

*In memory of Vladimir Golenischev,
the first Russian Egyptologist,
who amassed the largest collection
of Egyptian antiquities now
in the Soviet Union*

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The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae

in the Pushkin Museum
of Fine Arts, Moscow



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The first complete publication
of the outstanding Soviet
collection of stelae and reliefs
from Ancient Egypt

INTRODUCTION

The Moscow collection of stelae and reliefs. The collection of Egyptian stelae, stone blocks and fragments covered with reliefs now in the possession of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, comprises more than two hundred objects originating from various sites in Egypt and elsewhere, ranging in date from the early Old Kingdom down to the end of Roman rule in Egypt. Such a collection cannot but be considered important, and it gives the authors of the present book particular pleasure to be able to bring it to the attention of their colleagues and all those who have fallen under the spell of Egypt. Since the collection as a whole has never been the subject of a systematic study, and about three-quarters of it has not yet been published, much of the material in this book will be new to the reader.

Most of the items making up the collection were acquired by Vladimir Golenischev (Golénischeff), the first Russian Egyptologist and a distinguished Orientalist; the remainder were contributed by various persons (scholars, artists, collectors, etc.) whose names will be mentioned below.

The Museum of Fine Arts. Most Egyptologists are not acquainted with the history of this museum, which now houses the collection; and since no book describing its organization and the essential stages of its development over almost a century has as yet been published, we feel obliged to devote a few words to the history of this institution.¹ The museum, nowadays officially called the State Museum of Fine Arts named after A. S. Pushkin,² was founded in 1889. It originally contained objects which had formerly been kept in the Department of Moulages at Moscow University, and was first planned as an academic museum exhibiting casts of Graeco-Roman, Mediaeval and Renaissance sculptures which would serve primarily as illustrations to the University course in art history. Generous financial contributions made by wealthy citizens who wanted to see a museum of art established in Moscow made it possible not only to order a great number of first-class moulages from abroad, but also to build a magnificent museum in the centre of the city. Roman Klein, a well-known Moscow architect, designed this building and supervised its construction.

It was apparently in 1898 that the first Egyptian antiquities entered the Museum, and a decade later, in 1909, the largest Egyptian collection in Russia, that of Golenischev, was purchased. In order to house it in the museum building, which was then still under construction, Klein had a large room (the first floor front) decorated in the Egyptian style. In 1911 the Golenischev collection was moved from St. Petersburg to Moscow, and a year later, on 12 June (31 May O.S.) 1912, the official opening of the new museum building took place. Since then, the Egyptian antiquities housed here have formed part of the collections of the Department of the East.

Golenischev and his collection. Golenischev stated in 1908³ that he had spent more than thirty years collecting the antiquities that subsequently entered the Moscow Museum. This would mean that he began to collect in the early 1870s, and our no. 35 must have been one of the first items he acquired, since it is mentioned in an article published in 1874.⁴

Golenischev's life and work have been described in great detail by Vasily Struve,⁵ but his activity as a collector is known only from what he himself saw fit or had the occasion to say. For the most part he made only passing references to the provenance of the different items in his collection, since he obviously intended to go into detail later, when his collection was published in full. Nor was it necessary to keep a record of all the data concerning the antiquities in his possession, since he himself had all this information at his fingertips.

In 1908, however, when Golenischev found himself compelled to part with the antiquities he had been assembling for so many years, it was too late to make up for this deficiency. His inventory (a typescript, in Russian) and handwritten catalogue (slips, in French) contain almost no information as to the provenance and acquisition date of the items in his collection or the circumstances under which they were acquired. After 1947, the year of Golenischev's death, hardly any hope of obtaining such information remained, barring some chance discoveries in French archives.⁶

Golenischev established his private museum at 15 Mokhovaya Street in St. Petersburg, having first fitted out an outbuilding to accommodate his collection, which included a considerable number of solid stone blocks.⁷ His study containing a comprehensive library on Egyptology occupied the museum's antechamber; he had his living quarters, while in St. Petersburg, in the same house. This private museum, whose collection considerably surpassed the Egyptian collection of the Hermitage, was not open to the public, although P. Gnedich in his history of fine arts, a book quite popular at the beginning of this century, recommended it to those interested in Egyptian art.⁸ It was, however, never closed to specialists, whom Golenischev encouraged in every possible way to study and even publish both individual items and large groups of monuments, together with documents belonging to him.

The arrangement of antiquities in a museum containing thousands of valuable objects, some of them priceless, and all requiring infinite care, is never an easy matter, and Golenischev had to cope with this task alone. Everything had to be done under his personal supervision, every detail had to be seen to; it is no wonder that he⁹ was not able to bring the work to a close before 1908,⁹ when he was compelled by circumstances to sell his collection (partly in order to provide for his old age). B. Turayev, M. Rostovtsev, P. Kokovtsov and others had succeeded in attracting the attention of the Russian Archaeological Society to Golenischev's collection. At an emergency conference of the Society held at his flat in Mokhovaya Street, its members, after hearing the collection described by well-known specialists, such as Turayev (Egyptian antiquities), von Lemm (Coptic manuscripts), and others, and after inspecting the museum (the owner himself acted as a guide), passed a resolution requesting the authorities' permission to acquire the collection for the state, and naming the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow as the eventual home of the collection.¹⁰

Some data concerning the collection of stelae and reliefs. Although such data are scarce and dispersed throughout Golenischev's publications, including his Inventory and Catalogue, as well as some works by Turayev and Pridick (all the information available is referred to in the Bibliography of the individual items), they nevertheless give an idea of how the collection was formed, so it seems worthwhile to group them together here.

Apart from the identification of no. 35 as one of the first in the collection (acquired before 1874), the following facts have come to light: Golenischev cannot have had any magical stelae in his possession in 1877, when he published the Metternich stela (see p. 244), otherwise he would have included them in the list of such stelae which he compiled. Therefore, all sixteen of them (our nos. 181–184 and 186–197) must have entered his collection at a later date.

