WA LHINGS CHANGED THINGS



MY THINGS CHANGED THINGS

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Social Development and Cultural Exchange in Prehistory, Antiquity, and the Middle Ages

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THE UNBELIEVABLE 60th BIRTHDAY OF PETR CHARVÁT

Jiří Sláma

One can hardly avoid the impression that the hectic way of life of today's hurried times seems to deny the justness of F. Braudel's reflections about several categories of historical time, of which we are left only with the fastest-running one. How else are we to explain the fact that some of our professional colleagues, whose first steps on the field of historical investigation we had quite recently observed with keen interest, have already reached the age when scholars are given a collected volume at the occasion of their life's jubilee? This holds true also of our dear colleague Petr Charvát (*January 12, 1949 in Prague). The composition of the collected volume dedicated to his sixtieth birthday is quite unusual it terms of its content, one could almost say it is exceptional. The authors of the individual contributions range from scholars of the Ancient Near East over Egyptologists to specialists in Early Medieval Bohemia and Moravia. The scope of interest of our honoree covers all these parts of early history. The range of his interests is indeed admirable and at the same inspiring. In the course of his investigation of various archaeological and historical problems, P. Charvát has always strived to find monuments and phenomena (for example in the area of religious concepts or commercial relationships), which had connected these distant regions and differing thought systems in the past.

The formation of the personality of our honoree was undoubtedly to a large extent influenced by the exceptional intellectual environment of his family. His future professional focus as well as scholarly interests stemmed primarily from his studies at the Charles University in Prague. The greater part of his studies took place already in the complicated period after the year 1968, when the newly created state power, based on the support of alien tanks that invaded our country, denied for nonsensical ideological and power reasons any scholarly contacts with the western world. Only a few university disciplines could stand up to these for scholarly research so devastating tendencies. These included also prehistory and cuneiform studies, where the honoree graduated in the year 1973. He was also lucky to have been able to acquaint himself with university life free from nonsensical political pressure in the course of one academic year of his studies, although in order to attain this experience, he had to travel to the distant Lagos in Nigeria.

After graduation, P. Charvát gradually extended his knowledge in the course of a scholarship at the Czech Institute of Egyptology and, following that, postgraduate internship at the Archaelogical Institute in Prague. He remained loyal to this institution in the course of the ensuing years, although a greater part of his workload has gradually shifted to other workplaces. These included above all the Oriental Institute in Prague and then some university departments, of which the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen became his home institution.

When contacts with foreign countries were enabled after the political changes of 1989, our honoree used his opportunities to the full. He undertook several scholarships in France, Berlin, twice he stayed at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia and he also studied at the University of Cambridge. He also had the opportunity to take part at several foreign archaeological expeditions. These included above all the exploration

of the Buddhist temple in Anuradhapura at Sri Lanka, undertaken in terms of a UNESCO campaign, and the British archaeological expedition at Djemdet Nasr near Baghdad. P. Charvát is also a member of the Spanish archaeological mission in Turkey.

The honoree's deep knowledge and wide overview of specialized literature allowed him to gradually publish a number of scholarly articles and monographs, important both thematically and in terms of their content, on the basis of which he first attained the academic title PhDr. (in 1975), several years later the scholarly title of candidate of sciences CSc. (in 1980) and another fifteen years later (in 1995) also the highest scholarly title awarded in our country, doctor of historical sciences (DrSc.). In the same year, he habilitated at the faculty of arts of Masaryk University in Brno in the discipline of Slavic archaeology, receiving the title of Assistant Professor.

Since the year 1993, Petr Charvát has been lecturing at several Czech universities. He is an acknowledged and erudite university teacher. At first he lectured at the Pedagogical Faculty of the Charles University in Prague, later he moved to the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen. His lectures and the seminars he directs mostly concentrate on the wide aspects of the cultures of the Ancient Near East. As a visiting professor, P. Charvát has also given lectures concerning problems of the archaeology of Early Medieval Europe at the Faculties of Arts in Brno and Prague.

Both in Czech and international scholarly circles, P. Charvát is known above all as the author of a vast number of scholarly articles and several monographs. Many of these have been published by prestigious publishers. Charvát's bibliography includes both works covering the problems of the historical development of a larger area in the course of a longer period of time (for example his books on the most ancient history of Mesopotamia or about the beginnings of the Czech state), but also studies dedicated to partial problems. All his works are characterized by his critical approach, excellent knowledge of material culture, epigraphic sources and corresponding scholarly literature as well as an ability to reach new approaches and interpretations. With their frequently non-traditional approaches to the problems addressed, Charvát's works stimulate thought and discussion. All these aspects of the works of the honoree are, however, well-known and it is unnecessary to reiterate them again.

What to say in conclusion? Under no circumstances should we repeat the cliché of wishing all good for the ensuing years. This would not do for the vital Petr Charvát (whose 60 years of age appear to me rather like a mistake in his birth certificate). And thus we can wish him (and, rather selfishly, also ourselves) that he might publish as much an in such a way as he had done until now. We are already looking forward for his new works.

MY THINGS CHANGED THINGS

Social Development and Cultural Exchange in Prehistory, Antiquity, and the Middle Ages

"But most cultural transfers were the work of anonymous carriers. So many were they, some moving quickly, others so slowly, that it is almost impossible to find one's way through this immense baggage hall in perpetual confusion. For every piece of cultural baggage recognized, a thousand are untraceable: identification labels are missing and sometimes the contents or their wrappings have vanished too."

Braudel, F., *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.* Volume II. London: University of California Press 1973, 761.

When Peter Roger Stuart Moorey used this quotation to open his chapter on tracing the roots of cultural transfers between Egypt and Mesopotamia (in: Rowlands, M. – Larsen, M. – Kristianses, K. (eds.): *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1987, 36), he precisely defined one of the thorniest problems not only of archaeology but also of history or any other social science. The dynamics of society and its material culture development, intercultural exchanges, and legacies of ancient cultures represent themes that can be observed diachronically throughout the entire history of mankind. The following, analyzing, and evaluating of these processes and their understanding can enable us to comprehend our own present.

This publication contains papers devoted to various aspects of Prehistory, Antiquity and Middle Ages of not only Bohemia but also Egypt and Near East. This wide range of time and space mirrors the wide-spread professional interests of Petr Charvát whose ideas, papers, books, and imagination overshoot the limits of several branches, including Near Eastern studies, Archaeology, and Egyptology.

To find one's way through the immense hall of knowledge of human history is one of the hardest lots of any carrier – researcher. And we believe that Petr Charvát belongs to the most gifted of carriers.

