Treasures from Tell Basta: Goddesses, Officials, and Artists in an International Age

CHRISTINE LILYQUIST

Curator Emerita, Egyptian Art and Lila Acheson Wallace Curatorship in Egyptology The Metropolitan Museum of Art

"The Tell Basta Treasure" is the generally used designation for the gold and silver vessels and jewelry discovered in 1906 at Tell Basta, the ancient Bubastis, in the eastern section of the Egyptian Delta. . . . Aside from the intrinsic interest of the treasure, it has aroused considerable discussion among non-Egyptologists because of the possible Asiatic origin of some of the objects and among Egyptologists because of the general uncertainty which prevails as to the date of the treasure. Since the decorated patera from the find is a forerunner of the "Phoenician" paterae of a later date, the treasure has long been familiar to the classical archaeologist.

While a means not only for clarifying the date additions provide a means not only for clarifying the date and place of the treasure's manufacture, but also for better understanding the multicultural society in the eastern Delta at the end of the second and beginning of the first millennium B.C.—the Ramesside period in Egypt and the Levant.

In 1906 the Metropolitan Museum purchased objects from the first of two finds made that year at Tell Basta. In 1920 the Museum sent its fragmentary pieces to Paris for restoration, and in 1930 it received three additional Tell Basta items from the Theodore M. Davis Bequest (Figure 3

Metropolitan Museum Journal 47 © 2012 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York shows the major pieces, and see Appendix 1, where all of the Tell Basta objects are catalogued by type). Nora Scott published a photograph of most of the Museum's important pieces in 1944, but scholars obtained a better idea of the Tell Basta holdings in the Metropolitan Museum in 1959, when Simpson wrote his study of the decorated vessels in Cairo, Berlin, and New York and Curator William C. Hayes included the major objects in his handbook on the Museum's Egyptian collection.²

There were two finds at Tell Basta in 1906, the first on September 22 and the second on October 17. Scholars, including Simpson, combined the two groups for several reasons: The objects were reportedly from the same general location, displayed similar object types, decoration, and technology, and included 19th Dynasty inscriptions from the reigns of Ramesses II (1279–1213 B.C.) and the female pharaoh Tawosret (1188–1186 B.C.).³ (See the chronology, Figure 1.) Although acknowledging the presence of motifs of foreign origin or character—as on two silver pitchers with gold animal handles (which Simpson called Vessels A and B) that are inscribed for one Atumentaneb (Figures 5, 6, 39, 40)—scholars judged the published Tell Basta vessels to be Egyptian.⁴ The exception was Pierre Montet, followed by Hermann Ranke, who maintained that the vessels were Levantine.⁵

Scholars also tended to consider the Tell Basta treasure Ramesside in date (1295–1070 B.C.), although here, too, there were exceptions. Perhaps thinking of the animal handles on Atumemtaneb's jugs, Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss dated some items to Dynasty 26 (688–525 B.C.).⁶ Émile Vernier thought the more fragmentary pitcher of Atumemtaneb (Figure 6) was Ptolemaic (306–30 B.C.), and he provided no date at all for the famous "patera of Amy" (more properly called a carinated bowl; Figure 18).⁷

Simpson mainly discussed the Metropolitan's magnificent repoussé bowl (Figures 3, 43), but he also introduced a third jug of Atumentaneb in the Metropolitan (Vessel C)

CHRONOLOGY



1. Dates relevant to the study of the Tell Basta treasure

and referred to a gold jar in Berlin, two gold jars in Cairo, and Amy's bowl (Figures 3, 41, 7, 12, 13, 18). He argued, on the basis of inscriptions, that these decorated vessels were made late in Dynasty 19 and deposited in Tawosret's reign or a bit later. Interpreting the vessels as most likely a "ritual table service" donated by the people whose names appeared on them to the temple dedicated to the feline goddess Bastet that stood in the center of the city of Bubastis, he supported manufacture in Egypt, against Montet.⁸

In 1983, in a survey of the copper-alloy vessels from pharaonic Egypt, Ali Radwan referred to the Tell Basta vessels as belonging, for the most part, to a gold and silver wine service of late Dynasty 19.⁹ In 1982 and 2003 Kenneth Kitchen transcribed and translated the inscriptions on six of the vessels, maintaining Simpson's dating.¹⁰ In 1990–91 Jack Ogden focused on technical aspects of the exceptional pieces, assigning them all to the Ramesside period. General Egyptological sources have followed Simpson's dating, usually commenting on the group's "foreign" flavor. Scholars of an "international style" attributed to the Late Bronze Age (roughly 1600–1200/1000 B.C.) have referred to the treasure variously, opening avenues for further research.¹¹ Scholars of the first-millennium B.C. Levant and Near East have explored the interchange of motifs and style in more depth, particularly as they appear in later Phoenician bowls and Assyrian and North Syrian ivories.¹² In 2010 Dirk Wicke examined Egyptianizing Levantine work in the eleventh to tenth century B.C. by studying the Amy bowl and a gold and silver bowl from Tanis that has similar iconography and is dated 1040–992 B.C. (Figures 44, 46).

The present study began during the complete reinstallation of the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian collection between 1972 and 1983. During that project small, unpublished vessel fragments from Tell Basta were restored and drawings made of them.¹³ These fragments revealed themselves to be mainly parts of strainers. Once the major Metropolitan vessels were also drawn, it became obvious that the character of the Tell Basta treasure as a wine service should be investigated further.

In time, this study was expanded to include three related vessels that appeared on the art market about 1970, a small hoard found at Tell Basta in 1992, modern research at the site, and unpublished material in Cairo.¹⁴ By including all the material from the treasure as well as related finds, and by making use of the increased awareness of interconnections between neighboring cultures fostered by excavations in the Egyptian Delta and Nubia during the 1960s, I was able to bring the understanding of the Tell Basta treasure to a definitive point. Two decorated bowls from the treasure have been discovered; scrap material has revealed the treasure's character as a hoard; two vessel owners have been linked to standing monuments; and answers to questions of artistic origin, style, and chronology can be seen more clearly. This study will, in the end, be useful also to scholars working with ivories and metalwork of the first millennium B.C.

THE CONTENTS OF THE FINDS AT TELL BASTA

The First Find

The first of the finds at Tell Basta, near modern Zagazig in Lower Egypt (see the map, Figure 2), was made on September 22, 1906. It was announced by Gaston Maspero, directorgeneral of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, and described early the next year by C. C. Edgar, chief inspector of the Antiquities Service in the Egyptian Delta.¹⁵ Neither man was present when objects were lifted from the ground, but Edgar's account is more careful.¹⁶ He recalled how Tell Basta must have appeared to the Greek historian Herodotus, who in the fifth century B.C. described ancient houses and streets atop mounds overlooking a low area surrounded by the water of two-hundred-foot-wide canals. The large square red granite temple of Bastet stood there amid tall trees, enclosed in high walls adorned with sculptures. In 1903 workmen constructing a railway across the Nile Delta to connect the cities of Mansoura and Belbeis with Cairo had begun to remove the mounds, and in 1906 they made the first find of precious objects. According to Edgar, it was at a spot "west of the temple, 160 metres from the west corner of the ruins and 100 metres from the north-westerly of the two circular chambers in the Roman building . . . , not much higher than [the level] of the granite ruins." There, he said, "the tell was being demolished by the [Egyptian State] Railways workmen in a perpendicular section, in which one saw remains both of houses and of burials: as we afterward learned, the



2. Sites relating to the Tell Basta treasure. Map: Pamlyn Smith



3. Major gold and silver vessels in the Metropolitan Museum from the first find at Tell Basta. Left to right, back row: cats. 18 (Vessel C), 21, 31 (bottle of Meritptah), 32, 25, 9 (repoussé bowl); front row: cats. 40, 43, 33, 39, 26, 15, 24. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, cats. 15, 33, 43: Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915; all others: Rogers Fund, 1907. Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA



4. Lotiform goblet naming Tawosret from the first find (cat. 22). Gold, H. 3³/4 in. (9.4 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38708 and 39872, CG 53260, SR 1/6622). Photograph: Vernier 1927, pl. 104



5. Pitcher naming Atumemtaneb (Vessel A) from the first find (cat. 16). Silver with gold rim and handle, H. 65% in. (16.8 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38705 and 39867, CG 53262, SR 1/6609). Photograph: Scala/Art Resource, New York. See also Figure 39.

treasure must have been discovered in the low ground level with the railway at the foot of this perpendicular cutting."¹⁷

From that first find the Metropolitan Museum purchased, in Cairo, the major vessels shown in Figure 3 as well as miscellaneous fragments (cats. 10–14, 17d, 17e, 19, 20, 27–30, 41, 44–52, 56–67, 84). The collector and benefactor Theodore M. Davis also purchased objects from the treasure in 1906: a gold strainer, a gold cone from a bowl, and part of a silver vessel with gold trim. These eventually came to the Metropolitan Museum and are also shown in Figure 3.

From that same find the Egyptian Museum in Cairo purchased a gold lotiform goblet naming Tawosret and the two silver jugs inscribed for the "first royal cupbearer" (or "butler," *wb3 nsw tpy*) and "envoy to all foreign countries" (*wpwty nsw r h3st nbt*) Atumemtaneb (Figures 4–6).¹⁸ The pitchers were worked with chasing and repoussé and equipped with gold animal handles. The condition and exotic quality of the more complete of the two, which Simpson named Vessel A, immediately attracted the attention of scholars.

In 1910 the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin purchased, likewise in Cairo, parts of the fragmentary jug of Atumemtaneb (Simpson's Vessel B; Figure 6), a decorated gold jar, an electrum situla inscribed for Tawosret, an electrum strainer, and two fragmentary silver jars (Figures 7–10).



6. Pitcher naming Atumentaneb (Vessel B) from the first find (cat. 17). Silver with gold handle. Body and neck fragment (cat. 17a): H. 53/8 in. (13.5 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38720 and 39868, CG 53258, SR 1/6623). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 44. Aurochs handle (cat. 17b): H. 43/8 in. (11 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20106, now lost). Neck fragments with goat and lion and calf (lower left; cat. 17c): W. 23/8 and 13/8 in. (6 and 3.5 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20107a, b). Photograph: Christine Lilyquist. Body and neck fragments with goats, lion, and bovine (lower right; cat. 17d, e): H. of largest fragment 17/8 in. (4.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.228.219-22, 242). Photograph: William Barrette. See also Figure 40.



8. Strainer and situla inscribed for Tawosret from the first find (cats. 55, 23). Electrum; strainer: H. $2^{5/8}$ in. (6.8 cm), W. $4^{1/4}$ in. (10.8 cm); situla: H. $5^{1/8}$ in. (13 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20104, 19736; situla now lost). On the situla, the ruler's throne names appear in cartouches topped with ostrich feathers and a disk. Olive leaves encircle the vessel's rim and blue lotus sepals enclose the base.



7. Jar from the first find (cat. 38). Gold, H. 3¼ in. (8.4 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 21134, now lost)



9. Jar from the first find (cat. 36). Silver, original H. 4³/₈ in. (11 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20105). Photograph: Frank Marohn, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung



10. Jar from the first find (cat. 37). Silver with gold rim, H. 3 in. (7.5 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20108). Photograph: Christine Lilyquist

The Second Find

After the find of September 22 Edgar worked with his own staff to clear some "peculiar buildings of Roman date close to the north-west end of the temple between the two temporary lines of the Railways . . . on practically the same level as the temple itself, which shows that that they must have lain within the precincts." Here, at a slightly higher level than the area where he understood the first group was found, in ground that had no traces of buildings though "still very high . . . , even the highest layer was pre-Roman," Edgar found a few pieces of jewelry and silver that he judged unrelated to the first find.¹⁹

On October 17 the railway's crew discovered a second major group that was at least equal in richness to the first. Edgar wrote that it was "in the level ground near the base of the perpendicular cutting It lay in one heap, just below the surface of the ground; the lesser silver objects were at the top; the gold was found below, amid the silver bowls. . . . The spot where the second treasure lay was quite close to the place where the first is supposed to have been found. But the two hoards must have been at least several metres distant from each other, for at the time when the first was discovered the mound under which the second lay buried had not yet been cut away. The first treasure must have lain a little nearer to the temple."20 Like the spot where Edgar found a few objects he considered unrelated, this second location was quite empty. Except for the hoard, he wrote, it was "remarkably bare of antiquities," and without walls or rooms. It yielded very little pottery, only a fragment of painted New Kingdom ware and an industrial item commonly referred to as a firedog (Appendix 1, cat. 86).²¹ Beneath this second major find were traces of burning and nearby were a limestone block and a smaller stone with a fragmentary inscription.

11. Tell Basta in the early 1900s. Note the railcar right of center. Photograph: Archives of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (P 64710)



In 1957 Labib Habachi placed the location of both hoards south of the k3-temple of Pepi I (2289–2255 B.C.), and he also published blocks from a small chapel of Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.) south of Pepi's temple. No photographs document this discovery, although whatever the location of the finds, it was not necessarily the place where the objects were originally used at Tell Basta. The most that can be said today is that in 1906 the site may have looked like a photograph taken early in the twentieth century (Figure 11) that was preserved among the papers of the Egyptologist Georg Steindorff.²² Some impression of the circumstances of the second find may also be gleaned from a hoard discovered at Tell Basta in 1992. Found within the enclosure wall of the goddess Bastet's temple, ten feet underground, were a large pottery storage amphora and two travertine jars filled with items of adornment, namely, figurines, amulets, and pieces of gold and stone jewelry. These objects have been dated from the early New Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period.23

The second Tell Basta find of 1906 provided much more information than the first. It contained a greater number of objects, most of them unknown until now. An Antiquities Service official was present at the discovery. All of the objects went to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where the most notable were published, albeit minimally, by Edgar and Vernier.

Precious Objects of the Second Find

At the bottom of the intact group were two fine gold jars, two magnificent lapis-inlaid gold bracelets inscribed for Ramesses II, two pairs of gold ear studs, and gold and carnelian beads that may have been used with a clasp (Figures 12-17).²⁴ The gold jars, each with a ring handle, are beautifully chased, the smaller one with a cat, swags, and floral bands, the larger with floral bands, a lozenge pattern, and, on the base, a lotus. The lapis bracelets are representative of Ramesside jewelry,25 although the ducks with backward-turned heads, the use of a large stone bezel, and the elaborate gold decoration originated in the Near East. Ear studs were likewise a borrowed form, but examples with rosettes were common in Egypt by the time of Ramesses II.²⁶ The Tell Basta studs are very like the bosses on gold earrings inscribed for Seti II (1200-1194 B.C.) that were found in the tomb of his wife and successor, Tawosret, at Thebes (KV 56, the "Gold Tomb").27 The minute gold granulated beads and gold and carnelian pendants in the Tell Basta find, termed "lotus seed vessels" by Alix Wilkinson, occur in Dynasties 18 and 19 and were popular at Palestinian sites. ²⁸ There is no known parallel for the long gold clasp in this second Tell Basta hoard, but gold bar fittings pierced with holes were found in the tomb of Tawosret.²⁹ All of this intact gold jewelry is of royal workmanship; perhaps it was given to the temple treasury by a king or an official.





13. Three views of a small jar from the second find (cat. 34). Gold with faience inlay on the ring handle, H. 3 in. (7.6 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38707 and 39871, CG 53259, SR 1/6621). Photographs: Edgar 1907b, pl. 46

12. Large jar from the second find (cat. 35). Gold, H. 4³/₈ in. (11.2 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38706 and 39870, CG 53261, SR 1/6624). Photograph: Scala/Art Resource, New York; Alfredo Dagli Orti/ The Art Archive at Art Resource, New York



14. Bracelets inscribed for Ramesses II from the second find (cat. 68). Gold inlaid with lapis lazuli, greatest H. 2¾ in. (5.9 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38710 and 39873, CG 52575–76, SR 1/6620). Photograph: Egypt Memory



15. Ear stud from the second find (cat. 70, see also cat. 69). Gold, Diam. 1³/₄ in. (4.5 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38712(a)–(b) and 39878(a), (b), CG 52327–28, SR 1/6615–16]. Photograph: Ahmed Amin, Egyptian Museum, Cairo



16. Gold beads and carnelian pendants from the second find (cat. 71). Greatest W. as strung 141% in. (36 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38713 and 39875, CG 53184, SR 1/6611). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 52



17. Clasp from the second find (cat. 72). Gold, H. 3¼ in. (8.4 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39876, CG 53182, SR 1/6610). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 53

18. Bowl inscribed for Amy with omega handle and cone over the omphalos from the second find (cat. 1).
Silver with gold rim, handle, and cone; Diam. 6 in.
(15.3 cm), Diam. of cone
1½ in. (3.8 cm). Egyptian
Museum, Cairo (JE 38709 and 39869, CG 53263, SR 1/6619). Photograph:
Edgar 1907b, pl. 48. See also Figure 44.



Mixed in with the gold items, at the bottom of the deposit, were silver vessels that included the shallow bowl of Amy with swamp and desert scenes (Figure 18). Ogden has noted technical similarities between the gold cone in the center of this bowl and the granulation of the lapis and gold bracelets (Figure 14). He advocated a Ramesside date for the granulation, the guilloche decoration, and the beaded gold tubing on Tell Basta treasure items.³⁰

20. Bowl with cloth impressions from the second find (cat. 7). Silver, Diam. 9½ in. (24 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.6, SR 1/6702). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



19. The three silver bowls shown in Figures 20–22 as they were discovered at Tell Basta in 1906. Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 47





21. Bowl with herringbone omega handle from the second find (cat. 2). Silver with gold rim, Diam. 67/-71/6 in. (17.5–18.2 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.1, SR 1/6697). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



22. Base and rim of swimmers bowl from the second find (cat. 3). Silver with gold rim; Diam. of base $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.9 cm), Diam. of rim $6\frac{3}{6} - 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. (16.1–17.2 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.2, SR 1/6698). Photographs: Ahmed Amin. See also Figure 47.

Seven other silver bowls were found with Amy's bowl, but only three of them—corroded and stacked—were photographed by Edgar in 1906 (Figure 19). When the three were cleaned in the 1970s, they were revealed to be a plain, undecorated bowl with a recessed base; a bowl with a constricted neck, carinated shoulder, and herringbone handle; and a similarly shaped bowl with a plain handle and a base decorated with swimmers and a conical omphalos (Figures 20–22). The plain bowl (on the bottom of the stack in Edgar's photograph) has traces of cloth on the inside and impressions of cloth on the outside, signs that it was wrapped in linen when it was deposited.

The remaining four silver bowls at the bottom of the second hoard were "of minor interest except for the specialist," according to Edgar. Edgar clearly saw very little of these vessels, however, owing to corrosion that was rectified through conservation only in the 1970s. Presented here for the first time thanks to the cooperation of Egyptian colleagues, these objects are a plain bowl with a recessed base, a striated handle, and an omphalos (Figure 23); a similar bowl missing its base (Figure 24); the recessed base of a bowl with a magnificent gold cone covering the omphalos (Figure 25); and a stunning decorated bowl inscribed for the official Ameneminet (Figure 26).³¹ Three strainers may also have been included in this lower group (Figure 27). The shapes and the quality of all these vessels indicate that they were most likely part of a temple treasury and were used in drinking celebrations.32



23. Bowl with striated omega handle from the second find (cat. 5). Silver with gold handle, Diam. 6¹/₄ in. (16 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.4, SR1/6700). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



24. Bowl with plain omega handle from the second find (cat. 6). Silver with gold handle, Diam. 61/a in. (15.5 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.5, SR 1/6701). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



25. Base of corroded bowl with a cone over the omphalos from the second find (cat. 4). Silver with gold cone, W. 5% in. (15 cm), Diam. of cone ca. 15% in. (4 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.3, SR1/6699). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



26. Bowl naming Ameneminet with repoussé friezes and a cone over the omphalos from the second find (cat. 8). Silver with gold rim, cone, and spheres; Diam. 7¹/₂ in. (19 cm), Diam. of cone 1³/₆ in. (3.6 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.10, SR 1/7789). Photograph: Ahmed Amin. See also Figures 42, 90.



27. Strainers from the second find. Silver; top (cat. 53): Diam. $4\frac{3}{6}$ in. (11 cm), bottom left (cat. 54): L. of handle $2\frac{3}{6}$ in. (6.1 cm), bottom right (cat. 42): $4 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (10 x 12 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6694; JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6695; JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6693). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 49



28. Bangle from the second find (cat. 74). Silver. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39881[i]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



29. Finger rings from the second find (cat. 75). Silver, Diam. ¹/₂-1¹/₈ in. (1.2-2.9 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (clockwise from left JE 39882[ap], [as], [aq], [ao), [ar]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



30. Stirrup ring with a lion from the second find (cat. 75). Silver. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39882[c]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

31. Stirrup ring with goats from the second find (cat. 75). Silver. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39882[a]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



32. Earrings from the second find (cat. 77). Silver. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (top: JE 39882[z], [ac]; bottom: JE 39882[x], [aj]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



33. Silver pendants, earrings, and toggle pins from the second find (cat. 78). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39882[av], SR 1/7786). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

34. Silver scrap from the second find (cat. 78). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39882[au], SR 1/7785). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

dated by Vernier to the Ptolemaic period (306–30 B.C.) and by Maspero even later. Edgar, Montet, and Ogden, however, found second-millennium B.C. parallels for them, as well as for other Tell Basta forms, in Cyprus and the Levant. Further parallels may now be cited, among them the bangles found on the Late Bronze Age merchant ship that sank off the Turkish coast at Uluburun in about 1300 B.C.³⁵ Although such bangles could have been used as currency, gold

Poor-Quality Silver Objects of the Second Find

What Edgar called the "lesser silver objects" at the top of the second find—above the gold jewelry and silver vessels—were silver jewelry of strongly Near Eastern character, parts of strainers and bowls, and scrap that suggests a metal-smith's hoard. Vernier catalogued nineteen fairly complete bangles, not in pairs; twenty-six crude finger rings; an assortment of earrings, worn and without mates; and fragments of jewelry and miscellaneous scrap (Figures 28–34).³³ His description of the fragments was brief; they can now be recognized as parts of bowls with gold papyrus fittings and pieces of toggle pins, wire, a gold-covered wedjat eye, worked scrap, and dotted pendants. Missing from Vernier's publications and only slightly mentioned by Edgar were bar ingots and folded ingots, some inscribed or decorated (Figures 35–37).³⁴

The bangles (see Figure 28), which have incised crosshatching at the ends, sometimes with V-shaped lines, were

examples that were clearly arm ornaments were found at Tell el-Ajjul, just south of Gaza.³⁶ The finger rings (see Figure 29) generally have Egyptian motifs: papyrus umbels framing a wedjat eye, tilapia, a mask of the goddess Hathor, the protector god Bes, or a uraeus. Neither the material nor the crudeness of the rings is traditional in Egyptian adornment, however. Two signet rings have eastern Mediterranean-Near Eastern motifs: on one (Figure 30) a dotted rosette and a striding lion with an open mouth and a hatched body and on the other (Figure 31) two facing caprids, or goats (with tethers?), with a schematic rosette above each and at least four dots below.³⁷ Two additional signet rings (cat. 75[b], [k]) have minimal designs but are shaped much like examples found at Syrian Ugarit.³⁸ As for the earrings (see Figure 32), they exhibit Near Eastern and Aegean shapesboat, penannular, and drop-also current in Egypt during the Ramesside period.³⁹ The silver scrap jewelry (Figures 33, 34) likewise has Levantine or Cypriot parallels. The toggle pins are Near Eastern, and the two disk pendants with repoussé dots and incised rays, four on the larger and eight on the smaller, are Palestinian.⁴⁰

The industrial ingots among the scrap items (Figures 35, 36) were surely the property of a metalsmith. It is doubtful that all of the decorated and inscribed sheet silver ingots (Figure 37) originated as vessels, given the large scale of the writing and decoration on several of them. The inscriptions are particularly important; Kitchen has been able to read the effaced name of Ramesses II twice and that of his son Merenptah once.⁴¹

A date in the Ramesside period for manufacture of the poor-quality silver jewelry is supported by the types of the strainers found with it (Figure 27) and will be affirmed in the discussion of the decorated vessels below. The date of deposition of the second find, then, can be placed in or later than the reign of Merenptah (1213–1203 B.C.).

The Second Find as a Hoard with Near Eastern Connections Edgar wrote that the silver jewelry and scrap were "the contents of a silversmith's workshop," and indeed, the ingots, scrap, and unmatched jewelry parts point toward such an identification.⁴² Heterogeneous groups of metal-usually silver-are known from many sites in the Near East, however, and have been interpreted variously as temple workshop contents, currency, and treasury objects.43 In Egypt, the early el-Tod treasure, buried carefully in a Middle Kingdom temple as a dedication, might plausibly be identified as currency or booty.44 The second Tell Basta find, however, containing valuable whole objects as well as miscellaneous scrap, has a more haphazard aspect.⁴⁵ T. G. H. James suggested that much of Egypt's silver—which is not native to the country—came there as scrap.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, to judge by the quality, at least the inscribed and decorated ingots at



35. Large silver ingots from the second find. Top (cat. 79): L. 5½ in. (14 cm); lower left (cat. 80): L. 2¾ in. (7 cm); lower right (cat. 75). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39883[a], [b], JE 39882[a]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



36. Small silver sheet ingots from the second find (cat. 83). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.9, SR 1/6705). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



37. Large decorated and inscribed silver sheet ingots from the second find (cat. 83). The fragment in the bottom photograph at top right names Merenptah; the two bottom fragments name Ramesses II. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.9, SR 1/6705). Photographs: Ahmed Amin



Tell Basta were worked in Egypt.⁴⁷ While the poor-quality jewelry items could in theory have been made as temple votives like faience pieces of jewelry that elsewhere were dedicated in shrines for Hathor, I suggest that they were made for local residents.⁴⁸ In that case, both the owners and artisans of the rough silver pieces would have been of Levantine origin. Similar types of scrap were found within a hoard at Tell el-Amarna in a private area of the city (in other words, not in a temple area).⁴⁹ Amarna had a mixed population in about 1370 B.C., and in the Ramesside period, the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C., the eastern Delta culture would have had an even greater degree of population diversity.⁵⁰ The Amarna and Tell Basta hoards have parallels in bags of silver scrap found at Megiddo in modern-day Israel and dated to the early part of the Iron Age, that is, starting somewhere between 1200 and 1000 B.C.⁵¹

Comparison of the Two Tell Basta Finds

It is possible that the character of the first Tell Basta find was similar to that of the second, discovered a month later "at least several meters" distant from it. The first find may also have included scrap jewelry, based on a report from Theodore M. Davis. After seeing alleged Tell Basta finds at a dealer's in Cairo late in 1906, Davis wrote to Albert Lythgoe, curator at the Metropolitan Museum, that "the gold and silver things are pitchers, vases, and bracelets."52 The two finds also had differences, however. They both contained similar vessels (decorated bowls, cones, jars, and strainers), but the first included additional vessel shapes (jug, goblet, situla, bottle, flask). It also lacked finished gold jewelry, and its objects had inscriptions naming Tawosret rather than Ramesses II and Merenptah. Most importantly, it included the flask naming Meritptah, a "singer" (or "chantress," šm^cyt) of Bastet (Figures 3, 48). This woman can now be identified with a "singer of Bastet Meritptah" in the thirteenthcentury B.C. Saqqara tomb of her husband, Ameneminet. Several monuments have survived for that Ameneminet, enough to be able to connect him to the Tell Basta bowl from the second find that bears his name (Figure 26). Thus it is now sure that the two Tell Basta finds are linked, and that the major objects did not come from a tomb.