No. 109 seems to have derived from the excavations of 1885–86, whereas no. 127 is known to have been discovered in February 1889. During the winter of 1889–90 Golenischev acquired the eight blocks under no. 1 (in Cairo), which he refers to as the first group of monuments of the period of the Old Kingdom to reach Russia at that time. Therefore nos. 2–19, and probably also 21–24, are later additions to his collection.

No. 20 was acquired at an auction in Paris in 1894, and no. 200 was bought from Ali, a well-known dealer in antiquities in Giza (a district of Cairo) not earlier than 1895. No. 129 must have entered the collection after 1891, inasmuch as Golenischev does not mention it in connection with the water clocks in the Hermitage Museum (cf. Golénischeff, *Inv.**). No. 210 came to Golenischev from the collection of V. von Bock, the well-known Coptologist.

Previous owners are known in only six cases (no. 20: Hoffman, Paris; no. 54: Hammer, Stockholm; no. 127: Lenzinger; no. 159: Péretié; no. 200: Ali, Cairo, and no. 210: von Bock).

Nos. 87 and 101 were seen at a dealer's by Breasted, who copied them. These copies were subsequently used by Ranke when he was compiling his dictionary of personal names; he did not, however, indicate either the date or the place where the copies had been made. These stelae were bought in Paris, and so was Suppl. no. 3 (not earlier than 1902). No. 208 was photographed by Borchardt at a dealer's at Abu Tig in about 1902.

Nos. 1, 200, 203, 205–208, and 215 were bought in Cairo (no. 208 previously seen at Abu Tig); no. 145 at Qena; and no. 52 in London. Some of the stelae may have been bought directly in St. Petersburg, as was the gem of the papyri collection, the celebrated *Hymns to the Royal Diadems*, which was acquired at an auction on Nevsky Prospekt "one rainy afternoon" (Struve quoting Golenischev).

In due course, the question of the collection was discussed in the *Duma* and on 10 May 1909 the law was passed authorizing the acquisition of the collection¹⁴ by the state. The collection was brought to Moscow in 1911, and the Museum of Fine Arts became the richest depository of Egyptian antiquities in Russia, the Hermitage being second in importance.

Additions to the group of stelae and reliefs are few in number but by no means insignificant. One of the earliest seems to have been no. 32, donated by Gregory Lukyanov¹² (Loukianoff), the well-known Egyptologist who had lived mostly in Egypt. In 1913 L. Ginzburg, a Moscow collector of considerable renown, sold nos. 68 and 151 to the Museum.¹³

In March 1924, the Museum received the comparatively rich collection of the Museum and Institute of the Classical Orient,¹⁴ the bulk of which was composed of items that had prior to 1921 been kept at the Rumiantsev Museum.¹⁵ In this way the Museum of Fine Arts acquired no. 25, the celebrated inscription of Heny, a Dyn. XI courtier.

The yearly reports of the Rumiantsev Museum published since 1864 allow us to ascertain the antecedents of some of the objects published here. Especially valuable for this purpose is the Inventory of the collection compiled by Turayev, in which all these reports were summed up (cf. B. Turayev, *The Report of the*

* For full titles of works referred to in abbreviated form, see p. 290 ff.

Moscow Public and Rumiantsev Museum for 1908). Turayev regularly mentions names of contributors and dates of accession, with only a few exceptions, namely, a group of objects acquired by the Rumiantsev Museum prior to 1864.

The Rumiantsev Museum was originally established in St. Petersburg and moved to Moscow in 1861. The first Egyptian antiquities were given to the museum by Norov¹⁶ (nos. 25 and 72) at a date prior to 1864; and five years later several others were donated by his heirs (nos. 156, 165). No. 58 derives from the collection of A. Bakhrushin (acquired in 1906).¹⁷ No. 40 is not mentioned by Turayev and so may be one of the acquisitions of the Museum and Institute of the Classical Orient. Still there is a possibility of it having been either overlooked by Turayev in his *Report* or acquired after 1909 (the date of the *Report*).

It seems that there were a certain number of stelae among the antiquities and moulages bought for the Museum by G. Nechayev-Maltsev in Egypt. This purchase was effected through Emil Brugsch, who received a decoration from the Russian government for his work. The stelae are mentioned in a letter written on 3 November (22 October O.S.) 1898 by Tsvetayev to Nechayev-Maltsev, but they are no longer in existence, having in all probability perished in the fire of 1905, in which a large part of the Museum's collections was consumed.¹⁸

Further purchases: no. 185 was bought from Lodyzhensky¹⁹ in 1925 and no. 123 was acquired from R. Klein's widow. In 1929 nos. 48, 59, 167, and 197²⁰ were transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts from the Ostroukhov Museum.

In 1933 the Museum received no. 61 from the Museum of Ethnology (K. Soldationkov's collection). No. 99 was bought from a certain Mrs. Vonlarlarskaya in 1933 and two years later the Museum acquired, from N. Prakhov, the Egyptian antiquities which his father, A. Prakhov, the art historian,²¹ had collected in Egypt in 1881.²² To this collection belong nos. 47, 51 and 98.²³

The last acquisition including stelae and reliefs dates from 1941: three objects (together with some other antiquities) were bequeathed to the Museum by one of the members of its staff, A. Zhivago, who was an ardent admirer of Egypt and the inimitable art of the Egyptians. His donations are nos. 97, 102 and 141.

It can readily be seen that all the antiquities that came from persons other than Golenischev are few in number and, forgeries apart, do not exceed a score. In fact, out of the 215 items in this catalogue, 195 are from Golenischev's collection and only 20 are from the others.²⁴

A few words should be devoted here to losses which concern only Golenischev's antiquities. In 1938, owing to the decayed state of the limestone, no. 19 perished. Fortunately the Museum has a negative of the stela which is reproduced here. Two objects, a stela and an offering stone, were transferred to the Hermitage by a special act of 1930; these are treated in the Supplement, together with a stela in the Georges Labit Museum.

The description and publication of the stelae and reliefs. The group of stelae and reliefs has never been treated as a whole, either within the framework of Golenischev's collection or in that of the Museum of Fine Arts. Its constituents have occasionally been mentioned along with other antiquities in descriptions of the collection and several of them have even been discussed and reproduced, but the group in its entirety has never been published.