Petra Maříková Vlčková – Jana Mynářová – Martin Tomášek

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SEZNAM ZKRATEK / LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS / ABKÜZUNGENVERZEICHNISS

A Museum siglum of the Oriental Institute, Chicago

ÄA Ägyptologische Abhandlungen

AASOR The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Abb Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung

ABoT Balkan, K., Ankara Arkeologji Müzesinde bulunan Bogazköy Tabletleri / Bogazköy Tablets

in the Archaeological Museum in Ankara. Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1948

ACER The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports

ÄF Ägyptologische Forschungen

AO Museum siglum of the Louvre, Paris (Antiquités orientales)

AoF Altorientalische Forschungen ARES Archivi Reali di Ebla – Studi ARET Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi

ArOr Archiv Orientální

ASAE Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte Ash. Museum siglum, Ashmolean Museum

AV, DAI Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

BÄ Beiträge zur Ägyptologie BdÉ Bibliothèque d'Étude

BIFAO Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale

BME/BM Museum siglum of the British Museum BSFE Bulletin de la société française d'égyptologie

CAD Chicago Assyrian Dictionary

CG Museum siglum of the Egyptian museum, Cairo (Catalogue géneral)

CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

CRRAI Comptes Rendues, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale

DAI Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

E. Museum siglum of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels

EA siglum of the Amarna tablets (Knudtzon, J. A., Die El-Amarna-Tafeln mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen. Anmerkungen und Register bearbeitet von Otto Weber und Erich Ebeling

Entante ingen. Thine manger and negative between von Otto weber and

[= VAB 2]. 2 Bände. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907–1915.)

EEF Egypt Exploration Fund

EI Eretz-Israel

ERC Études recherches sur la civilisation FAT Forschungen zum Alten Testament

FHL Durand, J.-M. – Laroche, E., Fragments hittites du Louvre. In: Mémorial Atatürk. Études

d'archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes. Paris: ERC, 1982, 73-107.

GM Göttinger Miszellen

HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik IOS Israel Oriental Studies

JAC Journal of Ancient Civilizations

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

JARCE Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt

JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JESHO Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies

KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi

KTU Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. – Sanmartín, J., Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras ibn

Hani and Other Places. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.

KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi

LingAeg Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies

MÄS Münchner Ägyptologische Studien

MDAIK Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo

MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung

MRS Mission de Ras Shamra

N.A.B.U. Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

OA Oriens Antiquus

OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP Oriental Institute Publications
OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PAM Polish Archaeology in Mediterranean

PAT Palmyrene Aramaic Texts (Hillers – Cussini 1996)

P. Dura Parchments and Papyri discovered in Dura Europos (Welles – Fink – Gilliam 1959)

P. Yadin Papyri from the Cave of Letters (*Lewis et al. 1989*; *Yadin et al. (ed.) 2002*)

PRU Le Palais royal d'Ugarit QS Quaderni di semitistica RdE Revue d'Égyptologie

RIA Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie

RSO Ras Shamra – Ougarit SAA State Archives of Assyria SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies

SAGA Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens

SAK Studien zur Altägyptische Kultur

SBLWAW Society for Biblical Literature (Writings of the Ancient World)

SMEA Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici

SR Museum siglum of the Egyptian museum, Cairo (Special register)

TAD Textbook of Aramaic Inscriptions from Ancient Egypt (A: Porten – Yardeni 1986; B: Porten

- Yardeni 1989; C: Porten Yardeni 1993; D: Porten - Yardeni 1999)

TbT Totenbuchtexte. Synoptische Textausgabe nach Quellen des Neuen Reiches

UBL Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur

UF Ugarit-Forschungen

VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek

VAT Museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung.

Tontafeln)

VBoT Goetze, A., Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte. Marburg: a.d. Lahn, 1930.

VE Vocabolario di Ebla WA World Archaeology

WDSP Wadi Daliyeh Samaria Papyrus (*Gropp 2001*; *Dušek 2007*)

XHev/Se Manuscripts from the Seivâl collection (*Cotton – Yardeni 1997*)

YNER Yale Near Eastern Researches ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

ZÄS Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

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EGYPT

Chapter 1

Personifications of the Day- and Night-Hours in the Tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir – a Preliminary Notice (Ladislav Bareš)

In the burial chamber of the shaft tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir, a rich relief decoration consisting of texts and representations has been discovered recently. Some of these scenes and texts remain unattested among all the hitherto explored Late Period shaft tombs. In this paper, the personifications of twelve day- and twelve night-hours from the tomb of Menekhibnekau are briefly described. The personifications are accompanied by a complete series of their names, that seems to be unattested in other contemporary sources.

Chapter 2

A Case for Veneration from Abusir South (Miroslav Bárta)

In 1995, the Czech archaeological team discovered the tomb complex of vizier Qar whose burial chapel was fully decorated. In 2002, the tomb of one of Qar's sons Inti was found, also with a decorated chapel. Among the most relevant scenes in their chapels are the ones showing Egyptian priests carrying out an offering ritual for the soul of the deceased. The purpose of such scenes was twofold: to secure the transmission of the funerary offerings and to assist the deceased in attaining the spiritual stage of being "well-provided". The following stages may be identified, in this order: fumigation of the cultic place, ritual purification of the altar with clean water, declamation of the ritual utterances, wiping off footprints in the chapel and presentation of offerings. The importance of the newly discovered Abusir scenes relating to the funerary cults of the ancient Egyptians lies in the fact that they considerably expand the corpus of similar scenes from other Saqqara tombs. At the same time, they comprise some valuable details that shed more light at the individual stages of this unique ritual, traces of which have been preserved in the archaeological record.

Chapter 3

Missing Puzzle Pieces Found. Two By-Products in Work on BD 105 (Jiří Janák)

Collecting evidence for the Chapter 105 in the New Kingdom Book of the Dead papyri has brought two interesting by-products. The first – identification of a missing chapter in the Book of the Dead of Ramose (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) – presents an outcome of a study on sequence of spells occurring around BD 105. The latter stems from systematization of the chapter's illustrations – the presence or absence of a vignette was considered in the case of three incomplete New Kingdom BD papyri (pLund KM 21933, pLeiden 15 and pAmherst 16).

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Chapter 4

Taboos of the Golden Goddess. Sexual Taboos in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom Egypt

(Renata Landgráfová – Hana Navrátilová)

34

The Instructions of Ptahhotep is a well-known and thoroughly studied text. The 32nd Maxim of the Instruction has inspired much controversy, the translations making it a denunciation of homosexuality, or of sleeping with a 'woman who is only a child'. The latest proposal of Kammerzell & Toro Rueda (2003, 63–78), that the text is an admonishment to refrain from forcing anybody whatsoever to sexual activities, is very convincing. Taking this text as its starting point, the present study aims to seek out texts that identify abhorred sexual practices, "sexual taboos" of Middle Kingdom Egyptians. A detailed analyses of these texts reveals that, in the Middle Kingdom at least, the Egyptians were mostly worried about forced sexual acts and abusing one's position in order to demand sexual favours, thus corroborating the new interpretation of Ptahhotep Maxim 32 and illustrating its general validity for the Egyptian elite society.

