.
170. See examples listed in Manniche, *AEMI*, 87.
171. Cf. Drioton, *Les inscriptions...Médamoud*, pl. II, fig. 7, for a large Ptolemaic group of female clappers.
172. *ESLP*, 109-10.
173. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 22.
174. Following Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, Table I.
175. *Catalogue*, 72 and n. 27; 107 and n. 56, and *RdE* 29 (1977), 208. On the basis of this, she wrongly assumes that the large angular harp was reserved for cult use (p. 107), although the small version was used like the arched harp; in fact, their roles were not separate.
176. E. Hickmann, *LÄ* II, 971, claims that the angular harp appears at secular feasts but seldom in cults.
177. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 14, discusses the difficulty of separating "real" and cultic meals and dances.
178. E.g. Brack and Brack, *Haremheb*, pls. 31 b, 32 a.
179. Daumas, *ZÄS* 95 (1968), 16-17; the *Wn-nfr* sarcophagus lid (Cairo CG 29310) cited there gives a picture of musicians and female revellers which accords well with the artistic representations on these pieces, but is too unspecific to establish that the women of the Heliopolitan group are Hathor cult celebrants.
180. See Lloyd, *Herodotus* II, 276.
181. See also the animal wine-steward with musicians on the Shepenwepet II Medamud block (n. 89).
182. See discussion in Lloyd, *Herodotus* II, 275-6, where the connection of this fertility gesture with Hathor and the Apis bull is also illustrated. The gesture is also known from the Greek repertory: see H. Hickmann, *BIE* 37/1 (1956), 79 and n. 4, who suggested (p. 80) that this appeared much earlier in Egyptian iconography and never disappeared.
183. Compare 67; the Shepenwepet II block from Medamud and the Karnak

- Dynasty 25-26 relief (n. 89), where music and dance are performed in a marsh setting.
184. AEMI, 95.
185. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* VI, 216-17.
186. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 13.
187. See Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 30-32, on the training and organization of dancers. Cf. Ward, *Berytus* 31 (1983), 67-74 for recent doubts about the notion of "harem" in ancient Egypt.
188. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 70-72. H. Hickmann, *ChE* 5, 2-3 (1953), 170, claimed that New Kingdom dancers were professionals, without stressing a harem connection; he noted that ordinary women are shown doing improvised, spontaneous dances in the Amarna period, in a new form of choreography.
189. Cf. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, fig. 38.
190. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 20, thinks that at least in the Old Kingdom the dancers were exclusively members of the owner's harem, but Papyrus Westcar suggests that itinerant dancing troupes were known. Sachs' statement (*History of Musical Instruments*, 98) that "one supposes they have been professional prostitutes as well" suggests that he believed them not to have been "privately-based" concubines.
191. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 20.
192. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 14-15.
193. The fact that the tomb owner's daughters and female relatives sometimes performed suggests that harem performances were not viewed in an exclusively erotic context - cf. Wild, *Kush* 7 (1959), 81-3, pl. XIX, where daughters and Nubians, all in diaphanous robes, dance.

III. LILY-PROCESSING

1. See L.M. Leahy, *GM* 105 (1988)= Appendix IV here, for the confusion caused by an alleged "Middle Kingdom" example from "Beni Hasan".
2. E.g. Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* III, 274-83, with bibliography 283-90; Keimer, *OLZ* 28 (1925), 465; Germer, *LÄ* III, 1056, and *Flora*, 195-6.
3. See Loret and Poisson, *RT* 17 (1895), 185 and Beauverie, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 125-6, for the Louvre specimen, undated and without provenance. For caution as to the species, see Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* III, 274-5.
4. For a botanical description, including features not reproduced in the reliefs, see Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* III, 274-5; Post, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai* II, 617; see Moldenke and Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, fig. 64, for a detailed drawing. Beauverie, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 125-6, describes the crowning flowers as growing "en grappe thyrsöïde", in clusters of 5-20, a feature not shown on these reliefs, which use the single blossom to symbolize the cluster. Ancient descriptions are provided by Dioscorides, *Greek Herbal* III.102 (Wellmann; Gunther III. 116, hereafter W. and G.); Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* I, 13.2; Pliny, *Natural History* XXI, 11.22-4. The branching bush stylized in Egyptian fashion postulated by Klebs, *Neuen Reiches*, 180, is closer to reality than she realized; Bénédict, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-2), 5, recognized the unusual attempt at accuracy on 33.
5. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pl. 121. Short-stemmed, leafless ones are tied into a bouquet pl. 16, and *Ibi* sniffs a single blossom pl. 60.
6. See, for instance, Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* III, 274-5; Beauverie, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 125. The colour on Cailliaud's drawing, *Arts et métiers*,

- pl. 15 A, is entirely guesswork (see catalogue to 32), the white of the flowers and the pale blue of the extracted juices being arbitrary (see Klebs, *Neuen Reiches*, 180; Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 12).
7. *Natural History* XXI, 11.22-4. It grows to about five feet in an ordinary garden.
8. The alternating leaves on 33 resemble those of the giant reed *Arundo donax*, whose iconography was well-established - see Cooney, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 84 - suggesting that it may have influenced this lily representation.
9. Beauverie, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 126; Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* III, 274-83; Post, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai* II, 617; Moldenke and Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, 41-2, 115, 279.
10. For a New Kingdom dating see Loret and Poisson, *RT* 17 (1895), 185, and Beauverie, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 126. Although Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* III, 277, do not commit themselves beyond the Saite period, their entertainment of a Middle Kingdom date for 32 (p. 278 no. 3) suggests that they considered that the plant could have entered Egypt much earlier.
11. Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* III, 282-3.
12. Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* III, 276-7. For discussion of its possible identity, see Täckholm, *LÄ* II, 267; Täckholm and Drar, *Flora* IV, 148-56; Germer, *Flora*, 230-1.
13. The *ss* with  determinative cited by Wb. III, 485, 3 as a rare plant product from Nubia is not relevant here. Charpentier, *Recueil*, No. 1000, gives *ss*, "lis ?", as a New Kingdom plant, but his certain references are drawn from these reliefs.
14. Wb. III, 485-7; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 464; Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 260; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* 338. Cf. Lacau, *Morphologie*, 251, vii, § 65; Osing, *Nominalbildung*, 851, No. 1262, and Kitchen, *VA* 3/1 (April, 1987), 29-31 for the history of the word.
15. Cf. Bénédict, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-2), 19. For the omission of *n* in Egyptian, see Quaegebeur and Rammant-Peeters, in *Studia Paulo Naster oblata* (ed. Quaegebeur) II, 197, n.93; A. Leahy, *GM* 62 (1983), 47, n. 27; Caminos, *Tale of Woe*, 29, n.5. For omission from *ss(š)n*, see Bénédict, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-2), 17 n. i; PN I, 298, 3 = II, 181; Davies, *Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, pl. 33.
16. Moldenke and Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, 41-4, 114-16.
17. Wb. III, 485-6; Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 260; Loret, *La flore pharaonique*, 114-16; Keimer, *OLZ* 28 (1925), 466 and n. 5.
18. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 996.
19. Dioscorides III.102 (W. = G. III.116) calls the Madonna lily *xpíov βασιλικόν*, while other names cited include *καλλείριον*, *λείριον* and *σούσιον*. It is used for *Lilium chalcidonicum* by Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* VI.6.3 and Dioscorides III.102 (W. = G. III.116). Herodotus, II.92 uses it of *Nelumbium speciosum*.
20. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 1036; Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, IX.16.6.
21. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 1621. Dioscorides' *σομφαίφου* as the Egyptian name for *Lilium candidum* L. appears to be a red herring.
22. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 1621, esp. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XII. 513; Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 25, quoting Pliny, correctly XIII.1.3, who credits the Persians with the invention of perfume.
23. Dioscorides III.102 (W. = G. III.116) and I.52 (W. = G. I.62); Theophrastus, *Concerning Odours*, 27-31, quoted by Athenaeus XV.688-92.