The first (very short) description of the Golenischev collection was given by Rostovtsev in a newspaper article of 1908, in connection with its impending sale.²⁵ A much more detailed one was offered by Turayev at the emergency meeting of the Archaeological Society; it was also included in the records of the *Duma*, appearing subsequently in the *Transactions* of both the *Duma* and the Society.²⁶ The first adequate description, however, was Turayev's excellent guidebook to the Museum.²⁷ This guide, published for the first time in 1913, underwent ten more

editions, which were practically reprints, during the three years that followed. In 1917 the twelfth and last edition was issued. It was somewhat larger than the preceding eleven, but the chapters on Egypt were reprinted without changes. There are only some differences in page numbers between this edition and all the others, and one illustration is partly cut off in the last edition.

All the later guides are much less detailed, even those which were devoted to the description of the Egyptian section only. This deficiency is primarily due to the fact that they were intended to describe not the entire collection, but only that part which was open to the public.²⁸ The first of such guides contains essays on the art of the Ancient Near East, including Egypt,²⁹ richly illustrated by items from the collection of the Museum.

A systematic publication of the collection was attempted by Turayev in the yearly bulletin of the Museum. The Golenischev antiquities at that time formed the only collection of originals as opposed to casts in the Museum, and so the first issues of the Bulletin contain almost exclusively Egyptian materials. Turayev only succeeded in publishing four issues.³⁰

The album by Militsa Matie (her name is sometimes spelt Matthiew or Matthieu) and Vsevolod Pavlov³¹ deserves special mention, as does the article by Eugene Pridick³² who published all the inscribed Greek stelae. Several of these were selected by Friedrich Preisigke for his *Sammelbuch*.

Several stelae have been published, and these publications are cited in the Bibliography included in each entry. If some work has nevertheless escaped our notice, the omission is by no means intentional. Most of the collection is published here for the first time, and references in the Bibliography under each number more often than not merely mention the object in passing.

Dated and datable monuments. Objects with dates or unequivocal references to the reigning kings are not numerous in this collection, as will be seen from the following list, with references to our catalogue numbers:

8 – Phiops I	111 – Psammetichos I
25 – Inyotef II	112 – Nitocris
32 – Sesostris	113 – Psammetichos II
41 – Sebek-em-sa-f I	114 – Apries
46 – Amenophis I	Suppl. 3 – Amasis
49 – Hashepsowe	124 – Darius I
50–51 – Tuthmosis III	125 – Neforites (I)
54 – Tuthmosis IV	127 – Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II
62 – Amenophis III	128 – Ptolemy III and Berenice II
67 – Amenophis IV	202 – Ptolemies VI and VIII and Cleopatra II
73, 76–78, 89 – Ramesses II	205 – Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V Tryphaena
102–103 – kings of Dyn. XXII–XXIV	177 – Natakamani
106–107 – Sheshonk III	145 – Nero
108 – Shabaka	147 – Trajan and Hadrian

To this list, however, must be added another, in which those monuments are cited that furnish certain grounds to allow one to estimate their date fairly accurately:

3 – names of Snefru, Khefren, Mikerinus, Weser-ka-f and Sahu-Re	45 – Tuthmosis I or II
4 – names of Weser-ka-f and Nefer-ir-ke-Re	55 – prior to Amenophis IV's reign
7 – name of Izofi	64–66 – Amenophis IV
18 – name of Phiops II	74–75, 79, 85 – Ramesses II
19 – name of Phiops (I or II)	105 – Takelothis I (?)
26 – Menthotpe I	109 – Dyn. XXV
33 – Ammenemes III	134 – Ptolemy X and Cleopatra III
44 – Kamose or Ahmose I	204 – Ptolemy XIV

All the rest of the material published here is dated by epigraphic and stylistic peculiarities, symbols and formulae.

The provenance of the monuments. Golenischev's references to the provenance of the objects he acquired are scarce and even that little which he thought necessary to record is invalidated by his indiscriminating attitude, inasmuch as he does not always distinguish between the place this or that object derived from (its find-spot) and the place where it was purchased, and occasionally, it seems, even between actual facts and his personal conjectures. As was noted above, such references were of little importance to him, since he knew the history of every single piece in his collection. He proved this brilliantly in his answer to Professor Archibald's inquiry as to the provenance and circumstances accompanying the purchase of the Golenischev Mathematical Papyrus.³³ But to a considerable extent his neglect in recording information of this kind is the result of a deep scepticism as to its accuracy. Eminent scholar that he was, he knew too well from experience how prone those who dealt in antiquities were to conceal the actual provenance of the things they put on sale, and how easily even ponderous stone blocks were moved from place to place to achieve that purpose.³⁴

However, a certain amount of information in this area can be gleaned from some of the works of Golenischev,³⁵ as well as of Turayev who may have had the benefit of the collector's consultations. In most cases, however, the authors were to base their estimates as to the provenance of the objects on the stylistic and epigraphic material which the objects themselves furnished.