Chapter 5

New Evidence of an "Old" Iconographic Feature from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Petra Maříková Vlčková)

47

It has been often stated that during the 6^{th} Dynasty certain iconographic features were distributed according to the geographical position of the tomb and/or special social position of the tomb owner within the stratified Egyptian society. In the course of the archaeological excavations conducted by the Czech Institute of Egyptology at Abusir South (the mastaba tomb of judge Inti) a distinct group of decorated limestone blocks (with reliefs and engaged statues) were found in the filling of one of the burial shafts. The analysis and evaluation of one of the iconographic details preserved on them could shed some new light on the proposed interrelation between the social status of the tomb owner and certain iconographic features of the tomb decoration.

Chapter 6

The Embalmer's Cache as an Heir of the South Tomb (Květa Smoláriková)

58

The pyramid complex of King Djoser at Saqqara and the Saite shaft tombs of high-ranking dignitaries are seemingly two completely different types of Egyptian funerary architecture. The recent results of archaeological excavations in the small Saite-Persian cemetery at Abusir, supported by previous building-historical research on the vast pyramid complex and the nearby lying shaft tombs, clearly show that they have many common features than cannot be ignored. One could hardly find another example – in respect of the so-called Saite *archaism* – which in such a perfect manner reflects the transposition of the ancient and admired Old Kingdom structure into later times, both concerning its design and the religious significance of its particular parts. The panelled enclosure wall, the massive and deep main shaft with the burial chamber in its centre, the lateral shafts and corridors, the embalming structure in the SW corner, and the vast and intricate cult area in the eastern part all have their parallels in the Step Pyramid of Djoser.

Chapter 7

The Clothing Rite in the Royal Temples of Abusir

(Hana Vymazalová – Filip Coppens)

64

The article focuses on the clothing ritual in relation to the cultic statues in ancient Egyptian temples, and its development over time. The comparison between the evidence from the New Kingdom and Ptolemaic and Roman period on the one hand, and the Old Kingdom material on the other is particularly valuable. The younger periods provide us with descriptive religious inscriptions and reliefs in royal and divine temples, while from the Old Kingdom some indications survived in records from the administrative archives discovered in the 5th Dynasty pyramid temples of Neferirkare and Raneferef in Abusir. This study enables us to trace developments in the language and religious and cultic traditions in Egyptian history.

THE NEAR EAST

Chapter 8

The Phenomenon of the Oriental Renaissance in the Context of French Romanticism: Interpretation by Edgar Quinet (*Ivo Budil*)

74

The article entitled "De la Renaissance Orientale" by Edgar Quinet which was published in La Revue des Deux Mondes in October 1841 marked an important change in the reception of the oriental civilization and culture in the French intellectual life. The military expedition to Egypt led by Napoleon in 1798 presented a new impulse for the development of the French oriental studies and excited the interest of the general public in an idealized past of the oriental countries. For Edgar Quinet the potential spiritual alliance between occidental and oriental civilizations enabled by the cultural movement called oriental renaissance would present one of the greatest achievements in the history of humankind. Quined concluded that Germany was more deeply influenced and shaped by the oriental renaissance than any other European nation despite the absence of communication among its inhabitants and India. This surprising phenomenon and the special sensitivity toward Eastern influences could be quite easily explained by the fact that the German population had been only superficially assimilated by the Western civilization and Christianity.

Chapter 9

Ebla Before History: Toward a Structural Analysis of the Ancient Semitic King Lists (*Pavel Čech*)

78

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The 3rd millennium B.C.E. Ebla tablets TM.74.G.120 and ARET 7 150 offer two different yet compatible recensions of the Eblaite list of royal ancestors. The history of their interpretation is reviewed and their distinct *Sitz im Leben* (scribal exercise, sacrificial prescription) elucidated. Particular attention is given to the legendary origins of the Eblaite dynasty. Finally, taking into account other ancient Near Eastern documents of the same genre, shared features of ancient Semitic king lists are pinpointed and their usefulness for structural analysis is tested on both documents.

Chapter 10

The Satisfaction and the Payment-Receipt Clauses in the Aramaic Legal Tradition: Between Egypt and Levant (Jan Dušek)

In 1992, Eleonora Cussini distinguished three types of payment-receipt formulae used in the Aramaic deeds of sale in Antiquity. Since that time several publications of Aramaic legal texts have enlarged the field of the Aramaic studies and these publications shed a new light on the payment-receipt formulae. The Author reconsiders the hypothesis of E. Cussini in the light of these publications. After the analysis of the formulae mentioned by E. Cussini and by related clauses the Author concludes that the problem of the payment-receipt clauses in the Aramaic legal texts from Egypt and Levant is more complex and distinguishes three main types: the satisfaction formulae, the payment-receipt formulae and the formulae expressing the payment of full price. Some elements of these three types of formulae reflect the cuneiform legal tradition.

Chapter 11

The Road to Baghdad: Vlasta Kálalová Di-Lotti – a Woman and a Physician in Baghdad in 1925–1932 and Her Journey from Istanbul to Baghdad in 1925 (Adéla Jůnová Macková)

100

Vlasta Kálalová specialized as a surgeon and had well-formed plans concerning her future profession. Due to her specialisation and her extensive knowledge of languages, she had a very good opportunity to realise her decision to establish an institute for the research of tropical diseases. She decided to leave for the Middle East and to establish a hospital in Baghdad. She set off for the journey in September1924, stayed in Istanbul for a few months and in March 1925 she left for Baghdad. She ran a famous hospital till 1932, when she came back to Czechoslovakia because of her illness.

Chapter 12

From Amarna to Ḥattušaš: Epistolary Traditions in the Amarna and Ramesside Correspondence (Jana Mynářová)

111

The language adopted for a "diplomatic" written communication between Egypt and Hatti in the $14^{\rm th}$ and $13^{\rm th}$ centuries B.C.E. was Akkadian, or more accurately so-called Peripheral Akkadian. The main aim of this paper is to set the two systems, i.e. the "Amarna" and the "Ramesside" correspondence into a broader context of development of the diplomatic language used over the period of Late Bronze Age in the area of Ancient Near East. Special attention is given to structural elements and their sequence in the standardized parts of the letters, especially to the relevant opening passages.