At the same time, while it will be demonstrated that the contents of both finds are essentially Ramesside in manufacture, the first group—which became available through dealers—had objects that are post-Ramesside, one of them with parallels in late Roman or Byzantine times. These later objects are presented in Appendix 2. Whether they crept in from a dealer's stock or indicate a later history for the first find is unknown. Edgar stated that the second find was "twenty or more metres below the Roman stratum," and he reckoned that the first find had been at the same depth, thereby concluding that all objects were Ramesside.

DECORATED VESSELS FROM TELL BASTA

The decorated vessels are the most notable objects in the Tell Basta treasure. Made of silver and gold, they are worked with chasing and repoussé, have decoration and inscriptions, and display a variety of forms. Even copper-alloy vessels with figural scenes prior to the Late Period are rare: Radwan collected only two decorated bowls and three stands among the vessels of two and a half millennia he surveyed.⁵³ Few precious metal vessels have survived at all, even undecorated.⁵⁴ The major group is from the royal tombs at Tanis dating to Dynasty 21 (1070-945 B.C.), and only one example from there (Figure 46) is decorated with scenes.⁵⁵ Thus, the Tell Basta vessels in their context can tell a good deal about function and artistic style at the end of the Late Bronze Age, in the thirteenth to twelfth century B.C. Drawings of the decorated vessels from Tell Basta are shown on the same scale in Appendix 3.

Vessels for Wine Service

The first question to explore is function: how were these vessels used? Hayes, Simpson, and Radwan understood them to be appropriate for serving and drinking wine. Indeed, as Appendixes 1 and 2 demonstrate, virtually all the vessel shapes in the Tell Basta treasure match those used for wine service as it is depicted in tombs and temples. There are jugs for pouring, jars and a flask for mixing, many strainers for removing sediment, bowls for receiving and drinking, and situlae and a goblet for drinking.⁵⁶

Wine services do not have a long history in Egypt. The first complete set was found in the 18th Dynasty Theban tomb of Kha,⁵⁷ although earlier metal stands and an omphalos bowl from Aniba, Nubia, were also likely used for wine.⁵⁸ The Aniba stands are a highly unusual form that has a parallel in the tomb of Kha.⁵⁹ While the Kha stand has simple geometric cutouts, one of the Aniba stands shows a banqueting scene where drink is served, and the other (Figure 38) has flying ducks, papyrus, and grooms leading horses—iconography similar to that on the Tell Basta vessels.⁶⁰

New Kingdom wine jugs, situlae, strainers, and bowls especially from Ramesside times—have been found throughout the Nile Valley, although not often as complete sets. Beyond Egypt's borders, several of the shapes have been found in Cyprus,⁶¹ but most examples come from the Levant, a wine-growing area in antiquity. Vessels found in the southern part of the region have been catalogued by Lilly Gershuny.⁶² She considers them Egyptian in origin, even if some were made locally. She catalogues twelve sets from tombs and two from a hoard. She has not, however, dealt with the silver sets in Middle Bronze Age tombs at Byblos, and generally her sets date to the Late Bronze Age rather than the subsequent Iron Age, beginning sometime after 1200 B.C., when there are more examples.⁶³ Most importantly, she did not take into account the mixed population in New Kingdom Egypt. At the very least, it can be stated that Mediterranean immigrants in Egypt made and drank wine, and that wine was an important part of elite society in the Ramesside period.⁶⁴

Egyptians used wine from earliest times.⁶⁵ It was thought to encourage creative and rejuvenating powers, and it was offered, along with food, to deities in temples.⁶⁶ But by the New Kingdom wine had an even greater role, namely in communal celebrations, several of which occurred in sequence at Thebes. Late in the year came the Feast of the Valley, where kings and the populace gathered at temples on the east bank of the Nile before crossing to the west for communing with the dead, thereby reaffirming continuity within the universe. Next came the Opening of the Year in the month of Thoth or creativity (celebrated throughout Egypt). This coincided with the beginning of the season of Inundation. It was followed by the Festival of Drunkenness, a feast celebrating the myth of the Distant Goddess. Finally came the Opet Festival associated with the flooding of the land.

Recently a "porch of drunkenness" was discovered by Betsy Bryan in the Mut temple at Luxor that showed that a festival of drunkenness occurred there as early as the reign of Hatshepsut (1473-1458 B.C.).⁶⁷ The goddess Mut was associated with Sekhmet, a goddess of pestilence; both goddesses could, however, use their ferocity to protect people. Lakes were built in temple precincts as watering holes to tempt leonine goddesses to come in from the desert, but beer and wine, too, could provide temptation. In the myth of the Destruction of Mankind, which became part of the myth of the Distant Goddess, the feline deity destroys mankind until she is tricked into drinking beer colored red like blood. Red was the color of wine as well as the first waters of inundation, and thus fertility was part of the rituals with leonine goddesses. Bryan suggests that at the Mut temple, intoxicating drink and sexual activity helped partakers experience the divinity of the goddess. Such a festival could also have occurred for the feline goddess Bastet at Tell Basta, for a statue found there was made for a priest of Sekhmet "in all her names." It relates that Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.) visited the city for a festival of Bastet.68

Angela Milward Jones interpreted faience bowls of the Ramesside period (1295–1070 B.C.) decorated with erotic imagery as wine cups that reflect "the popular rites and celebrations connected with the flood . . . , a renewal of nature" at the time of the Feast of the Valley and the New Year.⁶⁹ These small bowls share some iconography with the Tell Basta vessels, and it is reasonable to suggest that fertility celebrations at Bubastis featured wine. The goddess Bastet was connected not only to the feline Sekhmet/Mut, but to Hathor, the eye of the sun god Re and inhabitant of the marshes where life began.⁷⁰





A stone wine jar inscribed for "Osorkon," the name used by four Third Intermediate Period kings between the tenth and the eighth century B.C., has been connected by Ludwig Morenz to a festival at Tell Basta.⁷¹ The jar was found in a Phoenician tomb in Spain and is inscribed with a toast that, like the inscriptions on the jugs of Atumemtaneb from Tell Basta, mentions the king's ka (k3). And several scholars have interpreted the iconography on the famous silver bowl from Agios Georgios (Golgoi), Cyprus, as a Phoenician reference to a drinking festival at Bubastis similar to, or the same as, the event Herodotus witnessed in the fifth century B.C.⁷²

Some evidence ties the greater use of wine in Egyptian culture to contact with the Levant and immigrants from that region. Egyptian vineyards were located principally in the Delta, the point of common entry for Western Asiatics immigrating from the eastern Mediterranean. A mid-secondmillennium B.C. Egyptian text mentions a vineyard at the Delta Hyksos capital Tell ed-Daba, and remains of a winepress have been excavated there in strata of the late Hyksos period to early Dynasty 18 (ca. 1600 B.C.).73 Leonard Lesko mentions the inclusion of immigrants in the wine-making industry in Egypt during the New Kingdom, and Dynasty 18 tomb representations show foreigners making wine as well as receiving wine to drink.74 An 18th Dynasty wine flask and its accompanying openwork stand decorated with caprids facing composite plants ("sacred trees") name their owner as "the Asiatic [one]."75

Beverage strainers are known from Sumerian times, and pottery strainers have been identified in earlier secondmillennium B.C. shapes of the Middle Bronze Age Levant.⁷⁶ In contrast, the straw and strainer are not found in Egypt until the New Kingdom (equivalent to the Late Bronze Age, or the late second millennium B.C.), and the Egyptian words for strainer appear only then.⁷⁷ Wine and other drinks were being used for feasting in the Near East,⁷⁸ and as Annie Caubet points out, communal celebrations with drink were both important and prevalent at Late Bronze Age Ugarit (1300–1150 B.C.).⁷⁹ 38. Three details of an openwork stand from Aniba. Dynasty 18, ca. 1430 B.C. Metal, H. of stand 6¹/₂ in. (16.5 cm). Ägyptisches Museum – Georg Steindorff – der Universität Leipzig (4804). Photographs: Christine Lilyquist

Vessels A, B, and C Naming Atumemtaneb

It is likely that the pitchers or jugs dedicated to the royal butler or cupbearer and royal envoy to all foreign countries Atumemtaneb were used to pour wine in celebration of, or devotion to, an Asiatic goddess and that with their use Atumemtaneb's spirit was blessed. James Allen has noted that the "butler/cupbearer" determinative (the sign indicating a word's particular meaning) on Atumemtaneb's inscriptions is a jug rather than the usual beer jar, perhaps a reference to the vessels on which the inscriptions occur.⁸⁰

On the body of both Vessels A and B is a votive scene flanked by bands of inscription. On jug A (Figure 39), Atumemtaneb appears with a shaved head and a pleated linen dress, and his hands are raised with reverence toward a goddess.⁸¹ The goddess wears a plain hemmed sheath and a broad collar. Her headgear appears to be a crown like that worn by the Egyptian goddess Neith (without projection), but with three hair tufts springing from the top.⁸² She holds an ankh sign and, uniquely, a papyrus staff with a bird perched on top of its umbel. A small lettuce plant, signifying

39. Pitcher A naming Atumemtaneb (cat. 16), with a detail of the scene showing Atumentaneb adoring a Canaanite goddess (on the bowl opposite the handle) and a detail and drawing of the frieze on the neck. Silver with gold rim and handle, H. 65% in. (16.8 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38705 and 39867, CG 53262, SR 1/6609). Photographs: overall, see Figure 5; William Barrette (scene detail, from a reproduction in the MMA); Bernard Bothmer (neck detail). Drawing: Desroches-Noblecourt 1976, pp. 292-93.





fertility, and an offering table with a lotus-draped ewer stand between her and the official.

On Vessel B (Figure 40) Atumentaneb is shown raising one hand in adoration and with the other extending a fan toward a goddess. This gesture of reverence is known elsewhere in the Ramesside period. It is normally given to the king but can be offered to a deity as well. The flabellum signals Atumentaneb's title "fanbearer" (t3y-hw/t'y-hw); the title "royal fanbearer" was used for officials having responsibilities outside Egypt.⁸³ The representation of Atumentaneb is more detailed on Vessel B than on Vessel A: he wears a broad collar, a quite elaborate pleated linen dress, and sandals. The representation of the goddess is also more detailed. She wears the uraeus, headdress, armlets, bracelets, and ribbons befitting a queen or goddess, but her crown and her hair bunches are hatched, and locks fall below her crown. She carries a spear, and, like Neith, a shield.

The hairstyles indicate immediately that the goddesses on both Vessels A and B are not Egyptian. The shield and spear could belong to either Anat or Astarte, Canaanite war goddesses popular in Ramesside Egypt who could also be protectors. No clue comes from the small bird on the papyrus scepter of Vessel A. Frustratingly, the personae of Anat and Astarte overlap in both Ugaritic and Egyptian texts. Izak Cornelius, who has studied these and related Canaanite goddesses, explains the difficulties of identifying one deity over the other in the Levant as well as ancient Egypt.⁸⁴ He declines to identify the goddesses on the Tell Basta jugs.⁸⁵

Atumemtaneb's Vessel C (Figure 41) lacks a worship scene, and the inscription encircling the neck of the jug is fragmentary. Nevertheless, the inscription must have been similar to those on the necks of Vessels A and B. The vessel was put together from pieces, and its restoration is unsure. The largest fragment of the neck, attached to the handle, is sure. The smaller fragment with an inscription, however, would not have been placed as closely as Simpson showed it and Kitchen translated it. The goat on it should probably face a second goat, not a group of horses against tall papyri.

Kitchen has published the following translations of the text flanking the scenes on Vessels A and B and on the two fragments of Vessel C:⁸⁶









40. Pitcher B naming Atumemtaneb (cat. 17), with a detail of the scene showing Atumemtaneb adoring a Canaanite goddess (on the bowl opposite the handle) and drawings of the three neck fragments in the Metropolitan (above). Silver with gold handle. Body and neck fragment (cat. 17a): H. 5¾ in. (13.5 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38720 and 39868, CG 53258, SR 1/6623). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 44. Aurochs handle (cat. 17b): H. 4¾ in. (11 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20106, now lost). Two neck fragments with goat and lion and calf and two with goats (cat. 17c): W. 2¾ and 1¾ in. (6 and 3.5 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin (ÄM 20107a, b). Photograph: Christine Lilyquist. Three neck fragments, one with lion and bovine and two with goats (cat. 17d): H. of largest fragment 17⁄8 in. (4.9 cm). Body fragments with heart pattern and upper part of scene (cat. 17e): H. 1¼ in. (2.9 cm), W. 1¾ in. (4.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.228.219–222, 242). Photograph: William Barrette. See also Figure 6.



41. Two views of Vessel C naming Atumentaneb (cat. 18). Silver; H. without handle 6¹/₄ in. (15.9 cm), Diam. of body 5¹/₈ in. (12.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.228.187). Photographs: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA. Drawings: William Schenck. The drawing in the upper right with horses renders a large fragment on the neck that is attached to the handle. The drawing to the left of it reveals a fragment now attached to the jug but probably not in the correct location. The drawings of two fragments below it have similar quality, and the hatching of the animals on all four sections has some consistency, but there are too many discrepancies in the three smallest fragments to place them conclusively on this vessel. They are presented here for convenience. The smallest fragment originated on a vessel at the point where the neck and body met.

Vessel A

band to the left of the official: "(For) your spirit and your countenance, with life and prosperity! May you achieve a million years! (Life and prosperity) for the spirit of the Royal Cupbearer, Atum(em)taneb, justified in peace."

to the right of the goddess: "(For) your spirit and your countenance, with life and happiness. May <you> achieve everlasting in life and prosperity! for the spirit of the Royal Cupbearer, Atumentaneb, justified."

Vessel B

band to the right of the goddess: "Life (to) your spirit, and your countenance, with life and prosperity! May you achieve the million of year[s]! [for the spirit of the] First [Royal] Cupbearer of the Lord of Both Lands, Atumemtaneb, justified."

band to the left of the official: "For the spirit of the uniquely excellent one, [truly] reliable [of disposition . . .]; Royal Envoy to all foreign countries, who pleases his lord, [Atumentaneb]."

upper inscription within the panel: "Royal Cupbearer."

lower inscription within the panel: "[of the foreign land of] Ary."

Vessel C

fragment with a goat: "...(?) you]rs, namely life and happine[ss(?)..."

area with horses attached to the handle: "... your deed; for the spirit of the uniquely excellent (one), truly reliable of disposition, Royal Butler, pure of hands, Atumemtaneb, justified."

The ka to which all of Atumemtaneb's inscriptions refer is the life force the ancient Egyptians believed exists in every human being from birth. Other "ka vessels" are known: a calcite lotiform drinking goblet from the tomb of Tutankhamun, two drinking cups in an early 18th Dynasty temple inventory, three flat bowls with handles from other sites, and a situla with a handle.⁸⁷ These, as well as other inscribed vessels without the *n k3 n* phrase, were used for drink that could bring vitality, strength, and prosperity.⁸⁸ A scene in the tomb of the 18th Dynasty official Rekhmire at Thebes shows a servant pouring wine for guests at a funerary banquet and saying, "To thy ka, have a nice day."

The friezes on the necks of Vessels A and B can be expected to support the meaning of the texts on the bowls. In the lower register of Vessel A (see Figure 39) Nilotic scenes symbolize the verdant life that brings sustenance to the owner of the vessel. Egyptians believed that life began in primeval marshes, and such subject matter appears on vessels for temples and tombs throughout history (see also the discussion in Appendix 4c).⁸⁹ At the same time, what could have been a conventional Egyptian desert scene in the upper register is a medley of images: an Aegean-style griffin and wild animals in combat are interspersed with Near Eastern composite plants and rosettes having cosmic significance. Fantastic animals do appear on Predynastic Egyptian slate palettes, Middle Kingdom magic knives, and steatite kohl pots of early Dynasty 18.90 The style and iconography of Vessel A's friezes are Near Eastern and Aegean, however, and they must have mythological meaning. Some of this iconography appears on a gold bowl from Ugarit, where vegetation, rosettes, a bull, a lion, and heroes refer to the superhuman world.91

The theriomorphic handles on the three Tell Basta jugs (Figures 39–41) probably also contribute to the vessels' meaning. On all three the rim is grasped by an animal's mouth.⁹² The ruff on the feline indicates that it is a female; the goat and the aurochs are male.⁹³ According to Marjan Mashkour, the goat's nose ring indicates that it is domesticated.⁹⁴ Vessel B adds horses to marsh iconography; Vessel C adds a stag. In general, one may posit that all these scenes refer to fertility and the balance of nature that supports life. In addition, the bases of Vessels A and B both have a lotus, a symbol of rebirth.

Bowl Naming Ameneminet

The inscriptions and decoration on the bowl of Ameneminet (Figure 42), "royal scribe of correspondence of the Lord of the Two Lands," also reveal something about the vessel's function. The bowl is published here for the first time.⁹⁵ Ameneminet's name, "Amun in the Valley," is a reference to Thebes, the center for worship of the god Amun. Kitchen translates the inscriptions on the bottom of the bowl as:⁹⁶

reading right to left: "Long live your spirit, and your countenance, with life and prosperity! May you see Him who presides in Hesret, you being kept safe with [or in] a good lifespan . . . joy; for the spirit of the Royal Scribe Amenemone [Ameneminet], justified "

reading left to right: "Long live your spirit, and your countenance, may you be drunk every day, (and) may you see the Lords of Thebes; for the spirit of the unique(ly) excellent one, beneficial for his lord, the Royal Scribe of Correspondence of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amenemone, justified . . . "

This inscription is also of the ka type, here beginning from an ankh sign rather than an adoration scene. Hesret is Hermopolis in Middle Egypt, home of the titular deity Thoth,



42a. Repoussé bowl naming Ameneminet (cat. 8). Silver with gold rim, cone, and spheres; Diam. 71/2 in. (19 cm), Diam. of cone 1³/₈ in. (3.6 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.10, SR 1/7789). For a montage of photographs and a rollout drawing of the wall and base, as well as drawings of some unplaced framents (lower left), see overleaf. For the cone, see Figure 90, middle right. Photographs: Ahmed Amin. Drawings: William Schenck. See also Figure 26.

god of writing. Thebes is mentioned no doubt because Ameneminet held a position there. The inscription is noteworthy for its wish that the owner be drunk every day.

The bowl is large, about 7½ inches in diameter. It has chased and repoussé decoration on the interior of the wall and formerly had an omphalos covered by a gold cone in the center of a recessed base. Here the scheme of Vessel A's friezes is reversed (see drawing overleaf): the upper register is composed of marsh and agricultural scenes, while the lower register (now very fragmentary) shows desert animals and at least five elaborate composite plants. Some of the upper scenes are notable, if not unique, and will be described in more detail in the discussion of style below. The large recumbent bovine with horns may be Hathor. In New Kingdom representations a standing cow in a boat has been so identified by Maya Müller.⁹⁷ The symbolism of the recumbent cow ferried by two men in a goose-headed skiff on this bowl is less clear. In Old Kingdom scenes a calf is ferried as part of provisions offered to the deceased.⁹⁸ In the New Kingdom, however, marsh scenes with recumbent calves in boats include bejeweled females in skiffs, musical instruments, monkeys, nests, the god Bes, and the Semitic goddess Qudshu—all symbols of the fertility and vitality with which Hathor was associated.⁹⁹ Müller terms the marshy fertile world "a liminal realm between humans and the greater gods."¹⁰⁰









42b. Montage of photographs and rollout drawing of the wall and base of the repoussé bowl naming Ameneminet, with drawings of some unplaced fragments (at lower left)





43. Three views of repoussé bowl (cat. 9) with rollout drawing. Silver, Diam. 8¹/₈ in. (20.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.228.20). Photograph at bottom left, opposite: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA. Drawing: William Schenck

Repoussé Bowl in the Metropolitan Museum

Similar in many ways to Ameneminet's bowl is the repoussé bowl in the Metropolitan (Figure 43). A bit larger than Ameneminet's vessel, this bowl is not inscribed, lacks gold embellishment, and has repoussé and chasing covering the exterior rather than the interior. In broad terms, it has many more scenes than other Tell Basta vessels, and the decoration is freer in its intermingling of motifs. Marsh scenes are what remain in the two upper registers. The third register includes disparate scenes of desert, agriculture, and combat, while the innermost register illustrates husbandry and wine making. A large open lotus, more elaborate than those on Vessels A and B, fills the center. This bowl is unique among Egyptian open vessels in having decoration on the exterior rather than the interior. Therefore, its function is less easy to characterize. The format has a parallel in the gold bowl from Ugarit that Annie Caubet dates to the mid-thirteenth century B.C. According to Caubet, that bowl was used for drinking, as recounted in the myth of the Semitic storm god Baal, and depicts "heroes fighting mythological beasts among sacred trees."¹⁰¹ Here the scenes are derived from tomb decoration, which normally reflects wishes for the continuity of life.











Bowl of Amy

A third person who left an inscribed and decorated bowl at Tell Basta that provides clues to vessel function was the "singer [or chantress] of Neith, Amy" (Figure 44). The inscription runs around the outer edge of her bowl, and Kitchen has translated it as follows:

(For) your spirit and your (f.) countenance! One uses up (?) the years, abiding, spending the days(?). May your (f.) lifespan be doubled in health and life, may your (f.) step be extended as the morning comes(?), may there arise for you (f.) favour and wealth, in provision and food, may you be drunk with wine and pomegranate brew in the open court of Neith, O lady of the house, Chantress of Neith, 'Amy (or $šm^cyt$), justified!¹⁰²

Amy's title ($\delta m'yt$) indicates that she performed in daily temple rituals and at occasional festivals and funerary rites. According to Suzanne Onstine, many individuals with this title are known from the Ramesside period, when society was more pious; in particular, they were common in the



reign of Ramesses II.¹⁰³ Three additional singers—at least two of them men—are known from Tell Basta, and singers are even attested in the Levant. A Megiddo ivory panel features a singer in the cult of Ptah South-of-His-Wall.¹⁰⁴ And Wenamun was comforted at Byblos, according to the Dynasty 20 story, by a singer from Egypt (*hs.t n km.t*) named *t3-n.t-nw.t* (the one of Thebes).¹⁰⁵

Radwan characterizes Amy's vessel shape as one for drinking. Drunkenness from wine and liqueur in a temple setting is specifically invoked in the bowl's inscription.¹⁰⁶ A Dynasty 26 tomb relief mentions a "chantress of Neith, Mistress of Sais" in a scene where two women gather grapes, the fruit from which wine was made.¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, no other mention of Neith has been found at Tell Basta, according to Eva Lange, although there is slight evidence of an association between Neith and Bastet in a later period.¹⁰⁸ In fact, there is little evidence in Egypt for Neith's cult during the New Kingdom, but the goddess is attested during the Ramesside period and her historical cult center was at Sais, northwest of Tell Basta.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, as Radwan has pointed out, Neith-whose attribute as goddess of war and hunting was a shield with crossed arrows-has parallels with Anat and Astarte.¹¹⁰

The decorative friezes on Amy's bowl match the scheme on Atumemtaneb's: depictions of desert and mythical symbols on the outer band and swamp on the inner. As on Atumemtaneb's jug, the desert scene includes fantastic creatures—here female sphinxes with characteristics more foreign than Egyptian: wild hair, upswung wings, and teats.¹¹¹ While an 18th Dynasty bronze bowl from the tomb





45. Bowl from the tomb of Hatiay, western Thebes. Dynasty 18, ca. 1340 B.C. Bronze, Diam. 7³/₈ in. (18.6 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 31383). Photograph: Bissing 1901, p. 61; drawing of insert as in Radwan 1983, pl. 59

of Hatiay at Thebes (Figure 45) displays rich marshland iconography of the natural world, the Ramesside swamp scene on Amy's bowl highlights human sexuality. Fish and nude females swim in a narrow band of water, ducks fly, and a man ferries a boat with a standing cow that I here identify as Hathor, goddess of beauty and reproductive vitality. Swimmers occur on a Ramesside ostracon, faience tiles from a Ramesside residence at Qantir, a gold bowl from Tanis in the time of Psusennes I (1040–992 B.C.; Figure 46), and a faience relief chalice.¹¹² In a Saite tomb relief (688– 525 B.C.) a swimmer floats below the tomb owner fowling in his skiff, a pose in itself referencing sexual prowess.¹¹³ I am of the opinion that "the swimmer" is the same persona that appears in duck-headed skiffs, as mirror handles, and on other types of New Kingdom luxury arts; they are *nfrwt*, young women in the train of Hathor.¹¹⁴





46. Bowl from the royal tombs at Tanis. Dynasty 21, 1040–992 B.C. Silver with gold insert, Diam. 7¹/₈ in. (18 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 87742). Photograph: © DeA Picture Library/Art Resource, New York. Drawing of insert: William Schenck





Swimmers Bowl

47. Recessed base of swimmers bowl with conical omphalos (cat. 3), with detail and drawing. Silver with gold omphalos; Diam. of base 4¹/₄ in. (10.9 cm), H. ³/₈ in. (1 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.2, SR 1/6698). Photographs: Ahmed Amin. Drawing: William Schenck. For rim, see Figure 22.

Like the Metropolitan repoussé bowl (Figure 43), this newly discovered bowl in Cairo (Figure 47) lacks an inscription, although it may originally have had one. In several ways this bowl is similar to Amy's bowl. They are shaped alike and have omega handles as well as gold spheres on the rim. Each also has a recessed base with an omphalos and probably originally a cone.¹¹⁵ Both the outer and inner friezes of the new bowl have swamp scenes highlighting vitality: the outer band depicts females, fish, and ducks swimming with pleasure in a wide band of water, and the inner one shows men and cavorting calves among papyrus. There is no current evidence for an inscription on the swimmers bowl.

Bottle of Meritptah

This fragmentary bottle in the Metropolitan from the first find (Figure 48) has two votive scenes placed opposite one another. On one side, Meritptah (her name means "Beloved of Ptah") wears a pleated fringed garment and shakes a Hathor-headed loop sistrum to quiet the cat-headed god-dess seated before her, "Bastet, lady of Dendera." Although Dendera was the cult home of Hathor and Bastet's home was Bubastis, Bastet was worshiped at other cities and was associated with Hathor.¹¹⁶ Here she holds a papyrus scepter and an ankh sign toward Meritptah, who (like Amy) is identified as a chantress. Kitchen translates the text: "An offering that the king gives (to) Bast, that she may give life, (pros) perity (and) health (to) Mer-P<t>ah."¹¹⁷



This formulaic inscription—which differs from the ka type used for Atumemtaneb, Ameneminet, and Amy—is most often used in funerary contexts. Furthermore, the vinewrapped papyrus stalk behind Meritptah is a symbol of regeneration often seen in Ramesside tombs. The formula here, however, which normally invokes a deity to "give life," occurs on a later Ptolemaic votive situla found among temple furnishings at Saqqara.¹¹⁸ And Radwan points out that this "royal offering" type of text was used on objects in temple settings, namely on private statues invoking passersby to say the text on the owner's behalf.¹¹⁹ Most importantly, although no parallels have been found for the shape of Meritptah's vessel, because her tomb was at Saqqara, the Tell Basta bottle must have been used in a ritual in a temple.