The following list comprises all the data concerning the provenance of different items that the authors were able either to ascertain or to make plausible. The reader will find the sources of their knowledge and the grounds for their conjectures in the discussion of the individual items. The numerals in the list refer to the numbers in this catalogue. The list is arranged in alphabetical order.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Abydos: 34–35, 39, 73, 98, 100, 121, 131
(cf. Akhmim), Suppl. no. 2 | Ermont, Bucheum: 147 |
| Abu Simbel: <i>see</i> Nubia | Gebelein: 40 |
| Abu-Sir: <i>see</i> Taposiris Magna | Giza: <i>see</i> Memphis |
| Abu Tig: 208 (seen at; <i>see</i> Akhmim) | Heliopolis: 87, 140 |
| Akhmim: 21, 131–133, 135–137, 208 | Hermopolis: 90, 134 |
| Alexandria: 201 | Illahun: 33 |
| Antaeopolis: 142 | Karnak: <i>see</i> Thebes |
| Antinoe: 209 | Koptos: 41 (found at; <i>see</i> Dendera), 78,
145, 147 (see Qena) |
| Armant: <i>see</i> Ermont | Memphis, Giza: 42, 200 (bought at) |
| Asphynis: 38 | Saqqara: 1–19, 22–24, 68–71, 85, 120,
Suppl. no. 1 |
| Asyut: <i>see</i> Siut | Saqqara, Unis's causeway: 7 |
| Beirut (bought at): 159 | Serapeum: 119 |
| Biban el-Moluk: <i>see</i> Thebes | Cairo: 203, 205–208, 215 (bought at) |
| Bucheum: <i>see</i> Ermont | Naucratis: 199 |
| Busiris: 114 | Nubia: 83 |
| Crocodilopolis: 36 | Ptolemais: <i>see</i> El-Manshah |
| Deir el-Bahari: <i>see</i> Thebes | Oasis: <i>see</i> El-Kharga |
| Deir el-Medina: <i>see</i> Thebes | Qena: 147 (bought at; said to have come
from Koptos; <i>see</i> Bucheum) |
| Delta, West: 106–107 | Sais: 108, 113, 118, Suppl. no. 3 |
| Dendera: 41 (found at Koptos) | Siut: 89 |
| Edfu: 43, 128 | Taposiris Magna: 127 |
| Edfu, Nag el-Hassaya: 117 | Tell el-Amarna: 64–67 |
| El-Eshmunein: <i>see</i> Hermopolis | Thebes: 37, 49, 53, 55, 56, 58, 80, 81,
86, 101, 105, 126, 130, 144 |
| El-Manshah: 204 | Thebes, Biban el-Moluk: 51 |
| El-Kisasiya: <i>see</i> Thebes | Deir el-Bahari: 26 |
| El-Kharga: 124 | Deir el-Medina: 72; 74–76, 91, 95, 96 |
| El-Qusiya: 103 | El-Tarif, El-Kisasiya: 25 |
| El-Tarif: <i>see</i> Thebes | Karnak: 32 |
| Elephantine: 44, 45, 62 | |
| Ermont: 92 | |

The script on the stelae and reliefs. The inscribed monuments form the bulk of the collection, and the great majority of the inscriptions are hieroglyphic. The collection includes only two stelae with cursive, hieratic inscriptions (nos. 106, 107) and three with even more cursive, Demotic ones (nos. 134, 145, 120). One fragment (no. 124) preserves a line of enigmatic script. In three cases the hieroglyphic inscriptions have lines appended to them: in Demotic (no. 133), Greek (no. 146) and in enigmatic script (no. 117). Apart from these, the collection has four monuments with the inscriptions in Meroïtic cursive script (nos. 179–180), twelve Greek stelae (nos. 199–210), and one with a Cypriote inscription (no. 215).

The components of the collection. The caption “stelae and reliefs” is certainly vague. It encompasses, firstly, stelae, i.e. tablets, most of which are made of stone, covered with reliefs or paintings and inscriptions that form a certain unity and make the stela a monument, and, secondly, the fragments of mural compositions from tombs, temples and, in one case, a pyramid. In Egypt the stela was frequently linked with the offering-stone, both forming sometimes a composite monument; therefore the entire group of the offering-stones in the Museum has been included in this catalogue.

Some stelae form a part of larger compositions, such as a stelophore or a sculptured group with stela-support, and naturally such composite monuments could not be overlooked.

Sculptor's models, as they are conveniently termed in the Egyptological tradition, cannot possibly be excluded from a catalogue of stelae and reliefs. These models, in their turn, could not be set apart from the sketch-drawings on stone flakes, and since they are only two in number, they also seemed to be worth including. The piece of a mural painting, the obelisk with an incised inscription on it and the fragment of a clepsydra do not themselves form a separate group or groups among the Egyptian antiquities of the Museum and may just as well be treated here, inasmuch as the mural paintings are certainly linked with the mural reliefs, and the obelisk and the clepsydra are covered with reliefs.

It seems expedient to include in the Catalogue even those stelae and reliefs which were made by non-Egyptians or designed in a foreign style, if they were contemporary with Egyptian paganism. This approach enables the reader to study the epigraphic material the Museum possesses as representative of the Egypt of the epoch of the Pharaohs, whether genuine or only posing as such (the Ptolemies and the Roman Emperors), which is why the Meroïtic and Greek inscriptions have been added to the main material of the catalogue.

The types of the objects constituting the collection published here, including the two described in the Supplement (200 pieces), but excluding the Greek group (17 pieces), are given in the following table:

- (1) stelae: 100 in all, of which 63 are tomb stelae, 20 are memorial and votive, and 17 magical;
- (2) mural fragments: 35, of which 25 pieces are from tombs, 1 from a pyramid, 2 from temples; the origin of 7 pieces is not known;
- (3) statues with a stela-support: 2 objects;
- (4) stelophores: 4 objects;
- (5) offering-stones: 21 objects, of which 3 are tables on a cylindrical support;
- (6) plaques: 7 pieces;
- (7) sculptor's models: 18 pieces;
- (8) sketch-drawings: 2;
- (9) plaques, fragments of statues (bases, supports): 3;
- (10) naoi: 1 fragment;
- (11) obelisk: 1;
- (12) clepsydrae: 1 fragment;
- (13) various unspecified objects: 5

Art as a means of attaining immortality. The Egyptians thought that man, beside a lifeless, inert body, possessed a soul, the so-called *bai* (*ba*),³⁶ an activating or driving force which enlivened the body, but they did not associate their hopes of attaining immortality either entirely or mainly with the *bai*.³⁷ All their expectations were centred on the body and another expedient, of which we shall speak presently. Therefore the destructible body of the deceased was to be properly buried, adequately provided with everything deemed necessary for its existence, and mummified, moreover, to ensure its preservation for as long as possible. Nevertheless, even during periods when mummification was at its height, this way to an existence in the hereafter was not considered very reliable and, inevitably, other ways were sought.