Chapter 13

Moulded Pottery from Istakhr (Karel Nováček)

118

Unglazed pottery made partly in moulds represents a peculiar kind of ceramics widespread all over the medieval Islamic world. A collection of finds of moulded ware from the deserted town at Istakhr, Iran, is presented along with a proposed assessment of its complex decoration based on a formalized description and use of multivariate statistical methods.

Chapter 14

The Fragmentation of Bipartite Ground Stones on a Chalcolithic Site (Ivan Pavlů)

127

Among other objects, bipartite ground stones have been documented on the Chalcolithic settlement of Güvercinkayası (5220–4680 B.C.E.). The ratio of occurrence of lower and upper stones clearly shows that number of the discovered upper stones is more than twice as high as that of the lower ones. This fact corresponds to the general structure of finds forming specific functional assemblages in houses with always two upper stones and one lower stone per house. The ratio of completely preserved upper stones is more or less the same as their fragments. On the other hand, fragments of the lower stones are twice as numerous as completely preserved pieces.

Chapter 15

Police Functions of the Old Babylonian Army (Lukáš Pecha)

133

The available evidence from the Old Babylonian period (2003–1595 B.C.E.) suggests that members of the army frequently fulfilled police functions as there were no specialized police troops in Babylonia. Above all the soldier designated with the Akkadian word $r\bar{e}d\hat{u}m$ or its Sumerian equivalent AGA.UŠ appears frequently in this connection. The Old Babylonian letters show that soldiers assisted the judicial, investigative or administrative authorities by escorting to them the persons who broke the law or whose presence was necessary for deciding a case. They were also involved in solving conflicts related to the agricultural land and its yield. Soldiers confiscated various kinds of property according to judicial decisions and they forced the debtors to pay off their debts. Besides, members of the Old Babylonian army had to arrest and escort runaway slaves. All the evidence suggests that police functions of the Old Babylonian army were very frequent and belonged to the common activities of its members.

Chapter 16

Fragmentation and Secondary Use of the Manos and Metates from the Tepecik-Çiftlik Site in Central Turkey (Jaroslav Řídký)

140

The paper deals with completely preserved types of bipartite stone hand mills (manos and metates) and their fragments from Tepecik-Çiftlik site, Central Turkey (Cappadocia). Following the summary of various types of hand mills, the ratio of their fragmentation will be observed – not only the state of preservation of individual types but also the mode of their secondary use.

A remarkably high percentage of secondary usage of both lower and upper types of hand mills has been observed in the stone architecture of Chalcolithic layers 1–3 on the site. What would be primarily interpreted as ritual foundation or construction deposits in buildings dated from the turn of the 6th and 5th millennium B.C.E. appears on the basis of the high quantity of finds and various morphological types more likely to be a simple practical use of suitable building material obtained from earlier structures. The results of archaeological investigation of this site warn of any premature typochronological conclusions based on artefacts originating from long-inhabited settlement ranges in Central Turkey.

Chapter 17

Dūr-Šarrukēn – The Fortress of Sargon, king of Assyria (Kateřina Šašková)

150

Although Sargon II was neither the only nor the first Assyrian king who, despite the traditionalism of ancient Mesopotamian society, took decision to move the Assyrian capital into a new location, his building of Dūr-Šarrukēn is in many respects a remarkable work. Sargon came to the resolution to construct his new city on virgin soil, which he had exchanged or bought from its previous owners. Unlike most of the other Assyrian cities, the city of Dūr-Šarrukēn had an almost rectangular shape, and the straight line of its walls was broken only in the in the district of the citadel. The construction of the city is described not only by Sargon's building inscriptions, but also by some documents and letters of royal correspondence, from which we can attain some important information concerning the organisation of the work. Nevertheless, after all Sargon's effort, which he applied to the erection of his new residence, a few years after its completion, Dūr-Šarrukēn became only a provincial capital.

PREHISTORY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

Chapter 18

Shells as Symbols and Witnesses of Far-reaching Contacts in Prehistory and Late Antiquity (Jan Bouzek)

160

Shells (*Spondylus, Cowrie*, and *Cardium* shells) have been symbols of fertility, birth and creation for many ancient cultures. They were connected mainly with the female world and served as talismanic objects protecting and safeguarding the particularly female qualities. Furthermore, their distribution may indicate the presence of routes of long-distance trade connecting Central Europe with neighbouring regions.

Chapter 19

Ideas to the Question of the Bird-Motif on Great Moravian Buttons Based on a Find from Staré Město, the "Špitálky" Site (*Luděk Galuška*)

The depiction of a bird represents one of the most frequently used animal motifs on Early Medieval jewellery from Great Moravia (9th century). It also appears on an (old) newly discovered silver button that was rescued by the teacher and archaeologist Antonín Zelnitius during the 1949 dredging in Staré Město, the "Špitálky" site. He placed the button in the museum in Staré Město. In this paper the button is described and analyzed for the first time. The analysis serves as the basis for new comprehension attempt of the decoration motif of a bird in an upside-down position.

Chapter 20

Ohrringe des Nitraer Typs in Mähren (Pavel Kouřil)

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Der Beitrag wertet Funde einer spezifischen Form von Bronzeohrringen des sog. Nitraer Typs aus, die in den großmährischen Skelettbestattungen auf dem Gebiet Mährens geborgen werden konnten. Es handelt sich hierbei lediglich um wenige Exemplare, die ausschließlich in der Olmützer Siedlungsagglomeration konzentriert sind und in die letzten Jahrzehnte des 9. Jh. bzw.

den Beginn des 10. Jh. datiert werden. Sie sind ein Beleg für die Beziehung Mittelmährens zum Nitraer Raum, wo sie relativ häufig vertreten sind, vor allem gegen Ende des großmährischen Staates. Die wahre Herkunft dieses Schmucks ist offenbar zu Recht in den südlich der Donau gelegenen Räumen auf dem Nordbalkan zu suchen.

Chapter 21

The Slavníks and their Remote Neighbours (Jan Mařík)

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This paper contributes to the issue of the dating and architectural appearance of the Early Medieval church discovered during archaeological excavations in the year 1949 in the stronghold of Libice nad Cidlinou. While the Saxon Otonian influence on the church's architecture as well as its Early Medieval dating is generally accepted in the Czech historical research, there have been certain objections concerning the dating and functional interpretation of its particular architectural parts. The recently published structural surveys of the Early Medieval collegiate chapter at Walbeck (Germany, Sachsen-Anhalt) have clearly shown that its earliest phase represents a direct model of the church at Libice. The foundation of a collegiate chapter by the Count Liuthar II of Walbeck was inspired by activities of the imperial family as was the case of other aristocratic foundations in Saxony during the second half of the 10th century. However, the question whether the Slavníks adopted only a certain architectural model or the whole ideological scheme remains for the moment unsolved.