49. Vessel fragment showing Hathor and lion cubs (cat. 33). Silver neck with gold collar, H. 3 in. (7.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.8.370). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

48. Bottle inscribed for Meritptah (cat. 31), with details of scenes of Meritptah shaking a sistrum for Bastet. Silver; H. 61/8 in. (15.5 cm), H. of neck 7/8 in. (2.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.228.19). Photographs: overall, Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA; details: William Barrette

Fragment of a Vessel with Hathor Iconography

Another decorated vessel from Tell Basta, although it is fragmentary, may offer clues to its function. The fragment is the upper part of a silver vessel, its neck ringed with gold repoussé symbols (Figure 49). On each side of the neck, a Hathor "mask" is flanked by animals-a grouping known since the 18th Dynasty.¹²⁰ The animals so depicted are often cats, but the square heads, widely spaced slightly pointed ears, flattened snouts, spotted coats, large paws, and long tails of these creatures identify them as lion cubs. Hathor was the eye of the sun god Re. She inhabited marshes, where life began.¹²¹ She was the original Distant Goddess and, like the felines Sekhmet and Mut, was connected to Bastet. Bastet herself was represented as a lioness before she manifested as a cat. I believe that this particular vessel could have held intoxicating drink and that the symbols are a reference to the Distant Goddess.122

Summary of Inscriptions and Iconography

In essence, then, the inscriptions and much of the decoration of these Tell Basta vessels confirm the belief of Hayes, Simpson, and Radwan that the vessels served in a temple or shrine. The references are to vitality and to protection from the major goddesses Hathor, Neith, and Bastet. Anat and Astarte, either separately or together, are invoked too, although no shrine has been located for these Semitic goddesses at Tell Basta. On the other hand, Reshef, the Canaanite storm god of plague, is featured on several Ramesside stelae there,123 and in the Late Period a list of festivals from the time of Nectanebo II (360-343 B.C.) shows Reshef accompanying Astarte while she rides sidesaddle on horseback.¹²⁴ That Anat could be worshiped by Egyptians working in Palestine is seen by a Ramesside stela set up at Beth Shan in the Jordan River valley in what is now Israel.125

THE OWNERS OF THE TELL BASTA VESSELS

It is clear that all of the decorated wine vessels from the Tell Basta treasure were made for temple or festival use in Egypt and that there are references to the Levant throughout the treasure and especially in the silver jewelry. That all of the identified owners had international connections as well as local responsibilities now merits further consideration. Atumemtaneb's and Amy's names are unknown outside the context of these vessels, where they are written in the "group writing" used in Egyptian for foreign words.¹²⁶ Ameneminet's and Meritptah's names are Egyptian, but they could be loyalist names of the type that were adopted by foreigners upon entry into Egyptian society.¹²⁷

The titles inscribed on the vessels may also refer to foreigners. The majority of royal butlers (cupbearers) lived in the Ramesside period, according to Simpson.¹²⁸ Often they were described (as on Vessel C) as "clean of hands," an epithet Alan Gardiner thought would have been appropriate for the serving of royal meals. Yet the services of a royal butler went far beyond provisioning palaces. According to Bettina Schmitz, these men were initially officers who attended the king when he dined and made up his entourage when on campaign, thus earning enough trust to serve as special representatives when Egypt's bureaucracy broke down during the Ramesside period.¹²⁹ At that time a high percentage of the royal butlers or cupbearers were of non-Egyptian origin. Tombs for them have been found in the north at Saqqara, as has a tomb for an ambassador.¹³⁰ Atumemtaneb's second title, "royal envoy to all foreign countries," has in fact been equated with the modern term "ambassador" by Hassan El-Saady.¹³¹ Although El-Saady does not include Atumentaneb in his tally of Ramesside officials, he gives an idea of the duties such a person might have had while traveling along the eastern Mediterranean. Likewise, Betsy Bryan has characterized the cultural interchange that might have occurred when a representative of Egypt had administrative duties in Palestine.¹³² In Atumemtaneb's case, the interchange must have been extensive, as he is identified as "the Ari(ite)" on Vessel B.¹³³ According to Kitchen, this term signals that the official's origin was either Arri (or Arra) in northern Syria or possibly "the less cosmopolitan Bostra in southeast Syria, east of the Sea of Galilee."134

The heights to which Atumentaneb rose as a foreigner including the title "fanbearer"—are impressive but not unknown in the Ramesside period. By that time the Egyptian administrative capital had been moved from Memphis to Qantir (ancient Pi-Ramesse, twenty-five miles northeast of Tell Basta), and the god Seth, who was identified with the Semitic storm god Baal, had risen high in the Egyptian pantheon.¹³⁵ Late New Kingdom Egyptian texts refer to Semitic deities worshiped at Memphis, to Asiatics being at ease there, and to goods and slaves arriving from Khor, Djahy, and Canaan, areas of today's Levant.¹³⁶ It is accepted that the chancellor Bay (died 1192 B.C.), a high-ranking and influential 19th Dynasty official (he also held the title "royal butler"), was of northern if not Syrian origin, and it has been suggested that the minor king Siptah (reigned 1194–1188 B.C.) had Syrian blood.¹³⁷ It was for Siptah that Tawosret became regent before she assumed kingship, and there are inscriptions mentioning him as well as Astarte at Qantir.¹³⁸

The second important official at Tell Basta who must have had Asiatic connections was the "scribe of correspondence of the king," Ameneminet. We do not know Ameneminet's origins, but unlike Atumemtaneb he is known from both a large and impressive tomb at Saggara and a statue now in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (Figures 50, 51).¹³⁹ From them it is learned that the official's earliest titles were "attendant," "follower of the king in foreign lands," and "royal envoy abroad." Later, at home, he became "royal herald," "scribe of correspondence of the king," "treasury chief," "chief of works," and "high steward of the king" at the Theban funerary temple of Ramesses II. He also earned the high honorific "royal fanbearer."¹⁴⁰ In the inscription on his tomb Ameneminet said that he was "sent in commissions in every land" and called himself "[one] whom the king made (to) follow his way . . . , useful to his lord, who makes his speeches . . . , mouth of the king . . . , [and] royal messenger bearing the breath of life, [one] who enters into the king at any time."¹⁴¹

According to Kitchen, Atumemtaneb and others with foreign connections "were at court and quite close to the royalties they served. Ameneminet at least had earlier been a 'Royal Envoy to all foreign lands,' a very high role, hence was also a 1st Royal Cupbearer. And in a very cosmopolitan context. Numerous foreigners served at all levels in Egypt and abroad, one Amenmose (of Egypt) actually served the kings of Carchemish." Kitchen also notes that the Tell Basta vessels "belong to the world of Pi-Ramesse, Bubastis and Memphis, on a key communications route, and their links with the Levant and far beyond."¹⁴² Yet in his Saggara tomb Ameneminet and his wife Meritptah are not dressed or positioned as foreigners, although one representation, on the north face, does show the official with a fleshy face and a large nose, perhaps indicating that he was not a native Egyptian.¹⁴³ He is shown in the tomb holding a fan before Thoth and Anubis, just as Atumemtaneb holds one before a Canaanite goddess on Vessel B.144 In the same scene, Meritptah grasps a very large Hathor-headed sistrum and flowers. She is identified as "chantress of Bastet," the same title that appears on her bottle from the first Tell Basta find, as well as "chantress of Bastet, lady of Thebes," a title that indicates that she performed temple ritual in the southern city where her husband was charged with estates of





50. Tomb relief of Ameneminet at Saqqara, Egypt, mid-13th century B.C. Photograph: Said Gohary

51. Statue of Ameneminet, mid-13th century B.C. Limestone, H. 34¹/₄ in. (87 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (738). Photograph: André Bolshakov

Ramesses II. Given her devotion to Bastet, it is logical that Meritptah would offer a vessel in Bastet's home in the Delta, whatever her own origins or wherever her home may have been. Unlike her depiction on the Metropolitan's bottle (Figure 48), where she lacks formal accessories, here she wears a fillet and a lotus on her head. In a family scene of the Saqqara tomb, she wears an ointment cone and again holds a sistrum.¹⁴⁵

The Saint Petersburg statue of Ameneminet (Figure 51) is also typically Egyptian, of good rather than excellent quality. The wig is "crinkled" in the upper part and broadly curled below. The toes and sandals are detailed, and the costume includes a *shebiyu* collar. The orthography of the statue is undistinguished, however, the official's neck is broad and his chest flat, the skirt flounces and neckline are rendered mechanically, and the arms merge into the offering table support. The last feature is reminiscent of the deep cutting of late Ramesside relief.¹⁴⁶

It may be assumed that the anonymous owners of the remaining three decorated vessels from Bubastis—the bowl with swimmers, the Metropolitan repoussé bowl, and the Hathor fragment (Figures 47, 43, 49)—were also from the upper layer of society that had access to a quantity of silver, artisans, and inventive designs.

THREE RELATED BLACK BRONZE VESSELS

Another owner of a decorated vessel who had foreign connections and served in the cult of a goddess during the Ramesside period was the "singer of Sekhmet, Sakawahikhana," as read by Kitchen. His name appears on a fragmentary carinated bowl of black bronze inlaid with gold (Figure 52).¹⁴⁷ The bowl was offered to the Metropolitan in October 1970 along with a black bronze goblet and fragments of a black bronze cup (Figures 53, 54), all three of which are assumed to have come from one find. They were subsequently purchased by Norbert Schimmel, and after Schimmel died, the bowl and cup were given to the Metropolitan.¹⁴⁸ The Israel Museum in Jerusalem purchased the goblet, which is also inlaid with gold and is much more slender and decorated than the naturalistic white-lotus gold goblet inscribed for Tawosret from the first Tell Basta find (Figure 4). The provenance of the three vessels is not known, although Jürgen Settgast suggested Qantir.149 Their shapes and decoration indicate that they belonged to a wine service.

Like jugs A and B of Atumentaneb (Figures 39, 40), the carinated bowl, which is comparable in size to Ameneminet's bowl and the repoussé bowl in the Metropolitan (Figures 42, 43), has a central votive scene flanked by two ka-type

52. Fragmentary carinated bowl naming Sakawahikhana. Black bronze inlaid with gold, Diam. 8¼ in. (21.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.100). Photograph: Peter Zeray, Photograph Studio, MMA











54. Fragmentary cup. Black bronze inlaid with copper, silver, and gold, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (13.7 x 12 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.99). Photograph: William Barrette. Drawing: William Schenck

inscriptions. Opposite this votive scene are the remains of a handle represented now only by papyriform fittings. The scene shows a kneeling man holding up a sistrum in one hand and raising the other in a gesture of adoration. Unlike Atumentaneb, whose head is shaved, this official wears a wig. As Erika Fischer has pointed out, his pleated costume is very schematically rendered,¹⁵⁰ and the lioness-headed goddess, who extends a papyriform scepter in one hand and holds an ankh sign in the other, has atypical features. She wears a disk with a uraeus positioned in the center rather than on the front edge, her arm is hatched like the frame around the scene, and she sits far forward on her throne. She is identified as the Egyptian goddess Sekhmet. Kitchen translates the inscriptions as follows: ¹⁵¹ right of the panel: "[May your spirit and your countenance] be sated with her (=Sekhmet's) provisions, (and) may you achieve 110 (years) at her hands! For the spirit of the Singer of Sekhmet, Sakawahikhana, justified, daily."

left of the panel: "[May your spirit (and) your countenance (enjoy), or, May you spend] a lifetime in happiness, and years of life! For the spirit [of] the Singer of Sekhmet, Sakawahikhana, justified daily and for eternity."

Sakawahikhana's name is neither Egyptian nor Western Asiatic, according to Kitchen, who also rules out Hittite and Luwian, as well as Mycenaean Greek, Early Iranian/Old Persian, Sumerian, and Hurrian. He suggests that the name is most likely northeastern African—either Libyan or in an ancient Nubian tongue. In all events, Sakawahikhana is dressed as an Egyptian and shakes a sistrum to appease the leonine Egyptian goddess. Far fewer men had the title "singer" (šm'w) than women, but two males in the funerary temple of Ramesses II at Thebes, who appear to be foreigners, were singers, and two men at Bubastis were singers as well.¹⁵²

The cup associated with Sakawahikhana (Figure 54) is the most interesting of the three black bronze objects.¹⁵³ It is richly inlaid with copper, silver, and gold. Some of the iconography on the Tell Basta vessels reappears here: An elaborate lotus fills the center; in the outer register a series of pendant lotuses and cornflowers encircles composite plants, caprids, a leaping bovine, desert animals, and a pair of female sphinxes with wild hair; and the inner frieze is a swamp scene with flying ducks, a mongoose, and a man ferrying what might be a standing cow, as on Amy's bowl.¹⁵⁴ According to Settgast, the decoration also included fish and a running man with a triangular net, motifs also included on Ameneminet's bowl and on the Metropolitan's repoussé bowl (Figures 42, 43). The general scheme is very much like that on Amy's bowl (Figure 44). The iconography, which points to a date in the Late Bronze Age, is also similar. The cup's technique is not found on any Tell Basta vessels, and one cannot expect a less subtle technique to match the nuance of the repoussé work from Tell Basta. But the subject matter does provide a link between the disparate vessels.

THE STYLE AND DATE OF THE TELL BASTA DECORATED VESSELS

The Tell Basta treasure represents a broad spectrum of workmanship and quality that ranges from fine gold jewelry, jars, strainer, and cones to the flimsy Tawosret goblet; from plain silver jars, situlae, strainers, and bowls with handles to the decorated vessels of mixed iconography and style (Vessel A, the Amy bowl, the repoussé bowl, and the Ameneminet and swimmers bowls); and from the Canananite jewelry to metal scrap.

Vessels A, B, and C Naming Atumemtaneb

The most elegant and finely wrought metalwork in the Tell Basta treasure is found on Atumemtaneb's jug B (Figure 40). A series of running spirals, olive leaves, persea fruits, dotted circles, and pendant lotuses and poppies frame a single register with flying horses, virile goats and a composite plant, a leaping calf and a lion, and a duck with fluttering wings.¹⁵⁵ The votive scene on the body of the vessel is detailed, and its hieroglyphic signs were executed with sureness. The body of the gold aurochs handle is taut. Altogether, the quality is masterful and reminiscent of metalwork from the tomb of Tutankhamun.¹⁵⁶ The chased swags, cats, and bands of olive leaves, dotted circles, pendant lotuses, and floral arches on the gold jars from Tell Basta (Figures 7, 12, 13) are of similar quality.

The workmanship and style on Vessels A and C (Figures 39, 41) are much poorer. The marsh scenes on Vessel A, for example, relate to a scene in a Theban tomb, but the bird trap on the Tell Basta jug is simpler and less correct.¹⁵⁷ The drawing of the figures is weak as well, recalling a Palestinian ivory panel from Tell Fara (South) that could be contemporary.¹⁵⁸ The boatman on Vessel A (Figure 39) seems to be ferrying a bird, a box, and a trap, cargo that appears on a Ramesside bowl from Gurob with a female punter but is unusual.¹⁵⁹ The water is indicated by mounds marked with chevrons. The animals in the upper register have the open mouths common in depictions outside Egypt, but they resemble stuffed toys more than the leaping or ferocious beasts of Aegean and Near Eastern iconography.¹⁶⁰ In the votive scene the bird standing on top of the goddess's scepter (derived from Egyptian tomb paintings where birds sit on top of papyri in the marshes?) is reminiscent of a bird hunting for food under the chair of a prince on a Megiddo ivory.¹⁶¹

On Vessel C (Figure 41), the flying horses and rampant goat are frozen like wooden cutouts. The horses appear to be the compact *bréviligne* type but are more poorly drawn. The stag behind the horses was not native to Egypt. It could have been bred in the eastern Delta during the Ramesside period, but it belongs in a desert rather than a marsh scene.¹⁶²

Surely the differences in the jugs of Atumentaneb must be attributed to their artisans rather than to their date. On the basis of the owner's titles, Vessel A, inscribed "royal cupbearer," should be earlier than Vessel B, inscribed "first royal cupbearer." It is more likely, however, that the three jugs were created by contemporary craftsmen, one of whom had had more training in Egyptian artistic traditions than the others. To judge from the quality of Vessel B, all three objects should be dated in the reign of Ramesses II, or 1279–1213 B.C.

Bowl of Amy

The bowl of Amy (Figure 44) may also date to Ramesses II but is by a different hand. The rivets on the gold rim and the omega handle on the side are advanced features (see Appendix 4b), yet the registers have Late Bronze Age motifs (ca. 1600–1200/1000 B.C.): spiky plants, leaping animals, and opposing sphinxes with wild hair. The inscription on the bowl is paleographically similar to Atumemtaneb's on Vessel C, and the bowl's cone has the three-ply plait construction that Ogden assigns to the Ramesside period.¹⁶³ Thus, the bowl, with its international flavor, fits into Egypt's 19th Dynasty.

Repoussé Bowl

The repoussé bowl in the Metropolitan (Figure 43) was created by yet another artisan and may be dated to the reign of Ramesses II on the basis of its iconography, even if there are few parallels from that time.¹⁶⁴ Its agricultural, marsh, and desert hunting scenes would be most at home on tomb walls, but they are not typical in Ramesside tombs, where funerals and interaction with gods are generally represented.¹⁶⁵ One notable exception is in the tomb of Ipuy at Thebes from the time of Ramesses II, where a man carries a triangular net while other men net and clean whole fish, trap birds anchored by bird-headed posts, and tread grapes.¹⁶⁶ The tomb paintings also share some of the liveliness of the scenes on the repoussé bowl; they show, for instance, women selling fish and cakes who are wearing lotus buds on heavy wigs like those traditionally reserved for the Egyptian elite in formal settings.

The repoussé bowl has uncanonical features, however. Even when complete it is unlikely to have included a largerscale figure of its owner. In tomb representations the owner oversees the various estate activities that will bring him sustenance in the next life. This bowl displays instead a collection of vignettes placed haphazardly in the registers. At the upper left in the rollout drawing calves confront cattle driven by a herdsman, and there is no water in sight. To the right a man carrying fish and a man with a triangular net run toward a bit of swamp to which horses (not the Ramesside bréviligne type) are being driven by a man with a lasso and a boomerang. To the right of that, past an unidentified reed structure, the fishing motif resumes as men wearing lotuses clean fish (shown whole rather than gutted as in the Old Kingdom).¹⁶⁷ At the left in the next register are jousting boatmen, a scene rarely depicted after the Old Kingdom. The men hold their poles at the ends, as if they were sticks, rather than in the middle as would be expected, according to Yvonne Harpur.¹⁶⁸ The men pulling the clapnet in the next surviving vignette are perched on their toes, like men on the ivory panel from Canaanite Tell Fara (South).¹⁶⁹ The next register shows a man with a group of ostriches that appear to be domesticated.¹⁷⁰ Next comes a type of jungle fowl known in the Near East, and Near Eastern composite plants function as scene dividers.¹⁷¹ This band also shows a goat giving birth in the desert, a Nubian woman pounding some kind of solid foodstuff, and men with shields fighting a lion with an open mouth.¹⁷² The innermost register illustrates another marsh scene (with a man pulling papyrus), various activities for wine making (though the vines look more like fig trees), and a wild desert animal suckling its young.¹⁷³

Noteworthy stylistic features are the ubiquitous hatching and chevrons used for modeling, the dotted rosettes, and the bosses between registers, which echo details on the figures.

In essence, the repoussé bowl is not conventionally Egyptian. Its composition is whimsical and its scenes loosely structured. Its creator selected long-standing tomb and temple scenes but changed them slightly and augmented them with late second-millennium B.C. features or Near Eastern designs. The artist may have derived inspiration from Old Kingdom tombs in the north, but he worked with a Levantine sensibility.¹⁷⁴

Ameneminet's Bowl and Bottle Naming Meritptah

The inner band of Ameneminet's bowl (Figure 42 and overleaf) also has Late Bronze Age iconography: a lion, bovids, a feline pouncing on a bovine, and composite plants. Further, the chased inscription is very well formed, and there are no orthographic mistakes. Yet the four decorative gold balls on the rim, with no corresponding ring or omega handle, are late features (see Appendix 4b). And although some of the iconography in the top register is New Kingdom, it is different from that on the Metropolitan's repoussé bowl. Here the band of tuftlike papyri is continuous, static, and, as Harpur points out, juxtaposed with activities and images that do not belong in marshes: milking, grape treading, and the cobra Renenutet, goddess of the harvest.¹⁷⁵ On the left of the rollout drawing, elongated horses confront leaping bovines pursued by a man with a yoke; a cow is being milked while a calf and a man, who may have roped its leg, stand idly by; and a kneeling woman holds a hand trap for catching songbirds, an activity performed by men in the Old Kingdom. The scenes continue: a man transporting something on a yoke pursues three calves, three men pull a clapnet of Old Kingdom form, a man carrying birds walks in the opposite direction toward the cobra goddess Renenutet, a man with an elongated head fills a wine jar, four men who appear to be grasping ropes for support (as in the Theban tomb of Ipuy from the time of Ramesses II) tread grapes in a vat of wine (patterned horizontally rather than vertically), a large cow (probably Hathor) rests among the papyri, and a man carrying a bag walks in the opposite direction behind a man with an elaborate cloaklike net. Finally, two women fill wine jars next to an oval fishpond, a man incongruously gathers papyrus from a boat ferrying two ducks in an enclosure with hanging fruit, and a boat with a goose-headed prow poled by two nude figures carries a recumbent calf.

By comparison, the bottle of Ameneminet's wife Meritptah (Figure 48) is much more traditional in its iconography. Nevertheless, the goddess's dress and Meritptah's wig have an atypical chevron pattern. Furthermore, Meritptah does not wear the customary floral band or ointment cone. I have found such a feature on only one other monument, a stela from Amarna on which a woman named Arbura appears with her husband, Tarura. Both their names are of foreign origin.¹⁷⁶

Ameneminet's tomb at Saggara and the statue of him now in Saint Petersburg (Figures 50, 51) provide some evidence for dating his and Meritptah's vessels. In the tomb Ameneminet's figure is simplified and the relief carving deep, with intersecting layers. Eva Hofmann places the tomb in Dynasty 20, roughly 1190-1150 B.C.¹⁷⁷ This is later than the date Kitchen proposes for the official's inscriptions; he is inclined to place the official's career entirely in the reign of Ramesses II (1279-1213 B.C.), although he does not rule out the possibility that Ameneminet's service extended into the ten-year reign of Merenptah (1213-1203 B.C.).¹⁷⁸ Study of the tomb's location and its paleographic features has allowed Jacobus van Dijk to be more precise. He dates Ameneminet's Saggara tomb to before the fourth decade of Ramesses II's rule (1249-1239 B.C.), although there is the possibility that it dates to Merenptah's reign or that of an immediate successor.179

Swimmers Bowl

Although fragmentary, delicate in scale, and missing much of the original detail (including, no doubt, a decorated gold cone in the center), the decoration on the Tell Basta swimmers bowl (Figure 47) is captivating and draws the viewer into an inner world of grace and beauty. In both bands the composition is anchored by the four figures, either calves or young women, but whereas the inner band with its papyrus freeze is more static, fluidity is achieved in the outer band by the long, sinuous bodies of the swimmers and the curving lotus stems that spring from the ring separating the registers. There is a variety of filler shapes, and the background is completely hatched (note the hatching in the fishpond on Ameneminet's bowl; Figure 42). One of the young women looks backward, and two of the four walking calves do the same.

Their long proportions indicate that these swimmers are later in date than those on Amy's bowl, but how much later is uncertain. Elongated proportions already occur in the temple of Ramesses II's wife Nefertari at Abu Simbel, yet the proportions are quite normal on a pair of



later silver bracelets inscribed with Seti II's name on which Queen Tawosret is depicted pouring wine for her husband (Figure 55).¹⁸⁰ Admittedly, metalwork from Tawosret's era is scarce.¹⁸¹ Ear pendants with the names of Seti II also from Tomb KV56 in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes probably belonged to her,¹⁸² and three simple objects associated with her were in the Tell Basta treasure: the flimsy gold lotiform goblet with her name on the stem, a more substantial electrum situla (now lost) with the ruler's throne names in cartouches topped with ostrich feathers and a disk, and the rim of a simple silver bowl or cup in the Metropolitan on which the ruler's names are surrounded by two cartouches with the epithets "lord of the two lands" and "lord of crowns" written above them (Figures 4, 8, 74, cat. 11).

A search for decorated metalwork later than Seti II's time that offers parallels with the swimmers bowl yields the silver and gold bowl from the royal tombs at Tanis in the northeastern Delta (Figure 46). If the swimmers bowl is set within the Ramesses II-Tawosret period, in line with the Tell Basta inscriptions, then the bowl from Tanis, a gift of Psusennes I (reigned 1040-992 B.C.) to his general Wandjebawandjed, would be at least 150 years later. This silver bowl with gold overlay has a single register with four women arranged in facing pairs surrounding an inlaid rosette. Tilapia and ducks are used as filler, as at Tell Basta, but there is no indication of water. The figures are large and their proportions regular. Their poses are more wooden than New Kingdom maidens'. Altogether, the vessel is striking and monumental but less engaging than the bowl from Tell Basta. Ogden has also noted the Tanis bowl's traditional style, which is in keeping with other precious vessels from there.¹⁸³ Like a contemporary mirror case for the wife of Pinodjem I from Thebes (1061-1040 B.C.), it displays the last remains of New Kingdom iconography with nude, bedecked females but in a much drier manner.184

55. Bracelets inscribed for Seti II. From Tomb KV56, Valley of the Kings, Thebes. Silver, H. 2³/₈ and 2¹/₂ in. (6.2 and 6.5 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 52577, 52578). Photograph: Egypt Memory

OVERVIEW

The Tell Basta vessels with figurative scenes share a common format, New Kingdom iconography, and function, but they vary in style. A case can be made to date them from the reign of Ramesses II to that of Tawosret or a bit later, with Vessel B the earliest stylistic example, and Ameneminet's or the swimmers bowl the latest. The corpus is varied, however, and needs more study, with particular attention paid to the transition from the New Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period.

Third Intermediate Period faience relief chalices offer interesting comparisons to the Tell Basta treasure and related objects.¹⁸⁵ The inlaid bronze lotiform goblet associated with Sakawahikhana (Figure 53) has zones on the cup as on the chalices, although the sepals that extend up the cup are bordered by a simple zigzag and an abstract pattern, and the stem has delicate alternating sedge and papyrus stalks.¹⁸⁶ The most naturalistic of the chalices, like the example shown here, share with the Bubastis vessels some of the figural iconography (stands of alternating papyri, punting, a recumbent bovine in a boat, a triangular net, a calf suckling its mother, a swimmer looking back, even the horse, as on the Rothschild cup), the use of relief (all except Atumemtaneb's jugs and Meritptah's bottle have repoussé as well as chasing), and the placement of decoration on the exterior (as on the Metropolitan's repoussé bowl).187 Furthermore, the chalices feature iconography of the inundation and rejuvenation while adding deviations from traditional subject matter. On a chalice in the Metropolitan (Figure 56) a young female briskly punts a boat, and on a fragment of a chalice in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, a young woman with a long wig touches a calf.¹⁸⁸

Unfortunately, inscriptions that could help date chalices occur on only the most elaborate Third Intermediate Period examples, which are not the most naturalistic.¹⁸⁹ Continued study could yield further information relevant to the Tell Basta vessels, however. Bubastis thrived during Dynasties 21 and 22, and there were connections with the Levant, as shown by the fine bronze statue base of Ramesses VI excavated at Megiddo and the ivories at Tell Fara (South) and Megiddo.¹⁹⁰ The makers of Phoenician bowls could have attended festivals for Bastet and intermingled with the Delta populace, as there was interest in Egyptian deities in the Levant.¹⁹¹

Indeed, William Stevenson Smith suggested that the artisans who created the Tell Basta vessels belonged to an eastern Delta workshop that derived its repertoire from a style with "a certain international flavour" formed during the second half of Dynasty 18.¹⁹² "Foreign" motifs had crept into Egypt earlier: ivory game boards of early Dynasty 18 feature leaping animals, a wooden box in Bologna from about 1450 B.C. has a clumsy group of caprids flanking a compos-



56. Lotiform chalice. Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 22, ca. 945–712 B.C. Faience, H. 5½ in. (14 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.182.53)

ite plant, and a wooden pyxis probably from the time of Amenhotep III (1390–1352 B.C.) has Hathor-like protomes, a chevron-delineated band of water, a central rosette, and female sphinxes flanking composite plants.¹⁹³ The Dynasty 18 bronze bowl from the tomb of Hatiay (Figure 45) has an omphalos and displays a man in a boat, animal combat, chevrons, a band of rosettes, water with hatching (as on the swimmers bowl at Tell Basta), and perhaps a recumbent calf.¹⁹⁴ Such evidence leads us to ask how much of the Tell Basta iconography is "Egyptian" and how much "Levantine."