Very early in the history of Egypt such a way was found: the Egyptians would henceforth pin their hopes of immortality on art. They believed that man, apart from a body, a soul and a shadow, possessed another property, the so-called *ka*. The concept of *ka* is one of the most complicated in Egyptian thought, religious and otherwise, as there is nothing in the ideology of other peoples³⁸ with which it can be compared; for our purpose, however, it will suffice to touch upon only one aspect of the *ka*, and one which cannot be disputed — that the *ka* was a property of man to be represented in art and was also, by extension of meaning, man's representation. Since they regarded the representation of man as an integral, innate part of him, the Egyptians could not fail to attach to it their hopes of an existence after death, as such images could be multiplied *ad libitum* and were practically indestructible, likely to last millennia after their making.³⁹

This volume contains hundreds of *kas*, present even in those stelae that carry no pictorial representations, for a man's name was also a property very similar to the *ka*. When determined by the sign for 'man' or 'woman', the name was thus followed by the man's or woman's image, and when it was not, the determinative was implied. The sameness, the identity of one's body and *ka* is admirably expressed in the ideogram for *ka*, 'a pair of arms' (the meaning 'arms extended so as to embrace' is in all probability only secondary). Both entities are as like as a pair of arms, the Egyptian for the proverbial 'two peas'.

The dead body and the representation (*ka*) had one feature in common: both were known to be blind, but believed to possess the faculty of hearing.⁴⁰ Therefore it was only through hearing that both body and image could maintain contact with the world and all its riches, and a special cohort of priests was developed, who were experts in reading or singing out lists of foods and drinks, clothing and utensils, etc., to images of men. The Egyptians believed that on hearing these lists, the deceased would feel as if they had enjoyed everything which had been read out to them and would even experience a sensation of wealth, security and well-being.

The so-called funerary formula⁴¹ was 'invented' as a means of enabling the deceased and his image to do without the help of the living, to hear a written text without it being read aloud and to apprehend everything depicted in front of him without it being named, just as if he had seen it. In other words, the formula turned the blind dead body or image into one able to see, the 'light one' (in the same way, blindness and the faculty of sight are regarded by many peoples, respectively, as man's inner darkness and inner light).⁴²

The worlds of the dead body and that of the image greatly differed one from the other, the first one being imaginary, the second absolutely real, a reflection of the man's life. This difference presupposed the ways in which these worlds were to be created for every individual in his or her tomb: the world of the corpse was only described in a series of texts commonly called 'spells',⁴³ that of the *ka* was only depicted. That is why originally scenes on the tomb walls or stelae con-

tained nothing which came close to the transcendental and very little connected with the religious. These topics came into the sphere of representations only in the course of time, whereas during the so-called earlier periods (the Old and Middle Kingdoms), and very often even in that of the New Kingdom, there was little or nothing funerary on stelae or in mural compositions in tombs.

Inevitably, the two worlds tended to mingle. As early as the New Kingdom the world of the *ka* penetrated the world of the body, as is shown by the so-called vignettes introduced in the Book of the Dead and by other similar compositions.⁴⁴ The world of the body described in texts penetrated that of the *ka* at a much earlier date, at least as early as the end of the Old Kingdom. For one such description, see our no. 26.

It is interesting to note that both worlds began to function immediately after they were created, and were dependent neither on the state of the person for whom they were made (dead or living), nor, if dead, on the state of preservation of his body (mummy, skeleton, complete disintegration), nor, lastly, on the place where the image or texts were to be found (tomb, temple, desert, modern museums, heap of rubbish, refuse dump). An ideal expression of the concept of the *ka* was indisputably the statue, though it had a drawback: it represented a person in isolation, so to speak, whereas an image on a flat surface could be shown amid the things the deceased might need and all those he or she loved, not to mention the texts, which were by no means negligible.

The tomb stela. As noted above, there was no difference other than that of detail between stelae,⁴⁵ which were very often small, at times even extremely so, and mural compositions in tombs, which could be very extensive. Common to both was the representation of a seated person with a table heaped with food and jars of drink before him. Mural compositions, however, often traced the origin of foods and other necessities all the way back to the sowing of grain, procreation of livestock, and the manufacture of diverse articles by craftsmen, creating, in short, a closed, self-supporting world. Stelae were very seldom sufficiently large to allow one to represent all the links of this chain of events; more often than not they showed only the final stage, the deceased before the table, more rarely that depicting food or other articles being set before or handed to the deceased by members of his or her household (our nos. 21, 40), and still more rarely that depicting the cooking of food (our nos. 3 and 25 are part of mural compositions, not stelae in the proper sense of the word).

In the course of time, however, the funerary character of the tomb stela grows more and more pronounced, so that it comes to represent the worship of gods and various symbols, such, for example, as a pair of eyes.

The commemorative stela. As pointed out above, the actual location of the image was of no importance. Images very similar to those in tombs, and sometimes provided with the funerary formula allowing them to 'see' by hearing, can be found on rocks in the desert; there was thus no essential difference between funerary and commemorative stelae, at least originally. Every representation, whether in a tomb, in a temple, or on a rock in the desert, was to be fed and generally provided for, so heaps of victuals are by no means out of place in commemorative stelae or even in graffiti (in the same way, for instance, as the funerary formula was not out of place on seal-impressions, which were thrown away in large quantities on the city refuse dump). In our collection there are several commemorative stelae (nos. 106, 107, 111, 128), but they all belong to the period when the feeding of the images had given way to the worship of the gods.

The offering-stone or table. The Egyptians used to set offering-stones before statues or stelae; at times these stones were connected with them so as to form a composite monument. Food was put on these stones, and water was

poured over them. As a rule food was placed there for a short time, to be taken away later and placed on some other offering-stone and then still another, until finally the food offerings reached the homes of the priests hired to these services in tombs and temples.⁴⁶

Convenient though such a system was, it was by no means reliable and hardly likely to last long; hence the desire to represent foods and drinks on the offering-stone itself, so as to make the dead independent of the good will of the living. From the period of the Middle Kingdom onward offering-stones became offering-tablets, whose tops were decorated with still-life compositions. These compositions were usually enclosed in a frame consisting of a band with two symmetrically arranged inscriptions, one of them a formula conferring upon the deceased the privilege of libation (naturally no actual libation took place). Water was of such importance in the hot climate of Egypt that libation formulae, alone or in company with incense and perfume formulae, at times took up all the space set aside for inscriptions, even to the exclusion of the ordinary funerary formula.

On offering-stones of the period of the Ptolemies the band of inscriptions is sometimes transferred to the sides of the plate, and the top is entirely taken up by a still-life composition (cf. our no. 135).