Chapter 22

Remarks on Textile Production in the Early Middle Ages (Petr Meduna) 188

The paper concentrates on intensive and extensive textile production in the Early Middle Ages. Analyses of the evidence of the urbarial of the Fulda abbey (from the 9th century) shed light on the extensive production system, in which several thousands of people were employed. The organization of this system divided the producers on the basis of their social position and ethnic origin. The Slavs settled in the modern Hessen and Thüringen played an indispensable part in this system. The recorded efficiency of this production highly surpasses the regular needs of the community.

Chapter 23

Die anfänge der Keramik mit Rädchenverzierung im Mähren und ihre Herkunft (Zdeněk Měřínský)

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Kontakte mit dem Karpatenbecken im Laufe des 10. Jahrhunderts belegt auch Keramik mit Rädchenverzierung, deren äu,erst sporadisches Vorkommen in Fundkomplexen, die in die Periode vom Ende des 9. bis in die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts datiert werden, jedoch auf eine geringe Intensität dieser Kontakte hindeutet.

Der Autor dieses Artikels beleuchtet die Beziehungen zwischen Mähren und der nördlichen Balkanhalbinsel in den einzelnen Elementen der Keramikproduktion aus dem 9.–13. Jh. aufgrund des Dekors, das sich vom Wolgagebiet durch Rumänien, Nordbulgarien und Nordserbien, Ungarn bis zur Slowakei, Mähren und Niederösterreich sowie bis zum Burgenland hinzieht.

Chapter 24

Nový relikviářový křížek z hradiště Dřevíč (ob. Kozojedy) / New Reliquiary Cross from the Stronghold of Dřevíč (Kozojedy Cadaster) (Naďa Profantová – Daniel Stolz)

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Hradiště Dřevíč se v písemných pramenech poprvé objevuje již na samotném počátku 11. století a svůj význam si tato lokalita udržela až do závěru století následujícího. K našemu poznání vývoje Dřevíče rovněž výrazně přispěly archeologické objevy, dokreslující život na hradišti. Mezi nálezy, které poukazují, že Dřevíč mohla představovat významnou zastávku na obchodní cestě propojující Čechy s východní Evropou, patří kromě mincí též bronzové relikviářové křížky a křížky upevňované na řemen.

Chapter 25

Standing at a Cradle... (Martin Tomášek – Jolana Šanderová)

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In 1997, a wooden cradle was found in the city of Čáslav during archaeological excavations conducted by the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague, v.v.i. Around this single find we spin an imaginary story of Konrád, a Čáslav burgher, his wife Kunhuta, and their son Elblin in order to illustrate the details of an everyday life in a medieval city at the beginning of the $14^{\rm th}$ century.

Chapter 26

Archaika in den frühmittelalterlichen Gräbern in Mähren (Šimon Ungerman)

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Aus den Körpergräbern des 9.-11. Jahrhunderts in Mähren kennt man eine ganze Reihe von Funden vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Alters. Prähistorische Artefakte – abgesehen von der Spaltindustrie – sind darunter minimal vertreten, es überwiegen völlig die latènezeitlichen und römisch-provinzialen Gegenstände. Unter den latènezeitlichen dominieren Fragmente von Glasarmringen, Glasperlen und bronzene Gürtelbeschläge. Die Skala der römisch-provinzialen Artefakte ist etwas breiter, sie umfasst Fragmente von Glasgefäßen, Glasperlen, Gemmen, Bronzeund Silbermünzen, andere Typen von Metallgegenständen erscheinen nur vereinzelt (das gilt auch für die latènezeitlichen Objekte). Das erhaltene Ensemble von Archaika ist daher das Ergebnis einer zielbewussten Selektion. Für die meisten der zahlreicher vertretenen Artefakte existierten eine oder mehrere "typisierte" Verwendungsweisen, die in hohem Maße von dem Alter und Geschlecht des Verstorbenen abhängig waren - z. B. die Frauen und Kinder trugen die Fragmente von Glasgefäßen als Anhänger in Halsketten, die Männer aber in einer Gürteltasche. Die größte Aufmerksamkeit ist der Interpretation der Archaika gewidmet; ausführlich diskutiert werden alle Möglichkeiten, die von A. Mehling (1998) angeführt wurden. Die sekundäre Verwendung der Archaika konnte einerseits "utilitarisch" sein (zum ursprünglichen oder völlig abweichenden Zweck bzw. als Sekundärrohstoff bestimmt zum Umschmelzen) und andererseits "nichtutilitarisch", wo das auffällige oder ungewöhnliche Aussehen der Archaika und die Vorstellungen der frühmittelalterlichen Menschen von ihrer übernatürlichen Herkunft eine Rolle spielten; solchen Gegenständen wurde magische Kraft beigemessen, so dass sie zum Heilen oder als glückbringende und übelabwehrende Amulette dienen konnten.

Chapter 5

NEW EVIDENCE OF AN "OLD" ICONOGRAPHIC FEATURE FROM THE TETI PYRAMID CEMETERY*

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Among the so-called "golden" rules of Egyptian Archaeology belongs the statement that both the richness and the structure of the funerary evidence (burial equipment, decoration programme of the tomb, etc.) more or less reflect the social position of the tomb owner (*Baines – Yoffee 2000; Hodder 2004; Pearson 1999*, mainly 72–94; *Richards 2005*, mainly 13–18). But how exact are our primary source data and how much do they correspond to the ancient Egyptian reality? Or to put it in other way, how much are our social constructs biased by the state of current knowledge of Egyptian non-royal tomb archaeology and its social implications? I would like to present this piece of work to an outstanding scholar – Petr Charvát, who has always managed to see behind the objects and reveal broader socio-cultural interconnections.

Pepy Meriherishef's¹ blocks were discovered within the filling of the southernmost shaft ("A") of the mastaba belonging to the judge Inti at Abusir South.² The shaft was excavated during the autumn archaeological season in the year 2000 when nearly two dozens of decorated limestone blocks came to light. These blocks can be divided into two separate groups based on their method of decoration: blocks with painted low relief decoration and blocks bearing engaged statues.³ Due to the remains of inscriptions found on two of the blocks providing the full name of the tomb owner Pepy Meriherishef with the beautiful name Meri and the abbreviated form of his name Meriherishef, it was possible to conjoin this evidence into a single unit.

Although the fragments with decoration in low relief cannot be joined together precisely it is possible to reconstruct the general outline of the scene – spear fishing and fowling in the papyrus thicket or its composite variation (*Harpur 1987*, 176–203).⁴ As was stated above, the only other preserved decoration originating from the tomb of Pepy Meriherishef is represented by blocks with engaged statues, which are accompanied by a representation of the

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¹ His tomb, dated to the later part of the 6th Dynasty, has not been archaeologically located yet.