In the Ramesside period, any Tell Basta immigrant artisan could have had access to traditional monuments, such as earlier tombs at Saggara or in the Delta. It is doubtful that these artisans would have understood the iconography as traditional Egyptians did, however. The early Dynasty 18 maker of the Aniba stands (Figure 38) was likewise interpreting traditional imagery in a lively although somewhat inept manner: a groom turns back to grasp a rope that looks like a beard, the horse's mouth is open, the horse tails and papyrus calyxes are marked with chevrons, and the birds look like pelicans.¹⁹⁵ Conversely, it is unlikely that traditional Egyptian artists understood the Near Eastern iconography on the wooden pyxis or on the Metropolitan's repoussé bowl from Tell Basta. Certain motifs and stylistic features were nevertheless used widely throughout the Late Bronze Age, especially from the eastern Delta up along the eastern Mediterranean, as Erika Fischer and Dirk Wicke have noted.¹⁹⁶ And Susan Braunstein has remarked on the creation of hybrid forms at Tell Fara.¹⁹⁷

The Tell Basta craftsmen, as well as officials, newly transplanted to the Delta, added substantially to culture there and were key participants in artistic production. In the end, the labels "Egyptian" and "Near Eastern" are too restricted to describe the sumptuous objects that were produced in the religious, administrative, and culturally pluralistic society of Tell Basta in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. As a whole, this treasure hoard reflects the varied culture in the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article is dedicated to the memory of Donald P. Hansen, who introduced me to the Levant, and of Lila Acheson Wallace, whose funds supported my primary research on the Egyptian collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1992 and 2010. I am also exceptionally grateful to K. A. Kitchen for sharing his unparalleled expertise in the Ramesside period with me; to Zahi Hawass for permission to publish objects in the Egyptian Museum and to my colleagues there, as well as Janice Kamrin, for their enthusiastic and extensive help; to William Schenck for his unequaled skill and patience during a very long drawing project; and to William Barrette for photography and all-inclusive support. For discussions on various points and for bibliographic references, I am indebted to colleagues Ali Radwan, Erika Fischer, Jacobus van Dijk, Cynthia Sheikholeslami, Yvonne Harpur, Annie Caubet, Helmut Brandl, Dirk Wicke, and James Weinstein. Research for this article was contributed by Thea Politis, Marta Ameri, and Heather Kopleff.

NOTES

- 1. Simpson 1959, p. 29. Simpson had published an introductory study, written while he was assistant in the Department of Egyptian Art at the Museum, in the *MMAB* in 1949.
- 2. Scott 1944, fig. 19; Hayes 1959, pp. 358-60.
- 3. These are traditional dates, which would be shifted according to dates now proposed by Jacobus van Dijk for the reigns of Horemheb and Seti I; see Van Dijk 2008 and 2011.
- 4. Bissing 1910 and 1914; Scharff 1930, pp. 114–16; W. Smith 1958, pp. 227–29.
- 5. Montet 1937, pp. 133–35, 138–50; Ranke 1941. Montet had excavated in the 1920s at Byblos, Lebanon, a site with many Egyptian ties. For a review of his 1937 publication, see No. Davies 1938.
- 6. Porter and Moss 1934, p. 34.
- 7. The term *patera* is usually applied to Roman shallow bowls with a straight handle, used for libations rather than drinking (conversation with Joan R. Mertens, August 26, 2010). It is an inappropriate term here.

- 8. Simpson 1959, p. 43. See also W. Smith and Simpson 1998, pp. 222-24.
- 9. Radwan 1983, pp. 136, 143-44, 157, 163.
- 10. Kitchen 1982a, pp. 372-73; Kitchen 2003, pp. 270-71.
- 11. J. Smith 2003 and Niemeier 2003. See also Crowley 1989, pp. 221–27, 398, nos. 494–500, with summaries of earlier discussions. In 2006 (pp. 38–41, 101, 136) Marian Feldman posited that certain iconography of the Amy bowl and Vessels A and B was part of an international koine used to signal political status among the elite; see Fischer and Wicke 2011.
- 12. J. Meyer 1987; Gubel 1987 and 2000; Boschloos 2009. The Cypriot scholar Einar Gjerstad (1946, pp. 3–4, 17–18) had followed Bissing's assessments, but this was before the gold bowl from Ugarit and ivories from Megiddo and Tell Fara (South) were known.
- 13. Cats. 10–14, 17d–e, 19, 20, 27–30, 44–51, 56–62, 84. These fragments were referred to in Hayes 1959, p. 358, and in Simpson 1959, nn. 65, 68. They were restored by Marjuka Kaminen. With the exception of Figures 74, bottom, 77, and 78, all of the drawings in this article were produced by William Schenck, and most were photographed by William Barrette.
- 14. For the modern research, see Leclère 2008, pp. x-xi, 363–91; information from Mohammed Bakr and Christian Tietze, as well as current members of the joint Egyptian-German excavations, now under the directorship of Eva Lange; and Rosenow 2010. See also Habachi 1975, L. Martin 1995 and 2010, and Ashmawy Ali 2009. Dr. Wafaa el-Saddik (Director), Mme Hala Hassan (Curator of the First Section), Dr. Yasmin el Shazley (Registrar of the Registration, Collections Management, and Documentation Department), Ahmed Amin (photographer), and Dr. Janice Kamrin (Director, Egyptian Museum Database and Registrar Training Project) were extraordinarily helpful in providing access to and transmitting information and photographs in 2009–10. Dr. Hoda Abdel-Hamid and the restorer Nabila Ramadan extended themselves to stabilize objects for study and photography in a very short period of time.
- 15. See Maspero 1907, p. 341; Maspero 1908a and 1908b; and Edgar 1907b. Edgar published further notes on the jug with a goat handle (Figure 5) in 1925, after it was cleaned.
- 16. Maspero's accounts in 1907, p. 337, and 1908a, p. 403, are not reflected in Edgar's descriptions.
- Edgar 1907b, pp. 93–95. I take "perpendicular cutting" to mean working with hoes from top to bottom, moving parallel to the mounds.
- For a photograph showing the relative size of Cairo vessels from both finds, see Steindorff 1928, pp. 299, 327–28, and for good color photographs of the Cairo objects, see Tiradritti 1998, pp. 260, 264–65, and H. Müller and Thiem 1999, pp. 193–94.
- 19. These were a broad collar, a "flat piece of silver covered with gold leaf," and "two small figures, one of gold and one of electrum, apparently made for attachment against a flat surface" (Edgar 1907b, pp. 94, 106–7, pl. 55). See Vernier 1927, CG 53181 (collar), CG 53256 (electrum Hathor amulet), CG 53257 (gold Isis amulet). Vernier gives their date of acquisition as 1900, but they were entered into the Journal d'Entrée of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in 1906 as 38676–77 and in 1908 as 39879(a)–(b).
- 20. Edgar 1907b, p. 95.
- 21. On these enigmatic objects, see Aston 1989.
- 22. This is one of six photographs of Bubastis in the Georg Steindorff papers at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (P 64706–11), that were kindly called to my attention by John Larson. They seem to have been prepared for an article or a display, with captions in English. The photographs need not be Steindorff's, and they are undated. Steindorff wrote a section on

Bubastis for an English-language publication of 1903 (Steindorff 1903, p. 684), and he wrote about Bubastis from 1902 onward for the travel guide publisher Baedeker. Kerstin Seidel (emails to the author, June 2009) has ascertained that Steindorff was at the site with Günther Roeder and Wilhelm Spiegelberg in 1928–29. In any event, François Leclère, Daniela Rosenow, and Eva Lange (conversations with and emails to the author, June 2009) do not believe the photographs show the alleged spot of the buried treasures but rather an area to the east of it—within the temple of Bastet and somewhat northeast of it.

- 23. Bakr 2008; Bakr and Brandl 2010, pp. 43–53, 206–45. I warmly thank Mohammed Bakr and Helmut Brandl for sharing detailed information with me.
- 24. Wilkinson 1971, pp. 156, 225.
- 25. H. Müller and Thiem 1999, pp. 194, 195, fig. 411. Ogden (1990–91) describes twisted and hollow beaded wire as well as granules fused onto gold sheet. For bezels, see Edwards 1976c, p. 22, fig. 13.
- 26. See also Wilkinson 1971, pp. 156, 225.
- 27. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39675); see Vernier 1907–9, pp. 137–38, nos. CG 52397–98, pl. XXVII; and Altenmüller 2008, p. 210, fig. 75.
- Wilkinson 1971, pp. 125, 150, 152; Lilyquist 2003, pp. 185–86. On the Palestinian sites, see Dothan 1979, pp. 42–43, and 2008, pp. 45, 152, 159.
- 29. Davis et al. 1908, p. 38, pl. 14.
- 30. Ogden 1990-91.
- 31. Many decorated fragments and an omphalos are now associated with this bowl; the photograph in the Cairo museum's Special Register for Section 1 for its number, 7789, taken in the 1960s or 1970s, shows the bowl complete.
- 32. Examples of silver temple treasures are from Toukh el-Karamus, in the eastern Delta north of Tell Basta (Edgar 1907a), and Dendera (Abdalla 1995, pp. 22–26), both of the Ptolemaic period.
- 33. Appendix 1, cat. 76 (JE 39882 [an]): "un lot de débris, argent, poid 11 gr. 80 . . . débris au nombre de huit, bague, boucles d'oreilles, et incertains."
- 34. See Appendix 1: bar ingots: cats. 79, 80; folded ingots: cat. 83; wire ingot: cat. 75 (SR 1/6632).
- 35. Pulak 2008.
- 36. Sparks 2007, p. 115, no. 141. See also the silver examples in Ziffer 1990, p. 54*, fig. 66.
- 37. Edgar thought that the marks in the lower right were a third animal. I sincerely thank Annie Caubet and François Poplin for comments on the rings (conversation with and email to the author, September 2010).
- 38. Conversation with Annie Caubet, September 16, 2010.
- 39. For the lance-shaped earring at the center top of Figure 33, see McGovern 1985, fig. 46. Edgar (1907b, p. 104) found parallels for these in Cyprus as well.
- 40. McGovern 1985, p. 134.
- 41. Edgar 1907b, pls. 50, 51, p. 96; Kitchen 1982a, p. 373, g, and letter of July 2009.
- 42. Negbi 1970. Goring (1989) sees certain items as weights; see also Snell 1995, pp. 1488–90, and Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 178.
- 43. Osborne (2004) reviews many of the reasons for deposits. For some examples from Cyprus, Syria, and Mesopotamia, see Åström 1983, McClellan 1986, and Lilyquist 1994. Such deposits have been interpreted as treasury workshop contents in Negbi and Moskowitz 1966 and Bjorkman 1993; as currency in Kletter 2003 and Kroll 2003; and as treasury objects in Feldman 2009.
- 44. Pierrat 1994. The objects are now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the Musée de Louvre, Paris. For thoughts on "treasures" in Egypt, see Vernus 1989.

- 45. Scenarios about origin are given in Drenkhahn 1980, pp. 72–73, and Settgast 1986, pp. 136–37.
- 46. James 1984, pp. 185-86.
- 47. A hoard of silver scrap was found at Ugarit near a mold (Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 178).
- 48. For faience marsh bowls and pieces of jewelry (with uraei, wedjat eyes, Hathor masks, papyri, and Bes) dedicated to Hathor, see Pinch 1993, pp. 78–80, 275, 326–60. Faience objects with Tawosret's name were found in temples in Sinai and what are now modern Jordan and Lebanon (Marée 2006, p. 126; Griffiths 2006; Doumet-Serhal 2008).
- 49. Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933, pp. 59–61; James 1984, p. 186; Bell 1986. Christopher Naunton kindly sent photographs of the Amarna pieces from the Egypt Exploration Society archives (TA_30-31_0026, 0045a, 0047, 0106).
- 50. Bubastis long had an intermixed culture; see Bakr 1982 and Helck 1955, pp. 1930–31, nos. 719, 720.
- 51. Loud 1948, pp. 157, 290, provenience 2012, plan 386, pl. 229 (Museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, A 18295a–e). See the discussion in Gershuny 1985, p. 42. For the dating to the beginning of the Iron Age, see Mazar 2011b, and for the dating of Megiddo VIA, where the silver hoard was found, see Beth-Valley Archaeological Project 2010. Caubet (conversation with the author, November 2010) dates the transition in Syria and the Levant to 1180/60 B.C.
- 52. Davis to Lythgoe, December 1906, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA. Maspero, too (1907, p. 336), refers to silver jewelry as being present in the first find, but his account is somewhat problematic.
- 53. Radwan 1983, nos. 328, 334, 467-69.
- 54. Lilyquist 1988.
- 55. An earlier instance of silver being used with gold highlights occurred in the remarkable tomb of Yuya and Thuya, from the time of Amenhotep III (Tomb KV46 at Thebes; now Egyptian Museum, Cairo); see Lilyquist 1997.
- 56. For depictions of some of these vessel shapes, see Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pls. 22, 23 (Theban Tomb 17); No. Davies 1943, pl. 66 (Theban Tomb 100); No. Davies 1905, pl. 32 (tomb of Meryra); and Davis et al. 1908, pp. 39–40, pls. 8, 9 (bracelets with Seti II). For Ramesside examples, see Fischer 2011.
- 57. Radwan 1983, nos. 332, 449, 466, and Schiaparelli 1927, pp. 83– 84: Turin 8394 (silver situla), 8392 (silver strainer), 8401 (silver bowl), 8393 (bronze strainer). Other Kha vessels could be related: Radwan 1983, nos. 249, 312, 464. It seems likely that a flask with a stand from Semna was used for wine (ibid., nos. 238, 397, 462a,b).
- 58. Radwan 1983, nos. 304, 467, 468; Rommelaere 1991, no. 18; Dreyfus 2005.
- 59. Radwan 1983, no. 466.
- 60. Ibid., no. 467; Dreyfus 2005. The horses are the *longiligne* type that appears early in Egypt and has its origin in the Sudan or Turkmenistan.
- 61. Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1983, pp. 172–73, N 1220–22), Kition (Karageorghis 1974, p. 90, 3[a]–[b]), and Kourion Kaloriziki Tomb 40 (Gershuny 1985, p. 16).
- 62. In addition to the eight sets in Gershuny 1985, Gershuny 2003 includes sets from Dan Tomb 387, Sa'idiyeh Tomb 32, Tel Nami Tomb 69, and incomplete sets from Tel Nami Tomb 69, Sa'idiyeh Tombs 102 and T119, and Deir el-Balah Tomb 118. I am grateful to Dr. Gershuny for a copy of her 2003 unpublished paper.
- 63. For the sets in the tombs at Byblos, see Montet 1928–29, no. 746, and associated silver vessels. On the dating, see Gershuny 1985, pp. 46–47, and also Moorey 1980.

- 64. Kitchen 1982b.
- 65. James 1995.
- 66. Poo 1986 and 1995; C. Meyer 1986.
- 67. Bryan 2005 and 2008.
- 68. Bakr and Brandl 2010, pp. 176–79, no. 53 (Archaeological Museum of Zagazig University).
- 69. Jones 2011.
- 70. See Morenz 2006, pp. 50–51, 57, and especially von Lieven 2003.
- Morenz 2006. For the vessel (Museo Arqueológico de Granada, 8329), see Gamer-Wallert 1978, fig. 1, no. G-39, pp. 30–34, 284– 85, pl. 4. On the name Osorkon, see Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton 2006, pp. 493–94, and Aston 2009, pp. 19–37.
- 72. Möller and Schubart 1910, no. 97, pl. 15; Gubel 1987, p. 267, and 2000, p. 87, citing Emma Brunner-Traut. The bowl is in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussamlung Berlin. For a discussion of this and other Egyptian festivals, see Lloyd 1976, pp. 267–76.
- 73. Bietak 1985.
- 74. Lesko 1995, pp. 222, 228–29. For the tomb representations, see Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 17ff., pls. 14, 15, 23.
- 75. Radwan 1983, no. 469 (Art Institute of Chicago); Dreyfus 2005, p. 249.
- 76. Ziffer 1990, p. 84*, fig. 134. For a general account of viniculture along the Levant, see McGovern 2009, pp. 172–82.
- 77. Klebs 1934, pp. 58-60; Simon 1992; Janssen 1975, pp. 431-32.
- 78. Collon (1992) shows that many more occasions gave rise to banquets in the Near East than in Egypt, where the banquets depicted are generally funerary. See also Ziffer 2005. For Late Bronze Age representations, see Liebowitz 1980 and Fischer 2011.
- 79. Conversation with the author, January 3, 2009; Caubet 2012.
- 80. Conversation with the author, August 2005.
- The cranium appears to be emphasized; it is unlikely that a handkerchief is represented, as in the scene in No. Davies 1948, pls. 22, 30, or a shortened version of a long-stemmed lotus, as in Fischer 2007, no. *H.32, pl. 49, and Hofmann 2004, p. 24, fig. 25.
- 82. Such spiky tufts are worn by a variety of people, young and old, male and female (see the Nubian in Raven 2007, fig. 6). However, the Tell Basta examples best recall female sphinxes on ivory plaques from Megiddo (Loud 1939, pl. 7).
- 83. Pomorska 1987, pp. 44-46, 54, 70, 90.
- 84. Cornelius 2004, pp. 89–91. See also Leclant 1975 and Leitz 2002– 3, vol. 1, p. 124, vol. 2, pp. 174–75, 212–13, vol. 8, p. 126.
- 85. Cornelius 2004, pp. 29, 35-36, figs. 8, 20.
- 86. Kitchen 2003, p. 270, ll. 372:l, 10, 15. "Justified" means that the person is accepted as worthy by the gods in the next world. Kitchen has used > < to indicate a sign omitted by a scribe in error, < > to bracket an omitted sign, and [] to indicate a lacuna in the text where he suggests a possible reading.
- 87. Edwards 1976a, no. 2. For the cups, which were equipped with silver stands and are described in the inventory as being of gold and of silver rimmed with gold, see Sethe 1906, p. 22, II. 13–17, stela CG 34001. For the bowls and situla, see Radwan 1983, nos. 332 (*Schale*), 335, 336 (*flache Schüssel*), 410.
- 88. For example, Radwan 1983, nos. 334, 335, 344, 405, 411, 414.
- 89. Arnold 1972, colorpl.; Tait 1963; Jones 1982; Radwan 1983, nos. 328, 334; Pinch 1993, pp. 312–15.
- 90. Bourriau 1982, Sparks 2006.
- 91. Caubet 2012. See also Ziffer 2005.
- 92. Maspero thought the goat was smelling the wine contained therein.
- 93. The goat lacks a beard—unlike the typical Near Eastern animal but seems to show the sheath of a phallus. Maspero (1907, p. 340, and 1908b, p. 40) referred to the animal as both male and female.

- 94. Email to the author, November 9, 2009. The ring is notably large, however. Maspero (1908b, p. 30) and Edgar (1907b, p. 99) thought the ring could have functioned to hang the vessel, but the jug does not need to be hung and, in fact, cannot physically be hung (see Appendix 4b).
- 95. Additional photographs of it and other vessels are available in the Department of Egyptian Art, MMA, and planned for an e-journal.
- 96. Letter to the author, November 16, 2009.
- 97. M. Müller 2003.
- Paget and Pirie 1898, pl. 32. In the Dynasty 18 tomb of Neferhotep (Theban Tomb 49), a cow is ferried in a skiff flanked by men pulling papyrus, an activity pleasing to Hathor since the Old Kingdom.
 Derchain 1976.
- 100. Müller suggests the ferried cow is is a symbol of masculinity. A pottery "votive bed" shows the nude Qudshu in a boat flanked by two cows (Loeben and Kappel 2009, no. 264; reference and photographs kindly supplied by Loeben in March 2011). The animals on an example in Chicago look more like gazelles (OIM 14782, Teeter 2010, no. 239). Stadelmann 1985, fig. 1, pl. 40a, is very worn.
- 101. Caubet 2012. See also Schaeffer 1934, pp. 124–31, and Herbordt 1986, where the bowl is dated considerably earlier. On the Ugaritic myth of Baal, see Pardee 1997, pp. 261–62.
- 102. Kitchen 2003, p. 271, l. 373:5b ("f." stands for the feminine possessive and subject); el-Sayed 1975, p. 278, doc. 88; el-Sayed 1982, pp. 79–80, doc. 394. Amy's name is unique, and some Egyptologists have restored a "t" in order to relate it to an Egyptian name (Ranke 1935, p. 357 no. 5). The Egyptian word formerly read pomegranate (šdh) is now read as distilled red wine (Tallet 2010).
- 103. Onstine 2005, pp. 11–17, 27, 29–31, 78–79 (two male singers at Tell Basta and two in the funerary temple of Ramesses II at Thebes who appear to be foreigners), 130, no. 684. On elite women in temple service, see Quirke 1999, pp. 228–29.
- 104. Loud 1939, pls. 62, 63, nos. 378–82 (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, East Jerusalem, and Museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
- 105. Schipper 2005, p. 94; Breasted 1906, § 589.
- 106. Red wine within the bowl would also have provided the swimming maidens with an appropriate environment.
- 107. Desroches-Noblecourt 1954. A scene of early Dynasty 18 also includes a woman (Hugonot 1989, pp. 262–63). Pischikova (conversation with the author, 2006) relates this type of scene to those where women pick flowers for perfume.
- 108. Lange, email to the author, June 2009; Leitz 2002–3, vol. 1, pp. 511, 514, and vol. 8, pp. 265–74.
- 109. Schlichting 1982; el-Sayed 1982, vol. 1, p. 165.
- 110. Conversation with the author, October 2009.
- 111. Bryan 1996, p. 72. Such creatures are known at least since the time of Amenhotep III on a wooden box from Gurob; see Lilyquist 2012.
- 112. For the ostracon, see D'Amicone and Fontanella 2007, p. 212, and Decker and Herb 1994, vol. 1, p. 861 no. T 2.5, vol. 2, pl. 437; the tiles (JE 89486, JE 89488), Habachi 2001, pp. 242–44; the bowl, H. Müller and Thiem 1999, fig. 449; and the chalice, Tait 1963, no. XXXVII.
- 113. Derchain 1972, pp. 12-13.
- 114. Lilyquist 2007, pp. 98–99. For a skiff, see Leahy and Leahy 1986, p. 133n3 (JE 37913); for mirror handles, Vandier d'Abbadie 1937–46, no. 2667, and 1959, nos. 3019, 3021. The swamp scene painted on an 18th Dynasty pottery situla in the Brooklyn Museum (59.2) includes two nude young women in boats. For studies of the swimmer, see Fischer 2007, pp. 305–14, 346; Lohwasser 2008; and M. Müller 2010.

- 115. The gold cone found with the swimmers bowl in 2009 (Figure 90, middle right) covers the basal leaves of the papyri of the lower register of the bowl; it has subsequently been placed with Ameneminet's bowl. The omphalos of the swimmers bowl is cone-shaped, projecting upward from the base, and slightly golden, and it may have signs of wear, the cause of which I do not know. A Late Bronze bronze bowl from Ugarit also has a conical omphalos (Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 290).
- 116. Otto 1975; Morenz 2006, p. 54.
- 117. Letter to the author, July 2009.
- 118. Green 1987, no. 168 (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, not registered as of 1987).
- 119. Conversation with the author, October 2009.
- 120. Compare Hayes 1959, fig. 108; and G. Martin 1974, p. 88, no. 368.
- 121. This is extensively studied in von Lieven 2003.
- 122. See Pinch 1993, pp. 190-97, especially p. 194.
- 123. Schulman 1984.
- 124. Naville 1891, pl. 45a. Rashef's right arm is raised, no doubt to hold a spear.
- 125. The man is assumed to be Egyptian because of his dress. Cornelius (2004, no. 3.1) identifies the goddess as Anat. For current studies of this site, see Mazar 2011a.
- 126. Ranke 1952, pp. 268, 380, no. 22 (for Atumemtaneb), n. 10 (for Amy).
- 127. Note the Egyptian and foreign names of an ambassador (a royal envoy par excellence) buried at Saqqara (Zivie 2006).
- 128. For the title, see *Egyptological Bibliography* 2001, and more recently, Kitchen 2000 and 2003 and Raven 2007.
- 129. Schmitz 1986. Gardiner is cited in Simpson 1959, p. 35.
- 130. Málek 1985 and 1988, Van Dijk 1993, Zivie 1997, Raven 2007, Daoud 2011. For the ambassador's tomb, see Zivie 2006.
- 131. El-Saady 1999.
- 132. Bryan (1996) convincingly argues that Palestine was heavily influenced by Egypt but did not have a permanent resident Egyptian population. For discussions of Ramesside culture in the Sudan and in the Levant, see Vincentelli 2006 and Redford 1992, pp. 202–3.
- 133. Kitchen, letter to the author, July 2009. In Kitchen 2003, p. 270, I. 372:10, the inscription is translated slightly differently as "[of the foreign land of] Ary." Yoyotte had made this suggestion in 1962 (pp. 467–68). Schulman (1986, p. 195) thought "Ari" could be Atumentaneb's Semitic name.
- 134. Letter to the author, July 2009. Belmonte Marín (2001, p. 36) calls Arra "a provincial Syrian center on a key route through north and central Syria."
- 135. On Ramesside officials at Qantir, see Bietak and Forstner-Müller 2011.
- 136. Caminos 1954, pp. 16, 117, 138, 200-201, 333, 337, 384.
- 137. Callender 2004, Dodson 2011.
- 138. Edgar Pusch, emails to the author, June 17 and July 23, 2009.
- 139. For the tomb, see Gohary 1991; Tawfik 1991, no. St 101, pp. 405, 407–8, pls. 56a, 57b,c, 58, fig. 1; and Van Dijk 1993, pp. 156–57. For the statue, see Málek 1999, p. 591, no. 801-638-300; Kitchen 2000, p. 148; and al-Ayedi 2006, p. 576, no. 1936. I am very grateful to André Bolshakov for information and photographs.
- 140. Kitchen, letter to the author, June 28, 2010. See also Pomorska 1987, pp. 178–80.
- 141. Gohary 1991.
- 142. Undated letter of summer 2009; see Kitchen 2006. On foreign features found at Pi-Ramesse, see Pusch 1996.
- 143. Gohary 1991, pl. 51.