24. *Natural History* XIII.2.9-12 (*susinum*) and XXI.11.22-4 (*lilinum*).
25. Pabasa (temp. Psammetichus I: PM I², 358-9; no published illustration); Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Anch-hor* I, plan 23; II, pls. 66-9, fig. 112, with discussion of the Theban scenes pp. 236-40.
26. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pl. XII below.
27. Numerous examples are listed in PM III², 355 (Old Kingdom) and I², 467 (mostly New Kingdom). Others include Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. XVI; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XX; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. XXIV, XXVI and *Beni Hasan* I, pls. XII, XXIX, XLVI; II, pls. VI, XVI; Tylor and Griffith, *Pahery*, pl. IV. See, in general, Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, 82-94, to whose bibliography add Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* I (1954), 40-60. On the use of wine, see Darby, Ghalioungui and Grivetti, *Food* II, 551-618. For wine-making technology, see Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*, 16-24.
28. Examples are known from the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms (see previous note). Montet, *RT* 35 (1913), 117, was wrong that in the Old Kingdom the harvest was often superfluous; more examples than the two he cites are known.
29. How close any further harvester(s) stood behind the woman is unknown, but the relatively wide band of plants before her gives a sense of isolation.
30. Dioscorides I.52 (W. = G.I.62) specifies that the lilies used in *lirinon* should have the leaves removed; the representations do not make it clear whether this was done at the time of picking or formed a subsequent step not shown.
31. E.g. LD II, 56 bis; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 20-21; Barsanti, *ASAE* 1 (1900), fig. 9 on p. 155; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī* II, pl. V.
32. E.g. Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 130; Tylor and Griffith, *Pahery*, pl. IV. Davies, *Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, pl. XXX. Straightforward transporting of grapes is omitted on 37 a,d in the tomb of Ankhhor.
33. Against Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation* III, 438, who maintains that the grape harvest is requisite.
34. As pointed out by Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-2), 12.
35. The lower height of the harvesters and plant tops on 33 allows the caption above, and is slightly justified by the stoop of the figures.
36. Cf. Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, pl. 20 and Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī* II, pl. V, where men gather lotuses into them.
37. E.g. Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XX; Tylor and Griffith, *Pahery*, pl. IV.
38. The long, low shape of the treading vat more closely resembles those of the Old-Middle Kingdoms, rather than the higher-sided vats of the New Kingdom, suggesting some archaism here. Cf. e.g. Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 130; Lauer, *Saqqara*, pl. 140; Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XX; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. XII.
39. Darby et al., *Food* II, 561, quoting Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing*, 56, claim that the two stages are not shown in Theban tombs and that the sack-press was therefore not used in the south. Davies, *JEA* 9 (1923), pl. XXVI; Sève-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pls. XIV-XV; Davies, *Puyemre* I, pls. XII-XIII show this to be untrue, although it is not common.
40. For the Old Kingdom, see PM III², 355 and Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XX; for the New Kingdom examples see previous note. The use of the sack-press, or something like it, is not confined to viticulture. Laundry could also be wrung out by torsion, sometimes employing a virtually identical system - cf. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXX far left. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. XXIX; II, pls. IV, XIII, show an alternative with the wet cloth

attached to a stake driven into the ground and twisted by a pole through the other end.

41. See n. 39; Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, 83.

42. E.g. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 10, 132-3; von Bissing, *BVBKAB* 4 (1929), 12-14; Montet, *RT* 35 (1913), 120-4; Klebs, *ZÄS* 52 (1914), 24-8. For its continued use in the Fayum during the nineteenth century, see Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*, 17 and n. 8.

43. Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 130; LD II, 61 a; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 113-4. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 10, notes that only the earlier version is depicted in the perfume-making sequences, although the "improved" form would actually have been employed. His Dynasty 3 citation has no reference and is dubious.

44. Montet, *RT* 35 (1913), 122. For Middle Kingdom examples with a wooden frame, see Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. XLVI; II, pl. VI. The older variety is still found, e.g. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. XII; II, pl. XVI. The method of wringing damp cloth attached to a stake in the ground (n. 40) is a simplified version of the torsion with fixed point system.

45. See n. 40. The sack-press-like wringing operation (laundry ?) of Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXX far left, employs the old pole method.

46. The loss of the lower portion of 35 means that two more lost operators could conceivably be involved, kneeling and grasping the lower ends of the batons. This relief is unusual in showing the sack-press still operated by men (or at least one man), after the older fashion, so that the more traditional positioning of operators could also have been followed.

47. See n. 43 for Old Kingdom variations. Middle Kingdom versions are too poorly preserved to show whether any particular shape was prevalent. The New Kingdom (n. 39) seems to have preferred a shallow rectangular or slightly flaring container, but see the carinated bowl with the non-viticultural Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXX far left.

48. E.g. Blackman, *Meir* V, pl. XX; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, pl. XVI; possibly Davies, *JEA* 9 (1923), pl. XXVI. It is also included in the tomb of Ankhhor.

49. [Amsterdam] Allard Pierson Museum, *Algemeene Gids* (1937), 9.

50. E.g. Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 113-4. Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing*, 53-4, claimed that women were occasionally so employed but this seems to be based on a misunderstanding of his examples.

51. They apparently continued to be hired for the grape harvest - see Darby et al., *Food*, II, 560, for a Graeco-Roman contract of employment.

52. The sex of the second figure on 33 is unclear (see Catalogue), but this does not affect the positioning of a male directly before the deceased.

53. Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, 83 lists Old Kingdom captions; 84-91 has Middle and New Kingdom speeches.

54. *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 11 and Table IV.

55. *Wb.* I, 41, 4 and 182; the New Kingdom example cited (Davies, *Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, pl. XXX) is apparently erroneous. *j=f* for the wringing-out of laundry is found on the Middle Kingdom examples in n. 40. The previous usage of the word is thus largely Middle Kingdom.

56. *Natural History* XIII.2.7 and 17. In his list of colours resulting from specific additives, lily gives a "greasy consistency", but no tint is noted, perhaps suggesting that lily-oil was clear, and distinctive only in texture.

57. *Concerning Odours*, 31. Here an Egyptian perfume (not *σοῦσινον*) is classed among the colourless and expensive unguents; cheaper types were

apparently not worth the trouble of tinting.