² The tomb together with that belonging to Inti's father, vizier Qar is being prepared for publication by M. Bárta et al.; within this monograph, the shaft "A" and its content is analyzed by author of this paper. For a preliminary report on this issue, see *Vlčková 2005*.

³ Carved in extremaly high relief.

⁴ The figure of the tomb owner was executed in a scale slightly larger than life-size. The papyrus thicket was probably situated just in front of the boat or within the composite fishing-fowling scene variation. Behind the spearing scene, at least three registers of offering bearers are preserved. Some of the decorated blocks bear fully preserved reliefs and original paint. Other blocks were completely chiselled out but the relief decoration is preserved in its "negative form". The artistic quality of the relief decoration is very good with some finely painted details, e.g. a broad collar and a ribbon of the tomb owner, or birds in a papyrus thicket.



Fig. 1 Pepy Meriherishef gesturing while seated. Illustration by the author.

tomb owner and inscriptions executed in sunken relief. Altogether, three blocks were excavated, with two complete and two fragmentary statues and a corner of another niche, thus at least five statues are attested. 5

Below one of the engaged statues (Excav. No. 17/JJ/2000, Fig. 1), a representation of the seated Pepy Meriherishef with one of his arms extended is preserved. This figure executed in sunk relief is introduced with a single column of hieroglyphic inscription reading r3 Nhn < n > 23b jm3h(w) Mrj-hrj-s.f., e.g. judge of Nekhen, evered Meriherishef, and identifying the portrayed person. The tomb owner faces right and is represented wearing a striated, shoulderlength wig that does not cover the ear, broad collar with five rows of beads, and a short kilt with belt. He is sitting on a low-backed chair with a simple finial, and leonine legs supported by bases in the form of truncated cones, and is gesturing with his right arm extended, the hand opened with palm up, while holding a staff in the other hand. Both his wrists are decorated with bracelets made of two rows of beads.

However, such representations of gesturing tomb owners while seated are not common, and, in fact, do have interesting socio-cultural connotations since they can elucidate inter-

⁵ Czech Institute of Egyptology, Excavation Nos. 9/JJ/2000, 16/JJ/2000, and 17/JJ/2000. Statues represent a single standing male figure within its own niche without torus or cornice type. The piers that separate the individual niches are inscribed with the abbreviated name of the tomb owner – Meriherishef – and some of his titles: both honorific such as *smr-w^ctj*, and *špsj-nswt*, and functional titles, e.g. *lintj-š Mn-nfr-Ppy*.

⁶ Alternative reading of the title, *z3b iri Nlm*, "juridicial official" and "mouth of Nekhen", cf. *Jones 2000*, 808, No. 2953.

connections between core sites and peripheries on the Memphite necropoleis during the 6th Dynasty.⁷ The most important site for our understanding of non-royal tomb development during this particular period is the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (further only TPC), the last major necropolis that existed in the area around the royal residence before the main streams in the development of non-royal tomb architecture were transferred, to a large extent, into the provinces. This cemetery shows a relatively high degree of homogeneity, chronological, social, and also spatial.⁸ In his review of certain iconographic features⁹ from the decoration programme of high official tombs from the TPC Naguib Kanawati (*1999*) proposed that they can be associated only with a special social position of the tomb owners within the Egyptian administration. Among the most distinct iconographical elements he cites the gesturing figure of the tomb owner represented as seated or standing.¹⁰

Kanawati has rightly stated that of these two postures, the more distinct depiction was the gesturing tomb owner seated on a chair (Kanawati 1999, 284-289) with only nine (seven in the Memphite area, and two from Upper Egypt) attestations (tab. 1). 11 This scene was usually placed on the tomb's façade, near the entrance. Furthermore, he added that according to the present iconographic evidence the usage of this particular type of representation of the tomb owner (gesturing while seated on a chair) was restricted geographically, for it occurred mostly at the TPC at Saggara; and temporally, since the tomb owners held their positions during the reign of Teti and the first half of the reign of Pepy I; and also socially, since they mainly belonged among the highest officials (Meryrenefer Qar, Kaaper), mostly viziers (Kagemni, Ankhmahor, Khentika, and Inumin). Although it would seem that this particular iconographic feature was restricted to the highest echelon of the Egyptian society of that time, the other evidence, despite its uncertain dating and fragmentary state of preservation, slightly veils the so far clear picture. There exist at least five officials (Meryrenefer Qar from Giza and Rehertep Iti from the TPC, Idu Seneni from Hamra Dom, Nikaankh from Tehna, and Pepy Meriherishef¹² from Abusir South) with that particular iconographic feature for whom it is more or less certain that they did not hold the office of vizier.

⁸ The maj ority of tombs was built at the beginning and in the first half of the 6th Dynasty and belonged to the members of the highest echelons of the then Egyptian state administration with strong personal links to the royal court, and the king himself.

⁷ I regard as a core site here the cemetery of high officials clustered around the pyramid of Teti at Saqqara. However, continuous archaeological excavations have revealed also other cemeteries with tombs of important individuals, e.g. the one lying to the west of the Step pyramid enclosure, the site called Tabbet al-Guesh, and, of course, the area of Abusir South, cf. *Bárta 2006*; *Dobrev 2006*.

⁹ He concentrated on following features: gesturing figure of the tomb owner while seated; gesturing figure of the tomb owner while standing; raised water table in the fowling-and-fishing scene between the two figures of the tomb owner; high-kicking female dancers; females with the so-called pigtails and disk hairstyles; desert-hunt; fighting boatmen; and copulating animals.

¹⁰ The standing figures can represent either the tomb owner, his/her family member, or a priest. For both types (seated or standing) there is evidence in the tombs at Abusir South – on the façade of the tomb of Inti (standing), and the analyzed block (sitting).

In this type, the tomb owners were represented wearing a shoulder-length wig or short hair, sitting on a chair with leonine legs, and gesturing with one extended arm, hand opened with palm up, while holding in the other hand either a staff or a sceptre.

Of course, it cannot be definitely excluded that Pepy Meriherishef did not hold the title of a vizier since only a very small part of inscriptional and decorative program of his tomb is preserved but it is highly unlikely. His surviving titles are those of a middle class official: (judge of Nekhen (*jrj Nlin* (*n*) *z3b*), palace-attendant of the pyramid Men-nefer-Pepy (*lnntj-š Mn-nfr-Ppy*), under-supervisor of the priests of the *mrt*-sanctuary of Pepy (*jmj-lt lim(w)-ntr* (*m*) *mrt Ppy*), ... Nefer-isut-Unas (... *Nfr-is<wt-Wnjs>*), and scribe... (*zš*). Thus, he simply did not posses those titles that were held by the officials whose carrier would normally lead to the vizierate, such as "the overseer of the great court, the overseer of all king's works", etc.