- 144. lbid., pl. 56.
- 145. Ibid., pl. 58, panel 4.
- 146. Habachi 2001, pl. 26; Hofmann 2004, fig. 130.
- 147. Black bronze is a copper alloy whose surface is artificially patinated, in this case no doubt to show off the inlaid metals (information supplied by Deborah Schorsch of the Museum's Department of Objects Conservation, February 26, 1992). A more sharply carinated 18th Dynasty bowl in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London (UC64770) was said by Petrie (1937, p. 28, no. 31, pl. 40) to be from "one of the great silver groups at Bubastis." According to Petrie Museum curator Stephen Quirke (email to the author, 2009), there is no information about the bowl's provenance. A second Petrie bowl (Petrie 1937, no. 30) is of uncertain date.
- 148. Schimmel exhibited all three in Berlin in 1978 (Settgast 1978, nos. 249–51). I thank Daphna Ben-Tor of the Israel Museum for very kindly supplying photographs of the goblet.
- 149. Settgast 1978, no. 249. Whether Settgast had any particular information from the art market is not known.
- 150. Email to the author, January 16, 2011. Compare Habachi 2001, pl. 26, left, and G. Martin 1997, pl. 31.
- 151. Letter to the author, July 2009.
- 152. Onstine 2005, pp. 78-79. See also note 103 above.
- 153. The fragments of the cup were X-rayed when they were at the Museum in October 1970. The X-ray cannot be located today, however, and the cup has suffered since it was exhibited in 1978. The drawing is the result of studying the 1978 catalogue illustration and the object as it is today.
- 154. Note a Ramesside ostracon with a marsh scene from Deir el Medineh with female punting and duck with eggs (Vandier d'Abbadie 1959, no. 3020).
- 155. The horses on Vessels B and C are closest to the *bréviligne* breed known in the Ramesside period (Rommelaere 1991, pp. 34–37, 44–46). Rommelaere has only one example of horses with all four legs off the ground (no. 50).
- 156. Edwards 1976a-c.
- 157. No. Davies 1927, pl. 30.
- 158. Decamps de Mertzenfeld 1954, pl. 1. The panel, exhibited currently in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, is dated in Brandl 1995 to the thirteenth century B.C.; see also Fischer 2011.
- 159. Petrie 1891, pl. 20:4. The "box" is marked similarly; see Wallis 1900, fig. 40.
- 160. For an example of Near Eastern metalwork, see the detailed photographs of the gold bowl from Ugarit in Lilyquist 1988, p. 33.
- 161. Loud 1939, pl. 4:2 (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, East Jerusalem, 38.780).
- 162. Kitagawa 2008.
- 163. Ogden 1990-91, p. 10.
- 164. For bird trapping and netting in middle Egypt and in the north at Saqqara during the Ramesside period, see Berlandini 1982, pp. 86–92; Ockinga and al-Masri 1990, pls. 54, 55; and Hofmann 2004, pp. 119–20. See also G. Martin 1987, Zivie 2003, and notes 157 and 166 above and below.
- 165. An example at Saqqara is published in Ockinga 2004.
- 166. No. Davies 1927, pp. 60-62, pls. 30, 37, 40.
- 167. Simpson (1959, p. 38) called the reed structure a "windbreak." Pischikova (conversation with the author, January 1, 2006) has identified it as a shrine holding a mummy being dragged forward by horses (rather than the more usual oxen) driven by a man with a lasso and a throwstick. See Barthelmess 1992, pl. 4 (Theban Tomb 296). No other scenes on the repoussé bowl are explicitly funerary, however, and horses in marshes do appear on Tell Basta vessels.
- 168. I am grateful to Harpur for many observations of Old Kingdom relief; her website (www.oxfordexpeditiontoegypt.com) is an excellent resource for Old Kingdom tomb decoration.
- 169. See note 158 above.
- 170. Several 18th Dynasty Theban tombs show ostriches being hunted or brought back to a tomb owner (Porter and Moss 1960, p. 468, [d]; Edwards 1976a, p. 52; Decker and Herb 1994, vol. 1, pp. 330 no. J 89, 338 no. J 107, vol. 2, pls. 157, 167), but in the Tell Basta case they appear to be domesticated. The ostrich may have a history in the Near East, for it appears on a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal of the first millennium B.C. on which the bird is pursued by a hero (Porada 1948, p. 70, no. 606).
- 171. A Middle Assyrian box offers the best parallel for the bird and its chicks; see Houlihan 1986, pp. 79–81, and Harper et al. 1995, pp. 83–85.
- 172. Lions were normally a royal symbol in Egypt; in the temple of Ramesses III (reigned 1184–1153 B.C.) at Medinet Habu, they appear in scenes of chariotry and the hunt (Epigraphic Survey 1930, pls. 17, 35). A lion being speared by an Asiatic was depicted in Egypt during the Hyksos period (Arnold 2008), but the gold drinking cup from Ugarit provides a better parallel yet (Schaeffer 1949, pp. 23–48, pl. 8).
- 173. See the gazelle on a Ramesside bowl from Gurob (Petrie 1891, p. 19, §39, pl. 20:5).
- 174. For Old Kingdom blocks reused in tombs near Ameneminet's, see Tawfik 1991, p. 409, and Daoud 2011. Determining relationships between monuments of different eras is a complex matter, however; see Der Manuelian 1994, pp. 51–58, and Stammers 2009, pp. 85–86. Harpur suggests that there would have been other vehicles for transmitting iconography.
- 175. For a late Dynasty 18 depiction of Renenutet presiding over winemaking, see No. Davies 1933, p. 37, pl. 48.
- 176. Russmann 2008.
- 177. Hofmann 2004, pp. 109-10.
- 178. Ameneminet had a title at the Ramesseum, and a cartouche of Ramesses II appears in the tomb that is spelled in the post-year 20 form (Van Dijk, email to the author, December 15, 2010, and see Gohary 1991, pl. 56, panel 2, col. 9).
- 179. Email to the author, December 15, 2010, and see also Van Dijk 1993, chap. 6. He looks at the particular form of the "seated man" determinative in inscriptions of the Saqqara necropolis (Gohary 1991, pl. 56, panel 2, cols. 12, 18; G. Martin et al. 2001, p. 25) and the location of the tomb adjacent to that of the vizier Neferrenpet, who announced the tenth and eleventh Sed festivals of Ramesses II (years 57 and 60).
- 180. Davis et al. 1908, pp. 39–40, no. 15, pls. 9, 10; Altenmüller 2008, fig. 77.
- 181. For monuments of her period, see Callender 2004 and Altenmüller 2008. For a consideration of different contemporary styles in the Ramesside period, see Brand 2011, p. 57.
- 182. Altenmüller 2008, figs. 76, 77 (in Cairo).
- 183. Ogden 1990–91, p. 13. For other vessels, see Montet 1951 and 1960.

- 184. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 44101); see Bénédite 1907 and Bianchi 1996, p. 159.
- 185. See Bissing 1910 and 1941, Tait 1963, Fazzini 2001 (two fragmentary chalices in the Brooklyn Museum), and Lilyquist, database of faience relief chalices (in preparation). In addition to two complete chalices (Figure 56 and MMA 26.7.971), the MMA has numerous fragments.
- 186. Radwan (1983, no. 406) noted the unconventional decoration of this goblet.
- 187. The Rothschild cup was in the collection of Edmond de Rothschild when Tait discussed it in 1963 (chalice IV, fig. 2). It has not been seen since.
- 188. Wicke 2010, figs. 11 (MMA 13.182.53), 12 (Fitzwilliam E.256.1939).
- 189. For chalices with inscriptions, see Tait 1963, nos. XVI (reconstruction based on four fragments, one of which is MMA 30.8.154) and XXXII (Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, 4563). Fazzini (1988) assigned the second chalice to Osorkon II (872–842 B.C.), but the first has names used by Smendes (*Hedjkheperra setepenra*, ca. 1076–1052 B.C.) and Sheshonq I (943–923 B.C.). It has more divine symbols, however, so a progression from naturalistic to symbolic is indicated. A chalice fragment from Jordan (Milward 1975) has *Hedjkheperra*, a name also used by several Dynasty 22–23 kings. For a naturalistic chalice, in the Toledo Museum of Art (1983.12), see H. Müller 1979. The dates here derive from Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton 2006, pp. 493–94; for Third Intermediate Period dating, which is still under discussion, see also Aston 2009, pp. 19–37 and Broekman, Demarée, and Kaper 2009, p. 445.
- 190. At Tell Basta, Habachi (1957) found the Ramesside names Seti I, Ramesses II, Merenptah, Seti II, Tawosret, Ramesses III, Ramesses VIII, and Ramesses X. See also Lange 2010. On the Levant, see Gubel 2000. For the statue base, see Breasted 1948, from a mixed context.
- 191. Eggler and Gubel 2010. For good illustrations of the bowls, see Fontan and Le Meux 2007, pp. 12, 21, 126, 166, 169, 343–45. Some Phoenician bowls have associations with late ninthcentury Cypriot pottery (Caubet, conversation with the author, November 2010).
- 192. W. Smith 1958, pp. 227–29. In 1963, in an unpublished review for the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, Smith's student Donald P. Hansen wrote, "Elements of style and iconography of the original arts . . . become so familiar that they remain, as it were, in a state of flux, divorced from the mother art, and capable of being employed by the craftsmen in any of the great cosmopolitan centers."
- 193. Roehrig 2005, cat. 25; Wicke 2008, p. 258, Gurob.1.
- 194. Bissing 1901, pp. 60-62, ill.; Radwan 1983, no. 328, pl. 59.
- 195. The stand with the banquet (Radwan 1983, no. 468) is especially maladroit; the heads of the figures are placed directly under pendant lotuses, making it appear as though the banquet guests wear lotus hats. These stands must have been made locally, and one even wonders if the artist could have been an Asiatic.
- 196. Conversation with the author, January 2009.
- 197. Braunstein 2011.

APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE OF THE TELL BASTA TREASURE

Items marked with one asterisk came from the first find (September 22, 1906); those with two asterisks are from the second find (October 17, 1906).

The objects are grouped first by type and then by location, in accession number order. Accession numbers preceded by JE, CG, and SR 1/ denote objects now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; those preceded by ÄM refer to objects in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin; and MMA numbers refer to objects in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cats. 15, 33, 43: Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915; all others: Rogers Fund, 1907). The pieces of a single object in the Metropolitan may have individual accession numbers; in that case the lowest number is given to the entire group.

Objects in Cairo were registered in the museum's Journal d'Entrée (JE), Catalogue Général (CG), and Special Register of Section 1 (SR 1/). Objects on display were registered in the Journal d'Entrée twice, once in 1906 and again in 1908. A concordance of the two sets of numbers was written into the Journal by Guy Brunton, who was keeper from 1931 to 1948. The tags with uniform handwritten JE numbers still attached to some of the items today probably date to that time. The corroded and fragmentary silver items were registered briefly in 1908, received a bit more detail in the Special Register of the 1960s, and underwent restoration in the 1970s.

Some of the objects that went to Berlin were lost during World War II, so the dimensions given here for them are from the museum's register. I measured the objects I saw in the museum in 1987.

Shapes and features that occur on multiple vessels are reviewed in Appendix 4.



VESSELS

Bowls

**1. Silver with gold rim, omega handle, and cone over omphalos. Interior with chased outer register of animals and chased recessed base with swamp. Inscribed on exterior for Amy Diam. 6 in. (15.3 cm), Diam. of cone 1 ½ in. (3.8 cm) Edgar 1907b, pp. 102–3, pl. 48; Vernier 1927

JE 38709 and 39869, CG 53263, SR 1/6619 Figures 18, 44, 57, 77, 90, Appendix 3

**2. Silver with gold rim, herringbone omega handle Diam. 6%-7¼ in. (17.5-18.2 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 101, pl. 47, middle

JE 39884.1, SR 1/6697 Figures 21, 91

**3. Silver with gold rim, omega handle, and cone-shaped omphalos.
Recessed base with swimmers
H. about 1³/₈ in. (3.5 cm), Diam. 6³/₈-6³/₄ in. (16.1–17.2 cm); H. of recessed base, ³/₈ in. (1 cm), Diam. 4¹/₄ in. (10.9 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pl. 47, top

JE 39884.2, SR 1/6698 Figures 22, 47, 92, Appendix 3

**4. Corroded silver base with gold cone over omphalos W. 5% in. (15 cm), Diam. of gold cone ca. 1% in. (4 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 101

JE 39884.3, SR1/6699 Figures 25, 90

**5. Silver with striated gold omega handle and omphalos Diam. 6¼ in. (16 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 101

JE 39884.4, SR1/6700 Figures 23, 91

**6. Silver with plain gold omega handle Diam. 6¼ in. (15.5 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 101

JE 39884.5, SR 1/6701 Figures 24, 91

**7. Large corroded silver with cloth impressions. Five decorated fragments, one inscribed, that do not belong to the bowl Diam. 9½ in. (24 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 101, pl. 47, bottom

JE 39884.6, SR 1/6702 Figures 19, 20

57. From left to right: reproduction of Amy's bowl (cat. 1) by Émile Gilliéron (MMA, Dodge Fund, 1931, 31.10.20a); repoussé bowl (cat. 9); and reproduction of goblet naming Tawosret (cat. 22) by Émile Gilliéron (MMA, Dodge Fund, 1931, 31.10.22). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA



58. Gold cone (cat. 15). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

**8. Silver with gold rim, gold cone over omphalos, and gold spheres. Repoussé swamp and animal friezes. Numerous decorated fragments, the most readable included in drawing. Inscription naming Ameneminet

Diam. 71/2 in. (19 cm), Diam. of gold cone 13/8 in. (3.6 cm)

JE 39884.10, SR 1/7789 Figures 26, 42, 90, 92, Appendix 3

*9. Silver. Extensively chased with repoussé scenes Diam. 8¹/₈ in. (20.7 cm)

MMA 07.228.20 Figures 3, 43, 57, 76, Appendix 3

*10. Silver rim, fragment W. 4³/4 in. (11.9 cm)

MMA 07.228.195 Figure 74

*11. Silver rim, fragment. With Tawosret's names surrounded by two cartouches with the epithets "lord of the two lands" and "lord of crowns" written above them Diam. 4¼ in. (10.9 cm) Simpson 1959, pp. 39–40

MMA 07.228.196 Figure 74

*12. Silver rim of open vessel, fragment W. 37/8 in. (9.9 cm)

MMA 07.228.208 Figure 74

*13. Silver rim of carinated vessel, fragment W. 4¾ in. (11 cm)

MMA 07.228.251a Figure 75 *14. Bronze Diam. 5% in. (13.6 cm)

MMA 07.228.255 Figure 74

*15. Gold cone Diam. 2³/₈ in. (6.15 cm)

MMA 30.8.371 Figures 3, 58, 90

Jugs

*16. Simpson's Vessel A. Silver with gold rim and goat handle. Chased neck, repoussé body, and lotus on base. Inscribed for Atumemtaneb H. 65% in. (16.8 cm) Edgar 1907b, pp. 98–99, pl. 43; Vernier 1927

JE 38705 and 39867, CG 53262, SR 1/6609 Figures 5, 39, Appendix 3

*17a-e. Simpson's Vessel B. Silver with gold aurochs handle. Chased neck, repoussé body, and lotus on base. Inscribed for Atumemtaneb

a. Body and neck fragment H. 5¾ in. (13.5 cm) Edgar 1907b, pp. 99–100, no. 2, pl. 44; Vernier 1927

JE 38720 and 39868, CG 53258, SR 1/6623

b. Aurochs handle. Formerly in Berlin, lost in World War II H. 4% in. (11 cm)

ÄM 20106

c. Two neck fragments. Lion and calf; goat and floral bands W. $2^{3}\!\!/_{8}$ and $1^{3}\!\!/_{8}$ in. (6 and 3.5 cm)

ÄM 20107a, b

d. Three neck fragments. One with lion and bovine; two with two goats H. of lion and bovine fragment 1³/₄ in. (4.6 cm); H. of largest fragment 1³/₈ in. (4.9 cm); H. of rim fragment 1⁵/₈ in. (4.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.219, 222, 242

e. Body fragments. Heart pattern; inscription from scene H. 1 % in. (2.9 cm), W. 1 % in. (4.4 cm)

MMA 07.228.221, 220

Figures 6, 40, Appendix 3

*18. Simpson's Vessel C. Silver with lioness-headed handle. Inscription naming Atumemtaneb H. without handle $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (15.9 cm), Diam. of body $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. (12.9 cm)

MMA 07.228.187 Figures 3, 41, 79, Appendix 3 59. Silver jug with gold rim (cat. 21). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA



*19. Chased silver fragment with reed leaves. Possibly from Simpson's Vessel C H. 1% in. (4.9 cm)

MMA 07.228.215 Figure 41, Appendix 3

*20. Chased silver fragment with part of vessel body. Possibly from Simpson's Vessel C W. 1 $^{1\!/_2}$ in. (3.8 cm)

MMA 07.228.246 Figure 41, Appendix 3 *21. Silver with gold rim. No chasing H. 55% in. (14.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.15 Figures 3, 59, 79

Goblet

*22. Gold. Inscribed Tawosret H. 3³/4 in. (9.4 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 99, pl. 44(1); Vernier 1927

JE 38708 and 39872, CG 53260, SR 1/6622 Figures 4, 57

Situlae

*23. Electrum. Inscribed Tawosret H. 5¹/₈ in. (13 cm)

ÄM 19736 (lost in World War II) *Figure 8*

*24. Silver with plain rim H. 5 in. (12.6 cm), Wt. 3 oz. (85.4 g)

MMA 07.228.17 Figures 3, 60, 80

*25. Silver with chased leaf rim H. 5³/₈ in. (13.7 cm), Wt. 2¹/₂ oz. (69.6 g)

MMA 07.228.18 Figures 3, 60, 80





*26. Decorated electrum H. 5½ in. (13.1 cm), Wt. 2½ oz. (72.4 g)

MMA 07.228.22 Figures 3, 60, 80

*27. Silver base with lotus design H. $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. (7.9 cm)

MMA 07.228.188 Figure 80

*28. Silver wall fragment with leaf H. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. (4.6 cm)

MMA 07.228.191

*29. Silver neck with chased leaves H. $1\frac{3}{10}$ in. (3.5 cm)

MMA 07.228.209 Figure 80

*30. Silver cylindrical neck W. 1³/₈ in. (3.5 cm)

MMA 07.228.250a-d Figure 80

Bottle

*31. Silver with oval body. Scenes of Bastet, inscribed for Meritptah H. $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. (15.5 cm); H. of neck $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.19 Figures 3, 48, 81

Flask

*32. Silver with pointed base H. 5^{5} /s in. (14.4 cm)

MMA 07.228.181 Figures 3, 60, 82

Unidentified closed vessel

*33. Silver neck with gold Hathor band H. 3 in. (7.7 cm)

MMA 30.8.370 Figures 3, 49, 83

Jars

**34. Gold chased with cat, swag, and floral bands. Ring handle with faience inlay
H. 3 in. (7.6 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 101, pl. 46; Vernier 1927

JE 38707 and 39871, CG 53259, SR 1/6621 Figures 13, 61



**35. Gold chased with floral bands and lozenge pattern. Ring handle with recumbent calf. Lotus on base
H. 4³/₈ in. (11.2 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pp. 100–101, pl. 45; Vernier 1927

JE 38706 and 39870, CG 53261, SR 1/6624 Figures 12, 61

*36. Silver chased with floral and heart patterns. Restored original H. $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11 cm)

ÄM 20105 Figure 9

*37. Silver fragments with gold rim. Chased with floral elements and heart pattern. Virtually complete profile H. 3 in. (7.5 cm)

ÄM 20108 Figure 10

*38. Gold chased with floral bands and heart pattern. Ring handle with recumbent calf. Lotus on base H. $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. (8.4 cm)

ÄM 21134 (lost in World War II) Figure 7

*39. Silver with high neck H. 4 in. (10.3 cm), Wt. 3 oz. (85.8 g)

MMA 07.228.16 Figures 3, 61, 84

*40. Silver with low neck and gold rim H. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (6.5 cm), Wt. $1\frac{3}{8}$ oz. (39.3 g)

MMA 07.228.21 Figures 3, 61, 84

*41. Silver body without neck H. 2³/₄ in. (7.1 cm)

MMA 07.228.193 Figure 84 61. Jars. From left to right, gold chased with a cat, a swag, and floral bands, with a ring handle with faience inlay (cat. 34; reproduction by Émile Gilliéron in MMA: Dodge Fund, 1931 [31.10.23]); gold chased with floral bands and a lozenge pattern, with a ring handle with a recumbent calf (cat. 35; reproduction by Émile Gilliéron in MMA: Dodge Fund, 1931 [31.10.21]); silver with a high neck (cat. 39); silver with a low neck and gold rim (cat. 40). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA



62. Gold strainer with chasing (cat. 43). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

Strainers, shallow

**42. Silver with lotus on handle. Rivet attaching end of handle 4 x 4¾ in. (10 x 12 cm) Edgar 1907b, pl. 49, lower right

JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6693 Figure 27

*43. Gold with chasing Diam. 4³/₄ in. (12 cm), Wt. 2³/₈ oz. (67.2 g)

MMA 30.8.369 Figures 3, 62, 85

*44. Silver profile. No handle preserved W. 3½ in. (9 cm) Quantitative analysis by Mark Wypyski (MMA) by SEM, June 9, 2006: Cu 5.1, Zn .07, Ag 91.9, Au 2.8, Pb .09 Simpson 1949, p. 65

MMA 07.228.185 Figure 86

*45. Silver profile. No handle preserved. W. $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (11.9 cm) Simpson 1949, p. 65

MMA 07.228.186 Figure 86

*46. Silver rim fragment with lotus handle W. 5 1/8 in. (12.9 cm) Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.189 Figure 87 *47. Silver rim fragment with complete lotus handle W. 4% in. (11 cm) Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.190 Figure 87

*48. Silver profile. No handle preserved W. 4¾ in. (12 cm) Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.194 Figure 86

*49. Silver rim W. 5¹/₈ in. (12.9 cm) Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.198 Figure 86

*50. Silver upper part of vessel. No handle preserved W. 4% in. (11 cm)

MMA 07.228.207 Figure 86

*51. Silver profile with lotus handle W. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (11.5 cm)

MMA 07.228.249a Figure 87

*52. Silver fragments (too small to draw)

MMA 07.228.252

Strainers, deep

**53. Silver with broad handle Diam. 4¾ in. (11 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 103, pl. 49, top

JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6694 Figure 27

**54. Silver with lotus handle L. of handle 2³/₈ in. (6.1 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 103, pl. 49, lower left

JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6695 Figure 27

*55. Electrum H. 2⁵/₈ in. (6.8 cm), W. 4¹/₄ in. (10.8 cm) (measured by author in 1987)

ÄM 20104 *Figure 8* *56. Silver H. 2¼ in. (5.5 cm) Simpson 1949, p. 65

MMA 07.228.184 Figure 89

*57. Silver Diam. 2³/₈ in. (6.1 cm)

MMA 07.228.226 Figure 89

*58. Silver Diam. 2¹/₂ in. (6.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.227 Figure 89

Strainer parts (see also Silver Jewelry, Vessel Parts, and Scrap, below)

*59. Plain silver handle L. 1¾ in. (3.6 cm) Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.201 Figure 88

*60. Silver handle with rivet L. $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. (4.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.204 Figure 88

*61. Silver handle L. 1¾ in. (4.3 cm) Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.237 Figure 88

*62. Silver wall fragment with rivet W. 1³/₄ in. (4.5 cm)

MMA 07.228.247 Figure 88

Undetermined vessel types

*63. Silver from wall (too small to draw)

MMA 07.228.200

*64. Silver wall. Curved W. 1³/₄ in. (4.6 cm)

MMA 07.228.238

*65. Silver fragments (too small to draw) MMA 07.228.251b-e *66. Silver fragments with incised lines (too small to draw) MMA 07.228.253a-g

*67. Silver fragments (too small to draw) MMA 07.228.256–58

GOLD JEWELRY

**68. Gold bracelets inlaid with lapis. Inscribed for Ramesses II Greatest H. 2¾ in. (5.9 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 106, pl. 54; Vernier 1907–9

JE 38710 and 39873, CG 52575–76, SR 1/6620 Figure 14

**69. Large pair of inlaid gold ear studs Diam. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm) Edgar 1907b, pp. 105–6, pl. 53 left; Vernier 1907–9

JE 38711, 39593, 39594, and 39877(a)–(b), CG 52325–26, SR 1/6617–18 *Figure 63*

**70. Small pair of inlaid gold ear studs Diam. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm) Edgar 1907b, pp. 105–6, pl. 53, center and right; Vernier 1907–9

JE 38712(a)–(b) and 39878(a)–(b), CG 52327–28, SR 1/6615–16 *Figure 15*

**71. Assemblage of gold and carnelian beads W. as strung 141/8 in. (36 cm) Edgar 1907b, pp. 104–5, pl. 52; Vernier 1927

JE 38713 and 39875, CG 53184, SR 1/6611 *Figure 16*

**72. Gold clasp H. 3¼ in. (8.4 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 105, pl. 53, top; Vernier 1927

JE 39876, CG 53182, SR 1/6610 Figure 17

SILVER JEWELRY, VESSEL PARTS, AND SCRAP

**73. Parts of shallow strainers Large folded and crushed fragment, $2\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (5.5 x 6 cm); small crushed fragment with chevrons, greatest H. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.8 cm); wall and lotus handle, W. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. (7 cm), W. of handle $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.7 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 51 (two)

JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6690 Figure 64



63. Inlaid gold ear stud (cat. 69). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 53, left





64. Parts of shallow silver strainers (cat. 73). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 51



65. Silver jewelry and silver fragments (cats. 74–78). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 50 **74. Seventeen complete and two nearly complete bangles Diam. $2\frac{1}{2}$ -4 in. (6.2–10.1 cm); W. of two fragments 2 and $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. (5 and 6.9 cm)

Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50 (some); Vernier 1907-9

JE 39881(a)-(u), CG 52613-32, 35, SR 1/6696 and 6670-89 Figures 28 (JE39881[i]), 65

**75. Silver wire ingot and twenty-six silver finger rings, most with papyrus umbels: four stirrup, six amuletic uraeus, six amuletic wedjat, five amuletic Hathor head, three amuletic fish, two amuletic Bes Diam. $\frac{1}{2}-1\frac{1}{8}$ in. (1.15–2.9 cm)

Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50 (some); Vernier 1907-9

JE 39882(a)-(t), (w), and (ao)-(as), CG 52268-87 and 52337, SR 1/6327-6646, 6663, and 6665-69 Figures 29 (JE 39882[ap], [as], [aq], [ao), [ar]), 30 (JE 39882[c]), 31 (JE 39882[a]), 35 (JE 39882[a]), 65

**76. Jewelry scraps Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50 (a few); Vernier 1907–9

JE 39882(an), CG 52354, SR1/6664 Figure 65

**77. Silver earrings: fifteen loops with thickest part vertical or horizontal, one with pendant grape cluster, one fragmentary with incised design on oval plate Greatest dimension 1 in. (2.6 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50 (some); Vernier 1907–9

JE 39882(u)–(v), (x)–(z), (aa)–(am); CG 52288, 52336, 52338–45, 52347–53; SR 1/ 6625–26, 6647–54, 6656–62 *Figures 32 (JE 39882[z], [ac], [x], [aj]), 65* **78. Three boxes of silver fragments Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50 (a few)

JE 39882(at)-(av), SR 1/7785-87 Figures 33 (JE 39882[av]), 34 (JE 39882[au]), 65

**79. Silver ingot L. 5½ in. (14 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 51

JE 39883(a), SR 1/6691 Figure 35

**80. Silver ingot fragment L. 2³/₄ in. (7 cm) Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 51

JE 39883(b), SR 1/6692 Figure 35

**81. Two rim fragments of carinated bowl connected by plain gold omega handle

JE 39884.7, SR 1/6703

**82. Three fragments of crushed silver carinated bowls, one with gold sedge fitting with ring greatest dimension 3¹/₄ in. (8.2 cm)

JE 39884.8, SR 1/6704

**83. Sixteen pieces of scrap silver, most folded, some cut Hieroglyphs: Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50; Kitchen 1982a, p. 373, g; papyrus and bird: Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 51 (some); cartouche of Ramesses II: Edgar 1907b, p. 96

JE 39884.9, SR 1/6705 Figures 36, 37

*84. Silver beads, ring, and bits (too small to draw)

MMA 07.228.254a-h

POTTERY

**85. "Painted fragment of New Empire style" (blue-painted?) Edgar 1907b, p. 96

**86. "Part of a portable brasier" Edgar 1907b, p. 96; see Aston 1989

APPENDIX 2: OBJECTS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART THAT POSTDATE THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD (Photographs are by William Barrette. Drawings, all at a scale of 3:5, are by William Schenck.)