58. I.52 (W. = G. I.62).

59. The bald statements by Montet, *RT* 35 (1913), 118 and Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing*, 51, that women and children participated in the vintage are misleading. Women seem never to have been common, while the diminished size of, for example, a standing figure under an arbour compared with the implied height of nearby kneeling ones may be due to spatial constraints rather than to a desire to portray children. Guglielmi's assertion (*Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, 83) that women and children gathering grapes along with *prw* are part of the New Kingdom embellishment of the vintage sequence is perhaps more accurate, but still overemphasizes the frequency. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 56, recognized the almost exclusive male presence in vintage scenes. For an occasional female grape-picker, see Tylor and Griffith, *Pahery*, pl. IV.

60. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 56-8.

61. See Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 1-9, for a general discussion of perfume and cosmetics in Egypt, especially 2-3 with material from texts. See also Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*, 85 n. 5.

62. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* I, XX.13-XXI.3; XXI.9-XXII.10; XXII.11-14; Ebbell, *The Papyrus Ebers*, LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXXVII.

63. Especially I.13.2; II.2.1; VI.6.8. Aspects of other plants are sometimes compared with the Madonna lily - e.g. III.13.6; III.18.11; IV.8.6; VI.6.9; IX.1.4; IX.16.6 - showing that *Lilium candidum* L. was well-known to the Mediterranean world.

64. Darby et al., *Food* II, 637; see, for instance, Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XV.688-92.

65. For a history of transmission, see Gunther, *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides*, preface.

66. I.52 (W. = G.I.62).

67. *Natural History*. E.g. papyrus (XIII.21-7), the Egyptian bean or colocasia (XIII.14.56-7; 17-19; 60-65), assorted mentions of wild plants in Egypt (XXI.50.86; 52.88-9; 53.90; 58.98; 69.112-16; 70.117-18; XII.51.109). See particularly XXI.11.22-4 on *Lilium candidum* L. and its methods of propagation; XXI.12.25-6 for other varieties of lilies and methods of dying them.

68. XIII.2.9-12; see also n. 91.

69. Mainly XV.688-92, where lost works by Apollonius of the school of Herophilus' *On Perfumes* and Achaeus' treatise *The Games* are also discussed.

70. See Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 133 and n. 10, 136, esp. 141 on the stimulation by the Ptolemies and the possible export of perfumes from Egypt to Greece even before the Hellenistic period; 175-6 on the processing of imported odoriferous materials. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 24-38, contains a useful summary of Classical discussions.

71. Pliny, *Natural History*, XIII.2.4-12, where Mendesian perfume, compounded from *behen*-oil (balanos-oil), resin and myrrh is said to have ranked foremost in the past, while in Pliny's day *metopium* made in Egypt was enjoying even more popularity; Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*, 87, take this latter to be a variation on Mendesian perfume.

72. E.g. Pliny, *Natural History*, XIII.2.6-8 and 6.26, where he claims that Egypt is the country best suited to unguent production; Athenaeus XV.688, quoting Apollonius, and 689; Dioscorides I.52 (W. = G.I.62).

73. The line references assigned to Athenaeus in Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*, 86 and n. 16, do not correspond to the Loeb edition, but cf. XV.688-92. Theophrastus, *Concerning Odours*, 31, also mentions an Egyptian unguent

among the more expensive colourless scents.

74. For brief technological surveys, see Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 6-14, esp. 9-10; Lucas and Harris, *AEMI* 85-90; cf. also Theophrastus, *Concerning Odours*.

75. Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*, 85.

76. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 9, who suggests that this method may be ancient.

77. The type and nature of the oil used and its modifications was much discussed - Pliny, *Natural History*, XV.7.24-32; Theophrastus, *Concerning Odours*, 14-20; cf. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, Table 1; Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*, 327-37. The oil of the Egyptian balanos was apparently the most receptive and kept the longest and was therefore most suitable for choice perfumes.

78. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 9; Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*, 86, make it clear that the perfume thus extracted could not have been separated by alcohol as today. For a detailed instance of this process, see Dioscorides I.52 (W. = G.I.62) and discussion in text.

79. See Theophrastus, *Concerning Odours*, 26.

80. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 9-10. It is hinted at in Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*, 86, in the phrase "sometimes boiled in oil", but not otherwise detailed. For Theophrastus, see n. 77.

81. *Concerning Odours*, 23.

82. *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 10. He allows that expression was not used very often and that ancient recipes generally specify the direct incorporation of herbs and flowers into the carrier oil or fat by heat or saturation.

83. *AEMI*, 86.

84. Pliny, *Natural History*, XXI.18.37 includes lilies among his "watery" flowers, but in a rather obscure passage argues that their oppressive odour is due to an absence of essential juices.

85. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* I, XXI.9-XXII.7 : dried and pulverized matter is to be boiled in water to extract the essence, and then decanted.

86. E.g. Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, pl. 356.

87. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 13, interprets the action of the foremost man in the group as mixing, presumably the combined products of the mortars and quern.

88. I.52 (W. = G.I.62). Pliny, *Natural History*, XIII.2.11-12 simply lists the ingredients of *susinum*, without instructions.

89. See Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*, 331; Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 6, mentions its popularity with Classical unguent-makers (Pliny, *Natural History*, XII.46.100-102) but denies that it was used in dynastic Egypt. Lucas and Harris, however, cite examples of the fruit and pits in Egyptian tombs dating back to the Old Kingdom, so it is conceivable that balanos-oil was also known earlier than Forbes allows.

90. *Concerning Odours*, 15.

91. It is not entirely clear whether the oil made from lilies mentioned by Pliny (*Natural History*, XV.7.31; XXI.11.22, called *lilinum*) is a pure substance, rather than a complex compound like lirinon, or whether it is lirinon perfume. Pliny (XV.7.31) includes it in his list of plant oils, in a context which suggests that it was not produced in Egypt. He says almost nothing about production methods, but the fact that lily-oil is left to

steep in the open air suggests that its manufacture involved the soaking of lilies in some other (oily ?) base.

92. I.52 (W. = G.I.62).

93. I.52 (W. = G.I.62). Pliny, *Natural History*, XIV.19.107-12; XIII.5.24-5 lists a large number of applications for various parts of the lily plant.

94. See Germer, *Untersuchungen über Arzneimittelpflanzen*, 26-8; von Deines and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Drogennamen* VI, 465; these presumably refer to both lily and lotus. Harer, *JSSEA* 14?4 (1984), 100-2, discusses the narcotic qualities of *nymphaea* but fails to distinguish it from lilies; he erroneously believes (p. 101) that these reliefs show lotus-processing.

95. Bénédite, *L'art égyptien*, 73, suggested that the Egyptians extended the medicinal use of *lirinon* to cosmetic, but there is no evidence for this.

96. Gilbert, *CdE* 27 (1952), 342.

97. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIII.611-12 and XV.686-7, but cf. the examples in Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* III, 36-7.

98. There is no evidence to support Gilbert's suggestion (*CdE* 27 [1952], 342) that the women are negresses.

CHAPTER 8 GARMENTS AND ACCOUTREMENTS

I. FEMALE

1. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 51.

2. E.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 26 B; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, figs. 4, 12; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 39; Borchardt, *Sa³hu-re^c* II, pls. 1, 5, 16, 20, 25-29, 31, while 30 [male corselet] shows that it was not confined to female figures.