The importance of the Moscow collection in the history of Egyptian art.

The importance of so considerable a collection of stelae and reliefs, here published in full for the first time, is certainly obvious, however or from whatever point it may be viewed. Nevertheless, inasmuch as this volume may not only be used by Egyptologists but also by non-specialists, a brief survey of the collection from the artistic point of view may be desirable.

Stelae and offering-stones usually remain outside the scope of art historians, and statements as to their lack of importance from the artistic viewpoint are too numerous to be cited here. This attitude is unjust, however, and our collection possesses quite a number of stelae of very high artistic value; our no. 26 is a superb example of the Egyptian art of relief-making and one of the most beautiful (if not the most beautiful) stelae so far known. Another instance is our no. 45, undoubtedly the work of a very skilful metropolitan artist, characteristic of the period which continued to take masterpieces of the Middle Kingdom art as its models. Our no. 109 is only a fragment of a stela, and nothing except a few lines of inscription has been preserved, but the quality of relief is such as could only be expected from the period of the so-called Ethiopian Renaissance.

Even those stelae which are of mediocre or downright poor workmanship are extremely interesting to students of the art of relief-making, inasmuch as these objects show a certain average level characteristic of the art of stone-cutting at a given time or at a given place. Thus our no. 21 reveals features representative of the provincial sculptors' school in Akhmim; nos. 38 and 40, that of Gebelein; nos. 74–76, that of the community of artists who worked on the Pharaohs' tombs at Thebes; nos. 131–133 and 135–137, that of Akhmim under the Ptolemies; and so on. Even among those objects, which have no pretensions whatever to artistic merit, beautiful pieces of work may be found, such as nos. 40, 73, 117 and 126.

Fragments of mural compositions (tombs and temples) are usually more promising, as far as diversity of artistic themes is concerned, but our collection is not particularly rich in this respect. A market scene (no. 3) and several representations of funerary ceremonies (nos. 68–70, cf. nos. 58 and 59) are exceptions rather than the rule. Our no. 18 representing a man who is probably inspecting some kind of work may be added to these masterpieces because of its vivid colouring, at once bright and graceful, bold and fine. Still, even among these fragments there are some of the highest quality if regarded from the standpoint of the art of relief. Indeed, our nos. 1 and 2, elegant in design, powerful in execution,

and rich in detail, are among the best specimens produced by the school of metropolitan artists in the late Dyn. IV or early Dyn. V. Equally remarkable are our nos. 25 (Dyn. XI), 115 and 116 (Dyn. XXVI).

The men and women represented in our collection are (or, at least, are supposed to be) all young and beautiful, and no attempt at a realistic portrayal of the individual is made, with the exception of nos. 64—65, 66 (from Tell el-Amarna), which bear the unmistakable impression of the short-lived new art introduced by Akhenaten (to be pronounced Akhniyati). Even foreigners, with their characteristic features, are depicted on our nos. 34, 40 and 106 as indistinguishable from the Egyptians. Nothing but the skin colour shows that the owner of no. 40 was Ethiopian, and the Canaanites of no. 34 or the Libyan of no. 106 are only identified as such through the inscriptions. A crucial case is nos. 44 and 45, where the owners (husband and wife) are possibly Ethiopians, but this surmise can be neither proved beyond all doubt nor disproved. Only our no. 93 shows foreigners with features peculiar to their race, namely the Hittites.

Many of the objects published here preserve traces of their original colouring, but only a few have retained large portions of it. This, however, is enough to show us what an exquisite sense of colour the Egyptian artists possessed (see nos. 18, 28, 40, 58, 72, 76, 126).

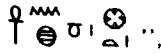
The stelophores and magical stelae form two groups apart in this collection; among them nos. 53, 72 and 186 seem especially prominent.

NOTES

¹ The years during which the Museum was organized are best described by its first director and founder, Professor Ivan Tsvetayev (see Turayev, pp. V–XIV). His story is materially supplemented by his daughter, Anastasia Tsvetayeva (see *Science and Life* [Наука и жизнь], Moscow, 1969, 7, pp. 88–96). For the later stages in the history of the Museum see: A. Zamiatina, *The State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts* [А. Замятина, Государственный музей изобразительных искусств имени А. С. Пушкина], Moscow, Leningrad, 1940, pp. 3–5, and the publication by the same author in *Fifty Years of the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts* [50 лет Государственному музею изобразительных искусств имени А. С. Пушкина], Moscow, 1962, pp. 3–13. See also: A. Demskaya, “The Museum in the First Years of the Soviet Power” [Музей в первые годы советской власти], *Bulletin of the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts*, part 5, Moscow, 1975, pp. 117–125; *The State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. From the Archives of the Museum: A History of the Museum’s Foundation as Reflected in Professor Ivan Tsvetayev’s Correspondence with Roman Klein, the Architect, and in Other Documents* [Государственный музей изобразительных искусств имени А. С. Пушкина. Из архива ГМИИ. История создания музея в переписке профессора И. В. Цветаева с архитектором Р. И. Клейном и других документах] (1896–1912), compiled by A. Demskaya and L. Smirnova, edited by I. Danilova, 2 vols., Moscow, 1977; Palmieri, *Oriente Moderno* 3, p. 190 f.

² The Museum has changed its name four times: (a) from 1889 to 1917, it was called the Emperor Alexander III Museum of Fine Arts at the Imperial Moscow University or The Emperor Alexander III Museum of Fine Arts; (b) from 10 November 1924 to 1932, The State Museum of Fine Arts [Государственный музей изящных искусств]; (c) from 1932 to 1937, The State Museum of Figurative Arts; (d) since 1937, The State Pushkin Museum of Figurative Arts. It should, however, be noted that in English translations the change effected in 1932 is not taken into account and the original name of the Museum (Museum of Fine Arts) is retained.

³ *Trans.*, p. 340; Turayev, p. 8.

⁴ W. Golenischeff, “Über das Wort ”, *ÄZ* 12, 1874, p. 36.