Among the objects purchased by the Metropolitan Museum alleged to come from the Tell Basta treasure are some that, for various reasons, appear to be later than the Ramesside period. Hayes (1959, pp. 358–60) and Simpson (1949, p. 64, and 1959, n. 65) mentioned some of these objects. Whether they are indeed from Tell Basta is unknown, although their corroded silver state when they were acquired matched that of the Ramesside items. A number of them have gilding, however, a technique not seen on other Tell Basta objects (light gilding was reported on the body of cat. 37 but I did not find it) and that is not documented until after the Ramesside period (see Ogden 2000, p. 160). A silver wedjat eye among the scrap of the second find (Figure 34) is gilded only by mechanical gold foil application. Items comparable to this group of objects have been found in later times.

Gilded silver Harpocrates

The child god wears an elaborate headdress and is seated with a suspension loop attached to the upper part of his back. Similar figures in the Louvre are gradated and suspended from a wire torque (Vandier 1948). According to Marsha Hill (conversation with the author, April 30, 2008), the Tell Basta figure is probably Ptolemaic. H. 5¹/₄ in. (13.3 cm) Simpson 1949, p. 63; Simpson 1959, n. 65

MMA 07.228.23 Figure 66 Silver "incense burner" and braided chain

The chased decoration could be interpreted as floral, with pairs of drop-shaped holes near the petal tips. It is the holes that indicate that the object may be an incense burner. The closest Egyptian parallels are part of the Ptolemaic temple hoard from Toukh el-Karamus (Pfrommer 1987, nos. KTK2 and KT17, pls. 3, 21). The chain, composed of four braided sets of wire, was found corroded in the pyxis when purchased by the Metropolitan Museum. One fitting remains on the chain while another gilded fitting has broken from the chain. No parallel has been found for the fitting.

H. 2¹/₈ in. (5.5 cm), Diam. of bowl 4¹/₄ in. (10.8 cm), Diam. of lid 4¹/₈ in. (10.5 cm) Simpson 1949, p. 64

MMA 07.228.183a, b Figure 67



66. Gilded silver Harpocrates









67. Side and top views of silver "incense burner," and the remains of its braided chain



68. Gilded silver vessel wall with swirls







69. Fragment of a silver lid or base



70. Gilded silver repoussé scene with frame



71. Leaded tin vial



72. Plain silver inscribed piece



73. Gilded silver inscribed fragment

Gilded silver vessel wall with swirls

See the design on a stand from Toukh el-Karamus (Pfrommer 1987, no. KTK 3, pl. 4). W. 2 in. (5.15 cm), Diam. 45/8 in. (11.7 cm)

MMA 07.228.217 Figure 68

Fragment of silver lid or base L. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (6.3 cm)

MMA 07.228.248 Figure 69

Gilded silver repoussé scene with frame

The iconography of the scene is unusual, with two votaries approaching a seated bearded figure. The scene recalls a second-millennium B.C. limestone stela from Ugarit thought to show the king making an offering to the seated god El (Yon et al. 1991, pp. 305–7; Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 148). Along the edges of the band is a series of quatrefoils inscribed within squares. Above and below the scene are horizontal bands of guilloche pattern, bosses, and fields comprised of five vertical ridges.

Frame: W. 1 in. (2.4 cm), band: H. 15/8 in. (4.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.210, 07.228.239 Figure 70

Leaded tin vial

Mark Wypyski of the Department of Scientific Research at the MMA performed energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometry in June 2009. The tests revealed that the vial is 75.5% tin and 24.5% lead, by weight. The material, container type, and fabrication find parallels in Byzan-tine times, and the iconography is generally Christian (Engemann 2001,

Bakirtzis 2002, Ghini-Tsofopoulou 2002, Papadopoulou 2002; I thank Christopher Lightfoot for the references). One vial displays a simple shell and an Arab inscription for a Christian pilgrim (Jašaeva 2010, p. 483). Helen Evans (conversation with the author, June 2010) suggests it is reasonable to believe that the Tell Basta vial could be an earlier example of the type. Sheila Canby (conversation with the author, February 1, 2010) suggests later Islamic parallels: the shape is reminiscent of a thirteenth-century A.D. glass bottle from Egypt, although the bottle is much larger; the vertical decorative forms could be cypress trees, a motif used in Egypt in the fourteenth century A.D. H. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm) Simpson 1959, n. 65

MMA 07.228.192 Figure 71

Plain silver inscribed piece

The inscription was read by Kitchen (letter of July 2009) as "before Hathor, lady of [Byblos]." For a Demotic parallel of the Ptolemaic period, see MMA 26.2.46 (Shore 1979). W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.8 cm)

MMA 07.228.245 Figure 72

Gilded silver inscribed fragment

A post-Ramesside date is supported by Kitchen (correspondence with the author, June 2010), who read the fragmentary inscription as "Khepri" (the god) and "weary ones." a: three lines of inscription in raised relief, W. 15% in. (4.2 cm); b: corroded, W. 15% in. (4.3 cm) Simpson 1959, n. 65

MMA 07.228.244a, b Figure 73

APPENDIX 3: DRAWINGS OF TELL BASTA DECORATED VESSELS AND RELATED BOWLS, ALL SHOWN AT A SCALE OF 1:3

Frieze on the neck of Vessel A from Tell Basta (Figure 39, cat. 16)



Fragments in the MMA of Vessel B from Tell Basta (Figure 40, cat. 17)







Fragments on or associated with Vessel C from Tell Basta (Figure 41, cat. 18)





Treasures from Tell Basta 57



Swimmers bowl from Tell Basta (Figure 47, cat. 3)



Fragmentary black bronze cup from the art market (Figure 54)

APPENDIX 4: THE SHAPES, MECHANICAL FEATURES, AND MOTIFS AND ICONOGRAPHY OF TELL BASTA AND RELATED VESSELS (The scale of all drawings is 1:3 except Figure 90, which is at 1:1.5. All drawings are by William Schenck except Figures 74, bottom, 77, and 78, which are by Tamara Bower.)

a. Vessel Shapes

With the exception of the goblet (cat. 22) and a bowl with a constricted neck in the Egyptian Museum (such as cat. 1), all of the vessel shapes catalogued in Appendix 1 exist as examples in the Metropolitan. Drawings have been made of all the vessels and reconstructable fragments in the Museum. The shapes are reviewed here with notes to illustrate how interrelated the Tell Basta vessels are in terms of function and iconography, while at the same time having both Egyptian and Near Eastern parallels.

Simple bowls (cats. 10–12, 14, Figure 74).¹ The most significant fragment (cat. 11) has the cartouches of Tawosret, while the most open shape (cat. 12) is echoed in the black bronze cup inscribed for Sakawahikhana from the art market (Figure 54).

Carinated bowl (cat. 13, Figure 75). The fragmentary carinated bowl lacks a base. Radwan catalogues no exact parallel.²

Bowls with a convex wall, flat base, and recessed center (cats. 6, 7, 9, Figure 76), **two with an omphalos** (cats. 5, 8).³ The flat recessed base with an omphalos and a gold cone but without walls (cat. 4) could belong to the preceding shape or the next.⁴



74. Simple bowls. From top to bottom: cats. 12 (silver rim fragment, W. 3% in. [9.9 cm]), 11 (silver rim fragment naming Tawosret, Diam. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [10.9 cm], 10 (silver rim fragment, W. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [11.9 cm]), 14 (bronze bowl fragment, Diam. 5 $\frac{3}{6}$ in. [13.6 cm]), Figure 54 (fragments of black bronze cup associated with Sakawahikhana from the art market)



75. Carinated bowl, cat. 13 (silver rim fragment, W. 43/8 in. [11 cm])

Bowls with a constricted neck and carinated shoulder (cat. 2), **two with a recessed base with an omphalos** (cats. 1, 3, Figure 77).⁵ The swimmers bowl (cat. 3) has a flat base with an integral coneshaped "omphalos." Erika Fischer (in a conversation with the author, January 16, 2011) has suggested that British Museum 1987,0727,136 from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh 232 is similar. The related black bronze bowl inscribed for Sakawahikhana from the art market (Figures 52, 78) is this shape, but with a rounded base.

Jugs (cats. 16–18, 21, Figure 79). A decorated and a plain jug (cats. 18, 21) were acquired by the Metropolitan from the first find. Cairo received two additional decorated examples at that time (cats. 16, 17). No jugs were present in the second find.

Goblet (cat. 22). The white-lotus shape of the chalice from the first Tell Basta find, which is inscribed on the stem with Tawosret's birth name in a cartouche surmounted by a pair of tall plumes and a sun disk, is represented on the pair of silver bracelets that depict Tawosret—still a king's wife—pouring from a situla into a goblet held by her husband, Seti II (Figure 55).⁶ The goblet from the art market associated with Sakawahikhana (Figure 53) is the blue-lotus shape commonly used for faience chalices that have reference to rebirth (see Figure 56).



76. Bowl with a convex wall, flat base, and recessed center, cat. 9 (silver repoussé bowl, Diam. 81/8 in. [20.7 cm])



77. Bowl with a constricted neck, carinated shoulder, and recessed base with an omphalos (not drawn), cat. 1 (silver bowl with gold rim inscribed for Amy; Diam. 6 in. [15.3 cm], Diam. of cone 1 ½ in. [3.8 cm])



78. Bowl with a constricted neck, carinated shoulder, and rounded base, Figure 52 (fragmentary black bronze bowl inscribed for Sakawahikhana, Diam. 8¼ in. [21.1 cm])

Situlae (cats. 24–27, 29, 30, Figure 80). The first find yielded seven situlae, of which six are in the Metropolitan and one was in Berlin (cat. 23) and was lost during World War II. The shape occurs in Egyptian pottery and was widely made in metal, although Radwan found no decorated bronze examples.⁷

Bottle (cat. 31, Figure 81). The shape of the one bottle in the Tell Basta finds has not been located elsewhere.

Flask (cat. 32, Figure 82). This shape is a smaller version of flasks that were used in washing or for decanting wine catalogued by Radwan.⁸ No exact parallel has been found, although Radwan includes decorated flasks of a comparable size.⁹

Unidentified closed shape (cat. 33, Figure 83).



79. Jugs, cats. 18 (Vessel C: silver , H. without handle $6\,\%$ in. [15.9 cm]), 21 (silver with gold rim, H. 55% in. (14.2 cm)



81. Bottle, cat. 31 (silver with oval body, inscribed for Meritptah, H. $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. [15.5 cm])



80. Situlae. Complete examples, left to right: cats. 24 (silver with plain rim, H. 5 in. [12.6 cm]), 25 (silver with chased leaf rim, H. 5¹/₈ in. [13.7 cm]), 26 (electrum with floral decoration, H. 5¹/₈ in. [13.1 cm]); fragmentary examples, left to right: cats. 27 (silver base with lotus design, H. 3¹/₈ in. [7.9 cm]), 29 (silver neck with chased leaves, H. 1³/₈ in. [3.5 cm]), 30 (silver cylindrical neck, W. 1³/₈ in. [3.5 cm])



82. Flask, cat. 32 (silver with pointed base, H. 55% in. [14.4 cm])



83. Unidentified closed shape, cat. 33 (goldembellished silver neck with Hathor symbols, H. 3 in. [7.7 cm])



84. Jars. Left to right: cats. 39 (silver with high neck, H. 4 in. [10.3 cm]), 40 (silver with low neck and gold rim, H. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [6.5 cm]), 41 (silver body without neck, H. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [7.1 cm])



85. Complete gold shallow strainer, cat. 43 (Diam. 4³/₄ in. [12 cm])



86. Fragments of bodies of silver shallow strainers, clockwise from top left: cats. 45 (profile fragment, W. 4³/₄ in. [11.9 cm]), 50 (fragment of upper part, W. 4³/₄ in. [11 cm]), 44 (profile fragment, W. 3¹/₂ in. [9 cm]), 49 (rim fragment, W. 5¹/₆ in. [12.9 cm]), 48 (profile fragment, W. 4³/₄ in. [12 cm])



87. Silver lotus handles from shallow strainers, cats. 47 (rim fragment with handle, W. 4³/₈ in. [11 cm]), 46 (rim fragment with handle, W. 5¹/₈ in. [12.9 cm]), 51 (profile fragment with handle, W. 4¹/₂ in. [11.5 cm])



88. Fragments of silver handles from shallow strainers, clockwise from top left: cats. 60, 61, 59, 62 (W. $1\frac{3}{8}-1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [3.6-4.3 cm])



89. Deep strainers, cats. 56 (fragment, H. 2½ in. [5.5 cm]), 57 (fragment, Diam. 2½ in. [6.1 cm)), 58 (fragment, Diam. 2½ in. [6.2 cm])

Jars (cats. 34–41, Figure 84). Berlin acquired a decorated gold jar with ring handle (cat. 38) and two decorated silver examples (cats. 36, 37) from the first find. New York has two high-necked plain examples from that find (cats. 39, 40), as well as the bowl of a larger example (cat. 41). Cairo has two gold jars from the second find (cats. 34, 35) that are quite similar to Berlin's from the first. Surprisingly, Radwan does not catalogue the shape, although Gershuny has restored a similar form from Palestine.¹⁰

Strainers (cats. 42–62, Figures 85–89). The shallow type is best represented in the gold MMA strainer (cat. 43). It is similar to a strainer from Gurob that Radwan dates to Dynasty 19.¹¹ The Tell Basta example is also similar to examples from Palestine, although those lack lotus decoration.¹² Parts of many shallow silver examples were in the first find (cats. 44–52). The deep strainer is a type well represented in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Kha and in Palestine.¹³ Berlin had a deep electrum example, also from the first find (cat. 55). A shallow silver strainer and two deep ones from the second find are in Cairo, along with undetermined parts (cats. 42, 53, 54, 73).

b. Mechanical Features

Theriomorphic handle (cats. 16–18). On Atumentaneb's jugs A and B (cats. 16, 17) a complete animal forms the vessel's handle; the mouth grasps the rim, while the forelegs are bent against the vessel neck and the tips of the hind hooves touch the bowl, a papyriform fitting anchoring them there.¹⁴ The handles differ markedly from those on later Achaemenid amphorae but are not so different from a representation in an 18th Dynasty tomb displaying foreign vases.¹⁵ On Vessel C (cat. 18, see Figure 79) the tubelike handle ends in the head of a lioness, also biting the rim. For this form, Ogden cites a Mycenaean goblet with dog-headed handles.¹⁶ A ceramic example is also known from the same period in Anatolia, about 1600–1400 B.C.¹⁷

Omphalos (cats. 1, 3, 4, 5, 8). Omphaloi are documented since early Dynasty 18 in Egypt.¹⁸ The earliest examples are on large basins with loop handles.¹⁹ On smaller vessels, omphaloi could serve as an aid in pouring and drinking, as shown in the tomb of Rekhmire; following the Egyptian convention of rendering three dimensions, the ompholos is visible as a protrusion from the base.²⁰ Ompholoi seem to have already appeared in the Middle Bronze Age royal tombs at Byblos and are known in Late Bronze Palestine and Syria.²¹ On several Tell Basta shapes (cats. 1, 3, 5) they are used instead of an open lotus, a symbol of regeneration (see Figure 43). Radwan has proposed that the mound in the center of Hatiay's bowl (Figure 45) is the sun disk Re emerging from the watery abyss of Nun as a symbol of rebirth.²² A bowl with a similar profile was excavated at Kition in Cyprus in a context dated about 1225 B.C.; no parallel had been found for it there at the time that it was published.²³

Cone (cats. 1, 4, 8, 15, Figure 90). The three cones on bowls from the second find now in Cairo (cats. 1, 4, 8) are of similar size; the Metropolitan Museum's cone from the first find (cat. 15) is much larger and more elaborate. All four have three-ply plaiting and are similar except that the Museum's example has a running spiral. The cone on Amy's bowl (cat. 1) is the least well made. Radwan published no examples of cones, since they are an elaborate form not found on bronze vessels.

Ring handle (cats. 34, 35, 38). The ring handles on the three gold Tell Basta jars resemble nothing so much as the thickened shanks of finger rings held to the jar by a riveted fitting with papyrus buds.²⁴



At the point where the tips are inserted into the fitting, one jar has an inlaid bezel and the other two each have a recumbent calf.²⁵ Bovines appear in Egypt and the Levant in the form of weights for measure; a vessel fragment from Dan in Palestine has an animal on an omega handle.²⁶

The function of the ring handles on jars is puzzling. Reproductions of the Cairo jars (see Figure 61) show that the handles have little practical use.²⁷ A flat-bottomed jar does not need a ring for suspension, and the jar's bulbous body prevents the vessel from hanging on a peg. Further, the ring's placement near the rim does not facilitate pouring. The purpose of such a handle is thus unclear. Another example has been found on a jug from the Sudan.²⁸

Most commonly, ring handles in Egypt are found on bowls, especially in Dynasties 19 and 20 when, according to Radwan, ring handles with wire wrapping occur.²⁹ He classifies such bowls as Trinkschale (drinking bowls). Ring handles on open forms are rare in Palestine; Gershuny illustrates them only on one rim piece and a complete strainer from Deir el-Balah.³⁰ One bowl from Ugarit has a ring handle.³¹ Hartmut Matthäus locates the origin of the ring handle in Egypt and the Near East during Dynasties 19-20 (1295-1070 B.C.), mentioning an example from Hama, Syria, from the twelfth or eleventh century B.C.³² Possible precursors may occur in Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine. Radwan associates several Dynasty 18 bowls having vestigial handles at the rim with food and drink.³³ He terms the bowl with an omphalos from Aniba a Trinkschale.³⁴ Bruce Williams dates a tomb at Qustul, also in Nubia, that yielded a bowl with an omega handle to the time of Tuthmosis III.³⁵ It could be that, as with other vessel features and types, a form of the ring handle originated outside the Nile Valley but was developed substantially within it. Gershuny states that "bar handles" on pottery are common in Palestine from the Middle Bronze Age II into the Iron Age.³⁶

Omega handle (cats. 1–3, 5, 6, 81, Figures 91, 92). Omega handles were found on three undecorated and two decorated Tell Basta bowls, as well as on one fragment (cat. 81), in Cairo. Ameneminet's bowl and the Metropolitan's repoussé bowl (cats. 8, 9) lack such handles. Two other bowls (cats. 4, 7) are not complete enough to know whether they had them or not. All the bowl handles are small versions of the bail handles used at the mouths of toilet vessels in the tomb of Kha.³⁷ A larger version of that handle occurs on an early vessel from Thebes.³⁸ Four of the omega handles in Cairo (cats. 1, 3, 6, 81) are plain, one (cat. 5) is striated with parallel rings, and another (cat. 2) has a herringbone pattern (see details in Figures 91, 92). The papyriform fittings that attach them to the bowls vary in quality, as do such fittings for the theriomorphic and ring handles.

Radwan dated the copper alloy vessels on which he found omega handles to Dynasties 19 and $20.^{39}$



91. Omega handles. Top left and right: plain handle on the exterior and interior of cat. 6; bottom left: handle striated with parallel rings (cat. 5); bottom right: handle with a herringbone pattern (cat. 2). Photographs: Ahmed Amin, Egyptian Museum, Cairo



92. Spheres on rims. Left and center: details of exterior and interior of swimmers bowl (cat. 3); right: interior of Atumentaneb's bowl (cat. 8) before cleaning. Photographs: Ahmed Amin

Spheres on rim (cats. 1, 3, 8, Figure 92). On two vessels in Cairo (cats. 1, 3) gold spheres are placed on the rim above an omega handle. The spheres also occur on the rim of Ameneminet's bowl (cat. 8), which has no handle at all. In the latter case, the spheres may mark the place where the ends of the gold rim strip meet, although they would not have been functionally necessary. If anything, the spheres should be attached to the interior of the wall opposite the exterior ring or omega handle (see cat. 6, Figure 91), as on basins that Radwan dates to Dynasty 19 and the Dynasty 21 bowl from Tanis (Figure 46).⁴⁰ The origin of the spheres—like that of the ring and omega handles—is unknown.⁴¹ A silver bowl from the tomb of Psousennes in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 85905), offers a comparison in that it has a series of gold rivets near the rim on both sides that serve no purpose.

c. Motifs and Iconography

Heart-shaped and lozenge patterns (cats. 16, 17, 35–38). A heart-shaped pattern appears on the bodies of Vessels A and B (cats. 16, 17) and on three Berlin jars (cats. 36–38), all from the first find.⁴² No parallels have been found. Edgar saw a fortuitous similarity with Mycenaean ivy leaves; Fischer compares it to a scalelike pattern first noted about the time of Tutankhamun, but the orientation is different.⁴³

The lozenge-shaped pattern on the body of the larger gold jar in Cairo from the second find (cat. 35) is unique; Tiradritti suggests that it represents the seeds of a pomegranate.⁴⁴ A silver pomegranate vessel was found in Tutankhamun's tomb.⁴⁵

Lotus (cats. 9, 16, 17, 22, 23, 26, 27, 35, 38, 43, 46, 47, 51, 54, 73). Opening as they did each morning in the marshes, lotuses were a striking symbol of rebirth. Presumably, the Egyptians also knew that the lotus contained narcotic alkaloids.⁴⁶ On the Tell Basta vessels, the form occurs variously. Vessels A and B (cats. 16, 17), Cairo's largest gold jar (cat. 35), and Berlin's gold jar (cat. 38) each have an open lotus incised on the exterior of the base.⁴⁷ The Metropolitan's decorated bowl (cat. 9) has a very elaborate example in repoussé on the exterior.⁴⁸ The black bronze cup or bowl associated with Sakawahikhana (Figure 54) has the lotus on the interior. Calyx leaves appear on the bases of situlae (cats. 23, 26, 27), and blossoms occur on strainer handles (cats. 42, 43, 46, 47, 51, 54, 73). The goblet of Tawosret (cat. 22) and the chalice associated with Sakawahikhana (Figure 53) are lotiform.

Floral bands (cats. 17, 25, 26, 28, 29, 34–38). Olive leaves and elaborate garlands decorate the necks and rims of Vessel B and several jars and situlae. The broad floral collar (swag) used on the smaller gold jar from the second find in Cairo (cat. 34) reinforces the idea of verdant vitality.

Composite plants (cats. 1, 8, 9, 16, 17d, 18, and see also Figure 54). Although no exact parallels have been found for the plants on the Tell Basta vessels, they manifest an internal consistency.⁴⁹ Most are single volutes with spiky stems alternating with papyrus buds like those seen on mid- to late 18th Dynasty Egyptian objects and on objects from Megiddo.⁵⁰ Megiddo and Ugarit examples have featherlike leaves.⁵¹ The double volute stem on Vessel A (cat. 16) appears on a limestone fragment from the palace of Amenhotep III (reigned 1390–1352 B.C.) at Malkata in western Thebes.⁵²

A plant flanked by rampant goats, which appears on Amy's bowl (cat. 1), is derived from Near Eastern prototypes. The motif occurs in Egypt as early as mid–Dynasty 18. Its appearance on the representation of a bucket in the tomb of Ramesses III indicates that the iconography continued at least until the mid-twelfth century B.C.⁵³

Figural decoration (cats. 1, 3, 8, 9, 16–18, 31, 33). By and large, Egyptians did not decorate vessels with figurative scenes. Major exceptions are Predynastic painted pots (before 3000 B.C.) and, in the New Kingdom, steatite kohl containers, faience lotus bowls, blue painted pots, black and red painted pots, and faience situlae.⁵⁴ Marshes or divine symbols occur on faience relief chalices of the Third Intermediate Period, as well as on Late Period New Year's flasks. Bowls generally have such decoration on the interior. Radwan suggests that two New Kingdom metal bowls with swamp scenes on the interior were used for drink, but he mentions food and ritual as well.⁵⁵ **Marsh and desert scenes** (cats. 1, 3, 8, 9, 16–18). Early examples of marsh and desert creatures occur on Dynasty 11 pottery lids from el-Tarif at Thebes.⁵⁶ Incised pottery "fish platters" from the Hyksos period, just prior to the New Kingdom, also combine fish and desert animals.⁵⁷ The iconography of the Tell Basta vessels, however, begins properly with the bronze bowl of Hatiay, about 1340 B.C. (Figure 45).⁵⁸ It shows men in skiffs, walking and recumbent cattle, a suckling calf, a feline attacking a bull, rosettes, and broadly hatched water.

Marshes with ducks, nests, gazelles and calves, lotuses, and rosettes appear later on blue-painted ware and tomb painting in the mid-18th Dynasty,⁵⁹ in representations of vessels during the Ramesside period,⁶⁰ and on faience relief chalices of the Third Intermediate Period (see Figure 56).⁶¹ The marsh became increasingly important in Egyptian religious iconography in Dynasties 21–24, but there was greater emphasis on the divine than on the naturalistic world.⁶²

Animal combat (cats. 1, 8, 16, 17c, d, and 18[?]). The Metropolitan repoussé bowl (cat. 9) has humans battling an animal. The bronze bowl of Hatiay (Figure 45) may be the earliest known vessel from Egypt depicting animal combat. Enigmatic wooden boxes of the Egyptian New Kingdom studied by Angela Busch have such imagery.⁶³

Horses (cats. 8, 9, 17c, d, and 18[?]). High-status animals, horses were brought into Egypt during the New Kingdom and were associated with the king and the elite. They are depicted with chariots, grooms, and scouts and as tribute and commodities. In more casual settings they are represented on a variety of small objects: an 18th Dynasty axe, wig curlers, a kohl tube, the Aniba stand (Figure 38), and a finger ring.⁶⁴ They were also represented on elaborate vessels during the Ramesside period.⁶⁵ The horses posed with all four feet off the ground on two Tell Basta vessels (cats. 17, 18) are remarkable. Only one other example of a representation of a horse with all four feet off the ground has been found, on a painted pottery jar of the 18th Dynasty (ca. 1400 B.C.) in Berlin.⁶⁶ Otherwise, with the exception of Vessel B (cat. 17), on the Tell Basta objects the poses and detailing of the horses are poor, as on the Aniba stand.