3. For parallels see e.g. Assmann, *Basa*, pls. X, XXIX, fig. 27; Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pl. 10.

4. E.g. Capart, *Donation d'antiquités égyptiennes*, 20-1, fig. 6; Borchardt, *Sa³hu-re^c* II, pls. 1, 20 [male and female], 22 [probably female], 25, 28-30; Borchardt, *Ne-user-re*, 40, 92, pl. XVI; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, pl. XXIV (?); Blackman, *Meir* II, pl. VI.

5. E.g. Junker, *Giza* X, fig. 45; Blackman, *Meir* II, pls. VI, XV [subsidiary figures with Hathor emblems].

6. For the view that it is an archaism in the Saite period, see Capart, *Donation d'antiquités égyptiennes*, 21. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 51, and Aldred, *Jewels*, 263, look to early male garments as prototypes for this detail. Identical knots had occasionally adorned royal straps since the Narmer palette, and this form is conventional on royal and private male statue belts, so that there was an established masculine tradition for their somewhat different usage. It is possible that it was from here that the female strap-knot drew its inspiration in the Old Kingdom. It is unlikely that passing fashion on Late Period private female garments would have directly affected royal and divine iconography.

7. E.g. Macadam, *Kawa* II, pls. XVII-XVIII, XXII, XXIV [male and female]; Medinet Habu chapels of Amenirdis I and Shepenwepet II (Hölscher, *Post-Ramessid Remains*, pls. 17, 18 A and personal observation).

8. E.g. B. Lesko, *JARCE* 9 [1971-2], figs. 1-3; Der Manuelian, *MDAIK* 39

- (1983), pls. 26-31 (both Montuemhat); Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 10-11, 26-7, 83; Fazzini, *Images for Eternity*, 115; *BMA* 9 (1967-8), 111 p. 56 (both Nespaqashuty); Assmann, *Basa*, pls. IX-X, XXIX, XXXII, fig. 27; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Anch-hor* I, plan 15.
9. E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen* figs. 10, 97, 153.
10. *JARCE* 9 (1971-2), 87.
11. E.g. Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, figs. 4, 7; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi* II, pl. XVIII; Borchardt, *Sa³hu-re* II, pl. 48; Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, pls. 74-5; *Nofret* I, 48 [No. 19], 54 [No. 21], the latter with a green skirt with different patterned straps, similar to 64 [raised], 65 [raised].
12. E.g. Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, pls. 6, 8, 33, 38, 57-8, 64-5, 68-9, 75.
13. *Excavations at Saqqara (1912-1914)*, pl. XXXVII.1 upper right, centre left.
14. E.g. *Nofret* I, 194 [No. 96]; II, 54 [No. 118], 80 [No. 134], 88-9 [No. 138]. Third Intermediate Period : e.g. Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 141; Athens statuette of *T3-kst* = von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 59 [with long sleeves ?]. Late Period : e.g. *Nofret* I, 10 [No. 1], 176-7 [No. 84-5], 192 [No. 95]; II, 146 [No. 173]; Michalowski, *Art in Ancient Egypt*, fig. 609.
15. As does Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le Style égyptien*, 173.
16. Bothmer, *ESLP*, 13-14. See also Cooney, *JNES* 9 (1950), 202-3.
17. Details of Late Period mourning dress vary considerably, although bare bosoms remain the norm. Cf. e.g. Montuemhat : Wunderlich, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 39/3 (March 1952), ill. p. 50 ; private collection (Müller, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 26 [1975], figs. 25, 28); Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 62-3, 126, 127b : Pabasa : Wolf, *Die Kunst Aegyptens*, fig. 682, with a shawl (?); Nespaqashuty : Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten*, pl. 312; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Führer durch das Berliner Ägyptische Museum* (1961), pl. 56. See Lefebvre, *Petosiris III*, pls. XXXIV, XXX, for mourning women in sheaths with thin straps. For mourning dress generally, see Werbrouck, *Les pleureuses*, 129-31.
18. Otherwise they must wear the sheath, with or without strap-knots.
19. E.g. Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, pls. 38, 55, 64-5, 67, 86, 101-2, 137.
20. In other media, see e.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 6-7, 30-1, 38, 51, 54, 61, 71-4, 80-1, 190-1; *Nofret* II, 142 [No. 170].
21. *BES* 2 (1980), 9-31, with abundant references to earlier discussion; the identification is not new. Followed by Staehelin, *LÄ* VI, 732.
22. *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, 95-102; *BES* 2 (1980), 15.
23. Bianchi's fig. 7 a-g illustrates the successive stages of dressing.
24. What may be a version of this treatment, when the right upper corner is not knotted to the lower garment but hangs lower and is confused with a baby sling, is found in Lefebvre, *Petosiris III*, pls. XX, XXI, XLVI [garments reversed].
25. The high knot, shawl arrangement, and major differences in disposition on the upper body show it to be different from the *haik* - see n. 35.
26. Such a date precludes Greek influence (e.g. Chassinat, *Les Antiquités... Fouquet*, 26, vaguely as Hellenic-Asiatic) on the early garment.
27. Bianchi, *BES* 2 (1980), 12, 17.
28. *BES* 2 (1980), 13-14 and fig. 7.
29. Schäfer, *Berliner Museen* 42 (1920-21), 18 n. 2.
30. *ESLP*, 104. He could offer no explanation for the ensemble.
31. Engelbach, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 191, fig. 2.
32. Shore, *BMQ* 29/1-2 (1964-5), 19-21, pl. IX.
33. E.g. *Nofret* I, 105 [No. 46] (= Cairo JE 4872); Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl.