Tomb owner	Location	Dating	Hight of the figure (cm)	To the left of the entrance	To the right of the entrance
Kagemni	Saqqara, TPC	Early Teti	85	S, partly damaged – only one gesturing left, alone, (auto-) biographical inscription, looking right, stick	N, double gesturing figures, alone, (auto-) biographical inscription, looking left, sceptre, shoulder-length wig, false beard, ornamented necklace, short pleated kilt
Ankhmahor	Saqqara, TPC	Middle – Late Teti	80 (N, S)	S, standing + gesturing figure, alone, (auto-) biographical inscription, looking right, stick, short hair, ear visible, no false beard, ornamented necklace, smooth kilt with protruding front part, two ornamented bracelets	N, standing + gesturing figure, alone, (auto-) biographical inscription, looking left, sceptre, shoulder-length wig, false beard, plain necklace, smooth short kilt, two ornamented bracelets
Khentika	Saqqara, TPC	Late Teti – Early Pepy I	95 (S) and 100 (N)	S, double gesturing figures, alone, not next to entrance, (auto-) biographical inscription, looking right, stick, shoulder-length wig, false beard, plain necklace, short pleated kilt, one plain bracelet on gesturing arm	N, double gesturing figures, alone, not next to entrance, (auto-) biographical inscription, looking left, sceptre, shoulder-length wig, false beard, ornamented necklace, short pleated kilt, two ornamented bracelets
Inumin	Saqqara, TPC	Early Pepy I	80 (E) and 75 (W)	W, gesturing + sitting figure, alone, next to entrance, (auto-) biogra- phical inscription, looking right, stick, shoulder-length wig, false beard, plain necklace, short pleated kilt, two ornamented bracelets and anklets	E, gesturing, + man holding a censer, next to entrance, unfinished scene, looking eft, stick, shoulder-length lwig, false beard, orna- mented necklace, short pleated kilt, two ornamented bracelets and anklets
Kaaper	Saqqara, TPC	Late Teti – Early Pepy I	75 (N)	S, unfinished scene, standing man wearing a leopard's skin, looking right, sceptre (?-damaged), short pleated kilt	N, standing son, (auto-) biographical inscription, looking left, sceptre, shoul- der-length wig, false beard, plain necklace and sash across the chest, short plea- ted kilt, two plain bracelets
Meryrenefer Qar	Giza	Pepy I – Early Pepy II	65 (right side)	not gesturing: stick and sceptre, alone, looking right, titles and name, shoulder- length wig, ear visible, false beard, plain necklace and sash across the chest, smooth kilt with protruding front part, two plain bracelets	ength wig, ear visible, false l beard, plain necklace and sash across the chest,
Rehertep Iti	Saqqara, TPC	Late Pepy I – First Inter- mediate Period	35	standing wife touching his shoulder, looking out of the tomb, (auto-) biographical inscription, stick, shoulder-length wig, ear visible, ornamented necklace, short kilt	
Idu Seneni	Hamra Dom	Pepy II	unknown		
Nikaankh	Tehna	Userkaf	unknown	sitting wife on the common of legal document	chair, looking left, presenting
Pepy Meriherishef	Abusir South	Pepy I – Pepy II	40	looking right, alone, name and title, stick, shoulder- length wig, L ear visible, ornamented necklace and two bracelets, short kilt	

The group of representations of the tomb owner gesturing while seated can be easily divided into two chronological levels (figs. 2, 3): earlier representations (Kagemni, Ankhmahor, Khentika, Inumin, and Kaaper) dated to the reigns of Teti or to the beginning of the reign of Pepy I; and reliefs (Meryrenefer Qar, Rehertep Iti, Idu Seneni, Nikaankh, and Pepy Meriherishef) with slightly later dating (with the only exception of Nikaankh). Although the dating of some of these tombs is very questionable, several remarks can be made.

The earliest occurrence attested so far comes from the tomb of Nikaankh from Tehna in Upper Egypt (*Brunner 1936*, 14–18, 78; *Fraser 1902*, 122–130, notably 126–127, pl. iv; *Jánosi 2006*, 126f, Abb. 105) (fig. 4). This particular tomb is dated to the reign of Userkaf. If we look at the scene more closely, we find that it differs significantly from the rest of the group. Nikaankh is represented seated on a chair in the company of his wife Hedjethekenu in a kind of light kiosk and they are watching a group of their descendants and some priests of Hathor. The presence of the kiosk and placement of the scene on the eastern wall of Nikaankh's rockcut chapel indicate that the meaning and purpose of this particular representation differs from the rest of the scenes. Thus, very probably we see here a depiction of the tomb owner presenting a legal document organising the income from the local temple of Hathor and dividing it among the members of his family who were responsible for periodic services in the temple after Nikaankh's death (*Strudwick – Lephoron 2005*, 180–184).

The earlier group of scenes represents the peak in the usage of this particular iconographic feature – all the tomb owners belong to the highest level of Egyptian society and their tombs are located at the TPC. Most probably it was during the first half of the reign of Teti that this scene entered the decorative scheme of tomb façades at the TPC. ¹³ These representations share several common features: bias towards the presence of a pair of figures flanking the entrance (both gesturing: Kagemni, Khentika; standing + gesturing: Ankhmahor; gesturing + sitting: Inumin [left]) (cf. table 1, figs. 2, 3); absence of other figure than the owner with the exception of Inumin's right side and Kaaper; spatial distribution of using the sceptre to the right of the entrance and a stick to the left of the entrance, with the exception of Inumin (both sticks) and Kaaper (both sceptres); and moreover, in comparison to the later group, the figures are also higher. ¹⁴

The later group also shares several common features: all the tomb owners belong to the group of middle ranking officials, held their functions from the later part of the reign of Pepy I onwards, and their tombs are located not only at the Memphite necropoleis but also in the provinces. ¹⁵ The occurrence of the feature is not entirely restricted to the tomb façade, the

Table 1 Representations of the gesturing figure of the tomb owner while seated on a chair. After *Kanawati 1999*, 284, 296 (with relevant bibliography for each tomb, plus *Kanawati 2006*, pls. 40, 41), modified. First block: viziers chronologically sorted; second block: officials whose carrier would lead to vizierate; third block: later emendations; and fourth block: Abusir South evidence.

¹³ This particular scene is absent from the decorative scheme in the tomb of Neferseshemre, who held the title of vizier before Kagemni.