⁵ Struve, *AE*, pp. 15–60; lists of Golenischev’s works are compiled by Tatiana Savelyeva (*AE*, pp. 9–10) and Vladimir Vikentyev (Vikentiev) (*Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University*, vol. XIII, Cairo, 1951, pp. 8–9). The obituary by Vikentyev was not seen by us and is quoted from *АЕВ*, 2077. On Golenischev and his works, see also: Vikentyev, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–10; *The Egyptian Exploration Society, Report 1947*, London, 1947, pp. 6–7 (quoted from *АЕВ*, p. 335); Struve, *Essays* 3, pp. 3–69; *id.*, *VDI* 1957, 2, pp. 130–132; *id.*, *ASH* 27, 2, pp. 130–132; Korostovtsev, *ASH* 27, 2, pp. 132–133; Sainte Fare Garnot, *AE*, pp. 61–64; Avdiev, *AE*, pp. 65–90; Pavlov, *AE*, pp. 90–96; W. R. Dawson, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, London, 1951, p. 63. The second edition of this book (W. R. Dawson, E. F. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, London, 1972) was not seen by us; cf. Van de Walle, *Chron.* 97, pp. 83–84.

⁶ On the Centre Wladimir Golénischeff in Paris, see J. Sainte Fare Garnot, Cl. Lalouette, “Sur l’enregistrement de la documentation archéologique”, *Mél. Masp.* I, 4, pp. 107–112; Yoyotte, *Ann. ÉPHÉ*, Ve section, 75 (1967), pp. 267–274; 76 (1968), pp. 267–269.

⁷ This address is mentioned in the documents concerning the sale of the collection (*SCHAL*, fund 733, inv. 145, file 204; cf. Kartsev, *BC IPA* 46, p. 268, note 37).

⁸ P. P. Gneditich, *A History of Arts* [История искусств], St Petersburg, 1906, p. 50, note.

⁹ We know the arrangement of Golenischev’s museum from the inventory taken by the commission which supervised the moving of the collection from Mokhovaya street to the Hermitage, each case having been itemized separately. See *SCHAL*, fund 733, inv. 145, file 205a; cf. Kartsev, *BC IPA* 46, p. 267, note 34.

¹⁰ See “The Emergency General Meeting of 24 February 1908” [Экстраординарное общее собрание 24 февраля 1908 г.], *Trans.*, pp. 335–345.

¹¹ On the details of the discussion, see now S. Varshavsky and B. Rest, “Side by Side with the Winter Palace” [Рядом с Зимним], *The Star* [Звезда], Leningrad, 1967, 11, pp. 77–80.

¹² He had the following words engraved on the stone: “Gr. Lukyanov, 1909, July”. If this is the date of his donation, as it seems to be, this piece is the oldest in the collection of the Museum.

¹³ Cf. Turayev 1917, p. 8.

¹⁴ See Avdiev, *AC*, 1923, no. 6, pp. 57–59. Vsevolod Avdiev was the secretary of the Museum and Institute of the Classical Orient; its director was Vladimir Vikentyev.

¹⁵ On the museum and its history, see: *Fifty Years of the Rumiantsev Museum, Moscow: 1861–1912* [50-летие Румянцевского музея в Москве: 1861–1912], Moscow, 1913.

¹⁶ Cf. *Report (1867–69)*, p. 112; Turayev, *Report*, p. 131. A. Norov visited Egypt in 1834–1835. See Norov, *Voyage*.

¹⁷ Turayev, *Report*, p. 133.

¹⁸ Cf. I. Tsvetayev, *The Emperor Alexander III Museum of Fine Arts at the Imperial Moscow University (the paper read at the yearly conference of the Museum’s Committee on 25 January 1908)* [И. Цветаев, Музей изящных искусств имени императора Александра III при Императорском московском университете. Записка, читанная на ежегодном собрании комитета музея 25 января 1908 г.], Moscow, 1908, p. 4. He writes that in this fire “perished... a collection of great artistic value which it had taken a great many years to assemble”. The Museum Guides mention the antiquities belonging to the old collection, as well as to that of Nechayev-Maltsev (cf. Turayev, p. 8 and Turayev 1917, p. 8), but there are no stelae or blocks engraved with reliefs among them.

¹⁹ Inasmuch as the names of the former owners of the antiquities are taken from the Museum Inventory, where more often than not the family name alone is indicated, in many cases we cannot make up for this deficiency and are obliged to leave out their Christian names.

²⁰ The Museum Archives, fund 5, inv. 1, case 822 (I. Ostroukhov’s collection).

²¹ A. Prakhov (on him, see especially Korostovtsev and Hodjash, *Essays* 3, pp. 111–118) published an interesting book on Egyptian architecture. See A. Prakhov, *Critical Observations on the Forms of Fine Arts*, part I: *The Architecture of Ancient Egypt* [Критические наблюдения над формами изящных искусств, вып. I. Архитектура Древнего Египта], St. Petersburg, 1880. It is his name that the celebrated papyrus of the Hermitage bears.

²² This is the remaining part of a much larger collection, the bulk of which sank near Odessa.

²³ This collection is described by Turayev, *Mem.* 12, pp. 208–217, pl. 9.

²⁴ An outline of the history of the Egyptian collection of the Museum in its entirety is given by Pavlov in *Fifty Years of the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts* (see note 1), pp. 42–51. See also Hodjash, *Art*, pp. 11–17 (in Russian) and 18–22 (the same in French).

²⁵ M. Rostovtsev, “The Egyptian Museum of V. Golenischev” [Египетский музей В. С. Голенищева], *The Word* [Слово], 405, 15 March 1908.

²⁶ *Suppl.*, pp. 1–3; *Trans.*, pp. 337–338.

²⁷ In this guide, the text on pp. 7–36 was written by Turayev, and that on pp. 37–41, by V. Malmberg. We refer to this book as Turayev and Turayev 1917 respectively. See also: Turayev, *Mem.* 21, 1912, pp. LXVII–LXVIII. There is also a guide written by

several authors for the general public which has not, and was not intended to have, any scientific value. We shall, however, mention it for the sake of completeness: Zharinov, *Guide*.

²⁸ Cf., e.g., Pavlov, *Guide*.