- 109 [the long-sleeved version in the lower register may be another variant of this]; Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, 259 (ThT 92, wrongly as ThT 80); Davies, *Huy*, pls. VI, XV; Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, pls. V, XVII-XVIII.
34. More static versions hanging closer to the body also exist - e.g. probably Smith AAAE (1958), pl. 112 [probably with the hemlines added in paint]; possibly also in statuary - e.g. Nofret II, 92-4; Wolf, *Die Kunst Aegyptens*, fig. 674. See Schäfer, *Principles*, 120-1.
35. Bianchi, *BES 2* (1980), 11-12 and n. 7 with references.
36. E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 1-2, 6, 9, 11, 13, 18, 21, 42, 47, 49, 57-60; cf. Nofret II, 114 [No. 152] for a Third Intermediate Period example.
37. E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 7, 31, 37, 53-4.
38. E.g. Cairo JE 46916 (n. 27); Macadam, *Kawa I*, pls. 9-10, 15-16 [both are multi-layered wraparounds; several have a fringed shawl on the upper arms].
39. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture*, figs. 97, 99. Smith, *Interconnections*, 56, noted the resemblance but stressed that too much weight should not be placed upon it.
40. *Le Musée égyptien II*, 76.
41. E.g. expressed by Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 236. Eaton-Krauss and Graefe, *Small Golden Shrine*, 28, caution on assuming nudity from two-dimensional representations which are not supported by statuary. Their concern is ladies of high rank, but these are not relevant here as shawl-like Late Period garments are confined to minor figures where looser conventions of dress/undress had always existed. The question of nudity remains valid.
42. Lefebvre, *Petosisiris III*, pls. XXXV-XXXVI, XLVI-XLIX. Once abundant traces on figures not published in colour by Lefebvre are fading rapidly.
43. Lefebvre, *Petosisiris III*, pls. XXXV centre, XLVI centre = XLVII right; XLVI bottom.
- In crowded pieces such as 77, with complicated attitudes adopted by the overlapped cattle, any garment not closely adhering to the relief lines would interfere with the composition, and besides the modelled swellings of the female body beneath the robes, other less harmonious elements would also have been visible.
44. See Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 236. He suggests that this is a Late Period revival of a late Dynasty 18 feature.
45. Aldred's remark, *Egyptian Art*, 236, that there is an "accent on the female erogenous zones" ignores the fact that these same regions are shown and modelled in the same soft, rounded manner on male figures as well.
46. Derchain, *RAIN 15* (1976), 7-10 for erotic indicators and discussion.
47. Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 15-16, 19-20, 23-4, 27, 39, 65; in one Old Kingdom case (p. 19) a dancer's soloist status is shown by her nudity. Sometimes the nude dancers seem to be almost children, which may somewhat modify their erotic overtones - e.g. Cairo JE 4872 (n. 33).
48. E.g. *Egypt's Golden Age*, 94 [No. 74]; [Berlin] Staatliche Museen, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, pl. 32 right; Nofret I, 113 [No. 51]; II, 76 [No. 132]; von Bissing, *NAWG 1941*, 7, pl. III.5; Tait, *JEA 49* (1963), pls. XIV a-b, XV.3. See further discussion pp. 100-101, 127-30.
49. See Robichon et al., *Karnak-Nord IV*, pl. CXIV, C260, for an Upper Egyptian example on a Saite block, probably of the sixth century.
50. E.g. Fechtmeier, *Kleinplastik*, pl. 142; cf. Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pls. VII c, XX d, fig. 7, for a leopard skin fastened on one shoulder, exposing the front of the body, which wears a sheath dress.
51. Buhl, *A Hundred Masterpieces from the Ancient Near East*, 49-53 [No. 40] with ill (Copenhagen NMD 10341).

52. Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-22), fig. 2 (Louvre E. 10817).
53. E.g. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XXXVII, XLIII-XLIV, XLV (?).
54. Contrast Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XVI-XVIII, XXX, XXXIV, XXXVII [with tripartite] and pls. XXXIX-XLI, XLIII-XLV, LII-LIII.
55. As in e.g. Blackman, *Meir* VI, pls. IX-XI, XVIII.
56. E.g. Harpur, *JEA* 72 (1986), figs. 3, 6-7, 9; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 27; Steindorff, *Ti*, pls. 24, 45, 48, 50, 52, 112.
57. E.g. Der Manuelian, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), pls. 26-31 (Montuemhat); Assmann, *Mutirdis*, pl. 29; *Basa*, pl. XXIX [S41.1 and 8]; Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 10-11, 32, 83.
58. But see the blue valanced wig of the priest in Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pl. XXXI, and the goddess pl. LIII.
59. *ESLP*, 113-4.
60. *ESLP*, 113.
61. Earlier prototypes are often assumed but without citation of specific examples - e.g. Ransom-Williams, *JEA* 5 (1918), 283.
62. So *ESLP*, 114; also p. 214 here.
63. Important figures : e.g. *Nofret* I, 54 [No. 21], II, 24 [No. 102]; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, pls. III a-IV, VII c, XX d, figs. 4, 6-7; Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pls. 35-6, 61. Servants : e.g. *Nofret* I, 96 [Nos. 41-2]; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pls. 38-9; Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 51 a; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, pl. XII a, figs. 3 a-b, 7-8, 11. It is common on Old and Middle Kingdom dancers.
64. Minor figures : e.g. Wild, *Kush* 7 (1959), pl. XIX; Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 109 lower register; Davies, *Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, pls. V, XVIII, XXIII; Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, pl. 150. Foreigners : e.g. Davies, *Huy*, pls. XXIII, XXVII-XXVIII, XXX; *Rekh-mi-rē* II, pls. XXI-XXII; for a Middle Kingdom example, see Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 78 a. Occasional examples still occur on major figures, e.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pls. 117, 128; *Nofret* II, 94-5 [No. 141].
65. E.g. *Nofret* I, 118 [No. 54]; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pls. 67, 148-9; von Bissing, *NAWG* 1941.7 pl. III.5 [possibly post-New Kingdom]. For pointed-fronted examples, see n. 82.
66. E.g. Bénédite, *Miroirs*, 50-2 [Cairo CG 44101]; *Nofret* I, 142 [No. 67]; Michalowski, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 586; Tait, *JEA* 49 (1963), pl. XXII.4; chapel of Shepenwepet II at Medinet Habu [early Dynasty 26 ?] (personal observation).
67. E.g. Macadam, *Kawa* I, pls. 9-10, 15-16; Wolf, *Die Kunst Aegyptens*, fig. 637; Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur*, 63-4 [Nos. 169, 172], pl. IX e-f; Michalowski, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 587; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pls. 106-9; von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 59; Munro, *Totenstelen*, pls. 29-30 [figs. 104-5, 107-8, 110], pls. 27-8 [figs. 98, 101] reveal the ear. See also examples in n. 72. This may be the wig type Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 236, considers Nubian and a sign of New Kingdom influence.
68. Some of the blocks which I date broadly to Dynasty 26 may in fact belong in the reign of Psammetichus I, but this would not affect the general impression.
69. There may be some divergence between tomb reliefs and monuments like stelae, where the transition to Dynasty 26 is not so abrupt and some of the shorter hairstyles popular in Dynasty 25 may have continued to be shown - e.g. on stelae of the second half of the seventh century in Munro, *Totenstelen*, pls. 32-3, 35 [figs. 115-9, 121, 123]; *Nofret* II, 136 [No. 166].
70. The popularity of short styles throughout Dynasty 26 is recognized by

Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), 48 and n. 4, who notes its return to favour in Dynasty 25. For examples not all precisely dated within Dynasty 26, see Nofret I, 108 [No. 49]; Wolf, *Die Kunst Aegyptens*, fig. 638; Drioton, *Encyclopédie photographique* I, pl. p. 107; perhaps [Berlin] Staatliche Museen, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (1967), fig. 948. Less well-dated examples not listed by *ESLP*, 113-4, include Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 64 [Nos. 184, 186], pls. XXXIII, XXXV [not men]; Eggebrecht, *Das alte Ägypten*, pl. p. 158; Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts asiatiques* 1 (1954), fig. 10. For stelae, see previous note.

71. *ESLP*, 114 with examples.

72. E.g. Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 133 [No. 560, probably not a goddess]; Michalowski, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 600; von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. 59.

73. *Contra* e.g. Gilbert, *CdE* 27 (1952), 342, whose comparisons and terminology are imprecise; Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 236.

74. As Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 236. But see p. 218 here for the more precise New Kingdom links of the pointed hairdo.

75. E.g. Michalowski, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 586 [real hair visible on forehead]; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pls. 102-3. See also the chapel of Shepenwepet II at Medinet Habu [Nitocris] (personal observation).

76. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pl. XXX.