 ¹⁴ Kagemni: 85 cm; Ankhmahor: 85 and 80 cm; Khentika: 95 and 100 cm; Kaaper: 75 cm; Inumin: 80 and 75 cm.
 ¹⁵ However, also the finished scenes placed in tomb of Idu Seneni at the cemetery of Hamra Dom show strong stylistic resemblance to some scenes from the Saqqara tomb of Mereruka, cf. Säve-Söderbergh 1994, 28f, 35, pls. 6–8.



Fig. 2 The earlier group of figures of tomb owners gesturing while seated. A. Kagemni; B. Ankhmahor (south entrance recess); C. Khentika (north of entrance); D. Inumin (east of entrance). Individual representations are not in the same scale. After *Firth – Gunn 1926*, pl. 59; *Kanawati – Hassan 1997*, pl. 35; James 1953, pl. 6; Kanawati 2006, pl. 40.

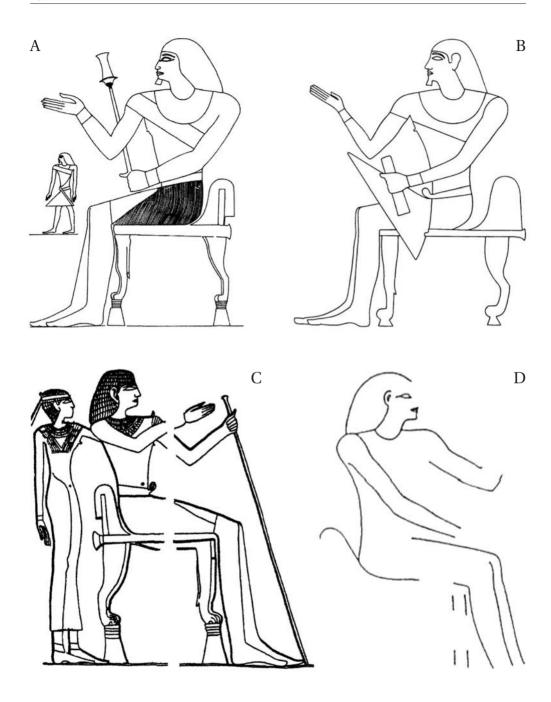


Fig. 3 The later group of figures of tomb owners gesturing while seated. A. Kaaper (north jamb); B. Meryrenefer Qar; C. Rehertep Iti; D. Idu Seneni. Individual representations are not in the same scale. After *Kanawati – Hassan 1996*, pl. 49b; Simpson 1976, fig. 28; Firth – Gunn 1926, pl. 77; Säve-Söderbergh 1994, pl. 6a.



Fig. 4 East wall from the tomb of Nikaankh at Tehna. After *Fraser 1902*, pl. iv.

tomb owner is generally accompanied by some member of his family 16 (son or unidentified male figure, or wife), and also the scale of the representation is much smaller that in the earlier group. 17

It seems that in between those two chronologically distinctive types, the representations of Kaaper and Meryrenefer Qar form a kind of 'intermediate stage' for they share some characteristics of both groups: absence/presence of a family member, height of the figure, location of the tomb, location of the feature within the structure of the tomb, social position of the tomb owner etc.

Is it possible to make same general observations from the existence of the above-mentioned two groups of occurrences? Or can the presence of this particular iconographic feature be regarded as a mere strange coincidence? If we set this issue into the broader socio-cultural context of society development during the 6th Dynasty we may achieve a quite clear image. In this particular period, numerous aspects of court culture underwent a transition into a more 'popular' culture. This transition can also be witnessed by the appearance of what were previously strictly royal features (various architecture and iconographic elements) in the tombs of first high-ranking officials and then furthermore of dignitaries with middle or even low ranking positions (*Jánosi 2006*, 79–119).

After the introduction of the analyzed iconographic feature into the decorative program of one of the most prominent parts of the tombs, i.e. on the façade, of the highest echelon of the society of the time, it became not only an indication of a significant social status but also part of a strong local (TPC) tradition and, thus, was very desirable. By imitating, copying, and incorporating this feature into the decorative program of their tombs, the middle and lower ranking officials would increase their own social position within the society of the 'ideal' netherworld. However, this gradual appropriation of the previously so socially indicative feature also depreciates its value and may result in its splitting out of usage, especially if it was 'only' a variation of a generally well known theme (e.g. the depiction of a standing or sitting figure of the tomb owner on the tomb's facade).

It is obvious that in dealing with various funerary aspects of the ancient Egyptian culture, we are approaching the extent of socio-economic differentiation presented within the complex society (*Baines 1989*; *Baines – Yoffee 1998*; *Painter 1989*; *Richards 2005*, mainly 14–18). This differentiation could be defined both as different modes of access to and/or control of economic or productive resources, and different mechanisms for enhancing the social status, retaining it, and finally displaying it within a complex social framework disregarding if it is the world of the living or the dead. Furthermore, as the 6th Dynasty was a time of political instability and great social unrest, we must also take into consideration the existence of socio-economic mobility within an otherwise rigid system. It turns out that those mechanisms can also be easily traced in the data, which have been revealed during the archaeological excavations at Abusir South.

¹⁶ In the tomb of Qar, his family members are nearly missing in the decorative program and he is depicted alone, cf. Simpson 1976, 18. The space left for the representation of gesturing tomb owner while seated on the block belonging to Pepy Meriherishef was rather limited, and, therefore, only his figure and accompanying column of text was carved.

¹⁷ Idu Seneni's gesturing figure while seated is preserved only on the left side of the façade (no measuring was possible since the publication does not provide a scale), near the entrance. Depiction of Rehertep Iti (35 cm high) comes from the entrance-thickness of his tomb as well as Meryrenefer Qar's (65 cm high). The original placement of Pepy Meriherishef's (40 cm high) blocks within the structure of his tomb still remains fully unsolved.

To sum up, the problem of analysis and evaluation of various aspects of the decoration programme from non-royal tombs dated to the 6th Dynasty, special attention should be paid to a broader socio-cultural transformation of the Egyptian culture that began at the very end of the Old Kingdom and continued into the First Intermediate Period. I hope I make clear that with the ongoing archaeological investigation of other parts of the Memphite necropoleis and re-evaluation of older material, our knowledge of various aspects of the ancient Egyptian culture may change significantly. The TPC with its enormous amount of archaeological, iconographic, and written evidence will always remain the basis for any research of non-royal tomb development during the 6th Dynasty and all the related material from other cemeteries will be evaluated on the basis of this cemetery. However, maybe the time has come to turn the situation around and to reconsider some of the distinct features coming from the TPC in light of the new material.

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Petra Maříková Vlčková – Jana Mynářová – Martin Tomášek (eds.)

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