²⁹ *Paint. & Sculpt.* The Egyptian part was written by V. Avdiev and V. Pavlov.

³⁰ *Mon.*, parts I–IV; separately plates, in-folio. Part V was issued without Turayev, in 1926, under the title *Monuments of the Museum of Fine Arts* [Памятники музея изящных искусств] and, apart from a very short paper by Tamara Borozdina, contains no Egyptological materials. The first four parts, however, may be regarded as the first attempt at the publication of an Egyptological bulletin in Russia, the second one being undoubtedly the *Publications de la Société Égyptologique de l'Université de Leningrad*, edited by Matie in 1927–29.

³¹ See Matie–Pavlov.

³² See Pridick.

³³ See A. B. Chace and others, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, vol. II, Oberlin, Ohio, 1929 (the addenda to the yearly bibliography on mathematics, 1930).

³⁴ Cf. his words addressed to Professor Archibald: “Mais... il ne faut pas prendre à la lettre les assertions de fellahs, car tout naturellement ils tâchent de dissimuler l'endroit de leurs fouilles clandestines et ils cherchent à dépister celui qui leur achète des antiquités”.

³⁵ Out of their number one is particularly informative: Golenischev, *Mém.* V, 1890, pp. 1–30.

³⁶ On this term, see: L. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (SAOC, 34), Chicago, 1968, reviewed in *Chron.* 89, p. 87 ff.; *JEA* 56, p. 227 ff.; *OLZ* 66, col. 132 ff.; *JARCE* 8, p. 86 f.

³⁷ On the *bai* and similar concepts, see also: H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der Alten Ägypter*, Berlin, 1956, p. 35 ff.

³⁸ See Kees, *op. cit.*, p. 43 ff.; Bonnet, p. 357 ff.; A. Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of Immortality of the Soul*, London, 1905; *LÄ* III, col. 275 ff.

³⁹ We have given here only an outline of the problem, simplified by necessity. The matter is more complicated and varied considerably throughout the centuries.

⁴⁰ They were also believed to have a sense of smell (in all, two senses out of the five). That is why burning incense and censuring were of such importance in the cult of the tomb and in the temple. Such was the original notion, subsequently obscured by the ceremonies of the opening of eyes, ears, mouth and nostrils.

⁴¹ On this formula, see Barta, *Opferf.*

⁴² ‘Dark’ in many languages is a synonym for ‘blind’, and ‘light’, vice versa, for ‘able to see’, ‘seeing’.

⁴³ The first texts containing such a description were inscribed in the pyramids of kings (and queens) of Dyn. V, VI and VII–VIII. The Pharaoh's subjects had their texts inscribed on the walls of their coffins.

⁴⁴ Heaps of offerings and the so-called *frise d'objets* on the walls of the sarcophagi anterior to the period of the New Kingdom form a separate category and are not included in the Coffin Texts.

⁴⁵ See Rusch, *ÄZ* 58, p. 101 ff.; Müller, *MDIAK* 4, p. 165 ff.; H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. 2, Munich, 1929, p. 73 ff.; Pflüger, *JAOS* 47, p. 127 ff.; Hermann, *Stelen*; Munro. Cf. also B. Poertner, *Die ägyptischen Totenstelen als Zeugen des sozialen und religiösen Lebens ihrer Zeit* (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, vol. 4, part 5), Paderborn, 1911.

⁴⁶ Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 24, p. 83 ff.

NOTE TO THE READER

The material in this catalogue is arranged mainly in chronological order, but from this general principle it does not necessarily follow that every number preceding another refers to a monument earlier in date, for our dating estimates are only approximate. In two cases (sculptor's models and magical stelae) it was not possible to preserve chronological order, since the typology of these classes of Egyptian antiquities has not as yet been sufficiently studied.

Each entry in the catalogue invariably includes (1) a short introductory section containing what one may call the "passport data" of the object; (2) the hieroglyphic text of all the inscriptions on the stela or stone block; (3) its translation and (4) a commentary. For the sake of conciseness no description of the object is given.

The introductory section, in its turn, includes (a) the data arranged in the following sequence: the Museum inventory number; *Golenischev's inventory number in brackets*; material; measurements in centimetres (height preceding width); date; provenance and antecedents (the history of the item prior to its accession to the Museum); description of colouring; bibliography; (b) a short explanatory text whenever necessary. The colouring is mentioned only in those cases when a colour reproduction of the item has not been possible.

The Museum inventory number consists of that of the Inventory book (only two of the Museum's inventory books include Egyptian antiquities, I.1.a and I.1.b) and the number the item has in that book. This way of listing the items in the inventory has been adopted since 1924.

Three kinds of brackets are used: (1) parentheses, to introduce an explanation; (2) angle brackets, to insert parts of the text mistakenly left out by the ancients; (3) square brackets, to mark a tentative restoration of the damaged text. When the grounds for such a restoration are doubtful, the sign (?) is used.

In renderings of Egyptian, Greek and Arabic proper names, diacritical marks have been omitted to simplify the text for printing.

Hieroglyphic signs appear in the commentary under the code number (a capital letter and a numeral) they have in the Sign-List in Gardiner's *Grammar*.

Dates are indicated by the reigns of Pharaohs or by dynasties. Larger periods in Egyptian history are as follows:

- The Old Kingdom — Dyn. III—VI
- The First Intermediate Period — Dyn. VII—X
- The Middle Kingdom — Dyn. XI—XII
- The Second Intermediate Period — Dyn. XIII—XVII
- The New Kingdom — Dyn. XVIII—XX
- The Third Intermediate Period — Dyn. XXI—XXIV
- The Ethiopian, Saite, Persian and later Dynasties — Dyn. XXV—XXX
- The Ptolemies
- The Roman Emperors

In the absolute chronology the period of the Old Kingdom corresponds to the third millennium B.C., and those of the Middle and New Kingdoms comprise almost the whole of the second millennium.

Egyptian names are mostly given in the conventional rendering, with the constituent parts hyphenated. In those cases, however, when a restoration of the ancient name was possible or where a Greek variant of the name is known, the names are spelt as one word.

ДРЕВНЕЕГИПЕТСКИЕ РЕЛЬЕФЫ И СТЕЛЫ
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