Astarte was the main deity associated with the horse, and she would have been known to any Asiatic craftsman. Her warlike nature made her protective, especially of Ramesses II.⁶⁷ Rommelaere catalogues Dynasty 18–22 scarabs on which a horse replaces a sphinx.⁶⁸ Still, it is difficult to understand the meaning of horses on vessels. Horses and chariots are often seen on drinking vessels at Ugarit.⁶⁹

NOTES TO APPENDIX 4

- 1. See Radwan 1983, nos. 153A (Dynasty 6), 233 (Second Intermediate Period, 266 (with omphalos, for drinking).
- 2. See ibid., pls. 49, 50.
- 3. See ibid., no. 270 (for drinking); Gershuny 1985, pl. 5; and Loud 1948, pl. 190:13.
- 4. For an early example of the recessed base, see Radwan 1983, no. 302, a Cypriot-derived vessel.
- 5. See ibid., nos. 275 (for drinking), 335, 336 (wash basins of
- Dynasties 19–20). 6. Altenmüller 2008, p. 211.
- 7. Radwan 1983, nos. 347 (Kha) and 348 (Diospolis Parva) are of comparable size.
- 8. lbid., pp. 140–44.
- 9. Ibid., nos. 401, 402.
- 10. Gershuny 1985, no. 123.
- 11. Radwan 1983, no. 450; see also no. 452.

- 12. Gershuny 1985, nos. 115, 117.
- 13. Radwan 1983, no. 449; Gershuny 1985, pls. 17, 18.
- 14. The handle of Vessel B (cat. 17) disappeared in Berlin during World War II, but a photograph of it survives (see Figures 6, 40). A bit of the rim is preserved on MMA 07.228.242 (cat. 17d, also shown in Figures 6, 40), but there is no evidence of gold.
- 15. Ogden 1990-91.
- 16. Demakopoulou 1988, pp. 68–69. In fact, four drinking cups with dog-head handles were found in a shaft grave at Mycenae; see Thomas 1938–39, pp. 68–72, where it is suggested that Cyprus is a probable origin for the motif. Note also the bowl and pitcher from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Jordan, with a handle in the form of a ruminant's head, its neck and horns oriented outward (Gershuny 1985, p. 45, pl. 12).
- 17. Oriental Institute Museum A 10959, from Alishar.
- 18. Lilyquist 1988, pp. 17–18, and see Radwan 1983, nos. 262–68, 304–6, 312, 333, 334.
- 19. Radwan 1983, nos. 305, 306.
- 20. No. Davies 1943, pl. 64.
- 21. Montet 1928–29, no. 776; Gershuny 1985, pl. 3; Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 291.
- 22. Radwan 1983, no. 328.
- 23. Karageorghis 1974, p. 63, no. 20, pp. 90, 93–94, pls. 81, 165 (Diam. 7¼ in. [18.4 cm], H. 1¾ in. [3.5 cm]).
- 24. For a finger ring, see Andrews 1990, fig. 49.
- 25. A fitting of similar type but different style in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London (UC 59671; Petrie 1937, p. 28, no. 44) is without provenance.
- 26. Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 132; Gershuny 1985, no. 85. A recumbent cat is pegged to an ivory box from Lachish (Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, p. 61, pl. 17:11).
- 27. Electrotype reproductions made by Émile Gilliéron in the 1920s and purchased from him by the MMA have been invaluable for studying the Cairo vessels from which they were cast.
- 28. Vincentelli 2006, p. 43, fig. 2.24, no. 138.
- 29. Radwan 1983, p. 113, nos. 316A-322.
- 30. Gershuny 1985, p. 9, no. 86, pp. 15–16, no. 116. See also Dothan 2008, p. 34.
- 31. Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 291.
- 32. Correspondence with the author, March 2009; see Mätthaus 1985, p. 131, where later examples in Cyprus are cited, especially those found in pairs: nos. 325, 328, 373, 500, 502, 511.
- 33. Radwan 1983, nos. 303, 304, 311, 312, pp. 111-12.
- 34. Ibid., no. 304.
- 35. Williams 1992, pp. 101, 288, V 48–54; for the dating, see p. 18.
- 36. Gershuny 1985, p. 10.
- 37. Turin 8487, 8490.
- 38. Radwan 1983, nos. 408-11.
- 39. Ibid., nos. 323-36.
- 40. Ibid., nos. 335, 336. The Tanis bowl (H. Müller and Thiem 1999, fig. 449) has a tube on the exterior through which the wire handle passes. The tube is apparently riveted to the side of the bowl (Montet 1951, pl. 55).
- 41. For the difficulty of tracing ceramic and metal vessel features, see Bergoffen 2007.
- 42. Edgar 1907b, p. 98 n. 1.
- 43. Conversation with the author, January 16, 2011. See Edwards 1976a, no. 29.
- 44. Tiradritti 1998, p. 265.
- 45. Edwards 1976a, no. 50.
- 46. Harer 1985.

- 47. On Vessel A, see Edgar 1925, pl. 2.
- 48. An elaborate version is seen on a faience vessel of the Ramesside period (Borchardt 1910, pl. 14).
- 49. Kepinski 1982, nos. 919, 920.
- 50. For the Egyptian objects, see ibid., nos. 1167 (a box without provenance), 938, 945, 946 (a dagger sheath and two tunics from Tutankhamun's tomb), 922, 923, 1152 (two faience wine cups and a box from elsewhere in Egypt). For an ivory plaque from Megiddo, see ibid., no. 769.
- 51. Ibid., no. 662 (the gold bowl from Ugarit; see text, note 91).
- 52. Ibid., no. 936.
- 53. Prisse d'Avennes 1878, pl. 84; Kepinski 1982, no. 931.
- 54. For the kohl containers, see Sparks 2006; for the bowls and pots, Bell 1987, Hope 1987, Aston 2011, and Jones 2011; and for the situlae, Lilyquist 2008.
- 55. Radwan 1983, pp. 116-19.
- 56. Arnold 1972.
- 57. Aston and Bader 2009.
- 58. Radwan 1983, no. 328.
- 59. Hayes 1959, fig. 150 (MMA 11.215.460, a blue-painted amphora from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata in western Thebes);

Ni. Davies 1936, pl. 43 (a fragment of wall painting from Theban Tomb 63 showing decorative gold vessels).

- 60. Prisse d'Avennes 1878, pls. 85, 95-97.
- 61. Tait 1963, no. 2.
- 62. Fazzini 1988, pp. 22–23, 27.

- 64. Dreyfus 2005 (axe); Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 69308 (wig curler); Spurr, Reeves, and Quirke 1999, no. 20 (kohl tube); Andrews 1990, p. 165 (finger ring).
- 65. Rommelaere 1991, pp. 141–44; Prisse d'Avennes 1878, pls. 85, 86. Prisse publishes a representation from Theban Tomb 65 of a vessel with a caprid running in the marshes (ibid., pl. 84; Rommelaere 1991, no. 127). The tomb was created in the time of Hatshepsut/ Tuthmosis III and usurped in the time of Ramesses IX. There is no way to know whether Prisse restored some of the vessel. E. Meyer (1973, photo 753) and Wreszinski (1923–36, pl. 225) show little of it preserved.
- 66. Rommelaere 1991, no. 50, and compare pp. 68-76, 85.
- 67. Ibid., pp. 135–40.
- 68. Ibid.
- 69. Caubet 2012.

REFERENCES

Abdalla, Al	у		
1995	"Finds from the Sebbakh at Dendera." Göttinger	2011	"Blue Painted Pottery of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty:
	<i>Miszellen</i> , no. 145, pp. 19–28.		The Material from the Tomb of Maya and Merit at
Altenmüller	r, Hartwig		Saqqara." Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne 9,
2008	"A Biography in Stone." In Queens of Egypt, from		pp. 1–35.
	Hetepheres to Cleopatra, edited by Christiane Ziegler,	Aston, Dav	vid A., and Bettina Bader
	pp. 208–15. Exh. cat., Grimaldi Forum, Monaco.	2009	"Fishes, Ringstands, Nudes, and Hippos: A Preliminary
	Monaco.		Report on the Hyksos Palace Pit Complex L81 OF."
Andrews, C	Carol		Ägypten und Levante 19, pp. 19–89.
1990	Ancient Egyptian Jewellery. London.	Åström, Pa	aul
Arnold, Do	rothea	1983	"A Hoard of Goldwork." In Hala Sultan Tekke 8: Excava-
1972	"Weiteres zur Keramik von el-Târif; Saff el-Dawâba		tions 1971–1979, edited by Paul Åström, Elisabeth
	1970/71." Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen		Åström, Anna Hatziantoniou, Karin Niklasson, and Ulla
	Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 28, no. 1, pp. 31–46.		Öbrink, pp. 8–14. Göteborg.
2008	"Dagger." In Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, pp. 116–18,	al-Ayedi, Abdul Rahman	
	no. 65.	2006	Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious, and Military
Aruz, Joan, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans, eds.			Titles of the New Kingdom. Ismailia, Egypt.
2008 Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the		Bakirtzis, (Charalambos
	Second Millennium B.C. Exh. cat., MMA. New York.	2002	"Lead Myrrh Flask." In Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, p. 184,
Ashmawy Ali, Aiman			no. 203.
2009	"An Unpublished Stele from Tell Basta." Bulletin de	Bakr, Mohammed	
	l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 109,	1982	"New Excavations at Zagazig University." In L'égyptologie
	рр. 17–22.		en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches, vol. 1,
Aston, David A.			pp. 153–67. Paris.
1989	"Ancient Egyptian 'Fire Dogs': A New Interpretation."	2008	"A New Treasure from Zagazig: Preliminary Report on
	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,		an Important Discovery at Bubastis." In The Realm of
	Abteilung Kairo 45, pp. 27–32.		the Pharaohs: Essays in Honor of Tohfa Handoussa,
2009	Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25: Chronology,		edited by Zahi A. Hawass, Khaled A. Daoud, and
	Typology, Developments. Vienna.		Sawsan Abd el-Fattah, pp. 79–96. Cairo.

^{63.} Busch 2010.

	ned, and Helmut Brandl, eds.		Phoenician Ivories of the Early First Millennium BCE:
2010 Barthelmess,	Egyptian Antiquities from Kufur Nigm and Bubastis. Berlin.		Chronology, Regional Styles, and Iconographic Repertories, Patterns of Inter-regional Distribution,
1992	Der Übergang ins Jenseits in den thebanischen		edited by Serena Maria Cecchini, Stefania Mazzoni,
1992	Beamtengräbern der Ramessidenzeit. Heidelberg.		and Elena Scigliuzzo, pp. 285–305. Pisa.
Bell, Martha		Bourriau,	о II
1986	"A Hittite Pendant from Amarna." American Journal of	1982	"Kohl Pot." In Egypt's Golden Age 1982, p. 219,
1900	Archaeology 90 (April), pp. 145–51.	1902	no. 266.
1987	"Regional Variation in Polychrome Pottery of the 19th	Brand, Pet	
150/	Dynasty." Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne 1,	2011	"War Scenes at Karnak and the History of the Late
	pp. 49–76.	2011	Nineteenth Dynasty." In Collier and Snape 2011,
Relmonte M	arín, Juan Antonio		pp. 51–84.
2001	Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2.	Brandl, Ba	
	Jt. v. Chr. Wiesbaden.	1995	"The Tell el-Far'ah (South) Ivory Reconsidered." In
	eorges Aaron	1555	Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists,
1907	Miroirs. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du		Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995: Abstracts of Papers,
	Musée du Caire, nos. 44001–44102. Cairo.		edited by Christopher J. Eyre, p. 26. Oxford.
Bergoffen, C		Braunsteir	
2007	"Reflections on Two 'Lustrous' Base Ring I Kraters from	2011	"The Meaning of Egyptian-Style Objects in the Late
2007	Alalakh." In The Lustrous Wares of Late Bronze Age	2011	Bronze Cemeteries of Tell el-Far'ah (South)." Bulletin
	Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, edited by		of the American School of Oriental Research, no. 364
	Irmgard Hein, pp. 25–36. Vienna.		(November), pp. $1-36$.
Berlandini, Jo	s	Breasted.	James Henry
1982	"Varia Memphitica V: Monuments de la chapelle	1906	Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents fror
	funéraire du gouverneur Ptahmès." Bulletin de l'Institut		the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest. Vol. 4,
	Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 85, pp. 85–103.		The Twentieth to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasties. Chicago.
Beth-Vallev	Archaeological Project, Hebrew University of Jerusalem	1948	"Bronze Base of a Statue of Ramses VI Discovered at
2010	"Tel Rehov Updated Chronological Table."		Megiddo." In University of Chicago, Oriental Institute,
	http://www.rehov.org/Rehov/stratigraphic.htm.		Megiddo Expedition, Megiddo II, Seasons of 1935–39,
Bianchi, Rob			<i>Text</i> , pp. 135–38. Chicago.
1996	Splendors of Ancient Egypt, from the Egyptian Museum	Broekman	, G. P. F., R. J. Demarée, and O. E. Kaper, eds.
	<i>Cairo</i> . Exh. cat., Florida International Museum,	2009	The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural
	Saint Petersburg. London.		Studies into the 21st-24th Dynasties. Leiden and
Bietak, Mani	-		Leuven.
1985	"Ein altägyptischer Weingarten in einem Tempelbezirk	Bryan, Bet	tsy M.
	(Tell el-Dab`a 1. März bis 10. Juni 1985)." Anzeiger der	1996	"Art, Empire, and the End of the Late Bronze Age." In
	philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen		The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First
	Akademie der Wissenschaften 122, pp. 267–78.		Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial
Bietak, Mani	red, and Irene Forstner-Müller		<i>Conference,</i> edited by Jerrold S. Cooper and Glenn M.
2011	"The Topography of New Kingdom Avaris and		Schwartz, pp. 33–79. Winona Lake, Indiana.
	Per-Ramesses." In Collier and Snape 2011, pp. 23–50.	2005	"The Temple of Mut: New Evidence of Hatshepsut's
Bissing, Fried	drich Wilhelm von		Building Activity." In Roehrig, Dreyfus, and Keller 2005
1901	Metallgefässe. Vol. 2 of Catalogue general des antiquités		pp. 181–83.
	égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Vienna.	2008	"Cultic Revelries in the Eighteenth Dynasty: The
1910	"Ägyptisch oder Phoinikisch?" Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich		Evidence from Temples and Tombs." Daniel H.
	Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 25 (pub. 1911),		Silberberg Lecture, Institute of Fine Arts, New York,
	рр. 193–99.		October 17, 2008.
1914	"Two Silversmith's Models from Egypt." Ancient Egypt	Busch, An	gela
	1914, pp. 112–14.	2010	Altägyptische Kastenmöbel und Zylinderkätschen mit
1941	"Die zeitliche Bestimmung der mit Reliefs geschmückten		Fächereinteilung: Form und Dekor von der 18. bis 26.
	ägyptischen Kelchgefässe." Nachrichten der Akademie		Dynastie. Basel.
	der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophisch-	Callender,	Vivienne G.
	historische Klasse 7, pp. 249–84.	2004	"Queen Tausret and the End of Dynasty 19." Studien zu
Bjorkman, Ju			altägyptischen Kultur 32, pp. 81–104.
1993	"The Larsa Goldsmith's Hoards: New Interpretations."	Caminos,	Ricardo A.
	Journal of Near Eastern Studies 52 (January), pp. 1–23.	1954	Late-Egyptian Miscellanies. London.
Borchardt, L	udwig	Caubet, A	nnie
1910	Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'a'ḥu-re'. Vol. 1,	2012	"Of Banquets, Horses, and Women in Late Bronze Age
	Der Bau. Leipzig.		Ugarit (Syria)." In Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia
Boschloos, ∖			to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.,
2009	"L'iconographie des calices en relief égyptiens par		edited by Joan Aruz, Sarah Graff, and Yelena Rakic.

Collier, Ma 2011	ark, and Steven Snape, eds. Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen. Bolton,	Der Ma 1994
	Lancashire.	
Collon, Do	ominique	Desroc
1992	"Banquets in the Art of the Ancient Near East." In	1954
	Banquets d'Orient, pp. 23-29. Res orientales vol. 4.	
	Bures-sur-Yvette.	1976
Cornelius,	Izak	
2004	The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of	van Dij
	the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte,	1993
	Qedeshet, and Asherah c. 1500–1000 BCE. Fribourg.	
Crowley, J	anice L.	
1989	The Aegean and the East: An Investigation into the	2008
	Transference of Artistic Motifs between the Aegean,	
	Egypt, and the Near East in the Bronze Age. Jonsered.	
D'Amicon	e, Elvira, and Elena Fontanella	2011
2007	Nefer: La donna nell'antico Egitto. Exh. cat., Palazzo	
	Reale, Milan. Milan.	
Daoud, Kł	naled	
2011	"The Tomb of the Royal Envoy Nakht-Min." Egyptian	Dodson
	Archaeology 38 (Spring), pp. 7–9.	2011
Davies, Ni	na M.	
1936	Ancient Egyptian Paintings. Vol. 1. Chicago.	
Davies, No	orman de G.	Dothan
1902	The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi. London.	1979
1905	The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part 2, The Tombs of	2008
	Panehesy and Meryra II. London.	
1927	Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes. New York.	Doume
1933	The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes. 2 vols. Publications	2008
	of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition,	
	vol. 9. New York.	
1938	Review of Les reliques de l'art syrien dans l'Égypte du	
	Nouvel Empire, by Pierre Montet. Journal of Egyptian	
	Archaeology 24 (December), pp. 253–54.	
1943	The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes. 2 vols. Publications	
	of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition,	
	vol. 11. New York.	
1948	Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah. Edited by Alan H.	Drenkh
	Gardiner. London.	1980
Davis, The	eodore M., Gaston Maspero, Edward Ayrton, and	
George Da	aressy	Dreyfus
1908	The Tomb of Siphtah: The Monkey Tomb and the Gold	2005
	<i>Tomb</i> . London.	
Decamps	de Mertzenfeld, Christiane	
1954	Inventaire commenté des ivoires phéniciens et	Edgar, C
	apparentés découverts dans le Proche-Orient. 2 vols.	1907a
	Paris.	
Decker, W	/olfgang, and Michael Herb	
1994	Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten: Corpus der	
	bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd,	1907
	Tanz und verwandten Themen. 2 vols. Leiden.	
Demakopo	pulou, Katie, ed.	
1988	The Mycenaean World: Five Centuries of Early Greek	
	Culture, 1600–1100 B.C. Exh. cat., National	1925
	Archaeological Museum, Athens. Athens.	
Derchain,	Philippe	
1972	Hathor Quadrifrons: Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un	Edward
	mythe égyptien. Istanbul.	1976a
1976	"Symbols and Metaphors in Literature and Representa-	
	tions of Private Life." Royal Anthropological Institute	1976
	Nours no. 15 (August) np. 7, 10	1076

News, no. 15 (August), pp. 7-10.

anuelian, Peter

Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. London.

ches-Noblecourt, Christiane

- "La cueillette du raisin dans la tombe d'une musicienne de Neïth à Sais." Arts asiatiques 1, pp. 40-60.
- as ed. Ramsès le Grand. Exh. cat., Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris. Paris.

jk, Jacobus

- The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies. Doctoral diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.
- 8 "New Evidence on the Length of the Reign of Horemhab." Journal of the American Research Center in *Egypt* 44 (pub. 2010), pp. 193–200.
- "The Date of the Gebel Barkal Stela of Seti I." In Under the Potter's Tree: Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday, ed. David Aston et al., pp. 325-32. Leuven.

n, Aidan

"Fade to Grey: The Chancellor Bay, Éminence Grise of the Late Nineteenth Dynasty." In Collier and Snape 2011, pp. 145-58.

n, Trude

- Excavations at the Cemetery of Deir el-Balah. Jerusalem.
- Deir el-Balah: Uncovering an Egyptian Outpost in Canaan from the Time of the Exodus. Jerusalem.

et-Serhal, Claude

- "The Kingdom of Sidon and Its Mediterranean Connections: Ten Years of British Museum Excavations." Paper presented at The Raymond and Beverly Sackler Symposium, "Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.," MMA, December 18, 2008. Forthcoming in Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C., edited by Joan Aruz, Sarah Graff, and Yelena Rakic. New York: MMA, 2012.
- hahn, Rosemarie
- Die Elephantine-Stele des Sethnacht und ihr historischer Hintergrund. Wiesbaden.
- ıs, Renée
 - "Flask and Openwork Stand," "Bowl with Openwork Stand," and "Axe with an Equestrian Figure on the Blade." In Roehrig, Dreyfus, and Keller 2005, pp. 248–50. Campbell C.
 - 7a "Planches XXII-XXVIII [Tukh el-Karamus]." In Le musée égyptien: Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte, edited by Gaston Maspero, vol. 2, pp. 57-62. Cairo.
 - "Planches XLIII-LV: The Treasure of Tell Basta." In Le 7b musée égyptien: Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte, edited by Gaston Maspero, vol. 2, pp. 93-118. Cairo.
- "Engraved Designs on a Silver Vase from Tell Basta." Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, no. 25, pp. 256-58.

ds, I. E. S.

- "Catalogue." In Treasures of Tutankhamun, pp. 97-174. Ба Exh. cat., MMA. New York.
- Tutankhamun: His Tomb and Its Treasures. New York. 1976b
- 1976c Tutankhamun's Jewelry. New York.

Eggler, Jürg	, and Eric Gubel	Gjerstad, E	Einar
2010	"Bastet/Sekhmet (Levant, Phoenician Colonies)." In Iconography of Deities and Demons in the	1946	Decorated Metal Bowls from Cyprus. Lund. Reprinted from Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom 12.
	Ancient Near East: Electronic Pre-Publications,	Gohary, Sa	
	University of Zürich (updated January 14, 2010):	1991	"The Tomb-Chapel of the Royal Scribe Amenemone at
	http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd		Saqqara." Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie
	/prepublication_2.php.		Orientale du Caire 91, pp. 195–205.
Egyptologie	cal Bibliography	Goring, Eli	
2001	Online Egyptological Bibliography, 1822–1997. Oxford.	1989	"Death in Everyday Life: Aspects of Burial Practice in
	http://oeb.griffith.ox.ac.uk/		the Late Bronze Age." In Early Society in Cyprus, edited
Egypt's Go			by Edgar Peltenburg, pp. 95–105. Edinburgh.
1982	Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New	Green, Ch	ristine Insley
	Kingdom, 1558–1085 B.C. Exh. cat., Museum of Fine	1987	The Temple Furniture from the Sacred Animal
	Arts, Boston; Houston Museum of Natural Science;		Necropolis at North Saqqara, 1964–1976. London.
	Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Boston.	Griffiths, E	Dafydd
Engemann,	Josef	2006	"Analysis of Egyptian Faience Vessel Fragments
2001	"1.71, Pilgerampulle" and "1.72. Pilgerampulle." In		Excavated in Sidon in 2005." Archaeology & History in
	Byzanz, das Licht aus dem Osten: Kult und Alltag im		the Lebanon, no. 24 (Winter), pp. 129–37.
	Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert, edited by	Gubel, Erio	C
	Christoph Stiegemann, pp. 189–91. Exh. cat., Erzbischöf-	1987	Phoenician Furniture: A Typology Based on Iron Age
	liches Diözesanmuseum Paderborn. Mainz am Rhein.		Representations with Reference to the Iconographical
Epigraphic	Survey, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago		Context. Leuven.
1930	Earlier Historical Records of Ramesses III. Vol. 1 of	2000	"Das libyerzeitliche Ägypten und die Anfänge der
	Medinet Habu. Chicago.		phöniszischen Ikonographie." In Ägypten und der östliche
Fazzini, Rio	chard A.		Mittelmeerraum im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.: Akten des
1988	Egypt, Dynasty XXII–XXV. Leiden.		interdisziplinären Symposions am Institut für Ägyptologie
2001	"Four Unpublished Ancient Egyptian Objects in Faience		der Universität München 25.–27.10.1996, edited by
	in the Brooklyn Museum of Art." Journal of the Society		Manfred Görg and Günther Hölbl, pp. 69–100.
	for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities 28, pp. 55–66.		Wiesbaden.
Feldman, N	/larian H.	Habachi, L	abib
2006	Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an "International	1957	<i>Tell Basta</i> . Cairo.
	<i>Style" in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 BCE.</i> Chicago.	1975	"Bubastis." In Lexikon der Ägyptologie, vol. 1, edited by
2009	"Hoarded Treasures: The Megiddo Ivories and the End		Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, cols. 873–74.
	of the Bronze Age." <i>Levant</i> 41, no. 2, pp. 175–94.		Wiesbaden.
Fischer, Eri		2001	Tell el-Dab`a and Qantir: The Site and Its Connection
2007	Ägyptische und ägyptisierende Elfenbeine aus Megiddo		with Avaris and Piramesse. Vienna.
	und Lachisch: Inschriftenfunde, Flaschen, Löffel. Münster.	Harer, W.	
2011	Tell el-Far'ah (Süd): Ägyptisch-levantinische Beziehungen	1985	"Pharmacological and Biological Properties of the
	im späten 2. Jt. v. Chr. Fribourg and Göttingen.		Egyptian Lotus." Journal of the American Research
	ka, and Dirk Wicke		Center in Egypt 22, pp. 49–54.
2011	Review of Feldman 2006. <i>Die Welt des Orients</i> 41,		udence, Evelyn Klengel-Brandt, Joan Aruz, and
	no. 2, pp. 94–103.	Kim Benze	
	sabeth, and Hélène Le Meux, eds.	1995	Assyrian Origins: Discoveries at Ashur on the Tigris.
2007	La Mediterranée des Phéniciens: De Tyr à Carthage.		Antiquities in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin.
	Exh. cat., Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris. Paris.		Exh. cat., MMA. New York.
	Henri, and J. D. S. Pendlebury	Harpur, Yv	
1933	The City of Akhenaten. Part 2, The North Suburb and	2006	Linacre College Oxford Expedition: Scene-Details Data-
Culling C	the Desert Altars. London.	1.1	base. www.oxfordexpeditiontoegypt.com/database.php.
	Geneviève, and Yves Calvet, eds.	Hayes, Wi	
2004	Le royaume d'Ougarit; Aux origines de l'alphabet.	1959	The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the
C	Exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons. Paris.		Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
	llert, Ingrid		Vol. 2, The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom
1978	Ägyptische und ägyptisierende Funde von der		(1675–1080 B.C.). Cambridge, Mass.
Cul	Iberischen Halbinsel. Wiesbaden.	Helck, Wo	0 0
Gershuny,		1955	Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums. Abt. 4,
1985	Bronze Vessels from Israel and Jordan. Munich.		Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, fasc. 21, Historische
2003	"Bronze Wine-Sets in Canaan: How Egyptian Are	LL de le	Inschriften Thutmosis' III. und Amenophis' II. Leipzig.
	They?" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the	Herbordt,	
Chini Test	American Schools of Oriental Research, Atlanta, Georgia.	1986	"Die Goldschale aus Ras Šamra im Museum Aleppo: Ein Beitrag zu den Beziehungen zwiesben ärgunten
Ghini-Tsofo			Ein Beitrag zu den Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten,
2002	"Lead Myrrh Flask." In Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, p. 185,		der Ägäis und Vorderasien." Acta Praehistorica et
	no. 205.		Archaeologica 18, pp. 91–116.