77. E.g. Michalowski, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 586; von Bissing, *Denkmäler* pl. 59; chapel of Shepenwepet II at Medinet Habu [Nitocris] (personal observation); Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten*, pl. 221; Wolf, *Die Kunst Aegyptens*, fig. 638; Louvre E.27159 [unpublished]; next note.

78. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XVI, XVIII, XXX, XXXIV.

79. Capart, *Documents* II, 85, claimed that they (as represented by 76) went back at least to the Middle Kingdom, but was not specific about their pointed line; he only cited one (untraceable) parallel in support.

80. E.g. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, pls. V, IX a-b, XV [without tiers of curls], XX, XXII a; Corteggiani, *Egypt of the Pharaohs at the Cairo Museum*, pl. p. 140 [No. 89].

81. E.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pls. 140, 144 b; Davies, *Huy*, pls. VI, X-XI, XVIII; *Nefer-hotep*, pls. II, IV, XII-XIII; Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, pl. 157.

82. E.g. Quibell, *Yusa and Thulu*, pl. XXXVI; Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten*, fig. 328 a [Astarte]; Capart, *L'Art égyptien... IV - Les Arts mineurs*, pl. 717 B; Nofret I, 112 [No. 50], fig. 50 76; II, 72 [No. 129] [both tiered]; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pls. 60, 142 right; Wild, *Kush* 7 (1959), pl. XIX.

83. *ESLP*, 104, recognizes their popularity on fourth century reliefs.

84. E.g. Brooklyn 35.1312 (?) (Chassinat, *Les Antiquités... Fouquet*, pl. XV); Copenhagen NMD 10341 (n. 50). The only three-dimensional example I can find is the bronze Louvre E.11556 cited in *ESLP*, 104; Bothmer attributes this lack to the absence of statues of women, but this cannot be the entire explanation, as short rounded hairdos can be found despite the same shortage of female statues.

85. E.g. Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pl. VII c and fig. 7; Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē* II, pl. XXII [negress].

86. E.g. *Das Alte Reich - Ägypten im Zeitalter der Pyramiden*, 111. pp. 100-01 [No. 40].

87. E.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 112 (ThT 192) [long lock]; golden shrine of Tutankhamun (Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, pl. IX a-b); Wenig, *Frau im alten Ägypten*, pl. 52 a.

88. BM 47992 (n. 32) supports this idea, with the flowers with stems bent double resting on top of the figures' heads. See a similar floral fillet on Brooklyn 35.1312 (n. 84).
89. See Aldred, *Jewels*, 140-1.
90. See Aldred, *Jewels*, 130-2. E.g. Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwī* I, pls. III, V-VI, XII, XVIII; Blackman, *Meir* VI, pls. XI, XIII, XVI.
91. Recognized by *ESLP*, 104.
92. First suggested by Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien* II, 85, and supported by von Bissing, *BVBKAB* 4 (1929), 10 n. 3, who modified and clarified his earlier idea (*Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101 and n. 5) that they might be wreaths, perhaps connected with those hanging on floral bouquets (cf. 72), in light of Ransom Williams's criticism (next note).
93. Ransom Williams, *JEA* 5 (1918), 283; on pp. 283-4 she discussed its relationship to later headgear.
94. Bénédict, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-2), 15-16.
95. Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation* III, 438.
96. Cf. also Robichon et al., *Karnak-Nord* IV, pl. CXIV, C206 and C355 for the "loop" sometimes above the fillet and associated floral hair decorations; the relief may be sixth century.
97. Gilbert, *CdE* 27 (1952), 342, suggested that they were Nubian.
98. See Aldred, *Jewels*, 141-2, for hair ornaments, including amulets; this form is not discussed.
99. E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, fig. 99 [two triangular pieces hanging on strands from the back of a short wig]; the headrest London BM 26256 [two panels with a triangular element on a strand from the back of a short wig] (no published photograph - date uncertain).
100. Contra Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 194, who claims that they ceased to be used between Dynasty 25 and the Ptolemaic period.
101. See Aldred, *Jewels*, 142-4; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 121-8, 155-8, with references. Examples with pendants as subsidiary elements occur during Dynasty 18 (e.g. Aldred, pls. 68 centre, 121-2; Wilkinson, 123, fig. 54), but are more popular and prominent in the late New Kingdom.
102. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 166, claims that pendant earrings go out of fashion with Dynasties 21-22, and that earrings generally become less popular during that period (p. 176). The time of change may thus precede the Late Period, although, as she acknowledges (p. 165), items from this time are remarkably scarce. Dynasty 25 earrings from Kush are dismissed as "big and crude" (p. 186), but objects like Cairo JE 46916 (n. 31) do depict more delicate shapes.
103. *ESLP*, 104. See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 190, for Dynasty 25 earrings from Kush.
104. *JEA* 5 (1918), 284 and n. 3; no crescent-shaped piece is visible, as she claimed.
105. *ESLP*, 115-6; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 194.
106. Recognized by Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 194.
107. As Aldred, *Jewels*, 243. Even if the broad collar was not in current use as an ornament of the living, which is not certain given the paucity of evidence, it is its uninterrupted use in relief which is relevant here. See further pp. 136-9.
108. E.g. *ESLP*, 26-7 [No. 23], pl. 21, figs. 48-9; 81-3 [No. 67], pls. 64-5, figs. 160-3; Bothmer assumes it to be a pendant cord or part of a garment on 53-4 [No. 46], pls. 42-3, figs. 102-3; 105-6 [No. 83], pl. 79, figs. 205-6.

109. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlung*, pl. 2.
110. Aldred, *Jewels*, 146. This feature, among others, led Ranke (JNES 9 [1950], 230) to date Princeton 918 to the Old Kingdom. See e.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pl. 32.
111. See Aldred, *Jewels*, 147 and fig. 32 for Old Kingdom examples.
112. Cf. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 19, 29, 64, 101, 169-73; she does not include any bracelets among the jewelry of the Late Period. Schäfer, *Principles*, 262-3, suggests that the indication of curvature is most common in the New Kingdom.