Hofmann, E		Klebs, Luise	
2004	Bilder im Wandel: Die Kunst der ramessidischen	1934	Die Reliefs und Malerein des Neuen Reiches
	Privatgräber. Mainz am Rhein.		(XVIIIXX. Dynastie, ca. 1580-1100 v. Chr.): Material
Hope, Colii	n A.		zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Heidelberg.
1987	"Innovation in the Decoration of Ceramics in the	Kletter, R.	
	Mid-18th Dynasty." Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne 1,	2003	"Iron Age Hoards of Precious Metals in Palestine: An
	pp. 97–122.		'Underground Economy?'" <i>Levant</i> 35, pp. 139–52.
Hornung F	rik, Rolf Krauss, and David A. Warburton, eds.	Kroll, John I	
2006	Ancient Egyptian Chronology. Leiden.	2003	"Weights, Bullion Currency, Coinage." In Stampolidis
		2005	
Houlihan, F			and Karageorghis 2003, pp. 313–23.
1986	The Birds of Ancient Egypt. Warminster.	Lange, Eva	
Hugonot, Je		2010	"King Shoshenqs at Bubastis." Egyptian Archaeology 37
1989	<i>Le jardin dans l'Égypte ancienne</i> . Frankfurt am Main.		(Autumn), pp. 19–20.
James, T. G	. H.	Leahy, Lisa	Montagno, and Anthony Leahy
1984	Pharaoh's People: Scenes from Life in Imperial Egypt.	1986	"The Genealogy of a Priestly Family from Heliopolis."
	Chicago.		Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 72, pp. 133–47.
1995	"The Earliest History of Wine and Its Importance in	Leclant, Jea	n
	Ancient Egypt." In The Origins and Ancient History of	1975	"Anat" and "Astarte." In Lexikon der Ägyptologie, vol. 1,
	Wine, edited by Patrick E. McGovern, Stuart J. Fleming,		edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, cols.
	and Solomon H. Katz, pp. 197–213. Amsterdam.		253–58 and 499–509. Wiesbaden.
Janssen, Jac		Leclère, Fra	
1975	Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period: An	2008	3
1975	/	2008	Les villes de Basse Égypte au l ^{er} millénaire av. JC.:
	Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen		Analyse archéologique et historique de la topographie
	<i>at Thebes</i> . Leiden.		urbaine. Cairo.
Jašaeva, Tat		Leitz, Christ	
2010	"Pilgerandenken im byzantinischen Cherson." In Byzanz:	2002-3	Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen.
	Das Römerreich im Mittelalter/Byzantium: The Roman		8 vols. Leuven.
	Empire in the Middle Ages/Byzance: L'Empire romain	Lesko, Leon	ard
	au Moyen age, vol. 2, Schauplätze/The Setting/Les	1995	"Egyptian Wine Production during the New Kingdom."
	Lieux, edited by Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke, part 1,		In The Origins and Ancient History of Wine, edited by
	pp. 479–91. Exh. cat., Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der		Patrick E. McGovern, Stuart J. Fleming, and Solomon H.
	Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn. Mainz.		Katz, pp. 197–213. Luxembourg.
Jones, Angela Milward		Liebowitz, I	
1982	"Bowls." In <i>Egypt's Golden Age</i> 1982, pp. 141–45.	1980	"Military and Feast Scenes on Late Bronze Palestine
2011	"Faience Bowls of the Late New Kingdom." In		Ivories." Israel Exploration Journal 30, pp. 162–69.
	Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of	von Lieven,	
	Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes,	2003	"Wein, Weib und Gesang: Rituale für die Gefährliche
	22–29 May 2008, edited by P. Kousoulis. Louvain.		Göttin." In Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und
Karageorghis, Vassos			Gegenwart: Studien zur Vorderasiatischen, Prähisto-
1974	Excavations at Kition. Vol. 1, The Tombs. Nicosia.		rischen und Klassischen Archäologie, Ägyptologie,
Kepinski, C	hristine		Alten Geschichte, Theologie und Religionswissen-
1982	L'arbre stylisé en Asie occidentale au 2 ^e millénaire avant		schaft; Interdisziplinäre Tagung vom 1.–2. February
	JC. 3 vols. Paris.		2002 an der Freien Universität Berlin, edited by
Kitagawa, C	-		Carola Metzner-Nebelsick, pp. 47–55. Rahden/
2008	"On the Presence of Deer in Ancient Egypt: Analysis		Westf.
2000	of the Osteological Record." Journal of Egyptian	Lilyquist, Cł	
Kirshaa Ka	Archaeology 94, pp. 209–22.	1988	"The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of
Kitchen, Ke			Objects and Early Egyptology." <i>MMJ</i> 23, pp. 5–68.
1982a	Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical.	1994	"The Dilbat Hoard." <i>MMJ</i> 29, pp. 5–36.
	Vol. 4. Oxford.	1997	"Descriptive Notes from the Valley." In Chief of Seers:
1982b	"The Vintages of the Ramesseum." In Studies in		Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred, edited by
	Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn		Elizabeth Goring, Nicholas Reeves, and John Ruffle,
	Griffiths, edited by Alan B. Lloyd, pp. 115–23. London.		pp. 201–6. London.
2000	Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated. Ser.	2003	The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III.
	A, Translations. Vol. 3, Ramesses II: His Contemporaries.		New York.
	Oxford.	2007	"Reflections on Mirrors." In The Archaeology and Art of
2003	Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated. Ser. A,	200/	Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor,
2005			edited by Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards, vol. 2,
	Translations. Vol. 4, Merenptah & the Late Nineteenth		
2006	Dynasty. Oxford.	2000	pp. 95–109. Cairo. "Barranaida Verenla from Sinci " In Convent of Mut
2006	"High Society and Lower Ranks in Ramesside Egypt at	2008	"Ramesside Vessels from Sinai." In Servant of Mut:
	Home and Abroad." British Museum Studies in Ancient		Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini, edited by
	Egypt and the Sudan no. 6 (October) np. 31–36		Sue H. D'Auria pp. 155–65. Leiden

Egypt and the Sudan, no. 6 (October), pp. 31–36.

Sue H. D'Auria, pp. 155-65. Leiden.

2012	"Remarks on Internationalism: The Non-Text Data."	Mazar, Ami	ihai
	In Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Medi-	2011a	"The Egyptian Garrison Town at Beth-Shean." In Egypt,
	terranean in the Second Millennium B.C., edited by Joan		Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and
	Aruz, Sarah Graff, and Yelena Rakic. New York: MMA.		Literature; Proceedings of a Conference at the University
n.d.	Database of faience relief chalices, to be made acces-		of Haifa, 3–7 May 2009, edited by S. Bar, D. Kahn, and
	sible on a website. In preparation.		J. J. Shirley, pp. 155–89. Leiden.
Lloyd, Alan	В.	2011b	"The Iron Age Chronology Debate: Is the Gap Narrowing?
1976	Herodotus, Book II: Commentary 1–98. Leiden.		Another Viewpoint." Near Eastern Archaeology 74,
Loeben, Ch	ristian E., and Sven Kappel		рр. 105–11.
2009	Die Pflanzen im altägyptischen Garten: Ein Bestands-	McClellan,	Thomas L.
	katalog der ägyptischen Sammlung im Museum August	1986	"A Syrian Fortress of the Bronze Age: El-Qitar." National
	Kestner. Rahden.		Geographic Research 2, pp. 418–40.
Lohwasser,	Angelika	McGovern,	
2008	"Schwimmen: Eine Kulturtechnik und ihre Darstellung	1985	Late Bronze Age Palestinian Pendants: Innovation in a
	im Land am Nil, mit einem Exkurs zu den so genannten		Cosmopolitan Age. Sheffield.
	'Schwimmerinnen' als Löffelgrif." Nikephoros 21,	2009	Uncorking the Past: The Quest for Wine, Beer, and
	pp. 53–80.		Other Alcoholic Beverages. Berkeley.
Loud, Gord		Meyer, Chri	
1939	The Megiddo Ivories. Chicago.	1986	"Wein." In Lexikon der Ägyptologie, vol. 6, edited by
1948	Megiddo. Vol. 2, Seasons of 1935–39. 2 vols. Chicago.		Otto Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, cols. 1169–82.
Málek, Jaro			Wiesbaden.
1985	"The Tomb-Chapel of Hekamaetre-Neheh at Northern	Meyer, Edu	
	Saqqara." Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur 12,	1973	Fremdvölkerdarstellungen altägyptischer Denkmäler:
	pp. 43–60.		Sammlung photographischer Aufnahmen aus den Jahren
1988	"The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqâra." Journal of		1912–1913. 17 microfiches Ägyptologisches Microfiche-
1500	Egyptian Archaeology 74, pp. 125–36.		Archiv, 2. Wiesbaden. Includes 841 photographs repro-
1999	Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian		duced from Meyer's personal archive and a photocopy
1555	Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings VIII:		of his "Bericht über eine Expedition nach Ägypten zur
	Objects of Provenance Not Known. Part 2, Private		Erforschung der Darstellungen der Fremdvölker,"
	Statues (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period), Statues of		Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der
	Deities. Oxford.		Wissenschaften, Jahrg. 1913, pp. 768–801."
Marée, Mai		Meyer, J. W	
2006	"A Jar from Sidon with the Name of Pharaoh-Queen	1987	"Die Silberschale VS 14.117: Ägyptisch oder Phönizisch?"
2000		1907	In Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First
	Tawosret." Archaeology & History in the Lebanon,		
Martin Ca	no. 24 (Autumn), pp. 121–28.		Millennium B.C.: Proceedings of the Conference Held in
Martin, Ge			Leuven from the 14th to the 16th of November 1985,
1974	The Royal Tomb at el-'Amarna. Vol. 1, The Objects.		edited by Edward Lipiński, pp. 167–80. Leuven.
1007	London.	Milward, A	
1987	Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the	1975	"A Fragment of an Egyptian Relief Chalice from
	Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt. London.		Buseirah, Jordan." <i>Levant 7</i> , pp. 16–18.
1997	The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the		org, and Wilhelm Schubart
	Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis. London.	1910	Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten. Edited by
	offrey T., et al.		Heinrich Schäfer. Königliche Museen zu Berlin,
2001	The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials: Ramose, Khay,		Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung, vol. 1.
	and Pabes. London.		Berlin.
Martin, Lut		Montet, Pie	
1995	"Ein elamisches Rollsiegel aus Bubastis." Altorientalische	1928–29	/ //
	Forschungen 22, pp. 103–9.		Gabal 1921–1922–1923–1924. Paris.
2010	"Elamite Cylinder Seal." In Bakr and Brandl 2010,	1937	Les reliques de l'art syrien dans l'Égypte du Nouvel
	no. 56.		Empire. Paris.
Maspero, C	Gaston	1951	Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis.
1907	"Sur une trouvaille récente d'orfèvrerie égyptienne."		Paris.
	In Causeries d'Égypte, edited by Gaston Maspero,	1960	Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis.
	pp. 335–41. Paris.		Paris.
1908a	"Le trésor de Zagazig," part 1. Revue de l'art ancien et	Moorey, P.	R. S.
	moderne 23, pp. 401–12.	1980	"Metal Wine-Sets in the Ancient Near East." Iranica
1908b	"Le trésor de Zagazig," part 2. <i>Revue de l'art ancien et</i>		<i>Antiqua</i> 15, pp. 181–97.
	moderne 24, pp. 29–38.	Morenz, Lu	
Mätthaus, H		2006	" wobei mehr Wein getrunken wird als im ganzen
1985	Metallgefässe und Gefässuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der		Jahre': Altägyptische Weingefässe im Licht Herodots
	geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern.		kontextualisiert." Chronique d'Égypte 81, no. 161,
	Munich.		pp. 45–61.

Müller, Han 1979	is Wolfgang "Goldschmuck und ein Fayencekelch aus dem Grabe
	des Herihor (?)." Pantheon 37, pp. 237-46.
	s Wolfgang, and Eberhard Thiem
1999	The Royal Gold of Ancient Egypt. Translated by Pierre
	Imhoff and Dafydd Roberts. London.
Müller, May	
2003	"Die Göttin im Boot: Eine ikonographische Unter-
	suchung." In Menschenbilder – Bildermenschen:
	Kunst und Kultur im Alten Ägypten, edited by Tobias
	Hofmann and Alexandra Sturm, pp. 57–126.
2010	Norderstedt.
2010	"Niltöchter, Nymphen und die Nilbraut: Weibliche
	Wassergenien in Ägypten 2000 v. Chr. bis 2000 n. Chr." Imago Aegypti 3, pp. 91–151.
Naville, Édo	
1891	Bubastis (1887–1889). London.
Negbi, Ora	
-	The Hoards of Goldwork from Tell el-Ajjul. Göteborg.
	and S. Moskowitz
1966	"The 'Foundation Deposits' or 'Offering Deposits' of
	Byblos." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental
	<i>Research,</i> no. 184 (December), pp. 21–26.
Niemeier, H	
2003	"On Phoenician Art and Its Role in Trans-Mediterranean
	Interconnections ca. 1100-600 BC." In Stampolidis and
	Karageorghis 2003, pp. 201–8.
Ockinga, Bo	oyo G.
2004	Amenemone, the Chief Goldsmith: A New Kingdom
	Tomb in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara. Oxford.
Ockinga, Bo	byo G., and Yahya al-Masri
1990	Two Ramesside Tombs at el Mashayikh. Part 2, The
	Tomb of Anhurmose: The Inner Room and the Tomb of
	Imiseba. Sydney.
Ogden, Jack	
1990–91	"Gold in a Time of Bronze and Iron." Journal of the
2000	Ancient Chronology Forum 4, pp. 6–14.
2000	"Metals." In Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology,
	edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, pp. 148–76.
Onstine, Su	Cambridge.
2005	The Role of the Chantress (Šm'yt) in Ancient Egypt. Oxford.
Osborne, R	
2004	"Hoards, Votives, Offerings: The Archaeology of the
2004	Dedicated Object." <i>World Archaeology</i> 36, pp. 1–10.
Otto, Eberh	
1975	"Bastet." In <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie,</i> vol. 1, edited by
, .	Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, cols. 628–30.
	Wiesbaden.
Paget, R. F.	E., and A. A. Pirie
1898	The Tomb of Ptah-hetep. London.
Papadopou	lou, Varvara N.
2002	"Lead Myrrh Flask." In Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002,
	pp. 184–85, no. 204.
Papanikola-	Bakirtzi, Demetra, ed.
2002	Everyday Life in Byzantium. Exh. cat. Athens.
Pardee, Dei	nnis
1997	"Ugaritic Myths, The Ba'lu Myth (1.86)." In The Context
	of Scripture, vol. 1, Canonical Compositions from the
	<i>Biblical World</i> , edited by William Hallo, pp. 241–74.
	Leiden.

Petrie, W. N	1. Flinders
1891	Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, 1889–90. London.
1937	Stone and Metal Vases. London.
Pfrommer, N	Aichael
1987	Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer
	Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit. Berlin.
Pierrat, Gen	eviève
1994	"À propos de la date et de l'origine du trésor de Tôd."
	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie 130 (June),
	pp. 18–27.
Pinch, Geral	
1993	Votive Offerings to Hathor. Oxford.
Pomorska, li	-
1987	Les Flabellifères à la droite du roi en Égypte ancienne.
1907	Warsaw.
Poo, Mu-ch	
1986	"Weinopfer." In <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , vol. 6, edited
1900	by Otto Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, cols. 1186–90.
	Wiesbaden.
1995	Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient
1995	Egypt. London.
Porada, Edit	
1948	Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American
	Collections. Vol. 1, The Collection of the Pierpont
	Morgan Library. Washington, D.C.
	na, and Rosalind Moss
1934	Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian
	Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. 4, Lower
	and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût). Oxford.
1960	Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian
	Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. 1, The
	Theban Necropolis. Part 1, Private Tombs. 2nd ed.
	Oxford.
Prisse d'Ave	
1878	Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments depuis
	les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la domination romaine.
	Vol. 2, Atlas. 2 parts. Paris.
Pulak, Çema	al
2008	"Bracelet." In Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, pp. 357-58,
	no. 222.
Pusch, Edga	r B.
1996	"'Pi-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amun, Headquarters of
	Thy Chariotry: Egyptians and Hittites in the Delta
	Residence of the Ramessides." In Pelizaeus Museum
	Hildesheim: The Egyptian Collection, pp. 126–45. Mainz.
Quirke, Step	
1999	"Women in Ancient Egypt: Temple Titles and Funerary
	Papyri." In Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of
	H. S. Smith, edited by Anthony Leahy and John Tait,
	pp. 227–35. London.
Radwan, Ali	
1983	Die Kupfer- und Bronzegefässe Ägyptens: Von den
1909	Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Spätzeit. Prähistorische
	Bronzefunde, ser. 2, vol. 2. Munich.
Panko Horn	
Ranke, Hern 1935	
1333	Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Vol. 1, Verzeichnis der Namenn. Glückstadt.
10.41	
1941	Review of Montet 1937. Orientalische Literaturzeitung
1050	44, cols. 448–54.
1952	Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Vol. 2, Einleitung,
	Form und Inhalt der Namen, Geschichte der Namen,
	Vergleiche mit andren Namen. Glückstadt.

Raven, Maa	rten		Westendorf, überreicht von seinen Freunden und
2007	"The Tomb of Ptahemwia: Akhenaten's 'Royal butler, clean of hands.'" <i>Minerva</i> 18 (September/October),	1986	<i>Schülern,</i> vol. 2, pp. 855–65. Göttingen. "The Royal Butler Ramessessami'on." <i>Chronique</i>
	pp. 11–13.		<i>d'Égypte</i> 61, no. 122, pp. 187–202.
Redford, Do		Scott, Nora	
1992	Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times. Princeton.	1944	The Home Life of the Ancient Egyptians. New York.
Roehrig, Ca		Sethe, Kurt	
2005	"Linen Chest of Perpauti." In Roehrig, Dreyfus, and Keller 2005, pp. 47–48, no. 25.	1906	Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Vol. 1, Heft 1, Zeit der Hyksosvertreiber und ihrer ersten Nachfolger. Leipzig.
Roohrig Ca	tharine H., Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller, eds.	Settgast, Jür	
2005	Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh. Exh. cat., Fine	1978	Von Troja bis Amarna: The Norbert Schimmel Collection,
2005	Arts Museums of San Francisco/de Young, MMA, and		New York. Mainz am Rhein.
	Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth. New York.	1986	"Die Silberschale des Merenptah." Jahrbuch Preussischer
	e, Catherine		<i>Kulturbesitz</i> 23 (pub. 1987), pp. 125–41.
1991	Les chevaux du Nouvel Empire égyptien: Origines, races,	Shore, Arthu	
	harnachement. Brussels.	1979	"Votive Objects from Dendera of the Graeco-Roman
Rosenow, D			Period." In Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour
2010	"Revealing New Landscape Features at Tell Basta."		of H. W. Fairman, edited by John Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa,
	Egyptian Archaeology 37 (Autumn), pp. 17–18.		and Kenneth A. Kitchen, pp. 138–60. Warminster.
Russmann,		Simon, Claii	
2001	Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the	1992	"Râpes, siphons ou filtres pour pailles: Développement
	British Museum. Exh. cat., Toledo Museum of Art and		égyptien d'un art de boire." In Sesto Congresso Inter-
	other venues. New York and Berkeley.		nazionale de Egittologia: Atti, vol. 1, pp. 555–63. Turin.
2008	"Stele of an Asiatic Soldier." In Aruz, Benzel, and	Simpson, W	
	Evans 2008, pp. 264–65, no. 165.	1949	"The Tell Basta Treasure." MMAB, n.s., 8, no. 2
el-Saady, H			(October), pp. 61–65.
1999	"The External Royal Envoys of the Ramessides: A Study	1959	"The Vessels with Engraved Designs and the Repoussé
	on the Egyptian Diplomats." Mitteilungen des Deutschen		Bowl from the Tell Basta Treasure." American Journal of
	Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 55, pp. 411–25.		Archaeology 63, pp. 29–45.
	bergh, Torgny	Smith, Joani	
1957	Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs. Oxford.	2003	"International Style in Mediterranean Late Bronze
el-Sayed, Ra			Age Seals." In Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003,
1975	Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités. Cairo.		pp. 291–304.
1982	La déesse Neith de Saïs. 2 vols. Cairo.		am Stevenson
Schaeffer, C		1958	The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt.
1934	"Les fouilles de Ras-Shamra: Cinquième campagne		Harmondsworth.
	(printemps 1933): Rapport sommaire." Syria 15,		am Stevenson, and William Kelly Simpson
	pp. 105–36.	1998	The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt. 3rd ed.,
1949	Ugaritica II: Nouvelles études relatives aux découvertes		revised and with additions by William Kelly Simpson.
	de Ras Shamra. Paris.		New Haven.
Scharff, A.		Snell, Danie	
1930	"Altes und Neues von den Goldschmiedearbeiten der	1995	"Methods of Exchange and Coinage in Ancient Western
	ägyptischen Abteilung." Berliner Museen 51, no. 5,		Asia." In Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, edited by
	pp. 114–21.		Jack M. Sasson, vol. 3, pp. 1487–97. New York.
Schiaparelli		Sparks, Rac	
1927	La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha nella necropoli di	2006	"The Taweret Workshop: Nicholson Museum 00.107
	Tebe. Turin.		and Related Vessels." In Egyptian Art in the Nicholson
Schipper, B			Museum, Sydney, edited by Karen Sowada and
2005	Die Erzählung des Wenamun: Ein Literaturwerk im		B. G. Ockinga, pp. 241–61. Sydney.
	Spannungsfeld von Politik, Geschichte und Religion.	2007	A Future for the Past: Petrie's Palestinian Collection.
	Fribourg and Göttingen.		Exh. cat., Brunei Gallery, London. London.
Schlichting,			nen, Nicholas Reeves, and Stephen Quirke
1982	"Neith." In Lexikon der Ägyptologie, vol. 4, edited by	1999	Egyptian Art at Eaton College: Selections from the Myers
	Otto Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, cols. 392–94.		Museum. Exh. cat. Myers Museum at Eton College and
·	Wiesbaden.	a 1.	MMA. New York and Windsor.
Schmitz, Be		Stadelmann	
1986	"Truchsess." In Lexikon der Ägyptologie, vol. 6, edited	1985	"Votivbetten mit Darstellungen der Qadesch aus
	by Otto Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, cols. 771–72.		Theben." Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen
	Wiesbaden.		Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 41, pp. 265–68.
Schulman, /		Stammers, N	
1984	"Reshep at Zagazig: A New Document." In <i>Studien zu</i>	2009	The Elite Late Period Egyptian Tombs of Memphis.
	Sprache und Religion Ägyptens: zu Ehren von Wolfhart		Oxford.

Stampolidis	, Nicholas Chr., and Vassos Karageorghis, eds.	Vernus, Pas	cal	
2003	Sea Routes — : From Sidon to Huelva, Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th-6th c. BC. Athens.	1989	"Caches au trésor dans l'Égypte pharaonique." Hathor 1, pp. 35–40.	
Steindorff, (Vincentelli,	••	
1903	"Excavations in Egypt." In <i>Explorations in Bible Lands</i>	2006	Hillat el-Arab: The Joint Sudanese-Italian Expedition in	
1905	during the 19th Century, edited by H. V. Hilprecht,	2000	the Napatan Region, Sudan. Oxford.	
	pp. 625–90. Philadelphia.	Wallis, Hen		
1928	Die Kunst der Ägypter: Bauten, Plastik, Kunstgewerbe.	1900	Egyptian Ceramic Art: Typical Examples of the Art of the	
	Leipzig.		Egyptian Potter Portrayed in Colour Plates. London.	
Tait, G. A. I		Wicke, Dirk		
1963	"The Egyptian Relief Chalice." Journal of Egyptian	2008	Vorderasiatische Pyxiden der Spätbronzezeit und der	
	Archaeology 49, pp. 93–139.		Früheisenzeit. Münster.	
Tallet, Pierre	<i>o, i</i> ,	2010	"Die Goldschale der Yabâ: Eine levantinische Antiquität,"	
2010	"De l'ivresse au dégrisement: À propos d'un article		with Angela Busch and Erika Fischer. Zeitschrift für	
	récent sur le vin shedeh." Göttinger Miszellen, no. 227,		Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archaeologie 100,	
	pp. 105–12.		pp. 109–41.	
Tawfik, Say	••	Wilkinson,		
1991	"Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara, 1.:	1971	Ancient Egyptian Jewellery. London.	
	Architecture." Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäolo-	Williams, Bruce Beyer		
	gischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 47, pp. 401–9.	1992	New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S and W	
Teeter, Emil			at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan. Chicago.	
2010	Baked Clay Figurines and Votive Beds from Medinet	Wreszinski,		
	Habu. Chicago.	1923-36	Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte. 3 vols. in	
Thomas, He	elen		8 parts. Leipzig.	
1938–39	"The Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae." Annual of the	Yon, Margu	erite, Annie Caubet, Jacques Connan, Eric Coqueugniot,	
British School at Athens 39 (pub. 1942), pp. 65–87.		Odile Desc	hesne, Carolyn Elliott, and Honor Frost	
Tiradritti, Fr	ancesco, ed.	1991 Arts et industries de la pierre. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 6. Paris.		
1998	Egyptian Treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.	Yoyotte, Jea	n	
	Translated by Neil Davenport. Vercelli.	1962	"Un souvenir du 'Pharaon' Taousert en Jordanie." Vetus	
Tufnell, Olg	a, Charles H. Inge, and Lankester Harding		Testamentum 12 (October), pp. 464–69.	
1940	Lachish (Tell ed Duweir). Vol. 2, The Fosse Temple.	Ziffer, Irit		
	London.	1990	At That Time the Canaanites Were in the Land: Daily	
Vandier, Jac	cques		Life in Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age 2, 2000–1550	
1948	"Musée du Louvre. Dernière acquistions du Département		B.C.E. (in Hebrew and English). Exh. cat., Eretz Israel	
	Égyptien." Musées de France 48 (April), pp. 54–60.		Museum, Tel-Aviv. Tel-Aviv.	
Vandier d'Abbadie, Jeanne		2005	"From Acemhöyük to Megiddo: The Banquet Scene in	
1937–46	Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el-Médineh.		the Art of the Levant in the Second Millennium BCE."	
	Vol. 2, fasc. 1–3. Cairo.		Tel Aviv 32 (September), pp. 133–67.	
1959	Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el-Médineh.	Zivie, Alain		
	Vol. 2, fasc. 4. Cairo.	1997	"Seth, échanson royal, et sa tombe de Saqqara." In	
Vernier, Ém	ile		Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde,	
1907-9	Bijoux et orfèvreries: Catalogue général des antiquités égyp-		edited by Jacobus van Dijk, pp. 373–82. Groningen.	
	tiennes du musée du Caire nos. 52001–52639. Cairo.	2003	Les tombeaux retrouvés de Saqqara. Monaco.	
1927	Bijoux et orfèvreries: Catalogue général des antiquités égyp-	2006	"Le messager royal égyptien Pirikhnawa." British Museum	

Bijoux et orfèvreries: Catalogue général des antiquités égyp-1927 tiennes du musée du Caire nos. 53172-53855. Cairo.

992	New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S and W
	at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan. Chicago.
eszinski,	Walter
923–36	Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte. 3 vols. in
	8 parts. Leipzig.
, Margue	erite, Annie Caubet, Jacques Connan, Eric Coqueugniot,
ile Desch	esne, Carolyn Elliott, and Honor Frost
991	Arts et industries de la pierre. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 6. Paris.
otte, Jear	1
962	"Un souvenir du 'Pharaon' Taousert en Jordanie." Vetus
	Testamentum 12 (October), pp. 464–69.
er, Irit	
990	At That Time the Canaanites Were in the Land: Daily
	Life in Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age 2, 2000–1550
	B.C.E. (in Hebrew and English). Exh. cat., Eretz Israel
	Museum, Tel-Aviv. Tel-Aviv.
005	"From Acemhöyük to Megiddo: The Banquet Scene in
	the Art of the Levant in the Second Millennium BCE."
	Tel Aviv 32 (September), pp. 133–67.
ie, Alain	
997	"Seth, échanson royal, et sa tombe de Saqqara." In
	Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde,

Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 6, pp. 68–78.