II. MALE

1. The rear overlap is more common at Thebes, cf. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 13-15, 18-19, 27, 32, 34, 38-9, 43-7, 59-60, 62, 64, 67, 71; Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 2nd. ed. (1930), pl. 450 below (ThT 223); Assmann, *Basa*, pls. XIII, XV-XVI; Harsiese = Toronto ROM number unknown, *Münzen und Medaillen, Werke ägyptischer Kunst*, Auktion 46, 28 April, 1972, 55-7 [No. 102], pl. 26 top.
2. E.g. Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep* II, pls. IV-V, VII-VIII, XIV, XVI-XVII, XXII-XXIII; Wild, *Ti* II, pls. CXII-CXIII, CXX, CXXIII; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. VII. Whether this represents a garment as it really was or is an artistic convention for a scanty kilt is unknown.
3. E.g. Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep* II, pls. V, VII, XIII-XIV, XVI-XVII, XXII; Blackman, *Meir* I, pl. III; II, pls. III-IV.
4. Precise parallels to these kilts are not found in the tomb of Petosiris, although short kilts curving up the side of the near leg, without the penis exposed, do occur - Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XXXV, XLVI, XLIX below.
5. E.g. Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep* II, pl. XVII; Macramallah, *Idout*, pls. V, VIII; Wild, *Ti* II, pls. CXXII-CXXIV; Blackman, *Meir* I, pl. XI. Cf. also perhaps Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pl. 59 [overseer's kilt damaged].
6. E.g. Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep* II, pls. XIII-XIV; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. XXIV, XXXIII, XXXV; Newberry, *El-Bersheh* I, pl. XII, XVII, XIX; Simpson, *RdE* 24 (1972), pl. 15.
7. E.g. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. XXXIV; Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep* I, pl. III; II, pls. IV, VII, XIII; Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pls. XX, XXII, XXV, XXVII, XXXI; Wild, *Ti* II, pls. CXI, CXVII-CXVIII. For examples in Late Period Theban tombs, see e.g. Cooney, *JARCE* 3 (1964), pl. XIX.11, fig. 1; Boston Museum of Fine Arts *Annual Report* 90 (1965), 70-71, ill. p. 55. See Baines, *SAK* 3 (1975), 13-14, for its use on figures of low status and occasionally gods; its most widespread use in the Old Kingdom suggests that this is the period from which prototypes are drawn.
8. E.g. Cleveland 51.281 = *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* 39/3 (1952), cover ill. (Montuemhat); Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 15, 18-19, 27, 32, 38-9, 43-7, 59-60, 62-5, 67-71; Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 181 (ThT 279); Assmann, *Basa*, pl. XV-XVI; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Anch-hor* I, plans 15, 18, 20.
9. E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 22, 38, 40, 43, 102, 104, 106, 109, 111-14, 116, 119, 122-3, 128-9, 131, 133, 135-6.
10. Folds on long kilts are known elsewhere, e.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 15, 18-19, 27, 70-1; Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 14, 38, 40, 43-

- 4, 70, 74, 113, 116, 122, 135.
11. See e.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 15, 19, 44-5, 53, 125 b. See also pp. 91-2.
12. See e.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 10, 12, 53.
13. For further discussion, see pp. 195-6.
14. E.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pl. 26.
15. See Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 54-7.
16. E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 5, 15, 17, 19, 23, 61, 96; Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 182 A (Montuemhat); Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 15, 49, 62, 86, 126, 127 a; no combinations with short kilts occur in this tomb.
17. In Theban tombs it can be worn by minor figures serving as priests to the deceased, cf. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 49, 62, 126, 127 a.
18. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XXXV (= XXXVI left and right), XLVI (= XLVII-XCVIII), XLIX.
19. E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 103, 120 [knotted on the rear shoulder and covering the front of the body], both with short fringed kilts beneath.
20. E.g. Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, pls. 120, 125.
21. *ESLP*, 75-81, 86, esp. 75-6 with figure on p. 75. Noted earlier by Cooney, *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 7, without much discussion.
22. For a summary of discussion, see A. Leahy, *GM* 70 (1984), 45-58, adding Cooney, *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 7; Staehelin, *LÄ* VI, 732 and n. 66; De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 139. The earliest example - early sixth century - is BM 511, for which see De Meulenaere, *Artibus Aegypti*, 35-43.
23. A. Leahy, *GM* 70 (1984), 52-3, where a connection with the chest-level kilts of the Middle Kingdom is mooted.
24. *ESLP*, 76, notes that it continues in use on statuary until the Roman period.
25. Staehelin, *LÄ* VI, 732. Cf. *ESLP*, 74-6 [No. 63], pls. 59-60, figs. 148-50 [without]; 76-81 [Nos. 64-6], pls. 60-3, figs. 151-9 [with].
26. If the roll was placed, as normally, on the left breast, it may not have been indicated on the right-facing figure.
27. *ESLP*, 76, states that this direction of wrapping is invariable, but see 65 [raised].
28. *ESLP*, fig. 152.
29. Cooney, *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 10; *ESLP*, 84.
30. *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 7-10.
31. *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 9 n.2.
32. *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 10 and n.4.
33. E.g. Staehelin, *LÄ* VI, 732; *ESLP*, 76-80.
34. *ESLP*, 77.
35. E.g. *ESLP*, 79, 84.
36. *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 7-10.
37. *ESLP*, 80.
38. *ESLP*, 77.
39. *BES* 3 (1981), 104 and nn. 3-4.
40. *ESLP*, 84.
41. *BES* 3 (1981), 104 and n. 5.
42. *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 10.
43. In addition to the Lower Egyptian examples cited here, see Schulman, *BES* 3 (1981), pl. 1 [bottom broken but hem below knee]; *ESLP*, 83-4 [No. 68], pl. 65, figs. 164-5.
44. On 65 [raised] the ankle length of the sleeved tunic was incorporated into the painted wraparound skirt. No attempt was made to modify the tunic's hemline or to shorten it below the skirt, but this is not

surprising as the intention was apparently to show a finished, external view of the ensemble, not a transparency.

45. Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur*, 93; Cooney, *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 7; *ESLP*, 77, 80; Schulman, *BES* 3 (1981), 107 and n. 20.

46. E.g. *ESLP*, 83-4 [No. 68], pl. 65, figs. 164-5; styles closely following the head prevail, however, so that statuary and relief follow the same general trend.

47. *ESLP*, 108-10, with references to earlier discussions.

48. *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 95-102, with references; *BES* 2 (1980), 14-17. The striding draped male figure in Ptolemaic Egypt formed the subject of his doctoral dissertation (1976), which I have not been able to consult.

49. E.g. Maspero, *Art in Egypt*, 266; von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 101; Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le style égyptien*, 173 and *L'Art égyptien* (1962), 158; Gilbert, *CdE* 27 (1952), 343; Gauthier, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 33; Picard, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 217-18.

50. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le style égyptien*, 173 and *L'Art égyptien* (1962), 158. Ransom Williams, *JEA* 5 (1918), 283, took the fringes to be a modified form of Greek influence brought by the Persians.

51. For earlier recognition of this, see, for instance, Scharff in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I, 623. See also nn. 47-8.

52. *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 95-6, pls. 53-6, 59, 61, for examples.

53. *ESLP*, 108-9 [No. 86], pl. 81, figs. 212-13.

54. *ESLP*, 109.

55. *ESLP*, 110.

56. *ESLP*, 110. To BM EA 90, add the statue in a private collection published by Laurent, *RdE* 35 (1984), 139-58.

57. Experiments show that about 5 metres of cloth are necessary to achieve three wrappings and leave the two free ends seen in the representations. It is not impossible to envisage a shawl similar to a modern Indian sari (about 6 m long), but this would require assistance in wrapping, like the female tripartite outfit (p. 203).

58. At this stage, the garment would resemble the outer cloak of Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 103, 120, except that finer material yielding soft folds was used. See also the lower garment on Laurent, *RdE* 35 (1984), pl. 12.

59. E.g. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XXXVII below [owner], left below [right figure].

60. E.g. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XVI below [= photo pl. XVIII], XXXVII below [left and sub-registers].

61. E.g. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XVI above and below [= photo pl. XVIII], XXXVII below [both], perhaps XII [scribe - or with a sleeved tunic ?]. Pl. VIII middle has an example where either the shawl or, more likely, a finer lower layer is irregularly wrinkled across the chest; the left arm may either be swathed in a long sleeve or wrapped in multiple layers of shawl, which is less likely.

62. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pl. VIII has two instances where concentric swirls of cloth encircle the shoulder. It seems likely that this is an ordinary sleeve, simply shoved up in order to keep it out of the way. The fact that it is a right sleeve in both cases suggests that a sleeved tunic may be worn, rather than a single-sleeved garment. Bianchi, *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, ill. A, reproduces this plate, but does not comment on this, although it differs from his Ptolemaic short-sleeved tunic.

63. E.g. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XVI above and below [= photo pl. XVIII], XXXVII below [left], perhaps the plain area on pl. XII. This is unlikely to be a fringe on the tripartite ensemble skirt as it is narrower

- than the bottom of the skirt.
64. Cf. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pl. XVI top and below (= photo pl. XVIII).
65. See p. 200, where objection is made to Bianchi's phrase "Saite skirt".
66. *ESLP*, 94, 108.
67. *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 96-7 and n. 12.
68. Bianchi, *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 96-7.
69. E.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibī* I, pl. 47; Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 181 (ThT 279); Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, "Anch-hor I, plans 28, 30.
70. The absence of a skirt overlap and waist line on 33 is probably due to the unfinished state of the relief and may, like other garment details, have been added in paint. The unusual shawl and inner robe dispositions leave little space for a skirt edge. It should probably be assumed that a skirt was worn in this case, despite the indication of the undergarment edge, as the whole left side of P3-jr-k3p's body would otherwise be exposed.
71. *ESLP*, 83-4 [No. 68], pl. 65, figs. 164-5.
72. *ESLP*, 92.
73. *ESLP*, 94.
74. Not in *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 95-102, or *BES* 2 (1980), 9-31. It may be mentioned in his dissertation.
75. See Bianchi, *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 97 and *BES* 2 (1980), 15 for its importance.
76. Staehelin, *LÄ* VI, 732.
77. *ESLP*, 110, mentions fifth century Cypriote parallels to a narrow shawl without serrations. 75 may be an extremely rare form of the shawl without lower edge fringing, but cf. the possible example on 76 steward.
78. It is possible that two lengths existed, with a longer one wrapped around the body several times (very uncertain - see above), and the more frequent shorter one used as an outer wrap.
79. *ESLP*, fig. 212.
80. *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 97-8, 100, with a summary of earlier theories, to which add *ESLP*, 108, in which it is said to be post-Persian in date, and of uncertain origin.
81. *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 100.
82. *LÄ* VI, 732-3 and n. 69.
83. Recognized by Scharff in *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 43 and in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I, 623, although the sarcophagus board to which he compared it, and from which he derived the date, is of uncertain date.
84. E.g. see Bianchi, *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 97, 100 (ThT 279).
85. *ESLP*, 110 Addendum's suggestion of a possible link of the shawl and the folded undergarment with fifth century Cyprus is irrelevant in this connection; the postulated Persian origin can be completely discounted. Appearances of elements of this outfit on Cypriote statuary probably reflect Cypriote borrowing from Egypt in the sixth century, rather than the reverse. The most intense period of Egyptian-Cypriote contact was after Amasis' conquest of the island in the 560's (see Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Excavations*, IV.2, 466 ff). 33 certainly pre-dates this, showing that there were already established Egyptian models for this ensemble which could have passed into the Cypriote sphere.
86. *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 100.
87. E.g. Scharff, in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I, 623; von Känel, *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), 37-8.
88. *Das ptolemaische Ägypten*, 100.
89. Representations in the tomb of Petosiris are completely consistent with

- the Lower Egyptian ones in accoutrements - see Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. VIII, XII-XIII, XVI [signet], XXXVII [signets], L [signets].
90. E.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 27 b, 57, 61 (?), 67-8.
91. E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 36 (?), 96.
92. Staehelin, *LÄ* VI, 731.
93. E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, figs. 120 and 61 respectively.
94. Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, pl. 36; some appear to have a single garment, while others have a wrapped layer above the fringed one.
95. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XXXV top (= XXXVI right, with colour), XLVI top and middle (= XLIX bottom).
96. E.g. Harsiese = Toronto ROM number unknown (n. 1); Müller, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 26 (1975), figs. 17-19 (Montuemhat); Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 30, 51, 53, 62-3, 65; Assmann, *Basa*, pl. XXIX; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Anch-hor* I, plans 15, 20.
97. *ESLP*, 18, 28.
98. *ESLP*, 28, 101. Although its use in Dynasty 30 statuary may be an archaism, either depending on Dynasty 26 (as p. 101) or on the Old Kingdom (*contra* *ESLP*), continuing use on relief makes the issue of archaism phases within the Late Period irrelevant. For Old Kingdom forms of the wig, see Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 238-9.
99. Cf. *ESLP*, 100, where a projecting wig brow (on a different type of wig) is said to mark post-Saite statuary. The protrusion seems not to be temporally confined on these reliefs.
100. *ESLP*, 98, with examples in both early Dynasty 26 and Dynasty 30.
101. For an earlier example, see von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* II, pl. VI.
102. Cf. for the Old Kingdom, the well-known Cairo statues of Ka-aper and Ranofer; Wild, *Ti* II, pls. CX-CXI, CXIV, CXVIII, CXX-CXXIII; Middle Kingdom: Houlihan, *Birds*, fig. 102; New Kingdom: Martin, *Corpus* I, 37 [No. 92].
103. See Bothmer and De Meulenaere, *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, 11 n. 33, for this problem in statuary.
104. E.g. Cooney, *BMB* 15/2 (Winter 1954), 10-13; *ESLP*, 77.
105. See also Brooklyn 51.222 (Bothmer, *BMFA* 50/281 [1952], fig. 9) for a similar form, equally unclear as to what it represents.
106. E.g. Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 182 A; Cleveland 51.281 (= *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 39/3 [1952], cover ill.); Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten*, pl. 313 (Montuemhat); Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 14-15, 19, 31-2, 40; Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 181 [b3t] (ThT 279); Fazzini, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (1972), 64, fig. 34.
107. E.g. Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep* II, pls. VI, XVI; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrāwi* I, pl. XXIV; von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* I, pl. XX.
108. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 194-5, for the general type, which she does not precisely date; her time period runs from Dynasties 23-26, yet examples here date to Dynasty 30 or just afterward (next note).
109. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. XVI [= photo pl. XVIII], XXXVII, L.
110. Recognized by Scharff in Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie* I, 623.
111. Lefebvre, *Petosiris* III, pls. X, XIII, XVI below, XXXVII lower left.
112. E.g. De Meulenaere, *CdE* 39 (1964), 25-30.
113. Sandals seem to be rather more common in Late Period Theban tombs - e.g. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Ibi* I, pls. 18-19, 29, 38-9, 47, 49, 57; Smith, *AAAE* (1958), pl. 181 (ThT 279); Harsiese (nn. 1, 96).

ABBREVIATIONS

- BVBKAB *Bulletin van de vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving*
- ESLP Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*
- Lucas and Harris, AEMI Lucas and Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*
- Manniche, AEMI *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments*
- el-Sadeek, Gizeh el-Sadeek, *Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Necropolis at Gizeh*
- Smith, AAAE Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*

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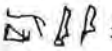
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